

**THE PHENOMENON OF XENOPHOBIA AS EXPERIENCED BY
IMMIGRANT LEARNERS IN INNER CITY SCHOOLS OF
JOHANNESBURG**

by

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SUMMARY

There has been a significant increase in immigrant learners in South African schools. This research study captures the experiences of immigrant learners in selected inner city schools of Johannesburg. The May 2008 xenophobic violence prompted the researcher to investigate the extent of xenophobia. A survey of immigrant learners, South African learners and educators was conducted by means of interviews that allowed the research participants to express their feelings and experiences regarding the phenomenon of xenophobia.

The result of the study revealed that immigrant learners do experience xenophobia in various forms by South African learners and, in some cases, educators as well. Immigrant learners were predominantly exposed to prejudice and xenophobic comments. They perceived South Africa as positive, giving them hope and opportunities. This research provided a baseline for more extensive research into this phenomenon.

KEY WORDS:

Xenophobia; Inner City Schools, Immigrant Learners; Experience; Name-calling; Language; Socialisation; Discriminate

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTORY ORIENTATION, STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM, AIM OF THE STUDY AND CLARIFICATION OF CONCEPTS

1.1 INTRODUCTION

“Daily as he crosses physically through neighbourhoods where his mere looks make him suspect of crimes, daily when he emerges from a home steeped in Spanish language and culture, daily as he enters schools where his background of experiences mismatches teachers’ expectations, he confronts multiple barriers to his hopes and dreams” (Villenas & Deyhle 1999:435).

As in the rest of the world, racism, xenophobia and related intolerance continues to thrive in southern Africa. The effects of globalisation, economic hardship, migration, ethnic conflict and the plight of indigenous people affect many, if not all countries in the region. Issues relating to education, access to services, disparate economic status, autonomy and problems arising from migration are among the manifestations of racism and xenophobia in South Africa (Chakma & Jensen 2001:90).

The notion of xenophobia is not a strange or new phenomenon. According to Harris (2001:65), it has been experienced in many countries across the globe. Poverty and lack of employment opportunities provide “push” factors that motivate migration. Civil war and violence has resulted in many people leaving their countries of origin and fleeing across the borders with the hope of securing safety and a better life. The fall of apartheid heralded an influx of refugees from other troubled African countries into South Africa. Post apartheid South Africa symbolises freedom and prosperity, a safe haven from war, a sanctuary away from poverty; South Africa is seen as a country with economic opportunity and promise, and has attracted millions of displaced people from Africa. This depicts the “pull” factors exerted from South Africa.

Xenophobia is generally accepted as the fear or dislike of foreigners and strangers. Xenophobia is defined in the Concise Oxford Dictionary as a “morbid dislike of foreigners” (Crush & Pendleton 2007:66). For the purpose of this research, the concept of xenophobia will relate to any hostility or negative attitude or behaviour shown towards foreigners. According to Valji (2003:1), since the advent of democracy in South Africa in 1994, this hostility or intolerance towards non-nationals has increased. Hostility is directed at Africans from other countries north of South Africa’s borders. Immigrants are easily identifiable due to their physical features, distinct dress and inability to speak an indigenous language (Morris 1998:1116). This study is aimed at understanding the perceived

causes of xenophobia in schools, focusing on the inner city schools of Johannesburg since many immigrants have settled in the area. Presently, there is no South African study primarily focusing on the experiences and emotions of immigrant learners at schools; this study will add a new dimension to the debate on xenophobia.

1.2 BACKGROUND TO THE PROBLEM

Prior to 1994, it was government's policy to limit black immigration and actively encourage white immigration. According to Morris (1998:1118), this racist policy did not mean that foreign blacks did not enter the country however, very few entered as legal immigrants, hundreds of thousands came as contract workers and the number of refugees increased in the 1980s. Prior to 1990, due to their small numbers, immigrant learners were absorbed into schools and did not pose a threat to South African learners. Morris (ibid) states that the "limited number of illegal immigrants meant that, at this time, they were not perceived as a major threat". The unbanning of national liberation movements in 1990 and the democratisation process triggered a different immigration dynamic. A key shift was that the number of illegal and legal immigrants increased substantially (*Weekly Mail and Guardian* 1994:15). Research recently conducted by the Forced Migration Studies Programme (FMSP) at the University of the Witwatersrand found that 28% of refugees came to South Africa with their children, yet 35% of these children do not attend school (*South Africa: The Good News* 2008:1).

The government of the day admits that it has not done enough to fight xenophobia. Home Affairs Minister Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula made the following declaration on the final day of a hearing into xenophobia hosted by the Human Rights Commission and parliament's portfolio committee on foreign affairs:

We recognise that xenophobia is a serious human rights issue, that it's rife in our country and it needs to be condemned and combated. We are extremely concerned that, 10 years into our democracy, there are some who hate others merely because they came from a different country. We need to find a solution that combines a number of initiatives, including legislation, education programmes and partnerships to deal with this scourge

She added that reports of people being harassed, brutally treated and at times killed had reached disturbing proportions (Ancer 2004:5).

The present day South African government realises that there is a need to do more to protect the refugee community, including speeding up the status determination process and providing training to agencies that enforce immigration laws. Illegal immigrant children are detained at the Lindela

repatriation centre, (a facility, 40 kilometres west of Johannesburg that is used to detain illegal immigrants) from where they are deported (Motha & Ramadiro 2005:18). This deprives immigrant children of the opportunity to go to school and to rise above their circumstances.

After conducting a thorough search on the government's efforts to deal with xenophobia, the researcher found a lack of determined initiative to address the immigrant crisis. According to Cilliers (2008:2), the South African government's response to the xenophobic violence "follows an established pattern". Cilliers feels that instead of the government investigating the causes of social turbulence, unrest and crime, they are "in search of a conspiracy, a third hand". It was reported at the Migration and Xenophobia Seminar in parliament on 20 June 2008 that the Masiphumelele community had a xenophobic problem back in 2006, and the office of the premier visited the community to address the problem. However, initiatives to solve the crisis had been abandoned owing to the lack of skills (<http://www.pmg.org.za/report>).

The African National Congress (ANC) has undertaken to understand the phenomenon of xenophobia in the context of globalisation, which is also associated with the emergence of new forms of racism, xenophobia, gender and related intolerance. The ANC supports the establishment of a human rights based system for migration control through legislation that meets the following objectives:

- The promotion of a human rights based culture in both government and civil society in respect of migration control.
- To prevent and deter xenophobia in any other sphere of government, state organisation and at community level.
- To promote economic development by allowing South African businesses to employ foreign citizens where necessary.
- To facilitate the movement of students and academic staff within the Southern African Development Community (SADC) for study, teaching and research.
- To facilitate South Africa's compliance with its international obligations towards refugees and migrants (*ANC Today* 2001:2).

The three main reasons for foreigners leaving their countries to settle in South Africa are: lack of job opportunities in their home countries, the desire to pursue their studies in South Africa and fear of political persecution (Morris 1998:1120). The majority of South Africans currently believe that immigration and migration impact unfavourably on the country [with nearly 60% believing that they "weaken" society and the economy, and over 60% feel that they put a strain on South African resources (Crush 2001:3)]. Fear of crime, threats to jobs and the economy, and disease are the leading reasons given for opposition to immigration. The violence of May 2008 was precipitated by a fight for scarce resources and resentment against immigrants who were supposedly taking jobs,

houses, women, spreading diseases and committing crimes. People living in informal settlements are dissatisfied with their lot in life and it is in these areas that the outbreak of xenophobic violence has been witnessed (*The Star* 2008:7). It is the marginalised communities who suffer real deprivation from rising food and transportation costs, while the price of their labour is undercut by the services of illegal immigrants and refugees (Cilliers 2008:3).

Not only are adult foreigners victims of xenophobia, children are also targeted. Learners “lament taunts by teachers in the classroom and by learners in the playground” (Motha & Ramadiro 2005:19). If schools are to be places of support and care for refugee children, then the ethos, curriculum and practices must encourage and support all cultures represented in school. The Department of Education is aware of the violence and intimidation against immigrant learners. As early as 1999, a report on a study by the South African Human Rights Commission, edited by Salim Vally and Yoliswa Dalamba, entitled “Racism, Racial Integration and Desegregation in South African Public Secondary Schools” was presented at a Johannesburg Conference in February 1999 to highlight the issue of racism and xenophobia in secondary schools in South Africa (Jansen: 2001). Jansen (2004:127) further states that it is of concern that there are no viable planning strategies within the Department of Education to advance democratic education inside schools.

1.3 AWARENESS OF THE PROBLEM

As neighbouring countries experienced political turmoil, more and more people crossed the borders in search of a better life and many refugees settled in and around the city of Johannesburg. Johannesburg is a city of hope and a promise of new beginnings for many refugees. Learners are no exception. School provides them with the necessary skills and knowledge that can also help their parents to cope with the demands of life. In 2005 Julie Douglas conducted research at the Addington Primary School in Durban, South Africa, and established that 160 learners were refugees, mostly from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). The principal of the school, Gail Theunissen, told how refugee children in South African schools quickly become competent English speakers, but their parents have little opportunity to learn English. Often children act as interpreters between teachers and their non-English speaking parents (Rotary Club Service Projects 2005:1).

Johannesburg has many refugees who have settled in the inner city. According to the *Sunday Standard* (2007:7), the Zimbabwean government is tight-lipped over refugees fleeing the country into neighbouring countries; the situation appears to be worse in Johannesburg, one of Africa’s largest cities where an estimated three million Zimbabweans, mostly illegal immigrants, end up living in crime-infested areas such as Hillbrow, Berea and some parts of Johannesburg’s south-

western Townships (Soweto), leading to the troubling perception among some South Africans that Zimbabweans are deeply involved in crime – a perception that many commentators see as a worrying cause for the increase in xenophobia.

In 2002, the Forced Migration Studies Programme at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg and the Refugees and Forced Migration Program at Tufts University (Boston) initiated a study of refugees' experiences in and influence on Johannesburg and identified "pockets" of various nationalities ranging from North Africa to neighbouring countries on the northern borders of South Africa. In early 2003, researchers conducted a survey in seven central Johannesburg neighbourhoods (inner city of Johannesburg) to determine which areas had high densities of refugees from some of Africa's main refugee-sending countries: Burundi, Angola, Somalia and the DRC (Landau & Jacobsen 2004:44). These refugees are the learners who attend the inner city schools in Johannesburg.

It is through personal interaction with foreign learners as a Deputy Principal at an inner city secondary school in Johannesburg and at neighbouring schools that the researcher became aware that some learners in Johannesburg have been issued with a study permit, which allows them legal entry into the country. The families remain in their home countries and provide financial support for their children in South Africa. However, many children are abandoned by their families and are left to survive on their own, living in churches and places of safety. Research conducted by the Wits Education Rights Project (Motha & Ramadiro 2005:19) indicates that the foremost difficulty experienced by refugees is a lack of safe, adequate and affordable accommodation which results in religious organisations taking responsibility for refugees by accommodating up to 80 people per night in mosques and churches. Teachers have to provide food for immigrant learners which resulted in school-organised feeding schemes to meet the needs of hungry refugee children. There was one immigrant girl at the researcher's place of employment who lived at the Methodist Church in central Johannesburg because her parents had abandoned her.

