A Survey on the Extent of Xenophobia towards Refugee Children

By

Tracey Kay Livesey

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Diaconiology

(Direction: Play Therapy)

at the

University of South Africa

Supervisor: Dr C.H.M. Bloem

June 2006

This is dedicated to my parents who have given me so much.

I will always be thankful.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge a number of people in my life who have helped to shape me into who I am today.

- My God, for his love and protection and strength to do what needs to get done.

- My parents for their encouragement and support throughout my life. It is because of you, that I have achieved what I have and will.

- My Supervisor, Dr Retha Bloem for her positive attitude and support through this process. Thank you for all your help, it really meant so much.

- My friends for just being who you are.

- The children in this project and all the children who have ever touched my life and made me want to make the world a better place.

- To Bertus, who has started to walk on my professional "journey" with me. I look so forward to doing life with you.

SUMMARY

A SURVEY ON THE EXTENT OF XENOPHOBIA TOWARDS REFUGEE CHILDREN

By

TRACEY KAY LIVESEY

SUPERVISOR: DR C.H.M. BLOEM

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

DEGREE: MASTER OF DIACONIOLOGY IN PLAY THERAPY

A shortcoming in the literature is the lack of information and research into how refugee children from Africa experience life in South Africa and what their degree of exposure to xenophobia is, from South Africans.

This motivated the researcher to investigate the extent of xenophobia towards refugee children living in Shelters in Cape Town. A survey of refugee children was done by means of a questionnaire that assessed the forms of xenophobia and who it was that discriminated against refugee children because of their foreignness.

The results of the study showed that refugee children do experience xenophobia, in various forms from different sectors of South African society. Although some of it is violent in nature, it is mostly prejudice and xenophobic comments that the children are exposed to. This research provided a baseline for more extensive research into this phenomenon.

<u>Key words:</u>

Xenophobia; Refugee; Refugee children; South Africa; Survey; Shelters; Political violence; Discrimination; Education; Foreigners.

DECLARATION AS TO TERMINOLOGY

In the context of this study:

(i)   The term "participant" or "respondent" implies the refugee child of school-going age from an African country;

(ii)   The feminine form of "her" and "hers" are being used for the respondents as the majority of the respondents were female and to prevent confusion, and not to discriminate against genders;

(iii)   No culture is presented as dominant, although the researcher, by virtue of her Western cultural orientation, might unintentionally employ a style of writing that may seem to favour Western culture.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION   Page

CHAPTER 2: REFUGEES IN SOUTH AFRICA

CHAPTER 5:   EMPIRICAL FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

APPENDIXES

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that **A Survey on the Extent of Xenophobia towards Refugee Children** is my own work and that all sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of references.

_____   _____

Signature   Date

(Miss T.K. Livesey)

CHAPTER 1

A Survey on the Extent of Xenophobia towards Refugee Children

Introduction to the study

1. Introduction

Africa has the second largest number of displaced people in the world. According to the 2005 statistics by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the African continent houses over 4.9 million refugees. This constitutes 25% of the world's refugee population (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2005:1). Civil war and violence has resulted in many people leaving their countries of origin and fleeing to countries across their borders in search of safety and a better life.

After 1994, South Africa became an attractive destination for migration. The fall of Apartheid resulted in a large influx of refugees and immigrants into South Africa, especially from other African countries. Two years later, South Africa became a signatory to all three major international instruments pertaining to international migration. The plight of refugees were thus acknowledged and during 2000, the Refugee Act 130 of 1998, came into force and proclaimed commitment to refugee protection (Singh, 2005:22-23). Thus South Africa's freedom and prosperity since democracy became "an imagined Mecca of economic opportunity, or a haven from war-torn or troubled homelands" (International Marketing Council of South Africa, 2004:1).

According to the latest available statistics, South Africa has 27,683 refugees living in South Africa. The number of Asylum-seekers is much higher, namely

115 224 (Redden, 2005:1; Singh, 2005:23). The researcher has found during her review of the literature that the number of undocumented migrants, better known as illegal immigrants, is unknown and the estimates vary considerably. Thus the number of foreigners in total living in South African communities is considerably higher than the documented numbers. These foreigners have settled into South African communities and South Africans are now more exposed to refugees and their lifestyles. According to the International Marketing Council (IMC) (2004:1) and McDonald, Mashike & Golden (2000:171), this increase in number of refugees and other non-citizens has created tension among South African citizens, and xenophobia has become a real cause for concern within communities. From the above it seems evident that research on this "so-called" refugee-situation needs to be done. For the purpose of this study the refugee child's experience of xenophobic behaviour in South African communities was the focus of investigation.

2. Motivation for the Choice of Subject

The researcher has worked in a Shelter with refugee women and children. During her time there, a number of refugee women expressed that they felt discriminated against due to being refugees. They felt unsafe in certain communities as they felt like they were targeted. These beliefs correlate to research done by the South African Migration Project (Crush, 2001:2) where they have found that South Africans as a whole are not tolerant of non-citizens living in South Africa. The surveys carried out showed much support for Government policies that prohibited or strictly limited immigration. Thus it would be of value to research as to whether refugee children in their living environment in South Africa and especially on the Cape Flats, experience these negative attitudes and actions. Do they experience some forms of xenophobia and do they feel fearful and unsafe where they reside and play?

Refugee children, upon entering South Africa, may have possibly been exposed to various forms of violence within their country of origin. Riedesser, Walter, Adam & Verderber (1996:16) have found in their work with refugee children and adolescents that many of these children were tortured or injured or were witnesses of abuse within their families. They experienced their homes being raided, bombings and other war atrocities. They may have been separated from their families for periods of time through imprisonment of their parents or general chaos. They were uprooted from everything that was familiar to them and their sense of security seriously affected. They inevitably experience displacement in the countries where they end up. These practitioners continue by stating that these children need some stability and safety in order to work though their trauma and develop functionally. However should refugee children experience further hardship in South Africa through xenophobic attitudes and behaviours, the researcher is of the opinion that this could seriously impact their ability to feel safe and settled and this needs to be researched.

From the above it seems evident that research on the xenophobic attitudes and behaviours towards refugee children will be of benefit for social workers in order to plan their support strategy towards these children. The problem to be researched was thus formulated as follows.

3. Problem formulation

According to the researcher, there is insufficient research in the Social Service Professions as to whether refugee children living in South African communities experience xenophobia and if it is experienced, then what form it takes. Much research has been done that relates to hostility towards adults, especially men, but not towards refugee children specifically.

In the process of solving the above-mentioned problem the researcher defined the following aim and objectives.

4. Aim and Objectives

According to Zaaiman (2003:17), a purpose or aim is a general statement regarding the direction or intention for the research. De Vos, Strydom, Fouche & Delport (2005:104) echo this idea by mentioning that the aim or goal is broader and a more abstract end result. They go on to say that the objectives however are the steps which will get the researcher to the goal and are specific and measurable.

The following aim and objectives were identified for the purpose of the study.

4.1   Aim

The Aim of this study was to determine the extent of refugee children's experience of xenophobia, thereby enabling helping professions to refer to a profile for future research or a strategy in supporting these children.

4.2   Objectives

To achieve the above-mentioned aim, the following objectives were identified:
- To gain knowledge through the literature study on what xenophobia as a phenomenon entails.
- To gain knowledge on the particularity of refugees in South Africa.
- To describe the different forms of xenophobia; and
- To gain knowledge by receiving information from refugee children by means of a survey.

From these objectives it was evident that the methodology for the research focused on "gathering data" and that no hypothesis or research question was needed in order to guide the methodological process.

5. Research Methodology

According to the De Vos *et al.* (2005:73) there are two accepted approaches to research, namely the qualitative and the quantitative model. This research made use of the Quantitative approach. This method is suitable for a study of phenomena that are conceptually and theoretically well developed (Fouche & Delport, 2002:81) with results presented in numeric form and are eventually reported in statistical language. The quantitative method focuses on the gathering of data on a systematically and standardized manner. For the purpose of this research the methodology presented by Bless and Higson-Smith (1995) in Fouche and Delport (2002:83) will be followed. This methodology starts with the selection and formulation of the research problem, followed by the choice of the research design, focusing next on data collection and analysis of data from where this data are interpreted and given as results with conclusions and recommendations in this research report.

5.1 Quantitative approach

The Quantitative approach has a number of characteristics which Fortune & Reid (in De Vos *et al.* 2005: 73) describe. The researcher will mention a few of these, applicable to the study.

- The researcher is an objective observer whose involvement is limited to gaining specific data;
- Research is focused on specific questions that remain constant through the study;
- All planning for the research is done before the study commences;

- Data-collection is undertaken in a standardized method for e.g. all participants answer the same questionnaire; and
- Data collectors obtain only specified information and do not provide interpretations and observations.

The researcher incorporated the above characteristics in her study as to make the study truly quantitative in nature.

5.2 Type of research

This study can be described as applied research. Hart (in Zaaiman, 2003:15) states that applied research is used to provide solutions and suggestions to a problem that people experience in some situation. De Vos *et al.* (2005:105) state similarly that this type of research concerns itself with the "scientific planning of induced change in a troublesome situation". This is relevant to looking at the existence of xenophobia for only once researchers are aware of whether xenophobia exists towards refugee children and the forms it takes, can steps be taken to combat this form of harmful discrimination. From the applied nature of this research it is evident that descriptive research which is aimed at describing the extent of xenophobia is relevant.

De Vos *et al.* (2005:106) maintain that descriptive research can encompass a basic or applied research goal and be quantitative or qualitative in nature. She goes on to say that in quantitative studies, the description is typically that of a population and that a survey design is a popular choice to obtain this data.

5.3 Research Design

There are a number of quantitative research designs available for social research. A survey design is one option and will be implemented during the research.

The Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary (1992:1296) states that a Survey means to "investigate the behaviour, opinions, etc. of a group of people, usually by questioning them". Huysamen (1994:97) also states that a Survey looks at the relationship between variables without some form of intervention. In Fouche and De Vos (2002:142) surveys are classified as more quantitative in nature and require questionnaires as method of data collection. Thus a Survey is used to gather information or data and is part of the research process. During this research, a randomised cross-sectional survey will be used as data collection method. After the design was chosen the research procedure which included the data-collection was finalized.

6. Research Procedure

6.1   Data Collection

Data capturing was conducted with the objectives of the study in mind and primarily with a questionnaire. Questionnaires are the most common data-collection method for a Survey (Zaaiman, 2003:37). During questionnaire completion, the researcher explained concepts to the respondents in order to gain more reliable results as some of the respondents had difficulty in understanding an English Questionnaire as most refugees from Africa do not speak English as a first language.

6.2 Sampling procedure

For the purpose of this research, the researcher made use of target sampling. The motivation for this procedure is found in what McDonald *et al.* (2000:169) in their research of Refugees and Migration, discovered. In their own research they argue that a truly "random" sampling is not possible when working with non-

citizens due to the fear that foreigners have of either being deported or harassed and so they choose not to be interviewed. They are reluctant to share any personal information about themselves to a stranger. Thus the above researchers made use of non-probability sampling.

As in the case of this research, the researcher had personal experience of this situation in her work with refugees, for there seems to be a high degree of paranoia among refugees and they prefer to stay out of the 'limelight'. Thus the researcher also used target sampling for this research. This type of sample seems appropriate as De Vos *et al.* (2005:203) states that target sampling is mostly used during the investigation of hidden problems in hidden populations.

The researcher was able to compile 2 lists of refugee mothers and their children who lived or had lived in two different Shelters in Athlone (Cape Town) from January 2003 to May 2006. Thus "controlled lists of specified populations within geographical districts" that Watters and Biernacki (1989) in De Vos (2005:203) state define a target sample, was used.

The total population for the study included all of these refugee children in the two shelters. This population of 14 children were all included in the sample due to the relatively small amount of children. The total sample of children who completed the questionnaires was ten. (N=10)

6.3   Pilot study of questionnaire

The pilot study gave the researcher the opportunity to test the questionnaire with a respondent similar to those utilized in the main investigation. A 12 year old boy, who does not speak English as a first language, completed the questionnaire in order to make sure that any problems with question formulations, number of questions and the length of the questionnaire could be addressed before the main investigation. The questionnaire was also given to a

research panel at the Huguenot College in order to identify possible difficulties. The input received was that the questionnaire was too long. Questions that appeared to be insignificant were excluded as well as questions that dealt with the country of origin. Amendments and modifications were made before the respondents were approached. The boy who completed the pilot test questionnaire was later excluded from the study.

7. Method of data presentation

The data collected by means of the questionnaires has been analysed in order to set op a profile for refugee-children in Cape Town. Due to the relatively small sample size of the research, conclusions may provide a conceptual framework for further research on the topic.

8. Limitations of the study

The major limitation of this study was the fact that the sample size - or in this case - the whole population which was used, was small. This may contribute to the perception that the conclusions in the researcher's final chapter is not a true reflection of the stated problem and that the results cannot readily be generalized. Acknowledging this as a shortcoming, it is the researcher's opinion that this survey is offering a starting point for further research in this field.

The fact that this dissertation is of limited scope also limited the study for the focus on the outcome of the dissertation is on the mastering of the research process and not on the value research may have to broader society.

Another limitation was the lack of information and research on this field especially regarding refugee children. Articles are to be found but very limited research

exists especially regarding the life and experiences of refugee children in South Africa. This could be due to the fact that it has only been over ten years since refugees have been allowed to enter South Africa and thus this situation is still new.

9. Ethical considerations

A number of ethical issues were taken into consideration during the research process. The researcher was careful to apply the moral principles that would result in the respondents not being negatively impacted during the investigation.

9.1 Avoidance of harm

The respondents and their caregivers were informed before-hand about the nature of the research. Thus they were made aware that xenophobia was being investigated and that the researcher would ask them about their exposure to this. Also the researcher was aware that the information shared by the respondents could have been personal and sensitive and was thus sensitive to this. Thus she kept the length of the questionnaire limited as she did not want to spend too much time extracting information that evoked negative feelings.

In order to minimize harm, Strydom (in De Vos, 2005:66) states that debriefing of the respondents can be done. The researcher checked with all the participants during questionnaire completion and afterwards, on how they were coping with the questionnaire. Each respondent was given an opportunity to discuss their experience or feelings regarding the project. The researcher was able to contain the situation, if necessary, so as to prevent any degree of harm to the participants.

9.2   Informed consent

The researcher received consent from the respondents' caregivers as they were not legally competent to agree. The respondents were also given a choice on whether they wanted to participate in the study. They were given adequate information in a manner that they understood so as to be able to give informed consent.

9.3   Deception of respondents

The goal of the study was explained and the researcher did not intentionally mislead the respondents or their mothers.

9.4   Violation of privacy and anonymity

The privacy and identity of the respondents was respected at all times. No names were written on the questionnaires and no information recorded that could allow the reader to deduce who the respondent is. Thus anonymity was ensured among the respondents.

9.5   Actions and competence of researcher

Researchers have an ethical responsibility to ensure that they are competent to carry out their study. The researcher who is a qualified social worker, has experience in working with children and trauma, and was thus competent to deal with any emotional response that the questionnaire may possibly have evoked, from the respondent.

10. Definition of Key Concepts

The Key concepts and their meanings for this research are discussed below.

- **Xenophobia**

The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (1992:1483) states that xenophobia is the 'intense dislike or fear of foreigners or strangers'. The South African Human Rights Commission defines xenophobia as the 'deep dislike of non-nationals by nationals of a recipient state" (in Valji, 2003:1). Mattes *et al.* (2000: 210) note that 'the etymological roots of xenophobia are actually much broader, referring to a "fear of the unknown" or anything that is "different". However, much literature pertaining to xenophobia, notes that it does not merely relate to attitudes but also to actions which can be violent in nature, and has been expressed in the media (Harris, 2001:53; McDonald, 2000:204-205).

In general, the researcher has seen that in the literature xenophobia seems to refer to any hostility or negative behaviour or attitudes shown towards foreigners. For the purpose of this study, the above definition will be used and foreigners will refer to those from the African continent.

- **Refugee**

The 1998 Refugee Act of South Africa (in Harris, 2001:16), defines a Refugee as a person who,

(a) owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for a reason of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his [sic] nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself [sic] of the protection of that country, or who, not having a nationality and being outside the

country of his or her former habitual residence is unable or owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it;

(b) owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing or disrupting public order in either part or the whole of his or her country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his or her place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his or her country of origin or nationality (Draft Refugee White Paper, 1998, p.24).

The UNHCR summarises the above and states that a refugee is 'a person fleeing from individual persecution, generalized human rights violations or armed conflict in their country of origin' (in Harris, 2001:16). In South Africa, a person only becomes recognized and protected as a refugee after their status has been verified and until then, they are known as asylum-seekers (UNHCR, 2005:2).

For the purpose of this research, the researcher will consider Refugees as those who have been granted refugee status by the South African government and come from countries within Africa.

- **Refugee children**
  Refugee children in South Africa are either accompanied or unaccompanied. The former refers to children who enter South Africa with a parent or guardian. The latter are children who enter South Africa alone and are in need of care (Timngum, 2001:5). For the purpose of this study, accompanied refugee children will be looked at. The age will be that between 7 to 17 years. This phase is known as Middle childhood and Adolescence respectively (Louw, van Ede & Louw, 2001:322 & 384).

11. Conclusion

Chapter 1 gave an outline of all relevant aspects of the research process which was followed.

In Chapter 2 the theoretical perspectives of Refugees in South Africa were explored during the literature review so as to provide an in-depth background on the study of refugees and xenophobia. Reference is made to the particularity of refugees and their children in South Africa, that is, their origins and their demographic profile. The access of refugees to resources was also discussed as well as their reasons for leaving their home country. The chapter ended off with a review of the reasons why refugees choose to come to South Africa.

The literature review continues in Chapter 3 by looking at the phenomenon of xenophobia. Xenophobic attitudes and actions portrayed by various sectors of South African society are discussed. Xenophobia's expression through actions and attitudes and through more violent means is then looked at as well as xenophobia towards refugee children specifically. Lastly, the origins and contributing factors to xenophobia in South Africa is examined.

The Research methodology used in this study is explained in Chapter 4. Thus the research process and the approach used, which was quantitative, are set out. The survey that was used to gather the data is discussed so that the reader has a clear understanding of how the research took place.

Chapter 5 is the final chapter and consists of the empirical findings, conclusions and recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER 2

Refugees in South Africa

1. Introduction

In order to understand xenophobic attitudes and behaviour it is important to describe the concept of refugees and refugees in South Africa. In this chapter, refugees in South Africa will be conceptualized within the context of xenophobia. The characteristics and peculiarity of refugees specifically living in South Africa will be discussed. Who they are, where they come from and why they are in South Africa will be looked at in more detail.

Refugees are those persons who flee their home country as they have a substantiated fear for their lives and their safety due to the political situation in their country. Thus they seek refuge and security in a country that is not their own (Singh, 2005: 24). South Africa is one of these countries.

South Africa has since the start of its new Democracy, taken in a large number of refugees from countries mostly within Africa. According to Redden (2005:2) South Africa has 27 683 recognized refugees living in South Africa and 115 224 asylum-seekers who have applied for asylum in South Africa.

In order to understand the context of this survey, a theoretical background of refugees in South Africa is needed.

2.   Refugees in South Africa

Refugees are a world-wide phenomenon with different trends of refugees in each of the countries where they are hosted. It is important to describe specifically the different trends of refugees who have come to stay in South Africa.

