An Exploration of the Potential for Destructive Conflict between Locals and Foreign Nationals living in Summerstrand

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DECLARATION

I, Baris Arkilic, Student number: 204061873, hereby declare that the treatise for magister Philosophiae: Conflict Transformation and Management to be awarded is my own work and that it has not previously been submitted for assessment or completion of any postgraduate qualification to another University or for another qualification.

[Signature]

Baris Arkilic

March 2013
DEDICATION

This treatise is dedicated to my father, Sait Arkilic (1946-2012), who did not live long enough to see me complete this treatise. He always believed in me. He constantly motivated me in order for me to complete this work, and provided whatever support was necessary.

I would like to express my appreciation to him by dedicating this work to him.

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ABSTRACT

This treatise explores the potential for destructive conflict between locals and foreign nationals in Summerstrand. In the context of this study, foreign nationals have been defined as people who are from other African countries. This specification was made because it is this particular group that has been victim to violent attacks in South Africa. Those attacks have taken place throughout the country, especially in 2008, in areas that are regarded as ‘townships’ in the South African context.

This treatise could be regarded as an unusual product, as it does not explore the dynamics of a township; instead, the focus area is a ‘suburb’. The suburb in question is called ‘Summerstrand’ and it is located in Port Elizabeth. Before the research was conducted, it was assumed that due to the differing dynamics of a suburban area, where people would be wealthier and more educated, the potential of a violent conflict taking place between the two groups (locals and foreign nationals) would be lower.

In this treatise, firstly, the topic will be explained more in detail together with an overview of the background to the topic. The background will be discussed in further detail as literature relevant to the field of study will be reviewed and presented in Chapters 2 and 3. The ensuing chapters will elaborate upon how the research has been conducted, after which the findings of the study will be presented to the reader. The last chapter of the treatise offers an analysis of the findings of the study, draws conclusions from the study and offers recommendations in light of the findings of the study.

Key Words
Immigration, Immigrants, Local community/population, Foreigners, Ethnicity, Community/Neighbourhood Dynamics, Community/Neighbourhood Conflict, Xenophobia, Destructive Conflict

Abbreviations
BHN: Basic Human Needs
SAPS: South African Police Service
CHAPTER 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction
The aim of this study is to explore the community dynamics between local South African residents and foreign nationals of African origin in Summerstrand, in Port Elizabeth, through the perceptions of local residents. The study is going to explore whether a latent form of conflict exists between the two groups being researched. This would be a conflict that is not yet openly expressed by one of the groups; that is, the local residents. If such a conflict is found to exist, then the next question would be, to what degree of intensity does such latent conflict exist? Is this latent conflict about to break into a violent outburst sometime in the future? Or, perhaps, it is not intense at present, but is still developing in such a direction.

The group that has been analysed is the local residents of Summerstrand, who are South African citizens. The group in question has been predominantly white (from either English or Afrikaans speaking backgrounds), although the researcher has been aware that there could have been other South Africans of different ethnic groups who live in Summerstrand and can therefore be regarded as Summerstrand residents. The intention of the researcher has been to reach those residents who live in Summerstrand, and who are South Africans, regardless of their race and/or gender.

The researcher is also aware that there may have been foreigners of other ethnic groups living in Summerstrand. However, it is only the perceptions of locals towards ‘African foreign nationals’ which is explored in this study. Therefore, only questions regarding the perceptions of local residents towards African foreigners have been posed to the study participants. This is because, in South Africa, it is this particular group that has been victimised, especially during the March 2008 attacks in the country’s townships.

This treatise would be a basis of comparison, once it is completed, as it would allow other interested researchers to explore the perceptions of local South African residents in the country’s townships.

There have been several case studies wherein different ethnicities living in close proximity to each other have caused trouble; moreover, much violence has taken place in regions where people who are regarded as ‘foreigners’ have been marginalised and isolated from the rest of population (Habyarimana, Humphreys, Posner, Weinstein, Rosecrance, Stein, and Muller, 2008). Such separation has sometimes encouraged these groups to develop hatred for each
other and, as a result, a small incident has often served as a spark to transform the tension between these groups into a destructive conflict. The 2005 riots in France could serve as an example of this. Even closer to our region, as previously mentioned, xenophobic attacks have taken place in South Africa in 2008. These cases suggest that where there are different population groups living in one area, there exists the potential for a destructive conflict to take place.

The research would be of value to society as a whole as it would provide a basis for further research to explore the impact of economic class and level of education in developing violent immigrant-focused neighbourhood conflicts. In the case of Summerstrand, it was assumed that most of the residents are well educated and possess above-average wealth. Theory would suggest that the potential of violence taking place in the Summerstrand area would be lower than the township areas of the city, due to this affluence and education. This information is currently unknown and can only be verified or rejected after the research has been conducted.

1.2 Research Question
The research question is “do local members of the Summerstrand community feel hostile towards foreigners and are they willing to support actions that are aimed at removing or harming foreigners?”

The research question has dealt with the exploration of which factors would mitigate or escalate possible conflict between locals and foreign nationals. In other words, the researcher has hoped to discover any correlation between indicators such as wealth and education level and perceptions of locals towards foreigners.

1.2.1. Motivation
The researcher has been motivated to conduct research within the field of immigration and the problems that it carries, especially after the xenophobic attacks that took place in Alexandra township in early 2008. Those violent attacks have made headlines globally in the media, and consequently attracted negative publicity for South Africa. Being a foreigner, who could be regarded as an immigrant in the country, and seeing what other foreigners have gone through has created an awareness of latent xenophobia and possibilities of further potential conflicts in the researcher. With his academic background in the field of social sciences – the researcher decided to explore this subject, and find some answers with regard to the correlation between perceptions, standards of living (poverty and lack of basic human needs)
and the possibility of attacks on foreigners by local populations. By doing so, the researcher hoped to contribute to the field and, through making recommendations, to contribute towards the solution of potential problems in different communities.

The research would be of value to the society as it would provide a basis for further research which explores the impact of economic class and level of education in developing violent immigrant-focused neighbourhood conflicts.

1.2.2. Research Aim
The aim of this research is to discover the nature of the feelings which local members of the Summerstrand community hold towards foreign nationals living in the suburb.

1.2.3. Research Objectives
In order to achieve the research aim, the following objectives were necessary:

- To explore the perceptions of local Summerstrand residents towards African foreign nationals living in their neighbourhood.
- In exploring their perceptions, to determine whether there is a tendency of hostile feelings towards foreigners.
- To conduct in-depth semi structured interviews.
- To code and analyse the findings gathered as a result of the semi-structured interviews.

1.3 Background to the Study
The broader area of exploration could be regarded as ‘immigration’. Therefore, an overview of the literature on immigration and immigrant related conflict will be incorporated into this study. Such theory will offer enlightenment regarding the dynamics that could exist between ‘foreigners’ and ‘locals’.

Before moving to the aspect of migration, let us define the concept and what exactly it involves. In Human Geography – People, Place and Culture, Fouberg, Murphy and de Blij have defined migration quite simply, and clearly, as “when movement results in permanent relocation across significant distances, it is classified as migration” (2009: 81). The process of migration involves the long term relocation of an individual, household, or larger group to a new locale outside the community of origin (Fouberg, Murphy & de Blij, 2009: 81). In the
case of this research, the foreign nationals who have been residing in the neighbourhood in question have crossed international borders to reach their destination. So, the type of migration they have experienced is of an ‘international’ nature. International migration across country borders is also called transnational migration (Fouberg, Murphy & de Blij, 2009: 81).

It must be noted, however, that newcomers may not immediately adjust to the new environment in which they have just settled when this geographical relocation occurs. In this regard, Jackson pays attention to the assumption of the perpetuation of the tabula rasa myth which implies that the immigrant has wiped out the old and is ready to be fully socialised and assimilated to the new (1969: 2). In fact, the migrant to a new environment carries much of the old with him; how much will depend on age, socialisation, the circumstances of his departure, his personality and much else (Jackson, 1969: 2).

The background that foreign nationals carry with them could be very different from the lifestyles that locals have been part of. For example, they (foreigners) may come from different types of societies (for example, agrarian-rural rather than urban-industrial) with different traditions, religions and political institutions (Castles & Miller, 1998: 10). They often speak a different language and follow different cultural practises. They may also be visibly different, through physical appearance (skin colour, features, hair type and so on) or style of dress (Castles & Miller, 1998: 10).

It is due to these differences and the lack of immediate adaptation that some tensions between locals and foreign nationals may arise. As academics such as Stephen Castles & Mark J. Miller also acknowledge, migrants and minorities are seen as a danger to living standards, lifestyles and social cohesion (1998: 13). This is because people whose conditions of life are already changing in an unpredictable way often see newcomers as the cause of their insecurities (Castles & Miller, 1998: 13).

Such information could provide some clues as to the situation that may exist in this local case study, i.e. how foreigners may be perceived of by local residents; and how such perceptions would make those foreigners feel, and impact upon their perceptions of the locals.

Perception is very important in understanding the potential for conflict between groups. Myers & Myers propose that: “People tend to make up their reality about each other, and then communicate in relation to that internal perception” (1988: 7). Rosenberg is deemed to be in agreement with the above as he writes: “The way we perceive others determines the kind of
communication that takes place between us” (2003: 65). Through understanding such perceptions, we will get closer to understanding the potential of any kind of destructive conflict; particularly as keeping the spirit of hostility in perceptions is one of the sources of a destructive conflict. Only after exploring those perceptions will the researcher be able to come to an understanding of whether indicators such as wealth and education have any significant influence on people’s perceptions of foreigners living in their neighbourhood.

When the stages of conflict are listed by conflict scholars, the first phase is often listed as "latent conflict" or "unstable peace". It exists whenever individuals, groups, organizations, or nations experience differences that bother one or the other, but those differences are not great enough to cause one side to act to alter the situation (Burgess & Burgess, 2003). If destructive conflict has not yet emerged, steps can be taken to minimize its potential (Burgess & Burgess, 2003). It is this motivation that has encouraged the researcher to pursue the research topic highlighted above. The purpose of this study is to identify whether or not conditions might be ripe for the outbreak of a destructive conflict and whether or not the concerned groups have been building up grievances towards each other. The intention is to be aware of the potential for destructive conflict, so that precautions can be taken before the developing conditions transform themselves into episodes of violence and further hatred.

Another important aspect to be examined in this study is that of ‘wealth and level of education,’ especially amongst local residents. How important are these factors in impacting the perceptions of the locals about the way they see foreigners? Summerstrand is known and described as an “elegant, upmarket suburb” (Summerstrand Attractions, South Africa Explored, 2010). It is therefore assumed that locals who reside in this suburb would be predominantly wealthy – and presumably educated – people who are employed. The question thus arises: would these wealthy and presumably educated people have the motivation to be hostile towards foreigners living in their neighbourhood? This is an important aspect that has been explored in the research. However, thus far, the impression of the researcher is that it is primarily the locals - whose lives are economically threatened by foreigners - who tend to hold grudges and are willing to take revenge against foreigners.

This impression has been supported by the academic resources utilised in conducting the research. For example, in 1992, Europe was alarmed by a series of neo-Nazi onslaughts on refugee hostels in Germany (Castles & Miller, 1998: 2); during these violent upheavals, much participation by young people was observed. Young Germans seemed to be flocking to
extreme right-wing organisations as the only groups able to fill the void in their lives (Castles & Miller, 1998: 3). Thus, an important motivation for those young people to join in the hatred of foreigners is the fact that doing so offers them meaning and/or a sense of identity. Experiencing a void, and not having anything to do with their lives may have motivated them to look for a scapegoat around their community and that may be why they attacked foreigners. If those young citizens of Germany who were involved in such attacks had been employed and earning regular salaries, the likelihood of them expressing their anger at foreigners would be quite low. This aspect of the impact of wealth and education on potential conflict between locals and foreigners will be examined in this research.
CHAPTER 2: Literature Review (Conflict and Perceptions)

2.1. Introduction
In order to understand the potential for destructive conflict between local Summerstrand residents and foreign African immigrants residing in Summerstrand, it is important to gain an understanding of the two relevant fields, namely; conflict and perception (that leads to stereotyping).

The potential for destructive conflict can be understood much more clearly once a broader understanding of the concept of conflict is reached. Perception plays a very important role in building up to a conflict situation. Individuals form groups, and group members tend to have group bonding, in other words a constant interaction amongst each other, which leads to viewing other groups in a certain light. The way in which group members view others is determined by a number of factors, which will be explained in detail in this chapter. Depending on the nature of such views, the seeds of conflict are spread and communication processes amongst groups may be hampered along the way. The factors that influence communication processes are mentioned under “perceptions” below.

Prior to moving on to a discussion of the theory which would give one a solid understanding of the case study of the treatise, it is appropriate that the researcher describes the incident which occurred in South Africa, in May 2008, which has motivated the researcher to conduct the research on this topic. The incident referred to here is the Alexandra township attacks that took place in May 2008.

On the evening of 11 May 2008 a group of young local men attacked a hostel in the township on London Road, and attacked anyone who they deemed to be foreigners. From that incident onwards, the violence spread to informal settlements in Diepsloot and the East Rand; as part of this xenophobic violence, a Mozambican man, Ernesto Alfabeto Nhamuvhe, was burned alive. Soon after, attacks of such nature started taking place across the country, in the provinces of Kwazulu Natal, Eastern Cape and Western Cape. By the time that the violence dissipated in early June 2008, 62 people had died, a third of them South Africans. Hundreds have been displaced from their homes and taken refuge in community halls and police stations. Many of them have fled the country in anticipation of an uncertain future (Hassim, Kupe, & Worby, 2008: 1-2)
The researcher felt that these incidents are relevant to the field he explores. That is why, during the explanation of conflict in general in this chapter, some references to these specific incidents are going to be made.

2.2. CONFLICT

2.2.1 Conflict Theories

The concept of conflict has been defined in a variety of ways by different academics within the social sciences.

Some of the definitions are as follows:

- “Social conflict normally occurs where groups of people compete for scarce resources”
- “Conflict means perceived divergence of interest, a belief that parties’ current aspirations are incompatible”
- “Social conflict refers to purposeful struggles between collective actors who use social power to defeat or remove opponents and to gain status, power, resources and other scarce values” (Bradshaw, 2007: 47).

Each definition mentioned above emphasises a different aspect of the notion of conflict. The first one draws attention to the scarcity of resources as the major cause of conflict, while the third one highlights more intangible reasons such as the desire to possess power. Pruitt & Kim’s definition could encompass the other two definitions; because, in both instances which related conflict to the scarcity of resources and struggle over access to power, the common element is the divergence of interests. The parties involved in conflict situations would want to achieve different things and it is possible that each party could believe that ‘the other’s aspiration is going to destroy theirs. Even though this definition touches upon the core element of conflicts, there are plenty of other definitions present in the literature on conflict studies.

The lack of a single definition for the term conflict is caused by the lack of agreement amongst academics on the causes of conflict. Different scholars define conflict differently depending on the school of thought to which they belong. Psychologists would focus on the inner states of adversaries, while sociologists highlight the importance of observable behaviour (Bartos, & Wehr, 2002: 13). In other words, an academic from the field of
psychology would highlight the psychological sources of conflict and analyse human behaviours in search of what the origins of conflict could be. Alternatively, academics belonging to sociological schools of thought would see that it is the structures that have been created by human beings that cause conflict amongst individuals.

These different aspects of the causes of conflicts can be divided into two categories: micro and macro theories of conflict. As the names indicate; micro theories deal with more specific subjects, such as the individual and his nature, as the cause of conflicts – while the macro theories’ approach is more general, and looks at how group clashes regarding aspirations could cause conflicts. These terms, micro and macro theories, are also regarded as psychological (micro) and sociological (macro) approaches to conflict.

Cunningham has summarised what each theory has to offer in regards to the concept of conflict. It can be observed that micro theories are concerned with the individual’s reaction to the conditions imposed upon him. Cunningham says, regarding micro theories:

The behaviourist focuses on the micro level, the unit of measurement being the individual rather than the group. The unconscious is examined by the behaviourist in order to understand unstated motivational factors…Among the most important assumptions of the behaviourist school are the beliefs that the root causes of war lie in human nature and human behaviour… The behaviourist school believes in the centrality of the stimulus - response hypothesis… (Cunningham, Conflict Theory and the Conflict in Northern Ireland: 1998).

We can understand from the description above that there are two important features which contribute towards the shaping of a conflict, that are to be noted within the micro theories. Firstly, humans are born with the instinct of aggression. One of the academics belonging to this school of thought is Lorenz, quoted in du Pisani, who purports that “man does not learn aggression; his aggression is an inborn mechanism for ensuring the survival of his species (du Pisani, 1988: 13-14). Another academic who shares a similar view is Corning; he adds that the inner principles by which human life are organised cannot be understood without an understanding of the evolutionary and genetic aspects of behaviour (Dougherty and Pfaltzgraf, 1990: 275). For these scholars, if a practitioner of the field intends to understand the dynamics of a conflict, he first needs to acknowledge the fact that it is in the nature of a human being to survive. Consequently, he will do whatever is necessary to overcome whatever obstacles he confronts, at the expense of creating conflicts with his environment.
Related to this aspect of the inborn aggression of an individual, the second feature that is also important within the micro theories of conflict is the connection between ‘stimulus and response’. As previously mentioned, the response aspect of this phenomenon is highlighted in that an individual is ready for a conflict by nature, considering his motivation for survival. This feature marks the importance of conditions surrounding an individual, thus creating grounds for conflict to take place. This means that a conflict will take place only when an individual encounters/experiences conditions that are beyond his tolerance level. So the ‘stimulus’ here would be the conditions imposed upon the person, and the response will result in a conflict between the person and the party that imposes intolerable conditions on said person. We must also note that these frustrations can also be expressed collectively (when individuals who share similar frustrations come together), even though so far only the frustration felt by the ‘individual’ has been mentioned here. What is stressed here is the micro theorists’ emphasis on the nature of a human being as having a tendency towards conflict.

On the basis of this approach, the Alexandra conflict that has taken place between locals and immigrants can be explained as immigrants preventing locals from utilising the resources available to their community, such as jobs and housing. According to this logic, immigrants are causing competition (stimulus) and locals are reacting, in the form of violent attacks, by their natural instinct of survival (response).

It must be noted that there are, however, some criticisms over the stimulus-response aspect of the micro theory of conflict. There is much evidence to show that aggression is not always simply directed towards the object of frustration (Bradshaw, 2007: 47). The question that this theory raises is: “does all frustration lead automatically to aggression, and can all aggression and conflict be traced to some catalytic frustration?”(Cunningham, Conflict Theory and the Conflict in Northern Ireland: 1998).

On the other hand, there are ‘macro’ theories. Cunningham has explained the macro theories as follows:

Macro theory focuses on the interaction of groups, specifically on the conscious level… The use and exercise of power is a central concept of macro theory of conflict…The common assumptions of macro, or classical theories are that the roots of conflict stem from group competition and the pursuit of power and resources. These assumptions operate on conscious motivational factors in a material oriented
environment (Cunningham, Conflict Theory and the Conflict in Northern Ireland: 1998).

This theory emphasises the ‘conscious’ move of individuals in a group, unlike the micro theory which draws attention to the ‘subconscious’ behavioural patterns of individuals for survival. This conscious motive involves acquiring power. According to this logic, a group of human beings wants to possess power in order to benefit from the privileges of holding onto that power. When one group acquires and starts exercising power in a society, that group might not want to share it with anybody else. As a result, there would be a confrontation of these parties in determining who would have the power; this will most probably result in a conflict, as parties tend to make use of aggressive tactics to achieve their goals. And, in the case of Alexandra, the conflict has been caused by a power struggle between locals and immigrants. Locals have felt that, if they did not do anything to stop immigrants from gaining more wealth, they would lose their grip on power in their own communities.

On the basis of these two theories, there are contradicting views on the question of whether a social conflict is useful and functional or destructive and dysfunctional. Some academics believe that conflict is a dysfunctional process in social systems; Parsons is one such academic who was led to view conflict as having primarily disruptive, dissociating and destructive consequences (Coser, 1956: 21). Whereas, many theorists (particularly in the field of sociology) – and this seems to be an increasing proportion – support the opposite of the views mentioned above (Bradshaw, 2007: 49). Louis Coser is widely regarded as the chief standard-bearer of those who see conflict as primarily a functionally positive force in the development of society (Bradshaw, 2007: 49).

As Bradshaw mentions, each theory tells the truth of that particular discipline, but misses some important aspects of what is, after all, a multi-faceted phenomenon (Bradshaw, 2007: 42). All the points made thus far prove that a social conflict cannot be approached one-dimensionally. It is indeed a complex concept and there is no single explanation that explains the causes of conflicts; moreover, there are no collectivelyaccepted guidelines as to what must be done in order to prevent such conflicts.
2.2.2. Further Understanding of Conflict and its Management

As observed thus far, conflict is a very complex phenomenon that can be explained in a variety of ways. However, there is one clear matter regarding what conflict is not. Some scholars view that conflict is not ‘competition’; they propose that there is a difference between conflict and competition. When parties are competing, they do not necessarily engage in conflict behaviour. They may not even be aware that they are competing. They just happen to be seeking the same ends as the other party, and what they usually seek does not belong to the opponent but rather to a third party (Bartos & Wehr, 2002: 13). However, competition could also be viewed as an aspect of conflict. For instance, as noted above, social conflict normally occurs where groups of people compete for scarce resources (Rhodie, 1991: 21). Thus, the element of competition is observed. In other words, when there is a lack of resources, parties compete for those resources even though there may or may not be rules for that competition. For example, the world wars were about this form of competition; as evidenced by this, groups will frequently kill for these ends.

Conflict may sound negative to some people; this is supported by the fact that some academics, such as Parsons, regard conflict as negative, as there is a tendency to link it with crises and chaos. However, conflict can be regarded as a mixture of the good, the bad and that which is uncertain. How conflict is regarded depends on how it is handled. Conflict can be good within groups as unexpressed emotions are released and parties re-evaluate and clarify their goals. By doing so, these groups may initiate social change and eliminate inequalities. In this sense, conflict can be regarded as normal and healthy. Actually, sometimes not being able to start conflict is the source of frustration. (Folger, Poole & Stutman, 2009: 1). In this sense, conflict gives parties a platform to raise their concerns and make each other aware of issues that may not previously have been discussed.

Wedge, quoted in Avruch, also states that conflict is not necessarily a bad thing; it is inevitable and necessary for social change. However, Wedge also claims that as normal as conflict may be – if it turns violent, it could be quite dangerous and pathological. The consequences of an unmanaged violent conflict would be so overwhelming that it would be difficult to remain on the sidelines, and would have devastating impacts on a significant portion of the population (Avruch, 1991: 3). Hill agrees with Avruch on that point, as he also highlights that uncontrolled conflict may be wholly destructive (Hill, 1969: 177). An unmanaged conflict can claim lives, as it did in the Alexandra township attacks. When violence becomes part of a conflict process, then the conflict can be regarded as ‘destructive’.
Coser has clarified the types of conflicts into two groups, based on how constructive and destructive they are. He has separated conflict into two categories: realistic and unrealistic conflicts. Realistic conflicts are based on disagreements about the means to an end, or sometimes about the end itself. Whereas unrealistic conflicts are about the aggression that one party has towards the other; in such conflicts, the purpose of parties is simply to hurt the other (Folger, Poole, & Stutman, 2009: 7-8). It could be observed that realistic conflicts tend to have a more rational approach than unrealistic ones, as unrealistic conflicts tend to be more emotional. A rational approach generates conflicts of a constructive nature.