Soon after the researcher was appointed to teach at an inner city secondary school in Johannesburg, she noticed that many of the learners enrolled at the school and surrounding schools were foreigners. "Xenophobia", "immigrant" and "refugee" were buzzwords at the school. The influx of foreign learners made the researcher realise that the education system was not adequately prepared to accommodate the high number of foreign learners. "There has been a massive increase in the number of Zimbabweans applying for asylum in South Africa, putting more pressure on the government to find solutions to the growing crisis. Logistically, such a decision would have a huge impact, especially in areas like public health care and education" (*Pretoria News* 2008:2). Informal discussions with fellow educators at schools in and around the inner city (Hillbrow, Yeoville, Bezuidenhout Valley, Observatory, Jeppestown and Kensington) highlighted

the fact that schools in this area are inundated with applications from foreign learners. The learners could not be turned away and many “demanded” placement at schools.

During the period of xenophobic violence, learners were unable to attend school because they feared for their safety; they were also unable to commute to school because of the danger of being attacked. An example of the impact that xenophobia had on learners is highlighted in the following case: (Information obtained by the researcher during an informal interview).

Julia (a 17 year old grade 10 learner at an inner city school) was seriously emotionally disturbed by the xenophobic attacks and feared for her safety. She had to be hospitalised due to the trauma she was experiencing. In her words she was “reliving the nightmare that she ran away from”. Julia was a victim of ethnic violence. She had witnessed her parents being tortured and burnt to death. She too was violated when she decided to leave. As a 10 year old she decided to leave her country and she literally walked all the way to South Africa. She was sexually and physically abused during her journey. Once she reached Bloemfontein, she was taken by social workers to Johannesburg. She was placed in a home for safety until she found her elder sister who now is her caregiver. The xenophobic violence reawakened all these memories. As a result she is very angry and aggressive; she bullies everyone at school and has no friends.

Refugee children experience xenophobia in schools by their classmates and teachers. Timngum (2001:41) notes that name-calling and actual physical violence is experienced by some immigrant learners. In interviews conducted with 24 refugee children in Johannesburg, these children indicated that they felt ostracised by their peers and were bullied because they were ‘*makwerekwere*’ – a derogatory term used by black South Africans to refer to foreigners (Reuters 2005:1). Refugees are easily identifiable by their distinct facial features and skin shade. It is through experience and observations at an inner city school that the researcher realised that South African learners do not easily befriend foreign learners; this leads to foreign learners socialising amongst themselves and being ostracised by South African learners who believe that the foreigners are taking their places in schools, debating teams, sport and academic awards, etc.

Despite being a minority group, foreigners do not present a united front. They are divided according to the language that they speak and the area that they come from. An example of ethnic differences is highlighted in the following example: A fight between two learners (both of them refugees – Julia from the Democratic Republic of Congo and Paulina from the Ivory Coast) resulted in both of them hurling abuse at each other. Julia called Paulina “night”. Paulina was upset because this was an insult to her because of her very dark skin. Both are angry about being uprooted from their countries, but Julia more so than Paulina.

During the xenophobic violence (May 2008), the researcher noticed that the refugee learners at school feared for their lives and stayed away from school. The few refugee learners who arrived at school during the period of xenophobic violence tended to form their own little groups and withdrew from group activities at school. They refused to socialise with the South African learners because of fear and mistrust. Once the violence subsided and the majority of refugee learners returned to school, many requested assistance from the school counsellors. South African learners noticed these fears and exploited the situation by traumatising the immigrant learners. There was a negative impact on their scholastic performance because of the high rate of absenteeism during the period of xenophobic violence which was just prior to the mid-year examinations.

1.4 EXPLORATION OF THE PROBLEM

The phenomenon of xenophobia is experienced throughout the world. Barney Pityana (Human Rights Commission: Racism and Xenophobia Consultative Workshop 1998) maintains that people from Africa seem to be the target of xenophobia. There are other foreigners and illegal aliens in South Africa from Eastern Europe and Asia. However, the “Jews, the Chinese and Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis protect their people who come to South Africa. They give them jobs even if they exploit them; they give them a start in life. They come under the protection of their societies. That is why we hear so little about xenophobia against those communities” (Human Rights Commission: Racism and Xenophobia Consultative Workshop 1998).

Gaine in Gundara (2000:230) is of the opinion that institutional racism directed at non-Europeans is a serious phenomenon requiring detailed analysis and action, and differences in educational performances due to racism and xenophobia require a deeper and more critical understanding. According to Gaine, racism and xenophobia are interrelated concepts. Racism can be defined as a system that “unfairly disadvantages some individuals and communities” (Jones 2002:9). Being a black foreigner is no protection from racism. Instead, black foreigners can expect to experience the same levels of abuse, discrimination and stereotyping endured by black immigrants in other parts of the world. It also indicates that xenophobia is not a European or North American phenomenon and that the anti-apartheid struggle did not encourage an ethos of international solidarity and respect for diversity (Morris 1998:1133). “In South Africa where the economy is relatively more prosperous than in other countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, xenophobia against immigrants from other African countries is on the rise and permeates virtually every social and economic class” (Azindow 2007:175).

In an inter country survey it was found that citizens had very little personal contact and therefore knowledge of non-citizens. Those who had foreigners as friends and acquaintances were far more accepting and tolerant than those who did not. Interaction therefore seemed to be the antidote to

xenophobia (Crush & Pendleton 2007:80). Black South Africans who hold racist views of whites, coloureds and Asians (race groups from the apartheid era pre 1994) within the country, are also more likely to dislike African foreigners. Therefore, a dislike of African foreigners is linked to a broader racism (McDonald 2000:213).

The difficulties immigrant youth often face in rebuilding their friendships and other social networks after arriving in a new country can threaten their psychosocial development. According to Tsai, youth keep a distance from their English speaking peers to avoid nervousness and embarrassment. Further analysis derived from xenophobia found that limited English proficiency increases segregation. Social networks are formed by physical proximity, probability of interaction, and individual judgement of the other person's characteristics (e.g. physical features, social skills and academic achievement). Older children experienced more difficulties in finding friends than those who were younger. Name-calling about one's colour or race was the most common form of bullying in Asian and black children. Almost all black children experienced abuse or bullying (Tsai 2006:3).

In 1999, both England and France saw moves by the government to introduce new programmes of education for citizenship in schools, which are aimed at reinforcing democracy in a tolerant society. The French programme is based on republican values, especially human rights, and emphasises the unacceptability of racism and discrimination. The English programme introduced in 2000, emphasises democracy and active engagement with society. It is thus more pragmatic and less concerned with core principles. These educational programmes are encouraging debate about the meaning of nationality, national identity, citizenship and the extent to which individuals and groups from both minority and majority communities feel a sense of belonging to the nation and the state (Osler & Starkey 2001:287). The Crick Report refers to the exclusion of discrimination as follows: "The curriculum should consider the factors that lead to exclusion from society, such as bullying, colour and other forms of 'difference'. It should make students aware of the difficulties such exclusion can have on the individual and society" (Qualifications and Curriculum Authority 1998:19).

Other research conducted in the United States found that children also acted as translators and cultural brokers for their families. As these children developed their bilingual and bicultural skills, they become valuable resources for their families. The immigrant children of Latino families had to learn English to function and succeed in the United States and they also had to help their parents navigate through the English-speaking world (Villenas & Deyhle 1999:427). In South Africa, we experience a similar situation where French and Portuguese speaking immigrant children from Africa have to learn to speak English and eventually become interpreters for their parents.

It was also found that Latino immigrant children tackle schooling head on and succeed against great odds. The stories of Latino immigrant children often “reflect the voices of their resistance to their own dehumanising treatment in the schools. Those who do succeed do so in spite of the psychological violence imposed on them and the lived realities of institutionalised racism” (Villenas & Deyhle 1999:428).

In South Africa, “xenophobia often manifests itself as *Afrophobia* which indicates holding negative stereotypes towards people from other parts of the continent” (Motha & Ramadiro 2005:18). In South Africa, black African immigrants are being described as *Makwerekwere*, particularly by South African blacks. The term *Makwerekwere* represents not only a black immigrant who lacks competency in the local South African languages, but also one who hails from a country assumed to be economically and culturally backward in relation to South Africa (Azindow 2007:175). Two nationally representative surveys confirmed that South Africans were indeed highly xenophobic. The findings were reported in a joint publication with the South African Human Rights Commission in 2001 (Crush & Pendleton 2007:64). Literature relating to xenophobia in South African schools is limited. An inadequacy of literature indicates that there is a need for the subject to be explored further.

Although xenophobia in South Africa is influenced by the increase in crime and unemployment, the solution to these ills lies in cultivating greater equality and justice so that nationals can access their citizenship in ways that are more meaningful rather than targeting immigrants who do contribute meaningfully to the economy. It is therefore necessary to redefine citizenship in ways that create space for excluded nationals and immigrants (Azindow 2007:175).

The issue of language also needs to be explored further since immigrant learners speak languages from their countries of origin, despite being taught in English medium schools. This alienates them from South African learners who communicate in one of South Africa's official languages and impacts on their socialisation and acceptance. Immigrant learners feel ostracised and unwanted because “Some learners make insinuations about refugees not washing. Others pester them by asking what they are doing in South Africa and when they are going back to their countries of origin, such as ‘you Congo, what have you come here to do?’” (Motha & Ramadiro 2005:19).

South Africa is a cosmopolitan society, which enjoys the privilege of multilingualism. “South Africa's rich linguistic heritage could be used as a classroom resource, for cognitive development and as a way to enhance the human potential of learners and of South Africans in general. Yet as this study shows, it is used more often than not for divisive and segregationist purposes” (Vally & Dalamba 1999:15). The South African education policy is based on principles of inclusivity, but language is a barrier that leans towards exclusivity. However, the current Further Education and Training (FET)

curriculum offers languages such as French and Portuguese, although these languages do not constitute the official languages of the country. Many South African schools make provision for non-official languages such as Portuguese and French, which is offered as a subject if numbers permit (35 learners), or learners have the option of getting private lessons and writing the DoE set exams at the end of the year in grade 12.

Through personal encounters with learners and informal counselling sessions, the researcher discovered that South African learners feel neglected and have the perception that the needs of foreigners supersede their own, thereby stirring feelings of animosity. Their needs, as citizens of the country, are overlooked in favour of foreigners. These “inequalities” create an atmosphere for animosity.