2.1   Countries of Origin

According to the International Marketing Council (IMC), most of South Africa's refugees come from countries like the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Burundi, Rwanda, Angola and Somalia (IMC, 2004:1). The conflict in the DRC has resulted in more than half a million refugees (557 100) fleeing their home country. Most of these displaced persons are hosted by Burundi and Zambia but also various other countries. The DRC has the 3rd most displaced people in the world. Only Palestine and Afghanistan have more refugees fleeing their country.

According to Die Burger, (18/06/05) an Afrikaans newspaper distributed in the Western Cape, Burundi itself has lost more 446 000 of its citizens over the past 11 years as they have fled to other countries. Angola, which is quite far south and thus relatively close to South Africa, has 101 400 of its nationals living in mostly Zambia and Namibia. Somalia, on the East Coast of Africa, has had political strife over the past 16 years and this has resulted in famine and dire living conditions with 261 900 of its nationals leaving their home country. Thus refugees being hosted by South Africa, come from various countries, mostly within Africa and have travelled extensive distances to arrive at South African borders.

2.2   Demographic Profile

2.2.1 Gender

The demographic profile of foreigners in South Africa is very different from the South African population. Most foreigners are young, with a study by Belvedere *et al.* (in Singh, 2005:24) that state that the mean age is 31 years, with applicants from Somalia, Rwanda and the DRC being a little older. Most refugees in South Africa are men. A survey done by WITS University in 2002-2003, shows that 70,6% of non-nationals are men, compared to 46.9%
 of South Africans (in Singh, 2005:24). De la Hunt (1999:1) agrees with this as she states that the number of women and children in South Africa seeking asylum are a minority. This is however opposite to global statistics where there are more women and children refugees in the world. During the researcher's study of the literature, she was unable to find any information as to the reason for so many men and so few women refugees in South Africa. Singh (2005:25) states that this trend of fewer female refugees in South Africa, does however appear to be changing with the increasing feminism of migration.

2.2.2 Financial Resources

Most refugees, who come to South Africa, come from a family of means. This is contrary to the popular belief that most foreigners, especially those from Africa, arrive without any financial resources and come from a life of poverty. Steinberg (2005:2) states in his research of Congolese refugees, which are predominant in South Africa, that most of the people displaced in the DRC, specifically the poor, flee to neighbouring countries and end up living in refugee camps. Those who come to South Africa, mostly have the finances to travel to South Africa. Harris (2001:93) agrees with this, as he states that in order for refugees to move though Africa, finances are needed to "buy movement". Mostly only those who can afford to pay (bribe) officials and agents, are able to come as far as South Africa.

2.2.3 Education

According to Steinberg (2005:2), refugees in South Africa are mostly well educated with almost half having some form of tertiary education and many more having completed Matric (grade 12 or final year of formal schooling). Landau and Jacobsen (2003:44) agree with this that migrants have a higher level of education and are more skilled than the average South African citizen. Steinberg (2005:2) states that "In stark contrast to near ubiquitous prejudice, Congolese refugees in South Africa represent an influx of a solid block of valuable human capital." Thus many refugees are not illiterate non-nationals but come to South Africa with valuable skills and knowledge to contribute towards the South African economy.

2.2.4 Permanency

Regarding refugees' stay in South Africa many consider their stay in South Africa as temporary and as part of a transition in their journey. According to Mashele (2004:2), most refugees prefer to and do return to their country of origin as soon as circumstances permit. This, according to Harris (2001:109), may be because of South Africa's climate of xenophobia, crime and violence, together with the Pull Factors of their own country namely family, culture, nationalism and land ownership.

2.2.5 Employment

One of the biggest reasons for negative sentiment towards foreigners is because they are accused of "taking jobs away" from South Africans (McDonald, 2000:209 and Valji, 2003:19). Research however shows that this is not the case. In the face of mass unemployment in South Africa, many foreigners enter the informal sector. Many become self-employed by running small businesses. Hawking is popular among foreigners where they sell clothes or sweets. These street

traders also cut hair and repair shoes. According to Steinberg (2005:4) these refugees seem to have created services which were underdeveloped and so show true entrepreneurship. Research done of Small, Medium and Macro Enterprises (SMME) and hawking operations of migrant entrepreneurs has shown that a number of jobs are even created for others through the establishment of these businesses. An average of 3 jobs per business has been created (Palmary, 2002:7; Singh, 2005:25). Interestingly, two-thirds of refugee entrepreneurs who employed workers, hired mostly South Africans. This occurs despite the high unemployment rate among foreigners (Steinberg, 2005:6). Thus the researcher considers that despite the negative attitudes and actions of nationals towards refugees, the latter seem to still extend opportunities to South Africans.

There appears to be a high percentage of foreigners who become car guards. A study (Steinberg, 2005:6) on car guards in Cape Town showed that foreigners seem to work quite well alongside South African car guards. During the day they all work together but at night, the refugees work alone. It seems that these refugees who were anxious to work and make a living were prepared to work at night despite there being more danger involved nocturnally. Harris (2001:111) backs up this idea as he said that refugees who were able to find work in the formal sector, were only able to find dangerous jobs. A number of non-nationals became security guards where they worked at nights in high-crime areas. Thus by foreigners having to settle for any jobs they can find, they end up working at nights in often risky and hazardous situations.

2.2.6 Living conditions

In South Africa, there are no refugee camps for refugees to live in like other parts of Africa. Unlike other African countries, refugees who come to South Africa can settle where they want and need to survive largely by themselves. They do not receive financial support from government and cannot access Social Security

Grants (IMC, 2004:2). Thus new arrivals often live in over-crowded flats or houses which they share with a number of other persons, mostly their countrymen. Singh (2005:26) mentions that these living conditions pose many health risks, especially as refugees have little access to public health services. Child mortality is a very concerning result of poor living conditions and an inability to receive adequate health care. De la Hunt (1999:2) in her article states that a refugee women's child died before reaching a hospital as the Police refused to help her get to a hospital because she was not South African. Thus poor living conditions and attitudes of xenophobia impact seriously on the quality of life of refugee families.

2.3   Access to structures and resources

According to the law, refugees are entitled to all the rights that nationals have, except the right to vote (Steinberg 2005:3). Thus they should have the right to access resources like medical services and protection from the South African Police Service (SAPS). Whether refugees are able to access these resources will be looked at further.

2.3.1 Health services

Medical care is needed by all persons at some time of their lives when ill or disabled. Steinberg (2005:3) states that South African citizens and refugees are entitled to free primary health care. Refugees are formally absolved from paying the R1 800.00 fee that state health care facilities charge foreign nationals. However, despite this, in reality nurses and doctors are known to deny access to services, force them to pay fees or make refugees wait extended periods of time until South Africans have been helped first (Steinberg, 2005:3). In a base-line refugee survey conducted in 2003, it was reported that 17% of the refugee sample who tried to access emergency health care were denied it; some by

reception staff and others by nurses and doctors. Thus Steinberg (2005:2) asserts that state resources and staff do practice discrimination towards immigrants and refugees.

2.3.2 Social Services

According to Stoppard (2003:1) and Steinberg (2005:3) refugees are said to be entitled to the same constitutional rights as South Africans. However, refugees are unable to access Social Grants like the Child Support Grant and the Care Dependency Grant from the Department of Social Services and Poverty Alleviation (IMC, 2004:2). This is because one of the requirements for accessing Social Security and welfare grants is citizenship. Thus Ellis (2003:4) states that refugees and asylum-seekers do not make this requirement. Therefore refugees who may need financial assistance cannot rely on support from Government but need to look elsewhere.

The researcher has found two reasons in the literature that prevent the South African Government from extending social assistance to non-citizens. Ellis (2003:1) states that Government will by the end of the 2006 financial year be paying R44.6 billion to 10 million South Africans who qualify for Grants. Thus if Grants were to be made available to refugees as well, then this would exceed available funding. Thus South Africa does not have the budget to provide for social assistance to non-nationals. Another reason that deters the South African Government from extending social security is the fear that this will create an incentive for immigrants to come to South Africa due to extreme poverty in their own country (Ellis, 2003:4; Stoppard, 2003:1).

Thus although refugees are said to be able to access resources in South Africa, the same as its citizens, they do not receive financial support from Government. Considering that until mid-2004, asylum seekers were not allowed to work (Steinberg, 2005:2), the researcher wonders how refugee families survived upon

entering South Africa without any financial assistance or the permission to work and gain an income.

2.3.3 Home Affairs

The Department of Home Affairs (DHA) is responsible for a number of activities relating to refugees and asylum-seekers.   The DHA grants legal status to refugees by means of an asylum-seeking process whereby asylum claims are examined to ascertain whether the person does in fact fit the definition of a refugee, that is, whether there is a "well-founded fear of persecution".   The determination of their status works on two levels, namely an individual and a collective level.   On an individual level, the DHA officials assess whether there is a real reason for the person's life being at risk, regardless of whether that country is at war or not.   Thus a person experiencing religious or sexual persecution would fit into this category (Harris, 2001:17).

Assessment on a collective level entails assessing refugee status by whether they come from 'refugee-producing countries'.   These are countries well known for civil war or violent conflicts.   Thus a decision needs to be made as to whether the person seeking asylum comes from one of these countries (Harris, 2001:17).

The DHA is also responsible for processing and renewing permits as well as repatriating and deporting prohibited persons. The researcher has experienced during her work with refugee women that they often need to return day after day to have their permits renewed as only certain persons are helped.   Harris (2001:45) states corruption and fraud are common within the asylum-seeking process. Non-nationals who are entitled to be in South Africa often have to pay 'extra' for the processing of their documents and to secure their status.   Valji (2003:7) echoes this by saying that bribery has become commonplace to the extent that there seems to be an unofficial 'price list' depending on what country you are from and what permit you require.   Thus for those refugees who do not

have 'extra' money or do not want to become part of the corruption, find themselves having restricted access to Home Affairs and wait very long periods of time to get their permits renewed or application processed. Landau & Jacobsen (2003:45) state that many refugees wait at least 18 months to have their asylum application processed. Some applicants have waited three or four years. This is according to Steinberg (2005:4), very different to the 6 months, as stipulated in the law. Thus many refugees remain in a state of uncertainty, waiting for their official documents to be received.

2.3.4 South African Police Service

The South African Police Service (SAPS) are not seen by refugees as a resource that can be approached to assist and protect them. Harris (2001:12) states that the SAPS neglect to follow-up individual charges laid by foreigners. They also often interrogate and further victimize the refugee who is the complainant, resulting in secondary victimization. This further victimization takes place by means of verbal abuse, the destruction of valid documents, sometimes arrest of the complainant and even at times physical violence. Thus these xenophobic practices are a strong inhibiting force in a refugee reporting a crime or requesting help (Harris, 2001:12; Landau & Jacobsen, 2003:45).

The Police are also responsible for immigration investigations and arrests of immigrants. Many refugees are too afraid to make contact with Police officials as the latter are known to arrest and interrogate foreigners because "they look foreign or illegal". This is known as racial profiling and is done even if the refugee may have his official permit with him (Valji, 2003:5). The majority of refugees prefer to keep away from the SAPS and will not easily access their help even when they have been a victim of crime. This potentially helpful resource thus remains unused by refugees.

2.4 Women

As mentioned previously, South Africa has fewer female refugees than the rest of the world. Yet a number of women and their children do come to South Africa without a male partner. Possibly he may have been killed in conflict in their home country and so mother and children choose to escape the violence that killed their husband and father. De la Hunt (1999:2) notes that refugee women and children who are alone in South Africa are very vulnerable. Their need to find accommodation and a method to support themselves and often their children causes a number of stressors. Also with women having the responsibility of children, this limits their freedom to move around to find work and bring in an income. Mashele (2004:1) declared in his speech on International Refugee Day that South Africa should look for ways to provide material support to vulnerable groups like women, children, the elderly and disabled upon their arrival in South Africa. Thus the researcher deduces that government acknowledges that not enough is being done to assist vulnerable refugee women and children.

3.   Children

Between 1994 and 2001, the DHA has received more than 1460 applications for asylum from children, both accompanied and unaccompanied. Thus by 2006, this number has possibly increased largely. The Refugee Act of 1998 No.130 is the official document that protects refugee children in South Africa. Article 27 of this Act, states that refugees and refugee children have the right to access basic health and primary education services. Regarding refugee children's safety, they are protected under the Child Care Act (No 74 of 1983), according to Article 32 of the Refugee Act. If deemed to be in need of care and protection, Timngum (2001:4) states that refugees have to receive the necessary services and support in order to ensure their safety. The researcher notes that all children living in South Africa are governed by the same Act in order to protect them from abuse and neglect.

3.1 Accompanied and Unaccompanied minors

Refugee children enter South Africa either as accompanied minors, meaning that they are with their parents or another responsible adult or as unaccompanied. The latter refers to children who are under the age of 18 years and enter South Africa on their own. This section will focus on the situation of unaccompanied minors.

Naidu (2003:1) states in his newspaper article that the South African Legal System fails refugee children. According to the researcher, this means that many refugee children are falling through the Welfare net and are not having their needs met. Winterstein, a lawyer for Human Rights (in Naidu, 2003:1) states that there are more than a thousand refugee children living in SA without parents. She goes on to say that many of these children are not being identified by the relevant authorities like the DHA and Social Services. In her work, she has identified that gaining access to the Asylum determination process is a big problem for these children. Timngum (2001:4) agrees with Winterstein's findings and states that unaccompanied refugee children are according to Art. 32 of the Refugee Act, supposed to receive help in applying for asylum from the DHA. However this does not seem to be happening and many children are not in possession of asylum permits. Thus, she says, these children are made vulnerable to police harassment, arrest and detention.

In a High Court decision made in 2004 (Venter, 2004:1), a Judge ordered that two refugee sisters (unaccompanied minors) should not be sent back to Rwanda after a Children's Court had ordered them to go back home. It seems that these two girls were refused the opportunity to apply for asylum as they were told that children under 18 years could not apply. This is seen as a case where the Refugee Act was not applied and instead of these unaccompanied minors being

assisted in applying for asylum, they were almost sent back to a country where they have been traumatised to great extent and their father had been killed.

Social Services are another department where unaccompanied refugee children are not receiving the protection that the Refugee Act and the Child Care Act stipulates. Winterstein (in Naidu, 2003:1) states that according to the Child Care Act, unaccompanied minors, who have no legal guardians in South Africa or whose parents cannot be traced, would be deemed in need of care. Thus these children should be brought before a Children's Court and placed in foster care so that they can receive care and protection. However, Winterstein states that this is not happening. The case of the two refugee sisters illustrates this point. They were brought before the Children's Court and ordered to be deported back without any assessment of their safety and protection should they return. Skelton, of the Centre for Child Law at the University of Pretoria (in Venter, 2004:1) agrees with Winterstein in that the Department of Social Services are not looking at the best interests of these children. She states that the Children's Court was to ensure the protection of children in need of care and by deporting them home; their best interests were not being considered.

Another case was brought before the Pretoria High Court in 2004, where a group of refugee children were to be deported to their home country from Lindela Repatriation Centre. They had never been brought before the Commissioner for Child Welfare or helped to apply for asylum. Ramjathan, a lawyer for Human Rights Refugee Project stated in this hearing, that many children travelled extensive distances to come to South Africa to search for safety and security and were arrested on arrival, held and then returned to their country of origin without receiving any support or service (Ellis, 2004:4).

Mapisa-Nqakula, Minister of Home Affairs, visited the Lindela Repatriation Centre at the end of 2004. After this, she ordered that all unaccompanied refugee children should be removed from Lindela and that the Department of Social

Services should take responsibility for them (Ancer, 2004:2). Again it can be seen that children are not being protected by the Child Care Act, and that these children's needs for safety and care are not being met.

Winterstein (in Naidu, 2003:1) claims that refugee children's welfare is not being seen to properly due to bureaucracy and social obstacles such as too few social workers, the requirements of a children's court enquiry and general xenophobia due to lack of information regarding these children's rights.

3.2   Education

The African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the child 1990 (in Timngum, 2001:6) states: "Education of refugee children within the African context is fundamental in promoting and developing the child's personality, talents, mental and physical abilities so as to foster African unity and solidarity". However in South Africa, many refugee children do not attend school. Although they are entitled to free education by law and schools are not allowed to exclude pupils for not paying school fees, non-attendance is common. A number of studies have shown that refugee children were not attending schools because of financial reasons, like being unable to pay school fees, books and school uniforms (Nduru, 2005:1; Timngum, 2001:6).

Other problems also exist that are obstacles in refugee children receiving an education. Certain schools refuse to take children with asylum-seeker and refugee permits. Considering the long delay with Home Affairs regarding the asylum-seeking process, as discussed earlier, many children do not have official documents that are acceptable to schools. Older children, who want to enroll for further education and training, will not be accepted into tertiary education without Identity documents. Once again, the backlog of asylum applications and the

issuing of Identity documents only after living in South Africa for 5 years make children and adolescents' access to education very difficult (Nduru, 2005:1).

Language and unfamiliarity is a problem that contributes towards the difficulty of refugee children settling into schools. Many refugees come from francophone Africa where English is not their mother tongue. The transition from French to English or any other South African local language is problematic. Children who don't understand the local language are unable to learn and understand and thus get left behind (Reuters, 2005:1; Timngum, 2001:7). The researcher is of the opinion that in this way the children feel further alienated in a new country and a new education system which they do not understand. Timngum (2001:7) states that this lack of understanding affects the teacher-child relationship negatively and adjustment is made more difficult for the child.

Unfamiliarity with formal schooling can also be a big obstacle for refugee children. Some refugee children, who have lived in very rural or under-developed areas, were not exposed to much formal education (Cultural Orientation Resource Centre, 2004:1). Thus difficulty with understanding a language together with having to get used to a new manner of learning, are massive obstacles that a refugee child needs to overcome. The researcher is of the opinion that all these changes added to previous trauma experienced must be very difficult for the refugee child to cope with.

3.3   Mental Health

UNICEF states that over 10 million children have developed psychological disorders and problems due to their exposure to war, conflict and becoming refugees (Riedesser *et al.* 1996:13). The prevalence of violence and the constant threat of attack can seriously impact the refugee's sense of security and well-being. Trauma-related problems like hopelessness and depression occur among

family members. Even while some refugees were living in refugee camps in other African countries, like the Bantu Somali refugees who escaped to Kenya, they were under continual threat of attack from the oppressors that they had tried to escape from. Research of these Bantu Somali has found that years of oppression and fear negatively affected their sense of equality and self-esteem. Thus refugee children and families will need special support to help deal with the trauma, once they arrive in their host country (Cultural Orientation Resource Centre, 2004:1).

Mental health practitioners state that physical hurt can be treated immediately as these hurts are visible. Mental and emotional disturbances are not always so easily seen. However they may have long and short term consequences that need to be attended to but can only be done so when the trauma has ended (Riedesser *et al.*, 1996:13). Thus refugee children in South Africa may very likely be a part of these 10 million children as they have been exposed to violence and hostility in their home country.

3.4 Secure environment

Refugee children upon arriving in South Africa have observed and experienced political violence, conflict and various other traumatic events like extreme poverty due to the political climate in their country. The psychological consequences of this trauma have been mentioned in the previous section. This section will look at the importance of a safe environment in order for these children to heal and develop in a functional way.

