AN EXAMINATION OF THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF XENOPHOBIC VIOLENCE ON GHANAIAN MIGRANTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

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INTEGRI PROCEDAMUS

LEGON
NOVEMBER 2018
DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of an original research conducted by me under the supervision of Dr. Amanda Coffie and that apart from other works which have been duly acknowledged, no part of it has been submitted anywhere else for any other purpose.

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Date: ..............................

Date: ..............................
DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my Maker Jesus Christ, for giving me the strength and wisdom to complete my work. I would also like to thank my parents for the support and encouragement, my siblings, family and friends for making this academic journey a success.

God bless you all.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my Heavenly Father, for making all things possible. I am grateful. To my parents Dr. and Mrs. A. B. Mills, my siblings Mr. Nii-Odardey Mills, Ms. Naa-Shidaa Mills and my dear friend Ms. Reabetswe Matuna, for all your prayers and inspiration. I would also like to thank my supervisor Dr. Amanda Coffie, for her guidance and for never giving up on me, without your assistance this dissertation would not have been possible. I appreciate you all in my life. May God continue to keep you and bless you, abundantly.
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>AU</td>
<td>African Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>ILO</td>
<td>International Labour Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>IOM</td>
<td>International Organisation for Migration</td>
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<tr>
<td>OHCHR</td>
<td>Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights</td>
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<td>SADC</td>
<td>Southern African Development Community</td>
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<td>UNHCR</td>
<td>Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees</td>
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ABSTRACT

There have been numerous cases of xenophobic violence on foreign nationals in recent years in South Africa. Grounded on this preposition, this dissertation examined the socio-economic effects of xenophobic violence on Ghanaian migrants in South Africa. Furthermore, an understanding of diplomatic relations and dynamics were explored between various countries and migration dynamics between nationals of the different countries. The research employed qualitative approach, using a snowballing sampling technique and semi-structured interviews, to collect the required primary data from the target population, who were Ghanaian nationals resident in South Africa. The data was then analysed manually, interpreted and categorised into themes. The findings of the study are discussed under themes and sub-themes which include the relationship dynamics between South African nationals and Ghanaians in South Africa, the causes of xenophobia/xenophobic violence in South Africa, experiences of Ghanaian foreign nationals within South Africa, socio-economic effects of xenophobic violence in South Africa, migrants’ perception of the South African authorities with regards to xenophobic violence against Ghanaian foreign nationals, migrants view on Ghana’s government in response to the xenophobic violence, the relationship between Ghana’s government and the South African government, and migrants perceptions on what could be done/interventions to stop and discourage xenophobic violence against foreign nationals in south Africa. Inferring from its findings, the study proposed some recommendations which are as follows; bearing in mind that the modern world we live in will always be characterised by migration between nationals of different countries, the migration of Ghanaians to South Africa is most likely to continue. It is, therefore, important for the authorities from both countries to find a way of educating their citizens on the need for tolerance and compromise on citizens from both countries. In addition, the Ghanaian authorities could borrow a leaf from the causes of migration by Ghanaian nationals and then using the causes, try to counter their migration to South Africa by offering the amenities and opportunities that the migrating citizens see as pulling factors to go and settle in South Africa. Furthermore, the study proposed that Ghanaian authorities and the South African authorities could sign memorandum of understanding, to protect citizens of respective countries in cases where xenophobic violence is experienced.
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background to the Study

The immense economic development that has characterised post-apartheid South Africa, has opened the country to the outside world. The associated economic success and pull factors such as employment, education, vibrant economy and stable political environment have ultimately led to nationals from different countries migrating to South Africa. The migration of these foreign nationals has, however, led to conflicts and various interpretations as to the need and purpose of foreign nationals in the host country. The above noted scenario has led to a spate of xenophobic violence against foreign nationals in South Africa. It is against this background that this study seeks to analyse the social-economic effects of xenophobic violence specifically, on Ghanaian nationals residing in South Africa, as one of the groups of foreign nationals that were affected by the xenophobic violence.

As stated by Stephen Castles, the opening of borders by different countries, globalisation and trade exchanges between and among countries, have led to foreign nationals settling in various host countries for different reasons. This mix of different nationals in one setting has led to conflicts and misunderstandings between these nationals thus, the xenophobic violence that have characterised these settings. The xenophobic violence that characterised the affected environments left a lot of unspoken damage to the lives, and relations between nationals of different countries. It is in this light that the researcher seeks to examine the socio-economic effects of xenophobic violence on Ghanaian nationals residing in South Africa.
1.1 Statement of the Problem

There have been numerous cases of xenophobic violence on foreign nationals in recent years in South Africa. These cases of violence have resulted in the attacks on the lives and properties of foreign nationals resident in South Africa by the citizens of South Africa. Evidence of these attacks has been posted and circulated in the international system through social media such as WhatsApp and Facebook. The tendency for the cases of xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals in South Africa, to socio-economic lives of the victims and other foreign nationals residing in South Africa is very high. Charlie Yaxley, an UNHCR spokesman, was for example, quoted in a news article to lament, condemn and called on the authorities of South Africa to stop the xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals in South Africa, in order to save lives and properties. This is, therefore, an indication that the xenophobic attacks in South Africa may have a significant effect on the socio-economic lives of the victims and other foreign nationals residing in South Africa.

Despite the fact that some evidence of pictures, posted on social media platforms, have shown how some Ghanaian migrants suffered physical assaults during xenophobic attacks in South Africa, much research work is not done to examine the social-economic effects that Ghanaian immigrants have experienced during and after the xenophobic attacks. It is, however, needed for a thorough research work to be conducted, not only to examine the impact of the xenophobic attacks on Ghanaian migrants, but to also come out with important recommendations with regards to managing relationships between foreign nationals and citizens of South Africa. This dissertation, therefore, seeks to examine the social-economic effects that Ghanaian victims experience during and after the xenophobic attacks in South Africa and also come out with lessons and recommendations with regards to managing relationships between foreign nationals and citizens of host countries.
1.2 Research Questions

The research was guided by the following questions:

- What are the causes of xenophobic violence and effect on foreign nationals in South Africa?
- What are the socio-economic effects of xenophobic violence on Ghanaians residing in South Africa?
- To what extent has the South African government’s solution of ending xenophobic violence eased the socio-economic effects on foreign nationals in general and Ghanaians in particular?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

- To find out the causes of xenophobic violence and its effect on foreign nationals in South Africa.
- To examine the impact of the socio-economic effects of xenophobic violence on Ghanaians foreign nationals residing within South Africa.
- To ascertain the extent to which the South African government’s solution of ending xenophobic violence has eased the socio-economic effects on foreign nationals in general and Ghanaians in particular.

1.4 Scope of the Study

This study is limited to examining the social-economic effects of xenophobic violence on Ghanaian migrants in South Africa. The study reflected on a specific period between 2007 and 2014, in which foreign nationals where subjects of xenophobic violence in South Africa and more specifically, use Ghanaians resident in South Africa as participants of the study. The study furthermore reviewed relevant polices and frameworks influencing migration and
dynamics involved in migrant socio-economic livelihoods in host countries and South Africa’s foreign policy in particular to foreign migrants.

1.5 Rationale of the Study

The research study identified significant social-economic effects of xenophobic violence on Ghanaian nationals residing in South Africa. This investigation is beneficial to various government decision makers and stakeholders as they make policies governing the management of relationships between foreign nationals and host countries’ citizens. Furthermore, support systems structure of foreign nationals in various countries would be informed of the social-economic effects of xenophobia. The findings from the study will also help to strengthen and inform national governments on the importance of managing migration of their citizens to foreign countries, considering the experiences they may encounter in foreign lands. Again, the study will help future researchers who are likely to undertake research in diplomatic relations between various countries and migration dynamics between nationals of different countries.