1.5 DELIMITATION OF THE STUDY

The population of learners for this research was limited to a sample of eight foreign learners (both male and female) from eight different inner city secondary schools in Johannesburg (Hillbrow, Yeoville, Bezuidenhout Valley, Observatory, Jeppestown and Kensington). A sample of learners between the ages of 13 and 18 years was used. All learners have immigrated to South Africa from African countries north of South Africa’s borders. All the learners who were selected by means of purposeful sampling for this research study have had some experience of xenophobia and intolerance.

A maximum of five educators and five South African learners (in the same age group as the foreign learners, inclusive of both genders) attending inner city secondary schools in Johannesburg were interviewed to ascertain their views which included their feelings, perceptions and attitude towards foreigners, to enrich data obtained from immigrant learners.

Further limitations of this study are that it is one-dimensional in that it is qualitative in nature and focuses only on teenage learners from inner city schools, thereby excluding their younger counterparts from primary schools as well as learners in townships and rural schools. Language was a barrier as all immigrant learners were not fluent in English. To overcome this barrier and not contaminate the data, the researcher further limited the selection of participants by having a conversation with each of the prospective participants identified by principals, educators, counsellors and school based support teams (SBST). Refer to 3.4.1 of chapter three, to determine their ability to communicate in English, as this was the medium used in the interview schedule.

1.6 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

How is the phenomenon of xenophobia experienced by immigrant learners in the inner city schools of Johannesburg?

It is envisaged that this study will contribute significantly by:

- providing a thorough and well-documented resource available to all those interested in education policy as well as researchers interested in the phenomenon of xenophobia
- providing first hand, stimulating information, sufficiently inspirational to encourage further research
- making a useful contribution to the limited body of available literature on the phenomenon of xenophobia as experienced by learners in the inner city schools in Johannesburg.

1.7 AIMS OF THE STUDY

1.7.1 Primary Aim

The primary aim is to determine and explore how immigrant learners in the inner city schools of Johannesburg experience the phenomenon of xenophobia.

1.7.2 Specific Aims

In view of the primary aim to investigate the phenomenon of xenophobia and how it is experienced by learners in the inner city schools of Johannesburg, the specific aims of this study are as follows.

To:

- i. conduct a literature study
- ii. develop an interview schedule
- iii. conduct empirical research.

1.8 CLARIFICATION OF CONCEPTS

1.8.1 Xenophobia

According to the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (1978:1275), the word xenophobia is of Greek origin. "Xeno" means stranger or foreigner, and phobia means fear. The word xenophobia therefore means "unreasonable fear and dislike of foreigners or strangers". Crowther (1995:1385) defines the concept of xenophobia as "an intense dislike or fear of strangers or people from other countries". Thus xenophobia is seen as a "deep dislike of foreigners or things foreign". According to Crowther, there is a tendency for xenophobia to consist of various unexamined prejudices rather than consistent, considered views.

The phenomenon of xenophobia would therefore indicate a dislike of foreigners by nationals. In South Africa, nationals have an intense unfounded fear that foreigners are to blame for their problems, be it unemployment, housing or education. According to Shindondola (2003:4), this fear has translated itself into extreme tension and violence by South Africans towards foreigners.

For the purpose of this study, the term “xenophobia” will be used to signify attitudes of dislike and fear as well as violent actions towards foreigners.

1.8.2 Immigrant Learners

The thesaurus (www.thefreedictionary.com) defines the term “immigrant” as a person who settles in a country where they were not born. Broadly, this implies cross border movement. *The White Paper on International Migration 1999* (www.info.gov.za/whitepapers/1999/migrate.htm) explains that immigrants are persons who travel across international boundaries to temporarily change one’s place of residence.

In this research study, the term will be used to refer to learners from any African country who have crossed the border to enter South Africa and are now attending South African schools.

1.8.3 Inner City Schools

The inner city is the central area of a major city or metropolis. The term is often applied to the poorer parts of the city centre and is sometimes used as a euphemism with the connotation of being an area, perhaps a ghetto or slum, where residents are less educated and more impoverished and where there is more crime. Many middle and high-income residents, who were mostly white, moved to the suburbs to have larger gardens and houses, and less crime and diversity. The loss of population and affluent taxpayers caused many inner city communities to fall into urban decay. Regardless of their degree of prosperity, the city areas that are more central, tend to have higher population densities than the outer suburbs, with more of the population living inside multi-floored townhouses and apartments (www.answers.com/topic/inner-city).

For the purpose of this research study, the term “inner city schools” will refer to schools that are located in and around the city centre of Johannesburg.

1.8.4 Experience

“Experience is not what happens to a man; it is what a man does with what happens to him”. Aldous Huxley (www.quotationspage.com/quote/24956.html).

Experience involves something personally significant or meaningful that involves the whole person i.e. not just the person’s intellect but also his or her senses, feelings and personality. Experience

refers to the nature of the events that someone or something has undergone. "Experience is what is happening to us all the time – as long as we exist". Experience, used in the present tense, refers to the subjective nature of one's current existence. Humans have a myriad of expressions, behaviours, language, emotions, etc. that characterise and convey our moment-to-moment experiences. Experience, used in the past tense, refers to the accumulated product (or residue) of past experiences e.g., after many hours of training and practice building furniture out of wood, we now consider him to be an *experienced* wood craftsman (<http://wilderdom.com/experiential/ExperienceWhatIs.html>).

For the purpose of this research, the term "experience" will refer to firsthand knowledge of states, situations, emotions, or sensations; the accumulation of knowledge or a skill that results from the direct participation in events or activities. Someone able to recount an event he/she witnessed or took part in has "first hand experience". Participation may be through the observation of something or some event gained through involvement in or exposure to that thing or event (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Experience>).

1.9 RESEARCH DESIGN

According to Fouché and Delport (2005:73), there are two accepted approaches to research, namely the qualitative and the quantitative models. This research study is conducted using the qualitative approach. Qualitative exploratory research will be employed to collect information. The exploration and description of the case will take place through detailed, data collection methods, which will include:

- Literature analysis of works pertinent to the field of study, to provide background information, and
- Qualitative interviews with immigrant learners, South African learners and educators at schools.
- Structured interview schedule to gain information on the xenophobic experiences of immigrant learners.

A sample of eight inner city schools in Johannesburg will be used. One immigrant learner from an African country will be used per school as participants to gather information. South African learners and educators will also be randomly interviewed to gain information on their views on immigrant learners.

The nature of the question driving the research is exploratory and the following question is asked in order to achieve the primary aim:

- How is the phenomenon of xenophobia experienced by immigrant learners in the inner city schools of Johannesburg?

1.10 RESEARCH PLAN

The dissertation consists of five chapters:

- Chapter 1: Introduction
- Chapter 2: Literature Review
- Chapter 3: Research Design and Methodology
- Chapter 4: Empirical Study
- Chapter 5: Summary and Recommendations

1.11 CONCLUSION

After the demise of apartheid in 1994, the deracialisation of the education system also began. There were various concerns at that time regarding how South African schools would cope with the desegregation and racial integration. Some believed that it would result in racial conflict whilst others were of the view that initial difficulties would be experienced before tolerance and acceptance emerged. It was felt that children do not hold onto the prejudices of their parents and they would naturally play and work together. According to Jansen (2001:62), none of these views was accurate. Although there was not mass ethnic violence in schools, some racial incidents did occur and racism and intolerance still exists in schools. However, it was not anticipated that xenophobia would be an issue to contend with due to the influx of foreigners into the country.

Xenophobia poses serious challenges to the South African education system. First, there is a need for sustaining current research and intellectual activities around xenophobia. Secondly, a paradigm shift is required to ensure that the adjustments made to the education system takes place within a transformative rather than an affirmative or add-on framework. The question that needs to be explored is whether South Africans are intolerant and violent because of their experiences with apartheid. The inequalities of the past are so deeply entrenched that black South Africans who were victims in that era are now trying to assert their authority by oppressing immigrants. Unfortunately, it seems that the injustices of the past have been transferred from one generation to the next, resulting in the youth at schools being intolerant of their fellow classmates.

Fighting xenophobia is a challenge that requires supporting regional integration as well as commitment to the vision of the African renaissance (*ANC Today* 2001:2). The phenomenon must be understood in relation to the high levels of violence that persist in contemporary South Africa, and legislation must be amended accordingly to face the challenge. Discrimination, victimisation

and bullying by South Africans as well as fellow Africans impacts on children emotionally, therefore the researcher hopes to contribute by providing sound research on the issue.

CHAPTER TWO

XENOPHOBIA: A LITERATURE OVERVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Academics, educationalists, researchers and activists unanimously agree that education is the most significant tool towards poverty eradication, reduction of social dependency and the development of responsible, accountable human beings. Every generation hopes to educate the future generation. This is true in a special sense of immigrant groups. First generation immigrants may accept and perhaps expect inconvenience and even prejudice, but they invariably have high hopes for their children and grandchildren. Education is frequently seen as the gateway to a good job and a comfortable life for their offspring (O'Donnell 1991:57). This chapter will focus on the education of immigrant learners in schools and the xenophobia that they experience whilst trying to obtain an education.

The South African Constitution is central to promoting human rights in South Africa. Section 28 (3) of the Constitution gives protection to children's rights whilst the Child Care Act together with the Children's Act (described below) gives effect to these rights. According to the Constitution, a child is any person under the age of 18 years. It makes no distinction between citizens and non-citizens, and therefore can be taken to apply to all children in South Africa. The following rights are enshrined in the Children's Bill:

- To be protected from maltreatment, neglect, abuse or degradation (Article 11)
- Every child has the right not to be subjected to harmful social and cultural practices that affect the well-being, health or dignity of the child (Article 12).

It is important to recognise that immigrant children are vulnerable, both as children and migrants. The Children's Act aims to promote and preserve families and give effect to the constitutional rights of children. It sets the standard for the principle of "best interests of the child". Most notable is that the references to migrant children, which were part of the draft bill, were removed from the final draft of the Children's Act. Whilst the Department of Social Development argued that this was because it was not necessary to specifically identify migrant children, whether this limits or expands access to rights for migrant children remains to be seen (Palmary 2009:11).

Addressing the 'Getting South Africa Ready to Implement the Children's Act' conference on 27 May 2008, the Minister of Social Development, Zola Skweyiya said:

Let me remind you all that Section 1 of the Children's Act defines a child as a person under the age of 18 years. It does not add any additional requirements such as South African citizenship or that the child had to be born in South Africa. This means that foreign children are offered the same protective measures in terms of this legislation whilst they are in South Africa. Foreign children may be placed in temporary safe care and Children's Court enquiries may be opened in order to determine whether the child is in need of care and protection. If the Court finds a foreign child to be in need of care and protection, the Court will have the same options to order the future care situation of the child. This means that foreign children may be admitted to Child and Youth Care Centres or be placed in foster care in order to serve their best interests (Palmary 2009:11).

Machingambi and Ralekwa (www.ci.org.za) are of the opinion that The Immigration Act 13 of 2002 and the Refugee's Act 130 of 1998 do not adequately protect the rights of foreign children. South Africa ratified the United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) and is consequently bound by its legal obligations. Article Two of the UNCRC prohibits a state from allowing discrimination against a child on the basis of the child's nationality, ethnic or social origins.