In our contemporary age, social scientists view conflict as a necessary component of social change. The view that advocates an evolutionary and smooth process of change is now old and discredited as the contemporary view dictates that ‘things have to get a lot worse before they get better’; this belief is particularly relevant to the theory of social change. Therefore, the absence of social conflict in a society is seen as inevitable and – in relation to this view – the absence of conflict is not seen as a sign of development, but rather as a sign of stagnation which would lead to disintegration and decay. Therefore, conflicts should not be regarded as abnormal and unhealthy, but rather as a sign of healthy interaction and a normal result that would contain different factions within a society (Hill, 1969: 176-177). However, this does not mean that conflicts should be left unmanaged or that it is acceptable that parties hurt each other. In this regard, a distinction should be made between constructive and destructive conflict.

Even though academics from different social fields have contributed to the understanding of the concept of conflict there is still more room for the contribution of new knowledge to the area of study. Avruch thinks that the practise of conflict management has developed further than the theory. He adds that practitioners of conflict management such as diplomats, arms-reduction negotiators and other specialists in the field rely on their experiences, feelings and observations when they go and teach the field to students. They would rather ‘describe’ the situation based on what has been observed instead of ‘prescribe’; in other words, offer solutions. Avruch quoting Raiffa mentions that “They might speak of the ‘art’ of negotiations or of their craft, rather than of a ‘science’ (Avruch, 1991: 3).
2.2.3. Roots of Conflict
The roots of conflict refer to the underlying elements that take place within a community or between different groups. When these roots accumulate and are not addressed, they become the basis of a conflict and a trigger event could cause the conflict to become latent.

2.2.3.1 Challenging of Values
In order for an event to lead to a conflict, it has to touch an important aspect of life that community members value, such as their children’s education, religion, taxes, and so forth. Different communities value different things. There should also be a situation in which community members should feel that an action has to be taken in order to ‘correct’ it. The type of event taking place in the community will determine whether the community will unite against the problem, or will be divided about the solution required to handle the situation. Natural disasters such as floods would unite a community’s members as they would act together to tackle the ‘common enemy’. It must also be remembered that not only the type of events taking place in the community will determine the response, but the characteristics and lifestyle of community members also significantly influence the nature of such responses (Coleman, 1957: 4). For example, in very orthodox Muslim societies, people may react differently towards a case in which a homosexual person is discriminated against than community members of a liberal Western town. Members of the orthodox Muslim society could side with the party that conducted the discrimination as they would believe that the town has been ‘saved’ from further ‘immoralities’ taking place, while liberal Westerners would regard the act as discrimination and stand against it. Actually, it must be noticed that the interpretation of such an event is very different amongst the two parties because while the Western liberal town views it as discrimination, the orthodox Muslim community is likely to regard it as ‘doing the right thing’.

2.2.3.2. Incompatible Goals
Conflict means perceived divergence of interest; this is a belief that parties’ current aspirations are incompatible (Pruitt & Kim, 2004: 7). This means that there is a sense of disagreement, about how to reach a certain goal, prevailing amongst the adversaries. Louis Kriesberg explains that this perceived incompatibility refers to the subjective judgement of each party that the attainment of its goals is hampered or prevented by the other side’s attainment of goals (1982: 17). Another important feature of conflict is that social conflict normally occurs where groups of people compete for scarce resources (Rhodie, 1991: 21). It must also be noted that the key element of concern, in relation to incompatible goals, is
‘perception’. Regardless of whether there actually is incompatibility between parties, for as long as the perception thereof continues to exist the situation is indeed ripe for conflict (Folger, Poole, & Stutman, 2009: 4).

Once the parties believe that they have incompatible goals, each or both may try to attain them (Kriesberg 1982: 18). They will try coercive and non-coercive means in seeking to reach their goals (Kriesberg, 1982: 18). A conflict then emerges and escalates, finally deescalating and terminating, often resulting in an outcome that becomes the basis for another conflict (Kriesberg, 1982: 19). Therefore, it may be argued that conflict is not a static concept because, as parties use such means, they interact with each other. Instead, conflict is a process. An action carried out by one party in order to reach its goal will inevitably result in a reaction by the opposing party which aims to fulfil a contrasting objective. This interaction between parties can change the nature of the conflict either in a constructive or destructive manner. As such, a conflict is prone to change, and is thus dynamic.

The incompatible goals between locals and immigrants, in the Alexandra incident, are that both groups wanted to have high standards of living. Since the means of obtaining such standards are finite, due to a limited number of available jobs, this type of scarcity of resources has become the basis of a destructive conflict.

Incompatible goals are referred to as those which it is impossible for two or more parties to achieve simultaneously. For example, Israel and Syria cannot have the Golan Heights at the same time (Bartos, & Wehr, 2002: 13).

2.2.3.3. Power Inequality & Relative Deprivation
Another important cause for conflict is the issue of acquiring power. Power inequality may involve domination. In the cases where one party dominates another, the result is generally that the party which is being dominated initiates the liberation struggle. Also, power inequality may take place when one party does not dominate the other – but, has more power potential. This power inequality would be a strong basis for conflict – because this is a type of situation where one party’s gain would be regarded as the other party’s loss (Bartos, O.J. & Wehr P., 2002: 31).

The concept of power inequality having the potential to cause conflicts is related to Gurr’s theory of relative deprivation. Gurr, quoted in Dougherty & Pfaltzgraf, says that “the
necessary precondition for violent civil conflict is deprivation, defined as actors’ perceptions of discrepancy between their value expectations and their environment’s apparent capabilities” (1990: 323). The disparity between aspirations and how much of these aspirations have been fulfilled could be on the basis of economic deprivation, or a combination of different factors that also include economic psychological, social and political conditions (Dougherty & Pfaltzgraf, 1990: 323).

According to this theory, people compare themselves with others and make judgments. If people find that some people are rewarded more than they are, despite being in similar conditions, they would feel relatively deprived (Bartos & Wehr, 2002: 34). Gurr, quoted in Jacoby, mentions that if the distribution of resources, prestige and power is believed to be unfair then the underprivileged section of that group will have the potential to demand a more equal share (Jacoby: 2008: 105-110). This creates a sense of incompatible goals, and a basis for conflict. The underprivileged will want to change the current system while the privileged will want to maintain the status quo (Bartos & Wehr, 2002: 33).

Relative deprivation would also be felt when people compare the past and the present, and notice injustices taking place. If they realise that they previously received more than they do now, then they may also feel deprived. Also, people may also compare what they have been promised with what they have received (Bartos & Wehr, 2002 34). Within the concept of relative deprivation, there is also absolute deprivation which means the party is deprived of whatever it needs to lead a decent life (Bartos & Wehr, 2002: 36).

In the case of relative deprivation, the privileged would claim, in order to justify their position, that they have contributed more and their investments are higher in the group and, hence, they deserve the position they held in the group. The underprivileged would disagree with such claims (Bartos & Wehr, 2002: 33). In the case of the Alexandra attacks, relative deprivation took place when locals compared themselves with migrants and viewed that while they were living in poverty, immigrants were economically better off.

2.2.3.4. History
Coleman highlights the importance of history in the development of conflict. People approach community conflicts with their previous relations with, attachments to and interests in the other group in mind. So, when a new episode of conflict takes over, the emotions generated from the factors mentioned are already drawn into the conflict (Coleman, 1957: 18). Mayer mentions that history provides the momentum for the development of conflict.
He adds that “conflicts cannot be solved without an understanding of the complicated systems of interaction that have developed over time and the degree to which the conflict itself has become the part of the disputants’ identity” (2000: 13).

Momentum (also) refers to prior success at reaching agreement in the current controversy (Pruitt & Kim, 2004: 50). The more frequent and recent such successes have been, the greater will be the party’s faith that further successes can be achieved (Pruitt & Kim, 2004: 50). With regards to the conflict in Alexandra, there has been violence recently and therefore there is no ‘frequent and recent success’ as such. The history between locals and immigrants of Alexandra, within the South African context, will be explained in further detail in Chapter 3 of this study.

2.2.3.5. Attitudes
Apart from the incidents that may lead a community to a conflict – another important reason that could spark conflict is the attitudes that a group has towards another group within the community. In that sense, oftentimes the antagonism that exists between groups is directed to the group rather than the incident. Members in a group may just generate hostility towards the other group based on the assumption that those members are against something that their group is for (Coleman, 1957: 6).

2.2.3.6. Needs
There are certain needs, apart from basic needs such as food and shelter, that must be fulfilled in order for human beings (as well as communities) to survive. Although there is no final agreement as to what these needs are, they generally include the need for identity, the need for security, a need for control and a need to be perceived as rational (Bradshaw, 2007: 45). In the light of the information provided by Bradshaw and Mayer, about what possible needs groups need to satisfy for survival, they are categorised as the need for autonomy, community, land and security. John Burton, an important academic who expanded the work on the notion of Basic Human Needs (BHN), claims that these human needs will be pursued no matter what. He also adds that the power of pursuing these needs is much stronger than police and military power, and that they explain and even justify in some circumstances anti-social and violent behaviour (Burton, 1997: 32).

Burton also talks about the concept of structural violence that results from the perceived dissatisfaction of BHN. He says: “More generally, structural violence results from compliance processes, perceived injustices and deprivations such as an absence of job
opportunities” (Burton, 1997: 32). Here Burton indicates that if the structure of a society is not set up in a way that would aim to cater for the human needs of a society, then violence that stems from its structure could be inevitable. This is because the desire to obtain human needs is going to be so strong that no power can contend with people seeking to fulfil such needs.

However, BHN is a concept that has been explored not only by Burton but other several other academics in the field of social sciences, one of which is Abraham Maslow. Maslow’s approach to the categorising of human needs is that the satisfaction of human needs always follows a specific hierarchical order, like a pyramid. The needs within the framework of a pyramid have to be fulfilled from the bottom to the top, and the order is as such as: food, water, and shelter. These are followed by the need for safety and security, then belonging or love, self-esteem and, finally, personal fulfilment (Marker, 2003). However, Burton and other needs theorists who have adopted Maslow's ideas for conflict theory perceive of human needs in a different way – as an emergent collection of human development essentials. Furthermore, they contend that needs do not have a hierarchical order. Rather, needs are sought simultaneously in an intense and relentless manner (Marker, 2003).

Even though there seems to be a lack of agreement between need theorists, there is an opinion they all share. Bradshaw indicates that “Overall, scholars in this tradition proceed to postulate that social conflict is normally the result of frustrated human needs, as human beings have no choice but to pursue the fulfilment of their needs in the long term” (Bradshaw, 2007: 45). John Burton is a supporter of this idea too and that is the emphasis of his contribution to the field of conflict management.

Because the BHNs of locals have not been satisfied in Alexandra, this laid a foundation for conflict to take place, and it took place in a violent way. This has been another motivation for this study to be conducted in order to see if there would be any potential for a conflict in a neighbourhood where, ostensibly, people’s needs have been catered for.

2.2.3.7. Structure
The issue of structure has been touched upon above while mentioning John Burton’s concept of ‘structural violence’. This will now be explained in more detail. Burton expands on how deep rooted conflicts result as individuals demand their basic human needs and authorities respond by ignoring them or respond in their own way. He says that “(Deep rooted conflict)
involves cases that arise out of demands on individuals to make certain adjustments in behaviour that are unacceptable, and probably beyond human tolerance and capabilities” (Burton, 1990:15). It is the clash between individuals and authorities; the latter wanting to keep dominating, while the former demanding their voices to be heard and have a say in the power structure in the hopes of being able to acquire their basic human needs. In such structuring culture, compromising has no place and that is why a potential conflict becomes a power struggle – with parties trying to determine which one will rule over the other.

Burton claims that it is only a natural reaction of a public that consists of individuals to show their resentment when their human needs are not supplied and are suppressed by their authorities. Therefore, Burton indicates that should the authorities decide to dominate and not give a voice to the demands of people with regard to their BHN, then they will encounter the cost of such ignorance. The cost is going to be the destructive quality of conflict people will experience. Burton explains this as follows: “The member of an ethnic minority who experiences discrimination, in addition to other threats to identity and recognition as a person, may be even more likely to act recklessly, to follow terrorist leaderships and to seek achievement in anti social and subversive ways” (Burton, 1997: 34).

Furthermore, the issue of structure being a contributory factor in a destructive conflict has been noted by other academics in the field of conflict management. Pruitt & Kim have noted how a society could easily fall victim to a violent conflict if the structure of the society is set up homogenously. They say that if a community with a heavily crosscutting structure is present, where almost everybody is linked with almost everybody else by at least one kind of bond, then the severity of conflict is reduced (Pruitt & Kim, 2004: 139-140). Mayer has also noted this tendency by stating the following:

There are individuals in each cultural group whose conflict and communication style is different from that group’s normative style and close to the standard approach of other groups. These people can therefore act as natural translators or bridges to other cultures (2000: 74).

The existence of such connections and groups of people who can empathise with the ‘other’ is vital in the structure of a state, in order for the society to work constructively in cases of social crisis. It is because they can act as objective third parties and as balancers between the two sides. Thus, parties have the opportunity to understand and empathise with each other through ‘bridging’ structural elements within their society.
Other academics such as Ting-Toomey & Oetzel are of a similar viewpoint. According to them, culturally and ethnically diverse teams have more advantages when it comes to solving conflicts in effective ways. This is because a greater variety of viewpoints can be generated due to the existence of different angles which offer more alternatives from which to choose. Moreover, in diverse settings, the concept of ‘group-think’ can be avoided as the group is heterogeneous (2001: 5).

In the opposing case of group polarisation, the average group member on each side becomes increasingly hostile towards the other side (Pruitt & Kim, 2004: 116). This is partly because extremists on each side do battle with each other, producing egregious incidents that inflame more moderate group members and lead them to join the extremists (Pruitt & Kim, 2004: 116).

In this regard it is possible to speculate that if there was a structure in Alexandra or in South Africa in general, established prior to the 2008 attacks, which consisted of members from the parties such as local communities, immigrant communities with government officials posing as moderators, perhaps such attacks may not have taken place.

2.2.3.8. Perceptions & Attitudes
An attitude is a positive or negative feeling toward or evaluation of some person or object while a perception is a belief about, or way of viewing, some person or object (Pruitt & Kim, 2004: 106). When somebody perceives something in a negative light, he would have a negative attitude towards that object or concept. Perceptions and attitudes tend to outlast the conflict in which they were developed and affect the relationship between parties by either (a) encouraging new escalation when another conflict arises, or (b) causing parties to perceive new conflicts when none exist (Pruitt & Kim, 2004: 105). It can be noticed that these notions start in the mind; afterwards, we shape our attitudes and behaviours accordingly. Once a negative perception is formed in the mind – it becomes a part of our personality and even a value. When it reaches that stage then it will be very hard to undo these perceptions.

The eventual result of such an attitude is dehumanisation and a lack of empathy for the group to which one has attributed negative perceptions. Dehumanisation reduces empathy for others and puts others outside of one’s moral community; hence, these individuals are not protected by the social norms against aggression (Pruitt & Kim, 2004: 111). Since perceptions play an
important role in viewing immigrants and acting accordingly this matter will be further elaborated upon later in the chapter.

2.2.3.9. Emotions
We must keep in mind that a feature of vengeance is the persistent nature of memories of past victimisation and vengeful urges can grow even stronger over time (Pruitt & Kim, 2004: 111). Groups keep past wounds and humiliations alive through collective memories (Zartman & Faure, 2005: 152). Negative perceptions play a great part in keeping such memories alive.

2.2.3.10. Communication
All the components mentioned above affect the process of communication between the parties involved very negatively. The core of the problem is that parties see each other as threats. Parties stop communicating and get ready to attack one another and/or prepare themselves to defend against an attack. The conflict has reached a destructive stage when communication channels are cut off completely..

2.2.4 Conflict Interaction
2.2.4.1. Stages of Conflict
Conflict interaction involves parties in the conflict experiencing the process of conflict together. After studying international conflicts, Rummel suggested that conflicts go through five consecutive stages. Latent stage – this is when groups (esp. leaders of them) realise that they hold different positions and attitudes. These differences lay the groundwork for future conflict. Then comes the initiation stage, where a triggering event causes parties to act and then differences that have been previously perceived become the basis for conflict. Afterwards, the parties are involved in open conflict, wherein the parties assess each other’s abilities to hurt, reward and threaten. They also engage in attacks and defences in this stage. It is during this stage that parties start engaging with issues and try to reach some settlement. The next stage is the balance of power where parties have reached an agreement and have learned to live with the consequences of the outcomes. The last stage is the disruption stage; this is the stage in which the conflict has reached its cycle and conditions are once again ripe for the emergence of a potential conflict (Folger, Poole & Stutman, 2009: 75).

Stage models of conflict have been derived from a broad understanding of historical conflicts. These models lead us to an understanding that conflict interaction involves direct confrontation with and the discussion of issues between parties as well as a period of calm when parties have reached some kind of an arrangement amongst themselves. Stage models
also highlight the importance of trigger events. These trigger events are important due to the fact that they take place at a critical point in the conflict interaction. As conflicts start ripening, parties feel the pressure to face up to the issues; and a common and regular event may just trigger an escalation (Folger, Poole & Stutman, 2009: 77).

Even though the triggering event may impact upon the parties in a hostile and destructive manner, the issues that have existed latently are not always weak and ill-defined, and these issues are not always brought to attention before a triggering event taking place. How these issues are framed at the beginning of an open conflict will influence the course of conflict (Folger, Poole & Stutman, 2009 77).

However, stage models such as the one mentioned above may not always be accurate. The main weakness of stage conflict models is that they are quite simplistic. They overemphasise the role of a logical step-by-step process (Folger, Poole & Stutman, 2009: 77). Each conflict episode is unique, and the stages may therefore not always follow the consecutive order highlighted in the model.

2.2.4.2. Conflict Behaviour
During the interaction taking place in a conflict episode, parties take part in conflict behaviour. Bartos & Wehr state that “conflict behaviour is any behaviour that helps the party to achieve a goal that is incompatible with that of the opponent or that expresses its hostility toward him or her” (2002: 23). Hostility encourages conflict behaviour. Meanwhile, conflict also intensifies hostility. This vicious cycle turns the nature of conflict to a destructive one, as parties are not only motivated by reaching their original goals – but also by hurting the other and destroying the enemy (Bartos & Wehr, 2002: 22).

If conflict behaviour is overshadowed by hostility, then the conflict may not evolve into a constructive nature. There are some elements that when present would impact the nature of conflict in a constructive way. An important criterion that determines whether a conflict is productive or not is flexibility; in other words, how flexible parties are. In conflict situations, where parties are flexible, their behaviours change during negotiations depending on the tone of discussions. They try to seek solutions, and therefore their approach varies from being coercive to being humorous. Inflexible parties, however, will lock themselves into a certain mood, as their intention would be to hurt others in order to gain what they want (Folger, Poole & Stutman, 2009: 8). However, a party adopting a flexible approach is very difficult when they are overrun by emotions and their mind-set is dominated by negative perceptions.
This is especially true when time has moved on and conflict has already evolved into a destructive path. Surely flexibility could not have been expected from those locals attacking foreign nationals, at a stage where they have already decided to act upon their intention to hurt the group of people who they have dehumanised in their minds.

Parties who adopt productive conflict interaction aim to bridge the gap between themselves and the other, in order to clarify these incompatible interests and purposes. There is a sense of fulfilment and satisfaction when such an approach reaches a conclusion – such as a newer idea and clarity on others’ positions and situations. With the destructive approach, however, parties feel that the other’s gain will be their loss. The mindset that the other party will win at the expense of their own loss prevents them from any attempt at cooperation (Folger, Poole & Stutman, 2009: 8).

A destructive conflict approach is characterised by coercive action. Coercive action refers to actions that force parties to induce fear or damage to the other party. Himes, Bartos & Wehr, mention that “severe physical injury can be violent: hurting and killing the opponents, or destroying their property” (2002: 23). This is indeed what happened in Alexandra, and other townships, in 2008, as some lives were lost and some people got physically hurt. Physical injury can be nonviolent as well; for instance, depriving the opponent of the resources they need is also regarded as physical injury (Bartos & Wehr, 2002: 23).

There is also symbolic injury that the one party can inflict on the other; that does not involve physical damage either. This is defined as a tool that aims to weaken the parties by inducing shame, guilt and fear. Labelling people with derogatory names is a way of imposing symbolic injury (Bartos & Wehr, 2002: 23).

This also took place in the South African case as the term ‘makwerere’ has been appropriated for the purpose of dehumanising the immigrant groups. Therefore, this has caused a symbolic injury to the group as the name-calling made them vulnerable to attacks.

2.2.5. The Impact of Culture
When parties belonging to different cultures interact, it is considered that they are engaged in intercultural communication. Intercultural communication is a challenging process. Trenholm & Jensen point this out as follows: “Cross-cultural communication is difficult because we are unaccustomed to dealing with differences” (1996: 393). This means that we are not naturally equipped with the skills of effectively communicating with people from different
environments. We may not be aware of differences in people’s cultures regarding the handling of conflicts. There needs to be some sort of effort involved, whereby we ‘learn’ to understand people from other cultures. In order to learn such communication skills, there has to be some willingness present in the person. Once this willingness develops, then he would do his bit in order to understand and tolerate people of other ethnicities. The word ‘develop’ is used deliberately in the previous sentence, because any kind of willingness cannot be forced upon, or injected into someone. We cannot force anyone to tolerate a group of people. In order for tolerance to be genuine, it has to be willingly practised by the person concerned. Learning to tolerate may take time as it develops in the mind-set of the person.

It could be observed that problems that are encountered in intercultural communication are largely caused by the intolerance towards and ignorance of ‘others’. Intolerance and ignorance are related because if one ignores and does not expand his knowledge about certain groups one may become intolerant toward that group. These two notions seem to be the root of miscommunication. There are also some cases, however, wherein individuals just maintain their hostilities, and remain ignorant, simply because other members in the group do so. They just conform to the group, even though they are not initially antagonistic towards the other group, in order to not to alienate themselves from their own group.

Potential neighbourhood conflicts between locals and immigrants are likely to be conflicts of an intercultural nature. Immigrants may come from different types of societies (for example, agrarian-rural rather than urban-industrial) with different traditions, religions and political institutions (Castles & Miller, 1998: 10). They often speak a different language and follow different cultural practises. They may be visibly different, through physical appearance (skin colour, features, hair type and so on) or style of dress (Castles & Miller, 1998: 10). The lack of tolerance of others’ lifestyles and the fear that the existence of other cultures would pose a threat to one’s own culture and lifestyle can be a basis for conflict.

2.2.6. Changes take place during a conflict
One of the changes that take place during a conflict is the increase of issues. According to Coleman, there are different sources of diversification of issues; one of them is raising ‘involuntary issues’. These are the types of issues that have not been raised before the conflict, as people have been reluctant to do so. After a conflict people and representatives of the community may say “While we are at it, let us remind you...” or “I wasn’t able to mention this earlier, but...” (Coleman, 1957: 10). As more issues are added, parties start seeing that
their interests are more incompatible. Parties also tend to expand upon issues in order to save face, so that the attention is now directed at the shortcomings of others (Folger, Poole & Stutman, 2009: 89).