1.6 Thesis Argument

Lack of employment avenues and low wages in Ghana has forced many Ghanaians to travel outside the country in search of greener pastures. This thesis focuses on the effects that Ghanaian migrants experience with regards to the socio-economic effects of xenophobic violence in South Africa.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

This study relies on Integrated Threat Theory (ITT) as the theoretical framework. The Integrated Threat Theory has been chosen as a foundation for the study as it has been used to
explain and justify perceived potential threat by immigrants and the responses thereof of citizens of host countries.\textsuperscript{5}

The Integrated Threat Theory is based on the feeling of discomfort arising from the phobia perceived as a potential threat (social or economic) by immigrants on citizens of a particular region.\textsuperscript{6} The varieties of threats associated with the ITT include symbolic threats rooted in value differences amongst groups, realistic threats to resources, apprehension about social relations with others, and the apparent sense of threat due to deleterious labels by others.\textsuperscript{7}

Whilst all the variants of threats were functional on demeanour toward immigrants, findings indicated that apprehension and labels ranked higher in galvanising bigotry against immigrant.\textsuperscript{8} Other researchers have elevated the phobia of resource competition as fuelling hatred for immigrants.\textsuperscript{9} Other studies, such as Velasco González, Verkuyten applied the integrated threat theory to study prejudice towards Muslims in the Netherlands. Applying the structural equation modelling, their findings disclosed that stereotypes threats constituted a causative factor of prejudice toward Muslims in the Netherlands.\textsuperscript{10} In a related study, Harrison applied the integrated threat theory to understand the cause of xenophobia against foreign university students by local students in southwest of England. They found that local students see foreign students as constituting a threat to their academic success and group identity.\textsuperscript{11} This finding is similar to other studies that have traced xenophobic demeanour on immigrant traders on the bases of immigrants’ business people posing a threat to the success of local business people.\textsuperscript{12}

This theory is relevant to my study as the resultant xenophobic attacks (a significant variable in the study) could be explained as one of the results of the responses by the host nation citizens as they lash out and show out their frustration on foreign nationals whom they consider as
threats to their livelihood. This integrated threat theory has been used extensively, chosen to explain and justify perceived potential threat by immigrants and the responses thereof of citizens of host countries.13

Criticising the integrated threat theory, Ngwakwe and Ilorah highlight that whilst a myriad of justification for the threat perception exists, it is important to underscore and find solution to potential economic implication on the local economy. One of such potential solution may lie on the ability of society and government to honour the innate contractual obligation that subsists between it, individuals and the business.14 In addition, Bromgard and Stephan noted that this theory does not distinguish between subtle and overt responses to out-group members and is also mute with respect to responses to the condition in which participants expect to discuss pleasant topics with foreign nationals, except perhaps to suggest that participants would be unlikely to express prejudicial attitudes in this context for fear of appearing prejudiced.15 Also, contrary to what the theory proposes, a variety of factors can explain prejudice including personality factors, membership in social groups, adherence to values/beliefs, and cultural differences between in and out-groups.16

1.8 Definition of Terms
Definitions of some terms differ with contexts. The following terms have been defined in the context in which they have been applied in this study.

1.8.1 Xenophobia
The word “xenophobia” is understood as the systematic construction of strangers as a threat to society justifying their exclusion and at times, suppression which often refers to discourses and practices that are discriminatory towards foreign nationals.17 Xenophobia is a multifaceted
term. The word - xenophobia is derived from a Greek word - Xeno meaning stranger or foreigner, and - Phobia meaning – fear.\textsuperscript{18}

\subsection{1.8.2 Afrophobia}

While xenophobia is reflective of the general fear or hatred, Afrophobia is Afro-hatred mainly directed at immigrants of African nationalities.\textsuperscript{19} From this insight, xenophobia has to do with fear or hatred of the other. In present-day South Africa, Afrophobia is a manifestation of distrust and envy towards black foreigners, seen as a threat because they are able to “slip undetected into the black community and thus potentially steal the jobs and women of the indigenous black South African men.\textsuperscript{20} In addition, Afrophobia can be defined as the ideology and practice of extreme hatred, hostility, prejudice, fear, dislike, disapproval and discrimination towards Africans, people of African ancestry, culture and the African continent.\textsuperscript{21}

\subsection{1.8.3 Ubuntu}

Metz contributes that the word “Ubuntu” literally means humanness. In addition, Metz highlights that “Ubuntu” refers to “the supreme value of society, the primary importance of social or communal interests, obligations and duties over and above the rights of the individual”.\textsuperscript{22} In the context of the study “Ubuntu” is referred to, addressing the kind of relationships that would exist between citizens of the host country and migrants and how these individuals could consider living together in a world of compromise, peace and harmony.

\subsection{1.8.4 Makwerekwere}

This is a derogatory word, used mostly in SADC countries, and more specifically in South Africa, to refer to people who speak strange languages coming from economically devastated countries in search of greener pastures.\textsuperscript{23}
1.9 Literature Review

This section includes theories that exist on the relationships between the main variables of the study. This includes a detailed discussion on the variables and their relationship. In addition, the study seeks to find gaps of knowledge within the relationship dynamics between the variables.

Xenophobia also connotes or refers to the hatred or fear of a foreigners or strangers. In this case, the locals do not trust the foreigners or anything foreign, they are hardly sure of their (foreign) presence among them. This feeling of insecurity is, however, unknown given that some other explanations prove it is ungrounded. “Xenophobic attitudes are caused by three broad and false reasons: a threat to economic security, a threat to physical security and a nationalist isolation environment.” This is to say that the locals have a feeling that the foreigners have come to exploit and deprive them of their opportunities, and that they will eventually return to their home countries leaving the locals with nothing.

In Africa, countries such as Nigeria and Ghana have had records of hatred for foreign immigrants, which ended up with xenophobia. Xenophobic inclinations in Ghana became riffed in 1969 to the extent that the Ghanaian government had to evict and expel a total number of 1.5 million foreign nationals particularly Nigerians. In 1983, the Nigerian government also evicted 1.5 million foreigners from Nigeria, who were Ghanaians in particular. The xenophobic inclination in both countries was spurred by economic difficulties confronting them. Nationals of both countries (Ghana and Nigeria in 1969 and 1983, respectively) accused each other of their predicaments.
Globalization can be responsible for xenophobic attitudes because in the face of globalization, different nationals of different countries move from one country to another in search of greener pastures and at the end of the day, are exposed to xenophobic assaults. In the same light, citizens from Botswana taking prompt xenophobic ideas from South Africa referred to foreign nationals (excluding South Africans) and in Botswana as “makwerekwere”. Such derogatory word which is also used in South Africa, refers to people who speak strange languages coming from economically devastated countries in search of greener pastures. Furthermore, despite their huge economic investments in Botswana, the Indians are still targeted as “makwerekwere”.

1.9.1 Xenophobia in South Africa - Effects on Immigrant Communities/Foreign Nationals

While xenophobia has historically received much attention in Europe and the United States, far less is known of the indigenous paths it has taken in developing countries. The outbreak of xenophobic violence in South Africa in May 2008, left sixty-two dead, seven hundred injured and over one hundred thousand displaced. The targets of the violence were mainly foreigners from other African countries, although South Africans made up one-third of the dead. The violence started in Alexandra Township in Johannesburg before spreading to other townships, mainly in the province of Gauteng and in and around the cities of Cape Town and Durban, many of the 140 affected areas were townships and so-called informal settlements.

However, the 2008 xenophobic riots are best understood if envisaged as a specific moment of crisis along a broader continuum of low-intensity violence emerging in the mid-1990s and manifesting itself regularly after 2008: in 2010, 2013 and again in March and April 2015.
The South African institutional infrastructure since the dawn of democracy in the country in 1994, has continued to be tested by frequent violent xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals, especially black Africans. These attacks remain sporadic and are sometimes very violent as in 2007, 2008 and 2014 when they peaked, costing several human lives and properties. For example, in the 2007 xenophobic attacks on Somalis in the Eastern Cape, over three dozen lives were lost and, in Zandspruit, over 100 informal Zimbabwean dwellings were burnt down.