Riedesser *et al.* (1996:17) state in their work with refugee children that it is very necessary for traumatized children to have a neutral and secure environment where they can feel safe from conflict, persecution and abuse. They state further that children need a place where they can feel accepted and understood. Bala

(1996:35) agrees with this as she notes that the acceptance that refugee families get from their new surroundings is imperative for further adaptation. She goes on to say "This acceptance in the new country, whether there is a place for refugees or not, whether they are welcomed or not, whether they would be treated equally or marginalized, would help them go on."   It is clear that a welcoming environment, absent of discrimination is what refugees need in order to settle and work through their trauma. However, much evidence of xenophobia is found in South Africa, with the majority of South Africans being anti-foreigners (Crush, 2001:11; Harris, 2001:6 & Shindondola, 2003:25).   Thus the ideal environment for psychological healing does not seem to be a reality in South African communities for refugee children and their families.

4.   Reasons for Leaving

Refugees leave their home countries mostly because of violence and war and because they feel their lives are in danger. Yet migration is a complex process with other factors that are directly related to political violence, which make refugees feel that they have to leave. These reasons for leaving home, Harris (2001:7) calls "Push factors". These push factors include Political Violence and Economic pressure and lack of resources and will be looked at in more detail.

4.1   Political Violence

Civil war, ethnic cleansing and conflict have been occurring in African countries for many years. In Angola, there has been political conflict for 29 years, in Somalia 16 years, in Rwanda 10 years and in the DRC for 6-8 years to name but a few (Die Burger, 2005). Political unrest in the form of conflict between different parties or between government (not always elected) and rebel groups has occurred in countries like Afghanistan, Mozambique, Angola and Rwanda.

Ethnic tensions between different racial, social or religious groups have also been a strong Push factor (Australia 1997:1). Many people feel that they can no longer stay in their country of origin and have no choice but to leave and become refugees.

Many refugees have experienced a considerable amount of trauma and been exposed to a number of situations which has forced them to flee. The researcher has found various reasons why refugees leave in her study of literature and will note the reasons as follows:

- Fear of death or harm,
- destruction of homes and property,
- confiscation of their homes,
- ethnic cleansing,
- famine/ starvation,
- lack of health care,
- sexual violence,
- family members been killed,
- deprived of Human Rights,
- harassed in the streets,
- witnessed murders by death squads and group executions,
- increase in disappearance of people, and
- arbitrary arrests and killings.

Many refugees are tortured before running from their homes. Amnesty International (in Holtan *et al.* 2000:2) states that torture was practiced in more than 130 countries across the globe in 2000. Studies showed that between 5 and 35% of different refugee groups had adult survivors of torture. The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (1989:1354) defines torture as: "(method of) deliberately inflicting severe pain, as a punishment or in order to force somebody to say or do something". During political repression and ethnic cleansing, survivors may be tortured for belonging to a political party, being of a certain

ethnicity or tribe or voicing dissatisfaction, among other reasons (Holtan *et al.* 2002:2-3).

According to Singh (2005:23), the main reasons that foreigners leave their home nations is because of conflict, violence, religious-, gender-, political based persecution and poverty. Some of the former reasons have been looked at and the next section will deal with more Push Factors.

4.2   Economic pressure and lack of resources

Political unrest results in people leaving their country but also leads to disruption of services like Education. Thus many young people may leave their country because war is preventing them from studying further. Atam (in Steinberg, 2005:2) in his study of refugees in inner-city Johannesburg, found that many young men from the DRC had left because of the disintegration of the educational system and a lack of job opportunities after receiving a degree. Political unrest has also lead to famine in many countries and people leave for they fear starvation (Harris, 2001:81).

Unemployment and economic uncertainty also increases in countries where there is unrest. Thus economic instability together with fear for their safety, causes many people to leave behind their country and search for safety and security elsewhere. Steinberg (2005:1) states that in the early 1990's, there was a mass exodus from Zaire (now known as the Democratic Republic of the Congo) due to economic uncertainty and political violence. In countries like Ethiopia, Sudan and Somalia, economic factors like poverty and economic deprivation have been very strong Push factors (Australia, 1997:1). Thus there is not always one main Push factor that motivates a person or family to leave what they know, but a number of contributing and interactive factors that work together in this.

5.   Reasons for choosing South Africa as their destination

The reasons that displaced persons choose to make South Africa their destination of travel will be looked at. These are known as the "Pull Factors" or their reasons for coming to South Africa and include Peace and Democracy, Positive Expectations, Support Structures, Process of Elimination and Economy and Opportunities. These will be discussed shortly.

5.1   Peace and Democracy

The so called "new South Africa", with a new political dispensation and democracy and equality for all, is a favourable international image that many foreigners hold. They are informed that South Africa is a positive place with many opportunities, post 1994. Harris (2001: 84) states that the "international perception of South Africa captures the ideals of newness, optimism about the future, tolerance, freedom, peace and opportunity; ideals that are represented in the 'new South Africa' discourse within the country". Thus South Africa seems an attractive place for many to seek asylum.

In 2002, a survey was done by the Forced Migration Studies Programme at WITS together with the Tufts University in Boston (Landau & Jacobsen, 2003:44). Analysis of their study showed that a primary motivation for choosing South Africa as a destination were political, religious and ethnic freedoms in 35% of the sample. Thus the researcher notes that a democratic government and peace within South Africa, is thus a strong Pull factor for many foreigners.

5.2   Positive Expectations

Another Pull factor that has brought refugees to South Africa is their expectation that they will be welcomed into South Africa. During South Africa's apartheid

regime, many countries in Africa, supported exiles from South Africa, especially members of the African National Congress (ANC) and Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). Residents in these countries provided both financial and moral support and hosted South Africans in their homes and country. They took up positions against Apartheid and provided safe havens for South African refugees and exiles (Naiker & Nair, 2000:4). Therefore experiencing problems in their own country and requiring reciprocal support from South Africa, the perception exists that South Africa should 'return the favour'. This belief is especially strong among refugees from Central and West Africa (Harris, 2001:87).

5.3   Support Structures

Many refugees have felt pulled to South Africa by its democratic principles as well as their expectation that they will be received with open arms. Many refugees also come to South Africa as they have support networks in South Africa.

Local networks of friends and family is a big attraction when refugees make a decision on where to come to. Many refugees agree to settle in a specific area because of a cousin, father or neighbour who came to South Africa previously and has set down some roots (Harris, 2001:89). The researcher has observed during her work with refugee women that many refugee men seem to come to South Africa first in order to find work and create a home and later send for their families to join them.

Many refugees may not have direct family and friends but the fact that a number of their fellow countrymen are in South Africa, give them a feeling of security and less feelings of isolation. Thus they are able to share similar languages and understand cultural practices (Harris, 2001:89). However among DRC refugees, there are still negative attitudes and feelings between persons from different ethnic groups. These seem to have been internalized after decades of civil war

and mistrust of different ethnic groups. According to Steinberg (2005:3) these Congolese move in tight-knit ethnic networks where those who come from the same region or share cultural and linguistic identities will group together. Thus Congolese refugees do not experience this same camaraderie that many other refugees from other countries experience and which acts as a Pull factor in coming to South Africa.

5.4   Process of Elimination

Refugees, who eventually end up in South Africa, may do so through a process of evaluation and elimination. This occurs in relation to other countries where they compare alternative countries in Africa or within the world to South Africa.

Within Africa, South Africa is seen by many in a more positive light than other countries like Kenya, Tanzania and Zambia with regards to aspects like Police harassment. Also these countries pose more of a concern regarding medical facilities and job opportunities. Thus South Africa seems 'the better option' (Harris, 2001:86).

Regarding safety of the refugee, South Africa is seen as a better prospect as it is located on the southern most part of Africa. It is further away from countries in West and Central Africa and so the refugees whose lives are in danger, have less chance of being found by their enemies (Harris 2001:86).

Non-access to first world countries like North America, Europe and the United Kingdom is another reason why refugees come to South Africa. A Study done in 2002, found that 50% of their sample of refugees considered going to countries other than South Africa. Sixty-two percent of this amount had wanted to go to North America or Europe but for various reasons were unable to go there (Landau & Jacobsen, 2003:45). McBride (1999:1) states that industrialized nations have for many years since the World Wars been open to accepting

refugees and displaced persons. However more recently they have shown a reluctance to admit them. This situation in the United Kingdom and the United States of America will be looked at.

In the United Kingdom, like other European countries, it is extremely difficult for asylum seekers to gain entry. The United Kingdom has introduced increasing stringent immigration controls over the years. In November 2002, the Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002, was passed which introduced further measures to restrict and deter asylum-seekers from applying for asylum. This was the fourth piece of asylum legislation passed in a decade. After the events of 11 September 2001, there have been increased concerns that terrorists enter countries as asylum-seekers. This appears to have influenced many Governments around the world, to tighten their asylum and refugee policy. It is estimated that the United Kingdom, hosts about only two percent of the world's refugees and displaced people (Amnesty International, 2003:4). The researcher notes that this low amount could be due to the stringent controls of Great Britain in allowing access of refugees to their country and not because refugees do not want to enter the United Kingdom.

In the United States, there has been much concern regarding the migration and refugee flow into the country. Concerns centered mostly around the impact of the increased immigrant population on the US economy and how this placed a strain on governmental budgets. A threat to cultural homogeneity was also perceived.   Public pressure led Congress to place limits on the numbers of immigrants who would be allowed into America and so more restricted legislation was passed. This however, according to McBride (1999:2) has threatened to undermine the international guidelines established by the 1951 Geneva Convention regarding the Status of refugees and has resulted in bigger obstacles for those needing to seek asylum and protection.

However despite a more restricted approach, the Unites States is still admitting a large number of refugees and the number appears to be increasing. According to statistics from the Refugee Council USA, which is America's leading coalition of refugee resettlement, human rights and humanitarian organizations, the Refugee admissions figures are increasing. During 2005, America took in 53 813 refugees from around the world. The previous year, 28 405 refugees were admitted (Refugee Council USA, 2006:1). At the beginning of the 2006 Fiscal year, President George Bush, announced that 70 000 refugees would be admitted for resettlement in the United States. Thus the number is steadily increasing though the Research Council USA is still of the opinion that more refugees should still be admitted (Refugee Council USA, 2005:1). The United States takes in more refugees from Africa than from any other parts of the world. At the end of the Fiscal year 2005, 20 749 African refugees were admitted into the United States. This is an increase from 10 686 in 2004 and 7 767 in 2003 (Refugee Council USA, 2006:1). However seeing that Africa has the most displaced people in the world, these numbers are still fairly low.

Thus it can be seen that although a number of refugees may prefer to go to more industrialized countries like the United Kingdom and the United States of America, strict refugee legislation and policies greatly restrict this movement.

5.5   Economy and Opportunities

South Africa is seen by some as "a paradise where refugees are paid stipends and work is plentiful." (Steinberg, 2005:2). This is the international picture that many refugees from Africa have been lead to believe. Harris (2001:84) states that this goes together with the external image of South Africa as a new democracy characterized by equality, freedom and opportunities.

In the study mentioned in the previous section, the researchers found that 35% of the refugee sample mentioned that they came to South Africa for work and

educational reasons (Landau & Jacobsen, 2003:45). However, this Pull factor of employment and economic opportunities, has not been found by Harris (2001:8) to be very strong though it featured as a powerful Push factor for foreigners leaving their country of origin. This is in contrast to South Africans who commonly state that foreigners come to 'steal' their jobs and thus show negative attitudes towards refugees on this basis (McDonald *et al.* 2000:209).

Thus a number of reasons have been discussed as to why refugees choose to make South Africa their destination after leaving the unstable and dangerous political climate of their country of origin.

6.   Conclusion

This chapter served to provide a broad framework of refugees living in South Africa. Refugees living in South Africa come mostly from countries within Africa and have left in order to find safety and peace outside of their borders. Almost 30 000 recognized refugees and a greater number of asylum seekers have come to South Africa in search of a better life. Many struggle to make a living and to adapt in a country where life is different and the spoken languages unfamiliar. They survive in demanding living circumstances and employment is difficult to find with many starting their own businesses in order to survive. Although South Africa hosts a large majority of male refugees, there are also a number of women and children who have come to South Africa. Some children arrive in South Africa unaccompanied and need to learn to adapt to a strange environment on their own with very limited and at times, no support from structures and resources. Many refugee women, who arrive with their children, have a tedious task of trying to survive in a country that does not openly welcome foreigners.

In this chapter, the reasons that refugees felt forced to leave their country of origin was also discussed. Political violence and a threat to their lives due to

people having a political affiliation is the main Push factor for many refugees and their children.   War and conflict in these countries has resulted in a lack of resources and opportunities for survival and some quality of life.   The latter is also a reason for many refugees leaving their countries.   Why refugees chose to come to South Africa and make it their destination was also noted and is mostly due to South Africa being a new democracy characterized by peace, security and human rights.   Many refugees expect to be treated well in South Africa after they provided support during the Apartheid struggle.   Many refugees end up in South Africa after being unable to enter other first world destinations.   Thus there are different reasons why refugees make South Africa their host country.

This framework that provides a look at refugees living in South Africa is necessary so as to understand the profile of refugees.   This is imperative as the next chapter will deal specifically with xenophobia.   This following chapter will review xenophobia in South Africa and how refugees and foreigners are exposed to prejudice and hostility simply because of their foreignness.   Discussion will also take place regarding xenophobia's expression that is particular to South Africa as well as its origins in South Africa's new democracy.

CHAPTER 3

Xenophobia

1. Introduction

Xenophobia is generally accepted as the fear or dislike of foreigners and strangers. For the purpose of this research, the definition of xenophobia will relate to any hostility or negative attitude or behaviour shown towards foreigners. This thus incorporates not merely the prejudice but also the action that can lead from this. This hostility, according to Harris (2001:65) and Palmary (2002:5) is found across the globe in various countries.

According to Valji (2003:1), this intolerance towards non-nationals has increased since the beginning of the South African democracy in 1994. It has a specific character marked by serious forms of violence and aimed at a specific group of foreigners. From Chapter Two it is evident that the transition to a new democracy has brought about not only positive consequences but also problems related to the phenomenon known as xenophobia. According to Shindondola (2003:3), this phenomenon has become dangerous as it has the potential to be socially and politically catastrophic for South Africa's new democracy which focuses on human rights for all.

In this chapter, the researcher will look at the nature of xenophobia in South Africa. The negative attitudes and feelings of the general population as well as that, which is present within South African resources and institutions, will be discussed. The researcher will then further explain the forms of xenophobia as seen in South Africa, as found in the literature. The causes and contributing factors to the prevalence of xenophobic attitudes and actions will then be

reviewed as particular to the South African context. Thus the researcher will give a broad overview of xenophobia as experienced and seen currently in South Africa.

2. Xenophobia in South Africa

Xenophobia in South Africa has become very concerning because of its violent manifestations. During December 2004, four Somali traders were killed. One was shot at point blank and the other three Somali traders were stabbed to death a few days later in their shop. Nothing was stolen from the shops and the murders were labeled xenophobic killings (Gophe, 2005:2). Valji (2003:4) states that although xenophobic attitudes and feelings may be on the rise all over the world, nowhere else do the forms of xenophobia show such high levels of violence.

Xenophobia particular to South Africa, will be further explored.

2.1   General Population

Crush (2001:6) is of opinion that the majority of South Africans are hostile and not tolerant towards foreigners. According to Crush (2001:2) high levels of societal intolerance towards non-nationals exist. This is mostly portrayed through negative attitudes but there are some who convert these attitudes and feelings into actions.

South Africans, compared with research done in other countries, rate among the most unfriendly to outsiders in the world. This was shown by their strong support for policies that put strict limits on or prohibit migration completely (Crush 2001:13). Thus the majority of South Africans do not want foreigners in South Africa and prefer to only have citizens in their country.

Hostility towards non-nationals does not seem to be confined to any one social, racial or economic group in South Africa. These negative attitudes are widespread and pervasive (Valji, 2003:5). However negative attitudes do appear to be stronger from White South Africans (Crush, 2001:4). On the other hand, where xenophobia shows a more violent form, Valji (2003:5) states that most perpetrators are Black nationals. A number of violent attacks on foreigners have taken place in informal settlements and areas where Black citizens mostly reside. In Khayelitsha, a Somali man was shot dead in his shop (Gopher, 2005:2). In another informal settlement called Olievenhoutbosch, near Pretoria, a number of foreigners were beaten by local residents after admitting that they were Zimbabwean. They landed up in hospital and some of the victims reported fearing for their lives following the xenophobic attack (Peete & Du Plooy, 2006:6).

Although many citizens show a dislike for foreigners, Peete and Du Plooy (2006:6) are of the opinion that violence towards non-citizens/refugees are reported to be committed by Black nationals and in a more violent form.

Negative attitudes and violence are not generally displayed towards all foreigners. According to research done by Valji (2003:5) and Crush (2001:23) black foreigners from African countries seem to be the main target. These attitudes and violence are known as xenophobia and are focused towards African foreigners. The same authors confirm this, as it stated from surveys done, that South Africans of all races showed definite preference to immigrants from North America and Europe compared to those from neighbouring African states.

Black South Africans also seem to show particular hostility towards immigrants from West African and those French-speaking countries (Crush, 2001:23).

The question arises on what contributes to the general population's xenophobic behaviour. Aspects such as the role of the media and institutional discrimination will be investigated.

2.2 Media

The Media has been very vocal over the past few years regarding immigration and refugees. Crush (2001:16) argues that the media have portrayed immigration in South Africa as being 'flooded' or 'overrun' by undocumented migrants or 'illegal aliens'. An example of this is the heading in the Cape Times on 19 September 2005, which states "Desperate Zimbabweans flood across border" (Cape Times, 19 Sept 2005: 1). These kinds of emotionally loaded wording and exaggerated phrases have fanned public opinion regarding immigration. Landau, the Research Director of the University of the Witwatersrand Forced Migration Project, states that it is a myth that South Africa is being 'flooded' by refugees and economic migrants. He states further that there are more people coming to South Africa, but that the highest estimate puts the number at 150 000 out of a population of 44 million (Pretoria News, 2004:7). Valji (2003:11) states that although media sensationalism cannot be regarded as the main reason for public perceptions and feelings regarding migrants, they are a big contributing factor.

Many South Africans struggle to differentiate between illegal migrants and documented refugees and asylum-seekers as all foreigners are seen as illegals, as portrayed in the press.

The Media has according to Palmary (2003:4) made use of unsubstantiated figures for migration which has lead to the widespread perception that South Africa is being 'flooded' by illegal immigrants. According to Danso and McDonald in Valji (2003:11), the media in South Africa has also been found to typically reproduce 3 stereotypes of foreigners:

- firstly, that they steal jobs,
- secondly, that they create crime and
- thirdly, that they are illegal aliens.

As seen in Chapter Two, many refugees in fact help to create employment by starting small businesses. Due to the high unemployment in South Africa, the refugees who do get work in the formal sector are usually only able to secure dangerous work which many South Africans would rather not have, like security officers in high crime areas.

The second stereotype that the Media tends to portray is of foreigners creating crime, is also unfounded. The Human Rights Watch (1998:126) state that there is lack of evidence that links undocumented migration to rising crime rates. However, media reports often link the two separate issues of foreigners and crime and so many members of society accept this as a matter is not only because of xenophobic attitudes but also due to them not being of course.

Landau & Jacobsen (2003:45) state that migrants are more likely to become victims of violent crime than to be the perpetrators thereof. This victimization is not only because of xenophobic attitudes but also due to them not being able to access protection from officials, like the South African Police Service (SAPS). The Human Rights Watch (1998:123) has similar findings from their work in interviewing refugees and migrants across South Africa.