Another important development that takes place within community conflicts is the polarisation of social relations. People start forming groups in the society, and they stick to each other. When this happens long-standing relationships are cut off, former friends become enemies, and people tend to distance themselves from in-group members who position themselves closer to the opposition (Coleman, 1957: 11). As polarisation takes place, each polarised community’s members start forming ad hoc groups like committees, which become the centre of communication. These committees are quite important, as they make communication much faster and a plan of action against the other group can be discussed (Coleman, 1957: 12).

Internal group communication that takes place during a conflict generates a narrow, oversimplified view of the other, and this strengthens stereotypes. In-group members assume that all the undesirable characteristics that they have attributed to the other are shared by all the members of the group. Further, the actions of the members of the other group are taken into account on the basis of such stereotypes and generalisation. Discussions amongst the in-group members tend to focus on the differences between them and the group with which they are experiencing conflict. These discussions minimise the similarities that these groups may share with each other, and which could be a basis for creating understanding. For example, Western news reports always portray Islam in a negative light that has diverged itself from ‘Western thought’, while downplaying the similarities it has with Christianity and Judaism (Folger, Poole & Stutman, 2009:95).

Folger, Poole & Stutman mention that in-group members who suggest that the other may have legitimate claims are also accused of being disloyal. Maintaining the stereotyping approach plays a great role in preventing the group from exploring any potential commonalities with other groups (2009: 95).

As these partisan groups are formed, new leaders emerge. These new leaders tend to be those who have not been in such positions before. Since they do not have any background in community affairs, they also do not have any background in interacting with the other. Those leaders who emerge in the phase of escalation articulate people’s concerns, strengthen their group identity and sense of frustration, identify the adversary and organise action to redress
the group’s grievances (Pruitt and Kim, 2004: 32). Their main concerns are not necessarily maintaining relationships with the opposition, but rather expressing the voice of the in-group. Therefore, these leaders are not usually ‘moderators’, the situation demands them to be extremists (Coleman, 1957: 12). So, if a leader has moderate policies towards the adversary, during a tense conflict situation, accompanied by a moderate personality he or she runs the risk of being replaced by a hawkish leader.

2.2.7. Protracted Conflict
Conflicts that take place in any context could be of different intensities. An interpersonal conflict between a family member would be of either a mild or of a deeper nature. There are conflicts that are regarded as protracted, which means they are the types of conflicts that need the assistance of third parties, as parties have lost their grip on the conflict and are only acting according to their anger and emotions.

One of the factors that will make a situation more likely to result in a protracted conflict is when a group or some groups within a community are denied their BHN. As previously mentioned, one of the leading advocates of this perspective is John Burton. Burton believes that deep-rooted conflicts are caused by the frustration of the fundamental needs of security, identity, respect, safety, and control. As mentioned above, Burton believes that these needs are non-negotiable, and therefore need to be catered for, and necessary changes need to be made in a society that will provide such needs.

Rigidity of mindsets is an important feature observed in a protracted conflict. In other words, the parties are not willing to understand and empathise with the other, as they will hold onto the attitude that only their perspective is the correct one. This is accompanied by an unwillingness to communicate, and this lack of communication is the reason for the mirror imaging that takes place between the parties, and their rigid attitudes. Actually, Bar-Tal has expressed clearly what kind of processes take place while parties are experiencing protracted conflict:

> These characteristics require that society members develop conditions that enable them to cope successfully with the conflict situation. One such condition is a psychological infrastructure, which consists of such elements as devotion to the society and country, high motivation to contribute, persistence, readiness for personal sacrifice, unity, solidarity, determination, courage, and maintenance of the society's objectives. Such a psychological infrastructure enables a society to adapt to the conflict situation, survive the stressful period, and struggle successfully with the enemy
In the case of the South Africa township attacks of 2008, frustrations have been built up but, instead of channelling this anger towards authorities, they were directed towards foreigners.

2.3. PERCEPTIONS & STEREOTYPING

2.3.1. Importance of Intrapersonal Communication – Developing Perceptions
Understanding the root causes of intercultural conflict and therefore coming up with appropriate strategies would not be possible without acknowledging an important aspect of the communication process: intrapersonal communication. Intrapersonal communication is communication of the self with the self. It could be regarded as the foundation, as we tend to determine our approach to interpersonal communication on the basis of our intrapersonal communication. It involves gathering data as well as processing and reaching a judgment about the data. Its importance has been highlighted quite regularly amongst academics in the field, such as Myers & Myers who state that “People tend to make up their reality about each other, and then communicate in relation to that internal perception” (1988: 7). Rosenberg agrees with this as he says: “The way we perceive others determines the kind of communication that takes place between us” (2003: 65).

When we pay attention to the components of intrapersonal communication, we will notice a key concept: ‘perception’. In other words, during the process of intrapersonal communication we perceive the world and, as a result, develop perceptions. It must be noted that the process of perceiving and perceptions is a product of our minds. The concepts of intrapersonal communication and perceptions are related to intercultural conflict because our perceptions guide us while we perform interpersonal communication as they influence the approach we adopt during a communication episode. They will also impact the type of approach we choose during an intercultural encounter.

It must be remembered that intercultural communication is a part of interpersonal communication, except if the communication partner belongs to a different culture. That ‘difference’ could pose a problem in terms of communication because, as highlighted above, not everyone is able to handle differences professionally. The reason for such mishandling of differences between people who belong to different ethnic groups or cultures is the fact that
they do not perceive of one another in a positive frame. Thus, it could be understood that the way we see other cultures and the way they see our culture could form the basis of intercultural conflict. Holding such perceptions can block or hamper any attempt at communication that might take place between the two groups. This shows us that any attempt at managing communication in order to transform a hostile environment into a constructive one should be directed at transforming these perceptions.

### 2.3.2. How Perceptions are Formed

Myers & Myers offer us an idea of how perceptions develop: “How you do this selection, organisation, and interpretation is largely based on how you have done it in the past, and in a very real sense you are the product of your past perceptions” (1998: 50). That means that the history between different ethnic groups could play an essential role in the way that members of those groups perceive each other. Actually, the persistent nature of memories of the past victimisation and the motives feed escalation (Pruitt & Kim, 2004: 111). The Israeli-Palestinian conflict could be a good example of such hostility which has continued for decades. Even during times when there has been a de-escalation of the conflict, when the parties did not actually confront each other, the perceptions remained the same and people on both sides were still motivated to retaliate. Thus, it is evident that revenge tends to continue if it is not addressed.

### 2.3.3 Perceptions Leading to Stereotyping

Perceptions seem to develop over time, and they end up becoming realities in the minds of members of a group. There is a term that expresses such subjective ‘realities’: ‘stereotypes’. Michael Hecht summarises some of the important features of stereotyping as follows:

> Stereotypes are the well learned, widely shared, socially validated general beliefs or cognitions about disempowered groups that reinforce or justify prejudice and reduce ambiguity…The common view of stereotyping is that they are consensual beliefs about a group with behavioural implications. Stereotypes often are seen as facts by those who hold them and receive much social support (1998: 8).

From this, the rigidity stereotyping carries can be observed as it is ingrained in the mind and are seen as facts by the holders. It is this rigidity that poses the problem within a context of intercultural communication. As parties attempt to engage in a dialogue, the communication process that will take place between them will not be of a constructive nature. This is because there will be ‘mirror-imaging’ taking place, whereby parties will see one another in a negative light. As a result of mirror-imaging, there is a high possibility that the parties in
question may not reach an agreement and a deadlock may occur. This will be the result of the assumption within each party that any step forward could be interpreted as a weakness by the other.

Another important feature that could be discovered from Hecht’s description of stereotypes is the ‘social’ aspect of it, as they are “socially validated”. That means that there is a collective element in developing stereotypes through perceiving the other group in a subjective light. The collective element mentioned here is the fact that stereotypes are generated by a group and tend to be practised as a group (not only by a few individuals). The collective nature of holding stereotypes could indicate that there is a tendency within a group to build its identity on the ‘othering’ of certain other groups. That brings us to another important element in explaining why there is intercultural conflict, and why communication channels between some groups cannot be established (Hecht, 1998: 8).

This certainly has been the case with the violence in Alexandra. Foreign migrants have been ‘othered’, as they were given the name ‘makwerewere’. And, indeed, stereotyping took place at a collective level; this is because it was not only certain individuals who carried out the attacks. There was quite a lot of support from community members as well.

2.3.4. Group Bonding
This group could be organisations, schools or religious communities to which we belong. There is a greater group, however, that all these other smaller groups are part of and it forms a significant part of our identity, our ethnic groups or nationalities. For example, while the importance of history with the stereotyped group is mentioned it must be noted that it is the history between ‘our’ group and ‘their’ group we are referring to. Therefore, it could be said that this inevitable belonging to a group can be regarded as the root contributing factor of intercultural conflict.

Hartley claims that “a number of studies suggest that as long as people perceive themselves as a group then they will act accordingly regardless of how much or little contact they have” (1993: 177). Of course, in order to understand what is meant here we have to first understand what a group is, and answer whether all groups motivate people to the same extent. Hartley clarifies this when he identifies what a group is:

A collection of people is not necessarily a group in the psychological sense. In psychological groups, the individuals involve recognise that they are members of the
group and they are aware of other members. Membership has some psychological significance (1993: 175).

From this, it could be understood that people first have to accept that they are part of that group. In order for such acknowledgement to take place, there has to be a collective agreement. This agreement is very important because it is through this agreement (that is not a written or formal one; but rather a cognitive agreement) that a group remains a group. The basis of such agreement lies in the fact that members of the group live in close proximity to other group members; as they will share and communicate these common elements in language, religious practices, and so forth i.e. elements of a ‘culture’. There have been incidents in the world where different ethnic groups can mix and produce a newer culture; for instance, the ‘American culture’. Trenholm and Jensen define culture as “that set of values and beliefs, norms and customs, rules and codes, that socially define a group of people, binding them to one another and giving them a sense of commonality” (1996: 387). Related to culture is the notion of a worldview; that is the product of culture, which is also explained by Trenholm and Jensen, quoting Samovar:

Somovar and his colleagues define worldview as a culture’s orientation toward such things as God, man (and woman), nature, the universe and the other philosophical issues that are concerned with the concept of being. Although, members of a culture may find it difficult to articulate their worldview, it is so deeply imbedded in our psyches that we take it completely for granted and assume automatically that everyone else views the world as we do (1996: 388)

So, whether a culture is made up of a single group or race or combination of different ethnic groups – it creates a sense of belonging to a ‘group’ amongst the members. And, as long as people in that group acknowledge that they are part of that culture, that group can live on.

The influence that members receive from the groups to which they belong generally results in adapting to the group norms. This happens because the wells of passion attached to the needs of one’s group are often deeper than those attached to one’s individual needs (Pruitt & Kim 2004: 30). This is called ‘conformity’, and could be regarded as the power the group membership has on individuals. Conformity can be defined as a change in a person’s behaviour or opinions as a result of real or imagined pressure from a person or group of people (Hartley, 1993: 183).

Hartley explains the impact of group pressure in an example he highlights. He gives a scenario in which someone would be asked to compare different lines on a table and is asked
choose a line that is closest in length to the line X. According to the person, the obvious answer is line B, however, the rest of the people in the experiment group claims it is line A – which is the one that does not correspond to the length of line X at all. However, after all the other members in the group agrees that line A is the only line that is closest in length, then the person would agree and convince himself that the correct answer has been line A all along (1993: 183, 184).

Studies have shown that even members of small groups develop a sense of bonding and belonging once the members see themselves a group. One of those studies was an experiment conducted by Muzafier Sherif, called the Robber’s Cave Experiment. In this experiment, boys who participated were, as individual groups, picked up by bus on successive days. Sherif wanted to find out if people act differently towards others when they are tied to a group. It was discovered that even before actual contact took place, competitive, often hostile emotions erupted (2004: 28). The results of this experiment hold that the mere awareness of the presence of an out-group is sufficient to provoke intergroup competitive or discriminatory responses on the part of the in-group (1979: 38).

Thus, the influence of belonging to a group is intense to the extent that we may automatically discriminate against anyone who is not part of it; even though we have never before had any contact with the out-group member. It has previously been mentioned that the history between two cultural groups could also be the cause of an intercultural conflict. However, with the results of the Robber’s Cave experiment, it has been observed that in order for two groups to develop negative mindsets towards each other, there does not even have to be a history between such groups. It may then appear that the data presented in this treatise is contradictory. However, it is not, because history is still a contributing factor in intercultural conflict; or escalating intercultural conflict that has already started. It is now mentioned that groups, by nature, have the tendency to discriminate against out-group members. In this case, history only functions as a tool that could either deteriorate relationships or be used to improve relations and ease existing tensions between members of such groups. With the case of the Israeli – Palestinian conflict, history only deepened and escalated the conflict as members of each party used coercive tactics which encouraged the other party to retaliate.
2.3.5. Group Bonding Leading to Ethnocentrism

Belonging to a group evokes such strong emotions in people that we stick to our membership, and may not detach ourselves from it easily. Hartley explains that:

You place yourself (or placed) in a particular social category and this becomes your social identity. For this to be meaningful, you have to compare your group (category) with other categories. When you make this comparison, you look for something distinctive or positive. Thus, your group is seen as better than the group you have compared yourself with. This satisfies your motivation to be a person of some value, i.e. you need to have high self-esteem (1993: 196).

Here, Hartley emphasises a strong link between our identity and the group which we are part of. It appears that, mostly, the reason why groups influence our way of living and our mindsets is because we allow that to happen. As individuals, we identify ourselves with the group and our group becomes an inseparable part of our identities. This takes place at the level at which our group membership gives meaning to our lives. This aspect of comparison encourages us to valorise our groups, as we attempt to see that our ways of living are correct and more reasonable than that of others. Therefore, we convince ourselves that our lives are more meaningful than the rest. This motivation we inject within ourselves could, however, result in overconfidence and intolerance.

This behaviour of comparing and as a result ranking one’s own group above others can be defined as ‘ethnocentrism’. Hecht defines ethnocentrism as follows:

Ethnocentrism is the technical name for this view of things in which one’s own group is the centre of everything and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it. Each group nourishes its own pride and vanity, boasts itself superior, and exalts its own divinities: and looks with contempt on outsiders. Each group thinks its own folkways the only right ones, and if it observes that other groups have other folkways – these excite its scorn (1998: 44).

Some of the results of ethnocentrism are in-group cohesion and the exclusion of out-groups. In this light, “Moral exclusion is defined as a double standard that occurs when individuals or groups are perceived as outside the boundary in which moral values, rules and considerations of fairness apply” (Hecht, 1998: 37).

2.3.6. Keeping Intolerance & Ethnocentrism Alive

It must be remembered that the notions of exclusion of out-group members and discriminating against them are the products of a mental process. The reason why we tend to behave in this manner is because we base our behaviours toward other people on our
perceptions, and if our perceptions reflect some groups in a negative light then our behaviour toward that group will accompany our perceptions. It has also been mentioned that our perceptions are greatly influenced by the groups with which we affiliate. This discussion will now move to an exploration of how our perceptions, that have destructive consequences, are kept alive within a group.

The way our perceptions about out-groups develop, which results in ethnocentrism, is through the constant reminder of how inferior the out-group is. This reminding takes place in the form of communication via different channels, such as language. One of the academics who points out the relation between language and the way it contributes to intolerance is Bar-Tal. He, quoted in Hecht, claims that delegitimisation occurs first through words (Hecht, 1998: 38). Another academic, Zur, also quoted in Hecht agrees with this statement as he discusses how negative qualities are attributed to or projected onto the enemy (1998: 46). Hecht describes the role of language during the process of the formation of intolerance:

First is the notion of a verbal discourse or construction, through media or interpersonal communication that places people in certain positions within a society. Part of this placement is ‘othering’; creating a sense that members of another group are somehow different from one’s own (1998: 52).

The motivation for such a process to take place within an ethnic group is the desire to convince its members that their group is greater in every sense. Thus, language is used to serve this objective. In the case of a violent conflict that takes place between two ethnic groups; the process of delegitimising could take place in the form of propaganda.

Thus, groups tend to keep their delegitimising going through the use of language, which results in having negative perceptions of people. This seems to be a vicious cycle taking place, because, as people have negative perspectives of a group, they will use their language against a group, as locals did against foreign migrants in Alexandra township by inventing the term “makwerewere”. The more they use negative language and are exposed to any form of propaganda, the less likely they will question their perceptions. Hall suggests that one of the main ways in which ideology is propagated as ‘fixed’ is by making ideas seem natural or traditional (1998: 53). People within a group create their own reality. However, some questions should be raised here: “reality according to what criteria & reality according to whom?” Myers and Myers encourage readers to become aware of their subjectivity when
they ask similar questions: “Do we see things as they really are or as we would like them to be? Do you see things as they are, or as you are?” (1998: 32)

Therefore, it appears that language is a tool that can be used in any manner in which it is wanted. The opinions that people hold are the product of language and, therefore, subjective; in other words, not the absolute truth.

2.3.7. Consequences of Rigid Group Bonding, Ethnocentrism & Intolerance
The serious consequences of maintaining intolerance in the form of maintaining rigid group bonding and ethnocentrism can be observed in the case of Alexandra township in which destructive results are present. The intolerance of locals towards African migrants has created a violent environment in which attacks took place. This is a good example of how negative perceptions can transform themselves into hatred, if not adequately addressed. There seems to be a deadlock, where groups are not able to compromise and are not able to even communicate with each other. They have adopted the zero sum thinking guided by their perceptions and, when they interact, they are not able to understand the other’s perspective.

2.4. Conclusion
In this chapter, the concepts of conflict, perceptions and stereotypes have been explained in detail. All the components of these subjects are relevant to the exploration of this treatise. In the township of Alexandra, the conflict has taken a destructive path, where it cost some their lives and properties were also damaged. As much as conflict has been regarded as a natural phenomenon by many academics, when violence becomes part of the process it is not normal.

There are reasons why a conflict takes place, and most of them have been identified here, with the help of the available literature. It is essential to become aware of such reasons and roots in order to analyse a conflict, or explore whether there is any potential for one to take place. However, it must be noted that the problem is not whether there is going to be a conflict taking place in a community or not. What should be paid attention to is whether a potential conflict would be taking place in a destructive form or not; this is what should be avoided. By addressing the root causes of community conflicts, the likelihood of destructive conflicts would be lessened.

Being part of the cause of conflicts, perceptions play a great role in enabling a conflict to take off. That is why it has been spared a section on its own, in the chapter. Perceptions about
groups and individuals take place internally in the mind, but are influenced by other members of the group that the individual is part of. The past relationships of the group also contribute to the shaping of perceptions. When conflicts are analysed at a deep level, perceptions need to be paid attention to.
CHAPTER 3: Literature Review (Immigration)

3.1. IMMIGRATION

3.1.1. Introduction
Since the case study of this work explores the dynamics between locals and African foreigners living in the suburb, one of the groups in question is immigrants. Therefore, the concept of migration will be highlighted in this chapter. The dynamics are involved in the process, and how host societies have coped so far will be clarified. Cases and examples from Western European and American contexts will be drawn. In the last section of this chapter, the South African context will be highlighted. South African dynamics that are in migration-related conflict share similarities with their European counterparts. However, the South African social structure is different from that of a Western European country. Such similarities and differences will be observed in section 3.2. of this chapter.

3.1.2. The Process of Immigration
 Immigration involves the movement of people. The impact of globalisation has been intense in terms of the movement of goods, electronic information and people across boundaries. This has increased the anxieties of locals and, as a result, they have a greater obsession with the re-actualisation of boundaries and the feeling of belonging. This eventually causes xenophobia and intolerance (Nyamnjoh, 2006: 1). The reasons for such xenophobia and intolerance will be explained below.

One of the most popular explanations of migration is the ‘push-pull’ model; push meaning the economic difficulties and restrictions pressing the person to leave home, and pull which means the access to opportunities in a different land (Watson, 1978: 6). People become attracted to opportunities in different regions. Immigration then becomes a tool for survival, in order to achieve better living standards as people take a risk and go to a totally different environment. The living standards that they are hoping to enjoy are however not guaranteed and, in a new environment, anything may happen. Discrimination and xenophobia are part of these possibilities.

Hill says that all cultural change involves conflict. He explains the nature of change that an immigrant goes through after coming to a society that is completely different to the one from which he comes. He gives an account of the culture and lifestyle shock a West Indian person from a rural community, who has just arrived in Britain in the 1960s may go through. The
changes he experiences are immense. Those changes include moving from a small rural community to an overcrowded industrial society. Living in a crowded society involves living in dwellings that are also crowded rather than living in a house which he may have built. In the village he lived in, he knew everyone in his surroundings, however in a city he is a stranger, just like everybody around him. He uses crowded buses to get to work, and he has to show signs of discipline such as arriving on time and leaving work whenever the work for the day is completed, which are concepts that have been foreign to him in his rural life (Hill, 1969: 91).

3.1.3. Characteristics of Migrants

Within the European context, immigration takes place from countries that are seemingly less economically developed to more economically advanced countries of Western Europe. Hill explains the trend of immigrants in Britain. Settlement in Britain involves some change from an agrarian context to an industrial one. However, this is not something many immigrants would regret, instead they welcome it. Being part of the industrial lifestyle is seen as an escape from the poverty immigrants experienced back in the agrarian lifestyles in their home countries (Hill, 1969: 93).

Castles and Kosack argue that immigrants should be looked at from a ‘class-perspective’. They say immigrants in Europe have come to host countries to form part of the working class. However, they are part of the bottom layer of the working class. Watson thinks there are some serious flaws in Castles and Kosack’s analysis of the situation. He believes that they treat foreigners as a unified single entity, underestimating the differences within immigrants themselves. He also adds that these authors do not consider the fact that there have been so many immigrants who use their working class jobs as a stepping stone to self-employment (Watson, 1978: 12). An example of this would be the Turks in Germany; when the first groups of Turks poured into Germany in the early 1960s, they all worked at factories and then later the number of Turkish-owned shops in Germany increased.

However, it should be noted that not all immigrants are part of low-paid, physically demanding jobs. In the context of the USA, there are immigrants who are part of the primary job market, where they work in more desirable jobs with higher salaries and benefits. These types of immigrants tend to be more educated and skilled and are professionals at what they do. These members of the immigrant group are fluent in English and more integrated into the
urban-economy. Because of their affluent status, they attract less notice and fewer racist reactions from the public, compared to their unskilled counterparts (Healey, 2010: 390).

There is another important aspect associated with immigrants. Many of them do not leave their roots behind when they start living in a different country. They are still who they are even as they start living in a totally new environment. Waxman claims that, although immigrants generally forge attachments to the receiving country and society, they rarely detach themselves entirely from their country of origin, whether economically, politically, or culturally (14: 1997). This notion of keeping the history and links left behind is expressed by the Moroccan immigrant Aicha, living in France:

Despite being French on paper, I’ll always be an Arab, and it’s not a simple paper that could change my culture. I was born in France, I have French culture, but I live with Moroccans. Every year, for 2 months, I go to Morocco. I speak Moroccan, I eat Moroccan food. In fact, I have two cultures, French and the other, Moroccan. I practically have to be French in order to succeed in life; otherwise, you’re screwed...
So, I’m Muslim of Moroccan origin (in Samers, 2010: 280).