In the 2008 attacks, over 70 people were killed country-wide and over 100,000 migrants hounded out of their homes, many seriously assaulted and injured, and their properties damaged. These attacks have since become a testimony to South Africa’s weak socio-economic, political and institutional governance structures. The complicity of South African authorities, namely, the police, Home Affairs officials, and Lindela (a notorious repatriation centre for refugees) employees to these attacks are on record. The attacks were inevitable consequence of decades of unchecked xenophobic sentiments, reflecting an oversight by South African authorities in matters of civic education.

Consequently, 33% of South Africans in a national survey, as cited in Kinge & Tiobo, see migrants in the country as job-snatchers, 21% see migrants as criminals, and about 33% would not want migrants and refugees to enjoy the same right to legal protection, police protection, and access to social services as citizens. Even though migrants in South Africa have constitutional rights like other citizens, these migrants, according to Ngwakwe and Ilorah, are dehumanized and demonized, making it difficult to maximize the development potential of migration. This reflects the country’s weak institutions. Landau and Ramjathan-Keogh also highlighted that in most instances during xenophobic violence, laws may be in place at a
national level to protect all people, including foreign nationals, but the enforcement machinery may constitute challenges.\textsuperscript{47} In addition, countries tolerating violent xenophobic tendencies on foreign nationals also violate property rights with impunity. However, without proper institutional reforms, such countries have problems raising capital and attracting foreign investors.\textsuperscript{48}

Xenophobia in South Africa is not only restricted to the fear or dislike of foreigners. Rather, it is extreme tension, irrational dislike, intense fear and violence by South Africans towards immigrants.\textsuperscript{49} This often results in emotional and psychological distress, frustration, brutality and deaths.\textsuperscript{50} This now seemingly deeply-rooted expression of rejection has led some analysts in South Africa, to consider xenophobic violence as one idiom in the growing repertoire of protest.\textsuperscript{51} Furthermore, victims of the attacks were, most of the time, non-South African people living and working in South Africa, some of them had been there for a very long time, some had arrived more recently, some were documented and some were not.\textsuperscript{52} South African people were also attacked, when trying to protect their foreign neighbours, or because of their foreign spouse, or because they were mistaken for foreigners (as not South African enough) by the assailters.\textsuperscript{53}

South Africa is a major recipient of migrants from countries in Southern Africa and beyond and official reports show that amidst increasing but sporadic xenophobic attacks, immigration into South Africa has continued.\textsuperscript{54} For example, the 2011 census results revealed a stable inflow of foreign nationals in South Africa between 2001 and 2011, despite the violent 2008 xenophobic violence (CIDP, 2011/2015). Wotela and Letsiri discussed why immigrants make South Africa the country of choice and point out that the long historical four migration streams
as well as official amnesties that have created a blended society within this region resulting in strong migration networks, account for immigration into South Africa.\textsuperscript{55}

Another factor contributing to immigration into South Africa and strengthening social capital networks is policy shifts in dealing with foreign nationals as detailed in Wotela and Letsiri.\textsuperscript{56} An organisation called “The People Against Suffering, Oppression and Poverty”, has pointed out that the dispensation the South African government provided Zimbabweans to regularise their employment in 2009, is a contributing factor to the stable immigration. They argue that such dispensation facilitates for other family members of foreign nationals to also migrate to South Africa in spite of several deportations. In sum, as Wotela and Letsiri noted, the initiation of South African immigration is influenced by the pull and largely the push factors that include access to shelter, employment, and other social facilities, which are not adequately available in many developing countries, as compared to South Africa. \textsuperscript{57}

1.9.2 Migrants from African Countries to South Africa

Migration, most importantly illegal migration, from most African countries to South Africa, has increasingly become a great source of concern to the successive governments of South Africa. According to Eugene Campbell, the major host of illegal migration within the African region is South Africa.\textsuperscript{58} According Campbell, the huge economic disparities between some poor African states and the relatively rich African states such as South Africa, is the major pull factor resulting to the increase in the number of immigrants in South Africa. Similar to the assertions of Campbell, Solomon Hussein also indicated that undocumented migration and irregular employment of foreign nationals in South Africa, is said to dramatically increase since 1990.\textsuperscript{59}
Unlike Campbell, Hussein however, traced the pull factors responsible for the rapidly growing immigration of other Africans to South Africa, to a long history of South African’s dependence on migrant workers from the other African countries, particularly in the mining and the agricultural sectors. According to Campbell, the development of migrant labour system to the development of South African mines has, for instance, been well documented by scholars such as (Crush et al, 1991; Crush and James, 1995). Hussein, therefore, concluded that without the contribution of migrant workers, neither South Africa’s agricultural industry nor the mining industry would have developed at all and that would have also limited the growth of South Africa’s modern industrial economy.

The assertion of Campbell and Hussein point the fact that South Africa is occupied with many other nationals from the African continent, who are constantly in search of employment opportunities and other improved living standards in South Africa. This, therefore, explains the accusations levelled by some South Africans against other nationals in South Africa that the latter are taking over jobs mainly preserved for they, the locals. Hence, the protection of the former’s jobs through xenophobic attack on the latter.

As indicated throughout the literature, although scholarly works have been done to discuss the successive xenophobic attacks in South Africa in the mid-1990s, 2008, 2010, 2013 and 2015, much research work has not been done to actually examine the impact of the socio-economic effects of xenophobic violence on Ghanaian foreign nationals residing in South Africa. An inquiry into this phenomenon is, however, important to advise the government of Ghana and other stakeholders, as well as policy makers in Ghana and South Africa, to take pragmatic measures in mitigating any adverse effects the xenophobic attacks may have on Ghanaian
foreign nationals residing in South Africa. This is the gap in the literature on xenophobic attacks in South Africa that my research work seeks to fill.

Furthermore, literature did not provide how many Ghanaians are living in South Africa and how many Ghanaians have been affected by xenophobic attacks. The Ghana High Commission also does not have information on the number of Ghanaians living in South Africa and how many Ghanaians have been affected by the xenophobic attacks.

1.10 Sources of Data and Data Collection Instruments

Data for the study was gathered from secondary and primary sources. Secondary data were obtained from books, journals, dissertations, official reports, seminar papers and the internet. Primary data was collected using a semi-structured interview guide. The study made use of primary data that was gathered through semi-structured interviews from 20 participants that took part in the study, specifically Ghanaian migrants in South Africa, who were victims of xenophobic violence during the period understudy (2007-2014). A semi-structured interview guide was used to allow the respondents give more detail information on the subject and to allow for follow-up questions based on the responses given during the interview. The choice of the resource persons was based on their personal experiences and in-depth knowledge of their experiences during the xenophobic violence in the period of study.

1.11 Research Methodology

The study followed a qualitative design where semi-structured interviews were used to collect data from 20 participants that took part in the study. The design was descriptive in nature. Snowballing sampling was then used, whereby the researcher relied on her initial respondents to refer her to other Ghanaian foreign nationals in South Africa that formed part of the study.
According to Dixon-Woods, researchers use data collection instruments to collect data which could be in the form of interviews, tests, questionnaires, or observations. For this study, the type of research technique that was used for the collection of data is a semi-structured interview.

All the 20 participants who were selected purposively lived in Sunny side, Pretoria. The participants were given a one-on-one in-depth interview. All the participants were phoned a day earlier to get an appointment for their interviews. Five (5) of the participants were interviewed in the morning at their work places on different days. The remaining fifteen (15) participants were interviewed in the afternoon on different days at their work places. Before any interview, the researcher gave short information about herself and gave the frame of reference of the interview. All the participants signed a consent form. A semi-structured interview guide was used to allow the participants give more detail information on the subject and to ask follow-up questions, based on the responses given during the interview.