2.3   Institutional Discrimination

Harris (2001:6) states that prejudice and discrimination operate within law enforcement and police practices. She goes on to say that the potential for abuse spans within the entire Criminal Justice System and Asylum System, such as the South African Police Service and the Department of Home Affairs.

2.3.1 South African Police Service

The South African Police Service (SAPS) has various functions relating to refugees and the enforcement of Immigration Law. These include apprehending and detaining undocumented migrants, investigating foreigners involved in illegal activities and working with other institutional systems like the Department of Home Affairs (DHA). The Police are active in tracking down illegal immigrants and have the power to apprehend persons suspected of being illegal migrants. However, many foreigners are never given the opportunity by members of the SAPS to present evidence of their legal status. As it is not a legal condition for individuals to carry proof of their identification, a person suspected of being in the country illegally, should be escorted by the SAPS to retrieve their ID and papers so as to be able to prove their refugee status. However, at times, Harris (2001:38) is of opinion that this does not happen, and foreigners are automatically arrested.

Refugees have other complaints about Police corruption. They claim that on presentation of their refugee permits to the Police, they are destroyed or that the officers do not accept the papers. Thus they may be apprehended immediately despite being in the country legally. Thus many refugees admit to paying bribes to avoid being arrested and sent to Lindela Repatriation Centre (Peta, 2005:3). When immigrants are arrested, they are taken to Police cells or sent straight to detention centres such as Lindela Repatriation Centre in Krugersdorp, about thirty minutes from Johannesburg. Lindela Repatriation Centre is a detention facility for undocumented migrants awaiting deportation. Most Police stations or Home Affairs offices bring suspected illegal immigrants to this Centre from where they are then deported to their country of origin (Human Rights Watch, 1998:69).

Physical violence is also sometimes part of the abusive role that the SAPS display. Research has shown that this violence can take on the form of an assault or severe beatings that has on occasion lead to death. The Human

Rights Watch (1998:119) interviewed a number of refugees and asylum-seekers who claimed to have been assaulted by Police officers. The interviewees spoke about the rude and aggressive manner in which they are treated by Police. This includes name-calling, hitting and kicking. The Human Rights Watch (1989:121) is also aware of an asylum-seeker from Burundi who died under suspicious circumstances after being in Police custody. Evidently he had been in good health when he was arrested by Police. Three hours later he was taken to the Department of Home Affairs by the Police and was in severe pain. He told a witness that he had been beaten by Police. He died on the way to hospital from a ruptured spleen that may possibly have been caused by trauma.

More recently, an inquiry into alleged violence and xenophobia in Muizenberg took place following a Police raid in a hostel occupied by Congolese refugees. A number of refugees were seriously beaten and needed medical attention and neighbours reported hearing xenophobic remarks being made by members of the City Police (Greenfield, 2004:4). Two Police officers were arrested in May 2006, following an armed robbery of a Somali man's shop in Bellville. The case is currently pending (Breytenbach, 2006:4).

According to Palmary (2003:6) xenophobic attitudes and behaviours of Police officers are not only harmful in that they result in unfair treatment towards the foreigners but senior Police officers can be important opinion-makers. These senior Police officers can negatively impact the general public's perception of foreigners and so fuel feelings of xenophobia. Thus the researcher comes to the conclusion that corruption, harassment and violence constitute much of the relationship that exists between the SAPS and foreigners in South Africa.

2.3.2 Department of Home Affairs

Shindondola (2003:27) expresses concern regarding xenophobia that seems to be spearheaded by members of institutions who are supposed to be in the centre of providing protection and relief to refugees, especially Police officers and immigration officers. Xenophobic practices and unfair treatment by the Department of Home Affairs will be mentioned.

Refugees experience difficulties with the Department of Home Affairs (DHA). The South African Refugee Act of 1998 is meant to regulate the entry of refugees into South Africa. One of the requirements of this Act, is that refugees must renew their permits every three months. The problem arises as the Offices seem to only process a few applications each day. This is partly due to manpower shortages. Thus some refugees leave the Home Affairs office without having their permits renewed as they have to return to work or have other commitments. This then places them in a difficult situation in terms of the law (Naicker & Nair, 2000:3).

Steinberg (2005:3) states that this non-access to the DHA, makes this disempowered group vulnerable to extortion and blackmail by state officials. The payment of bribes in order to access applications for asylum-seeker and refugee status seems to have become almost institutionalized. Thus the researcher is of the opinion that state officials within Home Affairs do show signs of xenophobia. They take advantage of this vulnerable group by extorting bribes, knowing that they can 'control' the situation as the foreigners have no other avenue other than getting their papers processed by the DHA.

2.4   The Nature of Xenophobia in South Africa

Xenophobia in South Africa portrays various forms. Many South African citizens are prejudiced towards foreigners but this prejudice remains as thoughts and feelings. However as mentioned previously, xenophobia in South Africa has a very particular nature in that it is very violent.   Thus these different forms will be discussed in the following section.

2.4.1 Attitudes and Actions

This form of xenophobia relates to the definition of xenophobia which is generally accepted as the intense fear or dislike of foreigners. This can also be called general xenophobia and focuses on mostly attitudes and feelings, directed at refugees and asylum-seekers simply because of their foreignness.

Xenophobia in South Africa has resulted in particular name-calling and verbal abuse.   A common derogatory term used for refugees by black South Africans is 'makwerekwere'. This word is meant as an insult and usually followed by being told to go home and that they aren't welcome in South Africa. Many refugees receive constant harassment and insults from various nationals, like shoppers, pedestrians, passengers, neighbours and even work colleagues. Harris (2001:60) states that to most refugees, it is a daily practice to be subject to public hostility.

Xenophobia also manifests itself though actions like looting and destruction of property of vulnerable groups of foreigners. In February 2006, a number of Somalis allegedly fled Knysna, where they had been residing and making a living, after having their shops looted and set alight by residents after a robbery by local men. In Bamford (2006:32), Ashraf Mahomed, provincial co-ordinator of the South African Human Rights Commission, stated that they were very

concerned about the extent to which these incidents were attributable to racism and xenophobia.

2.4.2 Violent Xenophobia

In South Africa, xenophobia and discrimination are overtly expressed through members of the population in a violent and aggressive way. Valji (2003:18) explains that it is this 'violent edge' that xenophobic attitudes in South Africa display that is particularly concerning. Home Affairs Minister, Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula, stated in her speech during a hearing into xenophobia in parliament, that there are reports of people being harassed, brutally treated and at times killed simply because they came from a different country. She went on to say that xenophobia was rife in South Africa and had reached disturbing proportions (Ancer, 2004:2).

In January 2002, in the Joe Slovo settlement in Milnerton, near Cape Town, three refugees and a day later one local man was killed. The three refugees that were killed were then dragged into a house and the house was set alight. These alleged xenophobic killings occurred because Xhosa-speaking residents complained that foreigners were having relationships with "their women" and stealing their jobs. Similar tensions erupted in 2001 in Du Noon, Near Table View, where refugees were forced to flee from the area in which they had been staying. They were resettled by the local authorities but harassment continued (Schronen, 2002:1).

The Human Rights Watch (1998:128) found that serious tension which resulted in violence and intimidation was between South Africans and foreign street traders, also known as hawkers. The former did not want foreign hawkers sharing the pavements with them and undertook protest marches. On several occasions they had viciously attacked foreign hawkers with instruments like "knobkerries" (sticks with a round ball at the end) and "sjamboks" (flexible rubber

stick). This resulted in many foreign traders giving up the hawking as their lives were in danger and so went in search of other livelihoods.

Reports in the media of refugees being thrown off moving trains and attacked are not uncommon (Naicker & Nair, 2000:2). Thus the researcher notes that xenophobia in South Africa has had life-threatening consequences for many refugees and non-nationals, who have come to South Africa to find peace and safety.

2.4.3 Xenophobia towards Children

Xenophobic attitudes and actions towards refugee adults are common in South Africa. How refugee children and youth experience this, will be looked at.

After the end of Apartheid in 1994, the deracialisation of the education system also began. There were various views at the time, regarding how South African schools, would cope with the new racial integration. One view was that this would result in serious racial conflict as the strong stereotypes of 'the other' were so ingrained in the attitudes and beliefs of the children through institutions like churches and families. The other view that was held was that except for initial difficulties, racial integration and acceptance would occur. It was felt that children do not hold on to the prejudices of their parents but would naturally begin to play and work together. According to Jansen (2001:62) neither of these views was totally accurate. Although there was not mass ethnic violence in schools, some racial incidents did occur and racism and intolerance still exists in schools.

This racism does not only relate to the South African Black/ White situation but also discrimination of South Africans against foreigners from outside of South Africa. Refugee children experience xenophobia in schools by their classmates and teachers. Timngum, (2001:41) notes that name-calling and actual physical

violence is experienced by some refugee children. In interviewing 24 refugee children in Johannesburg, these children stated that they felt ostracized by their peers and smaller children were bullied because they were '*makwerekwere*' – a derogatory term used for foreigners by Black South Africans (Reuters, 2005:1).

Reports have also been received regarding teacher's xenophobic and hostile attitudes. It seems that teachers allow pupils to bully and be rude to refugees without interference (Timngum, 2001:7).   A refugee adolescent has stated that teachers are supposed to be role models and protectors yet his experience is that they side with the other children and respond with sarcasm and hurtful comments regarding their home country (Rulashe, 2005:1). Thus the researcher notes that although some refugee children, do become enrolled in local educational facilities despite difficulties as discussed in the previous chapter, their experience of school was often negative due to the discrimination they experienced.

South African children may also experience xenophobia because they are mistaken for foreigners. In Khayelitsha, near Cape Town, two adolescent boys were insulted and abused over a period of years because they had a very dark skin colour. Wherever they went, people would boo them and tell them to 'go home' and call them '*makwerekwere*' (a slang word for African foreigners used by Black South Africans).   The two boys also stated that rubbish had been thrown at them and that they had been almost badly assaulted by residents of Site B, Khayelitsha because they were accused of taking jobs from other South Africans. Police had also intimidated them on more than one occasion. In one incident, the one youth was almost arrested but a neighbour intervened and prevented the arrest. On another occasion, he was questioned by Police who asked him what country he came from and then questioned him for a long while about his clan name and his ancestry. Only after this, were the Police satisfied that he was in fact South African. The 17-year old stated that this is how he and his friend lived and that it was obvious that this was also the case for so many

foreigners living in South Africa (Independent Newspapers Online, 2000:1). Thus children are being exposed to the xenophobic attitudes and actions of South Africans, either because they are foreigners or because they are mistaken for a foreigner. Thus the researcher perceives that xenophobia and discrimination do exist in schools and remains Apartheid's powerful legacy.

It is important to discuss the origins of this xenophobic behaviour and how this prejudice is formed, in order to contextualize the nature thereof.

3.   Origins of Xenophobia

Xenophobia has become a real concern in countries where there is political transition. This has been seen in a country like Germany after the fall of the Berlin wall and the beginning of Democracy (Shindondola, 2003:62). The reasons for the increase in xenophobia and the contributing factors in South Africa are important. In the search for the origins, 3 hypotheses are discussed within the context of other contributing factors.

3.1   Scapegoating Hypothesis

The Scapegoating Hypothesis formulated by Harris (2001:69) is one which she uses in her explanation of xenophobia. Here, xenophobia is located within the context of social transition and change. Within post-Apartheid South Africa, there is an expectation in the so called "new South Africa", that there will be more resources available. There are expectations that were fostered during the liberation struggle that service delivery will happen and happen quickly and that a general improvement in the quality of life will occur (Valji, 2003:14-15). However, resources like housing, education, health care and employment are still lacking and the expectation is now higher. This has lead to feelings of discontent and

frustration. It seems that people are more aware of what they do not have and have taken note of the unequal distribution of wealth and resources (Harris 2001:69). Thus there is disparity between one's aspirations and the reality. De la Rey (in Harris 2001:69) states that this sense of relative deprivation is a key factor to social unrest. This arises from a general feeling of dissatisfaction which comes from the belief that one is getting less than one is entitled to.

This discontentment has seen to become targeted towards non-national minorities, against who they can vent their anger in a violent form (Tshitereke in Harris, 2001:69). Valji (2003:15) agrees with this when she states that with this frustration has come the need to lay blame and a jealous guarding of limited gains against the perceived invasion of foreigners. Thus Harris (2001:6) explains that the foreigner becomes the scapegoat, someone to blame for social ills and personal frustrations.

The researcher would say that the blame that foreigners get from South Africans for high unemployment, the increasing crime rate and illnesses as mentioned in the previous section could fall into the Scapegoating hypothesis. Valji (2003:19) states that South Africans do hold migrants responsible for the negative circumstances that are a part of South Africa's new dispensation. These include the rise in crime, spread of HIV/AIDS and other diseases and job losses. The Confederation of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) delivered a statement on xenophobia in 2001. They stated that a number of the South African population do hold migrants responsible for the high unemployment rate and crime. The unemployment rate (in 2001) was 36%. That makes an estimate of 5 million unemployed persons. Thus even if all foreigners were employed in the labour market (estimated 200 000 illegal and 60 000 legal), COSATU states that there would still be a huge unemployment problem in South Africa (Crush, 2001:31). By looking at the facts regarding unemployment, the researcher notes that migrants are being used as scapegoats in this situation.

COSATU also made mention of Crime in their statement and assert that crime is not caused by non-nationals. It appears that from isolated incidents of crime, unfair generalizations have been made. The majority of prisoners are South African rather non-nationals (Crush, 2001:31-32).

So it seems that South Africans choose to use refugees and other foreigners as scapegoats for all their concerns and unmet expectations.

3.2   Isolation Hypothesis

The Isolation hypothesis, also promulgated by Harris (2001:7) explains xenophobia by looking at it being caused through South Africa's isolation from the rest of the world during Apartheid. South Africa existed after being cast out by the international community and according to Valji (2003:17) this resulted in South African citizens turning inwards and developing the inability to tolerate and accept differences. South Africa was thus isolated from other nationalities and cultures in what the Apartheid Government called "Separate Development". This separate development emphasized strict boundaries between South African citizens and other countries and cultures. Thus there was no exposure to 'outsiders' and the unknown. Exposure to the unknown and to differences has created anxiety which has in turn developed into hostility and misunderstanding (Harris, 2002:6). Thus South Africans in this argument find it difficult to accommodate and tolerate differences due to their isolation from it in the past.

McDonald (2000:210) has found that South Africans rank their own and other racial groups in the country higher than they do any kind of foreigner. This information seems to back the Isolation Hypothesis as South Africans are more familiar with their own fellow-countrymen and thus rate them higher. Though there was separation between the racial groups in South Africa under Apartheid, it seems some interaction and familiarity did occur.

The Scapegoat and Isolation Hypotheses look at general explanations for the evidence of xenophobia. The last Hypothesis that will be discussed looks at the physical differences and otherness of foreigners.

3.3   Bio-cultural Hypothesis

The Bio-cultural Hypothesis, which is Harris' final hypothesis, explains that xenophobia functions through physical and cultural differences. Thus the fact that foreigners are easily identified through visible differences from other South Africans seems to play a prompting role in xenophobic actions.

In South Africa, bio-cultural features of hairstyles, accents and types of clothing worn, make foreigners easily identifiable. Examples of these differences include certain types of braiding and the ways certain words are pronounced. Mozambicans have a vaccination mark on their lower left forearm and Malawians tend to pronounce an "r" as "errow". The inability to communicate in one of the indigenous languages also marks them as 'other'. These identifying characteristics are specifically relevant to African migrants and literature shows that xenophobic attitudes and actions are predominantly focused on Black African refugees and migrants (Valji, 2003:5). Thus the Bio-cultural Hypothesis of xenophobia does offer an explanation for the targeting of African foreigners by South Africans (Harris, 2001:71).

However, this Hypothesis does not explain why these distinguishing features have lead to xenophobia. Possible reasons, such as Nationalism and South Africa's violent culture, will be discussed in the next sections.

3.4   Nationalism

South Africa has undergone a political transition since 1994 and the election of a democratic government.   There has been a shift from racial segregation to national inclusiveness.   Now all South Africans are citizens of a 'new South Africa' and this represents a new nation.   This idea of nation-building is central and imperative so as to bridge the gaps between different South Africans and so form a new society.   Thus South African nationalism has been created.   The Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary (1992:824) defines Nationalism as the 'devotion to one's own nation: patriotic feelings, principles or efforts'.   This "devotion" is constantly reinforced through various political and social actions (Harris, 2001:73).   The researcher notes that an example of this is the 'Proudly South African' campaign.

Ideology has been a big factor in many conflicts across the world.   One such ideology is Nationalism.   Nationalism brings about unity and can be very powerful and positive but can also have negative consequences.   "Negative" Nationalism regards one nation to be superior over another (University of Natal, Durban 2003:2).   The researcher considers that South Africans may have internalized this negative Nationalism and thus see themselves as superior to immigrants from other parts of Africa.   Thus this xenophobia and chauvinism seems to be part of the nation-building process, as mentioned above and Nationalism may have detrimental consequences to its country.

3.5   Apartheid and the Culture of Violence

Apartheid generated attitudes of xenophobia and closed-mindedness in contemporary South Africa.   The experience of oppression during Apartheid, especially by Black nationals, seems to have resulted in the mistrust and suspicion of outsiders (Harris, 2001:70).

Apartheid was based on ideologies of difference and exclusion. The issue of race and ethnicity dominated policy decisions and actions. Differences between all South Africans were high-lighted and people were classified according to race and ethnicity (ANC Today, 2001:1). The distinction did not stop there. Those persons classified as 'Africans' were further disaggregated into tribes. Each tribe was taught according to their own tribal traditions and history and in their mother-tongue. This idea of separate development was practiced in order to ensure division among Black persons (Valji, 2003:16). Concomitantly with this classification and division, suspicion and fear developed. The various regimes of Government exploited this emergence of xenophobia and racism as it created further divisions among the people (ANC Today, 2001:2). These divisions were crucial to the maintenance of the Apartheid state.

The researcher notes that it seems to be these very mindsets of exclusion that were created during Apartheid, that are still strongly contributing to xenophobic attitudes and actions. South African attitudes towards migration seem to underline this point. McDonald (2000:199) states in the survey performed by SAMP that South Africans are not open to newcomers entering South Africa. A quarter of the sample of the survey advocated for a total ban on migration to South Africa. There are noticeable differences in attitudes among racial groups with Blacks and Asians calling for more restrictive migration measures. Thus the idea of exclusion that was fostered during Apartheid seems according to these findings to still be a big factor among South Africans.

Apartheid provided White people with total access to resources and freedom and fostered an idea of White supremacy over Black inferiority. Black persons were denied their human rights and seen as an inferior population group. An inclination seemed to develop which affiliated light skin with increased socio-economic privilege and darker skin with criminality and poverty during Apartheid (Valji, 2003:18). The researcher is of the opinion that this way of thinking that

was learned has been assimilated by many South Africans and is noticeable in interaction with Black foreigners who are often seen to be "too dark" to be South African and results in negative feelings.