The literature heralds a valuable starting point for understanding the phenomenon of xenophobia. This chapter will focus on the possible psychological theories that attribute to the phenomenon of xenophobia. The rights of foreigners to education, language that is seen as an impediment to immigrants and how the latter are viewed by South Africans will be examined. The phenomenon of xenophobia as experienced in schools in other countries will also be explored to gain a better understanding.

2.2 PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORIES

One of the earliest psychological theories explains prejudice and discrimination as a means by which people express hostility arising from frustration. According to Marger (1991:94), this has also been referred to as **scapegoating**. In essence, this theory implies that a person becomes so frustrated in his or her efforts to achieve a desired goal that he or she tends to respond with aggression. The source of frustration is unknown or too powerful to confront, so a substitute is found to release the aggression. Allport in Marger (1991:94) notes that the scapegoating theory may at first seem convincing because of the "commonness of experience"; all individuals at some time or the other experience frustration when needs and desires are not met e.g. if one does not get a promotion there will be feelings of frustration and anger. Displacing anger and frustration on a substitute does not solve the problem, but it provides temporary relief to an individual's anxiety.

Harris (2001:5) is of the opinion that the relatively new phenomenon of xenophobia in South Africa is explained by the scapegoating hypothesis. This theory explains that foreigners are blamed for limited resources such as jobs and education as well as for “dashed expectations regarding the transitional process”. The underlying factor, which is poverty and violence, is directed towards foreigners on the pretext that they commit crimes and take away jobs meant for South Africans. Researchers at the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation in South Africa note that discrimination against foreigners takes place in many societies, particularly in countries experiencing political or economic upheaval. It therefore becomes a convenient scapegoating for those experiencing the reality of hardship that has worsened since the arrival of Zimbabweans into South Africa. Targeting foreigners is a matter of proximity because foreigners tend to reside in areas that are characterised by poverty and a lack of service delivery. This is a precursor to xenophobic attitudes and encourages hostility, conflict and violence, as more people are competing for meagre resources (Alarape 2008:75).

The **power theory** is a paradigm that views the relationship between groups as a function of their competitive positions. This paradigm suggests that a threat of one particular group to another is a source of hate. When people feel insecure in the face of a threat, they portray resentment and hate. It must be noted that the intensity of the hate need not necessarily depend on real competition in the job market but on the perception of threat, which is sufficient to induce animosity (Mogekwu 2002:1).

The **power-conflict theory** emerged as a means of neutralising out-groups that the dominant group perceived as threatening to its position of power and privilege. The aim was to protect and enhance the dominant group’s interests. To understand the power-conflict theory, one needs to focus on economic, political and social competition in a multiethnic society (Marger 1991:94).

Alarape (2008:75) maintains that the prevalence of xenophobia in a society is not necessarily linked to levels of unemployment. Rather, the key to understanding xenophobia may be the perception of how legitimate the competition is as well as the perception about equality and difference. It must be pointed out that prejudice is a protective mechanism used by the dominant group in a multiethnic society in assuring its majority position. When the group is challenged, xenophobic tendencies in the form of prejudice is aroused and directed at the group perceived as threatening. The intensity of the threat (physical destruction of human life and property) inevitably is beneficial in some way to the dominant group and is sustained on this basis. Continued prejudice and discrimination directed at a minority group may also contribute to a sense of psychological security for its members. These xenophobic tendencies may also serve as a release of frustration for both the dominant and minority groups (Marger 1991:111).

The **normative theory** explains xenophobia within the framework of social norms. People tend to conform to social situations in which they find themselves. When negative thoughts and discriminatory behaviour toward a particular group is expected, individuals feel compelled to think and act accordingly. Thus, the individual's social environment serves as a source for discrimination that leads to xenophobic behaviour. This theory is considerably different from the psychological theories, which focus not on the group but rather on the thoughts and actions of the individuals themselves. Normative theories concentrate "primarily on the transmission of ethnic prejudices through the socialization process" and social situations that compel discriminatory behaviour (Marger 1991:99).

The **bio-cultural approach** explains that xenophobia operates through the level of physical and cultural appearance. Therefore animosity towards the other is not a result of competition for resources but a "product of early political and value socialization". The cultural differences between people could attribute to conflicts and hatred. The issue that arises, is the fear of loss of social status and identity. It can be explained that people prefer to be surrounded by their own kind rather than be exposed to others. The foreigners are consequently deprived of the right to belong. The inability of minority groups to integrate into the structure and culture of society leads to xenophobic rejection (Mogekwu 2002:1).

The **isolation hypothesis** views xenophobia as a consequence of South Africa's history of isolation from the international community prior to the 1994 elections. The role of international sanctions and isolation from the rest of the world can also be used to understand xenophobia in South Africa. Prior to 1994, apartheid separated South Africans from other nationalities beyond the borders of South Africa. The waiving of international sanctions opened up South Africa's borders to the rest of Africa. This brought South Africans into contact with many "unknown" people. Strangers of various nationalities were in contact with previously secluded South Africans, which resulted in "bitterness to build up" (Shindondola 2003:25). The isolation theory is summed up by Wetherell (1999:3) in his statement: "Probably because of years of isolation from the rest of the continent, there has been a tendency among South Africans to think of themselves as not being part of Africa, and they will talk down at Africans of other countries almost in the white colonial-master style".

Harris (2001:5) found that a culture of violence prevails in South Africa, "where violence is seen as the legitimate and normal way of solving problems in the country". Xenophobia must therefore be understood in relation to the high levels of violence that persist in South Africa.

2.3 RIGHT TO EDUCATION

The South African Constitution guarantees refugees and asylum seekers the right to basic education. Section 27(g) of the Refugee Act of 1998 specifies that refugees and asylum seekers have the same rights as South African citizens pertaining to education and healthcare. Research commissioned by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and the Japanese International Co-operation Agency (JICA) on refugees' access to basic services in South Africa (Timngum: 2003), revealed that 26% of the children of immigrants at the primary level and 39% at the secondary level of education are not at school because they cannot afford to pay school fees (Motha & Ramadiro 2005:28). Another study conducted in the city of Johannesburg (Timngum 2003) found that 70% of the Somali refugee children of school going age were not enrolled because of structural and social barriers. "Discussions between the South African Human Rights Commission and the Minister resulted in a document stating that all foreign nationals (be they refugees or asylum seekers) with the appropriate legal status must be treated on the same basis as South African citizens, enjoying all the rights and privileges that the Constitution and the South African Schools Act provides to learners" (Stone & Winterstein 2003:24).

Some refugees are denied admission to schools because schools claim to be oversubscribed. Motha and Ramadiro (2005:17) found that public schools in the inner city tend to be oversubscribed and some refugees see private schools as an alternative. Their findings indicate that private schools generally admit learners without reservation as long as the school fees were paid. However, private schools are not an option for many poor refugees. Private schools can refuse to admit or remove learners who fail to pay the school fees.

Despite inner city public schools being oversubscribed, there is one independent school (the Sacred Heart College) that has initiated a project to meet the educational needs of some of the foreign learners. The Sacred Heart College has called the refugee school Three2Six because children come to school from three to six every afternoon. "It was started because of an enormous need for education among refugee children," explained a Sacred Heart College fundraiser, Elinor Kern.

Project manager Jean-Claude Mbaki said that even though children who have asylum seeker permits are allowed in schools in South Africa, they are often turned away from public schools because they cannot afford the school fees or speak English. "Schools also often don't have the space or resources to deal with the excess children," said Kern. The school, currently has 110 primary school learners, but hopes to increase the number to 150. The school has 79% French-speaking learners and refugees come from all over Africa. "Three2Six is an interim measure for children who could not get into a public school in South Africa," said Kern. She explained that they

do not want learners to stay at the school for more than two years – a time limit which will give them enough time to acquaint themselves with the SA curriculum. The school is negotiating with the Gauteng Department of Education to place the children in public schools. "It's an emergency school concentrating on subjects like Mathematics and English," said Mbaki. "Many of these children have been out of school for over a year and they need to catch up". Three2Six has already received a lot of positive feedback and Kern said other independent schools have expressed interest in starting similar projects based on the Sacred Heart model (*The Star* 2008:19). The school has had to strengthen its security since the xenophobic attacks in Alexandra.

2.4 LANGUAGE POLICY

Language differences present a barrier as immigrants originate from various countries. Communication is a problem for immigrant learners, especially in the context of schooling. Language is an impediment for immigrant learners who in many cases cannot speak English, which is the medium of instruction in many inner city schools of Johannesburg. The medium of instruction and language subject choices are serious challenges faced by many foreigners in South African public schools. Motha (2005:13) refers to the Wits Education Rights Project research findings, which indicate that many South African public schools are not delivering on the language policy in education. The policy requires that children be taught in their mother tongue in the first three years of schooling and then be taught through the medium of English or Afrikaans from grades 4 to 12. The idea is that schools should, over time, increase the number of years spent on instruction through the mother tongue. Currently, the mother tongue is maintained as a subject from grade 4 together with another official language. A third official or approved language may be added. Policy privileges the 11 official languages and requires that for a school to offer a language it must have at least 40 learners who request that language in grade 1 to 6, and at least 35 learners in grades 7 to 12.

According to Motha (2005:17), most foreign learners in South Africa are from African countries where Arabic, Swahili, French, Lingala and Portuguese are the main languages. Some schools have denied refugee children admission because they cannot speak English. A small number of caregivers are paying private French-tutors, thus escalating the cost of schooling. Refugee children who have schooled elsewhere before coming to South Africa find it difficult to cope with instruction in English because many public schools do not have language immersion programmes. Language is an important element in providing relevant education for refugees and asylum seekers. Many refugees wish to return to their home countries once political and economic conditions are suitable. Competence in the local language of their country of origin is vital for refugees who intend returning to their country (Motha & Ramadiro 2005:14).

The situation for South African children regarding language is not favourable either, because the school has to have at least 40 learners for a particular language to be offered at primary school level. The language offered may not be the language of choice of the learner. However, refugees are in a much worse situation, because English is (in many instances) not the language of education or commerce in the countries from where many refugees originate. French is widely spoken in many parts of Africa. In many instances, it is not practically possible to get 40 learners in a particular grade who speak French, or any other indigenous language for that matter, to warrant the inclusion of the language in the curriculum. This makes it impossible under the current legislation to provide either instruction in that language or to offer it as a subject (Motha & Ramadiro 2005:13).

Kamuangu (2006:4) conducted research regarding the choice of language in immigrant families from the DRC and found that in South Africa, ethnic enclosure and xenophobia prevented most immigrant family members from learning local African languages and English. This impacted on their interaction with South African citizens. However, on a more positive note, he found that schooling enabled immigrant children to integrate into South African society. This implies that immigrant learners who are unable to converse in English, which is the medium of instruction in many schools, will experience difficulty in socialising and integrating into the school system. These learners are further disadvantaged because they have to pass English as a subject to be promoted into the next grade. To accommodate immigrant learners in the Senior Certificate Examination, they were granted a concession to use a dictionary. However, this concession to immigrant learners was withdrawn; thus, “from 2005, no such concession will be granted” (Western Cape Education Department. 2005:1).

