An Investigation of the experiences and meaning of Xenophobia at the University of Zululand by international students

by

Msawenkosi Buthelezi

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SUPERVISOR: Prof. R.M. Dhlomo-Sibiya

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DECLARATION

This is to declare that this dissertation represents my own work, both in conception and in execution. All the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of completed references.

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Msawenkosi Buthelezi   Date

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A project of this nature can never be accomplished in isolation so I would like to thank all those who have helped and/or motivated me throughout this long and sometimes difficult journey. If I have failed to mention all names, please understand that it was an unfortunate error on my behalf and not an intentional oversight.

To the All-Mighty: I humble myself and give thanks to you on a daily basis for the strength you have bestowed upon me, which allows me to continue during the darkest hours. You have carried me considerably, if not, all of the way.

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ABSTRACT

The major aim of the study was to document xenophobic experiences and meaning of non-national students at the South African tertiary institutions, so that appropriate action may be taken to ameliorate the situation.

The results of this study clearly point to the fact that international students throughout the University of Zululand subjectively experience discriminatory practices to a certain extent. As much as xenophobic experiences have not reached the element of violence against non-nationals, it is unpredictable if these experiences will never happen again. It is apparent that non-national students experience most of the xenophobic attacks within the campus perpetrated by both students and staff members. The themes that emerged were inclusive of the language barrier, discrimination, aggression, negative attitude and abuse.

Based on the findings of this study and the evidence from literature the meaning of xenophobia given by non-national students entail a attitude, dislike, fear, difference, exclusion, maltreatment or ill-treatment and being unappreciated. Most of the literature reviewed concurred with the definition of xenophobia given by the non-National students.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Xenophobia is an area of study that has not received a lot of attention on the part of researchers in the Zululand region. Procter, Ilson and Ayto (1978:1605) indicated that the word xenophobia is derived from the Greek words 'xeno', meaning stranger or foreigner, and 'phobia', meaning fear. It means 'unreasonable fear or pathological dislike of foreigners or strangers'. Crouther (1995:1041) and Plaut (1991:22) further qualified it as an intense dislike of strangers and the word is as old as humanity. This may suggest that strangers have always represented a danger-laden intrusion into well-structured societies, whether tribe or nation. Reynolds and Vine (1987:124) referred to xenophobia as a psychological state of hostility or fear towards outsiders, while Hook & Eagle (2002:177) further attached elements of violent actions as well as negative social representations of immigrants in their description of xenophobia.

The International Human Rights Watch (1998) reported that many Black foreigners were afraid to walk alone because of the hostility they faced in the streets and the possibility of attacks by South Africans. Moyo & Adewal (1999:4) clearly stated the way foreigners from different countries are treated in South Africa. They wrote: interestingly, White people who come into South Africa are not seen as taking locals jobs. Australians, Americans or even White Zimbabweans or Kenyans are welcomed with open arms, because they are seen as business people, bringing in the so-called investment.

According to Shindondola (2002:2) it is not only people who are illegally in the country who seem to be experiencing xenophobia, but also those who are legally here, for an example students. The University of Zululand is no exception as it is composed of diverse groups, e.g. Kenyans; Nigerians, Zambians, Sothos, etc. There is tension between nationals and internationals, especially directed to those from Africa. However, the University further attracts students even from America, the response from local students has been witnessed as positive. This dissertation, therefore, explores the experiences of xenophobia at the University of Zululand, and the meaning attributed by the participants.

1.2 Motivation of the Study

The motivation behind the study is evidenced by an encounter the researcher experienced in 2006 with an international student. The international student was sharing her unpleasant encounters with the South African students on Campus. There has been extensive coverage of incidents involving foreigners and locals in general, but no studies have explored the people's experiences of xenophobia at the University of Zululand. It is the silence on this topic that encouraged the researcher to undertake this research. Furthermore, the study is influenced by articles that were observed in different newspapers, stating the complaints about the escalating rate of Xenophobia in South Africa.

1.3 Statement of the problem

It would be interesting to note or to discover the difference in the meaning of xenophobia by national and non-national University population. Furthermore, it would be interesting to elicit any form of xenophobic behaviour occurred or occurring at the University.

1.4 Aim and objectives of the study

1.4.1 Aim

The major aim of the study was to document xenophobic experiences and its meaning to non-national students at the South African tertiary institutions, so that appropriate action may be taken to ameliorate the situation.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The objective of this study is to achieve the following:

I.   To document xenophobic experiences of non-national students at the University of Zululand so that appropriate action may be taken to ameliorate their situation;

II. To investigate the meaning of xenophobia at the University of Zululand;

III. To make recommendations to South African Institutions of Higher Learning and

IV. To make recommendations to the Government of South Africa.

1.5 Value of the study

It is hoped that the study would be able to contribute towards shaking off the politics of exclusion, which has been typical of apartheid structures in South Africa (Hook &Eagle, 2002:326). The results of the study would possibly be submitted to a publication in a South African Post Secondary Education (SAPSE) recognized journal. The study would further be submitted to the University of Zululand Library.

1.6 Operational definitions of key terms

Meaning

Meaning is the way in which internationals make sense of xenophobia.

Xenophobia

Xenophobia denotes a phobic attitude toward strangers or of the unknown. It comes from the Greek words ξένος (*xenos*), meaning "foreigner," "stranger," and φόβος (*phobos*), meaning "fear." The term is typically used to describe fear or dislike of foreigners or in general of people different from one's self (Kirton, 2004).

A non-national student

A non-national student is a University of Zululand registered student, who is not a South African citizen, not a permanent resident, or one who does not have diplomatic exemption.

National student

A national student is a University of Zululand registered student who is a South African.

1.7 University of Zululand main campus

The University of Zululand main campus is situated at Kwa-Dlangezwa in Kwa-Zulu Natal, South Africa, twenty kilometres (20km) South of Empangeni and thirty five kilometres (35km) South of Richards Bay.

It was established in 1960 as a college which was then academically affiliated to the University of South Africa (UNISA).

Since then the University of Zululand has radically evolved from a so called 'bush college' to a fully-fledged university equal to any other centre of higher learning in South Africa.

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The main campus is the only university situated at the North of uThukela River.

The University experiences an increased intake of students from other parts of Africa, especially from Lesotho, Namibia, Kenya, Swaziland, Zimbabwe, Nigeria and Namibia, etc. The map showing the University of Zululand follows:

Figure 1: Map indicating the location of the University of Zululand
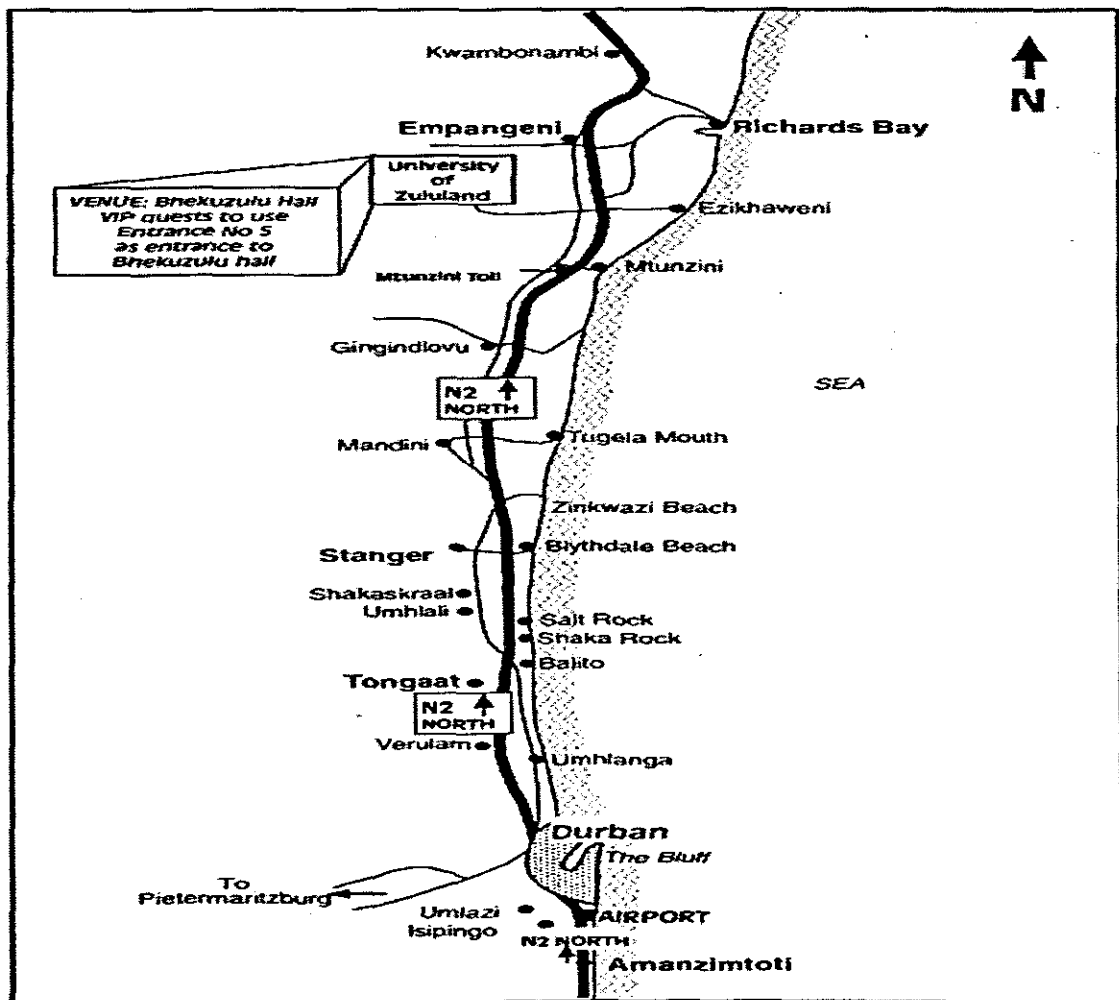
1.8 Resumé

The main aim of this chapter was to introduce the study and to show that which prompted the researcher to investigate xenophobic experiences and meaning by foreign students. The researcher also noted the aims and objectives of this study, which guided the researcher throughout the whole investigation. Furthermore, the researcher has given a brief geographical detail of the area where the study was conducted. To summarize, this has given a synopsis of what the investigation entails and more follows on the subject in the chapters that follow.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews previous literature on the subject of the meaning and experiences of xenophobia in tertiary institutions. It is crucial to note that not much literature is available on the subject 'xenophobia in tertiary institutions', which indicates that this area needs to be explored further.

2.2 Xenophobia

The dictionary term, 'xenophobia' is defined as an extreme dislike or fear of foreigners, their customs, their religions, etc. (Cambridge Advanced Learners Dictionary, 2005). Tshitereke as cited by Hook and Eagle (2002) stated that more commonly, the term is used to denote a 'dislike of foreigners. They further cited that in this understanding, xenophobia characterized by a *negative attitude* towards foreigners, a *dislike*, a *fear*, or hatred. Hook and Eagle((2002) labeled the above description as misleading, because xenophobia in South Africa is not restricted to a fear or dislike of foreigners. Rather, as the following interview extracts reveal, it results in 'intense tension and violence by South Africans towards immigrants'

Individual incidents of xenophobic violence against immigrants from primarily other African countries have been documented since 1995. According to a 1998 Human Rights Watch report immigrants from Malawi, Zimbabwe and Mozambique living in the Alexandra township were "physically assaulted over a period of several weeks in January 1995, as armed gangs identified suspected undocumented migrants and marched them to the police station in an attempt to 'clean' the township of foreigners."

Attacks on foreign nationals increased markedly in late 2007 and it is believed that there have been at least a dozen attacks since the start of 2008.

The most severe incidents occurred on January 8, 2008, when two Somali shop owners were murdered in the Eastern Cape towns of Jeffrey's Bay and East London and in March 2008, when seven people were killed including Zimbabweans, Pakistanis and a Somali after their shops and shacks were set alight in Atteridgeville near Pretoria (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2008_South_Africa_riots)

In May 2008 a series of riots occurred in South Africa leaving at least 62 people dead, several hundred injured and some 25,000 displaced. The attacks targeted foreign nationals living in South Africa and were apparently motivated by xenophobia, although 21 of those killed were South African citizens. Though not the first incidents of xenophobia in contemporary South Africa, the scale and brutality of the May attacks garnered widespread condemnation and saw troops deployed in domestic peace-keeping for the first time since the end of apartheid in 1994.

The Human Rights Watch (1998:123) documented in 1998 an increasing level of xenophobia since 1994, which further encouraged abuse by the police and Home Affairs officials of both documented and undocumented migrants. This treatment of foreigners as a homogenous group is confirmed in more recent research stating that refugees, asylum seekers and foreigners legally and illegal in the country tend to be dealt with in the same way.

Surveys carried out by Southern African Migration Project (2001, 2004) illustrate that South African attitudes towards foreigners are currently very negative. South Africans gave strong support for policies that would place strict limits on or prohibit immigration altogether. Although almost 70 percent agreed that refugees warrant protection, only 47 percent thought that the South African government should give asylum and protection to refugees (Crush 2001, Crush and Pendleton 2004). Palmary's (2004:66) study found that the Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department tended to treat foreigners as criminals. Yet, foreigners in Johannesburg are in fact disproportionately victims of crime, particularly in robbery; among others resulting from refugees' lack of or improper documents to open bank accounts and access savings.

Segale (2004:50) argues that xenophobia is one of the single biggest obstructions to integration facing refugees in South Africa. This has recently been illustrated by the number attacks experienced by Somalis in South Africa. In August 2006, 30 Somali shopkeepers were forced to flee the area of Masiphumelele in Cape Town when a mob of between 200 to 300 locals attacked their shops. Although Tromp (2006:17) argues these attacks happened due to Somalis being successful businessmen and not because of xenophobia, the counter argument is that the Somalis are attacked because they are successful Somali businessmen; hence the South African businessmen's jealousy has ethnic roots. Another example is the Zimbabwean refugee who sued her pastor for making discriminatory comments about her in church. She further said in her affidavit: "The pastor hated me and still hates me because I am an immigrant, African and a refugee" (Olivier 2006:4).

2.3 Global Trends

Xenophobia is a global problem that has been experienced in both industrialized democracies of the north and the developing countries of the south. It is a reality in Germany, Belgium, and the United Kingdom as it is in China, Ivory Coast and South Africa. It is not indigenous to any particular part of the world or alien to any. http://www.sahrc.org.za/national

Mogekwu (2002) simply puts xenophobia as a deep dislike of non- nationals of a recipient state embodied in a discriminatory attitude and behavior towards such non-nationals and often culminating in violence against them, abuses of all sorts and exhibition of hatred. In its most explosive form, xenophobia has been manifested in killings and 'ethnic cleansing' that have been witnessed in many parts of the continent in recent years. Greece, Spain, France, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Austria, Portugal, United Kingdom' studies on migrants' experiences of racism and xenophobia conducted by European Monitoring Centre(2006) on Racism and Xenophobia clearly point to the fact that migrants throughout Europe subjectively experience discriminatory practices to a significant extent.

2.4 TRENDS IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.4.1 ABUSE OF AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS

2.4.1.1 Victims of cheap labour

According to Murphy as quoted by Mnyaka (2003:25) African immigrants flock to mining and farming industries, two fields that are not popular among South African workers because of poor working conditions and low pay.

The abuse of illegal immigrants by South African employers is rife because they have no legal rights and protection. Sometimes according to Reitzes and Bam (1996:19), instead of being paid for services they have rendered, police are called in just before payday to have them arrested and deported, and in that way victimizing them. This labor practice exploits them by using the free labour of these people and benefiting the employers. Some police allow themselves to be used and thus helping in perpetuating exploitation instead of being defenders of the underdogs.

If the police are not called, African immigrants are paid meagre and unbelievably low wages. In the agricultural sector, according to a report by Human Rights Watch (1998:3) the undocumented laborers work for pittance, on average about 5 Rands (U.S. $1at an exchange rate of five Rands for one U.S. dollar) per day. That means that wages are as low as R100.00 a month if a person works five days a week. The farmers do not only give the farm workers low wages, but they also physically abuse them by keeping then on these farms against their will and beating them to work harder (Human Rights Watch, 1998:3). Instead of tougher penalties for employers that breach labor standards, they sometimes escape unnoticed.

However, Mnyaka (2003:25) emphasized that the government became aware of this unfair labour practice and has took steps to ensure that it is discouraged. In 1998 farmers like J.G. Zeelie, who had employed 40 Mozambicans, were fined for employing illegal immigrants. He further mentioned that seventy-three employers are reported by the Evening Post to have been charged with employing illegal immigrants in 1995 and 1996. This was the government's attempt to stem both the influx and the exploitation of immigrants.

2.4.1.2 Victims of corruption

According to Reitzes and Bam (1996:25), whenever police need money they know who to target. African immigrants have to bribe police and immigration officials if they want to enter illegally or avoid arrest or deportation. Some officials who were involved in such unacceptable practice did not escape unnoticed. In 1998 an immigration official (a deputy manager of Home Affairs Immigration Department) and nine police officers who had allegedly accepted bribes from illegal aliens were arrested (The Eastern Province Herald, September 10, 1998).

What is evidenced by this is that the very system that is supposed to assist the entry and stay of African immigrants is often corrupt since it is subverted by some of the police. (See figure 2).

Figure 2: Foreigners were often stopped on the basis of their appearance and asked to provide evidence of their status.

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2.4.1.3 Denial of access to social services

There were attempts in places like Winterveld to exclude children of immigrants from attending schooling there. A principal of one primary school, according to Reitzes and Bam as quoted by Mnyaka (2003:28), claims she was visited by members of the local community 'not to accept children whose parents were immigrants.' They also told her which surnames were used by immigrants to disguise their identity. Overcrowding and lack of resources were cited as the reason for refusal or blocking of admission to immigrants' children.