Much has been written about South Africa's Culture of Violence. Harris (2002:14) defines this Culture of Violence as follows: "The culture of violence can be described as a situation in which social relations and interactions are governed through violent, rather than non-violent, means. This is a culture in which violence is proffered as a normal, legitimate solution to problems." (2002:14)

The Culture of Violence is a legacy of Apartheid. The decade of the 1980s was one of the most violent periods in South African history and thus served as a foundation for this violence. This period was characterized by the extensive use of force by the South African government in order to maintain the Apartheid regime. Those opposing the system also used violence in order to fight against it. Arbitrary arrests took place and people were detained without trial. There was civil unrest, acts of sabotage, harassment, torture, "disappearances" and the murder of political opponents. Violence was used and sanctioned across the political spectrum in order to gain and maintain political power (Hamber, 1999:1).

Today, the level of political violence has decreased but its form has changed to become that of criminal in nature. Hamber (1999) maintains that the current levels of violent crime have been built on the legacy of the civil conflict of the past. He states that a "culture of violence" has infiltrated all areas of society. Thus although the form of violence has altered, it still persists as the main way to solve problems in South Africa (Harris, 2002:14).

These high levels of violence in society in general, seem to have ebbed over into the violent manifestations of xenophobia in South Africa. Valji (2003:18) states that although attitudes of hostility towards foreigners appear to be on the

increase globally, it is in South Africa that these attitudes have become very violent. She states that this is because violence as discussed above is seen as an acceptable response to a conflict situation.

4.   Conclusion

Xenophobia is found throughout the world. In South Africa, xenophobia is a real phenomenon and is found in various sectors of society. It is particularly violent and targets mostly Black foreigners.   A number of causes and contributing factors have been discussed.

It seems in the new South Africa, where freedom and human rights for all are being strived for, the high levels of hostility and xenophobia towards refugees and migrants can be a serious treat to this new ideal.

In the following chapter, a Survey will be conducted among refugee children living in Cape Town. A study will be done to ascertain whether refugee children experience xenophobia and if so, what form this xenophobia takes. It will be seen whether the xenophobia which is so rife in communities within South Africa as discussed in Chapter 3, is targeted as much towards children as it is towards adults. The empirical study in the following chapter will investigate this phenomenon.

CHAPTER 4

Research Methodology

1. Introduction

The research methodology and procedure followed in conducting this study and used by the researcher will be described in this chapter. In Chapter One it was outlined that a survey was the most appropriate way in obtaining the data to reach the goal. The methodology for this study was structured around the goal. By giving a clear description of the methodology used the reader will obtain clarity on how the research was carried out and what methods were used to gather data. De Vos *et al.* (2005:252) suggest that the research design, the sampling plan, data-collection procedures and the measuring instruments used, should be discussed in a chapter where the research methodology is explained. The relationship between the research question or problem and the data collected should also be clearly shown.

2. The Research Process

Research activities that were carried out are summarized by means of a step-by-step research process unique to the quantitative process (De Vos *et al.* 2005:121). Table 2.1 explains this process.

Table 2.1

Step taken	Action implemented by researcher
Planning	Undertook an in-depth literature review • Reflected in Chapter Two and Three
	Selected a research design appropriate to the problem statement • Quantitative-descriptive (survey) design
	Selected method of data collection • Structured questionnaires to respondents with researcher available for interpretation
	Selected a sampling plan • Non-probability sampling with the use of a purposive sample
Implementation	Conducted a pilot study • Scrutinized the questionnaire by means of a pre-test
	Conducted main research • Data-capturing (field work)
Interpretation and Presentation	Data analysis • Process and analyse data by means of simple statistical procedures germane to a survey • Interpreted the results in this research report

It is evident from the table that the quantitative approach lends itself towards a well structured and formal research process. The application of the quantitative approach for this research project can be motivated as follows.

3.   Quantitative Approach

In order to find out the extent of xenophobia towards refugee children, which is the aim of this research, data needed to be collected which focused on specific questions that remain constant throughout the study. De Vos *et al.* (2005: 74) state that a Quantitative study objectively measures the social world and can be seen as an inquiry into a social problem or need. Thus the researcher found this approach to be the most appropriate way in dealing with the problem of xenophobia, by using the quantitative-descriptive (survey) design.

Fortune and Reid (in De Vos *et al.* 2005:73) state as mentioned in Chapter One, that in the Quantitative approach there are a number of characteristics. As part of the evaluation of the appropriateness of the method, the researcher will discuss some of the characteristics as part of her research that she implemented.

- *The researcher is an objective observer whose involvement is limited to gaining specific data.* In this study, the researcher was only involved in gaining the data by working through the questionnaire with the respondents. Thus she was an objective observer, as there was no intervention or input and she was only involved in order to gain the necessary information.

- *Research is focused on specific questions that remain constant throughout the study.* The researcher compiled a structured questionnaire and each respondent was asked the same questions from the

questionnaire. Thus the questions remained constant throughout the study.

- *All planning for the research is done before the study commences.* The research design, the data-collection method by means of a questionnaire and the population of refugee children, were all decided on before the research began. Thus the steps were fixed and the researcher kept to these steps throughout her study.

- *Data-collection is undertaken in a standardized method for e.g. all participants answer the same questionnaire.* This was the case, where all the respondents answered the same questionnaire set-up by the researcher. No other questions were asked nor any further exploration done.

- *Data collectors obtain only specified information and do not provide interpretations and observations.* The researcher was the data collector and no other field workers were used. Thus she is aware that only the specified information was collected and no interpretations were made or observations recorded. Only the information given by the respondent was recorded accurately.

4. Research Procedure

4.1 Survey

In this research, the survey design was used to gather the relevant data. Prejudice that the participants experienced because they were foreigners, namely xenophobia, was the variable or concept that needed to be measured. A

questionnaire was the instrument used to measure the variable as part of the survey.

4.2   Questionnaire

Kanjee (2004:293) states that a questionnaire is a group of written questions which is used to gather information and is a very common tool for data-collection in the Social Sciences.   The researcher set up her own questionnaire in order to collect data from the respondents as to whether they had been victims of xenophobic actions. Questions were short and concise, and the researcher tried to keep them relevant to the research process. Attention was also given to the questionnaire's length. The researcher wanted it long enough to collect sufficient information. However it could not be too long, as the researcher needed the respondents to concentrate on the questions asked and the researcher has in her experience of working with children realized that a child's attention span is limited. The questionnaire set-up by the researcher took approximately fifteen to twenty minutes to complete which the researcher felt was an appropriate length of time. The researcher was also of the opinion that the questions asked could create anxiety or sadness in the child, and thus did not want the process of questionnaire completion to take too long. Kanjee (2004:293-294) also mentions that the length of the questionnaire must be taken into consideration.

Zaaiman (2003:38) states that the format of the questionnaire must be reader friendly. The researcher was careful to use wording that was age appropriate so that the respondents could understand the questions easily. Faces displaying emotions were also used that kept the respondents interested and appealed to their level of development.

Before implementing the questionnaire, it was given to a 12 year old boy to complete. This gave the researcher an idea of the age-appropriateness of the questions and the level of difficulty with the written language. The questionnaire

was also given to a panel of research experts in order to make sure that all steps were taken to get the required information from the respondents. This formed part of the pilot study.

During the actual data capturing, the questionnaire was completed by the researcher herself as mentioned previously. This was done by means of asking the questions to the participants and writing down their answers in the questionnaire. They were also able to ask for clarification if there was uncertainty. This opportunity to ask for clarity, according to Van Vuuren & Maree (2004: 282) is one of the advantages of personal interviews.

Zaaiman (2003:39) made mention that interviewing (as done by the researcher) can alleviate the problem of illiteracy among respondents. As all the respondents in this population/sample were refugee children from countries within Africa, English was not their first language. Thus although they were mostly literate in their mother tongue, English reading and writing was an obstacle in the research process.

The manner in which data was gathered has been discussed. The following section will look at sampling and what steps were taken in order to determine the sample.

4.3   Sampling Plan

In order to arrive at the sample, the researcher had to set-up a list of all refugee children from African countries between 7-17 years old that had been or were living in one of two Shelters in Athlone. The time span was from January 2003 to May 2006. Thus these children needed to have stayed in one of these Shelters during the above years. The researcher received permission to go through the case files at the two Shelters and make a list of all the applicable cases that would fall within her target group. This needed to be done as no such database

existed in either of the Shelters. A list was then established and this then became the population. De Vos *et al.* (2005:193) explain a population to be the individuals who possess certain characteristics and attributes in which the researcher is interested.

A sample is the group of individuals or cases from the population, who will be part of the study and sampling in the process used to select these cases (Van Vuuren & Maree: 2004: 275). In this research, the population was small, namely fourteen refugee children. Thus the total population became the sample that the researcher worked with. De Vos *et al.* (2005:195) state that where the population is small, it is preferable for the total population to be involved in the study. Of the fourteen children, ten were interviewed. The researcher was unable to make contact with the other four children. Two had returned to their country of origin, one had run away from the Shelter and was being sought by the South African Police Service and the other one could not be contacted. Thus the response rate was ten out of fourteen.

The researcher made contact with the mothers of the sample, and explained the nature of the research and asked their permission to interview their children. As each of the mothers, had had some form of contact with the researcher in her capacity as social worker in the past, this made it easier for the mothers to agree to the research. One mother was initially uncertain but after going through the questionnaire with the researcher, she gave her consent. Thus the average wish of refugees not wanting to be involved in interviews and research, as discussed by McDonald *et al.* (2000:169) in Chapter One, was not relevant in this case, as the researcher was not a stranger to them.

The researcher completed the questionnaire with each respondent individually. This was done at their current place of residence. Thus they were either seen at their home or at the Shelter where they were currently staying. The researcher found that the respondents responded quite easily to the questions asked by the

researcher, as they had met the researcher in the past as well and thus felt more comfortable.

5. Data Analysis

Data analysis dealt with the processing of data in accordance with the research objectives, using the questions in the questionnaire in a manner aspiring to establish thematic and chronological meaning. The results of the data analysis will be discussed in Chapter 5.

6. Ethical considerations

In Chapter 1 the ethical considerations that the researcher took into account was discussed. The ethical considerations as part of the research methodology were as important as other considerations.

6.1 Responsibility to the respondents

The responsibility towards the respondents was acknowledged by the researcher. Respondents were informed that they were part of a research project and the concept of their answers being part of a research project was clarified with them.

6.2 Responsibility to the researchers' profession – Social work

Although the researcher fulfilled her role as researcher *per se,* she needed to comply with the prescribed actions as stated by the South African Council for Social Service Professions.

The researcher, as a registered social worker followed the policy guidelines for course of conduct, the code of ethics and the Rules for Social Workers, as stated by law.

7.   Conclusion

The Research methodology used in this study was discussed in this chapter. The research process used to achieve this aim, were laid out and explained. Thus the reader has a clear understanding of what steps were taken and what method was used in this study.

The following and final chapter will look at the Empirical findings and conclusions of the research done into xenophobia.

CHAPTER 5

Empirical findings, Conclusions and Recommendations

1. Introduction

The Aim of this research project was 'To determine the extent of refugee children's experience of xenophobia'. This research with a limited sample may or may not be generalised to the refugee child's experience of xenophobia. The importance is that this research formed a basis for follow-up research in this field.

The research process was followed and a questionnaire set-up that would measure the xenophobic actions that the respondents had been exposed to. In this chapter, the data received from the structured questionnaires will be discussed. A systematic explanation of the findings will be given as well as conclusions based on these findings.

2. Summary of the results

A brief summary of the results of the survey will be given below, before it is discussed in detail later on in this chapter.

2.1 Summarised profile of the respondents

Of the 10 children interviewed, 4 were boys and 6 were girls. All were school-going age and this ranged from 7 to 17 years old. All lived or had lived at one of two Shelters in Athlone, Cape Town, between January 2003 and May 2006. Six of these children came to South Africa with their mother and other siblings but a

four came with other persons like family or strangers. Most of the children spoke Kinyarwanda at home with their family, which is the main language spoken in Rwanda. All of these children also spoke English and could speak a total of nine languages between them. Some of the children lived in Athlone, Cape Town, and others in the Southern Suburbs of Cape Town.

2.2   Summarised data from the questionnaire

The majority of the respondents were positively disposed towards living in Cape Town. Mostly this was because they had friends to play with and could go to school. Those that felt moderately and negatively about living in Cape Town, did so because of negative input they had received from people and because they missed friends and family from their home country.

All of the respondents went to school. Mostly they enjoyed school but there were a few that found school both positive and negative. Just over half of the respondents stated that they did not feel different from the other children in their school. Those that felt different felt different because of xenophobic comments that had been made towards them. Regarding teachers, most of the respondents stated that their teachers knew that they were not South African. Most of the respondents also had a positive experience with their teachers and felt like they were treated well by their teachers who helped them and taught them. Some of the respondents also spoke about their teachers backing them up when they had been discriminated against by their classmates.

Regarding health, two children had never been to a health care facility in South Africa. The remainder had gone to a Doctor or nurse and were treated well except for one respondent who was not helped. The respondents gave feedback on the way that various races and persons in the community treated them. The sample had been treated well by White South Africans and the worst by Black

South Africans. They had been treated mostly well and moderately by Coloured persons with a few receiving negative treatment. Half of the sample had had no contact with Indian people and could thus not comment on this group. The respondents felt very well treated by Teachers. With regards to treatment by neighbours, this was also positive though there were moderate and negative answers as well. Doctors and Nurses also received good feedback though all respondents were unable to comment on this. Lastly, the respondents felt quite well treated by shopkeepers and staff working in shops.

Regarding the question of what South Africans say about the respondents coming from another country, much of the response was hostile. Many made blatant xenophobic comments and actions though two of the respondents had said that they had received no feedback from other people. Eight of the respondents expressed a desire to return to their home country mostly because they missed friends and family that were still in their country. Some of the respondents did not want to return to their country of origin, because of the conflict and war in their country of origin.

Exposure to Police and attitudes towards Police were also investigated. More than half of the sample, namely six respondents, had had no contact with the South African Police Service and thus could also not comment about treatment from them. Most of the respondents felt that they could trust the Police to protect them and most were not afraid of the Police. Two of those who were afraid, were actually scared of the Police officers' weapons and not of the Police themselves.

Whether South Africans noticed and remarked about the respondent's foreignness to them was also investigated. Six of the respondents said that people had remarked but these comments were not all negative. Those that were negative did not relate, except for one, to prejudice against the refugee. Regarding their language, five of the sample said that people had commented on their mother tongue but that only three of these were negative comments. The

final question related to the child's emotional well-being and their opportunity to receive emotional support. Just over half (six) of the sample had received some psychological support but four had not had an opportunity to discuss any circumstances that were bothering them.

Thus a brief summary of the results obtained from the completed questionnaires has been provided. The data will now be discussed in more detail and analysed according to the literature study in the preceding chapters.

3.   Discussion and Interpretation of the results for further investigation

3.1   Profile of the sample

The Profile of the sample will be discussed according to the various questions from the questionnaire.

3.1.1 Gender

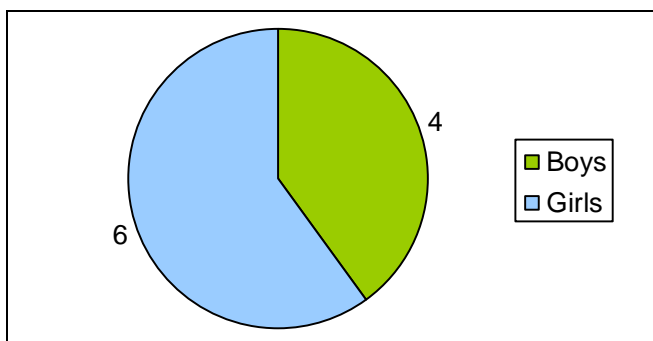The sample of ten children consisted of six girls and four boys. Figure 1 below relates.

Figure 1. Gender distribution of sample

In follow-up studies the gender of refugee children could be explored in detail with the possibility of a link between gender, age and experience of xenophobia.

3.1.2 Ages

The respondents ranged from 7 years to 17 years (Figure 2). Thus their developmental stages are that of Middle childhood and Adolescence. Middle childhood is between approximately 6 and 12 years. Adolescence starts at puberty which is between 11 and 13 years and ends between 18 and 21. Adolescence as a developmental stage is not as clearly defined (Louw, van Ede & Louw 2001:322 & 384). All of the sample, however, fall within these 2 stages and are within the school-going age.
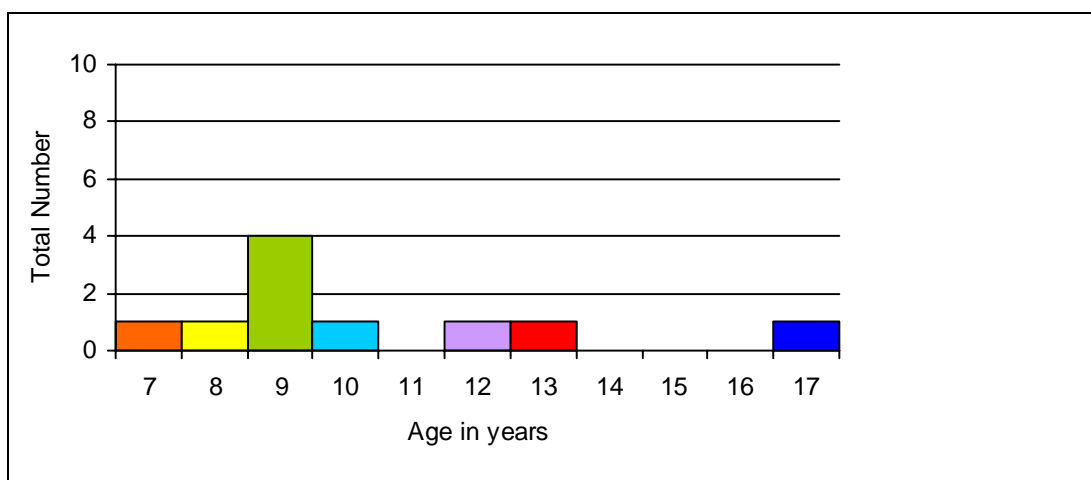

Figure 2. Age distribution of sample

It is clear from the age of the respondents that perceptions, feelings and emotions must be seen within the context of the child's developmental process. It is thus important to note that children between middle childhood and adolescence might experience and interpret incidents within the boundaries of their developmental processes and not necessarily from a process unique to xenophobia. This aspect need to be addressed in a research project with bigger

magnitude and extent. The researcher is of opinion that children in middle childhood may experience xenophobic attitudes but may not recognize them because of lack of knowledge or experience in xenophobic behaviour. Exposure to xenophobic behaviour may serve as an onset for negative feelings, emotions or attitudes in these children, thus laying the groundwork for low self esteem, feelings of unworthiness and even depression.

3.1.3 The people with whom the respondents travelled to South Africa

All respondents came to South Africa as refugees from other African countries, as discussed in Chapter 1. Six of the respondents came with their mothers and other siblings and/or family members (Figure 3). One came with an Aunt. None of the sample travelled with their father or an adult male relative. It is unclear whether their father was still alive, in their country of origin or already in South Africa. De la Hunt (1999:1) states that women and children seeking asylum in South Africa are a minority. This is contrary to the rest of the world where the majority of refugees are women and children.