In research conducted by Sookrajh, Gopal and Maharaj (2005:7), it was reported that a “definite problem existed in learning other languages, especially Afrikaans”. Consequently, many learners preferred to speak French rather than Afrikaans. It was suggested that the senior immigrant learners teach the younger immigrant learners French, as schools did not have teachers who could speak French. Immigrant learners complained that teachers spoke English too fast and did not repeat the lessons in some cases. It became obvious that not knowing English “caused a great deal of marginalisation” (Sookrajh et al. 2005:7).

2.5 SOUTH AFRICAN VIEWS ON FOREIGNERS

One of the first challenges in respect of illegal immigration, is how South Africans cope with the phenomenon of xenophobia. There is growing evidence that South Africans as a whole are becoming more xenophobic in their attitudes towards migrants generally and illegal immigrants in particular. Independent French researcher, Matc-Antoine Perouse de Monteclos, researched the

problem of illegal immigration into South Africa over a period of two years. He found that one in five of the inhabitants of townships surrounding Johannesburg was an illegal alien. In addition, he noted that foreigners, three quarters of whom were from the DRC, populated up to 70% of Berea and Hillbrow in Johannesburg; most were in the country illegally (Soloman 2003:91).

A Special Report commissioned by *The Star* in June 2008 in light of the May 2008 xenophobic attacks contained the following statistics from the Southern African Migration Project survey carried out in 1997:

- 25% of South Africans wanted a total prohibition of immigration
- 22% wanted the government to repatriate all foreigners
- 45% called for strict limits to be placed on foreigners
- 61% believed foreigners were putting strain on the country's resources

The Star continues to provide the statistics of a survey conducted in 2006, which indicate that:

- 66% said foreigners were using up basic resources
- two thirds believed that foreigners were guilty of crime
- 49% felt that immigrants bring diseases such as HIV into the country

According to *The Star*, a 2007 survey conducted by Independent Newspapers reported:

- 76% of the respondents wanted the influx of foreigners to be restricted.

Although negative towards foreigners, only a few said that they would take action against them:

- 16% said that they would get a group together to force foreigners to leave
- 9% said they were "likely" to use violence
- 4% said they were "very likely" to use violence

"But the May violence showed that it took only a handful to shatter the rainbow dream" (*The Star* 2008:5).

According to Crush (2001:6), the majority of South Africans are hostile and intolerant towards foreigners. He maintains that a high level of intolerance exists towards immigrants. This is displayed through negative attitudes and sometimes violent, aggressive actions. Hostility is not confined to one social, racial or economic group. These attitudes are widespread and pervasive. The perpetrators of violent xenophobic attacks are black nationals and the attacks have taken place in informal settlements where mostly black citizens reside (Valji 2003:5).

In a survey undertaken by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) during the course of 1996 and 1997 to examine the challenges facing South Africans with regard to illegal immigration and the phenomenon of xenophobia, it was found that:

- xenophobia is viewed worldwide as a sentiment generally confined to individuals at the lower end of the socio-economic and educational spectrum. This can be a result of having less of a worldview since their travel opportunities and access to knowledge of foreign countries and cultures is limited.
- illegal immigrants also work longer hours for lower wages and are resistant to unionisation, which is a threat to low-skilled nationals of any country.
- traditional assumption is that the Zulu speakers are more xenophobic than other groups, while the Xhosa speakers are seen to be less xenophobic. However, the survey results indicate that the Xhosa speakers are more xenophobic than the Zulu speakers – 70% of the Xhosa speakers thought that illegal immigration is bad as opposed to 50% of the Zulu speakers.
- provinces that share a common border with a neighbouring state are less xenophobic than those that did not e.g. eastern and western Cape (Solomon 2003:96).
- the findings of the HSRC are reinforced by surveys conducted by the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA). According to the survey, the majority of South Africans are resoundingly negative towards any immigration policy that might welcome newcomers.
- 25% want a total ban on immigration
- 45% support strict limits on the number of immigrants allowed into the country
- 17% support a flexible policy related to availability of jobs
- 6% support an open immigration policy.

These results reflect South Africa's negative attitude to immigration. This is the "highest level of opposition to immigration recorded by any country in the world" (Solomon 2003:97).

During the apartheid era when political organisations were banned, the ANC and other liberation movements depended on African countries for housing and education. Countries such as Tanzania, Zambia (ANC headquarters), Angola and Mozambique supported the members of the liberation struggle. When apartheid ended, the ANC became the government of a democratic South Africa. It was expected that all Africans from the countries that assisted in the anti-apartheid struggle would share in the joy of the new democracy. However, this has not happened because some South Africans feel that foreigners "steal" jobs from the locals when there are too few jobs as it is (Fisher 2007:132). He maintains "that government, in not creating a proper awareness of xenophobia [and is] maybe knowingly or unknowingly inciting people who are acting violently against foreign Africans". According to Kellet (2002:14), xenophobia against black immigrants

constitutes a painful irony that is hard to comprehend given the fact that many of those being abused come from countries that assisted South Africa in its struggle against white rule. She maintains that education should go a long way in building bonds between communities and immigrants.

Holomisa in Fisher (2007:135) states that during the struggle, South Africans did not just enter other countries as they wanted to. There was an arrangement between the governments to ensure that people coming in were supported. He feels that it is “not just a simple matter of xenophobia. We can’t forever be indebted to other countries. The truth of the matter is that some of these countries resented the presence of our people in their territories. They just tolerated us because apartheid was so disgusting that no one would openly do things that could be seen to be supporting apartheid”.

Isolation (as discussed in 2.2) during the apartheid era as well as the segregation policy of apartheid itself, has attributed to xenophobic tendencies in South Africans. South Africa’s isolation from the rest of Africa has entrenched an ignorance of other African countries that is now only “slowly but painfully being resolved” (Kellet 2002:14). South Africans never interacted with neighbouring African countries, leaving them ignorant about African countries. The media also has a role to play in countering xenophobia. The media must do more than just report on instances of xenophobia, they need to “educate people about the positive outcomes that could result from welcoming African immigrants into our country” (Fisher 2007:132).

2.6 XENOPHOBIA INTERNATIONALLY

Xenophobia is a global problem that has been experienced in both industrialised and developing countries, it is not indigenous to any part of the world, nor alien to any. It is a reality in Germany, Japan, Britain, Nigeria and even South Africa. This section will concentrate on highlighting the impact of xenophobia in schools on various continents such as America, Asia, Europe and finally Africa.

Large-scale migration has grown dramatically in recent years. Around the world, approximately 150 million people live outside their countries of origin temporarily. Movement across borders is directly related to discrimination and intolerance (Chakma & Jensen 2001:111). Internationally, the emphasis on accommodating immigrants is on pluralism and multiculturalism, reflecting greater awareness of cultural diversity. When a society does not appreciate the differences of immigrant groups, such differences are seen as problems to be overcome (Motani 2002:225). Focus will now be directed on America, Japan, Germany, Britain and France to see how they have accommodated language and cultural differences in education.

2.6.1 AMERICA

“America isn’t a multicultural society. It’s a melting pot with a tiny minority of radical separatists. The children of immigrants continue to learn English and assimilate despite the excesses of bilingual education, just as they always have” (Weisberg 1995).

The large-scale entrance of legal and illegal immigrants into America has created economic problems as well as problems relating to social absorption. Marger (1991:533) maintains that this issue is debatable, since some argue that immigrants “constitute an added burden to the already swollen labor pool,” and others are of the view that “they create as many jobs as they take”. The current immigrants are “highly visible, bringing to American society cultural and physical features”.

In America however, it is assumed that the use of English will encourage social integration. Initially English was promoted in schools and other educational institutions in the hope that the immigrants’ languages would be abandoned, if not by the first then by the second generation. Immigrants were permitted to have their own private schools and to publish their own newspapers, which served as a means of preserving culture and language. The language issue is a burning one and language assimilation is being challenged. Greater tolerance in American society has led to providing educational and other services in the languages of the new groups (Marger 1991:535).

An extremely old and familiar theme in U.S. history has been the episodic anti-foreigner xenophobia. So old, so familiar is this xenophobia that at one time it was illegal in 22 states to teach a foreign language. The Supreme Court overturned this policy but by 1954, only 56% of American high schools offered a foreign language as a subject with less than 14.2% enrolled in studying a foreign language. Today, less than 9.3% of Americans are fluent in another language (Bouwer 2005).

“Having emigrated from Iran after the hostage crisis I’ve endured stereotypes about being a terrorist, hostage taker, suicide bomber, etc. as a school yard taunt. To see a columnist insinuate a school is going to indoctrinate children to become terrorists merely because it teaches Arabic is highly offensive. On the second question of whether the school should exist given that it focuses on teaching students how to speak Arabic, is interesting” (Wolf 2007).

2.6.2 JAPAN

Grant in Motani (2002:226) says that “An education system will naturally reflect the norms of the host society. For the schools, the question is how far they can or should take account of cultural differences, how much variation they can accept and whether they should seek to assimilate the minorities or encourage them to retain and develop their own cultures”.

The Japanese government promotes immigration and even went to the extent of relaxing the requirement to allow immigrants to enter and work in the country. However, when it comes to education, no official policy on multicultural education exists because of the assimilation strategy. Prior to 1965, educational discrimination against immigrant Koreans was deep rooted and one form of discrimination was the oppression by the Education Ministry; the government systematically suppressed the Korean language and culture by prohibiting the teaching of the Korean language, history and geography in schools (Motani 2002:229). In another instance, media reports about the case of a Peruvian worker, arrested on suspicion of killing a seven-year-old girl, have exposed the vulnerability of foreign workers to Japan's famous xenophobia. A Peruvian child in a Japanese public school talked of the mental pain and sadness she felt when the teacher in her class asked the students to name the nationality of the suspect. Activists contend that the hysteria over the murder fanned a deep undercurrent of distrust of foreigners who the police have linked to the rising crime in the country. Prof. Chikako Yamawaki at Bunkyo University has launched a programme in two primary schools that teaches Japanese students the Spanish language and Latin American culture in the hope of fostering deeper cross-cultural understanding. "I realised that the policy of teaching Japanese language and culture to children of migrant workers does not result in equality for foreigners. Japanese people must learn more about the other side for real cooperation and understanding," she explained (<http://ipsnews.net/news.asp?idnews=31436> Kakuchi 2005).

At the United Nations Sub-Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights, held in Geneva in 2001, the Korean delegation maintained that the Japanese government deprived children of foreign nationality of the right to education. While a child of foreign nationality has the option of going to a Japanese school, the problem is that the child will not have the right to a proper Japanese language education, or to learn his or her ethnic language. Consequently, many children cannot cope with the classes in Japanese schools, are unable to find opportunities to foster their identity, and are in reality excluded from education (UN Sub-Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights 2001).