All the 20 interviews were tape recorded and lasted about 30 minutes. The tapes were transcribed verbatim and the transcriptions were checked against the tapes for omissions and inaccuracies. Themes were developed from each interview using the “cut and paste” method. Member checks were done with each participant.

A pilot study was done in the period of March, 2018, to validate and check the reliability of the instruments to be used. According to Babbie, a pilot study is a mini version of a full scale study or a probationary run done in preparation of the complete study. It can also be referred to as a probability study or pre-testing of a research instrument, questionnaire or interview schedule. A pilot study can, therefore, be used to test an idea or hypothesis.
Ten respondents were used in the pilot study for the purpose of the study. In order to ensure trustworthiness (as applicable to a qualitative study), the following four critical aspects, as recommended by Guba and Lincoln were adhered to: credibility (internal validity), transferability (external validity), dependability (reliability), and conformability (objectivity). Furthermore, the researcher made sure that the respondents that took part in the pilot study do not participate in the final data collection of the study.

After considering issues and challenges experienced in the pilot study and noting areas of improvement in the final data collection which thereafter commenced, data was collected from 20 participants in the month of June and July. Thereafter, the transcribed interviews were analysed manually, interpreted and categorised into themes. In addition, collected data were analysed by following the six steps suggested by Creswell and Creswell.

1.12 Ethical Considerations

The researcher observed and abided by the principles, regulations and conditions of doing research. In this research project, the researcher ensured that he obtains informed consent of participants and all respondents’ participation and information shared were treated as confidential and as anonymous as possible. Respondents (participants) were, therefore, assured that their names will not be mentioned in this research.

1.13 Limitations of the Study

The study only focused on investigating the effect of xenophobic violence on Ghanaian foreign nationals residing in South Africa. Another limitation experienced was the sourcing of literature on the migration and general issues surrounding migration and migrants especially,
xenophobic violence and the social effects thereof of xenophobic violence. A lot of literature available informs on general migration issues between countries and member states. The researcher’s motivation for the study is also grounded on the fact that she is a Ghanaian national living in South Africa, and therefore was directly and indirectly affected by the xenophobic events and thereafter the effects of the violent.

1.14 Organisation of Chapters

In terms of structure, this study is divided into four chapters. Chapter one is the introductory chapter that gives a detailed background to the study, the statement of the problem, the research objective, research questions, and scope of study. It is also the section where the theory upon which the research is based is adequately explained and justified. It also encompasses the organisational structure of the study. Chapter Two reviews relevant polices and frameworks impacting on migration and dynamics involved in migrants’ socio-economic livelihoods in host countries and South Africa’s foreign policy in particular to foreign migrants. In Chapter Three, the social-economic effects of xenophobic violence on Ghanaian foreign migrants in South Africa is examined, while chapter Four constitutes the Summary of the Findings, Conclusions and the recommendations of the study.
Endnotes

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CHAPTER TWO
OVERVIEW OF MIGRATION AND XENOPHOBIA DYNAMICS

2.0 Introduction

This chapter seeks to report on literature gathered addressing various issues pertaining to the main variables to be investigated in the study. In this section, literature on migration patterns in Africa and specifically within South Africa will be highlighted. In addition, factors that influence migration including the pull and push factors of migration will be discussed. Furthermore, xenophobia, as one of the effects of migration into South Africa, will be interrogated in the report coupled with one of the objectives of the study which is to investigate the socio-economic effects of xenophobia on African immigrants within South Africa, specifically Ghanaians.

2.1 Migration, International Migration

Migration and the resulting ethnic and racial diversity are amongst the most emotive subjects in contemporary societies. Depending on the context, the term migration can have various definitions, and is applicable to both humans and animals. Throughout the world's history, people have been migrating across continents in search of food, shelter, safety and hospitable weather. Today, people are still on the move for the same reasons, as well as the new reasons arising, such as job relocation and overpopulation.

International migration is linked to underlying features of global politics, particularly inequalities between richer and poor countries as well as the effects of factors such as political repression and conflict. Migration in Africa is dynamic and extremely complex. This is reflected in the feminization of migration, diversification of migration destinations,
transformation of labour flows into commercial migration, and brain drain from the region.\(^3\) Furthermore, Lourenço-Lindell points out that people in other African cities face challenges ranging from absent or ineffective provision of basic services, poor housing, few secure employment opportunities, and insufficient income and would thus migrate to countries were the mentioned benefits and amenities would be available.\(^4\) The movement of migrants to another country always places a burden on the countries receiving the migrants. This is highlighted by W.H.O and points out that the presence of foreign nationals in a country has implications beyond accessing employment and that the hosting state is expected to provide and look out for them, including an effort to integrate them into society.

2.2 Migration in South Africa

Rogerson and Posel both maintain that there has been a growing movement of foreign migrants and refugees into South Africa since 1990 and that Prior to 1990, most authorized migrants to South Africa came from Europe and neighbouring countries.\(^5\) South Africa's official migrant stock is still dominated by these two source areas.\(^6\) In addition, most of migrants in South Africa originate from South Africa’s traditional supply areas, including the SADC countries while others come from elsewhere in Africa and even further afield.\(^7\)

Crush highlights that a significant proportion of South Africa's neighbouring states have migrated to South Africa, many to work.\(^8\) According to a recent survey by the Southern African Migration Project, for example, 81 percent of Lesotho's adult population has been to South Africa. As many as 83 percent of Lesotho's citizens have parents and 51 percent have grandparents who worked in South Africa. The equivalent figures for Mozambique are 29 percent, 53 percent, and 32 percent, while for Zimbabwe, the corresponding figures are 23 percent, 24 percent, and 23 percent.\(^9\)
The 2001 census of South Africa, showed that the migrant stock included 687,678 migrants from other Southern African Developing Countries (SADC) and 228,318 from Europe. Other areas of growing importance included the rest of Africa (41,817) and Asia (40,889). In all, immigrants made up 2.3 percent of South Africa's total population in 2001.10

South Africa is a major recipient of migrants from countries in Southern Africa and beyond and official reports show that amidst increasing but sporadic xenophobic attacks, immigration into South Africa has continued.11 For an example, the 2011 Census results revealed a stable inflow of foreign nationals in South Africa between 2001 and 2011, despite the violent 2008 xenophobic violence (CIDP, 2011/2015). Wotela and Letsiri discussed why immigrants make South Africa the country of choice and point out that the long historical four migration streams as well as official amnesties that have created a blended society within this region, resulting in strong migration networks, account for immigration into South Africa.12

Another factor contributing to migration into South Africa and strengthening social capital networks, is policy shifts in dealing with foreign nationals as detailed in Wotela and Letsiri.13 An organisation called “The People Against Suffering, Oppression and Poverty”, has pointed out that the dispensation the South African government provided Zimbabweans to regularise their employment in 2009, is a contributing factor to the stable migration.14 They argue that such dispensation facilitates for other family members of foreign nationals to also migrate to South Africa, in spite of several deportations. In sum, the South African migration was due in part to the pull and largely the push factors that include access to shelter, employment, and other social facilities which is not the case in developing countries.15
2.3 Factors Influencing Migration

There are several factors that influence migration. Migration confers economic benefit to migrants and their households.\textsuperscript{16} However, reasons behind migration could be through a number of factors including a complex of economic, political, social, and cultural factors, both contemporary and historical, and that less violent, “ordinary” experiences of xenophobia are part of the everyday lives of African immigrants in South Africa.\textsuperscript{17} Moreover, income, proximity, and networks are the major drivers of migration from developing to industrial countries.\textsuperscript{18} Again, movement of people from one country to another is primarily driven by relative inequalities of income and wealth. In addition, there are other push and pull factors that include the effects of political change, the operation and effects of migrant networks connecting potential migrants to kith and kins that have already moved and that can be facilitated by new information and communication technologies.\textsuperscript{19}

2.4 The Concept of Xenophobia

One of the effects of migration across African borders has been xenophobia. The word “xenophobia” is understood as the systematic construction of strangers as a threat to society justifying their exclusion and at times, suppression which often refers to discourses and practices that are discriminatory towards foreign nationals.\textsuperscript{20} Xenophobia is a multifaceted term. The word - xenophobic is derived from a Greek word - Xeno meaning stranger or foreigner, and - Phobia meaning – fear.