Three of the respondents came as unaccompanied minors. They came with older siblings, so were therefore not completely alone, but were not accompanied with a responsible person. However, all of their mothers were already in South Africa, and were thus able to receive them on arrival. The Department of Social Services who has a responsibility to unaccompanied minors, according to the Child Care Act, (Winterstein in Naidu, 2003:1) would not have needed to place these children under their care, as there was a responsible adult in South Africa waiting for them on their arrival in South Africa.
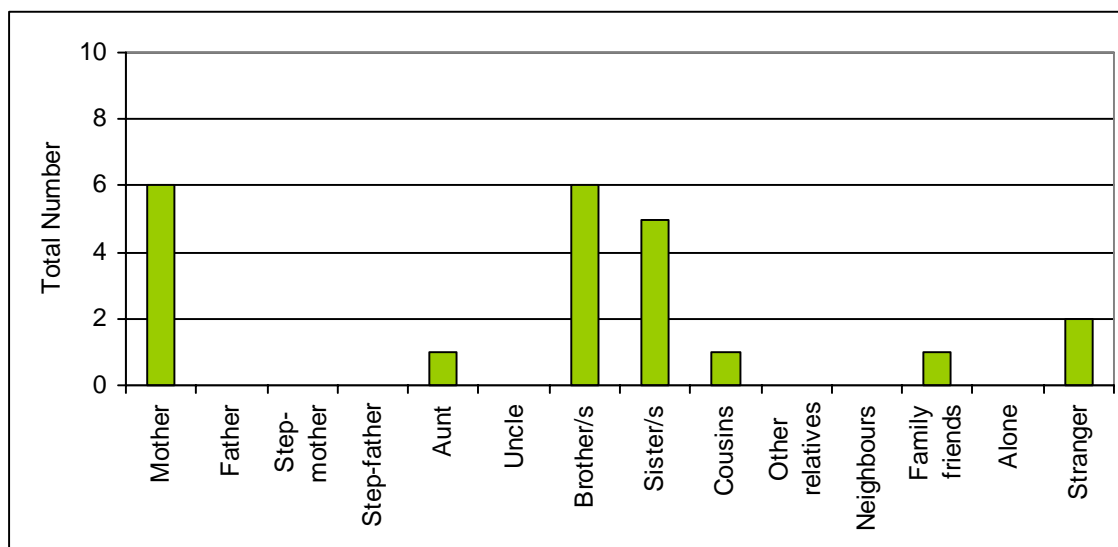
Figure 3. The people with whom the respondents travelled

Two of the unaccompanied minors mentioned meeting 'strangers' who helped them during the travelling. The nature of their relationship is, however, unclear to the researcher. It is important to note that from this research, that unaccompanied minors travelling without parental care needs to be researched in depth. The emotional impact of disrupted family patterns on these children is of concern and needs to be addressed.

3.1.4 Language spoken in the family

The majority of the sample speaks Kinyarwarda, as a first language, which is spoken in Rwanda. Two of the respondents speaks Swahili and the other two speak English as a home language, as can be seen in Figure 4 below.
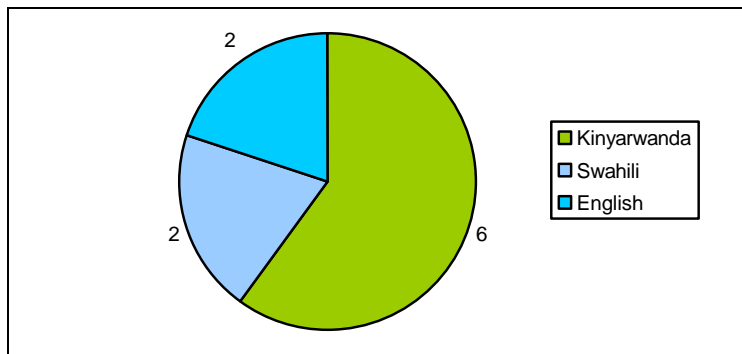
Figure 4. Language spoken within the family

From this data it is evident that the majority of refugee children came from Rwanda. It is important to note that for further research the focus on children from Rwanda may help in answering questions on what specific emotional aspects can be dealt with – for example children experiencing trauma or ethnic violence.

3.1.5 Other languages spoken

The sample of 10 children can speak nine different languages between them. All the respondents can speak English and five can speak French. Seven can speak Kinyarwanda and five Swahili. One respondent can speak Chewa and Lugandan as well. One can also speak Portuguese. Regarding indigenous South African languages, 4 of the respondents have learnt to speak Xhosa and 3 Afrikaans (Figure 5). Thus it is the researcher's opinion that these respondents are making an attempt to "fit in" and make the transition in a new country by learning indigenous languages. Thus although the literature speaks of the difficulty in the transition to English or another local language (Reuters, 2005:1),

it seems that the respondents are working on assimilating into South Africa as all have learnt English and some Afrikaans and Xhosa.

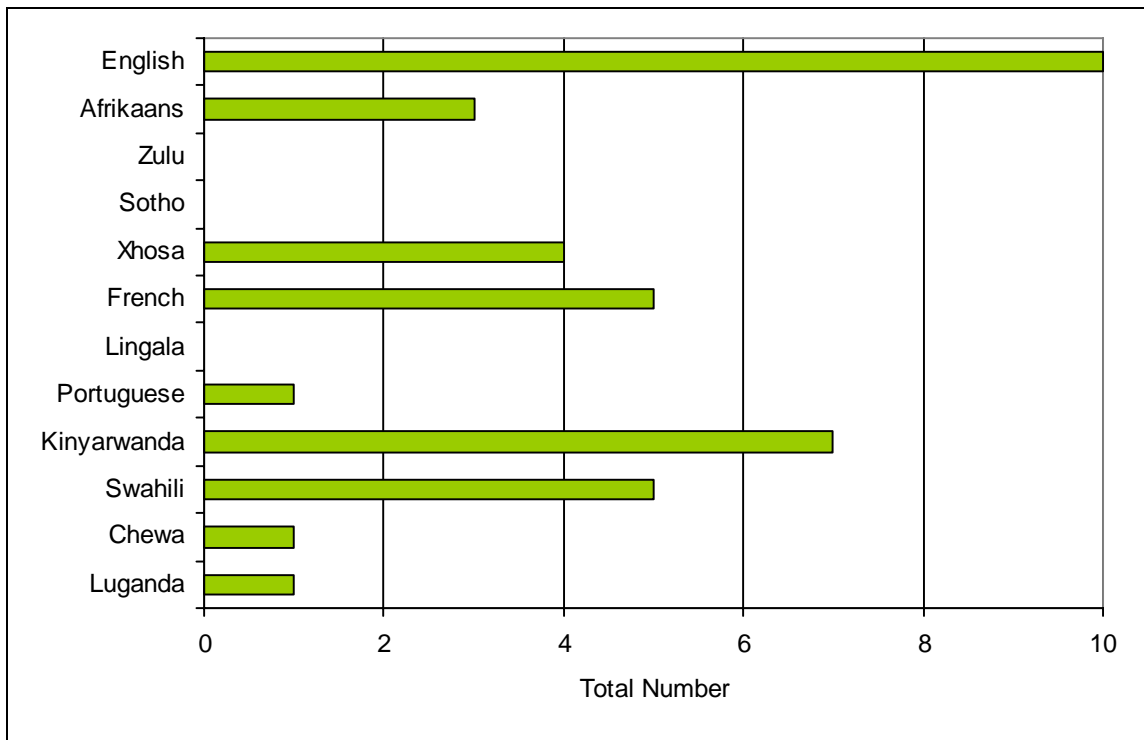**Figure 5. Sample's spoken languages**

3.1.6 Current area of residence

Six of the respondents are living in a Shelter in Athlone. The other four are now living independently in the Southern Suburbs of Cape Town.

For further research, the process of adjustment in a foreign community may help in setting up guidelines for social workers who need to help new refugee children to adjust in South Africa.

3.2 The Respondents' experience of xenophobia

3.2.1 Feelings about Cape Town

Six of the sample felt positive and enjoyed living in Cape Town. Three of these enjoyed living in Cape Town because they had friends to play with (Figure 6). Two mentioned liking Cape Town because they could go to school. Harris (2001:81) mentions that during political conflict and war in a country, the education system is often negatively affected. Thus the researcher wonders whether these two children were able to go to school in their home country. One child mentioned enjoying Cape Town because there was also food to eat. Thus, again the respondent may have experienced famine, as starvation and famine is also the result of political unrest.

Three of the sample, felt moderately about living in Cape Town. One mentioned the prejudice that she encountered, saying that people called her 'makwerekwere' and thus did not like living in Cape Town very much. The other two felt this way because the one missed her friends in her country of origin and the other one was not happy in her place of residence and wanted to live in a house with her family.

One of the respondents felt negative about Cape Town. He said that his classmates don't want to play with him because he is from another country. Thus two of this sample made mention of experiencing xenophobic comments and actions.
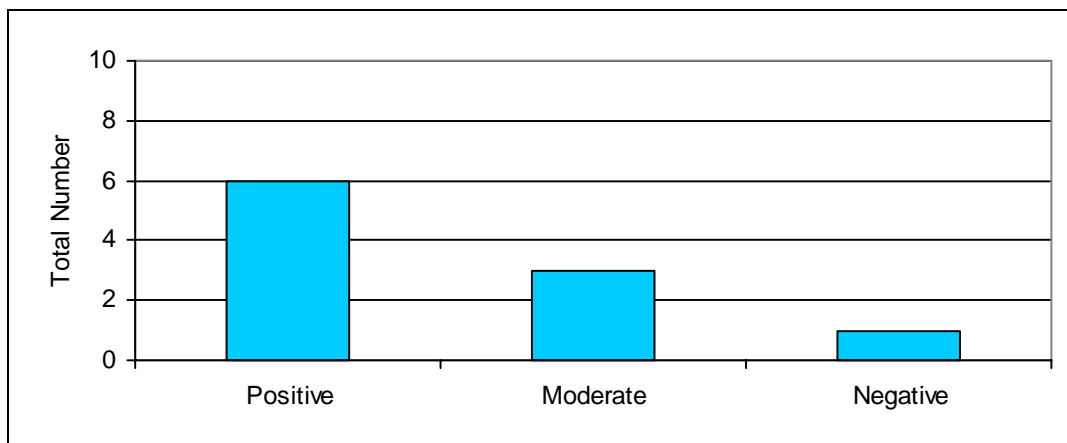
Figure 6: Feelings about living in Cape Town

3.2.2 Schooling

All of the respondents attend school. This is very positive as the literature states that non-attendance at school is high among refugee children. This is often because of lack of finance to pay for school fees and other necessities. Also many schools refuse to take children with "refugee papers" (Nduru, 2005:1). The researcher is of the opinion that it is because of the involvement of the social workers at the Shelters that all children were placed in schools. At Shelters, the social worker has the responsibility to ensure that all children attend school and will thus advocate on behalf of the child, if necessary, to ensure that he is enrolled at a school. Should a mother be alone and unaware of her rights, the situation may be very different.

3.2.3 Feelings about school

In general, the sample was positively disposed towards their schooling. Seven felt positive and the other three felt moderate. None of the sample expressed dislike at going to school. See Figure 7.
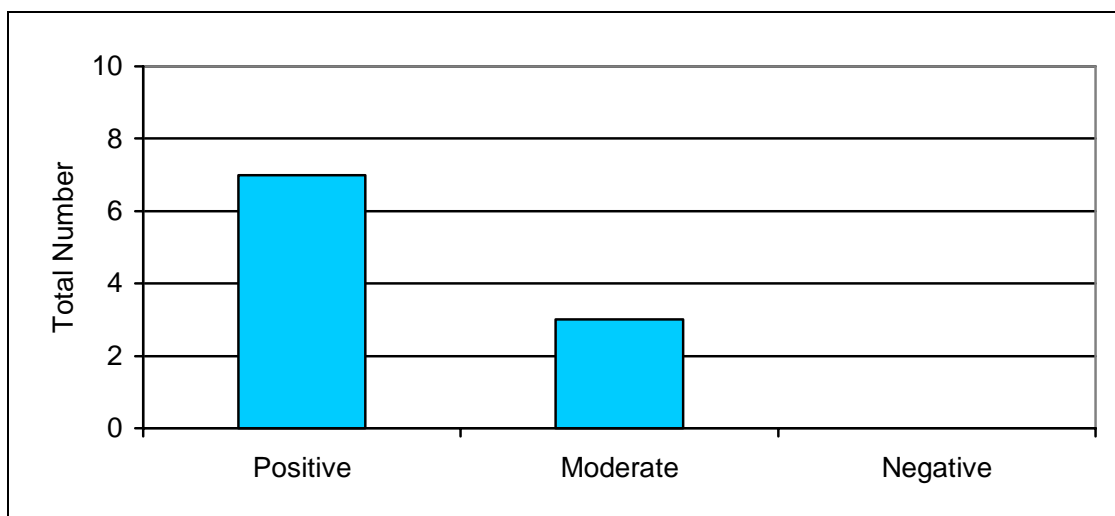
Figure 7. Feelings about school

3.2.4   Feeling different from other children

Four of the children expressed that they felt different from the other children. All of these, gave reasons for feeling different which were xenophobic in nature. These include being called names ('makwerekwere'), being sworn at and being rude towards them because of their foreignness. 'Makwerekwere' is a derogatory term used often by Black South African for foreigners. Research has shown that other refugee children have experienced this name calling in schools, as well as bullying and physical violence (Reuters, 2005:1).

Six of the respondents felt the same as other children in their school.   The researcher finds this very positive for it seems that the children have found more commonalities with their peers than differences and thus do not feel different from other children at school.
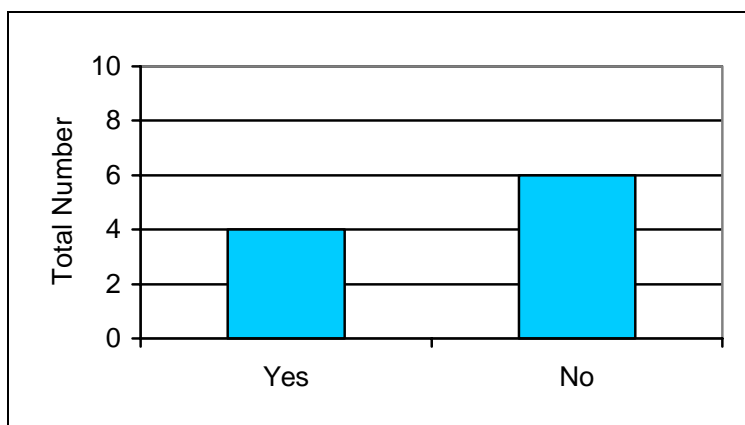
Figure 8. Feeling different from other children

3.2.5 Teachers

The majority of the sample, namely 8, said that their teachers did know that they were not South African. One said that her teacher did not know and one was not sure whether the teacher knew her nationality (Figure 9).
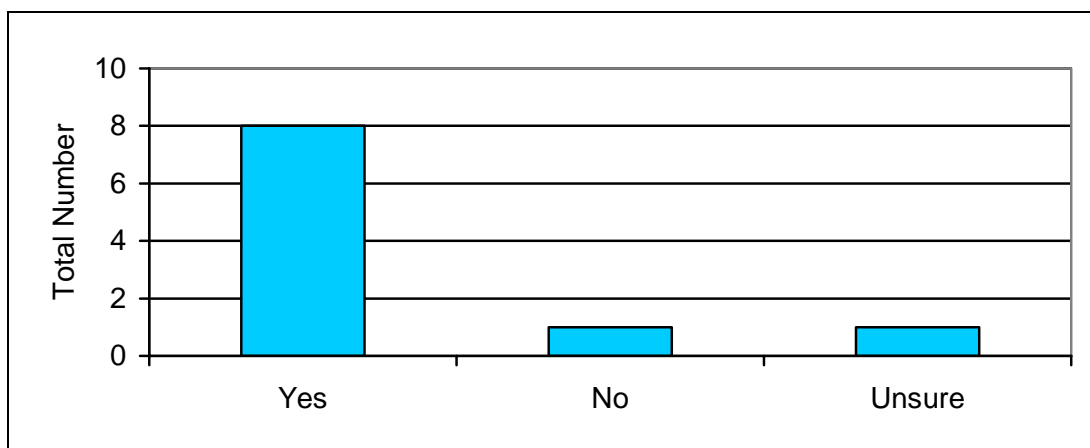
Figure 9. Teacher's knowledge of respondent's foreignness

In asking how they felt their teachers treated them, eight of the sample said that their teacher was nice to them. Two of these stated that their teachers had stood up for them and helped them when other children had discriminated against them

as refugees. Others said that their teachers treated them well in that they spoke to them nicely and helped them to understand. Thus in this population, the sample enjoyed a good relationship with their teachers contrary to Rulashe (2005:1) who found that some teachers were xenophobic and displayed hurtful and sarcastic comments towards refugee pupils. The literature also states that the issue of language can also be detrimental to the child-teacher relationship. Timngum (2001:7) states that lack of understanding between the teacher and the child due to communication (language barriers) can negatively affect the child's relationship with her teacher. However, some of this sample, made mention that the teacher helped them to understand and seeing that all the children in the sample had learnt English, this did not seem to be a problem.

Two of the respondents felt that their teachers were not nice to them but not for reasons that were xenophobic in nature.
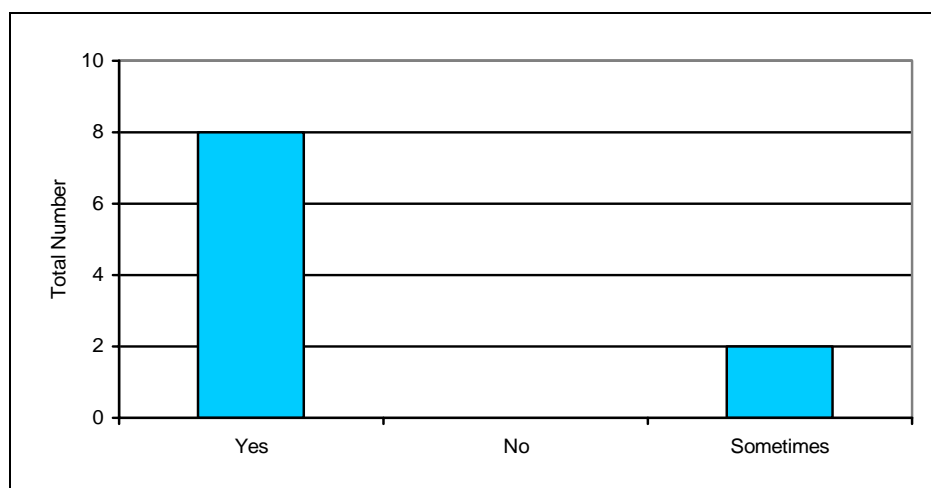

Figure 10: Respondent's perception on whether their teacher is nice to them

The results from the question on teachers' behaviour differ from what have been found on general bigger studies. Further research may focus on the discrepancy between the two research results. The researcher is of opinion that the time frame between previous research studies and this research study may have an

influence on research findings. The discrepancy between the results from this study and previous studies may also be ascribed to a changed attitude in broader society towards refugees. Also, other research was done mostly in Johannesburg and this may have an impact on attitudes of people living in different provinces. Speculation on respondent's perception of their teacher's attitude may also be part of their lack of reference to xenophobic attitudes.