Migrants tend to hang on to each other, forming groups, collectives and clubs. They also run their own community schools, prayer facilities, etc. For instance, within the context of the USA, immigrants form their own communities when they arrive in American cities. These communities in towns are regarded as enclaves. They provide contacts, as well as social and financial support for immigrants that belong to all social classes (Healey, 2010: 391). This seems to be the case in every country where there is a significant immigrant population. There is plenty of transmission of information amongst communities of foreign migrants. These gatherings provide social activities for them, and allow them to find the space to utilise their own cultural preferences and habits. These occasions also give them the space to breathe and counterbalance the pressure put upon them by the host society (Van Amersfoort, 1982: 39-40). All these show that migrants are quite connected to the culture from which they come, even after living in a new country. It would be unrealistic to expect them to become totally assimilated to the host society.

Moreover, not all immigrants in a certain country have the same level of wealth. For example, class distinctions are sometimes reproduced amongst Zimbabweans. Some Zimbabweans have entered the UK with little capital in order to run small businesses. It has been noted that these class distinctions are often dissolved, as those who were considered ‘highly skilled’ in Zimbabwe end up cleaning buildings or performing low-income caring jobs, alongside Zimbabwean asylum seekers and refugees. They also live in the same
neighbourhoods and socialise with each other (Samers, 2010: 283). This also shows the degree to which immigrants stick together in a foreign country, for the sake of maintaining their culture and comfort zone.

3.1.4. Adaptation, Integration and Assimilation
The process of migration involves adaptation and integration. From the host community’s point of view, there is also the process of ‘assimilation’. It appears thus that as much as local communities have challenges in accepting the newcomers to their societies, the newcomers – i.e. immigrants, will also encounter challenges in adjusting themselves to the new communities.

Immigrants would at least go through the first stage: ‘adaptation’. Adaptation is a process that an immigrant will experience when he starts living in a geographical and social setting that is completely different from the one he has experienced in his home country. The immigrant is expected to adapt his behaviour to the new environment and the new social setting (Van Amersfoort, 1982: 35). Therefore, it can be observed that adaptation includes some kind of change that is of a behavioural nature. Adaptation is the inevitable consequence of the process of interaction between the immigrant and the local community. Should adaptation not take place, isolation will take place in the community. Van Amersfoort also highlights this potential social problem, as he states that “a migrant group, for whatever historical reasons, that does not adapt well in comparison with other migrant groups is in danger of backsliding even further into non-participation, rather than amelioration of the differences, in the course of time” (1982: 37). However, there is another element of conflict with regard to immigrants’ willingness to adapt. Many immigrants refuse to adjust their lifestyles towards that of the host community, and they even see such a notion of adjustment as betrayal to their home culture and national values. Even those who are ready to integrate to the host society see ‘full’ cultural assimilation as unnecessary and make sure that they keep their cultural and traditional values alive (Hill, 1969: 117).

Following this is the concept of integration. Integration can be described as contact between the migrant and the society at an institutional level (Van Amersfoort, 1982: 40). Therefore, integration is just one step further than adaptation; it is a stage in which immigrants’ status within a society is institutionally acknowledged, whereby, they are entitled to benefit from public services such as health and education, without experiencing any discrimination. Ager and Strang, quoted in Samers, also emphasise this as they say that “when governments or
citizens lament that there is a problem of ‘integration’, they are referring to the extent to which migrants fit into an imagined and idealised set of dominant practises and values of the citizen majority, or to their access to such material goods as housing, employment, education, and health” (2010: 277).

Samers, citing Joppke, highlights this ‘two-way’ aspect of integration needing the effort from both sides, as also mentioned in the November 2004 European Council Agreement, which states: “Integration is a dynamic, two-way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants and residents of the Member States” (2010: 278).

Within the literature on immigration studies of the 20th century, the concept of assimilation seems to have three understandings. The first is that immigrants adopt or adapt to the cultural ideas and practises of the dominant local communities. Or, immigrants achieve a similar socio-economic status of the dominant local group. The other understanding is that immigrants develop a spatial pattern in residence and employment that is indistinguishable from that of locals (Samers, 2010: 270). The common element that exists in the three understandings of assimilation is that the immigrant becomes just like a local member of the host society, both internally (having similar types of cultural values) and physically (e.g. by adopting the dress code of the host society).

Samers claims that this process of assimilation has not really produced successful results, especially within the German context. The biggest minority group in Germany is the Turks who have been living there for decades. German society has been asking them to become similar to them, and not seeing the changes unfolding from the Turkish side, they continue viewing Turks as different. The German politicians and media portray the Turks as inassimilable (Samers, 2010: 274).

Meanwhile, the situation is interpreted differently from the opposite side. Thus, while Turkish migrants are perceived as wanting to ‘stick to themselves’ in ‘ghettos’, one of the migrants that Ehrkamp, quoted in Samers, interviewed claims that ‘living apart’ is not desirable, but forced upon Turkish migrants because of housing discrimination (2010: 274). In addition, Turkish migrants complain of Germans’ unwillingness to ‘integrate’, that is, to take part in Turkish cultural practises, instead of Turks having to always adapt to German cultural practises (Samers, 2010: 275). It can thus be seen that the problem is a two-way stream, as each side has some concerns regarding the other, and blame them for the problem that immigration has brought into the society.
What set the new migration apart from earlier flows was that it involved not only European populations, but also large numbers of migrants from more distant countries and more distant cultures. It should be noted that historical developments of European countries have taken place in the absence of diversity. Therefore, it could be understood why the tolerance levels of host communities are lower than those of the USA, Australia and/or Canada. (Waxman, 1997: 3). Furthermore, immigrants are most likely to be labelled as unwanted in times of economic downturn and growing unemployment. They would then start to be seen as undeserving competitors in the job and housing market and in terms of welfare benefits (Waxman, 1997: 3).

It can be observed that this type of immigration, from ethnically and culturally different backgrounds, has been quite new to Europe. European countries have always considered themselves to be homogenous nation states that have the common base of a shared history, language, culture and political structure.

Most European states have always considered themselves to be, or at least sought to be, relatively homogenous nation-states whose members felt a common membership of the national community due to (alleged) binding factors such as shared history, ethnic identity, language, culture and political experience (1997: 20). In the past it was assumed that immigrants would adapt to, and be assimilated into, the population of the receiving society (Waxman, 1997: 20-21). The reality, however, is that the assumed assimilation does not take place at all; instead, immigrants tend to stick to their culture even more firmly. Other studies in the US and Europe seem to further reinforce the idea that the second generation have more conservative notions of religion and are more enthusiastic about maintaining the cultures of the land their parents have come from (Samers, 2010: 285).

3.1.5. How the receiving Society Copes With Migration
The perception of immigrants by host communities has been an issue of exploration by many academics. Those academics have largely dealt with questions such as: “why immigrants are viewed the way they are”, and “what are the causes of such perceptions?” By exploring these questions, a better understanding of what their nature is has been reached. Having a clearer idea of the perceptions of locals towards foreigners will give us a better understanding of the case study, as some correlations as well as similarities and differences can be drawn. Surely, the academic research which has been explored, has been based in different geographies, mainly in Europe, however, there are some similar characteristics between the cases in
Europe and the case in Summerstrand. This is because in both cities and towns in Western Europe, and in Summerstrand, the population had previously been homogenous, consisting primarily of a certain ethnic group, and it is only over the past couple of decades that these geographies have started to receive immigrants of a different ethnic makeup. In Summerstrand, the immigration of people from different ethnicities only started taking place later.

From the academic research that has been conducted, it is observed that immigrants, regardless of their gender and ethnicity, are largely viewed in a negative light by local communities. Members of these local communities tend to hold prejudices against immigrants, and there is a sense of having an ‘us’ against ‘them’ approach in this regard. Local community members do not view foreigners who joined the community at a later stage, as members of their communities, and therefore do not welcome them immediately. Locals tend to build a sense of identity for which foreigners do not qualify. Waxman mentions that these attributes are the products of imagined attributes that the community associates itself with, such as the myth of common ancestry, inheritance of customs and traditions as well as the inheritance of blood (1997: 1). This could be viewed as maintaining the idea of ‘purity’ in which populations that do not meet up to this criteria would just taints the purity.

Because foreigners build this sense of identity where people of common ancestry, heritage and ethnicity are loyal to one another, they would distance themselves from foreigners. By keeping their distance, they do not have the chance to interact with, and get to know ‘the other’. By observing immigrants coming into the areas in which they, and being part of the social life in which locals engage, they develop ‘fear’. Due to this fear, they develop perceptions by which they view foreigners; particularly those ones of different ethnicities as dirty, uncivilised, violent, etc. Stewart explains that the number of foreigners in their countries grew by the strength of such negative perceptions. He says that the overall number of registered foreigners in the EC (now the EU) is not, in fact, overwhelming, especially when the “foreigners” from other member states are deducted from the total. The problem is a matter of perception, leading to a belief that the density appears to be higher than it actually is (1992: 20).

Actually, the negative perceptions of immigrants take place regardless of the class that those immigrants belong to. Even when those immigrants belong to economically wealthy sections
of society, they can still be blamed. In those cases they would be blamed for buying everything up and therefore pushing prices up (Dummett, 2001: 68).

Another source of fear is the perception that immigrants are taking locals’ jobs. Surely, when there are more applicants for a position, there would be more competition and, since the assumption is that foreigners are willing to work for less money, locals believe that they have less chance of finding employment in their own countries. Alfred Sherman, quoted in Solomons et al., explains that in the British context the situation is that “even while ‘at considerable cost’ Britain was trying to cater for her own ‘disadvantaged’, it simultaneously imports masses of poor, unskilled, uneducated, primitive and under-urbanised people into the stress areas of this country where they are bound to compete with the existing urban poor for scarce resources” (1982: 80-81). However, it is a known fact that immigrants tend to take jobs that the indigenous are reluctant to take, as they are seen as dirty and unhealthy (Dummett, 2001: 67).

There is another phenomenon about the dynamics between immigrants and host communities that are of European origin. African foreigners tend to be associated with notions such as inadequate family ties causing criminal youth and a culture of deprivation (Solomons, Findlay, Jones & Gilroy 1982: 56). There is another perception that is held against African foreigners; this is the belief that Africans are so emotional, that with a small spark of provocation, they will react violently (Van Amersfoort, 1982: 79).

The results of negative perceptions such as these also surface in surveys conducted in some European countries. Surveys carried out in the early 1990s in Spain showed that the level of tolerance of foreigners from the Maghrib areas is much lower than that displayed towards foreigners from Latin America and Eastern Europe. It must be noted that even though these immigrants are not racially different from the Spanish, the impact of perceptions are felt quite strongly, as locals do not enjoy the idea of living with people who do not originally belong to their society or culture. This would be regarded as a surprising fact, as signs of discrimination against race would be regarded as reminiscent of the fascism that the country has suffered from, and therefore the encouragement of racism has played a minor role in domestic politics. Whereas in France and Italy, the right wing has monopolised the anger felt towards North African minorities, and such political movements were shifted from the margins to the centre (Waxman, 1997: 10).
In Britain, the situation is quite similar. Van Amersfoort quotes Ivor Stanbrook who was an MP in the early 1980s, as he says: “Let there be no beating about the bush. The average coloured immigrant has a different culture, a different religion, and a different language. This is what creates the problem. It is just not because of race” (1982: 82). It must be noted that these words belong to a representative of the public in the assembly. Therefore, it is clear that perceptions that ensure the differentiation of foreigners from locals have also found support in the higher echelons of the society.

Alternatively, contemporary Britain surely is not as racist as the Britain of the 1960s. In the 1960s, bus company workers would go to strike because an African conductor was hired, and a bank would refuse to employ a black teller because the customers would not be happy. Such things cannot happen in contemporary society, not only because the law prohibits discrimination in employment, but also because attitudes have changed (Dummett, 2001: 90 – 91).

According to Dummett, the creation of a social climate in which it is disreputable to evince racial hostility is the only way in which to eliminate, not merely the expression of the feeling, but the feeling itself (2001: 92). There is thus a need for a genuine change to take place. Surely, specifically with regard to the British case, some important steps have been taken and important changes have taken place in people’s minds, so that people no longer see the expression of racist ideas as normal.

3.1.6. Motivation behind Perceptions
There are reasons as to why locals perceive of immigrants in the way in which they do. They hold on to their perceptions because they are motivated, at a cognitive level, to maintain such perceptions. In the previous section, the reasoning of their perceptions has been mentioned. In this section, we will explore the motivation for such reasoning. Once more, it must be noted that the literature that has been utilised so far has been European-based, however, it is felt that this may be relevant to the Summerstrand case, as it is made up of a population that has been homogeneous for decades.

An important motivation that locals hold strongly is the way in which they view their countries as ‘homes’. In that case, foreigners would be regarded as ‘guests’, and this labelling of foreign immigrants would imply that they are meant to be temporary. This is evident in the fact that Turkish immigrants are regarded as ‘guestworkers’ in Germany. This mindset is also prevalent amongst the British. The UK is seen as a home for the English,
Scots, Welsh, and Ulstermen. Individuals that belong to one of those groups have been born in the land and are willing to sacrifice their lives to protect the land. In contrast, locals would believe that the immigrants just arrive in the country and expect to acquire the same rights as the natives (Van Amersfoort, 1982: 30).

According to this view, one could only have the ‘privilege’ of being part of the community when someone is linked with Britain ‘emotionally,’ to the point where one has to die for the country if necessary. It is assumed that immigrants, regardless of the amount of time they have stayed in the country, would not feel as strongly ‘British’ as the local community members who are British by birth. The reasoning here is that since they are not going to be able to defend ‘home’, they should not be entitled to be equipped with the same level of comfort as the British at home.

Cohen & Bains remind us, however, that such views as held by some local populations of Western European countries can be regarded as ‘racist’ and not based on facts, but merely products of mind that have no solid base. They quote Sibony (1981) who argues that that race is the object of racist discourse and has no meaning outside it; it is an ideological construct, not an empirical social category; as such it signifies a set of imaginary properties of inheritance which fix and legitimate real positions of social domination or subordination in terms of genealogies of generic difference (1988: 23).

There is also a defence mechanism that is practised by local community members. The attitude could be summarised as: ‘as long as they “keep things to themselves” there is no problem’. Cohen & Bains mention that as soon as immigrants are seen to be beginning to break out of these confines, for example, by asserting their claim to social justice, there is a shift towards a much more aggressive racism, based on a rationale of relative deprivation (1988: 34 – 35).

3.1.7. Interaction between the Host Society and Immigrants
It has been mentioned that the reception of immigrants has not always been positive in the economically developed Western countries. This has also been the case in the American context. Haitian immigrants have received a ‘cold reception’ in the US. Healey proposes the reason for such cold reception as factors such as when they enter the country, they bring low levels of human capital and education. This raises some concerns amongst Americans as to their ability to support themselves. In addition, Haitians speak Creole, and since English is not their mother tongue, they are not very efficient in communicating in English (Healey,
2010: 383). When the EU expanded in 2004, the reception was not euphoric in the communities of the member states. There were some concerns with regard to the potentially massive immigration from those Eastern countries, which, in the eyes of Western European communities would steal workers’ jobs or leech off of tax-payer financed benefits (Nyamnjoh, 2006: 10). It appears that when there is fear that locals would be impacted economically, there is reluctance towards accepting foreigners. Nyamnjoh quotes Gunes-Ayata who mentions that in times of economic decline, immigrants become the easiest and most obvious target for resentment, and are often projected by citizens and the authorities as the cause of social ills (2006: 12).

Nyamnjoh claims that such xenophobic intentions ignore the historical background of immigration patterns and the benefits that they have brought. Europe and North America have been favourite destinations for migrants for centuries. The Atlantic slave trade, which had dire consequences for Africa, actually helped develop Europe and North America. Later, in the era of industrialisation, an approach allowing the free movement of labour was taken and this encouraged migration. Even more recently, after the end of the Second World War, immigration helped to build Germany (2006: 11). Nyamnjoh quotes Cohen and Mac and Ghaill who mention that the education and skills of many refugees have boosted economic development, apart from diversifying the social and cultural character of recipient states (Nyamnjoh, 2006: 12).

Staying within a Western European perspective, it seems as though the host community is hoping to maintain its dominance. Western European communities would like to determine the criteria that set a sample of how foreigners need to act in order to ‘fit in’. In the context of Germany, as elsewhere, the ‘guestworkers’ (a term that is challenged by many Turkish migrants) are exposed to the pressure of assimilation. Many Germans are sceptical about having loud Islamic calls to prayers in their cities, bilingualism and/or speaking Turkish on the street loudly, as well as using Turkish signs on store fronts (Samers, 2010: 274). In this case, it appears that the German community does not want to ‘lose’ their country to Turkish immigrants.

Apart from this ‘fear’, there is also the notion of ‘stereotyping’. Banton and Wright point out that the problem does not lie with prejudice (personal stance) and discrimination (the actual behaviour). What becomes really problematic in a society is the social acceptance of behaviour of a discriminatory nature (Van Amersfoort, 1982: 46-47). These academics draw
our attention to the fact that if expressing stereotypical views on a certain group of immigrants is considered ‘normal’ or even as the ‘norm’, there would be potential danger for a conflict to take place in that community. It is because these stereotypical views, which lead to scapegoating, may be used to justify any action to be taken against immigrants. This action may also take place in the form of violence. In the introduction to this treatise it was mentioned that such actions have already been taken by crowds in certain countries of Europe. Later in this chapter, such ‘mob-actions’ will also be highlighted in further detail, within the European context. Cohen & Bains state that mechanisms of scapegoating exist in a latent state in many societies, but are triggered by particular sets of political and economic conditions including slavery, imperialism, mass unemployment and the rise of Fascism (1988: 43).

The controversy over immigration signifies the fragility of boundaries and communities and the strong desire to maintain them by local inhabitants (Waxman, 1997: 3). Local communities want to maintain control over their countries, and want to ‘protect their castles’. These immigration-related issues are mostly caused by ‘fear’. Since the local communities do not interact or mix with immigrants to the extent they can get to know them better, they build up opinions about them and this creates the ‘fear of the unknown’.

3.1.8. Reasons for Negative Reactions of Host Communities
In the Western European context, immigrants are perceived as a threat because they would have the potential to erode the hard-earned financial security of local citizens (Nyangnjoh, 2006: 8). In support of this point, Healey points out the result of a survey that was conducted in the US. He says that “one survey shows that white Americans who felt that their financial situation had worsened over the past few years were more likely to support a reduction in immigration” (Healey, 2010: 392).

It appears that this tendency to discriminate is a social phenomenon. Hill claims that a recent survey conducted in Britain also reached the conclusion that children who have been brought up in multi-racial environments and who are used to mixing with different races do not show any racial awareness in their infant school years. This shows that discrimination against a particular group of people is not innate. Racial awareness starts developing between the ages of eight and eleven; but still, that would not be a significant factor in their social relationships. It is only during puberty that they start becoming race conscious (Hill, 1969: 186-187).
There are different theories that attempt to explain the roots of prejudice. Hill has mentioned the psychological and sociological roots.

3.1.8.1. Psychological Theories
Psychological theories explain the reasoning behind prejudice by focusing on the individual. Under the psychological category, there are defensive, expressive, social distance theories.

3.1.8.1.1. Defensive theories
In this theory, the person with the prejudice is claimed to be reacting towards a threat from his surroundings. This threat may be rooted in the conflict he is experiencing within himself or the potential of a competitive environment in which he feels that his survival is threatened. It is towards these insecurities that he builds a defence mechanism. Adorno has further advanced this defence theory by introducing the concept of an ‘authoritarian personality’. This type of person is intolerant of ambiguities and prefers everything to be defined clearly. His race is also part of this definition, and he would like to have his position clearly defined, so that he can position others accordingly and in a hierarchical sense (Hill, 1969: 187-188).

3.1.8.1.2. Expressive theories
This theory is about displacing anger. Failing to satisfy the ego in any manner would cause frustration, which the ego tends to direct to a person or object for relief. The person or object that the frustration is directed towards is called a ‘scapegoat’. The scapegoat is a representation of the ego that fails to admit its own responsibility for personal failure (Hill, 1969: 188-189).

3.1.8.1.3. Social Distance
Social distance theory explores what determines the social distance that individuals experience between each other. Trandis, quoted in Hill, found that race is quite a significant factor in terms of social distance, even more so than education, class and religion (1969: 189). His research shows that a white lawyer can relate to a white dustman more easily than to a black lawyer; it also reveals that a white Roman Catholic sees himself closer to a white agnostic than to a black Roman Catholic. Hill, however, criticises this theory and highlights that this theory fails to acknowledge the factors that generate such distance (Hill, 1969: 189).

3.1.8.2. Sociological Theories
These theories are based on the belief that prejudice is not innate but rather learned through other community members. In other words, prejudice becomes part of the collective culture which an individual is born into, with whose members the individual interacts and hopes to
gain acceptance (Hill, 1969: 189). Sociological theories are subdivided into historical, environmental, and custom theories.

3.1.8.2.1. Historical theories
Prejudice, in a historical sense, stems from the ages when colonial slave trade was ongoing and legal. When new continents were discovered, there was a need for labour to work in plantations; this labour was provided by the African slave trade. This is when the inferior position of black people was instilled in the minds of ‘rich Europeans’. The economic advantage of Europeans in those ages has encouraged those Europeans to place themselves in a superior position to their colonised African counterparts (Hill, 1969: 192-193).

3.1.8.2.2. Environmental theories
When a new set of people arrive in an environment, since resources are limited, it is normal that there may be a shortage of resources. For example, housing shortages in the UK have caused some anger towards the immigrant population, amongst local white residents. Those residents have been living in overcrowded conditions for years and when immigrants arrive they enter the competition; therefore, the kind of accommodation they would like to have for themselves becomes more difficult. (Hill, 1969: 194)

In addition, the shortages of social services cause some resentment in this regard. In the UK, it was not uncommon to hear that ‘you have to be black to have your baby in this hospital’. This has been the case because, in many hospitals, priority was given to people whose housing conditions were under the standards for home confinement; it was largely immigrants who would meet this criterion. Therefore, local white residents would interpret this as though they are being sacrificed for the comfort of immigrants (Hill, 1969: 195-196).

3.1.8.2.3. Custom theory
Racism and discrimination are also taught indirectly at an early age, through lullabies and children’s stories. Hill gives of an example of the story between Matty and Sambo. Sambo is a doll that has a black face, and Matty does not like him because she is ‘afraid of his black face’. So, as a solution, Sambo runs away and through the magic rain his black face is ‘washed off’ and he now has a pink face. When he returns to Matty’s place, he is welcomed by her and her other toys start respecting him (Hill, 1969: 197-198).

3.1.9. Violent Incidents against Immigrants
There have been violent incidents that have taken place in Europe against immigrants. Those incidents have not necessarily taken place in relation to African immigrants, but primarily in
regards to immigrants from either Asian, Middle Eastern or Eastern European origins. It is still believed that these case studies of violence are relevant to the treatise because they show the level to which reactions by local community members could escalate. These violent cases show that there have been some conditions that have been building up in latent form and that they eventually manifested in the form of attacks on foreigners.

The first case study that will be discussed here took place in Germany. The incident commonly known as the ‘Riot of Hoyerswerda’. On 17 September 1991, some Vietnamese traders were attacked by a gang. The gang was dispersed by the police, but they continued their attack on the immigrants. They made their way to a hostel that housed about 70 immigrants, made up of Vietnamese and Mozambican workers, who had been hired by the former communist regime and whose contracts were about to expire in November. They were also confronted by the police at the new location; regardless, the mob decided to continue their attacks and moved on to another target across town (Stewart, 1992: 17).