2.5 Xenophobia in Africa

Coming to Africa, Nigeria and Ghana have had records of hatred for foreign immigrants, which ended up with xenophobia.\textsuperscript{21} Xenophobic inclinations in Ghana became riffed in 1969 to the extent that the Ghanaian government had to evict and expelled a total number of 1.5 million
foreign nationals particularly, Nigerians.\textsuperscript{22} Research has it that in 1983, the Nigerian government evicted 1.5 million foreigners from Nigeria who were mostly Ghanaians.\textsuperscript{23} The xenophobic inclination in both countries was spurred by economic difficulties confronting them.\textsuperscript{24} Nationals of both countries (Ghana and Nigeria in 1969 and 1983, respectively) accused each other of their predicaments.\textsuperscript{25}

Globalization can be responsible for xenophobic attitudes because in the face of globalization, different nationals of different countries move from one country to another, in search of greener pastures and at the end of the day, are exposed to xenophobic assaults.\textsuperscript{26} In the same light, citizens from Botswana taking prompt xenophobic ideas from South Africa referred to foreign nationals (excluding South Africans) in Botswana as “makwerekwere”. Such derogatory word, is also used in South Africa, to refer to people who speak strange languages and are coming from economically devastated countries in search of greener pastures.\textsuperscript{27} Furthermore, the Indians, despite their huge economic investments in Botswana, are still targeted.\textsuperscript{28}

2.6 Xenophobia and its Socio-Economic Effects in South Africa

While xenophobia has historically received much attention in Europe and the United States, far less is known of the indigenous paths it has taken in developing countries.\textsuperscript{29} The outbreak of xenophobic violence in South Africa in May, 2008, left sixty-two dead, seven hundred injured and over one hundred thousand displaced. The targets of the violence were mainly foreigners from other African countries, although South Africans made up one-third of the dead.\textsuperscript{30} The violence started in Alexandra township in Johannesburg before spreading to other townships, mainly in the province of Gauteng and in and around the cities of Cape Town and Durban, many of the 140 affected areas were townships and so-called informal settlements. However, the 2008 xenophobic riots are best understood if envisaged as a specific moment of
crisis along a broader continuum of low-intensity violence emerging in the mid-1990s and manifesting itself regularly after 2008: in 2010, 2013 and again in March and April 2015.\textsuperscript{31}

The South African institutional infrastructure since the dawn of democracy in the country in 1994, has continued to be tested by frequent violent xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals, especially black Africans.\textsuperscript{32} These attacks are sometimes very violent as in 2007, 2008 and 2014 when they peaked, costing several human lives and properties.\textsuperscript{33} For example, in the 2007 xenophobic attacks on Somalis in the Eastern Cape, over three dozen lives were lost and in Zandspruit, over 100 informal Zimbabwean dwellings were burnt down.\textsuperscript{34}

In the 2008 attacks, over 70 people were killed country-wide and over 100,000 migrants hounded out of their homes, many seriously assaulted and injured, and their properties damaged. These attacks have since become a testimony to South Africa’s weak socio-economic, political and institutional governance structures.\textsuperscript{35} The attacks were inevitable consequence of decades of unchecked xenophobic sentiments.\textsuperscript{36}

A national survey by SAMP in 2008, saw migrants in the country as job-snatchers, 21 percent saw migrants as criminals, and about 33 percent would not want migrants and refugees to enjoy the same right to legal protection, police protection, and access to social services as citizens.\textsuperscript{37} Even though migrants in South Africa have constitutional rights like other citizens, the migrants, according to Crush and Ramachandran, are dehumanized and demonized, making it difficult to maximize the development potential of the migrants. This reflects the country’s weak institutions.\textsuperscript{38} In most instances during xenophobic violence, laws may be in place at a national level to protect all people, including foreign nationals, but the enforcement machinery may constitute challenges. In addition, countries tolerating violent xenophobic tendencies on
foreign nationals also violate property rights with impunity. However, without proper institutional reforms, such countries have problems raising capital and attracting foreign investors.\textsuperscript{39}

Xenophobia in South Africa is not only restricted to the fear or dislike of foreigners. Rather, it is extreme tension, irrational dislike, intense fear and violence by South Africans towards immigrants.\textsuperscript{40} This often results in emotional and psychological distress, frustration, brutality and deaths.\textsuperscript{41} This now seemingly deeply rooted expression of rejection has led some analysts in South Africa to consider xenophobic violence as one idiom in the growing repertoire of protests.\textsuperscript{42} Furthermore, victims of the attacks were, most of the time, non-South African people living and working in South Africa, some of them had been there for a very long time, some had arrived more recently. Some were documented and some were not.\textsuperscript{43} South African people were attacked too, when trying to protect their foreign neighbours, or because of their foreign spouse, or because they were mistaken for foreigners (as not South African enough) by the assailters.\textsuperscript{44}

2.7 South African Migration Policy

Migration has forced many nations that receive migrants from across the world to find ways to deal with migration mainly through migration policies. South Africa’s numerous migration policies have generated considerable controversy within the country, with debates especially on the implications of migration for the national labour market.\textsuperscript{45}

South Africa has introduced numerous policies in order to control the influx of migrants into its borders. South Africa has a number of resident permits that it avails to qualifying migrants. These permits range from work visas, numerous temporary resident permits and permanent
resident permits. In late 2002, the Immigration Act 13 of 2002, was introduced. The act laid out a more immigration-friendly framework focused on attracting skilled migrants and also committed the government to rooting out xenophobia in society although it did not specify how this was to be achieved.\textsuperscript{46} With regards to refugees, South Africa did not recognize refugees until 1993, and it was only following the transition to democracy that South Africa became a signatory to the UN and Organization of African Unity conventions on refugees.\textsuperscript{47} A Refugee Act governing asylum seekers' admission and setting in place a process for adjudicating claims was passed in 1998 and became effective in 2000. South Africa has also advanced the concept of migration for development. South Africa has endorsed both the African Union (AU) Strategic Framework on Migration and the AU Common Position on Migration and Development.\textsuperscript{48}

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter reported on literature gathered, addressing various issues pertaining to the main variables of the study. In this chapter, literature on immigration patterns in Africa and specifically within South Africa was highlighted. In addition, factors that influence migration including the pull and push factors of migration were discussed. Furthermore, xenophobia, as one of the effects of migration into South Africa, was interrogated in this chapter coupled with one of the objectives of the study which is to investigate the socio-economic effects of xenophobia on African immigrants within South Africa, specifically Ghanaians.
Endnotes

8 Crush, J., op. cit.
10 Ibid.
11 Ibid.
12 Wotela, K. and Letsiri, C., op. cit.
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CHAPTER THREE

REVIEW OF THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF XENOPHOBIC VIOLENCE ON GHANAIAN MIGRANTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

3.0 Introduction

This chapter reviews the social and economic effects of xenophobic violence on Ghanaian migrants in South Africa. The study reflected on a specific period between 2007 and 2014, in which foreign nationals were subject of xenophobic violence in South Africa.