Even attempts by immigrants to disguise themselves as to avoid harassment and discrimination and make sure that their children are educated are often met with resistance and exposed. Their children are consequently condemned at an earlier age to ignorance and denied the opportunity to develop.

Sunday Tribune (May 18, 2008) cited that some immigrants were denied basic services such as health care. Eric Mutawu, a 22-year-old from Tanzania, said that he had gone to Addington Hospital after a persistent stomach ache. 'They asked me for R20 to open a file and I didn't have it. I asked them to at least give me Panado or other pain killers and they refused,' he said. Other African foreigners living in Durban said although they had legal permits to live in South Africa, they often found themselves at the receiving end of xenophobia, as well as discrimination from Home Affairs, police and other officials.

2.4.1.4 Use of derogatory names

African immigrants are given derogatory names to distinguish them from South Africans. They are called 'kalangas', 'amakwerekwere', or 'grigambas'. Sometimes guards at Lindela do not bother to learn the immigrants' names and instead call them out by their home country names (Murphy 2001:3). With regards to the term 'amakwerekwere', Mr Tshlamang sees nothing wrong in the use of the term; he denies that it is derogatory. He claims that it is the 'name of Shona clan that has been generalized to refer to all foreigners' (Mail& Guardian, November 5 to 11, 1999).

He is supported in this by Flex in Tanzania when he says, 'according to my understanding they started calling us that because they could not understand our language, not because they mean to be nasty; so I do not take offence when I am called 'kwerekwere' because I know I am at liberty to do the same as I can't understand South African language either'(Pace March, 2003:52). However, Joyce Tlou, disputes Mr. Tshlamang's and Flex's defence of the term saying that there is no Shona clan with this name. There is clan name called Makorakora, but it is not a derogatory name, so to suggest that this has been generalized to refer to foreigners is absurd (Mail &Guardian, November 5 to 11, 1999).

2.4.1.5 Language discrimination

It seems that these names stem from the fact that foreigners are different. They do not all speak or understand local languages, and speak English with a 'funny accent'. Speaking their language is often met with disapproval. They are accused of or referred to as speaking 'animal language' (Reitzes 1997:30).

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In other words, they are speaking an incomprehensible language. This somehow denies them the opportunity to use their language freely without obstruction, a language that is the most vital expression of themselves, something that is precious to them. By not speaking the local language they are not only unable to communicate but alienate themselves from South Africans and are then, stigmatized. The pressure that is put on them not to speak their language stifles their culture, creativity and development as people. They try to communicate by speaking English and this only worsens the hostile situation in which they find themselves.

Reitzes (1997:41) noted that competency in a local African language seems to be a fundamental criterion for acceptance and integration of foreigners into Black South African society.

There is an attitude of selfishness and undermining by South Africans because there is no regard to assess the abilities and obstacles which are on the way for these people not to speak local the languages. This is not a matter of language but of culture because they do not share a dominant culture. Maybe some South Africans are afraid of being swamped by foreign influence.

Muller (1999:72) cited that though the terms 'amakwerekwere', 'grigambas' or 'kalangas' are collective and derogatory terms for African foreigners, they are not applied to those from Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. Maybe it is so because of the linguistic and the cultural ties that exist between the people of these countries and many South Africans.

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How does one explain the exclusion of Zimbabwe and Mozambique, because they too have linguistic and cultural ties? They too feel and claim they need to be accorded 'preferential treatment' that is given to the nationals mentioned.

The Ndebele speaking people of Zimbabwe come here because of the linguistic and cultural links with the Ndebeles of South Africa. They feel, however, that they are always victims of hostile environments because they are 'victims of tribalism; that's why we are here, the Shonas of Zimbabwe killed us' and here South Africans are also hostile to them (Reitzes 1997).

The Mozambicans also claim cultural and linguistic links. For instance, one Shangaan saw no difference between a South African and a Mozambican Shangaan. But the treatment and labels by South Africans seem to suggest that they have no link here. Mozambicans claim according to Sowetan (March 9, 1995) that it is ridiculous to call them aliens. The borders we have, they say, were put there by the Whites when they were making deals amongst themselves. These sentiments were also echoed by some South Africans who are sympathetic to the plight of African immigrants.

They voiced their objections at the public hearing on the Government White Paper on International migration, that the laws were harsh on the Swazi or Mozambican citizens, who had been cut off from relatives in South Africa by artificial colonial border; advocating that Mozambicans and Swazis who could prove close blood relatives with South African should be judged with less stringent regulations (Evening Post 7, 2000).

The language problem may not be that serious for those who know some of the eleven official South African languages, but for those who speak only French or Portuguese, communication is not easy. They do not only have difficulty in communicating with ordinary citizens but have difficulty in filling the forms at Home Affairs offices, forms which are only available in English and Afrikaans and sometimes there is no government official who can speak the language spoken by the immigrants.

Owing to the fact that they cannot speak local languages they have to contend with officials who are frustrated, exhausted and irritable. One can see that this linguistic chaos complicates, inhibits and disrupts administration. In some instances, because of the language, some refugees have not been able to be identified as refugees by apprehending officers. Some refugees from Angola, having made their claim for refugee status, were apprehended, and when they 'told the Home Affairs officials that they are refugees', the officials did not understand them (HSRC 1999).

In the Home Affairs offices in Braamfontein, according to Crawhall (1995:5), two full-time interpreters who were refugees were employed to assist with communication. Some refugees volunteered to assist.

They soon caused chaos, however, because they began to charge their clients R50.00 for interpreting for them. The action of these volunteers amounted to exploitation and crime. This means that the exploitation of immigrants is a phenomenon that is carried out by members of their own group. It shows the vulnerability of these people. They can easily be

cheated and robbed with no recourse to the law. Of course the new South African constitution does not give one a right to languages other than the eleven stipulated official ones.

But the language need that is being accommodated is being spoilt by the very people it seeks to help. Instead of being useful and compassionate to each other, some immigrants make it difficult by exploiting also the helpless people.

2.4.1.6 Assaults

Some South Africans have expressed their hatred and rejection for African immigrants by beating and, on certain heated occasions, killing some of them. Some of these killings happened intentionally and others accidentally. For those killings and assaults that happened intentionally, some South Africans tried to find excuses.

Some immigrants have paid heavily for the crime they are often alleged to have committed. Two men from Mozambique were doused with petrol and set alight with a tyre around their neck (necklaced) at Ivory Park (squatter camp), Johannesburg by a mob of 400 people which accused him of rape, theft and terrorizing residents (Eastern Province Herald, January 8, 1999). This form of punishment was used against those who were seen as informers during the struggle against apartheid. Even though one does not condone the wrong actions of aliens, South Africans should have not taken the law to their own hands.

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For allegedly taking jobs from South Africans, some immigrants have not escaped the wrath of some of the unemployed people of South Africa.

Mnyaka (2003:33) identified three men that were killed on a train while trying to escape from an angry mob that had earlier on taken part on a protest march against unemployment. They were accused of stealing jobs from South Africans when they were found selling clothes on the train. Being killed on the train and at work has nothing to do with stealing jobs. It is apparent that these people happened to be foreigners in the midst of disgruntled South Africans. They had run away from their countries for the fear of losing their lives, only to be killed in South Africa.

This horrible deed was well publicised in South Africa and yet there appeared to be silence on the part of the government. What was this saying to the South Africans and the world?

According to the presenter of the South African Broadcasting Corporation channel (SABC), Two Way Programme as cited by Mnyaka (2003:33), two years before the date of this particular presentation, about 30 refugees were killed in South Africa. Acid was also poured on the whole body of the refugee. The refugee opened a case with the police and nothing had been done by 2001. Mnyaka further stated that Congress of the South African Trade Union (COSATU) in its press statement of February 8, 2001, condemned this incident saying 'throwing acid on a fellow human being, clearly put some sections of our populations at the same wave length as the Nazi of Germany.' Some refugees seem to understand the feelings of hate, anger, frustration, desperation, and actions employed against them by South Africans. They attribute these to many years of frustration due to oppression. That is the reason South

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Africans are taking it out on them. The actions of the South Africans involved make refugees live in fear. Harris as quoted by Hook & Eagle (2002: 181) concurs with this statement stating that South African hostility encourages foreigners to leave South Africa, and to feel impermanent while living in the country.

Political organizations such as African National Congress (ANC) have condemned attacks on and the killing of African immigrants. For instance, when homes belonging to Zimbabwe immigrants were set on fire in Zandspruit informal settlement, near Honeydew, outside Johannesburg, the ANC issued a statement condemning them.

One of the most horrific beatings of illegal immigrants was screened on SABC3 Special Assignment Programme, on November 7, 2000. This footage was taken on January 1998. The program showed six white police used three illegal immigrants as training baits to incite dogs to be vicious to Blacks. These men were taken to a mine dump near Springs for dog training. It was horrifying, disturbing, and outrageous to watch dogs attacking and dragging helpless, powerless, screaming and pleading men. It was not enough for the six white policemen to encourage their dogs to attack these people, but they also punched, kicked, slapped and hurled racial abuse such as 'Is jy 'n kaffir'

This incident triggered feelings of shock, revulsion, anger, and condemnation from both the government and the people of South Africa. Though it was a demonstration of barbarism, brutality, racism and xenophobia that African immigrants often have to contend with, the six men thought otherwise.

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In a statement that was read to the media on their behalf, it was clear that they thought 'this whole thing was pulled out of proportion......We did not kill, rape or rob anyone' they protested (The Eastern Province Herald, November 10, 2000). These policemen did not seem to grasp the damage they had caused to the victims. Two of the victims since the incident, had sleepless nights, hallucinations and nightmares (City Press, November 12, 2000).

They had indeed been robbed of their personhood and this was best expressed by one of the victims when he said 'talking about what happened, to me and my brother is draining my energy now. I become weak and lose concentration.' I will never be a normal person again (City Press, November 10, 2000). It is no wonder that Archbishop Desmond Tutu felt that he had to pray for the conversion of those policemen.

Mnyaka (2003) advocated that their "misunderstanding", though it needs to be condemned, has to be understood in the light of what one correspondent wrote to the Mail and Guardian of November 17 to 23, 2000). He had this to say: 'The whites who were caught in this incident were well aware that xenophobia is accepted.' Simphiwe Sesanti as further quoted by Mnyaka (2003) in Evening Post, concurs with the correspondent when he writes, 'the white policemen acted with such vigour only because they knew the Mozambicans were vulnerable and that the green light was given by the black South Africans who not only treat these people contemptuously in words but in deed too.....Just as the police dogs were "dripping with blood", so are many black people's hands.

2.4.2 Recent xenophobic attacks in South Africa

Individual incidents of xenophobic violence against immigrants from primarily other African countries have been documented since 1995. According to a 1998 Human Rights Watch report immigrants from Malawi, Zimbabwe and Mozambique living in the Alexandra township were "physically assaulted over a period of several weeks in January 1995, as armed gangs identified suspected undocumented migrants and marched them to the police station in an attempt to 'clean' the township of foreigners."

Attacks on foreign nationals increased markedly in late 2007 and it is believed that there have been at least a dozen attacks since the start of 2008. The most severe incidents occurred on January 8, 2008 when two Somali shop owners were murdered in the Eastern Cape towns of Jeffreys Bay and East London and in March 2008 when seven people were killed including Zimbabweans, Pakistanis and a Somali after their shops and shacks were set alight in Atteridgeville near Pretoria.

2.4.2.1 May 2008 riots

On May 12, 2008 a series of riots started in the township of Alexandra (in the north-eastern part of Johannesburg) when locals attacked migrants from Mozambique, Malawi and Zimbabwe, killing two people and injuring 40 others (Sunday Tribune, May 18, 2008). The violence spread to other townships later in the week across the Gauteng Province of South Africa with riots reported in several settlements including Diepsloot, Johannesburg central, Jeppestown, Hillbrow and others. A man was burnt to death near Reiger Park on the East Rand (Sunday Tribune, May 18, 2008).

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Police had arrested more than 200 people on charges including murder, attempted murder, rape, public violence and robbery. Armed police used tear gas and rubber bullets to quell rioting in central Johannesburg, attacks on foreigners and looting of foreign owned shops. The violence then spread to the coastal city of Durban.

Figure 3 Showing a mob of South Africans attacking foreigners

A mob chants in the Reiger Park informal settlement outside Johannesburg, South Africa, Tuesday May 20, 2008. Such clashes have seen anger focused on foreigners from other African countries who have been attacked, killed and their property destroyed. (AP Photo/Themba Hadebe)

2.4.3 Domestic reaction

2.4.3.1 South African government

In response to the violence former President Thabo Mbeki announced he would set up a panel of experts to investigate the riots. The African National Congress leader Jacob Zuma, condemned the attacks, saying "We cannot allow South Africa to be famous for xenophobia" in a speech in Pretoria while announcing his new 'Time Machine' project. On May 21, Mbeki approved a request from the South African Police Service (SAPS) for deployment of armed forces against the attacks in Gauteng. It is the first time that the South African government has ordered troops out to the streets in order to quell unrest since the end of apartheid in 1994.

The Home Affairs department's spokesperson, Mansele Tau, denied that his ministry was deporting any guest or immigrant residents from the country and that there was any significant rise of applicants for voluntary deportation, but stated that the ministry would help with any paperwork for individual applicants, whenever the occasion merited such a response.

South African political parties also advocated their views, mainly condemning the attacks towards African immigrants. However, most political parties emphasized that the May 2008 xenophobic attacks were politically motivated. For instance, there were certain political organizations that were mentioned to be encouraging these attacks.

2.4.3.2 University students

Many South African tertiary education institutions have condemned the attacks. Most notably students from the University of the Witwatersrand staged a non-violent anti-xenophobia protest march and issued an official newsletter expressing their "deep dismay" towards the xenophobic killings, violence and hostility.

It is apparent that South Africans are always ready to respond after many lives have been claimed by xenophobic attacks. The question may be 'are we condemning xenophobia in the eyes of people or for the world but deep down we are living it?'

2.4.4 International Students in South African Tertiary Institutions

Mamphela Ramphele in 'Immigration and education: International students at South African Universities and Technikons' (March 1999) noted that tertiary education has become a major global export commodity over the last decade. About a million and a half students travel overseas for their education every year. Of these, about 22% come from Asia and the Pacific Rim, 17% from North America, and 14% from Europe. This phenomenon presents host institutions with both financial gains and problems.

In 1996, over 13,000 international students were studying at South African universities and technikons. The number and proportion of international students varies considerably with Unisa having the highest absolute enrolment. The University of Zululand had 161 international students enrolled in 2008. According to P.C. Mjadu (University of Zululand International Officer), the enrolments of international students are depreciating. He specified that this year (2009), they do not have even a single new student from Lesotho and that they are usually the largest international group to enrol at the university.

Although he clarified that Lesotho is removing all of their students from South African universities, the main reason for the depreciating number of international student enrolment remains a mystery, 'Is it because of the maltreatment directed to foreign students or the xenophobic attacks?' However; he said that they are getting students from other nearby countries, such as Zimbabwe, Zambia, etc. Students from the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region accounted for 50% of all international students.

Other Zimbabweans interviewed by Sunday Tribune(May 18, 2008) said that the prejudice they had experienced was not confined to poor people battling to make ends meet but even came from educated Black South Africans. A Zimbabwean master's student, who asked not to be named, said he and his peers were often treated as outcasts by Black fellow Black students and lecturers. He said that some asked why they were not studying and working in their own countries.

Who qualifies as a foreign or international student? According to the Department of Home Affairs, a "foreign student" is anyone who is not a South African citizen, not a permanent resident, or one who does not have diplomatic exemption. In practice, the definition and understanding of "foreignness" is not that simple. The issue of foreignness can be a source of tension between a section of largely Black South African students and Black students from neighbouring African countries. South African students feel deprived and invoke their citizenship or South Africanness in the face of competition from foreign students who compete for local resources in order to make ends meet.

They stress the foreignness of their competitors and seek to remove them from the equation. They even blame their deprivation on "foreign" students who do not belong (Ramphele 1999).

Ramphele (March, 1999) added that the promotion of equity in terms of race -- to which the South African government has committed itself -- is seen as being open to abuse by "foreign" Blacks who stand to gain from its undifferentiated use.

Of greater significance is the reality of the better preparedness of students and staff from other African countries who were spared Bantu Education and are thus able to compete on merit for undergraduate, postgraduate and staff positions.

Further complicating the determination of foreignness is the cumbersome definition of what constitutes a neighbouring country. For purposes of state subsidies to international students, a diplomatic and economically and politically constructed definition is used. Thus South Africa's neighbouring countries are not only Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia and Zimbabwe, countries with which she shares common borders, but all the other SADC member states. The implications of this for continued state expenditure on the education of international students are profound (Ramphele, 1999).

Ramphele (ibid) further argued that international students have reason to feel aggrieved by recent policy. The spectre of deportation continues to haunt them throughout their student life and the repatriation arrangements they are required to make in advance compound their anxiety. International students understandably fail to divorce these measures from the more stringent and punitive ones designed to halt the influx of "illegal immigrants."

The feeling among some international students is that the Department of Home Affairs is pursuing a policy of discouragement. They feel that the policy is not only unnecessarily punitive and deliberately designed to break their spirit but also tinged with xenophobia.

University authorities' failure to secure favourable deals for their international students has the unfortunate consequence of being perceived as collusion with the Department of Home Affairs. International students see the withdrawal of subsidies as a deliberate attempt to make fees prohibitive and exclusionary and another of South Africa's thinly disguised excuses to curb the influx of international students.