3.2.6 Medical help

Eight out of the ten respondents said they had been for medical help since coming to South Africa (Figure 11). One of the respondents said that she had not been helped at the hospital. The reason or circumstances surrounding this is unclear. Thus this may have been as Steinberg (2005:3) notes that refugees are often denied access to health services or made to wait long periods of time until South Africans have been helped first. Two of the sample had never sought medical help in South Africa.
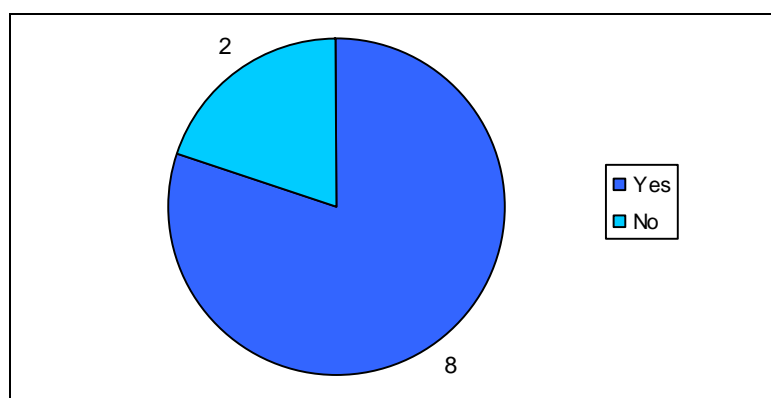

Figure 11. Respondent's seeking medical help

3.2.7 Perceived treatment by South Africans

The sample was requested to express how various South Africans treated them. The results are laid out in Table 1.

Table. 1 Perceived Treatment by South Africans

	Good	Moderate	Bad
Treatment by White South Africans	8	2	0
Treatment by Black South Africans	3	3	4
Treatment by Coloured South Africans	5	3	2
Treatment by Indian South Africans *	2	2	1
Treatment by Teachers	9	1	0
Treatment by Neighbours	6	3	1
Treatment by Doctors/ Nurses **	7	0	1
Treatment by Police ***	2	2	0
Treatment by Shopkeepers/ Staff	6	3	1

* Five children had had no contact with Indian South Africans

** Two children had had no contact with Doctors and Nurses in South Africa

*** Six children had had no contact with Police officials

Regarding White South Africans, the entire sample reported receiving good or moderate treatment from them. These results reflect the results from figures of research done by SAMP regarding perceived treatment in South Africa. In their research, White South Africans rank the highest with respondents with 82% saying that they were treated well or naturally (McDonald, 2000:178). Crush (2001:4) states in his research where South Africans were interviewed, that White nationals showed the most negative attitudes towards immigrants in that they called for very strict measures to prohibit or limit immigration. The researcher is thus of the opinion that White nationals might not convey their negative attitudes to actions that are noticed or perceived by refugees.

Black South Africans featured worse with regards to perceived treatment. Six of the ten respondents felt that Black nationals treated them well or moderately. Four felt badly treated by them. In the research mentioned above by SAMP, 65% of immigrants felt well or naturally treated by Black nationals. Thus 35% felt badly treated by them; thus one in three immigrants experienced xenophobic attitudes and actions from Black South Africans (McDonald, 2000:178).

Coloured South Africans faired better than Black nationals. Eighty percent of the respondents felt well or moderately treated by the Coloured population. The researcher notes that this is a positive situation for the refugee children that were interviewed, as all of them are living in areas where mostly Coloured people reside. Thus their potential exposure to xenophobic actions from Coloured people is higher. Should they have experienced more discrimination from the latter group, then this may have been very negative to their emotional and psychological well-being, for Bala (1996:35) states that the environment that a refugee child finds himself in the host country, can hugely impact their adaptation.

Half of the sample had never met or remember meeting Indian people. Thus only five of the sample could respond to this question. Two felt well treated by Indians, two felt moderately treated and one had been badly treated.

Perceived treatment by teachers scored highest in all of these categories. Nine of the respondents experienced good treatment and one moderate treatment from teachers. As discussed in a previous section regarding teachers, the literature found spoke of teachers' xenophobic attitudes and actions where they were often sarcastic and hurtful in their comments towards refugee children (Rulashe, 2005:1). However, the sample did not experience this xenophobia from their teachers, but in contrast felt well treated by them.

Neighbours also seem to treat the sample relatively well. Six felt well treated and three felt moderately treated by their neighbours. A secure and neutral environment is what Riedesser *et al.* (1996:17) state is very necessary for children who have experienced trauma in order for them to feel safe. Thus a neighbourhood where neighbours are not discriminatory can help to create this healthy environment.

Regarding the treatment by Doctors and Nurses, seven respondents felt well treated. One felt badly treated. Two had no response as they have never visited a Medical facility since coming to South Africa. Thus it seems that these respondents did have access to the Health Services and were treated well when there. One respondent did, however, feel badly treated and was not helped, thus her access to medical care was denied.

The perceived treatment by Police had an interesting result. More than half of the sample (6 respondents) stated to have had no contact with the Police in South Africa. In Chapter Two, it explains that many refugees prefer to stay away from the Police, as Police harassment is often the result of contact with Police. Even though refugees are more likely to be victims of crime, than perpetrators, many will not access the support of the South African Police Service as they may be further victimized (Landau & Jacobsen, 2003:45). Thus the fact that more than half of the sample have never had contact with the Police, could be explained by them and specifically their families, not wanting to make contact with the Police because of possible Police harassment and victimization. McDonald (2000:178) states in his research of perceived treatment by South Africans, that one in three of his sample of immigrants from Africa, say that they were treated badly by Police officers. This poor treatment relates to the above comment from the researcher that the treatment of Police could be an inhibiting force for refugees to have contact with Police.

The four respondents that did have contact with the Police, felt treated well and neutrally. There were no respondents that reported negative treatment from the Police. Further discussion regarding the Police will occur later.

The last category of this question related to the treatment by shopkeepers and staff working in shops. Six out of ten mentioned that they were well treated, three were treated moderately and one reported being treated badly. Thus treatment by these South Africans varied.

3.2.8 Other people's input regarding their foreignness

This question resulted in the respondents describing xenophobic comments and actions aimed towards them. Thus that what nationals said to them was, mostly negative. The feedback that the respondents received will be listed:

Xenophobic:
- being call 'makwerekwere'
- being accused of taking jobs away from South Africans
- being made fun of
- children not wanting to play with them
- being spat in the face
- being told they are ugly
- receiving rude comments re: their families
- being thrown stones at
- being asked why they came to South Africa "in an ugly way".

Positive:
- being asked to teach their language
- being told "nice things".

The xenophobic behaviour as described by the respondents shows that xenophobia is very rife within South African communities. Being accused of taking jobs away, is a stereotype that the media has been accused of 'creating'. This has been shown to be false as refugees and other foreigners are involved in starting small businesses and in fact creating employment for a number of South Africans (Palmary, 2002:7). Being thrown stones at, is a violent manifestation of xenophobia that is particular to xenophobia in South Africa. Much has been written on South Africa's "violent edge" to xenophobia and how many refugees

have been brutally assaulted and attacked (Ancer, 2004:2; Valji, 2005:1). The researcher finds it particularly concerning that people with xenophobic feelings would express them towards young children in such an aggressive manner.

One respondent also mentioned being spat at in the face after being called 'makwerekwere'. The researcher is concerned that the feelings of degradation felt from this type of xenophobic action and others experienced by refugees, can have a big impact on the respondents' self-esteem and feelings of equality. Continual exposure to trauma and conflict can result in feelings of hopelessness and depression (Riedesser *et al.*, 1996:15). Thus xenophobic behaviour may have long lasting effects on this sample of children.

The responses from South Africans were not exclusively negative. One respondent mentioned that people sometimes showed interest in learning the language that she spoke and another respondent stated that people sometimes said "nice things". She did not expand on what these were. Thus both negative and positive responses were received but they were considerably more negative.

3.2.9 Desire to return to home country

The majority of the sample (seven) stated that they would like to return to their country of origin. One said that she would like to return now and the other six said they would like to return at a later stage. The main reason for wanting to return was to see and be with friends and family who they had left behind when they came to South Africa. The one who wanted to return presently, said that it was nice there and "not so nice" in South Africa.

Three of the respondents said that they did not want to return to their home country (Figure 12). Two of these said that they did not want to return because of the fighting and because "they kill people there". One of these respondents said that he would like to go back if there was no fighting. The researcher

deduces that should the civil war and conflict end, these two would like to go back. Thus they could be added to the category of returning at a later stage. Only one respondent said that she liked South Africa and thus wanted to stay in South Africa.
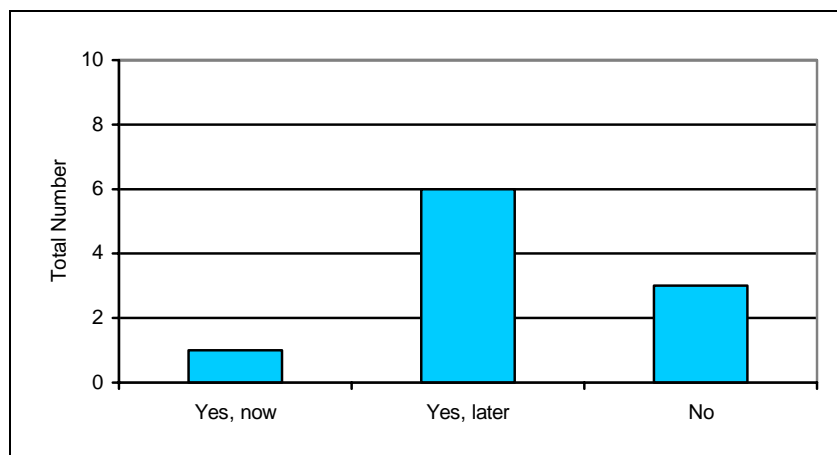
Figure 12: Respondents desire to return to home country

These results support Mashele (2004:2) when he says that most refugees prefer to and do return to their home country as soon as circumstances permit. Thus most refugees are not permanently in South Africa but have "Pull factors" (Harris, 2001:84) that make them want to return to their own country. The main pull factor to their own country that the respondents mentioned, were family and friends.

3.2.10 Trust in Police Protection

Seven of the respondents said that they trust the Police to protect them. The researcher found this surprisingly high as the literature stated otherwise, regarding the poor treatment of Police officers towards foreigners (Harris, 2001). One of these seven respondents, however, also said that Police can rape you, so her trust level was thus not very high. One respondent said that she will trust

some Police officers but not all of them because they are very rude. Research by the Human Rights Watch (1998:119) found that the refugees they had interviewed had also complained of the rude and aggressive manner of Police officers.

Figure 13. Trust in Police Protection
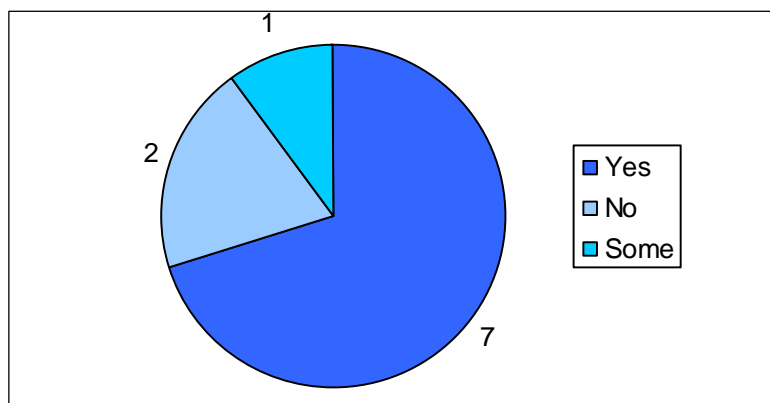
The other two respondents (Figure 13) do not trust the Police to protect them; one because of things she had seen on Television regarding the Police and the other respondent also referred to the possibility of rape by a Police official. Thus two respondents spoke of rape by Police Officers as a concern to them. The Zimbabwean press, the Inter Press Service, published an article of a Zimbabwean woman who spoke of being raped by a Police Officer after she had gone to report a crime against her employer. He threatened to kill her if she reported the matter (in McDonald, 2000:181-182). Thus the researcher notes that the role of the media in refugee's concern of sexual violence from the South African Police Service.

3.2.11 Fear of the Police

The majority of the respondents, namely seven, expressed not fearing the Police (Figure 14). As discussed in section 3.2.7, six of the respondents had had no contact with the Police and it is these respondents that do not fear the Police. Thus the researcher surmises that the lack of contact with the Police has thus provided no opportunity for exposure to bad experiences where fear can be the end result. The researcher is of opinion that the respondents do not fear the

Police because they have not had reason to due to lack of exposure. Two that said that they were fearful, stated that they were afraid because the Police could catch them or shoot them. It is, however, unclear whether the two respondents felt that they could be shot or killed because of their foreignness or for another reason. Thus whether xenophobia plays a role here is unsure. The other respondent was fearful because the Police carried guns and not because of the Police officers themselves. She feared guns rather than the actual Police.

Thus the overall feeling towards the Police was quite positive though there were serious concerns regarding Police protection. The fact that a large part of the sample had not had direct contact with the South African Police Service does influence these results.
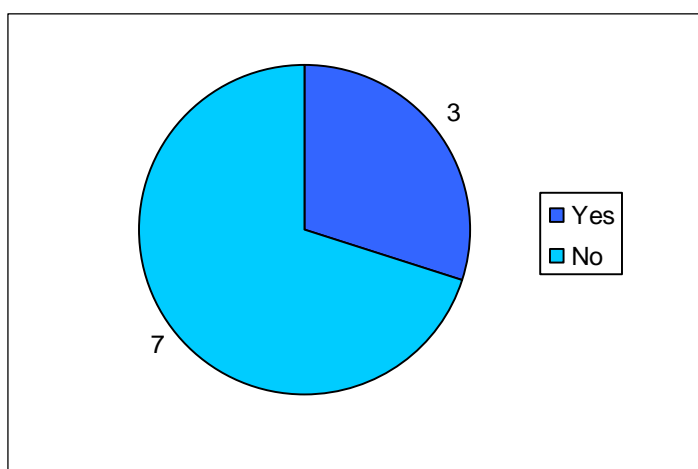
Figure 14. Fear of Police

3.2.12 Comments on their appearance

South Africans had remarked on six of the respondents' looks. Four of the respondents had never received any feedback regarding their appearance. Of the six who had heard comments, two of these comments were positive and related to them being attractive. The other four reported negative comments. (Figure 15) However, only one of these negative comments was xenophobic in nature and related to the respondent having a very dark skin colour.

The Bio-cultural Hypothesis (Harris, 2001:71) states that because foreigners are easily identified by their visible differences, this act as a trigger for xenophobic

behaviour. This is particularly relevant to African foreigners. In this sample, only one of the respondents mentioned that someone had said something to him regarding his looks that showed that he had been identified as a foreigner. The other comments did not relate to this. Thus only one respondent was identified as a refugee by how he looks. Therefore this sample does not show strong support for the Bio-cultural Hypothesis. The researcher is of the opinion that as the respondents are at school and wear a school uniform, they assimilate easier with the other children as they do not wear special clothing that could show their cultural orientation. Thus they are not as easily noticed by their appearances.
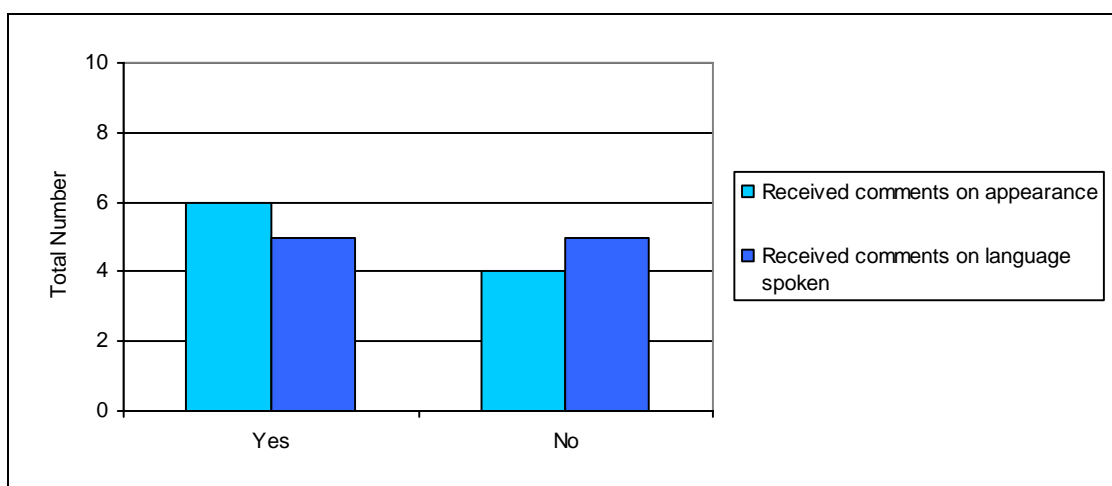
Figure 15. Received comments regarding foreignness

3.2.13 Comments on their language spoken

Half of the respondents mentioned that no-one had remarked about the language they speak. The other five stated that people had noticed that they spoke a foreign language. Thus this sample was more easily identified by the language they speak than by their looks (Bio-cultural Hypothesis). Of the five, two mentioned that people had had positive things to say about their language. The three that had reported negative feedback, said that people said that is was an "ugly or foolish language".

Thus more South Africans seemed to become aware of the respondents' foreignness through their language rather than their looks (Figure 15). Thus the Bio-cultural Hypothesis formulated by Harris (2001:71) received more support through language spoken as an identifying characteristic. However, despite South Africans detecting the refugees as foreign, this only resulted in 3 out of 10 respondents stating that the nationals acted in a xenophobic manner. Although Harris (2001:71) states in her hypothesis that through foreigners being identified by physical and cultural differences, this serves as a catalyst in xenophobic behaviour this was not primarily the case with this sample.

3.2.14 Counselling or Therapy received

The final question in the questionnaire relates to whether the sample received some support in order to deal with trauma that they may have experienced. Six of the children had received therapy but four had not. (Figure 17) Of the four that had not received it, three said they would like somebody to talk to.

UNICEF reports that over 10 million children have developed emotional and psychological problems because of their exposure to political strife and their resulting refugee status (Riedesser *et al.,* 1996:13). Thus refugee children, who came to South Africa, also need counselling and support in order to deal with the trauma they have experienced. The researcher finds it very positive, that 6 out of 10 of the sample, have received an opportunity to work through their experiences. This, she feels is because they have all stayed in Shelters where they are in contact with a social worker who could provide support or could refer the child for more specialized help. Should these children have gone straight into living in a community where resources like counselling are very scarce with long waiting lists, they would probably never had been given this support.
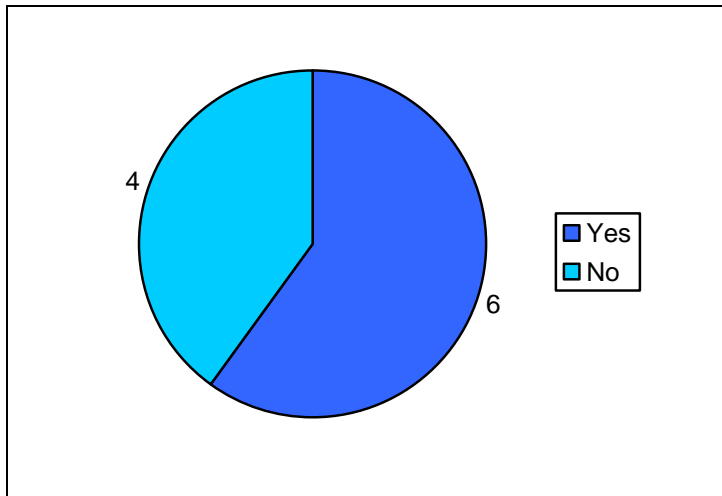
Figure 16. Counselling or Emotional support received

Regarding the three children who do want to talk to somebody, the researcher will make arrangements for the children to receive the necessary support and input.