Locals have justified their actions by the poor conditions they had experienced for decades under the government of East Germany. Hoyerswerde, 30km south of Cottbus, was an artificial creation of the communist regime. The majority of the population of 70,000 were workers at a plant treating lignite or miners in the Lausitz Lignite Company. Those inhabitants had to be housed and flats were built without proper infrastructure. Depressing conditions were made worse by a 7 percent unemployment rate since re-unification and 5000 workers were due to lose their jobs in October. When many locals were living under such poor conditions, where many of them were on unemployment benefits, those foreign asylum-seekers were obvious scapegoats (Stewart, 1992: 17-18).

The other case that took place in the early 1990s was in Italy. There were numerous attacks that took place against the Gypsy community in Bologna. Some hooded men randomly fired on the members of the community. These attacks on Gypsies in Italy took place throughout the 1990s; for example, in March 1995, a Gypsy child was injured seriously when a gift box which had been given to him by an Italian motorist exploded in his face. Earlier, in 1994, a fascist demonstration took place in the town of Vincenzo. The participants wore black shirts, which was the symbol of fascist rule in Italy in the 1930s. From January until March 1995 there were 125 attacks recorded on Gypsy settlements around the country. (Dummett 2001: 145).
More recently, in el Ejido in Spain, violent riots took place against Moroccan workers in early February 2000, and a number of arson attacks were perpetrated against them in April of the same year (Dummett, 2001: 148).

Racism in France has also been quite active amongst the local white population of the country. One of the first examples of racist attacks on foreigners would date back to 1973 when, in Marsailles, some locals revolted against Algerians. In daily life such as in employment, and public places such as cafes and discotheques, it is observed that the discrimination in the country is quite high. Many French would not hesitate to regard themselves as ‘racist’.

3.2. South African Context

3.2.1. Current Trends

Foreign immigrants have not enjoyed a good relationship with locals, especially black South Africans. The type of foreign immigrants referred to here, who have had negative experiences, are of African origin, and they have been victims of brutal attacks. Hassim, Kupe & Worby say that “white foreigners were safe from attacks, insulated in the wealthy neighbourhoods of the city” (Hassim et al., 2008: 16). There is a lack of contact between local South Africans and such foreigners. This limited contact between these two groups prevents local South Africans from re-shaping their perceptions of foreigners. Instead, by maintaining the distance, the negative images are constantly shaped and reshaped (Nyamnjoh, 2006: 14).

Nyamnjoh claims many of the foreign African workers in South Africa are more educated than their local counterparts. Apartheid invested too little in the African population of the country as they were only expected to be part of the labour class and were solely trained for the purpose of taking up positions of servitude. Foreign workers are also willing to settle for less remuneration than South Africans, and this coincides with the employers’ preference for hiring cheap labour. This shows that although the migrants were educated, they ended up doing work that did not match their education levels and qualification. They are also more prone to exploitation as they are willing to take on short term contracts with few benefits and limited job security (Nyamnjoh, 2006: 31-32).

Exploitation at the hands of employers did not stop these foreigners from coming to South Africa. Nyamnjoh quotes Landau who claims that the estimated total number of both legal
and illegal immigrants is between 500,000 to 850,000. However, it is very likely that these numbers have been inflated for political reasons. The consequence of such exaggeration in figures is that, by hearing such numbers, South Africans are persuaded to feel that their country is becoming congested with immigrants (Nyamnjoh, 2006: 30).

3.2.2. South African Perceptions & Reactions
Danso and McDonald, reflect the figures of a survey conducted in 1997 and 1998. Only 6 and 2 percent of South Africans, respectively, were tolerant towards immigration of any kind. Black African foreigners with whom very few South African nationals have a ‘great deal of contact’ are negatively perceived by nearly all South Africans, 75 percent of whom associate them with all sorts of ills (in Nyamnjoh, 2006: 38).

In the eyes of South Africans, the rainbow nation has been displaced by an onion that is made of layers. In the core, are those who are South Africans by birth. According to this mindset, the fragile outer skin of the onion would be made up of foreigners such as Somalis, Congolese and Zimbabweans; who have had no prior links with the country (Hassim et al., 2008: 16). The term ‘makwerewere’, in the South African context means, not only a black person who is not able to show mastery in a South African language but also an African who comes from a country that is considered more economically backward than South Africa (Nyamnjoh, 2006: 39). When it comes to pigmentation, the racial hierarchy of apartheid comes into play, where a fair skin tops the list. Accordingly, the ‘makwerewere’ is regarded as a dark skinned person, and it is therefore perceived that the most educated of them would be less enlightened than a lighter-skinned South African (Nyamnjoh, 2006: 39).

However, Nyamnjoh points out that foreign Africans have made a significant contribution to South Africa. She mentions that “the South African economy especially its farming, mining, security and construction sectors, relies heavily on the cheap and easily exploitable labour of undocumented migrants, mostly from Mozambique, Lesotho, Zimbabwe, and Swaziland” (Nyamnjoh, 2006: 50). Not only has their contribution towards the national economy been great, they also showed South African new and innovative ways of making money. Those hawkers, who are regarded as makwerewere by locals, claim that they are the pioneers of informal trade, mentioning that it was almost non-existent in the country prior to their arrival. According to them, they introduced the method; however, such claims do not really help their standing in the eyes of the locals and only serve to cause further hatred towards them (Nyamnjoh, 2006: 42).
3.2.3. Violent Incidents
Such hatred has been transformed into violent attacks on immigrants. A Sudanese refugee’s experience of this was quite harsh in nature, as he was thrown out of a taxi while being assaulted by other passengers. As a result of this experience, he suffered from memory loss and was paralysed. Prior to this attack, the same Sudanese refugee was beaten with an iron bar on a train to Johannesburg (Nyamnjoh, 2006: 42).

A more recent incident, which has also been referred to in Chapter 2 of this treatise and was in the news headlines as well, took place in Alexandra township. As result of this violence 62 people died, a third of them South Africans. Hundreds have been displaced from their homes and taken refuge in community halls and police stations. Many of them have fled the country in anticipation of an uncertain future (Hassim et al., 2008: 1-2).

As the violence spread from Alexandra to other townships across Gauteng, authorities started blaming the criminal elements. Inasmuch as the criminal elements played a big part in the township attacks of 2008, they were just the products of the chaos, instead of the causes of it (Hassim et al., 2008: 66).

This was not the only post-apartheid violence, directed at foreigners, that has taken place in the country. In February 2007, some Somali traders were targeted and their shops were burned down in Motherwell, Port Elizabeth. In addition, later in March 2008, 4 people were killed in Mamelodi township because they were foreigners (Hassim et al., 2008: 1).

3.2.4. Underlying Reasons
3.2.4.1. History & Political Structure
Nyamnjoh, quoting Cohen, highlights that combing the world for opportunities has always been a privilege that whites have enjoyed. They were also encouraged by their governments at the time to go and settle in colonial territories where they were assisted by other settlers who had already been living there (Nyamnjoh, 2006: 28). It is only recently, with the age of globalisation, that regardless of race, people have started to seek better living standards and leave home, permanently if necessary, to settle in a different country which is believed to offer better standards of living. South Africa has become one of the spots in Africa that people in other parts of the world, especially Africa, believed would offer them better opportunities than their own countries.
Under Apartheid, anyone with a white skin was welcomed in the country. On the contrary, Africans were unwelcomed except in the cases where their labour was needed. Thus, a special selection was made with regard to allowing foreigners entry into the country – especially amongst skilled black immigrants, and ‘honorary whites’ from Asia (Nyamnjoh, 2006: 28). Non-European who were allowed in the country, or were allowed to be at close proximity with the white community, were not made to feel at home, as they were not allowed to bring their families with them. They had their own special sections, such as mine workers who only stay at men’s hostels, farm workers and special rooms for domestic servants (Nyamnjoh, 2006: 29).

Policies of selective immigration have not really changed since then and they have in fact worsened, even after the end of apartheid and the ANC took power. Some have argued that after being exposed to decades of apartheid’s selective immigration policies, even African locals have tended to perceive of immigration as the natural rights of whites. According to this mindset, Africans should stay at home in their own countries (Nyamnjoh, 2006: 29). Instead of implementing policies that would include immigrants, the South African government, since the end of apartheid, has initiated a nation-building exercise that would focus on South African nationals and also involve taming the large flow of migrants into the country (Nyamnjoh, 2006: 30).

3.2.4.2. Economic Related
A decade and a half after the transition, many South Africans feel anything but included in the new society. Despite the portrayal of the country as the ‘rainbow nation’, and the resultant efforts towards creating one, the government has been unable to provide its general public with their basic necessities such as health, safety and the means to maintain a decent life. People feel like they have been thrown away by their state, and been left on their own, to survive by their own means. Living in a shack and dying slowly because of AIDS or tuberculosis is a condition of despair. Therefore, in the new South Africa, like the old one, killing and being killed has been normalised, due to the fact that community members constantly see people dying (Hassim et al., 2008: 7). In this regard, Peberdy says it that many South Africans have their constitutional rights without actually being delivered the material benefits of citizenship. Obtaining wealth in a buoyant economy is like an unreachable dream for them, and yet they feel that they have to compete with foreigners who are seen as people having decided to leave home instead of sorting their problems out in their own countries (in Nyamnjoh, 2006: 5).
Stephen Gelb and Devan Pillay have suggested that political equality is not adequate in a society where major social and economic inequalities have been inherited by apartheid. They note that it is quite ironic that, in a country that is run by the black majority government, it is through their deliberate policies that the majority’s lives, which the government supposedly represents, have remained demeaned and poor (Hassim et al., 2008: 11).

One of the policies implemented in the country which has the aim of uplifting the people’s standards of living has been that of housing projects. The state housing delivery has taken place in the form of Reconstruction and Development Program houses. These houses are standardised and mass produced units. During the construction of these places, there may have been enough money to build the houses and deliver them but not enough to build garden fencing, sidewalks, schools, parks and clinics. The emphasis has been solely on houses, and numerical targets have been the goal at the expense of other infrastructural necessities that are required in a settlement area (Hassim et al., 2008: 148).

As a result, people sell their houses, because they see no worth in maintaining them. Moreover, building houses on their own does not reduce poverty, as there are some other factors to be considered for housing to be helpful in reducing poverty: good location, access to social and infrastructural facilities, proximity to public transport routes and employment opportunities (Hassim et al., 2008: 149).

Alexandra and other townships that have experienced violence, such as Ramaphosaville in Ekurhuleni, are places where the poor, alienated and marginalised live. These places are hubs of extreme poverty. Alexandra is a highly overcrowded township, with a population of 350,000, 81% of which live in a crowded fashion in a 2km² area. There are 34,000 shacks in the township (Hassim et al., 2008: 66).

Unemployment remains a major problem in Alexandra, with 29% of the population being unemployed. The remaining 71% of the employed population work in either unskilled or semi-skilled jobs, therefore earning low incomes. Actually, 20% earn below R1000 a month. Not having experienced any significant change since the end of apartheid, the residents of Alexandra feel quite excluded and marginalised from the new South Africa (Hassim et al., 2008: 68).

Uprisings and revolutions do not take place particularly because of poverty. Relative deprivation is an important factor in this regard as it takes place when expectations rise and
group members see a minority getting extremely rich while their needs are just met, or not met at all (Hassim et al., 2008: 100). In South Africa, people’s expectations have been raised, particularly by politicians. In the 1990s, a deputy minister declared that “Blacks must not be afraid to be filthy rich”. Constant messages from the ruling bourgeoisie were clear: ‘we did not struggle to be poor. The people shall share in the country’s wealth’. What is meant by ‘we’, and ‘the people’ are obviously the locals (Hassim et al., 2008: 100). Where there are rising expectations, growing inequality and relative deprivation, there exists the potential for destruction to take place if the social anger is not channelled towards a coherent political movement (Hassim et al., 2008: 101).

3.2.4.3. Scapegoating
African foreigners have been blamed for bribing officials, being involved in fraudulent activities such as obtaining fake papers and undeserved rights. In addition, criminal activities such as drug dealing and banking fraud have been associated with especially Nigerians but also other ‘makwerewere’ (Nyamnjoh, 2006: 42).

There were three meetings prior to the violent attacks in the township in which residents complained about the crime in their neighbourhoods. African foreigners were blamed. It is either during those meetings or later that some residents called for action to be taken against foreigners (Hassim et al., 2008: 74).

Foreigners have been singled out and blamed for the economic failures of local South Africans. Hassim et al. quote an unnamed resident who expressed his feelings to a local newspaper: “We are fed up with these foreigners. These people come here and take our jobs and accept below inflation salaries. We cannot compete with them because we have families, while they only have themselves to look after” (Hassim et al., 2008: 72).

3.2.5. Reactions from Organisations & Media
Hassim et al. mention that “Two months before the attacks began in Alexandra… local women in the Anti-Privatisation Forum launched a protest demanding the eviction of ‘makwerekwere’ who, they argued, had bribed their way into accessing government housing” (Hassim et al., 2008: 16). It should be noted that the attacks of 2008 had rung some warning bells as intentions of harm had been expressed in community meetings. The Anti-Privatisation forum was yet another meeting of locals in which foreigners were blamed.

The stance taken by other formal organisations did not help to ease the situation either. Organisations like COSATU stood against foreign migrants as they are perceived to be
undoing what the organisation is struggling to achieve. Immigrants are more prone to be abused by employers working as scab labour. Therefore, COSATU is in favour of strict regulation as they even made a call to the minister of home affairs (Nyamnjoh, 2006: 41).

The stance of the popular media, especially during the attacks, added fuel to the fire. The Daily Sun newspaper is a very popular newspaper in South Africa, with approximately 500000 copies in circulation daily. During the attacks of 2008, the Daily Sun covered the events by referring to foreigners as ‘aliens’. Headlines carried the phrase ‘war on aliens’; the description of such violence as ‘war’ indicated that the situation has been viewed as an invasion in the first place (Hassim et al., 2008: 162).

With the news about an attack on the South African teenager who was mistaken to be a foreigner, the Daily Sun had a warning for its local readers; this warning read ‘be careful, don’t look or act like a foreigner (Hassim et al., 2008: 162).

The Daily Sun published a few investigative pieces which focussed on the ‘real reasons’ as to why such attacks were taking place. The piece contained the following sentences: “Many of us live in fear of foreign gangsters and conmen. Much terror has been caused by gangs of armed Zimbabweans, Mozambicans, and others. Not every foreigner is a gangster, of course, but too many are” (Hassim et al., 2008: 163).

The Daily Sun newspaper did not condemn the violence until two weeks after the attacks began. After the editor’s condemnation of the violence, the newspaper stopped using the term ‘alien’ (Hassim et al., 2008: 165).

3.3. Conclusion
This chapter discussed the concept of immigration, and then pointed out some case studies of immigration related to the destructive conflicts that have taken place in some countries of Western Europe. The destructive conflicts that have taken place in South Africa have also been explored here.

Immigrants are attracted to opportunities that may be located in a region which does not fall under their country of origin. This has been the case with Western Europe and the USA. The experiences of the host communities and immigrants in those regions have been highlighted in this chapter. It has been proposed that these experiences are relevant to the case of South Africa, as immigrants have come to South Africa for the same reasons that they have moved
to Western countries; that is, the assumption that they would find better opportunities in the new country. However, since South Africa has a unique case of having a totally different population makeup and the history of apartheid, a special section of the chapter has been allotted to discussing these differences.

The literature that has been reviewed thus far has provided the insight that when there are people of different nationalities present in a community, there is often a tendency towards resentment amongst local populations, for a variety of reasons, such as foreigners being regarded as a threat to higher living standards and/or the way of life of locals. This seems to be the case regardless of geography. In the Literature Review, it has been observed that violent attacks have taken place in different parts of the world where there is a significantly large immigrant population. Therefore, it could be deduced that such attacks are also independent of geography and ethnicity. As long as perceptions have been built, and people’s needs have not been catered for, combined with the creation of a competitive environment, it appears that any one, irrespective of race and geography, has the potential to spark an incident that might result in destructive conflict.

It must be noted that violent attacks tend to take place in places within countries that have populations whose living standards are not as high as that of people living in other parts of the same country. For instance, this is evident in the German example offered in this chapter; the incidents took place mainly in the Eastern part of the country which is economically less developed than the Western part. Therefore, there seems to be a correlation between certain characteristics of people and a tendency towards attacks on foreign migrants. The research has aimed to either validate or reject this correlation and see whether or not such conditions incite violence against people of different nationalities living in the same community. Or, whether it is that people just have strong perceptions about a group of people, and regardless of having their basic human needs catered for, they feel hatred towards foreigners and would not want to live in the same community with them. By finding answers to such questions, it will be established whether the potential for destructive conflict is present in the community or not.
CHAPTER 4: Methodology

4.1. Introduction
The study explores the potential for a destructive conflict between locals and foreign nationals living in Summerstrand.

It has been decided that the best way to explore the research question and draw accurate conclusions is through the use of qualitative research. This chapter offers a detailed explanation as to why and how the qualitative method is integrated in the research. While doing so, a description of each technique of qualitative method will be provided herein.

Further, the data collection procedures employed in this study, within the realm of qualitative research, are going to be presented. This will be followed by an explanation of the data analysis. Ethical considerations, as well as the aspect of reliability and validity will also be discussed in this chapter.

4.2. Aims and Objectives of the Study

4.2.1. Research Question
The title of the research is “An exploration of the potential for destructive conflict between locals and foreign nationals living in Summerstrand”. The research question, therefore, is:
“do local members of the Summerstrand community feel hostile towards foreigners and willing to support actions that are aimed at removing or harming foreigners?”

4.3. Research Design and Methodology

4.3.1. Qualitative Research
Lunenburg & Beverly mention that qualitative research emphasises understanding by closely examining people’s words, actions, and records, as opposed to a quantitative research approach that investigates such words, actions and records at a mathematically significant level, thus quantifying the results of observations (89: 2008). Quantifying the gathered data is not relevant for this study. In order to explore the potential of a destructive conflict between the groups in Summerstrand, the researcher felt that the focus of the data findings should not necessarily be ‘how many participants think in such a direction’, but rather ‘what’ the participants have said and ‘how’ they interpret the situation in question. This desire to
understand ‘what’, ‘why’ and ‘how’ instead of finding out ‘how many’ has motivated the researcher to adopt the qualitative approach to research.

Even though the focus of the research has not been on the ‘quantity’ of responses; the researcher still included some numerical figures in the findings, as evident in the next chapter. The researcher felt that, such figures would still be relevant in order to present a ‘general picture’ of the responses. However, the data has still been treated in a ‘qualitative’ manner, where the focus has been on what the respondents have said, as evidenced by the frequent use of quotes.

An important motivation of conducting qualitative research is the understanding that human actions cannot be understood unless the meanings attributed to such actions are discovered. Such meanings can be discovered by exploring people’s thoughts, perceptions and emotions and, to capture these, the researcher needs to interact with people on a one-on-one basis in order to gain some broader perspective on them (Marshall & Rossman, 2011: 91). The precise focus of the research is the perceptions of locals towards foreigners. The researcher wanted to find out how the participants, who are South African residents of Summerstrand, perceived the situation of foreigners living around them – and what kind of meanings they have attributed to these foreigners. The most suitable way to do this is to explore these perceptions by exercising direct interaction with locals themselves, so that their viewpoints can be extracted more accurately. This is exactly what the researcher has done, as he has interacted with the participants in the form of conducting semi-structured interviews.

The interviews were conducted amongst thirteen participants. This number may sound like a small amount as the population of Summerstrand is surely much bigger than the sample of people the researcher has interviewed. However, the researcher is aware that qualitative research is more concerned with ‘quality’ than ‘quantity’. The theory also suggests this, as Catherine Hakim mentions that if surveys offer the bird’s eye view; qualitative research offers the worm’s eye view (1987: 28). Lunenburg & Beverly also mention that qualitative research is confined to one dimension and a small sample, and it may be applied to similar groups in similar situations (2008: 88).

In qualitative research, sampling is not expected to be extensive. The aspect that matters in qualitative sampling is how in-depth the data has been gathered, from the sample that has been utilised. That is why, in this particular research, the sampling size is not large. The
generalisations that are drawn may be applied to similar settings in different places; that is, suburban areas which are populated by educated and wealthy populations.

4.3.1.1. Phenomenological Approach
This research has followed the phenomenological paradigm. This paradigm is described as: “focus on the way the life world – that is the experiential world every person takes for granted – is produced and experienced by member’s bracketing the life-world, which is, setting aside one’s taken-for-granted orientation to it” (Holliday, 2002: 18). In this approach, the researcher is expected to let the subject speak for itself, without influencing it. In the case of this study, this was indeed its purpose. In order to reach the objective of finding out whether the potential for destructive conflict exists between locals and African foreigners, the researcher has maintained an ‘objective’ stand-point in regards to the participants, as part of his phenomenological approach.

Another motivation of the phenomenological paradigm is to enable the researcher to see what he is researching through the eyes of the subject-group. This approach certainly breaks away from the ‘traditional’ scientific one that is quantitatively oriented, and wherein the researcher is empowered and can be perceived as the master. In the phenomenological approach, the researched subjects are not just passive variables, and the conditions that the subjects have been exposed to are not necessarily created by the researcher himself. Instead, a voice is given to the subjects and the researcher would assume the role of a listener (Brown, 2007: 240). This unique feature of the phenomenological paradigm concerning the researcher and the researched relationship has been noted by several academics. Finch mentions that “(it) banishes the myth of a dispassionate and unemotional scientific observer, by locating the feeling subject at the centre of all intellectual endeavours” (2004: 64).

Throughout the interviewing process, the researcher has been motivated by this feature of the phenomenological paradigm, i.e. putting the participant at the centre without controlling him. The researcher has done so by posing questions, in order to discover different perspectives of the subject. The question-asking process did not intend to encourage the participant to follow the lead of the researcher. In other words, the participants were given the opportunity to express themselves freely.

It is due to the nature of this study that the phenomenological approach has been adopted; this is because the researcher wanted to understand the local residents’ perspectives regarding African foreigners. It is through these perceptions that the researcher could infer whether
there is any hostility and will eventually be any tendency towards violence. The perception which the one group holds about the other could only be clearly understood by giving the group a voice. As a result, the participants had the chance to express themselves while answering the questions. The researcher had the chance to draw a clearer picture about the situation with regard to the potential for destructive conflict. The findings, as a result of this approach, will be highlighted in more detail in the following chapter.

4.4. Data Collection

4.4.1. Data Collection Procedures
Interviews took place during the first two weeks of June 2012, in a private space where the respondents felt most comfortable and most willing to share their insights. By this approach, it was intended that confidentiality would be maintained. The researcher made appointments with the respondents and conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews at a venue at which the participants feel most comfortable, in order to obtain the necessary data from the respondents.

4.4.2. Interviews
As a research technique, the conducting of interviews has been selected. This is because qualitative research requires in-depth data and it was anticipated that the use of interviews would provide the researcher with such detailed data in order to explore the potential of a violent conflict taking place in Summerstrand. It must be noted that the participants are the only source of data that the researcher had, and that it was important for the researcher to interact with them as part of the qualitative approach adopted.