Ramphele (March, 1999) cited that international students have always voiced concerns about what they perceive to be punitive immigration controls through their respective host institutions. Some actions by the Department of Home Affairs contradict some of the principles and ideals individual institutions treasure and stand for. Most institutions have expressed commitment to ridding their campuses of all forms of discrimination. According to a new legislation, international students can only be employed in areas which have a direct bearing to their studies. The legislation makes perfect sense as it seeks to make more opportunities available to South African students.

The downside of that, however, is that if international students are going to be excluded from certain forms of employment offered by universities and technikons they are attending, then that is discrimination on the basis of their nationalities.

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This has the unfortunate effect of making university authorities appear to be hypocrites, who cannot live up to the rhetoric of their mission statements.

2.4.5 Perception of migration in South Africa

There is a perception among South Africans that legal immigrants are depriving locals of jobs and services while "illegal immigrants" supposedly corrupt officials, cause crime and take scarce resources from South Africa's poor(Crush and McDonald, 2001: 7). These perceptions have led to a pervasively high and deepening level of hostility and intolerance towards outsiders, and particularly Africans from elsewhere.

Dodson (2001:80) notes with respect to migration from neighboring countries particularly that this is being presented as a threat to the social and economic well-being of South Africa rather than seen as a means of reducing inequality through skills transfer and remittances. As many South Africans emphasize migrants taking scarce resources and jobs from local South Africans, they place themselves within the neo-Malthusian category of describing immigrant's impact in society. The neo-Malthusian view argues that every society has limited resources (of land and jobs) thus a large immigration is not in the interests of society (Hollifield, 2000).

According to Human Rights Watch as recorded by Astrid Marthisen in his thesis (2007) South African attitudes have in general become increasingly xenophobic. Politicians add to anti-foreigner feelings by making statements about the 'deluge' of migrants being responsible for crime, unemployment and spreading of disease.

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Further, since refugees often have linguistic, cultural and other differences making them more visible then other migrants, they are particularly targeted for abuse by South African citizens, the police, the army, and the Department of Home Affairs (Handmaker 2002:11, Rogerson 1997). Landau (2004) points to three areas where anti-immigrant sentiments are having visible consequences in that they result in a form of exclusion.

First, in terms of accessing work and studies, second when accessing public and private services such as education and health, and third when dealing with the police. The latter often resulting in repeated arrests with rough handling, verbal abuse and sometimes repatriation (Human Rights Watch 1998:5, Landau 2004:15-16).

Thus, although asylum seekers and refugees have a right to be in South Africa, they continue to meet xenophobic attitudes, to be excluded from social benefits and to be unable to make long-term commitments to business, people and or the space they inhabit.

2.5 Theoretical underpinnings

Liu (2004) noted that while the most violent instances of inter-group conflict in recent memory have all involved cultural groups, particularly those of ethnicity, nationality, and religion, theory and research on inter-group relations in psychology is largely culture free.

The most prominent theories, realistic group conflict theory and social identity theory provide profound insight into some of the universal causes of and resolutions to inter-group conflict (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

These theories converge on the conclusion that interpersonal behavior is qualitatively different from inter-group behavior. As we shall see, different cognitive, motivational, and social structures govern behavior in inter-group compared to interpersonal situations. Hopefully, these theories will shed some light in the explication and etiological bases of xenophobia and will endow with intervention strategies.

Mainstream social psychological theory furnishes an overall understanding of the processes involved in inter-group conflict, but falls short of explaining the psychological bases of protracted and difficult to resolve conflicts between ethnic and national groups, like those in Northern Ireland or Israel. In these cases, a "culture of conflict" has emerged (Bar-tal, 2000, 2001).

To understand such conflict and its resolution, social psychologists have developed ways to approach the operationalization of culture relevant to inter-group relations. One such approach is to study social representations of history, because such popular representations centre on inter-group conflict (Liu, 1999). The representations provide powerful arguments to legitimize the claims of one group against another group (e.g., for ownership of land, Liu, Wilson, McClure, & Higgins, 1999). They limit the ways in which groups can make favourable social comparisons against one another.

The feedback loop between representations of history, social identities, and public policies and commemorations creates a cultural background to understand inter-group conflict (Liu & Allen, 1999). This incorporates culture into the more universal approaches that are typical of traditional social psychology. Perhaps the most fundamental universals about inter-group conflict are expressed by realistic group conflict theory, so this is the best place to begin.

2.5.1 Realistic Group Conflict Theory

The realistic group conflict theory emerged in the 1960's out of an era when a more individual-level approach, authoritarian personality theory was dominant (Adorno et al, 1950). It carries the classic insight of social psychology, that it is the structure of the situation, not personal characteristics of the individual (or an aggregate of individuals) that determines human behavior (Sherif, 1966). According to the theory, inter-group conflict is caused by an incompatibility of goals regarding material resources. It is the struggle over such structural resources as land, oil, gold, and labour that is the source of inter-group conflict, not personal characteristics like a prejudiced personality.

Sherif et al's (1961) work at Robber's Cave was a seminal demonstration of detailed predictions of the theory. In the first, interpersonal phase of their field experiment, a small group of about 25 normal 11-12 year old boys interacted with one another in conditions of normal play. Then, in the second, intra-group group phase of the experiment, the boys were divided into two groups and allowed freedom to organize their activities.

Within each group a structure emerged, with some boys becoming leaders, and more central to the social network and decision making of the group than others. Each group developed its own norms for favored activities and places.

In the third, inter-group phase of the experiment, the two groups of boys were brought into contact with one another under competitive conditions involving mutually incompatible goals. The boys were pitted against one another in sporting competitions for prizes, and were brought into situations like a party where there was food enough only for one group, and one group was invited before the other one. One can imagine the feelings of the boys who arrived expecting a party only to find the other group having eaten all the food.

The third phase demonstrated some crucial results for realistic group conflict theory. It was predicted and found that behavioral structures change as a consequence of shifting from interpersonal to group to inter-group contact. Within group solidarity was at its peak when intergroup hostility was most severe. Friendships formed during the first, interpersonal phase did not survive the second and third phases of the experiment.

Sherif et al's (ibid) further asserted that interpersonal associations with members of the other group were no longer tolerated under conditions of inter-group conflict. Furthermore, the socio-metric preferences for boys (e.g., friendship choices) changed between the second and third phases. Tougher, more conflict oriented boys were preferred as leaders for conflict. One boy previously considered a bully became a hero.

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Another boy, who was a leader during the intra-group phase, lost his status when he refused to come out to confront the rival group of boys during a raid.

These effects showed that group behavior and structure becomes qualitatively different under conditions of involving inter-group conflict compared to an intra-group situation.

The entire structure of the group, from friendship to activity preferences changed as a consequence of the demands of the inter-group competition. In the fourth and final phase of the experiment, it was discovered that only a series of super-ordinate goals was able to reduce the inter-group conflict. These are goals that require the cooperation of both groups to achieve. Sherif and his colleagues engineered a series of crises that endangered the ability of the camp to continue, such as threatening the camp's water supply or having supply truck fall into a ditch. They organized the two groups of boys to work together to resolve the crises. For example, boys from the two groups worked together to search for the leak in the water supply, and both groups of were needed to pull the truck out of the ditch.

These super ordinate goals had the effect of pulling the two groups together, whereas such strategies as sermons by a priest, negotiations between leaders, and joint social activities were ineffective. Throughout the experiment, it was the structure of the situation that dictated behaviour rather than personal preferences. A resolution to conflict was obtained by addressing the conflict situation itself rather than using more interpersonal avenues like improving relationships between the leaders or other group members.

This solution was revolutionary, since the main theories about resolving interethnic conflict at the time were the contact hypothesis (see Allport, 1954) and the aforementioned authoritarian personality theory. In the contact hypothesis, equal status contact, enabling members of different groups to form friendships, is supposed to reduce inter-group tension.

The mixed results of the school desegregation program in the United States to improve race relations between Blacks and Whites (Cook, 1985; Gerard, 1988) showed that in real life, mere increased contact between groups is not enough to break down stereotypes and reduce tension. There is something qualitatively different about inter-group behavior that is more than the sum of individual relationships or personalities.

2.5.2 Social Identity Theory.

The powerful insights of realistic group conflict theory were elaborated on by social identity theory, which emerged in the 1970's and became by the 1990's the most important theory of intergroup relations in psychology.

While Sherif demonstrated that mutually incompatible goals are sufficient to create inter-group conflict, Tafel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament (1971) showed that this was not necessary. In the minimal group paradigm (Brewer, 1979), the only thing necessary to create prejudice and discrimination between groups is a relevant and salient self-categorization, or social identity. Just the awareness of belonging to a group that is different than another group is enough to create prejudice in favour of the in-group against the out-group.

In the minimal group paradigm, people who do not know one another and who are not allowed to interact with one another are brought into a lab. They are classified into two groups invented for the purpose of the experiment, like "dot under-estimators and dot over-estimators" or "Klee preferers or Kandinsky preferers". These "minimal groups" are fictional. In fact, membership in the group is randomly assigned, but subjects in the experiment believe they are relevant and valid.

This belief alone is sufficient to induce in-group favouritism when assigning rewards to people who are identified only by their group membership. Without any history of prior contact, without any knowledge of any other members of the group, without any meaning of the groups in society, without any knowledge about competence or relative status, subjects in the minimal group paradigm tend to allocate rewards in a way that maximizes the difference between the in-group and the out-group instead of dividing the rewards equally. So a person who believes that he or she is a "dot under-estimator" will give more money to another person whom they have never met before, but is identified also as a "dot under-estimator" compared to someone who is identified as a "dot over-estimator".

Subsequent research showed that this in-group favouritism effect applies primarily to rewards, and not punishments or subtracting resources (Brewer, 1979). That is, in the minimal groups paradigm the subjects favours other in-group members by giving them more rewards, but do not necessarily mean to derogate or punish out-group members (Mummendey et al., 1992). These startling results gave birth to social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

This theory details the cognitive-motivational bases to inter-group behaviour within persons, just as realistic group conflict theory details the structural bases for inter-group behaviour surrounding people.

According to social identity theory, and its successor self-categorization theory (Turner et al., 1987), each person has a range of self-definitions, some of them group memberships. To the extent that a person identifies with a group (that is, sees the group as a part of himself or herself), they are motivated to evaluate this group positively.

Social comparisons where the in-group is evaluated as superior to a relevant out-group are necessary to maintain group-based self-esteem. People favor the in-group over the out-group in the minimal group paradigm in order to establish a social order where the in-group is superior to the out-group.

Of course, in society, there is inequality between groups and it is not possible for every group to make a positive social comparisons. For instance, in the US it would be difficult for Blacks to make favorable social comparisons for their group on the dimension of wealth. The theory details several ways that group members will react to unfavourable social comparison.

If the negative social comparisons are considered to be legitimate and stable, and the boundaries between groups are impermeable, then the person will try social creativity strategies like changing the dimensions of comparison (e.g., they may be richer than us, but we are nicer than them).

These strategies make the person feel better without changing the actual conditions of the world. Or, if the boundaries are permeable, then the person will try to "pass" into the advantaged group. This is an individual mobility strategy. The individual tries to become a member of the advantaged group and leave behind his or her original group. In multicultural societies, such a strategy is called assimilation. Only when the negative social comparisons are considered to be both illegitimate and unstable (changeable) will a group engage in overt conflict to try to overturn the existing social order.

Liu (2004) further argued that Social identity theory is less optimistic than realistic group conflict theory about the prospects for world peace. Realistic group conflict theory implies that if there were enough resources for everyone, there should be no reason for war.

But social identity theory implies that the battle is not only for material resources, but for group-based esteem. Moreover, the only way to establish group-based esteem is by comparison to other groups. Social comparisons for inter-group superiority, rather than a struggle for materials resources, are seen as a second major basis for inter-group conflict.

The primary strategy for reducing inter-group conflict according to identity-based approaches is to attempt to change the basis for self-categorization to be more inclusive.

Interventions attempt to somehow incorporate out-group members into some level of identification with the self, be it as a super-ordinate category (e.g., "We are all Africans") or as two positively related groups under a super-ordinate (e.g., Local and non-local Blacks think of themselves as Africans, while at the same time as acknowledging themselves as ethnically different) (see Gaertner et al., 1993).

2.5.3 Cultures and conflict

Liu (2004) asserted that the study of inter-group relations in social psychology is centred in experimental or survey-based studies that do not conceptualize their prior history. Not surprisingly, the main attempt by social psychology to intervene in inter-group relations at a societal level (desegregation between Blacks and Whites in the U.S. based on the contact hypothesis) was not a big success. Cook as quoted by Liu (2004), in his review of the mixed results of school desegregation, argued that the theoretical conditions required for contact hypothesis to succeed (equal status contact in a supportive environment) were never met, but critics have pointed out that these preconditions were not realistic.

The historical experience of African Americans has been different than that of every other ethnic group in the United States. No other group was brought en masse as slaves, and no other group has endured the same degree of prejudice and discrimination against them. It is possible that the contact hypothesis was insufficient to overcome the long history of conflict and the associated power structures that maintain inequality between whites and blacks in the United States.

Owing to so many societal factors impact on real inter-group conflict between ethnic or national groups, social psychologists have struggled to conceptualize psychological variables that may intervene in these societal level processes. One promising avenue to incorporate societal level processes, and hence culture into the psychological study of inter-group conflict is to study social representations of history (Liu et al., 1999). Research on the content of popular representations of history across cultures (Liu, 1999; Liu et al., in press) has revealed that intergroup conflict is at the core of how people reconstruct the past.

In a cross-national study involving twelve cultures, Liu et al, (ibid). found that World War II was nominated as the most important event in world history, and that Hitler was nominated as the most influential (and negatively perceived) person in the last thousand years. Intergroup conflict constituted between 28-52% (mean=42%) of the total events nominated in the twelve samples, by far the largest category of events. In the specific histories of nations such as Singapore, Malaysia, New Zealand, Philippines, and Taiwan (Liu et al., 2002; Liu et al., 1999; Huang, Liu, & Chang, 2004), intergroup relations, especially conflict, was also the dominant theme.

Hence, if history is a summary of the wisdom and experience of past generations, then it is clear that the main lessons from history concern behavioural tendencies of other groups when it comes to conflict. This makes the position of some nations in international relations more difficult than others. Germany must behave more carefully than other nations when sending troops abroad, because their role in World War II during the Nazi period is well-remembered.

For example, Hilton et al (1996) found that independent of pocketbook variables, the willingness of British and French to enter into the European Union depended on how they perceived the causes of Germany's behaviour during the war. If it was due to character flaws rather than situational causes, they were less likely to want to join the European Union (EU), presumably because they did not trust the Germans. In general, "collective guilt" is increasingly becoming an important topic in the literature (see Doosje, Branscombe, Spears, Manstead, 1998). A more general analysis of the role of history in intergroup relations can be achieved by examining the structure and content of societal beliefs.

2.5.4 Dynamics between Representations, Collective Remembering, Identity, and Politics

The process through which an event enters into history is only now beginning to be understood (Pennebaker, Paez, & Rime, 1997). There appears to be a critical period between the ages of 15-25, where political events are particularly well remembered by individuals, but whether other generations share this memory depends on whether the event can be connected to current political issues relevant to society.

Every 20-30 years a society looks back into the past and engages in the reconstruction of events relevant to its current political interests (Igartua & Paez, 1997). For example, the Spanish Civil War (1936-39) was presented from the perspective of the victors for twenty years, but after General Franco (the victor) died in 1975, there appeared many movies from the perspective of the losers, questioning how the war affected the nation.

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As Spain was in the process of becoming more democratic after the authoritarian Franco regime, its current politics and identity dictated that it should attempt to reconstruct the past. South Africa was freed from apartheid government in 1994, when Nelson Mandela became the president of South Africa. There are many people who died fighting for freedom and are appreciated through different ritual in South Africa which marks the importance of past history. Hence, there is a feedback loop between representations of the past and the social identities of the here and now (Liu & Allen, 1999; Liu & Hilton, in press). As we have argued, social representations of history limit the ability of some groups to make positive social comparisons with others, and facilitate the ability of other groups to make arguments backed by the legitimacy of history. Political groups and leaders are well aware of this, and so immediately after an event occurs, the dominant group and leaders in power attempt to present their version of the events as authoritative (Igartua & Paez, 1997). They may attempt to forget an event entirely, or to present themselves positively. Sometimes, an event is so important as to warrant commemoration (Frijda, 1997). Such collective remembering is an attempt to establish a consensus about the past, and mark it as a part of present identity.

But not all groups may participate in such commemoration (Devine-Wright, 2001). Over time, the political agenda of the present may change; different groups could become dominant, and then an attempt will be made to reconstruct the past. Representations bear the imprint of these political processes of collective remembering. It will be up to future research to establish the causal links more clearly.

In summary, the psychological study of collective remembering and social representations of history is only in its infancy, but societal belief structures and generational processes appear to be important tools in developing a cultural perspective on intergroup relations in psychology. Universal processes of intergroup relations and social identity are constrained by societal belief structures, which in turn are responsive to the identity and generational processes involved in collective remembering.

At present, it is too early to speculate about whether this approach can bring new solutions to perennial problems of intergroup relations. Most of the work that has been done is more descriptive than prescriptive. But the process of constructing and reconstructing consensus about history appears to be an important tool to locate social psychological research into the specific contexts where they can be most profitably applied.

2.6 Resumé

It is evident from the literature reviewed that the issue of xenophobia is not a new issue and is not only facing South Africa. Although, a lot has been protested about xenophobia, it is apparent that not a lot has been done about it in the South African context.