To emphasise the plight of the foreigners in Japan, the committee highlighted that this was the fourth recommendation by the UN human rights bodies to urge the Japanese government to redress discrimination against the ethnic Korean schools and ethnic education of Korean residents in Japan. Furthermore, the committee expressed its concern about the fact that Korean schools were not officially recognised even when they adhered to the Japanese national education curriculum and therefore, they neither receive central government subsidies nor are they able to provide qualification for university entrance examinations. The concluding observations also mentioned that "there are very limited possibilities for children of minorities to enjoy education in their own language and about their own culture in public schools". The committee recommended that the Japanese government should "undertake necessary measures to combat discrimination

against all minority groups in Japanese society, particularly in the fields of employment, housing and education” (UN Sub-Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights 2001).

2.6.3 GERMANY

Germany has a thoroughly studied history of victimisation. The holocaust provides a unique example of the atrocities, victimisation and genocide against minority Jews. Xenophobia and racially motivated violence in Germany are rooted in this past. In 2001, a proposal was presented for a Council Framework decision to combat xenophobia and racism. According to this proposal (which has not yet been adopted as law), crimes committed against minority groups with “racist and xenophobia motives, should be made aggravating factors and enhance penalties” (Winterdyk & Antonopoulos 2008:115).

The following words of Veronica, a foreigner in Germany, emphasise the xenophobic behaviour of Germans towards foreigners: “As an Asian, I felt so much discrimination in all aspects of life, especially in school. I came to Germany at age 16 and was hoping to go to university. Almost all the high schools we went to rejected me solely for the fact that my German wasn’t good enough. No matter how I try to explain to people that I have nothing left in my home country and my new life is here, they always treat me as if I am exotic and that everything in German life is still new and novel to me. I have a German name, I have a German passport, but I look Asian, and therefore am a foreigner” (der Spiegel <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/html>).

According to a confidential government study on juvenile violence, it is inferred that xenophobia is widespread among German youth (Neue Osnabrücker Zeitung 2008:4). Almost a third of all German schoolchildren agreed "completely" with the statement that there are too many foreigners in Germany; another third of those who were asked "mostly" agreed. Almost a fifth of the learners in 9th grade who were asked also had open prejudices against Islam, and one out of every 13 admitted to committing a hate crime such as spraying a swastika on a wall or damaging the property of foreigners. Gabi Elverich at the Centre for the Prevention of Right-Wing Extremism and Xenophobia at the German Youth Institute confirmed the findings of the study.

While many schools in Germany are working hard to combat racism and xenophobia, teachers often find it difficult to get to grips with the root causes of the problems. Elverich is of the opinion that "This kind of work [combating xenophobia] is not as easy as doing maths and geography. To teach the issues, teachers have to confront their own attitudes too. And at a time when we have lots of educational reforms, teachers are finding it a strain". According to Elverich, civic education is part of the German curriculum but little time is devoted to the subject, much of the anti-racism education in schools takes the form of troubleshooting, with little regular attention given to the issue (Neue Osnabrücker Zeitung 2008:4).

A study conducted by the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia in 2004 shows that education systems have implemented new programmes and curricula to meet the needs of a more diverse body of pupils. This includes second language and native language programmes, intercultural education, and multicultural curricula. In addition, special teacher training programmes have been implemented to institute a more diverse teacher body (Luciak 2004:7). The population of foreign pupils has been considerably high, as a result of the migration of foreign labourers from the 1960s to the 1980s. Many pupils with citizenship from Turkey or Yugoslavia attend German schools. In the last decade, the migration inflow decreased but the share of migrant pupils in the school system increased. The enrolment rate of foreign pupils is above 9% of the schoolchildren in all schools, but above 12% in primary schools (Luciak 2004:9).

On average, migrant pupils in comparison to German pupils finish school at an earlier age with significantly lower qualifications. In 2001, 74,381 migrant pupils with a foreign citizenship finished schools that offer general education (*Hauptschule*). While 20.3% of these pupils left without any formal qualifications, this is true for only 8.6% of the German pupils; 40% of the migrant learners (compared to 24.2% of the German pupils) left *Hauptschule* with a certificate; 29% passed *mittlere Reife*, which is comparable to a General Certificate of Secondary Education, (compared to 41.7% of the German pupils). Only 10.7% of the migrant pupils compared to 25.5% of the German pupils obtained the right to study at universities. Prejudice, which tends to be expressed in harassment, racial slurs and scapegoating, results in migrant and minority pupils perceiving themselves as either not being accepted or being excluded by members of the dominant culture (Luciak 2004:46).

To further highlight the discrimination towards foreigners in Germany, in Bremen, the law aims at banning not only Muslims from wearing headscarves, but also nuns from wearing habits. Nevertheless, according to the Bremen Senator of Education, Christian and Jewish symbols are allowed provided they are shown in a “discrete and non-provocative way”. In Berlin, the wearing of all noticeable religious symbols – no matter whether Muslim, Christian or Jewish – is banned completely (Bosch & Peucker 2005:33).

Despite the xenophobia in Germany, the German school system promotes a policy for the integration of children from minority groups. A well-received campaign is the “Fairness and Understanding” campaign, which is aimed at informing and educating the young as they are vulnerable to the propaganda of right wing extremists (Europe’s Commission Against Racism and Intolerance – Report on Germany 1998: 9).

2.6.4 BRITAIN

In Britain, the most widely researched aspect of education pertains to the underachievement of minority groups. Tomlinson in O' Donnell (1991:63) states that the ethnocentric nature of the curriculum, inappropriate curriculum materials, selection processes in schools, and subject selection in secondary schools has an effect on the educational performance of minority groups of immigrants in Britain. Raising the achievement levels of these learners is a complex issue that does not have simple answers.

Archer and Yashamita (2003) are quoted in Murji and Solomos (2005:107) for their findings on working class 15 and 16 year olds who were not performing well at school. The teenagers had the notion that they were "not good enough" and that they knew "their limits". Caroline Howarth (2002) found that 12 to 16 year olds from various ethnic groups recognised that they were stereotyped because of their area of origin. Many teenagers indicated that they became conscious of colour because of name-calling and racism. The following quotation depicts how an immigrant child felt at school: "There were quite a few black children in my school. I think it was in the second year – I had quite [a] racist teacher. I was very good at maths and I was kept back because – I don't know, but I did have a – she was racist, a racist teacher and my mum had to go up and see the headmaster" (Murji & Solomos 2005:115).

Researchers focused attention on policies to change the situation for foreigners. The 1991 Census included a question on "ethnicity" to monitor "ethnic disadvantage", and academics turned their attention to the impact of victimisation on immigrants. Chahal and Julienne, in Chakraborti and Garland (2004:86), interviewed 74 people and found that "racist victimization ... turns normal, daily activities into assessments of personal safety and security". It was concluded that immigrants were feeling "threatened, isolated and vulnerable". In his research, Nizhar, in Chakraborti and Garland, (ibid) identified that government officials were also unresponsive to complaints from foreigners. One local government officer stated that "they should give up their identity and image and take on board white culture".

Chakraborti and Garland (2004:171) maintain that the Race Relations Amendment Act (2000) primarily aims at ensuring that education establishments are aware of policies and procedures to tackle xenophobia and racism effectively. In spite of legislation, research portrays a failure to stem the growing problem of xenophobia and racism in the education system. The lack of attention paid to the needs of minority ethnic groups in the classroom is well documented where "Lessons are habitually taught from a white perspective; leaving minority ethnic pupils feeling disillusioned and isolated" (Chakraborti & Garland 2004:171).

Researchers and academics emphasise that there is a clear case for ensuring that existing policy, guidance and examples of good practice are implemented across the entire education system from the central government down in a consistent and coherent manner. Regional conferences, held in 2003, examined issues relating to eradicating racism and xenophobia through education. The Stephen Report makes recommendations using the code of practice and outlines specific procedures to be followed for recording and dealing with racist incidents on school premises and on journeys to and from school. Young people are also empowered to address racism, intolerance and xenophobia in schools. They are encouraged to support each other by being assertive, as opposed to being aggressive or submissive, when incidents occur at school. A further recommendation is to cover interpersonal relationships (including racism, xenophobia, bullying and name-calling) within the curriculum of learning for citizenship (Chakraborti & Garland 2004:173).

2.6.5 FRANCE

France is no exception to racist and xenophobic ideas. Xenophobia exists among a substantial portion of the population, and manifests itself in the attitudes towards immigrants, minorities and foreigners. Immigrants are blamed by the majority of French citizens for the increasing unemployment, crime and decreasing educational standards. They are seen by nearly three-quarters of the population as more likely to commit crimes than the average French person is. Nearly 40% of the population supports forcible repatriation of unemployed immigrants, and 22% supports forcible repatriation of all immigrants. Subtle forms of racism are reflected in the educational system because there is no disputing the fact that the most prestigious universities and graduate schools recruit almost all their students from a "limited sociological pool of the white, the wealthy and the well connected" (Randall 2001).

In 2004, there was an unprecedented surge in xenophobic acts which increased to 250%. Consequently, this resulted in an increase in intimidation and threats, which undoubtedly led to an increase in xenophobic acts committed in schools. Only 12% of the offences committed constituted violent racist threats or acts. These statistics indicate that xenophobic crimes increased by 20% in 2004 and may not be a true reflection of xenophobia due to under-reporting. Bullying of foreigners was reported 210 times more than any other form of racism. It must also be pointed out that the emphasis is on inclusiveness of culture and that 36% of the French population have foreign parents or grandparents which may attribute to the reduction in intolerance in France. Attitudes of intolerance are "more widespread among men and the older generations" (Winterdyk & Antonopoulos 2008:107).

2.6.6 SOUTH AFRICA

Illegal immigration impacts adversely on the country's provision for adequate education. Minnaar and Hough in Solomon (2003:107) illustrate how busloads of Swazi and Basotho children cross

into the country to attend South African schools close to the border, thereby “placing an inordinate burden on South Africa’s already overstretched education resources”. They also mention that this phenomenon is not confined to South Africa’s border regions. In the greater Johannesburg area, “80 000 children of illegal immigrants burden already overcrowded schools”.

Professor Cecilia Jansen delivered a seminar based on her research in children’s drawings and xenophobia at the Education Association of South Africa (EASA) Congress where she commented on the effects of xenophobic violence. “The resulting artwork is devastating. All the pictures portray emotional pain: flames, weapons, disaster and death. The impact of the events that they have lived through is like an emotional earthquake” (E-News 2008).