The literature also supports the view that interviews are the most suitable method of conducting qualitative research. Kvale, quoted in Lunenburg & Beverly, mentions that the purpose of interviewing is to understand the meaning of what the interviewees say (Lunenburg & Beverly, 2008: 91). Hakim has explained that the in-depth interview provides enough freedom for respondents to steer the conversation; for example, to bring in all sorts of tangential matters which, for them, have a bearing on the main subject (Hakim, 1987: 27). It has been said that while other instruments focus on the surface elements of what is happening, interviews give the researcher more insight into the meaning and significance of what is happening (Wilkinson & Birmingham, 2003: 44). Since it is the perceptions that the participants hold that are in question in this particular study, the researcher needed as much
exploration as possible. That is why he interviewed the thirteen participants and went further into the knowledge and opinions of these participants and local residents so that an accurate view of such perceptions can be extracted.

It has been concluded that surveys would not really cater to the purpose of this research, as it has been decided that the opportunity for the participant’s expression of their perceptions should not be limited to a small section on a page. With the interview, the researcher may ask further probing questions and understand clearly what the participants intend to express. Furthermore, the meanings of troublesome questions can be explained to respondents (Labovitz & Hagedorn, 1981: 71).

It must be noted that there are several types of interviews; they are categorised as ‘structured’, ‘semi structured’ and ‘unstructured’ interviews. A semi structured interview has been chosen for this project. Some important features of this type of interview have been highlighted by Wilkinson and Birmingham: “The interviewer directs the interview more closely. More questions are predetermined than with the unstructured interview, though there is sufficient flexibility to allow the interviewee an opportunity to shape the flow of information” (Wilkinson & Birmingham, 2003: 45).

The balance between flexibility and order that a semi-structured interview provides would contribute greatly to this particular study. The researcher did not wish for the interviews to be unstructured; because it would then be possible for participants and even the researcher to lose focus and explore topics that are not relevant to the study. However, it was also thought that preparing a structured interview would be very rigid; and may not provide the participant with the opportunity to express himself properly. It would also not give the desired flexibility to the researcher, as the researcher would not really find an opportunity to ask relevant probing questions that could evolve during the interaction.

That is why conducting semi-structured interviews has been decided upon for this study. The researcher, with the approval of the supervisor, has produced the relevant questions to be posed for the interviews. As can be seen in section 4.4.3 of this chapter, some of these questions have been open-ended nature, in which the respondents would not necessarily respond with ‘yes’ or ‘no’ answers but would explain what they think about the topic in question and why. The flexibility of the semi-structured interviewing method has enabled the researcher to be aware that there are chances that their responses may be vague and might need further explanation or specification. Therefore, whenever relevant, the researcher asked
extra questions – or further probing questions that have not been listed in the research instrument. Having the flexibility of semi-structured interviews and the freedom of asking further questions has enabled the researcher to get more accurate and clearer responses, which would otherwise be left unexpressed. With the open ended questions, it was observed that the participants sometimes offered brief responses as they wanted to remain ‘politically correct’. It is through the probing questioning of the researcher, that they became more responsive and opened up more, and had the chance to explain themselves in greater in detail.

Lunenburg & Beverly (91: 2008) explain the right method of conducting an interview:

a) secure a location with the least distractions
b) explain the purpose of the interview
c) address confidentiality and provide a consent form for signature
d) explain the format of the interview
e) indicate the length of the interview
f) give your contact information
g) allow the interviewee to ask questions about the interview
h) determine how you will record the interview.

All these steps have been adhered to in the research. Interviews have been conducted at a place where respondents would feel comfortable talking, in the first two weeks of June of 2012. These places have all been the homes of the respondents, either in their living rooms or gardens. Before asking the questions, the researcher briefed the participants about the purpose of the research as well as the type of questions to be asked. This was either done when contacting them by phone, or just before the interviews took place. Doing this gave them an idea about the length of the interview, and its context. All participants were informed that they would be required to sign an informed consent form, should they wish to participate in the study, and the nature of the form was explained; their willingness was thus confirmed. The interviews have been conducted in English by the researcher and they all have been digitally recorded.

4.4.3. Research Instrument
The following are the interview questions for local South African citizens who have been residing in Summerstrand:

1) How long have you been living in Summerstrand?
2) Are you a South African national?
3) What is your home language?

4) What is the highest level of education you have obtained?

5) Are you employed or do you own a business?

6) Have you encountered any foreigners from other parts of Africa, in Summerstrand?
   a) If yes, how do you feel about these foreigners living in Summerstrand with you?
   b) If no, how would you feel if there were a significant number of African foreigners living in Summerstrand?

7) Could you elaborate on your views of African foreigners?

8) What do you regard as the main problems or challenges currently facing Summerstrand?

9) Do you think there is any connection between the presence of foreigners and the problems you have mentioned?
   a) If yes, what do you think could be done about these problems?

10) Does the presence of some foreigners in Summerstrand impact upon your lifestyle in any way (either positive or negative)?
    a) If yes, can you describe how the presence of foreigners has an impact on your lifestyle?

4.4.4. Document Analysis
The method of document analysis has also been utilised. This is a method used to support the data obtained in interviews. It has been relevant especially with regard to going through the content of the agenda and the minutes of the ‘Summerstrand Community Ward Meetings’. This has been quite relevant to the research because official documents that highlight the problems of a community give the researcher a good idea as to whether there are any serious problems that are caused by immigration (or immigrants), and therefore a potential for destructive conflict to take place in the neighbourhood.

4.5. Data Gathering Strategy

4.5.1. Sampling
The researcher utilised a sampling technique that is called ‘Snowball Sampling’. The technique has been defined as follows:

This technique relies on the chain reaction built up from a few contacts which facilitates the interviewing of their friends, relations or colleagues, providing a system through which a special group, which is difficult to penetrate otherwise
and for which no sampling frame exists, may be investigated” (Wilkinson & Birmingham 2003: 37).

The technique seems to be the most suitable one for the researcher, as the researcher did not really have direct access to the data, especially the foreigners who happen to reside in Summerstrand, but knew people who could guide the researcher towards these sources.

4.5.1.1. Research Population, Sample and Scope/Delimitations
A crucial step in social research is to clearly define the population (Labovitz & Hagedorn, 1981: 57). In order to collect the relevant data for the study, it is very important for the researcher to specify the groups of people he needs to interact with. The qualities of the group that it is intended to explore will be determined on the basis of the research field. The researcher is expected to draw up the boundaries of the characteristics for the population in question. Any vague criteria on the characteristics of members that need to be explored would only limit the time available to conduct the research process. In that case, when the researcher goes to the field to conduct the study without clear boundaries, he may end up collecting irrelevant data and leave out important bits that are needed.

For this research to avoid such a situation, the criteria for the members of the population have been determined. A number of twenty people have been sourced; this group consisted of South African citizens who are local Summerstrand residents who have been residing in the neighbourhood for more than three years. This particular delimitation, in regards to the duration of participants’ residence in the area, has been selected because the researcher expects that local residents would compare the times when there may have been fewer foreign residents in the neighbourhood to the present. Through this comparison, the researcher hoped to discover any shifts in perception of the local residents, about foreigners, and whether these locals have started to view them in a negative light since their arrival.

Another delimitation of the study is the number of participants determined to be examined in the study. The researcher has felt that thirteen people from the group would be sufficient to conduct a qualitative study. As previously mentioned, what matters in qualitative research is not the number of participants, or the frequency of the findings, but the quality thereof. In other words, the ‘depth’ of the information is what matters. This view has also been supported by Hakim who states that “Given the emphasis on detail and depth of information, qualitative studies normally involve a small number of respondents” (Hakim, 1987: 27). In addition, time pressure is another factor that the researcher has been keeping in mind;
therefore, within the available time frame, consulting thirteen participants proved to be more feasible.

In addition, it must be pointed out that due to the limitations in time and resources, a comparative study between the potential of destructive conflict in a township and a suburban area could not be carried out. Conducting research in two separate sites could be time-consuming. Therefore, the researcher hopes that another researcher might in future be able to conduct a similar study in a township and therefore compare township dynamics with suburban dynamics.

4.6. Reliability & Validity
Cho and Trent highlight the correlation between high validity standards and reflecting multiple dimensions. In order to be reliable, the researcher is expected to be as diverse as possible while mirroring points of view. Cho and Trent purport that

The question of validity in itself is convergent with the way the researcher self reflects, both explicitly and implicitly, upon the multiple dimensions in which the inquiry is conducted. In the respect, validity is not so much something that can be achieved solely by way of certain techniques (Marshall and Rossman, 2011: 42).

This has been the core principle of the findings and data analysis section. All perspectives gathered during interviews have been reflected, without omitting any viewpoints. By doing so, the purpose of the researcher is to increase the standard of reliability in the research. It must be noted that the Literature Review chapter has already indicated that this approach has been adopted.

Lincoln and Guba have identified some further criteria in order to increase the standards of trustworthiness. These standards are as follows: prolonged engagement, member checks and peer debriefing. Prolonged engagement refers to researchers being present in the research setting for a long period of time. Member checking is the practice of informing the research participants of the data captured. Peer debriefing is about looking at the subject from different angles. Accordingly, through the use of multiple sources, the process of triangulation takes place. The findings can also be discussed with critical friends, and therefore the researcher would avoid being stuck in a biased perspective, and would produce a more objective research paper (Marshall and Rossman 40: 2011).

These criteria have also been fulfilled by the researcher. First of all, the researcher has been living in the setting of the research for a long period of time. He has also been familiar with
the population group under study, as he has interacted with people who have been living in Summerstrand throughout the time he has been a student in Port Elizabeth. The aspect of triangulation has also been fulfilled, as findings and the direction in which the research is heading have been discussed with the supervisor, as well as people who have similar academic backgrounds in other institutions.

4.7. Data Analysis
Analysis methods vary on the types of research conducted. On the one side of the scale, it is technical, scientific and standardised ways of analysing where categories are determined in advance. On the other hand, there is the more immersion type of analysis where categories are not pre-determined at all, but rather depend on the interpretative skills of the researcher (Marshall and Rossman, 2011: 208)

A significant feature of qualitative data analysis is the creation of classes of things, persons and events as well as observing patterns of certain characteristics. With this method, the researcher would be able to produce his unique interpretation of reasons and connections. While analysing the data, the researcher is the ‘interpreter’, as he draws meaning from the data generated through interviews. He, then, categorises these meanings under headings (Marshall and Rossman, 208: 2011).

The researcher started to work on the data immediately after the interviews were conducted. Before handling the data, all the recorded interviews were transcribed. Seeing the responses in the form of a solid text has helped to interpret the data more constructively and accurately; as it was easier for the researcher to categorise the responses and observe patterns therein.

4.7.1. Coding & Categorising
After transcribing the data from the voice recorder, the researcher started coding the data. The researcher was aware that data on its own is not meaningful when it is not treated. As Adrian Holliday mentions, the social world does not have a ready-made sense which the researcher simply needs to record; the researcher must make sense of it (2002: 75). The role of the researcher can be likened that of a cook and, as a result, he is expected to dig into the data and create meaning out of it, just like a cook who is expected to create a dish out of the ingredients he has. The researcher creates meaning out of the data through the process of ‘interpretation. Holliday also mentions that “sorting winks from twitches and illuminating the
deeper meanings beneath them requires that the researcher has to do something with the data and make a case for how winks are different to twitches” (2002: 81).

There are some methods of ‘finding meaning’ in the data gathered. Considering the qualitative nature of the study, qualitative methods of interpretation will be utilised in this study. This will be taking the data from all parts of the corpus and arranging it in thematic headings. This would typically involve grouping the responses to each question from all interviewees to compare respondents (Wilkinson and Birmingham, 2003: 63). These headings then become the basis for the data analysis section (Holliday, 2002: 100).

This process could also be regarded as ‘classification’ – as what the researcher actually does while arranging the data into thematic headings is classifying the data into certain categories, depending on the questions posed during the interview. Classification is defined as the grouping of related facts into classes (Lal Jain, 1998: 224). Classification of data is a function very similar to that of sorting letters in a post-office (Lal Jain, 1998: 224).

The researcher made use of these coding techniques of creating thematic headings and classification. It must noted that when the researcher was transcribing the data from a voice recorder, he was doing so in the form of ‘dialogues’; that is, like a movie script. Understanding the data would have been very difficult if the researcher left the transcribed interviews as is, without doing some sort of categorising. That is why each and every question and response has been copied and pasted into a separate document. All the responses were listed under the question which to which they belonged. Seeing all the responses in the form of a list, one after another, has enabled the researcher to observe patterns in responses. The thematic headings based on these patterns were then noted down to be explained to the reader while presenting the data.

4.8. Ethical considerations

Davies and Dodd, in Marshall and Rossman, state that ethics is not really about a set of rules and principles, instead, it is the attitude we adopt throughout our research that guides us. Ethics exist in our actions and this is on-going. It should always accompany our research process and should not be taken for granted (Marshall and Rossman, 2011: 47).

Ethical research practice is based on the core principals of respect for persons, beneficence, and justice. Respect for persons indicates that research is not meant to use participants as a means to end. It is expected to protect the privacy and anonymity of the participants.
Beneficence refers to the principle *primum non nocere* (first do no harm) which was initially developed in the field of medicine (Marshall & Rossman, 2011: 47).

The researcher conducted the research according to these principals, and the participants were respected at all times. During the stage of conducting the semi-structured interviews, the researcher made sure that he did not make any positive or negative comments to the responses expressed by participants. The researcher was aware that it was important for qualitative research purposes that he remained impartial and neutral. The researcher did not force or lead the participant to answer any question in any particular way. The researcher also did not put any time limit on answering questions, so that the participants would not feel any pressure during the interview process.

### 4.8.1. Anonymity & Informed Consent

Before conducting the research, the nature of the research was explained to the participants. This has been explained in writing to all the respondents who chose to voluntarily participate in the study, and they were told that they may withdraw from the process should they so choose. Participants have been requested to sign informed consent letters, a copy of which has been attached as an addendum to this email. The respondents’ anonymity has thus been guaranteed. It has also been explained that they should only share information that they feel comfortable and/or willing to share.
CHAPTER 5: Findings

5.1. Introduction
This chapter will provide an outline of the findings of the research that has been conducted in order to unearth the perceptions of local South African residents of Summerstrand towards African foreigners, in order to discover whether there exists any potential for a destructive conflict in the suburb. In the process of conducting the research, the researcher conducted semi-structured interviews, and posed the predetermined questions, with extra questions when required for clarification purposes. The interviews have been recorded and transcribed.

It is after this stage that the researcher started to work though the data, and began the coding process. After the transcription of the interviews, the data gathered from the participants has been coded and analysed.

This chapter presents the data in the following format: each question that has been asked is treated under a separate heading. Under each heading, the responses are reflected in a structured way. The structure can be observed in the flow of the presentation of the responses. Even though the study is qualitative in nature, the reader is herein informed of the number of respondents who respond in a similar manner, in order to provide the reader with an overview of the results of the study. However, this has not been the emphasis of the findings. The emphasis has instead been placed on ‘what’ the respondents have said. That is why the respondents have been quoted regularly throughout the chapter. The responses have not been corrected grammatically in order to maintain their authenticity.

Towards the end of the chapter, the document analysis is presented as part of the findings of the study, in relation to what the findings have revealed. The documents that have been analysed are the official reports of the Ward Meetings organised by the Summerstrand Residents Association that the researcher attended in June and September of 2012. The researcher felt that attending these meetings would enrich the study, as meetings such as these would be the avenues through which issues and concerns pertinent to those residing in the suburbs would be raised. In addition, the attendance of these meetings and their minutes would allow the researcher insight into whether there was any official mention of any problems that locals experienced in relation to African foreigners.
5.2. Responses to the Questions

5.2.1. How long have you been living in Summerstrand?

Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The number of years lived in Summerstrand</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 5 years</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between 5 – 10 years</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between 10-15 years</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between 15-20 years</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 20 years</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This was the first question to be asked to the respondents. The purpose of this question was to find out whether the respondent would fit in the criteria, as the required time for all potential respondents was a minimum of three years’ residence in Summerstrand, as explained in the previous chapter. According to the results, the shortest period for which a respondent has been a resident in the neighbourhood is 2.5 years; this is participant number 2. Even though this particular participant does not meet the full criteria, with the approval of my supervisor, it was decided to include the participant in the research findings, considering the solid data he contributed in the interview. This flexibility was performed in order to enrich the quality of the content of the research.

As can be seen in the table below, the rest of the participants have been living in Summerstrand for more than 5 years. Out of the 13 participants, 3 have been living in the suburb for at least 20 years. Therefore, with the exception of one participant, all have fulfilled the full criteria in terms of the duration of their residence in Summerstrand.
5.2.2. What is your home language?

Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Home Language</th>
<th>Home Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Afrikaans</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afrikaans and English (Bilingual)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The majority of the research participants are English speaking South Africans. Only 3 of them have identified Afrikaans as their mother tongue. And 1 person regarded himself as bilingual.

However, it should be noted that the participants’ home languages are not necessarily indicators of their racial origin. For example, the participant who may have identified himself/herself as an English speaking person may not be necessarily a ‘white’ person, as one may expect. In fact, race has not been considered as a characteristic of investigative importance or analytical significance in this study, as it was found unnecessary and irrelevant. Moreover, the purpose of this paper has not been intended to make any racial correlations and therefore generate or contribute further to stereotypes existent in South African society.
5.2.3. What is the highest level of education you have obtained?

Table 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of education</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Matric</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-Matric</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diploma/Degree</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postgraduate</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>13</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The level of education has also been considered as a vital factor to be explored in this study. It has been mentioned in Chapter 1 that the research would be of value to the society as a whole as it would provide a basis for further research to explore the impact of economic class and level of education in developing violent immigrant-focused neighbourhood conflicts. In the same chapter, it was also noted that in the case of Summerstrand, it was assumed that most of the residents were well educated and possessed above-average wealth. This information was previously unknown. However, it has since the interviews become known and the data is presented in the form of a table below. Based on the data gathered from the number of people interviewed, it appears that the assumption was quite accurate.

Not only are all the participants literate, but they have also been educated, at least, up to the level of matric. In fact, quite a number (4) of them have diploma qualifications at the undergraduate level. Three of the participants have gone further in their education as they have completed postgraduate degrees. Therefore, more than half of the participants have received university degrees. All these figures indicate that the level of education amongst the participants is quite high.
5.2.4. Are you employed or do you own a business?

Table 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Employed/Business</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own Business</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With regard to employment, the assumption made at the beginning of the research also proves to be accurate. Except for one person, everyone who has taken part in the research has either been involved in some kind of employment (or now retired) or is currently working. Out of the 12 participants who work, 4 own businesses, and 4 are retired. The rest are employed by an organisation or a firm. This indicates that they all have sources of income. Even though not asked in the interview, the researcher has observed that all the participants live in decent housing conditions and own cars.

The data presented thus far has provided some general characteristics of the residents who have been interviewed. The data that is presented below will offer a more in-depth discussion of the results of the interviews; in this discussion, the views of the participants will be put forward to the reader and reflected upon. This section of the research offers the reflection of the participants’ perceptions in their own words/expressions. It is through the respondents’ answers here that correlations with the demographic information presented above can be made. As previously mentioned, the data gathering method of semi-structured interviewing has been selected for this study. The researcher asked further questions, when necessary, in order to extract the in-depth data.

5.2.5. Have you encountered any foreigners from other parts of Africa, in Summerstrand?

a) If yes, how do you feel about these foreigners living in Summerstrand with you?

b) If no, how would you feel if there were a significant number of African foreigners living in Summerstrand?
Table 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Have you encountered any foreigners from other parts of Africa, in Summerstrand?</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12 participants, out of 13, had encountered African foreigners in their neighbourhood. Amongst those 12 participants, some responses are:

“There’s lots of students that are staying in Summerstrand” (Participant 1).

“Yes. Some of them are students – students that I teach so I have a relationship with them. But, as students my relationship doesn’t extend into my home. Although, with my PhD students, I do tell them – you know, they live nearby me in Summerstrand. Because then they’ll live in international village or something like that. ‘OK, you can come home’ but those are only my PhD students, I don’t allow – not don’t allow, but don’t encourage undergrads to come There’s too many of them in any case” (Participant 3)

“I have never seen them living here. I’ve just seen them on the streets selling stuff” (Participant 5).

As it can be seen above, participants 1 and 3 have pointed out that the majority of the African foreigners which they have encountered or are aware of students. This has also been noted by another 6 participants. Thus, throughout the interviews, 8 participants have indicated that foreigners in the neighbourhood are generally students. This includes participant 5, who, apart from mentioning the African foreigners she has seen in Summerstrand selling souvenirs, later mentions that there are a lot of students living in the neighbourhood. The other 5 participants have not specifically expressed a direct link to African foreigners being students.

Participant 2 has explained why Summerstrand is largely preferred by students from other African countries:
“Let me say that if there were not foreign students, then these rooms would have been occupied by other students. It’s just that, owners of houses know that foreign students usually have more money, than South African students. So, they can earn a bit more. And I think that’s one of the reasons why you have so many foreign students here, because they can pay more than what many South African students can pay. And then you have the, I don’t know whether you’re aware of the housing unit at the faculty, ag at the university? So, many South Africans would not make use of that service. But many foreign students, because they need to communicate from overseas, they would write to this housing section. And this housing section sorts accommodation in Summerstrand. There’s a definite reason why there’re so many foreign students here in Summerstrand, because, first of all, they get their accommodation through the housing section at the university. And secondly, because they can pay more” (Participant 2).

There is only 1 participant who has encountered foreigners who are not students. The researcher has asked the participant if she has met any African foreigners who are not students, and the following response was received:

“Yes I have, I’ve met students who have since graduated who are working. And who have made enough for themselves in South Africa” (Participant 13)

Only 1 participant has not encountered any African foreigners. This participant has expressed her uncertainty as to whether or not the people she has encountered are of South African or from other African countries. She said:

“No…Well not that I know of. I know that I’ve encountered students, but I’m not sure whether they come from South Africa or whether they are from other parts of Africa because I haven’t interacted with them. Apart than in the road or apart than in the shops. But, I wouldn’t know whether they were foreign nationals or South Africans” (Participant 4).

Table 6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>If yes, how do you feel about these foreigners living in Summerstrand with you?</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the second part of this question, the majority – 11 out of 12, (it must be remembered that one participant has not encountered any African foreigners) – have expressed feelings that could be either positive or neutral.

Some neutral views are:

“I don’t have any particular feelings, I mean, for me they’re just neighbours. And, so, I don’t have any kind of, you know, special kind of feelings. It’s just normal people” (Participant 3)

“Well, if they study here I don’t mind so much. If they pay schools, if we don’t have to subsidise them. Because, we, as many people who subsidise – and as you know, huge crowds of people that needs to be subsidised. I wouldn’t like my tax money to go for them (not audible). I think their government should pay their the full, if they can’t afford – then their government should pay the full amount” (Participant 5)

“I don’t have a problem with them. I don’t have a problem with foreign people living in Summerstrand. As long as they behave themselves, I don’t have any problems. The parties I have a problem with” (Participant 9)

An example of a positive attitude towards African foreigners is:

“I’ve got no problem. I’ve, some of them actually are my friends. So, I’ve enjoyed being with them. I’ve enjoyed the handling of different cultures, speaking to them and we’ve had lots of fun together” (Participant 13)

The only view that could be regarded as negative, while answering the second part of the question, came from participant 7, who said:

“I’d be upset. You know, I just feel that some foreigners come here to study. That’s fine. But some come here just to cause trouble. That’s how I feel. So, the serious students – I have no problem. But it’s the other lot that I’m worried about” (Participant 7).