For an example, government, departments, institutions and other officials seem to have voiced their concerned and condemnation of xenophobia, but that appears to be their ceiling. Furthermore it is clear that there is a shortage of theory that seeks to offer important insights into xenophobia.

For example, social psychology has tried to bring insight into factors that can lead to xenophobia but there are still gaps that need to be filled-up; such as they do not properly account for why the (Black) foreigner. However, they do pose as a first towards understanding and intervening strategies of social conflicts including xenophobia.

When immigrants come to South Africa, many of them find themselves in a bewildering state of strangeness and ignorance with regard to language, traditions and other ways of the South African society. In spite of that, they have to contend with South Africans, especially Black South Africans some of whom have a hardened and unaccommodating attitude towards African immigrants and make life unbearable for many of them. South African tertiary institutions form a crucial facet of the country; it is where professors, doctors and leaders, businessmen, etc. are produced. Similarly, such institutions cater for black non-South African students. Does this pose a challenge for non-South African Students or not? What do non-South African students experience as the minority in South African tertiary institutions?

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The researcher reviewed a number of literatures as stated in the previous chapter to understand the concept under investigation. This chapter outlines the research design used by the researcher to collect data. Research design is a plan according to which data are collected to investigate the research hypothesis or question in the most economical manner (Huysamen, 2001). The chapter indicates how data were collected and considers methods, procedures and instruments used in the study.

3.2 Research Design

Keen (1975) stated that the goal of every research is to help the phenomenon under investigation to reveal itself more completely than it does in ordinary experience. This implies that the phenomenon has several layers of meaning that one can explore. To achieve this aim the methodology chosen was the empirical phenomenology method as described by Giorgi (1985). This method is considered suitable because it seeks the true nature of reality by setting aside all theory and preconception and going back to life as it is actually perceived and experienced (Valle & Halling, 1989).

The research objective of the study was to investigate the meaning and experiences of xenophobia at the University of Zululand, thereby requiring a form of methodology and design. According to Fow (1996) 'experimental methods which depend upon operational definitions, quantification and measurement may not be suited to the study of certain phenomena'....xenophobia may be one such phenomenon.

This is due to the fact that traditional descriptions disregard xenophobia from its different context by providing narrow definitions of xenophobia rather than its intricate and complex meaning. Although numerous papers and literature provide a broad insight of xenophobia, a fundamental understanding of the meaning and experiences is not provided. Therefore, phenomenological investigation was employed to extract the meaning, experiences and to enhance the understanding of xenophobia from the South African context by both national and international citizens.

This research used a probability sampling method for the relevant elements. The researcher decided to use a stratified random sampling which is a method that could be considered as a probability equivalent to quota sampling (Bless & Higson-Smith, 1995).
The purpose here was to draw a sample that has the same proportions of characteristics as the whole population.

3.3 Methodological Orientation

The phenomenological method gives priority to the phenomena under study, rather than secondary established methods. Instead of reducing or limiting a phenomenon to the basics, the world as well as the individual are included thereby ensuring no meaning is lost (Stones, 1986). Phenomenology studies explain how participants express what they experience, and this is determined by only how the participants have experienced the phenomena, where no objective reality is assumed.

Yet this method assumes that a commonality or commonalities are found in shared experiences. Phenomenology, therefore, seeks to describe these commonalities, without referring to secondary methods or assuming an objective reality.

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Instead it endeavours to bracket or put aside any preconceived ideas and attitudes, allowing commonalities in experiences to be revealed and described (Ashworth, 1996).

The operative word in the Phenomenological method is 'describe', rather than explain, as this method attempts to describe experiences in their purest form, without contaminating them by attempting to force their findings into predetermined categories or theory(Kruger, 1979). Polkinghorne(1989), as cited in Vaille and Halling (1989) aptly describes what this method endeavours to achieve: 'Instead of studying the body as an organic object, it studies the experiences people have of their bodies.'

Terre Blanche and Kelly (1999) place Phenomenology under the umbrella of interpretive analysis. Terre Blanche and Durrheim (1999) describe interpretive analysis as an approach that 'tries to harness and extend the power of ordinary language and expression, developed over thousands of years, to help us better understand the social world.' Kelly (1999), writes that this method is not 'a mechanical process', but one of enquiry, where there are set rules, only guidelines.

The Phenomenological method does not aim to draw inferences from a sample and apply them to a population, nor does it attempt to describe the characteristics of a group. Instead, this method attempts to describe the structures of an experience.

Further, it seeks to describe subject's meanings, instead of just actions or behaviours. Polkinghorne (1989) states that the aim of Phenomenology is to 'reveal and unravel the structures, logic, and interrelationships that obtain in the phenomena under inspection.' It seems that Phenomenology does not emphasis generalizability, but rather focuses on the quality of experiences (Kruger, 1979).

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Validity and reliability of findings are of concern to most researchers. Kruger (1979) requires procedures to be made overt in order for other researchers to replicate the research if so desired. It appears that Kruger (1979) addresses the question of reliability and validity of this method by emphasizing the importance of the reappearance of various themes, rather than reliability and validity depending upon reliability only.

According to Polkinghorne (1989), the degree of validity is found in the degree to which the research is able to convince the reader of the accuracy of the findings. In addition to readers feeling convinced by the presentation, those readers who have experienced the phenomena must agree that the findings corresponds with their experiences. Therefore, for research findings to be considered to be valid and reliable, they must provide an accurate representation of common features and structures as found in other research and in peoples experiences.

3.4 Procedure

3.4.1 Recorded Interviews

Kruger (1988) notes three advantages of recorded interviews as a method of data collection: Firstly, they are more spontaneous than written reports; secondly, they allow feedback and clarification of confusing data; and finally, they allow the participant to remain as near as possible to their lived-experienced. Interviews were conducted at a location where the participant felt most comfortable. A qualitative interview method (Silverman, 2000) aimed at gathering descriptions of the life world of the participants with respect to their meaning and experiences of xenophobia were applied.

At the start of the interview the researcher asked a general yet crucial opening question about the meaning of xenophobia according to the understanding of the participant, designed to allow the participants to speak uninterruptedly about their experience.

Subsequent questions were more specific in order to reveal the underlying experience of xenophobia for the participant. The pre-designed follow up questions were used as a flexible guideline and were informed by literature. These questions were asked only after the participant had completed a full account of his or her own story. Information from these questions was found to compliment and enrich the information from the participant's story rather than contradict it. Interviews were recorded and transcribed for analysis with consent from the participants. The questions that were directed to participant were as follows:

1. How would you define xenophobia?

The main focus of this question was to sift the participants own definition of xenophobia. However, there were also other motives underlying the question; for example, to ascertain that the participant had an idea of the term and to act as a guide for the rest of the questions.

2. What does it mean to you to be in a foreign country?

The main purpose for this question was to extract the meaning that the participant conceived prior and during their stay in South Africa. This question was asked considering the ideology that when exploring a new environment with or without previous knowledge, one has expectations. Further than that, the environment itself can pose new challenges that compels one to respond differently to survive.

3. Describe your experiences of being in a foreign country?

This question allowed participants to articulate their unique personal experiences in a foreign country, especially South Africa. The question further allowed the researcher to collect unique data on experiences of xenophobia form non-South African students in a tertiary institution.

3.3.2 Data Analysis

The method that was used to analyze data was the Natural Meaning Units (N.M.U's) describe by Valle and Halling (1989) as a statement made by the subject who is self-definable and self-delimiting in expression of a single, recognizable aspect of the subject's experience.
Each of the N.M.U's was then to be clustered into common categories or themes, removing the overlapping and repetitive statements. These clusters are to be used in developing the textual descriptions of the experience. This method involves the following essential steps:

3.4.2.1 Initial Reading of the Transcription

The raw data was read in depth so as to form a good conception of what was said by the participants. The description was also read while simultaneously listening to the recording in order to recapture the emotional tone and verbal expression.

3.4.2.2 Extraction of Meaning Units

The researcher then read through the text with the specific aim of identifying discrete meaning units and breaking up the transcription into these natural meaning units. The data was then broken into separate parts based on the meaning discriminations. These parts are known as Natural Meaning Units (N.M.U's).

These meaning or Units were discriminated according to changes in meaning, which were perceived by the researcher and with the focus on the phenomena being studied. Each meaning was distinguished from the text according to certain criteria. The criteria included whether the unit had the meaning in isolation from the surrounding text and had unique relevance to the phenomena under investigation.

3.4.2.3 Stating of transformed Meaning Units into a Coherent Description

The researcher then restated the transformed meaning units according to common themes and located them so that they reflected the pattern of the participant's meaning and experience over time, similar to a case study. Data irrelevant to the topic of investigation and repetitive data were excluded. The researcher then synthesized the regrouped transformed meaning units into a consistent description of the meaning and the experience of xenophobia.

3.5 Sampling

The sample of the study was derived from the population of the University of Zululand. The targeted group of participants comprised Black African international students. It is important to note that the researcher intended to use 15 participants initially. However; the researcher managed to secure 10 participants that were willing to participate in this investigation. The actual collection of the data occurred during the last quarter of the year, therefore; most students were very busy preparing for their final examinations.

So, the researcher used a diverse sample of 10 participants. Participants consisted of five (5) female students, and five (5) male students.

how the data was to be recorded, stored and processed. The personal identity of participants remained anonymous. In addition, the researcher asked participants information pertaining strictly to the subject of study in order to preserve privacy.

Due to the nature of the research topic, participants may have been particularly sensitive to some of the issues. Traumatic memories and feelings may have been elicited during the research interview. The possibility of this sensitivity was made clear to participants prior to the commencement of the interview. The researcher also offered to facilitate referral to appropriate support structures should the need arise.

3.8 Resumé

Phenomenology, as with all qualitative research is about 'attempting to enhance understanding of the social world by helping to reveal the multifaceted nature of social reality by not providing pre-described reality or specifications, but things that were not considered are given a chance to be discovered' (Ban Giorgi, 1994). One of the focus features of this research is to document xenophobic experiences of non-national students at the University of Zululand so that appropriate action may be taken to ameliorate their state.

The third and final step in Vaille and Hullug's (1989) suggested format is to produce a research report that gives an accurate, clear and articulate description of an experience. Hopefully this research will meet this requirement. This chapter has shown the research process that this research study used. It has included the methodological orientation, sampling design as well as data collection and steps of analysis.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION AND DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

Research design and methodology were closely analyzed in chapter three and the following were some of the aspects that were clearly outlined: sampling design, data collection, the research instruments and administration thereof as well as analysis of the data collected. This chapter presents the analysis of data obtained from respondents of this study and this will help the researcher to assess and evaluate findings to arrive at conclusions. The above will be archived through thematic findings of this study as mentioned in chapter three. These findings are interpreted, discussed and contextualized in relation to the research questions and reviewed literature in chapter five.

4.2 Characteristics of the sample

Basic demographic data about the speakers and the texts is given in Table 1 (page 27). The purpose of this profile is to introduce the speakers in the texts to the study, rather than to add potential meaning of gender, age and ethnicity to the texts (Silverman, 2001). This is obviously not to suggest that these features are unimportant to qualitative research in general. Willig (2001) argues that the routine provision of demographic data about speakers is not always appropriated for studies concerned with how particular social realities- of which gender, race and culture may be examples are socially constructed or described. She highlights the socially generated meanings of these categories and suggests that if they are used in a study without sound theoretical purpose, they are a further way of constructing and re-constructing discursive identities (Willig, 2001). The focus of this study is not on manifesting the intentions of individual speakers, but with the meaning and experiences of xenophobia by internationals in their own individual peculiar way.

Table 1: Data about speakers and the episodes of interaction

Transcript Number	Duration of interview	Client speakers (Ages range between 19 and 50 years)
1	14 minutes	Female
2	36 minutes	Male
3	8 minutes	Female
4	10 minutes	Female
5	38 minutes	Male
6	15 minutes	Female
7	20 minutes	Male
8	25 minutes	Male
9	24 minutes	Male
10	19 minutes	Female

4.3 Key Themes

As mentioned in chapter three, key themes were identified upon close examination of the qualitative data gathered from respondents. There were numerous themes sifted from the responses of the participants. The themes that emerged as the key ones or were mentioned many times by different participants and are stated overleaf under each an every open ended question as posed to the participants by the researcher.

Key themes identified from responses to open ended questions 1

Table 2: How would you define xenophobia?

No.	Themes	Illustrations
1	negative attitude	One of the aspects mentioned by most if not all was that of negative attitude. Xenophobia means negativistic behavior directed to the arrivals or asylum seekers. The following excerpts evidenced the meaning of negative attitude as expressed by participants: "I think its got something to do with the reaction say in this case, it will be the reaction that South African have towards foreign people, its like attitude and its got, very often it would be a negative attitude." "It is the fear of foreigners; it can be fear, dislike, and negative attitude towards foreigners by fellow citizens."
2	dislike	Many participants felt that dislike can not be excluded from the meaning of xenophobia. This was further identified by others as a deep hatred for foreigners without any tangible reason. Below are some of the excerpts asserted by the participants: "It is the fear of foreigners; it can be fear, dislike, and negative attitude towards foreigners by fellow citizens.

		How the negative perception that local, people living in the country have against people from another country".
		"Xenophobia is dislike of a person due to different ideas or thinking about a person".
3	fear	Another one of the features mentioned by some participants was fear. Most of the mentioned placed fear as originating from nationals towards. Therefore they saw it one of the greatest portion of the meaning of xenophobia. This is supported by the following excerpts as articulated by participants: "Phobia in any way is a fear towards those people, which I mean you can't blame people; I think a lot of it comes out of lack of understanding of the other person's perspective, culture, where they are coming from." "It is the fear of foreigners; it can be fear, dislike, and negative attitude towards foreigners by fellow citizens."
4	difference	Some participants linked the meaning of xenophobia to 'difference.' They asserted that the locals are allergic to anything or anyone that is different or brings different ways of doing things which then gives birth to hatred and fear of strangers or foreigners. Examples of the excerpts stating this are as follows: "Basically they could either hate you or like you but the thing is, they like you or hate you because of the difference."

		"Xenophobia is dislike of a person due to different ideas or thinking about a person."
5	exclusion	Other participants pointed exclusion as the earmark of the meaning of xenophobia. Exclusion was viewed by many participants as exercised by almost every level of operation that inhabitant country. For instance, government departments refusing to employ foreigners to the level of community chasing away or marginalising foreigners. This was raised by participants as follows: "Xenophobia is when people from another country discriminate other people from foreign country." "-develops that something unconscious and after that they become uncomfortable and then now they become unwelcoming and that brings an onset on 'xeno."
6	unappreciative	This refers to the claim that many internationals are not appreciated for the input they have in the country as explained by some participants. Many participants raised this theme as shown by the following excerpts: "xenophobia is dislike for a person due to different ideas or thinking about a person" "-when he sees or receives somebody that he does not acknowledge, or all the time he/she retreats to the unknown."

		"South African disrespect me just because I am a foreigner"
7	maltreatment	This refers to the maltreatment of foreigners by the locals. For an example, assaults of foreigners that took place in South Africa in May 2008 and others that can be considered less severe. The following excerpts express which the participants said: "They ill treat me probably or they just don't like me because of the mere fact that I am from another country." "Xenophobia is when people of a different calibre, they may be different nationality or different gender or different age group treat you otherwise."

Key themes identified from responses to open ended questions 2

Table 3: What does it mean to you to be in a foreign country?

No.	Themes	Illustrations
1	Learning	Most of the participants if not all of them mentioned that they perceived coming to a foreign country as a learning process. They took it as an exploratory journey of new and different environment which amplify they mental capacity.
2	Hardship	The theme of hardship appeared from many participants. They mentioned the challenges they face day after day, in and out of the University. They mentioned having heard about some of the challenges they experience; For example, Zulus are aggressive, crime rate is very high, etc.
3	Adjusting/ Adapting	Most participants mentioned adjustment as one of the challenges they would have to face or are facing in South Africa. They believed that this is due to the fact that people in a foreign country do things differently compared to their own ways emanating from their country of origin.
4	Change	Other participants also felt that change could not be excluded as they have joined the new country. They stipulated factors like culture and language that compelled them to change so that they could easily fit in.
5	Discrimination	Discrimination was one of the aspects that were mentioned by many participants. This was informed by the fact that they are different and alienated in most activities because of their foreignness.
6	Difference	For some participants, it also meant different behavior, meeting different people and applying different life approach. Briefly; it meant a whole new different life experience.

7	Achievement	It also meant achievement for other participants as they mentioned the all the benefits, experience and the warm feeling of travelling to a whole new environment or country.

Key themes identified from responses to open ended questions 3

Table 4: Describe your experiences of being in a foreign country?

No.	Themes	Illustrations
	Language barrier	All of the participants mentioned the theme of language as a barrier especially at the University of Zululand. They mentioned that, everyone speaks Zulu even other lecturers. Each an every participant shared their own personal difficulty concerning language; see the appendix for more details.
20	Discriminated	Discrimination was one of the popular themes that kept emerging from the participant's individual expression. Local people were described by most international students as not accommodative and suffering from 'Alien Phobia' the term coined by one of the participants.
21	Aggression	Most of them if not all mentioned having experienced some form of aggression. For most of them aggression ranged for Local students to office personnel of the University. They further defined this aggression directed to them as inhumanity of South African people.
26	negative attitude	Many participants also revealed that most South African students have negative attitudes towards them. Some participants attributed this negative attitude to 'psychological timidness' because it has no basis.
28	Abused	The theme of abuse also emerged from the participants. The form of abuse the international students receive almost everyday is verbal abuse. They experience verbal abuse from official personnel of the University and local Students. Further details will follow in the discussion of the findings.