Based on the results presented below, new knowledge regarding the factors of the socio-economic effects, xenophobic violence on Ghanaian migrants in South Africa in the period of study has been generated. Through the initial abstraction and comparison of data, a coding framework was developed from which themes and sub-themes discussed below emerged.

3.1 Themes that Emerged from the Data

There are several themes that emerged from the study that pertain to the socio-economic effects of xenophobic violence experienced by Ghanaian migrants in South Africa. The themes that emerged include the relationship dynamics between South African nationals and Ghanaians in South Africa, the causes of xenophobia/xenophobic violence in South Africa, experiences of a Ghanaian foreign national within South Africa, economic effects of xenophobic violence in South Africa, social effects of xenophobic violence in South Africa, migrants perception of the South African authorities with regards to xenophobic violence against Ghanaian foreign nationals, migrants view on Ghana’s government in response to the xenophobic violence, the relationship between Ghana’s government and the south African government, migrants perceptions on what could be done/interventions to stop and discourage xenophobic violence against foreign nationals in South Africa.
3.1.1 Relationship Dynamics between South African Nationals and Ghanaians in South Africa

Many respondents had interesting views with regards to their perception of relations that exist between South African nationals and foreign nationals specifically Ghanaians. The mixed views are reflected by the several participants interviewed.

Participant 9 highlighted that:

“We have a very good relationship with the South Africans. In my complex in Pretoria, South Africans know that I am a foreigner and they appreciate me. I have several friends and have even dated several South African ladies.”

The integrated theory in which the study is grounded, notes several relationship dynamics between host countries citizens and migrants. With regards to relationship dynamics between the host country and migrants, participant 12 echoed that:

“South Africans think that we are here to take their jobs and women and we do not have a good relationship with them. The relationship is strained.”

The feelings of participant 12 could be analysed by the feeling of discomfort that citizens in the host country have as a result of migrants that come through to settle in the host country. This is supported by the theory in which the study is grounded on, the integrated threat theory, which contributes that bad relations between citizens from the host country and migrants could be based on the feeling of discomfort arising from the phobia perceived as a potential threat (social or economic) by immigrants on citizens of a particular region.¹

Another participant (participant 19) differed in views as she highlighted that “the relationship between South African nationals and Ghanaian nationals living in my neighbourhood are very
good. The South African citizens here are very good to me and understanding. I own a boutique in Sunnyside Pretoria, where I specialise in dress making and tailoring. I also sell African attires in my shop. People here love me and most of them are my customers.”

3.1.2 The Causes of Xenophobia/Xenophobic Violence in South Africa

The respondents in the study outlined varied thoughts on what caused xenophobic violence in South Africa during the period of study. The presence of foreign nationals in a country has many implications for the host country. Apart from just availing employment and means of survival for the migrants, the host state is to integrate them into society.  

The fact that host countries are supposed to provide amenities for the migrants poses a challenge as the resources would now have to be shared amongst the citizens of the host country and migrants. In line with this thinking pattern, participant 14 was of the view that “the causes of xenophobic violence can be several from the view that the locals have that feeling that the foreigners are here to compete for every resource that the country has, from opportunities of employment, accommodation and even their women. In most instances where xenophobic violence has occurred, the founding cause would be the people referring to shortage or scarcity of resources to the individuals that would be there.”

In addition, with regards to the causes of xenophobia/xenophobic violence in South Africa, Participant 12 highlighted that:

“As for me, I think that the people here have a general hatred for people that are foreigners”.

The above view shared by participant 12 also supports Lourenço-Lindell view that, African cities face challenges ranging from absent or ineffective provision of basic services, poor housing, few secure employment opportunities, and insufficient income, thus, the competition of resources that is always there amongst the citizens of these African countries including South
Africa that results in conflicts and to some extent hatred of respective groups as highlighted by Participant 12 above.\textsuperscript{3} The hatred among citizens of the host country and the migrants can be explained by the sentiments of Esses, Dovidio who observed that the phobia of resource competition fuels hatred for immigrants.\textsuperscript{4}

3.1.3 Participants Experiences of Xenophobia/Xenophobic Violence in South Africa in the Period of Study

The majority of respondents interviewed shared their experiences of the xenophobic violence that took part in the period under study.

Participant 6 shared that “\textit{the period of xenophobic violence was not good for foreigners as the environment was not conducive at all. There were many foreigners that lost their lives. Some that I know personally and most people were affected by the violence. The situation was tense during the violence and we were living in fear.}”

The sentiments shared by participant 6 above, are in line with analysis of literature that shared experiences of victims during similar attacks. These attacks are sometimes very violent as in 2007, 2008 and 2014 when they peaked, costing several human lives and properties.\textsuperscript{5} For example, in the 2007 xenophobic attacks on Somalis in the Eastern Cape, over three dozen lives were lost and in Zandspruit, over 100 informal Zimbabwean dwellings were burnt down.\textsuperscript{6}

In addition, participant 2 also shared his sentiments about his experiences during the xenophobic violence that characterised South Africa in the period of study. Participant 2 highlighted that “\textit{me and my family did not experience good times during the xenophobic violence period. When the violence broke out, we feared for our safety and we were always indoors so that we stayed out of the streets where some South Africans were baying to get hold}”
of foreigners. As we were indoors, we could see on the news how foreigners were being attacked in other cities too. Living during that time was hell.”

The views of participant 2 that describes the animosity between locals and foreign migrants are supported by Mutambanengwe, who contributes that the fallacies that South Africans have about foreigners are highly likely to contribute to the chauvinistic behaviour and discriminatory practices migrants may encounter during the settlement procedure.

The respondents that took part in the study offered differing views about their experiences living in South Africa. Participant 13 shared her experiences of being a migrant in South Africa by highlighting that; “If I had a choice I would return home to live happily ever after amongst my people. It is not nice at all being a foreigner in South Africa. Every day, you live in this country as a foreigner and that is a struggle. You struggle for citizenship papers, for a decent place to live in, you long for a friendly and respecting society towards you, you struggle for means of living and survival, among other necessities of life. I would not recommend any Ghanaian national to come and stay in South Africa. The opportunities are really limited for you.”

3.1.4 Socio-Economic Effects of Xenophobic Violence on Ghanaians in South Africa

There are numerous economic effects that xenophobic violence brought to Ghanaian foreign nationals resident in South Africa. Many respondents shared their experiences of how they were affected economically by the xenophobic violence during the period of study. Participant 9 shared that; “I was working comfortably as a professional in a private firm in my city. Then during the xenophobic violent attacks, the owners of the firm were accused of hiring foreigners at the expense of locals. Because of the pressure, business owners ended up employing people
from the community and other locals into the organisation, to replace these foreigners. My contract was thus, terminated. Since then, I have had no form of employment and means to survive and take care of my family. I do not have money because I am unemployed. Many people depended on me economically back at home but now I don’t have a means to take care of them.”

In examining the economic effects of xenophobic violence, one Ghanaian national also had this to say. He was Participant 13 and he observed that:

“I owned a business in the community that I live in. The business was thriving and I was making a difference in the community as my business employed South African nationals but during the xenophobic violence period, I lost everything. My business was singled out because I am a foreigner. My business premises were attacked and property in the premises looted and burnt. The business totally collapsed and because I had invested all the money that I had come with here, I lost everything. I am now trying to start up another business from the financial support I am getting from my in-laws and other Ghanaian nationals resident in South Africa”.

The sentiments shared by participant 13 can be traced on the xenophobic demeanour on immigrant traders on the bases of immigrants’ business. In most instances, the fact that migrants own businesses that seem thriving and taking customers and business away from locals is the reason locals would then respond by the act of being violent on migrant business owners.