Participant 4, who has expressed that she has not been sure about whether she has encountered African foreigners or not, later expressed that she assumes that there must be a lot of African students living in Summerstrand – and that does not impact her lifestyle. So, her views about African foreigners have also been regarded as positive, in that she said:

“We used to have neighbours that used to be in charge or used to work in the department – that went to the African states and went to interview potential students for the university. So, I know that there are. And, she, I’m not sure if she even looked for accommodation for them. But I know that they used to have the exchange with them coming. So, I can only assume that there must be
quite a lot of them living in Summerstrand because of the transport problem. They need to live near the university.” (Participant 2).

5.2.6. Could you elaborate your views on African foreigners?

Table 7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Could you elaborate your views on African foreigners?</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Comment</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The majority of respondents have expressed that they do not have any problems with African foreigners. Out of the 13 participants, 10 of them have told the researcher that they do not have any problems. In fact, most of them have used similar phrases such as ‘I don’t have any problem’. Some views are as follow:

“I have no problem with anybody in South Africa, as long as they’re coming legally” (Participant 8).

“In general, I don’t think there’s a problem, because let’s face it South Africa is a foreign country. It’s made up a lot of foreigners. Take the foreigners away, you’ve got nobody left” (Participant 9).

“I don’t think we’ve got any problem with it. I think all we need, all we want and require in our area is that we like to be quiet. We like our privacy. Anybody can live here who is also of the same opinion” (Participant 11).

Out of these 10 people, 4 have expressed positive attitudes towards foreigners:

“I’ve got no problems with them. They’re friendly. Some of them staying in the same area. In, some of, about three houses from me, or you know, in our neighbourhood” (Participant 1)

“I don’t have a problem with African foreigners as such. Even the notion of being called foreigners, I think is a bit extending it too much. I think people
who are from Africa are part of South Africa as well. So, I don’t really see them so much as foreigners….Eerrm, but in some cases they also have their own cultures, their own beliefs and their own traditions and that, those are the things that I respect. But, I don’t see those things that make them, to exclude them from the community of South Africans…Not so much lifestyle, it’s like for example, the language, they speak different languages. I mean someone from Kenya, someone from…I mean they speak different languages. Their different foods, which I would be interested in. But those are the kinds of things, you know” (Participant 3)

“Umm, in that I’m in the health business. So, I encounter foreign nationals in that area when I’m passing medicals to see whether they’re fit to work. And they tell me they come from Zimbabwe or where they come from… I’m talking mainly Zimbabweans, because there’s a probably the majority that I deal with. If I have to make a comparison, because I deal with the same type of person – South Africans. But to make comparison, I would say Zimbabweans have a better work ethic that they are better educated, that they speak better English than our local South Africans. So, there is a quite a big difference. And as a matter of fact, I can only pick them out when they come in to the clinic that I know that they’re not South African nationals” (Participant 4).

“Well, they’ve all got different views, with me being in the residences I have encountered a lot of foreign students. And I’ve enjoyed them. Gave me a different outlook on life” (Participant 13).

Participant 2 identified the characteristics of those African foreigners who stay in Summerstrand who, according to the participant, are mostly students

“Umm, African foreigners, I get the feeling that they are two groups. One is those students that come from affluent families of Africa. And there are students that come from student sponsorship, either bursaries or governments’ sponsorship. So, I can definitely, when I look at the students, I can see two groups of students. Because you see it in the kinds of cars they drive, clothes they wear, foods they buy at shops. You see that some students buy really expensive if you look at what they buy, and others, oh – I’m talking about foreign students…Ummm, and other students you can see have much smaller budgets. So, I can definitely see two kinds of students, African, international African students” (Participant 2)

Participant 2 has also empathised with the African foreigners; he explains the problems they face:

“I think there are many people that are opportunist, that make use of this opportunity to accommodate students. I think that, many of the places of accommodation are not necessarily, don’t necessarily meet the minimum standards that the university would like to student to live in I think. Some examples would be that some of these houses are only occupied by students, and the owners of these houses put too many students in one property. So, that’s one problem. So, I think the area is carrying more students, more people
than what it should, and can actually accommodate. The infrastructure, if you think about it, shops, transport. So, I think the area is a bit congested. But, that is just because there are so many students taking the opportunity to live near by the university”

Similar concerns are also expressed by Participant 7:

“Students are exploited. They pay an enormous amount for accommodation. And it’s just the bare basics. I think they’re exploited” (Participant 7).

Two participants have expressed views that could be regarded as ‘negative’ in comparison to the views expressed by the other participants. These were the views expressed by Participants 5 and 7.

“No, I feel that they should be controlled – people coming into the country because if they come here uncontrolled, they don’t have the jobs, and they use all our hospitals and our privileges …. And then the foreigners, some of them I see are quite good at getting into places. But I have a lot of sympathy for them. Because, I mean, I know what’s happening in Somalia and all these other countries… And Zimbabweans, I normally like the Zimbabweans very much and hardworking and pleasant people. But, yeah, we can just look after so many people. So, where do you draw the line, that’s the question” (Participant 5)

“It’s just difficult to say. You know the cultures are so different. The rules are so different. We’re just different, we’ve got other sets of rules. And it’s not their rules” (Participant 7).

Only 1 participant did not choose to answer the question as he said he would not be competent to respond to the question, as he felt that he had not made the necessary observations in order to generate opinions on the African foreigners living in Summerstrand.
5.2.7. What do you regard as the main problems or challenges currently facing Summerstrand?

Table 8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problems of Summerstrand</th>
<th>Number (Each participant has raised multiple issues)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Crime (Including theft)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noise</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxi</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad Governance</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Sense of Community</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Problem</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With regard identifying the problems in Summerstrand, the issue of crime (theft is also included) tops the list. Seven of the respondents feel that this is the number one problem in the neighbourhood. It appears that this has not always been a problem in the past. Participant 2 explains the changes that have taken place with regard to the safety throughout the city’s suburbs in general. He feels such changes are also relevant to the issue of safety in Summerstrand. While the comparison is made, he also establishes a link between the problem of crime and African foreign students.

“The problem is that, maybe this is difficult for you to interpret, but, in the traditional South African suburbs after nine o’clock at night there weren’t people that walked around. So, when the police would drive through in the suburb and someone walks around at nine o’clock or ten o’clock at night, there would be some suspicion. Now, the Summerstrand suburb students walk around, twenty four hours a day...Unfortunately, that are elements from outside Summerstrand, from outside the student community, that makes use of this difference. So, they can actually under the cover of being a student they can be operating late at night, and break into houses....Yes, we ourselves had at least three such incidents. In two cases they were arrested. And, they were South Africans. But they were not students. They were just criminals, to come into the suburb under the blanket of...If you walk around two o’clock at night, nobody will ask you any questions” (Participant 2).
Here, the participant refers to the policing of black nationals during apartheid, as a curfew used to be imposed on black South Africans. There was stricter policing on the streets due to strict rules on certain population groups in the country, and this according to the participant created a safer environment. Now, on the other hand, there is no curfew on any group and since there is freedom to walk on the street at any time of the day the participant claims that criminals take advantage of the situation.

The sentiment that criminals take advantage of the presence of African foreigners (who happen to be students) is also shared by other participants. One of those participants is Participant 5. She highlights the fact that those people with criminal intentions take advantage of the situation in which they would not get noticed where they have the chance to mix in the crowd and continue with their criminal activities:

“Well, like any other suburb in South Africa we have our crime and... Because, Summerstrand has a lot of students, it’s not always possible to know who are students and who are criminals. So people can easily disappear in a crowd. Who are you dealing with, the students are fine but criminals are not fine” (Participant 5).

Another participant who highlights a similar pattern is Participant 6. Like Participant 5, she also mentions that criminals are able to camouflage themselves under the cover of being students, and it is rather hard to distinguish who are students and who are not:

“I think the problem is that a lot of the criminals are using foreigners and at night to commit crimes on their behalves, as well as a lot of them posing, let’s say students. Or whatever. But we know that they’re actually criminals” (Participant 6)

There is another mention of the problem of crime by Participant 3, but this is from a different angle. Participant 3 empathises that African foreigners also suffer the consequences of crime:

“I think it would be crime. And I think, err, it’s just terrible that... students who come to live in Summerstrand… who are not permanent – you know all victims. A lot of these students are very poor, and so they just make ends meet and so you find often that their laptops are stolen, or you know their things are stolen. And I find that very problematic, deeply problematic” (Participant 3).

Noise is another problem that many interviewees have mentioned. This comes after the problem of crime, as 4 participants have raised. This problem is linked to the presence of students, and all the participants refer to the noise that is generated as a result of parties and social gatherings taking place where students live.
Participant 1 believes that this is not a temporary problem and that it is a problem that will continue to prevail. She feels that, as a resident, she will just have to learn to live with it:

“For me sometimes, it’s only the noise. Yeah, but I haven’t got any other problems that…Sometimes they are very loud and…but that’s something that we must just get used to” (Participant 1).

Participant 8 clarifies the link between students and noise, when he says: “where there are students staying, there usually seems to be a problem with noise and that sort of thing”. Participant 9 adds to this, as he agrees with the fact that there are a lot of students living in Summerstrand, and as a result the noise is a problem: “It’s like a dormitory suburb at the moment. A lot of students here…And the students like to enjoy themselves”.

Aside from these problems which have been mentioned by the majority of people, there have been some others that have been mentioned by fewer participants. For example, taxis have been a problem for only 2 out of the 13 participants. Participant 13 feels that there are not many problems, in her experience, but she does show concern with the driving habits of taxis. She says:

“I don’t think there’s actual problems. I think the biggest problem that we face in this area are the taxis. But we don’t face any problems with students. There are a few like in every situation where you have problems with students. But I think the main problem are probably the taxis” (Participant 13).

There are two issues that only one participant, each, has mentioned; these are participants 3 and 10. Those issues have not been mentioned by any other interviewees. Participant 10 complained about ‘bad governance’. He said: “The main problem is, our government – the extension of our government doesn’t know how to govern. There’s a terrific wastage of financial resources. They do not know how to govern”. This has been regarded by the researcher as a broad statement and, after being asked to be more specific, the participant mentioned that what he said is also valid for Summerstrand – as he does not trust the municipal structure of Summerstrand.

Participant 3 highlights a unique aspect that she has observed regarding the community of Summerstrand. It seems like she has based her observations on her neighbours. She says:

“I think one from the other things in Summerstrand is that, I have found that there is not a very, with neighbours and things like that, there’s not a very strong sense of community. You know. People tend to live very individual, you know, they tend to live within their homes and don’t extend out of their homes. So, neighbours are people you just greet. Often I don’t even know who
lives in front of my neighbour’s home. I just know the main people I just greet and their children I wouldn’t even know because they don’t interact with us. Now that is something I have found to be different” (Participant 3).

Only 2 participants feel that there are no problems at all. These 2 participants have expressed that the suburb is an affluent place in which to live, and there is nothing that they really regard as ‘problems’. Participant 12 mentions the following:

“Uhmm...Oh, I don’t think we have any problems in Summerstrand. It’s regarded as an affluent suburb. Generally, all the amenities – the schooling, the shops, the…facilities are adequate. The situation of Summerstrand is fine” (Participant 12).

Participant 11 has agreed, except in his response he has highlighted some problems that he regards as ‘minor’. He says: “No real problems... As the population grows, we see that transport needs to be upgraded, water works need to be upgraded. That’s all”.

5.2.8. Do you think there is any connection between the presence of foreigners and those problems you have mentioned?
- If yes, what do you think could be done about these problems?

Table 9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Do you think there is any connection between the presence of foreigners and those problems you have mentioned?</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No idea</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The participants who have taken part in the research are divided on this matter. While 6 people have indicated that there is a connection, the other 6 have said there is not. Only 1 person has not responded the question as she felt that she had no idea.
Table 10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What do you think could be done about these problems?</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>University Involvement</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State involvement</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People should take care of themselves</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the second part of the question, 3 people have mentioned that it is the university’s (NMMU) responsibility to assist with the problems that Summerstrand experiences with African foreigners, as these people feel that the African foreigners who reside in the neighbourhood are students. Participants 1 and 7 feel that the university should do something about the students in order to tackle the problem they have raised: the noise levels which accompany students.

Participant 1 recommends that NMMU should educate students on how to behave in their dwellings and not disturb others. She thus draws attention to the importance of education, and African foreigners living in Summerstrand (who are mostly students), and the education she refers to is not of an academic nature.

“Well, I think that they must just, at the varsity, they must just tell the people that they study here. They must just get in their mind that there are other people staying here for…Forever…To all the first years, yeah… And just tell them what they must do and what they must not, about the people in their environment and that” (Participant 1).

Participant 7, in similar fashion to Participant 1, also recommends the involvement of the university. However, the nature of this involvement is different to that suggested by Participant 1. She thinks the university should have more control on the students and have a tighter criteria in terms of admitting students:

“Well, they can have a better selection process, and make sure that the ones who are registered at the university are actual students. Not living there and having another night-time job collecting stuff from people’s homes in the area. There’d be problems here… Well you know, as I said, there must be a better selection process and also somebody that checks that those are actually
students, that they go to university and actually pass an exam….Just come in here, because it might be cheaper than where they come from” (Participant 7).

Participant 2, just like the two participants mentioned above, feels that the university should get involved in handling the problems that are linked to African foreigners. He recommends two types of university involvement. The first is linked with the issue of security. He believes the university should extend its security cover to the outer areas of the NMMU borders. He says:

“Well, I think first of all, that the security company that works for the university – people you see at the gates and so forth. They should be extended to the Gomery Road, and beyond. So, the university should seek some responsibility as much wider than just the campus. So you find that the security is the university’s private security supports the police now in patrolling the Summerstrand area, and that will solve the problems” (Participant 2).

He also feels the university should get more involved in the accommodation of foreign African students. This is in connection with the exploitation he feels those foreign students are experiencing, at the hands of landlords who he believes are taking advantage of foreign students and provide them with inadequate living conditions. He mentions:

“And I think the university needs to provide more dedicated accommodation for international students and not depend so much on private. Or the university should lay down the criteria that private accommodation needs to be accredited before foreign students may move in…So if you want to let a room to a foreign student, or any university student – the university should have an accreditation system that your accommodation meets the minimum requirements. Because I think the students are exploited” (Participant 2).

Other suggestions with regard to what could be done about the problems that come from participants who believe there is a link between the problems and African foreigners are not linked with the university’s involvement. The two suggestions are comparable as both of them highlight the importance of state involvement, as highlighted by Participants 5 and 8.

The other participant’s (Participant 6) suggestion is different from these two.

For example, Participant 5 thinks in a broader sense. She highlights that it is the state that should have more control with regard to the entry of foreigners in the country. She points out the following:

“Well, I think in the first place, on our borders there should be much better control, I know our borders are very wide…We don’t want a police state. But I think there should be more control. I mean some of the foreigners, you can see straight away that they are foreigners. Others, not as much easy as to recognise
because they’ve got very much the same colouring as our people have. And it must be difficult. But I’m sure there could be...In any country...Yeah, I don’t know. It’s difficult to know how to control them” (Participant 5).

In similar fashion, Participant 8 also touches on state involvement with regard to handling the problems. He is more concerned about the foreigners who may be unregistered. He mentions: “As long as they’re here legally. You know, when they come here illegally, there’s no backup”. With the word ‘backup’ the participant implies that, in the case of any sort of a criminal problem taking place involving a foreigner; the authorities such as the police would be needed to interfere. If a foreigner is registered, it would be possible to identify the whereabouts of the person.

Participant 6 mentions that the responsibility lies with local residents themselves. However, she does not mean that residents can do something directly about the crime problem. Instead, what she recommends is for residents to be cautious. She says: “As for actual individuals, just be aware of what’s going on and report anything that doesn’t look right”.

These are some of the views of those who have felt that there was a connection between foreigners and problems. The other 6 participants have expressed that they believe that there is no connection between foreigners and those problems. One of the participants who feels that such connection cannot be made is Participant 3. She does address the issue of criminals who hide behind African foreign students and conduct their criminal activities, such as some of the other participants mentioned above. However, she feels that these criminals must be separated from other African foreigners:

“No…There’s no connection. As far as I’m concerned, I’ve never made that connection. There’s just criminals. I don’t know who the criminals are. But often the criminals assume the identity of students. You know, so that they can interact in the streets and whatever and people don’t notice them as being criminals. But the problem is, it’s students themselves are victims. You know. So, the criminals...I don’t believe the criminals are students. There may be one or two of them you know. But basically I’m afraid the students are the ones who really, really suffer the most.” (Participant 3)
5.2.9. Does the presence of some foreigners in Summerstrand impact upon your lifestyle in any way (either positive or negative)?

- If yes, can you describe how the presence of foreigners has an impact on your lifestyle?

Table 11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Does the presence of some foreigners in Summerstrand impact your lifestyle in any way (either positive or negative)?</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes (Positively)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No idea</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Except for one person, all the respondents have collectively answered this question as ‘no it doesn’t’. The participant who has not responded this way has done so because she has expressed that she has not come across with any foreigners, and therefore the question was irrelevant to her.

Of the 12 people who have said the presence of African foreigners does not impact upon their lifestyle, 3 have expressed their positive experiences with the co-existence of African foreigners. Participant 2 is the only participant who has explained, in detail, how such a presence had a positive influence. He shared his analysis of the positive changes the suburb has gone through due to African foreigners living in the neighbourhood. He points out that Summerstrand is more crowded than before, and therefore is more interactive:

“It’s more about the atmosphere the ethos of this neighbourhood, is not a suburban neighbourhood any more. It’s a different thing. If you’re living in this neighbourhood, you’re not having a suburban life. It’s a different life. And interesting enough, that, both myself and my wife actually said that we like this non-suburban life more, than the suburban life. So, negative for me that
there’re so many students in Summerstrand is that the infrastructure is not in place. And I think a lot of students get exploited. But the positive side for me is that it’s got a completely different feel than any other neighbourhood that we like. We like a cosmopolitan nature. We like the fact that there’re lots of people in the streets. It’s not a traditional South African white suburb. It’s something new. It’s not like you find in the townships. It’s not like you find in other areas of the city, where people leave in the morning to go to work. So, the suburb is empty in the morning and people come back at five o’clock in the afternoon. It’s like a more cosmopolitan, European, feel to it” (Participant 2).

He also believes that the existence of African foreigners is good for local residents, as it would give those people a chance to expand their minds and perhaps get rid of their stereotypes:

“I think that is very important for South African students and the South African community, for people that are still stereotyping black people…That you can see, that you know you meet people from other countries, and people with a lack of cultural competence, often they will, when they have good experiences with other African students…Their own cultural competence improve” (Participant 2).

Participant 3 also agrees with that remark. She says:

Definitely not negative. Positive, sometimes I walk in the street and I hear different kinds of languages or people who just dress differently. And I think that just adds more character and richness to the environment. So for me it’s a joy (Participant 3).

Participant 13 is the only one who has interacted with those foreigners and even established friendships. She explains the positive experiences in the following words:

“I’ve, some of them actually are my friends. So, I’ve enjoyed being with them. I’ve enjoyed the handling of different cultures, speaking to them and we’ve had lots of fun together…With me being in the residences I have encountered a lot of foreign students. And I’ve enjoyed them. Gave me a different outlook on life” (Participant 13)

She also adds that those foreign students from other parts of Africa also experience problems during their studies, and she empathises with them. She says:

Students try their very best. The biggest problem sometimes is money. And that I find is the hardest thing for them, because with South African students they get more subsidies, they are more recognised. But, with the foreigners, they are not as recognised as South African students’ (Participant 13).
5.3. Document Analysis
The researcher has been able to attend the Ward meetings of the Summerstrand Resident’s Association, which were held in June and September of 2012. The researcher was also able to obtain the official reports of the agenda for each meeting, wherein the issues and problems related to the suburb are highlighted. In each report, the minutes of the previous meeting are also mentioned. Therefore, the issues and problems that were mentioned in the previous meeting were also available to the researcher.

Similar issues have been raised in each meeting (Please see the appendix for a full list of issues that have been discussed for each meeting). Those issues that have been raised by the interviewed research participants also appear on the agenda in these reports. For example, the issues of crime and noise have been addressed.

The issue of crime is on top of the list in the reports of the meetings that took place in April, June and September. In all the three reports, it has been mentioned that some gangs are moving around Summerstrand and residents are advised to report any suspicious movements to SAPS. In the June and September reports ‘House Burglaries’ have been spared special attention. It has been mentioned that Summerstrand still continues to be targeted by gangs and there have been many incidents of house burglaries and theft of motor vehicles. There is also another section titled ‘Gangs targeting shopping centre car-parks’. Residents have been warned that those gangs are using remote devices to block the locking of residents’ cars. Residents are encouraged to lock their cars actually before moving away from their cars.

People are reminded that insurance does not cover the damage if there is no forced entry in the car. Overall, in crime related issues residents are advised to exercise caution at all times, and beware of their surroundings. This emphasis of crime in these reports shows similarity to the fact that amongst the participants this issue also tops the list of concerns, as there are more participants that see this as a problem (7 out of 13).

The problem of noise has also been highlighted in the reports of these 3 meetings, but it has not been reflected as a ‘second most concerning’ problem as this research has found out. The problem of noise rather is placed towards the bottom of the issues in the report under the heading ‘The Student Accommodation Issues’. An information pack has been included in the report which has the contact information of the landlords. Residents are encouraged to contact the owners directly if they feel disturbed by the noise. They are also recommended to call SAPS if the problem persists.
The other two problems that the participants have raised; namely, taxi and no sense of community have not been included in the agenda. However, the one problem that has only been raised by one participant is placed in all the three reports; that is ‘bad governance’ that is related to the financial difficulty of the Municipality. The issue has been categorised as ‘Difficulties in the financial situation of the Metro’. In all three meetings the ward councillor has noted that the Metro is almost bankrupt and he is still hoping to obtain some budget for beachfront maintenance. He also mentioned that there are some major problems with an inadequate storm-water system and collapsing sewage pipes due to the lack of financing and funding.

There are some other community-related problems that have been mentioned in the meetings, but not noted by the research participants. One of them is illegal car guards harassing motorists. This issue has also been raised in all the three meetings. Residents have been advised to make sure their cars are properly locked and they should not leave any valuables visible in their cars, as some of them have engaged in theft as well. It has been mentioned that this is mostly taking place due to the inadequate monitoring of the CCTV cameras, which is actually due to the bad financial situation.

Two newer issues have been added up in the reports of the meetings that took place in June and September. One of them is related to the problem of noise generated by students, however this time not in households but in public places, in the car park of the Mercado Centre. Residents are encouraged to call SAPS if they notice students drinking in that area.

The other problem is highlighted under the heading ‘Vagrants and street children’. Large gatherings have been reported around the Admiralty Beacon. Residents are encouraged to not to give them any money or food as then they will feel encouraged to stay there. It is noted that authorities are working out a way forward to take action against these people who live in, loiter and litter in the area.

It should be noticed that no direct link between any problems and foreigners have been made in any of these reports or in the meetings that have been attended by the researcher.
5.4. Conclusion

This chapter has presented the findings of the research conducted in order to unearth the perceptions that local South African residents of Summerstrand have of African foreigners, in order to find out whether there is any potential for a destructive conflict to take place in the suburb. This chapter reflected the data in the following format: each question that has been asked forms a heading under which the responses have been reflected in a structured way. The structure has been observed in the flow of the presentation of the responses.