4.4 Discussion of qualitative results

Xenophobia is a broad and multifaceted concept that can be explored and discussed in different perspectives. Furthermore, it is evident that it generated many ideas, thoughts, questions and suggestions that can be handled as findings.

However, for the purpose of this study, the discussion of findings will examine the key themes that were identified. The meaning and the experience of the international students will be sifted from the thematic findings that emerged throughout the study.

4.4.1 Emerging key themes

The themes, as tabulated above will be discussed further with reference to examples and links to them.

4.4.1.1 Defining Xenophobia

a) Negative attitude

The negative attitude proved to be a central theme among many participants having received some form of unpleasant attitude directed to them. This negative attitude has proved to be the most important element in the definition of xenophobia. The negative attitude that the no-South African student experience is not only limited to students, but also from the officials of the University.

This concurs with the Zimbabweans that were interviewed by Sunday Tribune (May 18, 2008) as they said that the prejudice they had experienced was not confined to poor people battling to make ends meet, but even came from educated Black South

Africans. Examples of some statements uttered by international students as they were trying to articulate on the negative attitude are as follows:

"I think it's got something to do with the reaction say, in this case, it will be the reaction that South African have towards foreign people, its like attitude and its got, very often it would be a negative attitude."

"It is the fear of foreigners; it can be fear, dislike, and a negative attitude towards foreigners by fellow citizens."

Although, the Cambridge Advanced Learners Dictionary (2005) does not incorporate the element of negative attitude in its definition of xenophobia; Tshitereke as cited by Hook and Eagle (2002) concurs with the non-South African students as they mentioned that xenophobia is characterized by a negative attitude in their definition. This is further confirmed by the Survey carried out by Southern African Migration Project (2001, 2004) which illustrated that South African attitudes towards foreigners are currently very negative.

b) Dislike

Many participants felt that dislike can not be excluded from the meaning of xenophobia. This was further identified by others as a deep hatred for foreigners without any tangible reason which concurs with Procter, Ilson and Ayto (1978:1605), as they indicated that the word xenophobia means 'unreasonable pathological dislike of foreigners or strangers.' Some participants qualified it as hatred directed to them for their Black foreignness.

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Palmary's (2004:66) study found that the Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department tended to treat foreigners as criminals. Dislike for foreigners has been displayed by South Africans in all aspects of life. Similarly, non-South African students attributed dislike not as limited to students, but also to the officials of the University and other walks of life. The participants mentioned the following:

"It is the fear of foreigners; it can be fear, dislike, and negative attitude towards foreigners by fellow citizens. How the negative perception that local, people living in the country have against people from another country."

"Xenophobia is dislike for a person due to different ideas or thinking about a person."

Crouther (1995:1041) and Plaut (1991:22) qualified xenophobia as an intense dislike of strangers and as old as humanity. Does this mean we are born with resentment for foreigners? If so, then why only Black African foreigners?

c) Fear

One of the features mentioned by some participants was fear. According to the participants fear is always directed to the foreigners by local people. Most participants were able to extract the term 'phobia' from xenophobia as meaning fear which concurs with, Ilson and Ayto (1978:1605) as they indicated that phobia means fear. Therefore they saw it one of the greatest part of the meaning of xenophobia. Hook and Eagle (2002) coincide with international students as they stated fear as one of the characteristics of xenophobia. This is confirmed by the following excerpts as articulated by participants:

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"Phobia in any way is a fear towards those people, which I mean you can't blame people; I think a lot of it comes out of lack of understanding of the other person's perspective, culture, where they are coming from."

"It is the fear of foreigners; it can be fear, dislike, and negative attitude towards foreigners by fellow citizens."

"It means the way people react because of fear of strangers."

The American Psychiatric Association's Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, 4th edition ("DSM-IV") includes in its description of a phobia an "intense anxiety" which follows exposure to the "object of the phobia, either in real life or via imagination or video..."Xenophobia has two main aspects of the phobia. The first is a population group present within a society, which is not considered part of that society. One may ask; why South Africans or are local people scared of foreigners or strangers? Is it because they pose a challenge academically and in employment prospects as other writers would claim? Is it because they 'snatch' away women and other opportunities, etc? Or, are we lazy to study and work therefore, seek scapegoats for our laziness? Hopefully a true South African with a spirit of Ubuntu (humanity) can reminisce on these questions and discover truthful answers.

d) Difference

Some participants linked the meaning of xenophobia to 'difference'. They asserted that the locals are allergic to anything or anyone that is different or brings different ways of doing things which then results to hatred and fear for strangers or foreigners. In other words, locals are threatened or resist 'difference'.

This may suggest that locals would not fear, hate or dislike foreigners if foreigners were in no way different from the locals. In the minimal group paradigm (Brewer, 1979), asserted that the only thing necessary to create prejudice and discrimination between groups is a relevant and salient self-categorization, or social identity. The awareness of belonging to a group that is different than another group is enough to create prejudice in favour of the in-group against the out-group.

The above statement also concurs with the statement stipulated in chapter one (introduction), which states that strangers have always represented a danger-laden intrusion into well-structured societies, whether tribe or nation. Therefore, international students also felt that this is a crucial element whenever xenophobia is defined. Examples of the excerpts stating this are as follows:

"Basically they could either hate you or like you but the thing is, they like you or hate you because of the difference."

"Xenophobia is dislike of a person due to different ideas or thinking about a person."

e) Exclusion

Other participants pointed exclusion as the earmark of the meaning of xenophobia. Exclusion was viewed by many participants as exercised at almost every level of operation in a host country. For example, in government departments; (refusing to employ foreigners), community (chasing away or marginalizing foreigners).

Exclusion can also be used interchangeably with discrimination, meaning that there are activities or avenues that foreigners cannot access because they are non-South Africans. For example, in chapter two Mnyaka (2003) reported on a scenario of a school principal that was asked by certain local parents to exclude foreign children.

Foreigners are discriminated by government in many ways too. For example, the policy of the country gives priority to South African citizens for an employment.

In universities, students are not financially supported by government funds. This may also suggest the reason Lesotho is removing their students from South Africa as Mjadu (2009) stipulated in chapter two. Exclusion, therefore, becomes fundamental in the definition of xenophobia as suggested by international students. The following excerpts are some of the examples of the international assertions:

"Xenophobia is when people from another country discriminate other people in some of the facilities in a host country."

"-develops that something unconscious and after that they become uncomfortable and then now they become unwelcoming and that brings an onset on 'xeno."

f) Unappreciative

This refers to the claim that many internationals are not appreciated for the input they have in the country as explained by some participants. Many participants raised this theme of the unappreciative nature of the locals for encompassing internationals in their country.

One of the participants asserted that many departments at the University of Zululand are headed by foreigners, such as Library Information Science, Hospitality Management Department, etc.

There are numerous positive contributions that foreigners have added in the country but, none has been written or applauded by personnel involved. It seems as if the only time that people are informed about foreigners is when they were involved in a crime scene. Many articles and news reporting on foreigners are mostly associated with evasiveness and nothing positive. It is asserted in chapter two that in Johannesburg, foreigners were treated by Metro police as criminals (Palmary's, 2004:66).

Foreign students stated the following:

"Xenophobia is dislike of a person due to different ideas or thinking about a person"

"When a South African sees or receives somebody that he does not acknowledge, or all the time he or she retreats to the unknown."

"South African disrespect me just because I am a foreigner"

g) Maltreatment

This refers to the mistreatment of foreigners by locals. For an example, assaults of foreigners that took place in South Africa in May 2008 and others that can be considered less severe. Although, there has never been a physical assault of foreigners at the University of Zululand, but verbal assault was reported by many participants. Thus, they consider maltreatment as

one aspect not to exclude in the definition of xenophobia. Reitzes and Bam (1996:19) stated that the abuse of illegal immigrants by South African employers is rife because they have no legal rights and protection. However, does this mean that being a legal immigrant guarantees legal rights and protection?

It would be difficult to respond positively because figure 1 in chapter two is an illustration of a police man stopping a foreigner on the basis of appearance and asking for evidence of the foreigner's status.

There are several scenarios stated in chapter two about people who should be protecting foreigners but do the opposite. The question may be: do the University officials mistreat international students? The answer will be discovered from the answers for the question on experiences. Therefore, this was the last key theme internationals considered to include in their definition of xenophobia.

The following excerpts express which the participants said:
"They ill-treat me probably or they just don't like me because of the mere fact that I am from another country."

"Xenophobia is when people of a different calibre, may be of different nationality or different gender or different age group treat you otherwise."

4.4.1.2 What it means to be in a foreign country?

a) Learning

Most of the participants if not all of them mentioned that they perceived coming to a foreign country as a learning process. Learning is any relatively permanent change in behavior, thoughts or feelings of an organism as a consequence of prior experience. They took it as an exploratory journey of new and different environment, which amplify their mental capacity and bring about change in their behavior thoughts and feelings.

The former Minister of Education Prof. Kader Asmal felt according to SAPA (March 13, 2001) that about 10 percent of students at South African universities and technikons should originate from South African Development Community (SADC). He was of the opinion that this would help cultivate an interest in universities. It was vital for peace and prosperity of those countries for these students to share South Africa experience.

The following statements were extracted from the international responses:
'Before I came to South Africa, I've been to another country like Mauritius; the acceptance of me in Mauritius was really very nice. Then I thought like for me going to South Africa for studying for three years, it would be the same, only to find that to be in South Africa was totally different from what I had thought before.'

'The first meaning is exploring the unknown; it same as going to your friend's place, because then you are able to compare what you have and what you don't have.'

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'When you go in a foreign country, you meet different people, some like you and some do not like you, but what is more interesting is to see what the similarities and what you see and say in common, sometimes very interesting and sometimes it is very disappointing.'

'Positively, I have learnt a lot, according to the culture, my culture is totally different with the Zulu culture with South African culture, because you've got a lot of culture, Zulu, Venda, Shangaan, etc. So to know how Zulu do their stuff, like culture, traditional one is one of the advantage e.g. to dress half naked.'

It is interesting to discover that people come expecting to achieve a lot from South Africa but due to the unwelcoming and unaccommodative nature of South Africans, they struggle to reach their desired end. There are numerous positive reasons that attract students from other African countries besides those threats of South Africans, such as stealing of jobs, women, limited resources, etc. For an example, Understanding other people's way of life, exploring the unknown, comparing that which has been brought to your knowledge by the hosting country with that your already know from your country of origin, checking similarities and commonness, broadening your mind set, acquiring new skills, new ideas, new social interactions, new perceptions(political) and etc. If South Africans were aware of this calibre, would they consider being accommodative to African foreigners? The assumption could be that, the first step would be to encourage South Africans to travel to these countries and experience the accommodative nature practiced offered to them. One of the participants highlighted that Black South Africans do not travel 'You find that a person was born, groomed, studied, graduated, married and built a home in KwaZulu'. This does not suggest that travelling would eliminate negative attitude towards Black foreigners, but it might reduce this tension or a research needs to be conducted to affirm this speculation.

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b) Hardship

Hardship was the second theme that appeared from most of international responses. Most of the participants mentioned that they understood that coming to South African would be a big challenge. They emphasized that they had heard about the maltreatment of African foreigners by South Africans from different outlets, such as media, news papers, etc. Therefore, they were conscious that surviving in South Africa would be a steep hill or very difficult. Many participants reported having to deal with their fears for a long time. Other reported that anxiety feeling from their arrival in South Africa emanating from the stories they had been told from their country of origin. The excerpts form the participants follow:

'When I got here it was hard because people made you that you don't belong here no matter how hard you try to be part and parcel but they would really make you feel, the way you talking don't sound like you are from here but then I think that was the challenge.'

'In general what I want say is that the attitude even from the local, it was very hurting'

'All people speak in Zulu, even in town they say we to have to speak Zulu. Then you'll find that you take a taxi from University to Empangeni, the way of paying money is different from what we did in our country'.

'You'll find that even in class, students can't even speak with you.'

Most people leave school at the age of 18 or 19 years, ready to enrol at a tertiary institution. With many it coincides with a move away from home, family and trusted friends for the first

time- a time when many not leave behind the security and familiarity of family life, but also the support of well-known teachers and friends and community at large. This is also the age at which you have to learn to stand on your own feet, to take responsibility for your own actions, plan your own future and to ensure that you reach the goals you set for yourself. Apart from this, one has to deal effectively with the course they enrolled for at the tertiary institution. Does this sound too much for a South African young adult that just entered tertiary institution? Probably, the answer can be to some extent be extracted between the number of students enrolled and the number of students graduated.

If there is a big difference between the two numbers, then the answer is yes. Of course, there are many causes entangled to the above but the non-Nationals are not excluded to those aetiologies. Now, one can imagine the hardship that the international students deal with every day perpetuated by a South African (student or staff member).

d) Adjustment

Most participants mentioned adjustment as one of the challenges they would have to face or are facing in South Africa. Students often experience adjustment problems such as establishing identity and independence, specifically in a multicultural environment. Relationship problems, stress anxiety, mainly caused by fear of failure, depression, developing purpose and integrity, which includes motivation and self discipline were also mentioned as adjustment challenges that students asserted. Adjustment, therefore, does appear to be one important issue that each and every student is bound to countenance.

Most participants revealed having to adjust to a new culture, behavior, and economic demands. The above terms may sound easy as stated above but they have a bearing effect in a number of students. Are universities doing enough to address or to prevent the occurrence of such encounters? Is it possible for the university to address such issues while the officials

themselves may also be abusive to foreign students? Participants reported the following in their own words:

'It means adjusting to a lot of changes, like language, where I come from we have only two languages (English and siSwati).'

'This experience is also found with staff members, they force you to speak Zulu and sometimes when you want something from the management and you are not Zulu, its not easy for you to get it.'

'But after sometime I realized that I just had to adapt understand them and the more I try to understand them the more I realized that the more I was accepted and now I don't feel like I'm away from home.'

e) Change

Other participants also felt that change can not be excluded as they have joining a new country. They stipulated factors like culture and language that compelled them to change so that they could easily adapt. Change complements adjustment because it means to become different. For instance, when a Zambian comes to South Africa, for him or her to adjust in South Africa he or she has to do as South Africans do. This does not necessary imply holistic change, but it means that one would have to adopt new ways of doing or thinking about most of the things. Change also means stopping having one state, position or direction and start having another (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 2005). It is apparent from the above that change is not a simple process for most people because it compels a person to abandon their usual, normal ways of behavior to adopt a new foreign ways of behavior. However, if a

person is successful in changing to new life style then adjustment becomes easy. Some of the excerpts from the participants are stated below:

'But coming to Zululand, was different because there is a language barrier and from there I have observed that there are also some behavioral differences.'

'Firstly; you'll be far from your family, from the people you love, then you go to the other people, you don't know how they look like, you don't know their culture, you don't know anything about those people, especially language and the way they behave.'

f) Discrimination

Discrimination was one of the aspects that were mentioned by other participants. Discrimination can be briefly defined as behavior directed toward individuals on the basis of their membership in a particular group. Discrimination can lead to exclusion from jobs, neighbourhoods, and educational opportunities. Some participants reported having to deal with prejudice, which is a negative or positive evaluation of a particular group and its members. Although, international students are not subsidised by the government of South Africa, Ramphele (1999) attested that South African students feel deprived and invoke their citizenship or South Africanness in the face of competition from foreign students who compete for local resources in order to make ends meet. They stress the foreignness of their competitors and seek to remove them from the equation. They even blame their deprivation on "foreign" students who do not belong.

The above statements raise a big argument. Firstly about the policies that were passed by the Department of Home Affairs, together with the government which are perceived by international students as discriminatory and xenophobic. For an example, In August 2006 an amendment to the Employment Equity Regulations added the qualification that designated groups had to meet citizenship requirements. The Skills Development Act, 1998 and the associated skills development levy on employers apply only to the South African labour force. Secondly, this disapproves the accusation that foreigners are limiting or abusing South African resources. Thirdly, South Africans are the priority for the job posts but yet foreigners are accused of depriving jobs. It seems as if the South African government has tried to accommodate South Africans in many ways including discriminating foreigners, but still foreigners are held responsible for the failure of the country.

In a pilot study that was conducted by the European Monitoring centre on Racism and Xenophobia (May, 2006) it found that slightly less than every fourth respondent claimed to have experienced incidents of discrimination at educational facilities and more than fourth of respondents felt that they had been subject to discriminatory treatment by the police in the last year. Probably, Hook and Eagle (2002) may be right as they state that South Africans use foreigners as a 'scapegoats.'

This theme emanated from some of the following excerpts:
'When I got here it was hard because people made you that you don't belong here no matter how hard you try to be part and parcel, but they would really make you feel, the way you talking don't sound like you from here but then I think that was the challenge.'

'To be a foreigner you have to be strong because I don't belong in South Africa and I've grown to criticism in countries and I believe it's normal because whatever go something can happen.'

g) Difference

For some participants, moving to another country also meant different behavior, meeting different people and applying a different life approach. It is apparent that participants were aware of the diversity that exists in South Africa. One may ask where these differences come from. Our differences are found in both our nature (genetic predisposition) and our nurture (upbringing, schooling, socialization, environment and culture) and how they both interact (van Heerden, 2005).

Our behavior is due to the complex interaction of our personality, our cultural values and our norms. Therefore, although our mental and emotional preferences are strongly influenced by genetics, the environment in which we live also influences our personality traits and cultural practices. This means that the way we do things depends largely on the degree of cultural programming we receive from our parents, peers, or significant role models. This theme was extracted from the following excerpts:

'When you go in a foreign country, you meet different people, some like you some not like you but, what is more interesting is to see what the similarities and what you see and say in common, sometimes very interesting and sometimes very disappointing.'