There are numerous social effects of xenophobic violence. Ghanaian nationals interviewed in the study pointed out to the social effects that have resulted from xenophobic violence. Participant 7 highlights that; “in the community that I live, it’s not like South Africans living
there were really against foreigners. We were all living together as one happy family in the community but when the xenophobic violent attacks started in other cities and towns, there were few elements within the community that were poisoned in their thinking and ended up rising against the foreigners. This has led to a broken community, in which there was once love and understanding between foreigners and South Africans. There is now hatred, doubt and division amongst community members.”

The social effects of xenophobic violence on Ghanaian migrants have left some deep scars in some of the participants interviewed. One participant (participant 17) highlighted that “the xenophobic violence that occurred really left me in a bad space. I lost my family as I was married to a South African national and had children down in Cape Town but when violence started in the town I was living in, I had to run away from the town and my family for my safety. The relations have not been the same anymore as when I left my family continued with their life and I was seen as an outcast”. The effects highlighted by participant 17 can be attributed to the intolerance levels that have arisen between locals and foreign nationals within South Africa.8

3.1.5 Perception of Participants towards the South African Authorities with regards to Xenophobic Violence against Ghanaian Foreign Nationals

There were differing views from participants with regards to their perception of South African authorities with regards to xenophobic violent attacks. Participant 3 shared that “I feel that the South African authorities especially the political leadership was very responsible in their response and conduct during the xenophobic violence. They condemned most of the actions of the citizens of South Africa preaching compromise and Ubuntu. However, I feel much more could have been done by the law enforcing agencies, in protecting foreign nationals during the events of xenophobic violence.”
The efforts of the government of South Africa are detailed in literature with regards to its efforts in dealing with migrants and xenophobia. To deal with the growing number of migrants in South Africa, the Immigration Act 13 of 2002 was introduced. The act laid out a more immigration-friendly framework, focused on attracting skilled migrants and also committed the government to rooting out xenophobia in society although it did not specify how this was to be achieved. However, South Africa’s numerous migration policies have generated considerable controversy within the country, with debates especially on the implications of migration for the national labour market.

3.1.6 Participants perception of Ghana Government’s Response to the Xenophobic Violence in the Period of Study

The participants that took part in the study shared different opinions on the role of Ghana Government in response to the xenophobic violence of the period under study. The differing views are highlighted in sentiments shared by participant 17. Participant 17 highlighted that “The government of Ghana did not help Ghanaians much during the xenophobic violence period. Other countries like Mozambique and Zimbabwe, chattered flights and hired buses to ferry their people back to their homelands but the Ghanaian government did not follow suit”.

There are various push and pull forces at play as contributors in fueling the psychological and physical abuses on non-South Africans from the other African states on the continent. Aligned to this, the Ghanaian government can have interventions by making sure that they recognize the pull factors that Ghanaian migrants come for in South Africa and try to avail those in Ghana so that there are less Ghanaian citizens that migrate to South Africa and end up being victims of xenophobic violent attacks. This is supported by one of the participants (Participant 8) that took part in the study who observed that “Ghana should not just leave it for South African authorities to be concerned and care for Ghanaian migrants in South Africa.”
Ghanaian authorities could help by having programmes that will account for Ghanaian migrants in South Africa, interrogate ways of how they can give them opportunities so that they are able to survive and contribute positively to the economy of the host country. They could help them establish businesses or any other forms that could find them in employment. Better off if these migrants could be integrated back home and be provided with opportunities for their own survival.”

3.1.7 Participants Perception of the Relationship between Ghana Government and the South African Government

The respondents in the study shared varying sentiments on the relationship between Ghana government and that of the South African government. One participant (Participant 11) shared that: “I feel that the past administrations had more union and respect for each other. The current administration from both countries should do more, to make sure that the relations between the two countries are kept in the best of unions”.

The relationship between government of Ghana and the South African government, is also highlighted by another participant (Participant 11) who shares that “I think the relationship between the Ghanaian government and the South African government is very good. Both countries have missions and diplomatic ties and embassies in the respective administrative areas. Moreover, Ghanaian President, His Excellency Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo was recently here on a working visit and was well received by his South African counterpart, His Excellency President Cyril Ramaphosa. This shows that the relations between the two countries are very good.”

The sentiments of the participant are supported by the visit of the Ghanaian President recently in July 2018, where the heads of government and their dignitaries had widespread discussions
on the issues common to the two countries. This signals the good relations between the two countries.

3.1.8 Interventions to Stop and Discourage Xenophobic Violence against Foreign Nationals in South Africa

The respondents that took part in the study highlighted several interventions which they think could help stop and discourage violent attacks against foreign nationals in South Africa. Reflecting on the interventions that could be put forward to help stop or discourage violence against foreigners, participant 7 shared that:

“The government of the day would assist by strengthening the rule of law. In some cases, people feel that they can mete out personal justice to foreigners and get away with it. In some cases especially, when violence is focused on foreigners, you will find that the host country’s citizens will be looting and destroying property that belong to foreigners. If they could know that all of that is wrong and could led to a jail sentence, they will desist from it.”

The views of participant 7, especially with regards to the interventions that the host country’s government can undertake in cases of xenophobic violence being experienced, is cognisant with the various international expectations and treaties signed in respect to human life and affording migrants some form of dignity and rights in their areas of residents in foreign countries. These treaties and agreements that recognise migrants include, the United Nation and the African Union Conventions on Refugees a Refugee Act governing asylum seekers’ admission and setting in place a process for adjudicating claims, passed in 1998 and became effective in 2000. This was also passed by the government of South Africa and other endorsement migration patterns that countries uphold. Examples are the African Union (AU) Strategic Framework on Migration and the AU Common Position on Migration and Development.
3.2 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the results of the study and provided a review of the social and economic effects of xenophobic violence on Ghanaian foreign migrants in South Africa. The themes were compared and contrasted with the literature. The next chapter presents the conclusions and recommendations of the study.
Endnotes

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12 Crush, J., op. cit.
13 Ibid.
CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of findings, conclusions, and recommendations based on the collected information from participants through their views and perceptions on the socio-economic effects of xenophobic violence on Ghanaian foreign migrants in South Africa. Recommendations for future research and a summary of the study are also provided.

4.1 Summary of Findings

On the question of the causes of xenophobic violence in South Africa and its effects on foreign nationals in South Africa, the analysis of the data revealed two major causes.

First of all, South Africans perpetuate these xenophobic attacks on foreigners because the South Africans (locals) are of the view that foreigners are in South Africa to compete for every resource that the country has, from opportunities of employment, education, accommodation and even their women. The study particularly found out that, in most instances where xenophobic violence had occurred, the founding cause was South Africans referring to shortage or scarcity of resources because of the foreigners that are in South Africa.

Secondly, the study found out that xenophobic violence exists in South Africa because South Africans have a general hatred for people that are foreigners. The general effect of xenophobic violence on foreign nationals in South Africa is the loss of lives. In some cases, the loss of properties and insecurity and fear among the current foreign nationals residing in South Africa. These findings, therefore, demonstrate that the first objective of this study has been achieved.
Specifically on the question of the socio-economic effects of xenophobic violence on Ghanaians residing in South Africa, the findings of the study can be categorized into economic and social effects. Economically, whereas some Ghanaian nationals who were working as professionals in private firms lost their jobs and are currently unemployed because of the accusations and criticisms from other South Africans on their employers, some Ghanaians who personally owned business and even employed South African citizens had their businesses invaded, with properties stolen and some burnt.

In terms of social effect, the study found out that prior to the xenophobic violence, Ghanaian nationals enjoyed their lives in peaceful communities in which there was love and understanding between the foreigners and the South Africans. As a result, the Ghanaians do not have any cause to live in perpetual fear or think of their security. After the xenophobic attacks, however, Ghanaian nationals now live in perpetual fear, since they now live in communities filled with hatred, doubt and division amongst community members, in terms of locals and foreigners. As indicated by some Ghanaian nationals interviewed in the study, their peaceful relationships with the locals had never been the same but rather deteriorated after the xenophobic violent attacks. Worst of it all, some Ghanaians who married South Africa nationals were forced to run away from the families for their safety during the xenophobic violence and since then, they are mostly being regarded as outcasts by their own families in South Africa. These findings are, therefore, an indication that the second objectives of this study have been achieved.