The last section of this chapter provides the reader with some of the issues that have been highlighted in the reports of the Ward meetings that took place in June and September 2012, and which the researcher was able to attend. These issues have been highlighted and they were also compared and contrasted with regard to the similarities and differences to the issues respondents have raised in their interviews.
6.1. Introduction
This study explored the potential for community conflict between local residents and African foreigners that reside in Summerstrand. This study has been inspired by an incident that took place in Alexandra/Johannesburg in March 2008, when local residents of the township attacked African foreign nationals, and the violence towards foreigners later escalated and spread to other places such as in Diepsloot and the East Rand. The aim of this study has been to explore community dynamics between local South African residents and foreign nationals of African origin in Summerstrand/Port Elizabeth through the perceptions of local residents. The research has explored whether a conflict exists in the suburb in a latent form, a conflict that is not yet openly expressed by one of the groups; that is the local residents. The intention of the researcher has been to reach those residents who live in Summerstrand, and who are South Africans, regardless of their race and gender.

The researcher was also aware that there may have been foreigners of other ethnic groups/geographies living in Summerstrand. However, it is only the perceptions towards ‘African foreign nationals’ that are explored herein; therefore, only questions regarding the perceptions of local residents towards African foreigners have been posed. This is because, as mentioned above, in South Africa, it is this particular group that has been victimised, especially during the March 2008 attacks in the country’s townships. This treatise therefore hopes to be a basis of comparison for later research, as other interested researchers could explore the perceptions of local South African residents in a township.

In order to gain a deeper understanding of the subject and better analyse the findings, thorough research in the fields of conflict, perceptions and immigration has been conducted and presented in the Literature Review. The actual data-gathering was conducted in the month of June, in the form of semi-structured interviews. In this chapter, the findings will be analysed and a conclusion will be reached on the basis of the literature that has been reviewed. Finally, some recommendations will be made after having summarised and analysed the findings.

6.2. Summary
The research findings have indicated that there is actually a latent conflict, and even a low level manifested conflict between the residents and the African foreigners that could be
observed in the community. There are certain issues that have not been addressed, and may have the potential to grow in the future. However, it has also been observed that Summerstrand residents do not tend to adopt any violent attitudes, or even strong negative feelings towards African foreigners. Therefore, it could be said that violent attacks such as the 2008 attacks in the townships are unlikely to take place in Summerstrand.

The majority of Summerstrand residents have encountered African foreigners (12/13). However, it must be noted that many of these foreigners who have been encountered tend to be students. Hence, the foreigners who local residents interact with or notice in their surroundings are of a temporary nature. In other words, they leave after staying for a short period of time. That means that many of the African foreigners who stay in the neighbourhood are not the same as time moves on, in that the area has a high student residential turnover. There is a cycle that is present amongst these African foreign students, wherein some of them leave for home after completing their degrees while some new students arrive to start their degrees. This indicates that the immigrants who reside in Summerstrand are not of a settled nature.

The majority of residents (12/13) have either positive or neutral feelings with regard to foreigners. This suggests that an overwhelming majority does not accommodate hostile feelings which can transform into hostile actions. The only participant who has expressed slightly negative views about the African foreigners does not possess views that could be regarded as ‘hatred’. That particular participant has just told the researcher that she is just worried about foreigners who came to the neighbourhood to cause trouble. In this moment it is clear that she is referring to students who do not take their studies seriously and who play around while engaging in loud student parties.

This lack of hatred could also be observed in the responses to the question in which participants were asked to elaborate on their views on African foreigners in general. A good number of 10 participants have expressed that they have no problem at all with African foreigners. The existence of such foreigners in their neighbourhood does not pose any threat to their lives. The two participants whose views were regarded as negative only mentioned that foreigners should be controlled and their cultures are just too different from their own. The participant who suggested that the number of foreigners should be controlled also included that she sympathises with those foreigners who experience civil war in their
countries and who had to immigrate for that reason. These types of responses also show a lack of hatred.

As much as the lack of hatred could be observed in the responses of participants, it can be noted that almost half of them link the problems that Summerstrand experiences with the existence of foreigners. The major problem in Summerstrand is crime, which is followed by noise. Concerning the problem of crime, 3 of the participants mentioned that criminals usually assume the identity of students. In addition, a connection was established between the existence of students and the increased noise levels in the area. As one resident has mentioned, Summerstrand has become like a ‘dormitory suburb’. According to another participant, this problem is here to stay as long as there are students staying in the neighbourhood.

The question to be asked here is would there be a potential for a violent conflict between the two groups considering that half of the residents have observed a link between problems and African foreigners? As can be seen, the problems that have been linked to the existence of foreigners are linked not because they are foreigners, but rather because they are students. In addition, because there are more young, non-permanent people living in the neighbourhood, it is easier for criminals to disguise themselves as residents, and as a result of the young population there are more parties taking place in the neighbourhood.

It should be noted that the very purpose of asking the question ‘what do you think could be done about these problems of Summerstrand’ was to find out whether respondents would recommend any actions that would encourage violence or anything that would eventually aim to get rid of African foreigners living in the suburb. From the findings it has been noted that local residents do tend to view the African foreigners living in the neighbourhood as part of their community, as they have not expressed any opinions that would indicate any desire to remove them from their community. Three of the residents expect the university to get involved in dealing with those problems. For example they expect the university to educate students about the problem of noise and be more respectful to their environment, extend their security control area and tighten security controls in the neighbourhood. The other two respondents feel that the state should be more involved in order to ensure that foreigners are controlled, to a certain degree, so that resources are not exhausted and that students are in the country legally. It can be seen that, despite the fact that these participants feel that tighter
control is necessary for immigrants; they all recommend these actions to be taken on the basis of these foreigners living side-by-side with them in the community side by side with them.

Another participant has indicated that it is up to the residents themselves to take the necessary precautions. She has said that residents should just be aware of their surroundings, so that they do not become victims of crime. Again, the acceptance of foreigners can be observed here. Further, the solution that is proposed does not intend any direct involvement or confrontation with African foreigners.

On the whole, the respondents who have taken part in the interview do not necessarily view African foreigners in a negative light. This could be supported by the responses given to the last question. When they were asked about whether the presence of foreigners impacts their lifestyles, nearly all of them have responded that it does not. Also the minutes of ward meetings, which are spaces in which the problems of the suburb are discussed, reflect the notion that residents do not experience problems with foreigners. In the reports that summarise the minutes of each meeting, there is no mention of African foreigners and no connection has been made between them and the problems experienced in the suburb. The crime and noise problems have also been addressed in the reports, however, no particular ethnicity has been blamed for any misconduct.

6.3. Conclusion
Conflict is a complex, multi-faceted concept and there are different definitions that encompass different sides of this coin. The lack of a single definition for the term conflict is caused by the lack of agreement amongst academics on the causes of conflict. Scholars define conflict differently, depending on the school of thought that they belong to. Some academics, such as Avruch, claim that conflict is not necessarily a bad thing, despite the reputation it has (1991: 3). Conflicts would provide room to express emotions and enable parties to re-evaluate and clarify their goals, as well as to initiate social change and eliminate (reduce) inequalities. However, Wedge also claims that as normal as conflict is, when it goes unmanaged, it would become violent and the results would be very dangerous. When conflict heads in such a direction, it is regarded as ‘destructive’ and this is when it claims lives. This is exactly what happened in the case of Alexandra in 2008. The factors that may cause a potentially destructive conflict have been highlighted in the Literature Review section. After gathering the data, it can now be seen whether these factors exist between the local residents and African foreigners in the case of Summerstrand.
6.3.1. Challenging of Values
One of the participants expressed the following while elaborating on his views on African foreigners: “I think all we need, all we want and require in our area is that we like to be quite. We like our privacy. Anyone can live here who is also of the same opinion”. It must be noted that he uses the plural personal pronoun ‘we’ when he expresses his opinion. This gives the impression that he speaks on behalf of the Summerstrand residents. Another resident voices the following while answering the question about African foreigners in Summerstrand “I don’t have a problem with foreign people living in Summerstrand. As long as they behave themselves, I don’t have any problems”. From what these participants express, it can be noticed that there is a certain way in which the Summerstrand community lives, and foreigners are expected to ‘behave themselves’ accordingly. One feature of this way of life is remaining quiet and respecting the privacy of others. These could be regarded as values, as being calm and private is something Summerstrand residents tend to value.

However, what can be observed in the findings is that this value is challenged by the African foreigners living in the neighbourhood. Due to most of the African foreigners being students, the problem of noise has been noted as one of the major concerns. Since this noise issue has been noted by four participants, it could be deduced that there is a significant number of people who share the ideal lifestyle of living in a quiet suburb. Therefore, with regard to this issue of noise, a latent conflict already exists. In fact, because the police are notified each time residents complain about the noise, and that residents are encouraged to notify the police in ward meetings, shows that it has already moved beyond latency, and has become a low level, manifest conflict.

Then, there is a factor that could pose a potential for conflict. However, it must be noted that in their responses to the question on what they think of African foreigners in their suburb and in general the majority of the respondents have stated that they have no problem with them. In a way, this confirms the tendency of most people to deny that they are in a conflict situation, even when they are. However, it should once more be emphasised that although that this particular issue is an indication of a low level manifest conflict, it appears unlikely that the residents would decide to take matters into their own hands and perform violent attacks on the foreigners. The priority of these residents seems to be alerting the authorities first. This could also be understood from their responses where they would like the involvement of either the university or the state in handling the problems that the residents in the suburb are experiencing.
6.3.2. Incompatible Goals & Interests
Incompatible goals refer to parties’ current aspirations that are incompatible (Pruitt & Kim, 2004: 7). That means, reaching one’s goal is prevented by the other party. In other words, one of the parties in the situation poses an obstacle to the other. In the example of Alexandra, this certainly was the case, as the locals saw African foreigners as threats to their livelihood, because locals had been living in dire circumstances. They have interpreted foreigners as people who are blocking their job opportunities and having higher standards of living than themselves. It must be noted that the word ‘interpreted’ has been used. This is because, regardless of whether there is incompatibility between the parties or not, as long as there is such a perception, it means that the situation is ripe for conflict.

In the case of Summerstrand, perceptions of any sort of wealth difference, like in the Alexandra case, are not present. All residents, except one person, have some sort of an income. They either work for someone, or own their own businesses, or are now retired. African foreigners are however students, and they do not make regular incomes, like locals. Thus, in the sense of economic status both groups could be regarded as part of ‘different leagues’.

According to Pruitt & Kim, conflict is also a matter of divergence of interest, which can be associated with goals. This is the other area where a sign of latent conflict can be observed in this study. Clearly, students like to party and make a noise in the form of playing loud music. Because they are transient, they do not have to worry about establishing long-term relationships with their neighbours. There is thus a clash of interests between these two groups, as African foreigners who are students like to release their stress from studies in the form of socialising and dancing in the areas in which they reside, while residents like to rest at their homes.

6.3.3. Power Inequality & Relative Deprivation
Power inequality occurs when one party dominates the other or one of the parties is perceived to have the potential of acquiring power, and that party is concerned about losing power. This power inequality would be a strong basis for conflict because this is a type of situation where one party’s gain would be regarded as the other party’s loss (Bartos and Wehr, 31:2002). Relative deprivation is linked to power inequality, in which parties compare themselves to the other and reach the conclusion that they are worse off or have the potential to be worse off at some time in the future. People in Alexandra had this sense of deprivation; they felt they
were going to lose the power they have in the community due to their lack of financial means and have to work for the immigrants as subordinates.

In Summerstrand, such power inequality and relative deprivation does not exist. In fact, it is the residents who seem to have more power due to them being financially secure. African foreigners, on the other hand, do not possess any regular income. In fact, they are the victims of such power inequality as noted by the two participants who pointed out that students, referring to the African foreigners, are exploited. The type of African foreigners that share a similar financial status is in the minority and they have only been noted by one participant. Since their number is very small, they do not seem to pose any threats to local residents.

6.3.4. History
The history in question here is that which exists between the two parties. If there has been a history of hostility between the parties, then they will approach the conflict with such previous attachments and relations. Therefore, if in the past the relationship has been a violent one and parties have clashed with each other, then there is a potential for an evolving conflict to be destructive, because parties will approach each other in a negative framework, which is also due to a lack of confidence. In Alexandra, there now exists a hostile history between the parties as violence that had claimed lives had taken place. With reference to Summerstrand, there has been no such history of violence between local residents and African foreigners.

6.3.5. Needs
The basic needs are food and shelter but would also include the need for identity, security, control and the need to be perceived as rational (Bradshaw, 2007: 45). The locals of Alexandra have not been living up to such needs due to the extreme level of poverty they have been experiencing in their communities. Hassim et al. explain that, despite the image portrayed of the ‘rainbow nation’, and efforts in creating one, the government has been unable to provide them with basic necessities such as health, safety and the means to maintain a decent standard of living (Hassim et al., 2008: 7). The authors also note that Alexandra is a highly overcrowded township, with a population of 550 000 and 81% of these living in a crowded manner in a 2km² area. There are 34 000 shacks in the township (66: 2008).

When people live in such conditions, or only slightly better conditions (African foreigners); there is significant potential for hatred to take place, especially when this dire economic situation is combined with a lack of proper education. It must also be remembered, as
mentioned in the literature review, that a similar situation was experienced in different parts of the world; for instance, in Hoyersweda/Germany in the early 1990s, whereby locals lived in difficult conditions and foreigners were provided with proper housing conditions.

Summerstrand is very different in comparison to such situations. Local residents in the suburb enjoy a good standard of living, with proper housing, their own transportation, high educational backgrounds and regular salaries. The only need that is not taken care of properly is their need for security. However, the need for security is provided by private security companies and the houses and complexes in which the participants live have high walls and electric fences. Despite all these precautions, crime still remains a major concern.

It should be noted that, even though the problem of crime and the presence of students is linked in the minds of the residents, African foreigners are not directly blamed for such incidents. What Summerstrand residents point out is that the presence of such foreigners provides a stage for criminals to carry out their criminal activities. This is because criminals feel more secure in walking around the suburb as regular citizens, as the suburb now has more young residents who do not necessarily drive and who walk as means of transportation. As one of the participants notes, this was not the case in the past.

6.3.6. Perceptions and Attitudes
Perceptions play a major role in forming a conflict and moving the conflict along a destructive path. It has been noted that as long as parties ‘perceive’ that they have incompatible goals there is sufficient space for a conflict to ripen. This is a strong element that could develop into a destructive conflict because, when people are convinced internally that the other party is the one to be blamed, then it is likely that they may want to do something about it. When this is combined with a lack of basic needs and a lack of education, which could prevent them from understanding the results of their actions, the potential for a violent conflict is really high.

This is not really the case in Summerstrand, either. Firstly, negative perceptions have not been developed. The majority of responses on questions about the participants’ views of African foreigners in Summerstrand, and African foreigners in general did not produce the type of responses which are considered as displaying negative perceptions. Most of the respondents did not have any problems with African foreigners. None of the respondents associated any stereotypes with African foreigners.
6.3.7. Community Structure & Communication
The community structure is also an important component in preventing a destructive conflict or developing one. In a cross-cutting community structure, there is more diversity, and therefore less likelihood of polarisation. Should the meetings which took place in Alexandra have included representatives from ‘the other side’, it might have been less likely that these attacks would have taken place. Instead, there were three meetings prior to the violent attacks in the township and in those meetings residents complained about crime in their neighbourhoods where African foreigners were blamed. These meetings fuelled the anger that had already existed and resulted in violent attacks (Hassim et al., 2008: 74).

Even though the potential for a destructive conflict is much lower in Summerstrand, a similar situation can be observed in the community structure, in that the meetings held by the wards and residents are not diverse and do not include any representatives from the groups that are complained about (such as the municipality, or the students). These ward meetings only consist of Summerstrand residents and their ward representatives. The speakers are all from the same community, and from the SAPS.

It is this lack of diversity that could provide the potential to allow mirror imaging against ‘the other’ and members of the structure might motivate and encourage each other to take matters into their own hands. The meetings would be a vehicle to place the blame on the out-group, without exercising fair reasoning, in the event of a crisis. In contrast, when diversity within a structure is present, different opinions can be heard and the out-group would have the chance to be seen as an equal, which would decrease the possibility of destructive conflict taking place.

6.4. The likelihood of a Destructive Conflict in Summerstrand
With regard to the relationship between locals and African foreigners, there has not been any conflict interaction up to this level, so the history between the two groups are clear of any open manifestation of a violent conflict in which people get hurt in some way. However, when the factors highlighted in the theory are looked at and analysed based on the findings from the Summerstrand case study, it could be observed that there is a low level of manifested conflict.

There exists a potential for conflict in regards to the issue of noise – because it is understood that the source of the noise lies with the group that is explored in the case study. There is a
divergence of values and interests between the two groups. Local residents have a lifestyle that focuses on peace and quietness, while African foreigners who are largely students do not have that as their priority. Moreover, the interest of locals of Summerstrand is to rest at home especially in the evening hours, whereas students like to release the stress which is caused by their academic lives through partying while playing loud music.

The structure of the community, referring to the ward meetings, is homogenous, where only a single stream of views can be heard. This could also be a potential contributing factor to an already low level, but manifested conflict. Like the meetings of 2008 that have taken place in Alexandra, these ward meetings could encourage local residents to, at least, develop hostile attitudes towards the group in question, if the other group is not given any voice. The participants in those meetings could speak strongly against the group and convince other members of the community that they are right. As a result, participants leave the meeting with negative mindsets about the African foreigners.

Despite all of this, the likelihood of a destructive conflict taking place in Summerstrand can be regarded as very low because power inequality and relative deprivation do not exist in this suburb, as residents are financially secure. Their needs have been satisfactorily catered financially as they all have regular incomes. Also, all the participants who have been interviewed in this study have, at least, a Matric certificate. In that sense, they would not be in a situation in which they compare themselves to the other group and feel deprived or blame the other group. The only foreign group for comparison in their surroundings are students, and they fall under a different category as students aim to make a living by obtaining a degree, whereas those residents have already started making a living for themselves at earlier stages of their lives. Therefore, there is no sense of comparison for them to make.

In fact, some of the residents are able to empathise with foreign African students by claiming that they are being exploited at the hands of their landlords. With regard to the problem of crime, African foreigners are not directly blamed at all. In fact some residents claim that they too become victims of crime, and the residents empathise with the foreigners in this regard. Also, residents of Summerstrand and African foreigners have not had any history of violence of direct physical confrontation with each other. They do not reflect any intention to do so either because the residents seem to prioritise first alerting the authorities in the case of any problems. This could also be understood from their responses where they would like the involvement of either the university or the state in handling the problems which are
experience in the suburb. In addition, in the ward meetings residents are encouraged to call the police especially with regard to the issue of noise. They are not encouraged to take matters into their own hands.

6.5. Recommendations

- Landlords could be contacted in order to communicate with the African foreigners (who would be students) and ask those residents to select a representative from the household who would be the spokesperson of that household and would attend the ward meetings on behalf of said household. They would also be a channel between the local residents and foreigners who live in Summerstrand, and they would be given a platform in ward meetings.

- The International Office of NMMU could also send a representative to the Ward meetings, in order to listen to the concerns, and note them. They could also attend the meetings as guest speakers and answer any questions that local residents may have with regard to international students. If necessary, they would be asked to mediate between African foreigners and local residents.

- Cultural evenings could be part of these ward meetings in order to expose local residents to diversity and different African cultures. For example, each week a food stall could be placed in the venue of ward meetings and residents would have the opportunity to taste different types of African cuisine. In addition, an African dance group could perform a dance show in between the guest speakers.

- Bringing a foreign African national who is an academic at the university coming to speak to the residents regarding his/her migration and hard work and how they have now made SA their home yet still have links back home etc. Thus, someone on the same financial footing as the residents who could represent the future possibilities of the students who the residents complain about.

The researcher believes that these recommendations could address the low-level of manifested conflict that exists between local residents and African foreigners, as these recommendations aim for fostering communication between the two groups. It is believed that once locals are exposed to the African foreigners’ perspectives and African foreigners to the locals’ perspectives, they will have a clearer understanding of each others’ concerns and
work towards a solution before the conflict grows and negative perceptions become more rigid.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books


**Journal Articles**


**Thesis**

Websites


APPENDIX

Minutes of the Ward meeting in April  (The researcher did not attend)

- Crime and Neighbourhood Watch Matters: It is mentioned that some gangs are moving around Summerstrand, and residents are advised to report any suspicious movements to SAPS. It is also highlighted that the neighbourhood patrolling needs more volunteers, and if anyone is interested, residents should contact the Ward secretary.

- Illegal car guards harassing motorists: This is mostly due to the inadequate monitoring of the CCTV cameras, due to the bad financial situation.

- Difficulties in the financial situation of the Metro: The ward councillor has noted that the Metro is almost bankrupt and he is still hoping to obtain some budget for beachfront maintenance. He also mentioned that there are some major problems with an inadequate storm-water system and collapsing sewage pipes.

- The Student Accommodation Issues: An information pack was available which had the contact information of the landlords. Residents were encouraged to contact the owners directly if they felt disturbed by the noise. Also SAPS could be notified.

Minutes of the Ward Meeting in June  (Attended)

- House Burglaries: Summerstrand still continues to be targeted by gangs and there have been many incidents of house burglaries and theft of motor vehicles. Residents are advised to exercise caution at all times, and beware of their surroundings.

- Community Patrolling Starts: Community patrollers are working closely with SAPS and security companies. However it is mentioned that more people are needed.

- Gangs targeting shopping centre car-parks: They are using remote devices to block the locking of residents’ cars. Residents are encouraged to lock their cars actually before moving away from their cars. People are reminded that insurance does not cover the damage if there is no forced entry in the car.

- Illegal car guards and vagrants look for opportunities: Residents are advised to not to leave their belongings visible in the cars, especially while they are going for swimming by the beach.
- Sewerage System Blockage and Storm-water System Upgrade: There are delays in implementing the project to fix the sewerage blockage as well as the planned upgrade. This is due to the financial crisis of the Metro.
- Lack of general Beachfront Maintenance: Also due to the difficulties the Metro is experiencing financially – this issue is still pending.
- Vagrants and street children: Large gatherings have been reported around the Admiralty Beacon. Residents are encouraged to not to give them any money or food as then they will feel encouraged to stay there. It is reminded that authorities are working out a way forward to take action against these people who live in, loiter and litter in the area.
- Students drinking in the car-park of the Mercado Centre: Residents are encouraged to report it to SAPS when they have spotted students drinking.
- The Student Accommodation Issues: Residents are encouraged to call SAPS to lodge a complaint if they feel disturbed by the noise. Also a list of the contact details of some landlords have been given with the addresses, and residents are also advised to call the owners directly to voice out their complaint.
- Street Light Cable theft: Some cables have been dug up and stolen. If residents notice a suspicious activity, people must alert the Service Delivery JOC. Meanwhile, a metro team is busy repairing the faulty and broken street lights.

**Minutes of the Ward Meeting in September** (Attended)

It can be noted that most of the issues that are raised in this meeting are the same ones as mentioned in the previous meeting

- House Burglaries
- Community Patrolling: They are working closely with SAPS and security companies. More people are needed.
- Gangs targeting shopping centre car-parks
- Illegal car guards and vagrants look for opportunities
- Sewerage System Blockage and Storm-water System Upgrade: This issue is still not settled.
- Lack of general Beachfront Maintenance
- Vagrants and street children
- Students drinking in the car-park of the Mercado Centre
- The Student Accommodation Issues: More addresses of landlords have been given.
- Street Light Cable theft