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'They say knowledge is power, meaning interacting with different people, you gain a lot from different people, from different minds. So, for me coming here was to learn, learn how other people live, broaden my mind.'

Van Heerden (2005) stated that in trying to understand diversity, scientific research has revealed that personality traits, gender, age and ethno-cultural difference would head the list, followed closed by language, religion and marital status. But why is that being different is so difficult in today's society? Many people are afraid of what they do not understand; we are threatened by mere differences. Different people lead their lives in ways that seem strange to us; in ways that we as outsiders cannot understand. People eat different food, they listen to different music, and they worship in different religion. Our imagination often raises fears and prejudices about what we do not know or do not understand about others. As the world becomes a more integrated global arena, and we all become global citizens, interactions between people of different cultures are increasing and intensifying.

If we expect everyone to be just like us, we will be disappointed, surprised and even threatened. The phrase ignorance breeds fear and misunderstanding shows how this situation could result in conflict. President Woodrow Wilson as quoted by van Heerden (2005) once said 'We are citizens of the world and the tragedy of our times is that we do not know this.'

h) Achievement

It also meant achievement for other participants as they mentioned benefits, experiences and the warm feeling of travelling to a whole new environment or country. Beside bad experiences such as discrimination, maltreatment, etc, others did acknowledge that moving to another country does include positive gains.

Others cited that moving to another country comes with a good experience of travelling. They admitted that criticism exists almost everywhere, but this does not eliminate the high-quality experience retrieve from that country of visit. To count few achievements mentioned were good political system, quality education, exploring beautiful sights of KwaZulu Natal and other provinces, etc. The following are statements confirming the above:

'Coming to South Africa was just travelling, I stay close by Free State and most people speak my language there, so there is never a huge barrier, therefore, coming to South Africa was not a big deal for me.

'To be in a foreign country its an achievement because one is moving from one's ground, local, village, one's orthodox thinking to a very unknown thinking and one survives there, so it means that really one can survive anywhere.'

Key themes identified from responses to open ended questions 3

4.4.1.3 Experiences of xenophobia

a) Language

All of the participants mentioned the theme of language as a barrier especially at the University of Zululand. Language can be briefly defined as the use of an organized means of putting together words in order to communicate.

They mentioned that, everyone speaks Zulu even some Lecturers. Each an every participant shared their own personal difficulty concerning language; see the appendix for more details. Language seems to be the central theme of struggle amongst foreign students trying to adjust at the University of Zululand.

Reitzes (1997:41) pointed out language as a fundamental criterion for acceptance and integration of foreigners into Black South African society. The following are some of the experiences shared by the participants:

'My big problem was language I couldn't speak Zulu, they couldn't understand English as well or they know English but they do not want to talk to me, so I stayed here for like two weeks, I don't know anything and it was unfortunate. Even the place to eat I couldn't know, I had a cell phone but where to charge I didn't know.'

'All people speak in Zulu, even in town they say we to have to speak Zulu. Then you'll find that you take a taxi from University to Empangeni, the way of paying money is different from what we did in our country. One day I was paying money but someone didn't pay, so they were all shouting at me using a local language which I could not understand.'

'You'll find that even in class, students can't even speak with you, I remember one of my lecturers that were teaching us English and he was the only lecturer. He is the only lecturer I really appreciate for that time of my first term because he used to make a lot of jokes and fun in the class so that made me at least comfortable because from the class you have to keep your mouth shut, you go to your room, you can't speak to your roommate, you go to the library its you and books like I don't have anything to do.'

'I have experienced a lot of challenges because I can give u some examples; I had some colleagues here in the University, they visited some work place, some offices in need of getting some information, but now because a person is a foreigner, the person appears to be smelling, looks silly all those kind of things and this staff member just approach them, a guy

and he was just speaking in Zulu, and that is a common problem around here, especially when I arrived, people they would come speaking in Zulu.'

The above are some of the evasive experiences that foreign students go through almost everyday. Reitzes (1997) recited that names like 'amakwerekwere', 'grigambas' or 'kalangas' are as a result of the fact that foreigners are different, do not speak or understand local languages, and speak English with a 'funny accent'. However, only one participant mentioned being called 'kwerekwere'. It is interesting that even in a university foreign students are experiencing such mockery from fellow South African students.

b) Discriminated

Discrimination was one of the popular themes that kept emerging from the participants stories. Local people were described by most international students as not accommodative and suffering from 'Alien Phobia' the term coined by one of the participants.

'In general what I want say is that the attitude even from the local, it was very hurting, because when you say anything in English, they say that; why don't you speak Zulu, where are you coming from, if you say I'm sorry I'm not from this country.'

'You'll find that even in class, students can't even speak with you, I remember one of my lecturer who was teaching us English and he was the only lecturer, he is the only lecturer I really appreciate for that time of my first term because he use to make a lot jokes and fun in the class so that made me at least comfortable because from the class you have to keep your mouth shut, you go to your room, you can't speak to your roommate, you go to the library its you and books like I don't have anything to do.'

'What I have seen as well is that xenophobia is like most students, if they need something from you, they will come in numbers but if they don't need they won't come and others might even pretend to be friends with you but after getting what they want from you they won't come again.'

While Sherif, (1966) stipulated that it is the structure of the situation, not personal characteristics of the individual (or an aggregate of individuals) that determines human behavior; Crush and McDonald, (2001) concur with him stating that there is a perception among South Africans that legal immigrants are depriving locals of jobs and services while "illegal immigrants" supposedly corrupt officials, cause crime and take scarce resources from South Africa's poor. These perceptions have led to a pervasively high and deepening level of hostility and intolerance towards outsiders, and particularly Africans from elsewhere.

While explicating the theme of exclusion, it was mentioned that the government has also had a enormous input in the discrimination of foreigners (see exclusion notes), yet foreigners are still blamed for all the failures of South African citizens.

c) Aggression

Most of them if not all mentioned having experienced some form of aggression. For most of them aggression ranged from local students to office personnel of the University. They further defined this aggressive behavior directed to them as inhumanity of South African people. Aggression is a behavior that is intended to cause harm and that is not socially justifiable.

However, there has not been a single physical aggression reported but rather relational aggression, whose purpose is to damage social relationships, such as social exclusion. The experiences of aggressive behavior directed to some of the participants follows:

'I would say that in a way that I came to believe, Zulu's are aggressive, looking back at the strikes that were occurring here at school, there was that element of aggression, if there are problems they opt for physical, throwing, burning the school.'

'In general what I want say is that the attitude even from the local, it was very hurting.'

'One day I was paying money but someone didn't pay, so they were all shouting at me using but using local language which I could not understand.'

Some participants mentioned that they've had traumatic experiences through witnessing scary demonstration by South Africans people from within the campus and nearby areas. For example, they witnessed strikes (student fighting on their own and with police officials), and seen people shooting one another at Esikhawini.

d) Negative attitude

Many participants also revealed that most South African students have a negative attitude towards them. Some participants attributed this negative attitude to 'psychological timidness' because it has no basis. The negative attitude appeared to be the central theme in the definition of xenophobia (refer to the first theme of the definition of xenophobia) as stated above. Some experiences of negative attitude shared by foreign students follow:

'This guy was asking about one staff member just for assistance then the other lady who was helping. He was talking in Zulu that these foreigners are smelling, they are dirty, stupid, all those kinds of things. The other guy came and explained that the lady was saying so, and now that the guy had left the lady had to go in her bag and take her spray to spray the seat where this guy was sitting and this guy who was here was smelling, you know they need to start applying mum-roll-on and perfume, all those kinds of funny things.'

'I've been living with people, when a person looking at you, he looks at you like one is stupid because we have different cultures, like in my cultures, we believe that you have to respect others; one can never bully one's colleague.'

'The other thing also is that, even in residents a person will talk to you when there is crisis, when there is no crisis he'll never.
You meet outside you say 'hallo man' he'll look at you as if he has never seen you before and it comes with things like sharing, when you share things, even touching things let's say plates, all those kind of things, a person may end-up washing his plate for even more that 20 times because you've have touched his plate or pot and then a person feels like no, this person is a 'Kwerekwere' he's dirty.

e) Abuse

The theme of abuse also emerged from the participants stories. The form of abuse the international students receive almost everyday is verbal abuse. They experience verbal abuse from Official personnel of the University and local Students. For an example:

'There was a time when I was involved in conversation and the ended-up in quarrel so to say, to an abnormal point and I know I was never wrong but because I know I'm not from here, I was forced to be wrong and a person ended-up saying 'man this is Zululand and in fact South Africa, you don't belong here and that's not how we socialize, you should go back to Namibia.'

'I can give you some examples; let's say in rooms: you come in a room, the person is putting a key, turning a key like this, when you turn the keys, he says man this is South Africa, when you come in the room you have to knock and just because the person is not happy with being around here those kinds of things.'

'I had a colleague who was in a crisis and then they ended-up with some quarrel, the person is a local and he was the one who was wrong and he ended-up saying, he knew that he was wrong 'man this is Zululand I was born and bread here in KwaDlangezwa and you are a foreigner and I can never be intimidated by people like you.'

It is apparent that African foreigners have always been a target or victims for abuse in South Africa. There were numerous examples highlighted in chapter two about the abuse of African foreigners. For an example, Reitzes and Bam (1996:19) talks of abuse of foreign African by employers while Figure 1 shows a police stopping a foreigner on the basis of appearance and asked to provide evidence of their status. Abuse at tertiary institutions may be slightly different from that of the country at large, but it is still abuse and affects African foreign students.

The major aim of the study was to document xenophobic experiences and meaning of non-national students at the South African tertiary institutions so that appropriate action may be taken to ameliorate the situation. Based on the findings of this study and the evidence from literature the meaning of xenophobia given by non-national students entails negative attitude, dislike, fear, difference, exclusion, maltreatment or ill-treatment and being unappreciated. Most of the literature reviewed concurred with the definition of xenophobia given by the non-national students. However, most literature which concurs with the above definition is the one that explicated the xenophobia during its early manifestation, except the Dictionary which also excludes some crucial aspects of xenophobia. For example, the literature that emerged decades ago ignores the violent element in their definitions which exists in most of current literatures.

Second, the meaning of being in a foreign country given by the no-National students included themes such as learning, hardship, adjustment, change, discrimination, being difference or treated differently and some conceived it as an achievement. Most of the above themes were also revealed from the literature. It is crucial to mention at this stage that the question involved was asking both the meaning prior and during their stay in South Africa. However, most of the participants deliberated on their current experiences. Lastly, the experiences shared by most non-national students also concurred with most of the literature reviewed. The themes that emerged were inclusive language barrier, discrimination, aggression, negative attitude and abuse.

In summary, from the definition, meaning and experiences given by the non-national students it is clear that xenophobia does exist at the University of Zululand. As much as xenophobic experiences have not reached the element of violence against non-nationals, it is unpredictable if it would never happen. Initially, the definition of xenophobia did not bare a violent aspect, but over time, it evolved to encapsulate this aspect because of the violence and assaults that were witnessed and directed to foreigners. It is apparent that non-national students experience most of the xenophobic aspects within the campus perpetrated by both students and staff members. Although it was not the sole purpose of the research to investigate whether xenophobia exists at the University of Zululand, but due to the topic and the findings of the study, one can conclude that it does exist. Therefore, something needs to be done to prevent the situation from being exacerbated, so that the University of Zululand becomes a safe environment and melting pot for ideas, cultures and values for everyone.

4.5 Resumé

Chapter four (4) explored the results obtained from the data that was collected through the instrument used. The instrument gathered qualitative data, which was closely examined through the steps mentioned in chapter three (3). Key themes have been identified and then these findings were discussed. The final chapter (chapter 5) presents the recommendations and possible areas for future research.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS, LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

Chapter 4 presented a detailed discussion of the results of this research study. Attention was given to qualitative findings through the themes that emerged from the data collected. Key themes were identified and discussed. This chapter will focus on issues around xenophobia at the University of Zululand that have yet to be addressed: recommendations and make suggestions for future research. It also mentions the shortcomings of this study, so that they may be avoided in future.

5.2 Conclusions

5.2.1 Conclusions for tertiary institutions

What does one expect institutions in South Africa particularly the government to do, towards checking xenophobia in the society? First, the prompt reaction of 23 South African universities against xenophobic attacks is commendable and worthy of note. In a press release by its umbrella body Higher Education South Africa(HESA) dated May 22, 2008, and titled 'The mobilizing of Universities in the face of xenophobia', the universities said that they are unanimous in their condemnation of these xenophobic attacks on fellow Africans. The release said that xenophobia is yet another instance of discrimination. HESA, therefore, set up a Task Team to address instances of intolerance on campuses and stated categorically that xenophobia will not be tolerated at any institution of higher learning in South Africa. HESA CEO Prof. Duma Malaza summed up this consensus by saying that higher education in South Africa has always had a strong continental presence and it must continue to be a safe environment, a melting pot for ideas, cultures and values (Obasi, 2008).

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i. One expects that each and every institution of higher learning shows and demonstrates stronger condemnation and intolerance in both words and deeds. Most gatherings and conferences talk of condemnations and strategies to deal with xenophobia, but lacks in implementation of such ideologies.

ii. One also expects that each an every university possesses a policy condemning any form of xenophobia. The policy can either be captured under the already existing university policy or be capture, in isolation. However; over and above the policy the emphasis should be on the implementation. If it calls for an institution to have its own Task Team to address instances of intolerance on campus, so let it be done.

iii. Although Cook(1985) and Gerard (1988) showed that in real life, mere increased contact between groups is not enough to break down stereotypes and reduce tension, it is recommended that students(especially non-South African) associate themselves with organizations and societies that exist on campus. This may not be enough to ameliorate xenophobia but to a certain extent it can reduce the tension.

iv. It is also recommended that the University collaborates with experts in social behavior to address staff and students on issues of xenophobia on a deeper level of understanding. This is due to the fact that some causes of xenophobia are not easily explained by literature.

5.2.2 Recommendations for the South African government

i. Similarly, one expects the South African government to show and demonstrate even stronger condemnation and intolerance in both words and deeds.

Obasi (2008) demonstrated the meaning of this, by using examples of how the Government of the Republic of Botswana has handled the same problem over the years. Botswana suffers from the same influx of immigrants from neighboring Zimbabwe and that this has been causing occasional irritations on the citizens. Successive governments in Botswana have, however, been implementing a policy of diffusing the growing instances of xenophobic views in the mass media. Over a decade ago, the second president Sir Ketumile Masire responded to a citizens' complaint that 'foreigners were taking up opportunities' by asking the complainant 'where he was when the foreigners did that'. He continued by saying that 'the foreigners should find us there'. But after saying that, he re-assured the citizens that the 'government pledges to ensure that citizens are given first priority' but he then added that the citizens should work hard to that because we do not want to see a situation where they are failing to provide us with the services' (see *Mmegi*, Wednesday, May 28, 2008). These statements were recalled recently by the current Vice-President of Botswana Lt. Gen. Mompati Merafhe in a similar policy-driven approach towards diffusing the spread of xenophobia in Botswana.

ii. It is recommended that the government's policy on xenophobia is clear for everyone to see in both words and actions.

Obasi(2008) continued and asserted that under President Festus Mogae (the third and immediate past president), the fight against xenophobia was a highly policy-driven equally. He made an example that summed it up stating that during one of his Friday's evening lecture on an MPA course titled *Industrial Relations in the Public Sector,* he told his students that the way a particular assistant minister was handling xenophobic issues was running against government policy under President Mogae. Obasi added that he should watch his steps if he wanted to retain his job. After that, the minister was re-assigned by President Mogae three days later. In their next Friday's class, the students could not believe how so soon the prediction came to pass. Was it a coincidence some of the students asked? Did the government hear what Obasi said, asked some others? His answer was that he did not know what had happened but what he was sure about from his analysis was that the minister's words and actions were running counter to the government's twin policy of checking the spread of xenophobia and promoting foreign direct investment by making Botswana an investment-friendly country.

iii. As much as the policy needs to be aggressively promoted, at the same time the interests of the citizens must be equally aggressively protected.

As the son of the first president of Botswana who was known widely for his tolerance of foreigners, the current (4th) president Lt. Gen. Ian Khama Seretse Khama, touched on this important issue during his *Inauguration Address* on April 1, 2008.

He mentioned that two major strategies (namely the economic strategy on diversification and the brand) are to be used 'to inform ourselves and the world what Botswana holds in store for investors, visitors, traders and foreign residents.'

One of the measures his government has taken to diffuse the growing tension over graduate unemployment was to offer young graduates immediate and automatic engagements on a kind of national service (as a form of internship experience) until they secure a job. During this temporary employment period, these people would be paid allowances. This is an innovative counter-xenophobic measure because it is within this group that a feeling of xenophobia in recent years has been growing (Obasi, 2008).

Although the South African government is doing a lot on the ground to help its citizens and also reduce xenophobic feelings caused by frustration, my thesis is that such actions are not really penetrating into the minds of its citizens, as effectively. Good leaders are policy-focused and driven, and given the complexity of its society, the South African government can do much more by borrowing not just a leaf but many policy issues from Botswana in handling cases of xenophobia in the South African society. The government must be

consistently focused in implementing counter-xenophobic policies. But more importantly, the government should march words with deeds as it is done in Botswana.