At Africa Day celebrations in Pretoria in 2008, Mr. Dave Balt, President of the National Professional Teachers’ Organisation of South Africa (NAPTOSA) said that foreign nationals, many of them refugees, were being victimised. NAPTOSA was concerned about the effect of xenophobic violence on young people in schools whose schooling was disrupted because their parents had to flee their homes under threat. He expressed further concern that children will be severely traumatised and will need help to get their lives back together. “The message that adults are giving is that issues and problems can only be solved in violent ways”. Mr. Balt said that this “is an indicator of the extent to which violence and criminality are entrenched in our South African society”. What impact will that which is happening in our townships have on the psyche of the young children and young adults in our schools? Clearly, the adults who are perpetrating these xenophobic crimes are acting with complete disregard for the effect of these actions on their own children (NAPTOSA Newsflash 2008:5).

According to Serrao (*Pretoria News* 2008:16), the spate of xenophobic attacks, in which children often played an active role, should not have come as a surprise, since a new Wits University study has found that South African children are intolerant of social groups they do not belong to. In the same article, Professor Philip Frankel is credited as having conducted research at 20 schools in Gauteng, including schools directly affected by xenophobic violence, schools that service areas affected by the attacks and schools that were not affected in any way. The study assessed the attitudes of children aged 12 to 19. “We wanted to see what the attitude was towards people that are not ‘your people’ and whether this differs across national, cultural, religious or racial groups.”

Frankel expressed his concern because “We have too many deeply entrenched differences. The most serious has been the xenophobic violence, which resulted in the displacement of tens of thousands of people. That is a small proportion compared to the number of foreigners in the country”. Frankel indicated that although there was no reliable data on how many foreigners there were in the country, political scientists suspected it could be as high as five million. Furthermore,

Frankel is of the opinion that the only way to deal with intolerance was through children because “they had highly impressionable minds that were able to accept new ideas” and school environments were conducive to implement programmes for change. He maintained that while the study was not completed yet, he anticipated that diversified schools, mainly in the inner cities, would be the least xenophobic because pupils came into contact with people from all cultures. He found that 90% of children believed South Africa was becoming a worse place to live in (Pretoria News. 2008:16).

In another newspaper article, Caroline Hawley (*BBC News* 2008:24) interviewed children at Troyeville Primary School (an inner city primary school in Johannesburg) who were trying to re-start their lives. The school called in an art therapist (Michelle Booth) when teachers realised that many pupils had been traumatised by violence that they had either suffered directly or witnessed. Ms. Booth asked the children to depict what they had experienced; she was shocked by their disturbed drawings. “Some of the children had come from conflict zones already and they’ve been re-traumatised.” Up to 100,000 immigrants were forced to flee their homes and these included students from Troyeville Primary, where a third of the intake is from the immigrant community. Headmaster, Pieter Joubert, mentioned that twelve children were in refugee camps, and “Some have seen ugly things that no adult should have to witness. We’ve had people burned out of their homes. I don’t think the students will get over their experiences easily”. One child drew a man in a burning house, screaming for help. Another wrote: “I am hated. I am hated. I am hated ... What did we do to deserve this?” But many of the children who came forward for counselling were South Africans, ashamed by the violence perpetrated by adults (*BBC News* 2008:24).

2.7 CONCLUSION

Irrespective of in which country it takes place, xenophobia most certainly has an effect on the victim. Statistics fail to convey a sense of the true harm inflicted on the individuals who have been targeted, because many victims are unlikely to report their experiences to the police. Victims of xenophobia may experience a wide range of emotions including anger, sadness, fear, powerlessness, vulnerability and suspicion of others. They may also exhibit difficulty remembering and concentrating and blame themselves for their negative experiences. Anger is the predominant response, but victims reported being “frightened or scared”. Xenophobic victimisation may not be a single event, normally the events are cumulative and before the victim has time to recover from the initial event, a new incident occurs. The victim suffers trauma upon trauma which has an effect on the family as well. Xenophobic incidents do not affect individuals only; it conveys a message to members of the community, placing them at risk as well (Winterdyk & Antonopoulos 2008:63).

Discrimination, racism and xenophobia are all forms of intolerance present in countries throughout the world. The intensity may vary in degree and form, it may range from name-calling, bullying, telling ethnic jokes to more serious forms i.e. denial of various life chances such as education and housing to members of immigrant groups. Whatever its intensity or form, xenophobia is detrimental to the lives of foreigners and an infringement of their basic right to human dignity.

The literature study explains the phenomenon of xenophobia from a theoretical framework, thereby giving the reader a better understanding of the concept. Xenophobia is a universal phenomenon found in all countries of the world. What is not universal, is xenophobic attacks. Xenophobia in the post apartheid era in South Africa is viewed as a product of historical factors, and dreams of nation building are marred by xenophobic attacks.

Themes that emerged from the experiences in the various countries include racial slurs, social exclusion, bullying, name-calling, language and cultural issues. Education should be serving as a tool to create awareness amongst learners, but this is not the case. This chapter clearly demonstrates that xenophobia, as a phenomenon in education, does not exist in South Africa only but in other countries as well.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Previous chapters highlighted the phenomenon of xenophobia in general terms and how it is experienced across the globe. In this chapter, the focus shifts to the research methodology and procedure used by the researcher in conducting the research. The discussion is structured around the research design, population sampling, data collection and data analysis.

By giving a clear description of the research design, the reader will obtain clarity on how the research was conducted and what methods were used to obtain the data. This chapter focuses on the purpose of research, research method, research design, data collection and data interpretation. Strydom (2005:252) recommends that the research design, sampling method, data collection procedures and the measuring instruments utilised, should be discussed in the chapter where the research methodology is explained.

3.2 PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH

This study aims to explore the phenomenon of xenophobia as experienced by immigrant learners in the inner city schools of Johannesburg. The research postulates that South Africa's political transition (post 1994) has resulted in new targets (foreigners) and forms (xenophobia) of violence today. It is within this context that immigrant learners in the inner city schools of Johannesburg have been identified as the primary research constituency for this aspect of the research process. In undertaking this research, the intention is to explore the nature and scale of xenophobia directed at learners in schools in the inner city of Johannesburg.

3.3 RESEARCH METHOD

According to Johnson and Christensen (2004:163), *method* refers to ways of obtaining, organising and analysing data that would reflect the overall research design and strategy. The choice of method is determined by the research question. In this study, *method* would refer to how the research was conducted and its logical sequence. Research is a "logical, systematic process" which insists on the application of a certain method of data gathering and analysis. The researcher will use the qualitative method to scientifically establish the extent of xenophobia in schools in the inner city of Johannesburg and how learners experienced the phenomenon of xenophobia. This method is selected because it will provide the best possible comprehension of the phenomenon of

xenophobia within its unique context (inner city schools) rather than in a generalised or universal context (McMillan & Schumacher 2001:14).

3.3.1 Qualitative Research

Qualitative research refers to the inductive, holistic, subjective and process-oriented methods used to understand, interpret, describe and develop a theory on a phenomenon or setting. It is an in-depth analysis of the problem in order to understand the *what* and *why* of human behaviour. According to Creswell (1994:145), qualitative research is a systematic, subjective approach that is used to describe life experiences and how people make meaning (sense) of their experiences.

Qualitative research is mainly concerned with an understanding of the social phenomenon from the research subject's perspective. This type of research endeavours to describe and analyse the participant's individual and collective social actions, beliefs, thoughts and perceptions. In this way, the researcher will collect data by interacting with selected individuals in their specific settings (various inner city schools). Qualitative research generates non-numerical data. The researcher will use a qualitative research design in her endeavours to understand the subjects' experiences and their life-world experiences related to xenophobia.

3.4 RESEARCH DESIGN

Research design refers to the blueprint that the researcher will use to execute the research project and indicates the way in which the data will be gathered. The purpose of the research design is to try to ensure that the researcher has the research question in mind and does not deviate from it. The research design of a qualitative researcher is usually a "gradually developing, extremely flexible design in which research decisions are made and when more information becomes available" (McMillan & Schumacher 2001:40).

A phenomenological study is a study that "attempts to understand people's perceptions, perspectives and understanding of a particular situation" (Delpont & Fouché 2005:264). The researcher selected the phenomenological study as the research design within the realm of qualitative research, as this approach describes the meaning of experiences of the phenomenon (xenophobia) for immigrant learners in inner city schools. The phenomenological research approach is considered to be the most appropriate to the aim of the study, which is to explore and understand the experiences of immigrant learners in the inner city schools of Johannesburg. The study will therefore be a general description of the phenomenon of xenophobia as seen through the eyes of people who have experienced it first-hand.

Qualitative researchers typically become immersed in the phenomena studied and bear the attitude of appreciation rather than expert (Creswell 1994:95–145).

Further, this approach will enable the researcher to reduce the experiences to a central meaning and the product of the research will be a description of the experiences being studied. To accomplish the essence of xenophobic experiences, the researcher has to enter the life-world of immigrant learners and place herself in the shoes of the subjects. This will be attained by means of a naturalistic study where the conversations and interactions of immigrants will be analysed. In this research study, the researcher will use face-to-face interviews as a strategy to collect data (Greeff 2005:286).

3.4.1 Researcher's Role

In qualitative research, the role of the researcher, as the primary data collection instrument, necessitates the identification of personal values, assumptions and biases at the outset of the study. The investigator's contribution to the research setting can be useful and positive rather than detrimental (Creswell 1994:163). The researcher's perceptions of xenophobia were shaped by personal experiences with learners at an inner city school. During the period 2001 to 2008, the researcher was employed as Deputy Principal at a girls' school in the inner city of Johannesburg, where she was involved with and worked very closely with immigrant learners who were taunted and ridiculed by South African learners as well as other immigrant learners. Positive aspects such as the achievements and academic successes of learners were also celebrated. In addition, the researcher counselled learners who were victims of the 2008 xenophobic violence. The researcher believes that this understanding of the context will enhance her awareness, knowledge and sensitivity to the many challenges, decisions and issues encountered by immigrant learners.

Due to contextual factors, the researcher brings certain biases to this study. Although every effort will be made to ensure objectivity, these biases may shape the researcher's view and understanding of the data collected and the interpretation of the participant's experiences. This study commences with the perspective that being an immigrant learner in a South African inner city school in Johannesburg can be both challenging and daunting. However, the researcher "must recognize and set aside personal perspectives and bias, while actively listening to, recording, analyzing, and reporting the informant's life story from the inside out" (Goldberg, Higgins, Raskind & Herman 2003:222–223). Bracketing is used to achieve this. "Bracketing requires a rigorous reflection on one's bias, opinions, and cultural and socio-economic backgrounds" (Holroyd 2001:3) and a suspension of these attitudes. A phenomenological study requires that the researcher "brackets" or puts aside all prejudgments and collects data on how individuals make sense out of a particular experience or situation (McMillan & Schumacher 2001:36).

To ensure that the researcher analyses the data objectively intercoder reliability, which is discussed in 3.4.4.3, will be used.

3.4.2 Selection of the Sample

Sampling refers to the method of selecting a group to represent the total population. The qualitative researchers' concern is to find cases that will enhance what the researchers learn about the processes of social life in a specific context (Neuman 2006:219). Informants and events are selected for their unique ability to explain, understand, and yield information about the meaning of expressive behaviour or the way the social system works (Vockell & William Asher 1998:200).