4. Evaluation of the research process

Before the profile that emerged in this study are evaluated in the context of possible recommendations, it is deemed necessary to evaluate the process of research as stated in chapter one. The first aspect to be evaluated is whether the problem as stated in chapter one, were solved.

4.1 Evaluation of whether the research problem has been solved

The research problem as stated in Chapter One:

According to the researcher, there is insufficient research in the Social Service Professions as to whether refugee children living in South African communities

experience xenophobia and if it is experienced, then what form it takes. Much research has been done that relates to hostility towards adults, especially men, but not towards refugee children specifically.

A profile of the experiences of xenophobia in refugee children has been developed in this research process. Although this profile may not be a representation of the total universe in South Africa, a Base-line profile for future research has been established.

4.2 Evaluation of the stated aim and objectives for this research

The Aim of this research was to determine the extent of refugee children's experience of xenophobia.

The given profile focused on specific aspects of xenophobia as described in the literature. Each of these aspects reflected in the questionnaire in order to determine the extent of the refugee children's experience of xenophobia. The researcher found that the need existed for research on this topic as little theory and information was available. Also, the researcher found in her experience, that xenophobia was not given attention to or considered by counsellors and social workers working with refugee children. The trauma of what the child had been through as a refugee having to flee their country was considered but not the potential further trauma that xenophobic actions could impact on the child.

The Objectives that were set-up in order to achieve this aim will be discussed.

- *To gain knowledge through the literature study on what xenophobia as a phenomenon entails.* The researcher gained a large amount of knowledge on xenophobia from her study of the literature. This provided

much understanding of how destructive xenophobia can be. It also showed how rife it is in South Africa and the reasons for its emergence and increase. Through this knowledge base the researcher were able to compile a questionnaire, focusing on aspects of importance to refugee children experiencing xenophobia.

- *To gain knowledge on the particularity of Refugee children in South Africa.* This objective was reached as the researcher were able to include questions in the questionnaire on who the refugees are; how they came to South Africa and why they left their country of origin. The researcher also came to understand a fraction of the difficult reality of life in South Africa for refugee children. This knowledge formed the basis from where future research can be conducted.

- *To describe the nature of xenophobia.* The researcher did describe the nature of xenophobia in South Africa and how the general population and institutions are prejudiced towards refugees by doing an extensive literature review. The literature review can be seen as part of the background for a profile on refugee children experiencing xenophobia.

- *To do a survey of refugee children in order to gain knowledge of their experience.* A survey was done by means of a questionnaire with refugee children as the population. Much information was received regarding their experience of xenophobic comments and actions.

4.3   Considerations on how representative the profile is on refugee children's experiences of xenophobia

While it may be speculated that this profile is not particularly representative of South Africa in general, the following aspects need to be considered.

- **Starting a data base on the profile of refugee children in Shelters**

The criteria set out for the sample made use of the data available from Shelters in the Western Cape. This data and the results may be used as a representation of the support structures available in Shelters for refugees, showing the importance of a service to refugees and their children.

- **Using this data as a base-line for further research**

It is accepted in the academic spectrum that the research process within a dissertation of limited scope may serve as a pilot study for more intensive and representative research. In the case of this research, the data forms a base-line for future research. Aspects that need to be addressed in future research will be highlighted under the recommendations for the study.

5.   Recommendations for further research

In this study, the researcher focused of the experience of refugee children who had lived or do live in one of two shelters in Cape Town or in surrounding areas in Cape Town. Further research could broaden the net to include all refugee children of school-going age who are living in Cape Town. Thus the prevalence of xenophobia could be studied across a broader spectrum.

As the study was descriptive and focused on the prevalence of xenophobia, that is, whether the children were exposed to it or not, it did not look at the child's response to this discrimination.   Thus research into the impact of them experiencing prejudice in the form of xenophobia would provide valuable data and information for helping professionals.

A direction for further research could entail an investigation into the impact or effect of xenophobia on a refugee child's development.

6.   Conclusion

Xenophobia in South Africa has received much attention in the media and from government recently. Violent manifestations of xenophobia that have surfaced go against South Africa's principles of human rights and equality for all. Thus it is a phenomenon in South Africa that needs attention.

The prevalence of xenophobia towards refugee children was thus researched, as children enter South Africa with their families who are refugees. The extent of xenophobia was measured and described in this research report. The results from the survey showed that the sample experienced various forms of xenophobia in different settings. Xenophobic comments like being called 'makwerekwere' were quite common as well as general rudeness and insults towards their families. These came from South African children mostly at schools but also from adults within the community. A few of the respondents also experienced more severe and violent forms of xenophobia like being spat in the face and thrown with stones. But this was the minority. Mostly xenophobic attitudes were converted into comments and actions and not into violent xenophobia. None of the races in South Africa treated the refugee children only well and some form of prejudice was thus evident from all race groups. Educators seemed to treat the children well and no xenophobic attitudes or actions came from them.

The research profile showed that refugee children do experience xenophobia in Cape Town. The extent is that of xenophobic attitudes and actions and occasionally more violent forms of xenophobia but not actions that are life-threatening.

7.   Final Remarks

During this research, the researcher through her study of the literature and through performing the survey, developed a clearer understanding of the plight of refugee children and their families who come to South Africa. This has brought about a professional and deep concern for the emotional and psychological well-being of these children. The lack of counselling and debriefing services available that are affordable in Cape Town, give reason for the concern for these children's mental health. Also the negative consequences of being exposed to xenophobic actions over a period of time, give rise for concern.

Thus South Africa, who has opened its doors to refugees in order to provide safety and security to them, also needs to look at providing services that will see to the mental health needs of these displaced persons. Also a more aggressive approach to combating prejudice and xenophobia needs to occur. If not, a whole generation of children will be living with the trauma of their experiences which could result in serious psychological disorders.

Bibliography

African National Congress. 2001. Xenophobia: Intolerance towards fellow Africans must be tackled, in *ANC Today,*1 (31).
http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/anctoday/2001/text/at31.txt

Amnesty International. 2003. The Myth Buster: Facts and figures in the refugee debate.
http://www.amnesty.org.uk

Ancer, J. 2004. 'We need to do more to combat xenophobia'. *The Star,* 5 November:2.

Australia. Department of the Environment and Heritage. 1997. *Teaching for a sustainable world: International Edition.*
http://www.deh.gov.au/education/publications/tsw/modules/modules24.html

Bala, J. 1996. Strengthening the Protective Umbrella: The Refugee Child and the Family, in *Children, War and Persecution – Rebuilding Hope,* edited by B. Efraime Junior, P. Riedesser, J. Walter, A. Hubertus & P. Steudtner. Mozambique: [s.n.]:13 – 18.

Bamford, H. 2006. Somalis flee Knysna after 'racist' clashes. *Cape Argus,* 11 February:7.

Breytenbach, K. 2006. Police arrested after Somali man robbed. *Cape Times,* 5 May: 4.

Child refugees suffer rejection and abuse. 2005. Johannesburg: Reuters Foundation.

http:///www.agenda.org.za   (10/02/2006)

Crush, J. 2001. *Immigration, Xenophobia and Human Rights in South Africa.*
Cape Town: South African Migration Project.

Cultural Orientation Resource Centre. 2004. *Somali Bantu: Their History and
Culture.* Washington: Cultural Orientation Project.
http://www.culturalorientation.net

Desperate Zimbabweans flood across border. 2005. *Cape Times*, 19
September:1.

De Vos, A.S., Strydom, H., Fouche, C.B. & Delport, C.S.L. 2002. *Research at
Grass Roots: for the Social Sciences and Human Service Professions.* 2nd
edition. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.

De Vos, A.S., Strydom, H., Fouche,C.B. & Delport, C.S.L. 2005. *Research at
Grass Roots: For the Social Sciences and Human Service Professions.* 3rd
edition. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.

Ellis, E. 2004. High Court stops repatriation of children. *Pretoria News.* 4
March.
http://www.lhr.org.za   (21 February 2006)

Ellis, E. 2003. Refugees challenge citizens' social grants. *Cape Times,* 30
May:4.

Gophe, M. 2005. Four Somalis traders killed in SA. Independent Newspapers
Online, 1 January.
http://www.iol.co.za/index (6/05/2006)

Gophe, M. 2000. 'You can be too black in the new SA'. Independent Newspapers Online, 26 September.
http://www.iol.co.za/index (10/05/2006)

Greenfield, H. 2004. Cape cops assaulted us - Congolese. *Cape Times*, 21 May:4.

Hamber, B. 1999. Have no doubt it is fear in the land: An explanation of the continuing cycles of violence in South Africa. *South African Journal of Child and Adolescent Mental Health,* 12 (1): 5-18*.*
http://www.csvr.org.za   (10/05/2006)

Harris, B. 2001. A Foreign Experience: Violence, Crime and Xenophobia during South Africa's transition, in *Violence and Transition Series*, Vol.5, August 2001.
http://www.wits.ac.za/csvr/pubslist/pubsxen.htm   (25/01/2006)

Harris, B. 2002. Xenophobia: A new pathology for a new South Africa? In *Psychopathology and Social Prejudice,* 169-184. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.
http://www.wits.ac.za/csvr/pubslist/pubsxen.htm   (10/02/2006)

Holtan, N. …[*et al.*] 2002. Unrecognized Torture Affects the Health of Refugees, in *Minnesota Medical Association, 85, May.* Minnesota: MMA Publications.

Human Rights Watch. 1998. "*Prohibited Persons": Abuse of Undocumented Migrants, Asylum Seekers, and Refugees in South Africa.* New York: Human Rights Watch.

Human rights watchdog hears of 'refugee myth'. 2004. Independent
Newspapers Online, 4 November.
http://www.iol.co.za/index   (7/05/2006)

Huysamen, G.K. 1995. *Methodology for the Social and Behavioural Sciences.*
Halfway House: Southern Book Publishers (Pty) Ltd.

International Marketing Council of South Africa. 2004. Refugees and asylum-
seekers. Pretoria: Big Media Publishers (Pty) Ltd.
http://www.southafrica.info/public-services.htm

Jansen, J.D. 2001. Dealing with Difference in South Africa: A Critical Review
of Literature and Experiences on Racism, Prejudice and Xenophobia in South
African Schools. *Soul Buddyz,* Series 2. Johannesburg: Soul City.
http://www.soulcity.org.za   (13/05/2006)

Kanjee, A. 2004. Assessment Research, in *Research In Practice,* editors M.T.
Blanche & K. Durrheim. Cape Town: University of Cape Town: 287- 306.

Landau, L.B. & Jacobsen, K. 2003. Refugees in the new Johannesburg.
University of the Witwatersrand: Johannesburg.
http://www.migration.wits.ac.za/FMR.pdf (23/02/2006)

Louw, D.A., van Ede, D.M. & Louw, A.E. 2001. *Human Development:2nd*
Edition. Cape Town: Kagiso Tertiary.

Mashele, M. 2004. Home in Exile: Rebuilding refugee lives in South Africa.
Department of Home Affairs
http://home-affairs.pwv.gov.za   (21/02/2006)

Mattes, R., Taylor, D.M., McDonald, D.A., Poore, A & Richmond, W. 2000.South African attitudes to immigrants and immigration, in *On Borders: Perspectives on International Migration in Southern Africa,* edited by David, A. McDonald. Cape Town: Southern African Migration Project: 195-218.

McBride, M.J. 1999. The evolution of US immigration and refugee policy: public opinion, domestic politics and UNHCR. Working Paper No. 3. California: Centre for Documentation and Research. http://www.unhcr.org   (02/05/2006)

McDonald, D.A., Mashike, L. & Golden, C. 2000. The lives and times of African Migrants and immigration in Post-Apartheid South Africa, in *On Borders: Perspectives on International Migration in Southern Africa,* edited by David, A. McDonald. Cape Town: Southern African Migration Project: 168 – 195.

Naicker, P. & Nair, R. 2000. To be a refugee in South Africa. *Track Two,*9(3). http://www.queensu.ca/samp/migdocs/Documents/2000/3.htm (23/02/2006)

Naidu, E. 2004. SA Legal System Fails Refugee Children. *Sunday Independent,* 26 June. http://www.lhr.org.za   (21 February 2006)

Nduru, M. 2005. After the Struggle to Arrive in South Africa, a Struggle for Education. Inter Press Service News Agency, 18 June. http://ipsnews.net/africa/nota.asp?idnews=29132

Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary. 1989. S.v. 'survey'. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Palmary, I. 2002. Refugees, Safety and Xenophobia in South African Cities: The role of local government.   Braamfontein: Centre for the study of Violence and Reconciliation.
http://www.wits.ac.za/csvr/papers/papalm4.htm   (10/02/2006)

Peta, B. 2005. Minister slams treatment of refugees by cops. *The Star,* 6 October:3.

Pete, F. & Du Plooy, C. 2006. Foreigners reeling under wave of hatred. *The Star,* 6 January:6.

Redden, J. 2005. UNHCR helps South Africa tackle huge asylum backlog. *UNHCR-News Stories*, 27 September: 1
http://www.unhcr.org/cbi_bin/texis/vtx/news/opendoc.htm?tbl=NEWS&id=4339692b4

Refugee Council USA.2005. Fewer Refugees Being Rescued. Press Release. Press Release
www.refugeecouncilusa.org   (21/05/2006)

Refugee Council USA.2006. Refugee needs exceed Administration's 2007 Budget request. Press Release
www.refugeecouncilusa.org   (21/05/2006)

Riedesser, P., Walter, A. & Verderber, A. 1996. Children and Adolescents: Development, Trauma and Recovery, in *Children, War and Persecution – Rebuilding Hope,* edited by B. Efraime Junior, P. Riedesser, J. Walter, A. Hubertus & P. Steudtner. Mozambique: [s.n.] :13 – 18.

Rulashe, P. 2005. Refugees share views on preventing violence against children. Johannesburg: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/print%3Ftb   (31/10/2005)

Schronen, J. 2002. Four dead in clashes between locals, Angolans.
Independent Newspapers Online, 4 January.
http://www.iol.co.za/index (10 May 2006)

Shindondola, H. 2003. Xenophobia in South Africa and Beyond. Doctorate
Research Proposal, Randse Afrikaanse Universiteit, Johannesburg.
http://general.rau.ac.za/sociology/Shindondola/Shindondola_3.pdf

Singh, G. Patterns of Migration, Settlement and Dynamics of HIV?AIDS in
South Africa.2005.
http://www.sarpn.org.za/documents/d0001729/migration_HIV_Singh2005.pdf.
(18 December 2005)

Steinberg, J. 2005. A Mixed Reception: Mozambican and Congolese
Refugees in South Africa. Monograph 117. June 2005: Pretoria: Institute for
Security Studies.
http://www. iss.co.za/pubs/monographs/no117/ExecSum.htm (14 December
2005)

Stoppard, A. 2003. Xenophobia, red tape hurt refugees in SA. Independent
Newspapers Online, 20 June.
http:www.iol.co.za/index (10 May 2006)

Timngum, D. 2001. Assisting Urban Refugee children in South Africa:
Humanitarian Challenges to State and Non-state actors. MA.Soc-thesis.
University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

United Nations High Commission for Refugees. 2005. Basic facts: 2005
Edition.

Http://www.unhcr.ch/cgi_bin?texis/vtx/basics/opendoc.htm?tbl=BASICS&id=3b028097c (27 Jan 2006)

Valji, N. 2003. Creating the Nation: The Rise of Violent Xenophobia in the New South Africa. Unpublished Masters Thesis, York University: Toronto. http://www.wits.ac.za/csvr/papers/papnv1.htm

Van Vuuren, D. & Maree, A. 2004. Survey Methods in Market and Media Research, in *Research In Practice,* editors M.T. Blanche & K. Durrheim. Cape Town: University of Cape Town: 269-286.

Venter, Z. 2004. High Court stops deportation of girls. *Pretoria News,* 19 March*.*
http://www.lhr.org.za   (21 February 2006)

Zaaiman, S.J. 2003. *Social Research: Reviewing Sessions for MDIPT5-Y.* Wellington: Hugenote College.

APPENDIX 1

Questionnaire

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this research project. This research questionnaire is part of my Masters degree in Play Therapy. All information that is shared remains confidential in that all respondents will remain anonymous.

Please complete the questions below and mark with a cross in the appropriate block or fill in the answer on the line provided.

If you need to talk about any of these questions you may ask your care taker/teacher or parent to contact me personally

Thank you
Tracey Livesey
Social Worker

Section A

1.   Gender:

Boy   ☐

Girl   ☐

2.   How old are you: _____

3.   Who did you come to South Africa with?

(You may mark more than one)

Mother   ☐

Father   ☐

Step-mother   ☐

Step-father   ☐

Aunt   ☐

Uncle   ☐

Brother/s   ☐

Sister/s   ☐

Cousins   ☐

Other relatives   ☐

Neighbours   ☐

Family friends   ☐

Alone   ☐

If you came with someone else, please write it here_____

4.   What is the language you speak in your family? _____

5.   What other languages can you speak?

English   ☐

Afrikaans   ☐

Zulu   ☐

Sotho   ☐

French   ☐

Lingala   ☐

Portuguese   ☐

If you can speak other languages, please write it here. _____

_____

6.   Where are you living now (area)? _____

Section B

7.   How do you feel about living in Cape Town?

☺   😐   ☹

Why? _____

8.   Do you go to school?

Yes   ☐

No   ☐

9.   If you answered <u>No</u>, why don't you go to school?

_____

_____

10.   If Yes, how do you feel about school?

☺   😐   ☹

11.   Do you feel different from other children at your school?

Yes   ☐

No   ☐

12.   If <u>Yes</u>, what makes you feel different?

_____

13.   Does your teacher know that you were not born in South Africa?

Yes   ☐

No   ☐

Not sure   ☐

14.   Is your teacher nice to you?

Yes   ☐

No   ☐

Sometimes   ☐

Give me an example of what you mean: _____

_____

15.   Have you visited a doctor or nurse since being in South Africa?

Yes   ☐

No   ☐

If <u>Yes</u>, did they help you?

_____

16.   How do the following South Africans treat you?

	☺	😐	☹
White	☺	😐	☹
Black	☺	😐	☹
Coloured	☺	😐	☹
Indian	☺	😐	☹
Teachers	☺	😐	☹
Neighbours	☺	😐	☹
Doctors/ nurses	☺	😐	☹

Police	☺	☺	☹
Shopkeepers/ staff	☺	☺	☹

17.   What do other people say about you coming from a different country?

_____

_____

18.   Do you feel like going back to your home country?

Yes, now   ☐

Yes, later   ☐

No   ☐

Why? _____

19.   Do you trust the Police to protect you?

Yes   ☐

No   ☐

Why? _____

20.   Are you afraid of the Police?

Yes   ☐

No   ☐

Why? _____

21.   Has anyone ever said anything to you about how you look?

Yes   ☐

No   ☐

If <u>Yes</u>, what did they say?

_____

22. Has anyone ever said anything to you about the language you speak?

Yes ☐

No ☐

If <u>Yes</u>, what did they say?

_____

23. Have you ever visited a Social Worker or Psychologist in South Africa where you could talk about things that were bothering you?

Yes ☐

No ☐

If <u>No</u>, would you like to talk to somebody?

_____

*****

Thank you for being part of this research project