5.3 Limitations of the Study

Although this research study managed to achieve many of its objectives this researcher believes that there were some limitations of this study that need to be mentioned:

a) The sample chosen was not diverse enough, for instance, it would have been very interesting to obtain the views of xenophobia by the national students. Furthermore, acquiring the views of staff members both South Africans and non-South Africans would have been very interesting.

b) The sample of the study was only extracted from the University of Zululand, which makes it difficult to generalize to other universities. The researcher feels that a rich data would have been collected from different universities rather than from one University.

c) It was very difficult for the research to get professional work done on xenophobia at tertiary institutions, hence it was noted that this is the concept that has been receiving less attention in the Zululand region. However, the researcher is hopeful that this research study would pave a way for future research on the concept of xenophobia.

d) Theory and research on intergroup relations in psychology is largely culture free and there is scarcity of psychological perspectives of the concept of xenophobia.

e) Another aspect that needs consideration is the possibility of gathering participants at a workshop style venue where they may debate issues raised rather then merely putting ideas on paper. The researcher was satisfied about the method of data collection that

was utilized, because it allowed the participants to verbalize their feelings which assisted the researcher to see the problem. However, having had groups interacting might have also brought about intervention for participants and those that would read the study.

5.4 Prospects for future research

The following prospects for future research have surfaced:

a) More research in this area is necessary. While this study has created a platform for a dialogue and an interest in improving the relationship amongst local students, non-local students and staff, a larger scale research study would have a much greater impact in effecting changes. This would require funding, time and other resources that are often not available for University of Zululand psychology masters students.

b) A national study should be undertaken to determine xenophobia at the South African tertiary institutions. This would enable researchers to determine the commitment of each an every institution towards eradicating any form of xenophobic behavior.

c) A future study would focus on the etiologies and intervention of xenophobia in South African tertiary institutions. It would be interesting also to investigate the reason that makes African foreigners to be the only target in most cases.

5.5 Resumé

The final chapter (chapter 5) handles the recommendations and possible avenues for future research studies. This chapter presents other research possibilities for understanding xenophobia at the South African tertiary institutions. This is vital for both South Africa as a developing country and tertiary institutions. Furthermore, it is vital for keeping peace and harmony across different cultures. Without research there would be no improvement or change and without improvement or change institutions of higher learning and South Africa would slowly lose their relevance and meaning.

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B. Newspapers, Magazine and Press Statements

The Eastern Province Herald	September 10, 1998
	January 8, 1999
	November 10, 2000
Sunday Tribune	May 18, 2008
Mail& Guardian	November 5 to 11, 1999).
Pace Magazine	March, 2003
Mail &Guardian	November 5 to 11, 1999
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Evening Post	August 7, 2000.
City Press	November 12, 2000
	November 10, 2000

Cape Argus.   July 31, 2006.

Star   Oct 12, 2006

APPENDIX A

An Investigation of the experiences and meaning of Xenophobia at the University of Zululand by international students.

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Dear participant, I would like to request you to take part in this research so that I can understand the meaning of xenophobia at the University of Zululand.

This research will be conducted by Mr. M. Buthelezi under the supervision of Dr. Dhlomo-Sibiya.

If you agree to participate in this study, the researcher will ask you three questions and you will answer verbally, while recording the session.

Your participation is completely confidential.

If you decide to participate, you can withdraw at any stage of the process.

You may ask any questions about the study.

Signing your name means that you agree to participate in this study.

I agree to participate in this study investigating the meaning of xenophobia at the University of Zululand. I understand that my participation is entirely voluntary, confidential, that I can withdraw at any time and that the nature of the research has been explained to me.

....

    Signature   Date

UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND

DATA ON XENOPHOBIA

SECTION 1

1.1 Gender

Female		Male	

1.2 Age in years

17-30		31-40		41-50		50-and above	

SECTION 2

1. How would you define xenophobia?

2. What does it mean to you to be in a foreign country?

3. Describe your experiences of being in a foreign country?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION IN THIS SURVEY.

APPENDIX B

P.O. BOX 92

ESHOWE

3814

21 September 2007

The Research Committee

University of Zululand

Private Bag X 1001

Kwa-Dlangezwa

3886

Dear Sir or Madam

REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

I am writing to request permission to conduct research within the University of Zululand campus. My research study is entitled *An Investigation of the experiences and meaning of Xenophobia at the University of Zululand by international students.*

I am currently enrolled with the University of Zululand studying for a Masters Degree in Counselling Psychology, in the Department of Psychology. This study will benefit the whole of the University community by improving or retaining a good relationship amongst students (especially international students) and staff of the University of Zululand.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Yours faithfully

Msawenkosi Buthelezi

1. How would you define xenophobia?	• Xenophobia is as complex as the definition itself, it comes from the one 'xeno' and 'phobia', phobia is a disease, it's a state of worry, it's a state of unknown anxiety, unconscious anxiety to a level that you find an individual all the time irritant, when he sees or receives somebody that he does not acknowledge, or all the time he or she retreats to the unknown. (worry, anxiety,irritation, unknown).
	• So, quite often you find that people who suffer from xenophobia tend to feel that, one: they can't love another person or that person cannot love from them or the other person has something that the one who national there, develops that something unconscious and after that they become uncomfortable and then now they become unwelcoming and that brings an onset on 'xeno'.(suffering, unconscious hatred, discomfort).
	• Phobia to me is a kind of a psychological allergy, goes like that and it happens most with the native against the alien.(Psychological allergy)
	• I think its got something to do with the reaction say in this case, it will be the reaction that South African have towards foreign people, its like attitude and its got, very often it would be negative attitude.(reaction of locals, foreigners. negative attitude).
	• Phobia in any way is a fear towards those people, which I mean you can't blame people; I think a lot of it comes out of lack of understanding of the other person's perspective, culture, where they are coming from.
	• Assumptions, a lot of phobia is also based on assumptions and because of the assumptions primarily which are wrongly placed, you then react negatively. The consequences are many definitely; I have experienced xenophobia in many ways.
	• It is the fear of foreigners; it can be fear, dislike, and negative attitude towards foreigners by fellow citizens. How the negative perception that local, people living in the country have against people from another country.

- It means the way you get treatment from other people, especially a calibre that is not your own, like the kind of people whom you fit into, it could be nationality, class like age group, etc.
- Xenophobia is when people of a different calibre, they may be different nationality or different gender or different age group treat you otherwise. (otherwise treatment)
- It's the way they treat you regarding who you are and who they are, that gap cut of a thing.
- Basically, they could either hate you or like you but the thing is, they like you or hate you because of the difference. (hate, difference)
- Its means the way people react because of fear of strangers. (reaction, fear, strangers)
- It's an attitude within an individual, it can be group of people or a society, that attitude is negative attitude to another person especially, the one who does not belong to that other society. (negative attitude)
- Xenophobia is dislike of a person due to different ideas or thinking about a person. So, you don't know a person but you don't like the person. Why you don't like the person, if you were asked to explain, you would not. (unknown dislike,difference)
- Xenophobia is when people from another country discriminate other people from foreign country like I am in South Africa and South African disrespect me just because I am a foreigner. (discriminate, disrespect)
- They ill-treat me probably or they just don't like me because of the mere fact that I am from another country. (maltreatment, dislike)
- I guess phobia, its fear, they fear what? Maybe they think we are going to take their land or they see completion, I don't know probably. (unknown fear)
- Xenophobia, I believe that it's a term which is used to just explain differences between the inhabitants of a particular country, how they look at the non-habitant, how they take care of them.
- Actually It's taking care or looking at them in a negative way, for

	example, if I'm living with a South African and he does not want to be with foreigner I mean just to mix with them and sometimes you'll end-up being called names 'Kwerekweres' you know, or sometimes people will call by your country of origin. (negative attitude) • It is the fear of foreigners, it can be fear, dislike u know negative attitude towards foreigners by fellow citizens; I would basically say its that; the negative perception that locals, people living in the country have against people from another country(Fear, dislike, negative attitude)

2. What does it mean to you to be in a foreign country?	• It means adjusting to a lot of changes, like language, where I come from we have only two languages (English and Swati). • The first thing that came into my mind, when I had to come here was the language issue, how will I be stuck with English. • I think also information concerning that country contributes to your perception because when I went to Mozambique I was told that people are poor there, when you come with your rands, there will be that perception that you see this is a white man but its different people in terms of economy are rich, so there were lot of things like will I cope, if this people and I'm not from a rich background. • When I got here it was hard because people made you that you don't belong here no matter how hard you try to be part and parcel but they would really make you feel, the way you talking don't sound like you from here but then I think that was the challenge. • After that, I learned to adjust because I had my own fears when I came from home, because I've been told that they are so aggressive, Zulus will hit me where will I go, so I was also guarded I cannot blame them , so a minor thing I would like what is going on. • But after sometime I realized that I just had to adapt understand them and the more I try to understand them the more I realized that the more I was accepted and now I don't feel like I'm away from home. • Coming to South Africa was just travelling, I stay close by Free State and most people speak my language there, so there is never a huge barrier, therefore, coming to South Africa was not a big deal for me. • But coming to Zululand, was different because there is a language barrier and from there I have observed that there are also some behavioral differences. • So, it's more of being foreign more to a certain tribe in the country more than being a foreigner in the country. • Back home we speak Sotho and people here speak Zulu, what I have experienced here is that people here don't like speaking English, they like their language. They just adore their language, so they'll do

anything to speak their language even if it means the person they are speaking to does not understand what you are saying.

- But then I also had some other friends whom were trying to teach me the language, but now when I was trying to learn, they were laughing at my accent so they discouraged me, so now I'm not learning.

- It's only that, otherwise they are still human beings, there's no huge tangential behavior.

- Travelling from home to here was not a problem.

- I am not too much of a talky talky, so no one has been treating me, looking at me or saying anything, I've been lucky. I have heard people complaining.

- My friends know that they have to communicate in English; otherwise they just know I won't hear what they say.

- People around if they hear you talking foreign language they laugh.

- Before I came to South Africa, I've been to other countries like Mauritius; the acceptance of me in Mauritius was really very nice. Then I thought like for me going to South Africa for studying for three years, it will be the same, only to find that to be in South Africa was totally different from what I thought before.

- To be in a foreign country really is a challenge, Firstly; you'll be far from your family, from the people you love, then you go to the other people, you don't know how they look like, you don't know their culture, you don't know anything about those people, especially language and the way they behave.

- Really, to be in a foreign country is a big challenge, it does not matter how innocent you are, how humble you are or whatever but its a challenge you have to be yourself.

- The first meaning is exploring the unknown, it same as going to your friends place, because then you are able to compare what you have and what you don't have.

- When you go in a foreign country, you meet different people, some like you some not like you but, what is more interesting is to see what

the similarities and what you see and say in common, sometimes very
interesting and sometimes very disappointing.

- To be in a foreign country its an achievement because you are moving from your ground, local, village, your orthodox thinking to a very unknown thinking and you survive there, so it means that really you can survive anywhere.

- So, it's challenging, brings new knowledge, experience, social interaction, it brings also your perception of political issues, you acquire new knowledge particularly in education you acquire new skills.

- You may have some skills from your country but you get more when you in another country and then you come to a shift from your people; one because you've been to a foreign country and you know what it is like. It may not be easy but at the end of the day it feels nice.

- If you move to any place, you sort of initially are anxious to know what those people are about and so what kind of people they are.

- Its trying to adapt to another culture, you've got to be willing to adapt otherwise you'll never survive.

- I think it's about being able to understand and accommodate other people.

- Xenophobia can be a two way process, I mean I can not just assume that African will be xenophobic towards me I can also be xenophobic towards them.

- I think the only reason why we have not seen reverse phobia by foreigners to a African it's because probably because the numbers are smaller, otherwise they probably would be equally be the same and then they would be in the same position of not bargaining because they are in the foreign country.

- but if I go to my country and I see a foreigner the same xenophobia is will probably be there because its all about the fear of the unknown, you just don't know that person, you don't know why they are there,

and I mean in the South African context is always the fear of people are coming to take the job, a lot of it is sort of centred around that.

- The jobs have tended to the primary focus of xenophobia, but it can go beyond that. If you are in a foreign country those feelings are always there about the people you gonna meet, how accommodating, accepting are they going to be. How easy is it going to be in that place?

- When I came here I came for the sole purpose of education, for me coming here, is exploring, getting new ideas.

- They say knowledge is power, meaning interacting with different people, you gain a lot from different people, from different minds. So, for me coming here was to learn, learn how other people live, broaden my mind.

- You have to take a person as important as a human being, because we all the same, regardless of where we coming from. So, for me coming to another country it's basically that I am seeing another human being, a person who is the same as I am with body features.

- To be in a foreign country, I would say its a sacrifice and its might involve lots of benefits and lots of disadvantages.

- Sacrifice in a sense that you are living your home land, coming to a place where u do not know anybody. The main things you know you have goals and objectives that u want to archive in life, that's why u just have sacrifice.

- Whenever you are living you country you just have to tell yourself that whatever might come I'll just go for it and I'll tolerate whatever I experience.

- The benefits that are associated with here is, that u learn about new cultures, u learn about how people are doing things.

- There are a lot of things that someone can copy, I copy and go with those things to Namibia; it can be from business sense, there are things that South Africans are doing that people are not doing in Namibia and with those business idea, if I go and implement them at

	home, I mean I can be a successful somebody in future.
	• ·To be a foreigner you have to be strong because I don't belong in South Africa and I've grown to criticism in countries and I believe it's normal because whatever go something can happen. It's only abnormal when people are overdoing it. I can give u examples; like in Russsia, there are Namibians who are staying there, but there was a time when one African student was killed just because Russians they don't like Blacks. They started striking and all the Black students had to run away, keep on hiding from these kind things until everything settle down. These are some of the problems and I also think in South Africa you know.
3. **Describe your experiences of being in a foreign country?**	• My experiences were not that bad because even though they could hear that my siSwati is not the Mpumalanga siSwati but they would maybe say she is from Mpumalanga and Swaziland is close to Mpumalanga. • So there would be not that illtreatment, unlike Mozambiquen's, if you cannot speak siShangani you were also not illtreated, its just that its crime and they easily see that you are not part of them, therefore you must be rich, so they try by any means to squeeze money from you. They can cheat, do anything to make sure that you are robbed. • In terms of crime, I have never experienced much crime where I come from, its popular known, Swazi land is peaceful, so I was not exposed to any criminal act and never witnessed it, but when I got here there is this traumatic experience that you know I have even been dreaming about it, having nightmares that I witnessed shootings at Esikhawini, strikes here at school all those 'hamm

ham noise' it was so scary and it was my first experience here and I believe its my last here.

- I've never seen a gun axcept in movies but I saw it live here. I could not even tell them at home because they would have snatched me away from this institution as soon as possible, so I kept it to myself.

- I would say that in a way that I came to believe, Zulus are aggressive, looking back at the strikes that were occurring here at school, there was that element of aggression, if there are problems they opt for physical, throwing, burning the school.

- The rest are just good experiences, I feel at home, I just look like them, especially if I'm not talking, you can't tell that I'm not a South African that made a lot of things easy for me such that I wouldn't mind staying here.

- I've learnt a lot, good experiences and interacted with a lot of people like Xhosas, people from everywhere.

- It's a long story, when I came to South Africa it was 2006, I was a first year student and I know nothing about South Africa. From the airport to Zululand it was a challenge, I tried to find direction but they could not understand me, but at last I found a lady who helped me to know where Zululand is.

- My big problem was language I couldn't speak Zulu, they couldn't understand English as well or they know English but they do not want to talk to me, so I stayed here for like two weeks, I don't know anything and it was unfortunately, even the place to eat I couldn't know, I had a cell phone but where to charge I didn't know.

- Then they allocated another lady in that room where I was troubled a lot. She did not want to speak English at all, I think she was a Zulu speaker, then after a long time, the Matron realized that and they changed us.

- In general what I want say is that the attitude even from the local,

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it was very hurting, because when you say anything in English, they say that; why don't you speak Zulu, where are you coming from, if you say I'm sorry I'm not from this country.

- All people speak in Zulu, even in town they say we to have to speak Zulu. Then you'll find that you take a taxi from University to Empangeni, the way of paying money is different from what we did in our country. One day I was paying money but someone didn't pay, so they were all shouting at me using but using local language which I could not understand.

- You'll find that even in class, students can't even speak with you, I remember one of my lecturer who was teaching us English and he was the only lecturer, he is the only lecturer I really appreciate for that time of my first term because he use to make a lot jokes and fun in the class so that made me at least comfortable because from the class you have to keep your mouth shut, you go to your room, you can't speak to your roommate, you go to the library its you and books like I don't have anything to do.

- I also happened to travel from here to Pretoria the same thing and from Johannesburg to Pretoria, people they are very harsh. They don't have humanity, for an example, whoever come to my country, you have to know three words: **Thank You, How Are You, and I'm Sorry.** But here hhayi! There is no sorry, there is no thank you.

- So through that I was forced to learn Zulu very fast and thank God that I was able to understand qickly some of the words like the first word to understand was 'Ngizakushaya'meaning I'll heat you, because that word there is a guy who use to tell me every time because I had to force them to speak English, while learning in the class discuss and then he would say the word, then I asked the meaning.

- So, that's one makes student to understand, to think like we, as foreigners, we are here looking for the job, we came here to take their tasks, something which is not true.
- According to my understanding, it's not true because, like myself here because of being involved in student I use to help them a lot and I have a lot of friends in this University, I don't have one friend, local students, because they realise they can get something from that lady, like in my class from the 2nd term of the first year I was a class representative, something that make them to be involved with me
- So you find that because of me, giving everything free from myself they say it's ok.
- What I have seen as well is that xenophobia is like most students, if they need something from you, they will come in numbers but if they don't need they won't come and others might even pretend to be friends with you but after getting what they want from you they won't come again.
- Others feel like you have everything, they can benefit from you, but the main problem is they don't take it positively they take it that time they forget that tomorrow they will come.
- These experiences are also common among staff members. They force you to speak Zulu and sometimes when you want something from the management and you are not Zulu, its not easy for you to get it.
- So, I have committed myself to a number of societies to make myself comfortable.
- Positively, I have leant a lot, according to the culture, my culture is totally different from the Zulu culture in South African culture, because you've got a lot of culture, Zulu, Venda, Seshangani,etc. So to know how Zulu do their stuff, like culture, traditional one is one of the advantage e.g. to dress half naked.