On the final question, the question which sought to examine the extent to which the South African government’s solution of ending xenophobic violence eased the socio-economic effects on foreign nationals in general and Ghanaians in particular, the study found out that the
South African authorities, especially the political leadership, were very responsible in their response and conduct during the xenophobic violence. They condemned most of the actions of the citizens of South Africa; preaching compromise and Ubuntu. However, much more could have been done by the law enforcing agents in protecting foreign nationals during the events of xenophobic violence. For example, some of the respondents (Ghanaian nationals) interviewed stated that they think the South African government could do more in preventing the xenophobic violence in South Africa by strengthening the rule of law. According to the respondents, in some cases, some of the South Africans feel that they can mete out personal justice to foreigners and get away with it. For example, one of the respondents asserted that, in some cases especially when violence is focused on foreigners, you will find that the host country’s citizens will be looting and destroying property that belong to foreigners. If they could know that all of that is wrong and it could lead to a jail sentence they will desist from it. These findings of the study, therefore, demonstrate that although the South African authorities came out to publicly condemn most of the actions of the citizens of South Africa and preached compromise and Ubuntu, these actions were not enough to end the xenophobic violence or ease the socio-economic effects on foreign nationals in general and Ghanaians in particular in South Africa. The foregone clearly shows that the third objective of this study has also been achieved.

4.2 Conclusions

The major conclusions from the study based on the study’s main objectives, discussions and the study results, it can be concluded that the primary objective, namely to examine the socio-economic effects of xenophobic violence on Ghanaian nationals in South Africa, was achieved as the respondents highlighted to a number of social and economic ills that xenophobic violent attacks brought onto Ghanaian nationals.
From the findings and discussions thereof, it is evident that Ghanaian nationals within South Africa experienced great social and economic fate due to the xenophobic violence that characterised the country. The respondents interviewed pointed out to their losses economically, their regrets and disengagement socially and also provided views and perceptions on how best future occurrences of xenophobic violence on foreigners could be handled.

There are also several views and perceptions that participants have highlighted that pertain to the socio-economic effects of xenophobic violence on Ghanaian nationals resident in South Africa. The respondents have provided insight into the relationship dynamics between South African nationals and Ghanaians in South Africa, the causes of xenophobia/xenophobic violence in South Africa, experiences of a Ghanaian foreign national within South Africa, economic effects of xenophobic violence in South Africa, social effects of xenophobic violence in South Africa, migrants perception of the south African authorities with regards to xenophobic violence against Ghanaian foreign nationals, migrants view on Ghana government in response to the xenophobic violence, the relationship between Ghana government and the South African government, migrants perceptions on what could be done/interventions to stop and discourage xenophobic violence against foreign nationals in South Africa.

The findings of the study, therefore, justify the hypothesis (the thesis argument) of this dissertation that Ghanaian migrants experienced socio-economic effects of xenophobic violence in South Africa during the periods examined in the study.
4.3 Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study, several interventions could be espoused to prevent the occurrence of violent disturbances as xenophobic violence and the effects thereof. In this section, I present numerous recommendations that could be helpful. The study proposes the following recommendations based on its findings:

- Bearing in mind that the modern world we live in will always be characterised by migration between nationals of different countries, the migration of Ghanaians to South Africa is most likely to continue. It is, therefore, important that authorities from both countries find a way of educating their citizens on the need for tolerance and compromise on citizens from both countries. This education can be done through workshops, seminars, bilateral games between the two states and other interventions by the two governments and embassies of Ghana and South Africa.

- The Ghanaian authorities could borrow a leaf from the causes of migration by Ghanaian nationals and then using the causes, try to counter their migration to South Africa by offering the amenities and opportunities that the Ghanaian migrants see as pull factors to come and settle in South Africa. These opportunities include, employment opportunities, availability of affordable basic needs such as drinking water, food and accommodation.

- The Ghanaian authorities and South African authorities could sign memoranda of understanding in the undertaking to protect citizens of respective countries in cases where xenophobic violence is experienced.
• There should be stricter measures in place especially from the host country (in this case South Africa), in providing enough security to foreign nationals, in case of xenophobic violent attacks. The measures could include stricter jail terms or punishments to people who engage and participate in xenophobic violence. The law enforcement agencies could take a lead role, in making sure that people are safe during occurrences of xenophobic violent attacks.

• Ghanaian authorities should be more cooperative with the South African authorities concerning the issues of care for Ghanaian migrants in South Africa. Ghanaian authorities could become more cooperative by having programmes that will take care of Ghanaian migrants in South Africa. The Ghanaian government can also find out ways of giving the Ghanaians residents in South Africa opportunities so that they are able to survive and contribute positively in the economy of the host country. They could help them establish businesses or any other forms of avenues that could help them become employed in the host country. Through this, South Africans will appreciate the efforts of the Ghanaian government to create job for their people and, therefore, desist from the mind-set that Ghanaians are taking the jobs that have been made available to the locals by the South African government.

• Regional groupings, for example, SADC and African Union could do more in helping out as they could disseminate messages of tolerance and compromise, which member states can uphold and respect. This will help member states as they go on to establish policies, statutes and laws that could stop and discourage mistreatment of foreigners within their countries.
• The host country (in this case, South Africa) should intensify the education of their citizens on the importance of compromise and tolerance especially by highlighting some of the contributions that foreigners bring into the country. For example, the meaningful contribution of foreigners to the economy as tax payers, entrepreneurs and professionals.

• The diplomatic relations between the two countries should be improved to allow for better engagement on the issues that impact and affect the two countries. If the diplomatic relations between the two countries are good, this would ultimately influence decisions on the engagement and preference of each other’s citizens.
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**C. Documents/Reports/Papers**


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E. INTERVIEWS

As a result of the sensitivity of the phenomenon under study, respondents (interviewees) have been assured that their names will not be disclosed. Respondents were therefore designated with numbers based on their participation in the semi-structured interviews. In the study, the respondents are identified as participants 1, participants 2, and participants 3; in that order. In all, 20 respondents were contacted to be interviewed. However, only 14 of the respondents were willing to give out information on the topic under study. Out of the 14 respondents, those whose responses were found significant to the research objectives were identified and analyzed in chapter 3.
APPENDIX

Semi-structured Interview Guide

An examination of the social-economic effects of xenophobic violence on Ghanaian migrants in South Africa

My name is Naa-Odaaley Mills. I am an MA Student from the Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD), University of Ghana. I am conducting a research on the above topic for the purposes of my thesis. Kindly assist by providing your responses to each question. All responses will be treated with confidentiality and used for academic research purposes only. Thank you for your assistance and cooperation.

Research Questions

1. Describe the relations that exist between South African nationals and foreign nationals specifically Ghanaians in your area of residence?
2. What is your own understanding of xenophobia/xenophobic violence?
3. In your own understanding what are the causes of xenophobia/xenophobic violence in South Africa.
4. Please share your experience of xenophobia/xenophobic violence in South Africa?
5. Describe the experiences of a Ghanaian foreign national within South Africa?
6. In what way are you affected economically by the xenophobic violence in South Africa?
   Way are you affected socially by the xenophobic violence in South Africa?
7. Explain your perception of the South African authorities with regards to xenophobic violence against Ghanaian foreign nationals.
8. What is your view on Ghana’s government in response to the xenophobic violence?
9. What is the relationship between Ghana’s government and the South African government?
10. In your own opinion what could be done/interventions to stop and discourage xenophobic violence against foreign nationals in South Africa?