- Another thing is education I'm getting in this institution is great, and being involved in programs like Peer Counselling was really and opportunity and I'm getting a lot of experience which I never got from my country.

- I have a lot of experience when it comes to foreign countries, the first foreign country I have ever went to was Israel, very stimulating, and as I went to Israel something barging my mind, the biblical side.

- So, I went to see the Jerusalem City before I actually went to what had put me there to learn education engineering which I was there for, for 9 months. I learned that in Egypt their complaisant perception on how they believe in Christianity, I do find that quite often let me say my country where we also Christians, we tend to modernize it too much, them they mix it with culture.

- Another thing that I found that was very interesting was their holistic perception of farming which was very interesting where there is the whole community participation farming to feed the entire house hold and then they appreciate the hands-on experience and then governance, all those one.

- I've been to Zambia, very interesting, now what interested me in Zambia is humility, what I was disappointed in Zambia is the level of corruption. Infact when you get to the boarder in Zambia you find a total disorder and wonder why government has been like that for quite sometime, but people write things using black pen and white paper.

- What I loved there which was interesting, I thought that my country was corrupt but I realized that there is this symptom also at next door which was very interesting and also their infrastructure was not interesting to me.

- So, when you come from Tanzania which I was and you get to Zambia, you see a little disparity; Tanzanians are very humble but they are too slow (in terms of their thinking, the way they speak, you want to move to another point they are still appreciating talking things that are irrelevant so when you are too fast you have to calm down.

- So, I see this dynamics as I'm moving, you find that in my country, we are very fast, people are always on their toes. But I could understand because Tanzania uses the Marxism which is their political system of governance, my country uses mix of capitalism and it is competitive, survival of the fittest, so when I came to Tanzania I appreciated that.

- Zimbabians are very accommodative; they have a very nice dressing code, it covers the whole body, but what was mostly interesting to me was that they want to carry everything when people are travelling but most these are the people who want you to pay, so to me that was a level of corruption.

- Let me now talk about my experience of the country that hosts me; South Africa suffer from 17 syndromes which are very negative to me, but let me start with the positive part.

- My experience in South Africa, it got very good road industry, I think some of the best architectural design drawings was on the wall, and you could see, when I looked at it, it was designed like a military, which I think those back in the apartheid, infact when I go to the shop and I'm taxed, I pay but I feel okay because when I go to the road I drive I see where the money goes, which is not in Kenya, for that it is very ridiculous, we pay a lot of tax but when you go to the road its not there its tells you there is something wrong.

- Another thing which was interesting to me in SA is the supply of water to the rural community is amazing, very nice because I had a priviledge of travelling down Kwa-Zulu Natal when I was doing

| | | the project, I working in the rural areas I could actually calculate the distance that the community walk.
- The contrast is that as much as in Kenya we have water resources, people walk longer distance to get that water apart from urban areas where there are taps. The majority of Kenyans don't access water the way they should access because of poor governance and I found that to give a plus to South Africa.
- Another thing is the level of democracy, its very nice, people talk what they want.
- Most countries in Northern Africa, people strive to get more before they get satisfied and I think that explains target a lot rest of a while because we are not satisfied by little things and I think that also contributes to the problem of employment or shortage of skills because when you want to train someone before they finish their masters they run away they want to find a job.
- They've got what we call 'Alien Phobia' in fact what we just talked about but South Africa suffers more from it, They are not accommodative; the people in South Africa who are more accommodative are people in the rural areas, they are very accommodative, I'm talking from experience because I've been in the field from last year August up until last two weeks, In fact since I came to South Africa there is no single South African student who has invited me for tea.
- But I've come to understand South Africans, one thing I've come to understand is that they are timid and the timidness psychologically was brought by the colonial past to a level that anything foreign, it will take too long to learn that a person who is a foreigner is not harmful, the time they want to accommodate the foreigner has already developed a negative attitude towards them, so I 've learned that they are not bad people but the problem is that they take too long, this comes from the colonial past.
- Another thing I' ve also learned which is wrong is their

interpretation of human rights. Their interpretation of human rights and they involving human rights so much over the rights of other people like one of them is this one now(student with a loud music on) there is no way you can play a music as loud as that.

- Another item which is wrong,very funny which I've never seen it's the rights of children, where children just abuse their parents, children just take their parents or offend their children, I find that very ridiculious and that one kills good intellectual moralty over community and you can see it is brought even at the University, the way students interact with the lecturers is just the students interact if they were at home with their gardeners, so there is not that integrity, so that one is killing the morality of intellectual development.

- I've been offered some jobs in South Africa but if I feel that I will only survive in South Africa if I live in those suburbs where people are rich well protected I fell like I'm not in Africa. The pattern of crime in South Africa is a poor pattern, crime is even there in my country(Nairobi), theres crime I'm telling you, but the pattern of crime in Nairobi is different from the one here, here when people kill you you'll feel that you are a hero.

- Although I must say that I have driven the whole of Kwa-Zulu Natal I've never been offended by anybody, infact when I was going to Kenya, people in Kenya were worried that they would kill me one day, till now I've never experienced it but I was also very prepared that the day that they'll get hold of me then the coffin Kenya.

- The worst part of crime it is that the black man is so much of an enemy of fellow black man, I've found that ridiculous.

- Number 12/ 13, there is a lot of drinking in South Africa, it is killing most Households, this is my experience, people fail that when you take alcohol..........

- It's a learning process; the minute you live home you just

definitely know it's a learning process.

- One thing interesting to me, even as we speak English, sometimes the understanding of what I say when I say certain words its so different, I've seen people getting angry when I say something and in my country no one would get sort of angry, yet in South Africa somebody will get angry. Overtime you learn not to use certain words, expression because they mean different in another culture and yet I'm speaking English and it's the same way expression in any culture, like if you go to Limpompo, certain expression could have very different meaning in one culture.

- The experiences of food, like a lot of foreigners struggle with sort of finding the right food in the food market. I must say for me its not been such a huge change but I have seen foreign West Africans to really go out they way to look for their food because they've got certain ingredients that they are not going to just find but I mean like for me I've sort of been lucky that I like samp and its in the shops so that's not a problem. I think for me it's no really been bad, in terms of food.

- The other one which was a real experience, because we speak English, because I can't speak my language in the street, especially the first years, after this independence, People are very sensitive to a black person speaking English and that sort of annoyed because if you come to my country for an example(Kenya), and you just speak English I the street, nobody reacts to it and its because we use English all the time and we've got so many tribes in the country that I can not just by seeing you say that you speak my language but in this place for example its was because I think of the apartheid, because you stay in Zululand you are just in Zululand.

- So, it was just Zulu, then you see a Venda person and you are still expecting that Venda person to speak Zulu, possible you didn't even see that Venda and that Venda was also treated as a foreigner. We don't experience that in my country because I said we speak different languages, so when I see somebody I know, in fact when I see your face I can't tell you, you definitely don't belong to my country, so I'll just go for English straight away.

- So you go to the shop than you speak in English, someone is looking at you and like 'Why are you speaking English, don't you have another language?' And those days, people were so angry, I mean bitterly angry and I mean it was really scary, it could be part of xenophobia but I just couldn't understand why people can't understand that I'm not speaking the language but interestingly overtime it has changed.

- People now know there are many nationalities, not even Nationalities people from another part of South Africa do come in with different language. So, that one experience which I would say it's a language barrier. And obviously I would imagine for students, the language issue can be scary because if you go to a taxi and you speak English, you barely and often easily identified which is very dangerous.

- Of course I know staff who are would say probably are xenophobic in that, sometimes when I dig deep, I say ' you know what maybe this person is just scared of the unknown, they don't know me, they don't know how I'm gonna react if they talk to me.

- I have assumed, you see that's the problem with xenophobia, I have already made an assumption that this person because they don't say hi! To me they never talk to me, so I have made an assumption that they are xenophobic. But, I could be wrong, but I have already made an assumption and because I have decided

they are xenophobic, I also don't go out of my way, because I have seen their outward negative.

- But there are people that I had assumed that they are xenophobic but on digging and founding and actually living here longer, I just found that they are negative to all people. So, originally I thought it was directed to me but I found that they are just generally socially difficult people. So, that's what I'm saying, the foreigner assumes, the local assumes but we are all coming from a position of not understanding one another, if we just kneel that I just don't like talking to people, I just don't like mixing with people, then its different. But you don't know that and that creates a problem.

- The local people tends to favour Whites, I mean we Black aspire to be White then Black, everything White. So, when you see a white person you see they are special, so that White person does not seem to be a threat. He is also a foreigner, he is also taking a job just like I am taking a job but the people don't react to them.

- I've had good and bad experiences, bad experiences being that most of them were from the fact that people as much as we would like people not to ill-treat us or treat us differently, but people are treating us differently, but that does not mean that there isn't any good side of them as I'm foreigner.

- There is also the bad side and also the good side, the fact that you are a foreigner, I have seen it, I have sometimes judged because I am a foreigner, you find that sometimes with your friends, you think that they have accepted you as a person as a me and I love them and accept them as them; but you know sometimes out of the blue when you in your conversation, you just 'God!' why is this person say 'i-Kwerekwere' and then you realize that these people still have that gap, as much as you think you have connected as your friends, it's like you dreaming. I think they are tolerating you for that moment not that they really accepting you.

- You find that probably, like our school work, you are studying, you study because you know what you here for and people here maybe its because it's their home country and you know when you home you tend to be comfortable and when you know this is not your place, you make sure that you do what you here for and get over and done with. So, now because I am coming with that mentality, knowing that I have to be 100% committed to my school work, obviously I'll do well but now amongst your colleagues people don't look at it that way, now they say it's because you are a foreigner.
- People become comfortable because they know they are home.
- Good experiences, well whether it's been good or bad, I have enjoyed it because I am learning from it.
- You know that your mentality can not always be what you think life is about; you need to know what the other person's opinion is. So, I guess I have learnt a lot of things; something's won't go your way, because this is how other people are thinking.

- We speak of globalization, when you go back home, when you tackle issues, you'll know that I can not tackle things the way I think ourselves tackle them that way but, I know that we have fellow South Africans who have this mentality
- I have experienced a lot of challenges because I can give u some examples; I had some colleagues here in the University, they visited some work place, some offices in need of getting some information, but now because a person is a foreigner, the person appears to be smelling, look silly all those kind of things and this staff member just approach them, a guy and he was just speaking in Zulu, and that is a common problem around here, especially

when I arrived, people they would come speaking in Zulu.

- This guy was asking about one staff member just for assistance then the other lady who was helping, he was talking in Zulu that these foreigners are smelling, they are dirty, stupid, all those kind of things. The other guy came and explained that the lady was saying so, and now that the guy had left the lady had to go in her bag and take her spray to spray the seat where this guy was sitting and this guy who was here was smelling, you know they need to start applying mum roll and perfume, all those kinds of funny things.

- Its like I said previously, I benefited, I learnt many things about the Zulu culture, how people behave, there are many negative things and many positive things because ther are many ways of doing things that I never knew before.

- There are many things where I had no solutions but I just ended up with solutions just because I'm now in KZN.

- Living in KZN, I have learned like why are people behaving this way and I've learnt that culture has a big influence and this would just change, you know people are just trying to bringing new ways of doing things from outside through associating themselves with different cultures, otherwise if people are just stick to pure Zulu culture, the mind setup of people won't change.

- Because I know, they might be xenophobic simple because of culture and that I can compare it, you know we can address issues of xenophobia, but if these issues are not addressed between the Zulu's themselves then we would not get solutions for xenophobia. When you look at things like male and a female Zulu, there is a big gap, there's no but; Zulu guys don't respect their girls; now if they don't respect their girls, what about looking at other people, they would, I mean they would look at you like nothing and that's a cultural impact.

- I've been living with people, when a person looking at you, he

look at you like to be stupid because we have different culture, like in my culture we believe that you have to respect others; you can never bully you colleague.

- In Zulu culture someone need to be very strong, you need to be able to fight, all those kind of things; like in our culture we do not fight but I can fight but it senseless and if I fight people at home or here will look at you like stupid but with a Zulu culture you'll be a man. We don't quarrel but with Zulu culture you quarrel and then at the end of the day we come together and you know we appear like there was nothing.

- What I have seen with the Zulus also, there is sort of selfishness, only some few people, but I believe it depend on families, where the person comes from. Selfishness and you know when you look at the academic environment, someone can come to you for assistance, looking for assistance and you assist that person, when you assist that person, just tomorrow when you meet, this person is behaving as if he has never seen you before. Whenever that person is in crisis, its when the person is coming to you.

- The other thing also is that, even in residents a person will talk to you when there is crisis, when there is no crisis he'll never. You meet outside you say 'hallo man' he'll look at you as if he has never seen you before and it comes with things like sharing, when you share things, even touching things let's say plates, all those kind of things, a person may end-up washing his plate for even more that 20 times because you've have touched his plate or pot and then a person feels like no, this person is a 'Kwerekwere' he's dirty.

- There are lot of experiences that I can criticise but there is a lot that I've learnt and also in this situation, it's bad but that's how we have to learn and those are some of the things that we will still experience in future, whether you get married, you can have a wife who is of that nature but because you have been in this

situation, you'll know how to handle her.

- It also not wrong for South African to practice xenophobia because it is an international problem, even in Namibia, my tribe, people don't criticize foreigners, pretend to be, but they are afraid of foreigners, when a person is a foreigner, people use to respect them more then the local and in my culture no one would say you are a South African, you are a Zulu, You are what, what, no; they can say it maybe to themselves but getting that out, no.

- In Namibia, by law, you cannot say someone is what, what, those kinds, no its not necessary because the law is trying to create an equal society. I believe that there are some tribes in Namibia whereby even ourselves the locals, we are not fit to be with them. There is discrimination you can not fit to be with them but in my tribe I've never seen such things, they criticize and say what, what and I can compare them more or less like Zulu's but any how its life.

- The apartheid government has played a very big role in influencing xenophobia, this thing of the plan that was implemented by Boers, the one for dividing South Africa to home lands. For example, if a Xhosa guy just comes with his family here put up a house in Kwa-Dlangezwa and maybe he become very successful he might end-up being a target for all the criminal activities because he doesn't belong here and people will never be happy with him and this is Zululand and the name Zululand means that everything is for Zulus and even someone growing-up in such situation, he just believe that this is Zululand, if you are a you are not from here.

- There was a time I was involved in conversation and the ended-up in quarrel so to say, to an abnormal point and I know I was never wrong but because I know I'm not from here, I was forced to be wrong and a person ended-up saying 'man this is Zululand and in fact South Africa, you don't belong here and thats not how we

socialise, you should go back to Namibia'.

- I can give you some examples; let's say in rooms: you come in a room, the person is putting a key, turning a key like this, when you turn the keys, he says man this is South Africa, when you come in the room you have to knock and just because the person is not happy with being around here those kind of things.

- I would say it's apartheid and the naming of places, because home we were also affected by such situation because we were colonized; we had homelands like, Vamboo lands where I come from, Namolands, you can not build a house in Vabo land if you are not Vambo, but now it's the same situation in South Africa. The new government came out with the policy that says that homelands should stop then everybody, it created free movement, people moving from place t place.

- In South Africa that is something that needs to stop. In Zululand I think they need come-up with the Zulu name and even Kwa-Zulu Natal, those names are restricting other people, even people who not foreigners. I think that's one thing they have to address so that the new generation can be able to move around freely in South Africa, because I've seen people saying ' I'm from Zululand I grew-up here, I was born here and I will do my masters and honours here I'll never go anywhere.

- I had a colleague who was in a crisis and then they ended-up in some quarrel, the person is a local and he was the one who was wrong and he ended-up saying, he knew that he was wrong 'man this is Zululand I was born and bread here in KwaDlangezwa and you are a foreigner and I can never be intimidated by people like you.

- I think its law regulation; its need to be fully implemented for xenophobia to be minimized in South Africa, even though it will

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| | | never be 100% minimized but provided that law is in place and everything is in place, there will be some limits to such kinds of practices.
- Also our forefathers, they have a very big role because I would say only a very few percentage of Zulus are not aggressive, you know if you put aggressiveness and xenophobia together, its a very bad combination
- People are very aggressive, you look at people especially guys they tend to be more aggressive and then you ask yourself; what's wrong with this guy, the person is just aggressive and for me it's an abnormality, because we tend to socialise very easy with ladies because Zulu ladies are like, they have been modified to be very weak in a sense that a lady is just weak man and she has to listen to whatever the man is saying and whatever a man is saying seems to be true and she has to have very little input to whatever the man is saying and for that reason we tend to socialise with them easily then socialising with those Zulu guys.
- I've been here from 2006 and 2007, I suppose to have many Zulu friends but I'll never tell you I have, who is my friend, I don't have; I only have people who come maybe to suck or they just when they have crisis academic that's when you'll see them knocking in your room. But if they don't have any academic problem, they don't greet you, they don't care about you, they don't give a damn about you and that's about them but the ladies, at least those are the people who are very sociable.
- Those are the things that people need to address and I know the law in South Africa or let's say I've never been to another province in KZN because this is where I've been for a long period now, is not fully implemented, there is such differences and those differences make foreigners also to suffer but if they are fully addressed I think things would be fine.