In purposeful sampling, "a particular case is chosen because it illustrates some feature or process that is of interest for a particular study" (Strydom & Delport. 2005:329). The purposeful selection of participants represents a key decision point in a qualitative study and the search for data must be guided by processes that will provide rich detail. In the case of purposive sampling, researchers seek typical and divergent data (Strydom & Delport. 2005:329). Qualitative researchers seek out the individuals and settings where the phenomenon being studied most likely exists, the researcher's concern is to find informants that will enhance the study by making a unique contribution that will yield information rich data to the research study.

The purposeful selection of participants represents a point of departure in this study since this technique allows for a selection of information rich cases for an in-depth study. Purposeful sampling is done to increase the utility of information obtained from small samples.

The researcher experienced difficulty in selecting the sample of schools. To ensure that the sampling process is scientific, the researcher resorted to approaching the Department of Education for a list of enrolment numbers of immigrant learners. The statistics received did not cover all schools in the inner city and, as a result, the researcher approached the schools directly to establish the enrolment number of immigrant learners.

Only five schools were willing to divulge the enrolment numbers and agreed to be part of the research study. These five schools were used to identify immigrant learners, South African learners and educators to be participants in the research study. As stated earlier, the immigrant and South African learners have to be between the ages of 13 and 18. To qualify as information rich participants, immigrant learners must have experienced the phenomenon of xenophobia and be able to communicate through the medium of English. The researcher will select South African learners and educators because they are knowledgeable and informative about the phenomenon of xenophobia. An attempt will be made to obtain as representative a sample as possible, both males and females will be used in the sample.

The researcher has to develop a time effective strategy to select the learners and educators as this can impact on the learners missing lessons. Principals will be approached to grant permission for the researcher to use a staff meeting as a forum to outline the purpose and procedure for the research. At this forum, the staff (inclusive of the SBST) will be requested to identify one South African and one immigrant learner who meet the criteria as outlined in 3.4.1. If more than one learner is identified, nomination forms (Appendix 10 & Appendix 11) will be completed by the educators and the learner, and those who have the highest number of nominations will be selected.

To select the educator to be interviewed, the educators will be briefed on the purpose of the research and will be informed that participation in the nomination process is voluntary. They will be informed of the following criteria. The educator:

- must have experienced working with learners who have experienced the phenomenon of xenophobia
- must have knowledge of learners who have experienced the phenomenon of xenophobia
- need not be South African.

They can then nominate three educators (Appendix 12) to participate in the research study, or educators may nominate themselves and educators may unanimously nominate one person to be interviewed. Each educator nominated will be asked if they accept the nomination. The nominees will then complete a short questionnaire (contained in Appendix 4) to establish if they will be a data rich information source. The researcher will then select the educator to be interviewed, who matched the profile i.e. the person who appears to have had the most interaction with and experience of immigrant learners or knowledge of learners who have experienced xenophobia. The educator who is selected, will be informed that participation in the study is voluntary.

The sample will comprise of five inner city schools as identified above. An immigrant learner, South African learner and educator will be selected in each of the five schools for in depth interviewing

3.4.3 Setting

The research study will be conducted on the premises of the selected inner city schools in Johannesburg. For reasons of convenience, the interview will take place in a room allocated by the school for this purpose.

3.4.4 Data Collection

Qualitative researchers interact with participants in a face-to-face situation. In their search for information-rich informants, and because qualitative research is carried out in the participants'

natural settings, this often means that researchers are entering the private worlds of individuals. This is not only a very intimate type of research, but may also involve gathering sensitive or controversial information. For this reason, it is important that researchers treat what they observe and hear with the greatest confidentiality as moral and ethical issues are involved (McMillan & Schumacher 2001:399).

Data to be collected will focus on specific questions that remain constant throughout the data collection process:

- A semi-structured interview schedule (Appendix 1) will be used as an instrument for collecting data from foreign learners. The semi-structured interview predetermines topics and questions but also leaves the researcher with “some space for following up interesting topics when they arise” (Rugg & Petre 2007:138). A pilot test will be conducted to ascertain if the questions are not double barreled.
- To enrich the results of the study, qualitative data will be collected by means of face-to-face interviews, which will be conducted with South African learners (Appendix 2) and educators (Appendix 3). A semi-structured interview schedule (Appendix 2) with general themes and questions regarding xenophobia will be used to elicit responses from South African learners and (Appendix 3) to obtain information from educators in order to enrich the data collected.

“The qualitative researcher is the primary instrument for data collection and analysis” (Creswell 1994:145). Data is thus mediated through this human instrument, rather than through questionnaires and inventories. Data will be collected from May to July 2009 and will be the sole responsibility of the researcher. All interviews will be conducted by the researcher through the medium of English. All terminology used in the data collection process will be simplified to the level of the respondent. Questions will be formulated to ensure that they are not leading or suggestive. The reactions of the respondents, such as the wiping of tears, change in voice, becoming emotional, refusal to answer, crying, symptoms of anxiety and depression will be noted immediately to prevent any distortion. In addition follow up interviews with the research participants will be conducted two days after the initial interview to ensure that no harm was done in re-igniting the trauma. Permission will be obtained for interviews to be audio-tape-recorded by asking the participants to sign the assent forms.

3.4.4.1 Pilot Test or Pilot Study

A pilot test will be conducted prior to the research process to test the interview schedule. A pilot test is essential when a self-compiled interview schedule is being used, as the pilot test ensures that errors can be rectified immediately prior to the main study. The primary purpose of the pilot test is to establish whether the subjects understand the questions, to ascertain how much time it

takes to test each subject and to obtain the necessary experience and practice necessary in conducting the interview to the main study sample. Breakwell, Hammond and Fife-Schaw, (1998:27) maintain that “pilot work helps to sort out the more useful and reliable methods and definitions, thereby facilitating the final selection by the researcher of those particular methods and definitions which will be used in the main study itself”.

The purpose of a pilot study is to improve the success and effectiveness of the investigation. Babbie in De Vos et al. (2005:210) says that no matter how carefully a data collection instrument is designed, the possibility of errors exists and the “surest protection against such error is pre-testing the instrument”. A pilot study is valuable in “refining the wording, ordering, layout, filtering” and in helping to edit the questionnaire or interview schedule to a manageable length (De Vos et al. 2005:210).

To ensure the effectiveness of the interview schedules, they will be administered at one of the inner city schools.

3.4.4.2 In-Depth Individual Semi-Structured Interviews

Interviewing is considered to be a predominant mode of data collection in qualitative research. Interviews are interactional events where both the researcher and participant are actively involved in a discussion. Sewell in De Vos et al. (2005:287) defines qualitative interviews as “attempts to understand the world from the participant’s point of view, to unfold the meaning of people’s experiences, and to uncover their lived world prior to scientific explanations”. In-depth interviewing is a data collection method that is used extensively in qualitative research. Kahn and Cannell describe the technique as “a conversation with a purpose” (Marshall & Rossman 1995:80).

In-depth interviewing will be utilised in this research study, as it allows the researcher to explore the phenomenon of xenophobia and uncover the participant’s perspective and yet convey an attitude of acceptance that the research participant’s information is useful and valuable (Marshall & Rossman 1995:80). Interviews have strengths and one of the advantages of the interview is its adaptability, as it allows the researcher to quickly obtain large amounts of data. Immediate follow-up and clarification is possible. Combined with observation, interviews allow the researcher to understand the meaning people hold for their everyday activities. Semi-structured in-depth interviews will be conducted with immigrant learners, South African learners and educators. Another advantage is that both verbal and non-verbal behaviour can be observed, which makes it suitable for in depth studies. One of the limitations of interviewing is that it is very time consuming and the researcher can be subjective (McMillan & Schumacher 2001:252). Since interviews involve personal interaction, co-operation is essential. The participants may be unwilling to share or uncomfortable in sharing what the researcher hopes to explore. A further weakness of interviewing

is that the researcher may not ask questions that evoke long narratives because of the participant's lack of expertise with the local language or lack of skill. By the same token, elements of the participant's response may not be properly comprehended by the interviewer. The research participant may have good reason not to be honest with the researcher (Marshall & Rossman 1995:81).

The order of the questions is flexible, and the researcher will use probing questions to elicit detail or further information. The interviews will be recorded by means of a tape recorder. Permission will be obtained prior to the recording and confidentiality will be guaranteed.

3.4.4.3 Data Analysis

The aim of conducting a research study is to produce findings. Data obtained during the research process is analysed to produce the findings. Data analysis is the process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of collected data.

Qualitative data analysis is primarily an inductive process of organising the data into categories and identifying patterns among the categories. Inductive analysis will be utilised in interpreting the data as it allows the patterns to emerge rather than imposing the patterns on data prior to the data collection process (McMillan & Schumacher (2001:461–462). The results of the analysis will be discussed in chapter four.

a) Content Analysis

Analysis will be conducted in accordance with the research objectives, using the questions in the interview schedule in a manner aspiring to establish thematic and chronological meaning. The aim of the researcher is to search for underlying statements and relationships in the data gathered. The researcher will seek to identify and describe patterns and themes from the perspective of the participants and then attempt to understand and explain these patterns and themes. The phenomenological researcher's interest will be in describing the fundamental structure of the experiences of immigrant learners. A list of major ideas will be chronicled (Creswell 1994:167).

The main method of data analysis will be content analysis, which is a method of sorting the content of communications. The advantages of content analysis are that:

- it is relatively simple
- though time consuming, it does not require a large financial outlay
- the researcher can add necessary information if it is missed or incorrectly coded
- it forces a careful examination of the material thus facilitating qualitative understanding (Rosnow & Rosenthal 1998:82).

The emphasis of qualitative content analysis is on finding meaning within the data rather than focusing on theme frequency. "In doing a content analysis, it is important to:

- ensure intercoder reliability
- develop specific, relevant content categories for the judges to code
- choose a good sampling procedure" (Rosnow & Rosenthal 1998:92), as already discussed above in 3.4.2.

Taped interviews will be transcribed verbatim and analysed using Tesch's method (Creswell 1994:155). Descriptive methods of analysis will be employed. During the data analysis, the data will be organised categorically and chronologically into preliminary groupings of descriptive themes agreed upon by the researcher and her supervisor, as an expert in the field of research. The researcher will search for significant statements, which could be words, phrases or sentences that have particular relevance to the phenomenon being studied. The researcher will analyse the data systematically (using Tesch's method) step-by-step, as follows:

- The researcher will get a sense of the whole by reading through all the transcriptions carefully. Ideas will be jotted down as they come to mind.
- The researcher will select one document (interview) from the top of the pile and go through it, asking herself what it was about. The focus will not be the "substance" of the information but the underlying meaning. Any thoughts will be written in the margin. The researcher will then cluster similar topics into columns arranged as major ideas, unique thoughts and leftovers.
- The researcher will revisit the data with the list. Topics will be abbreviated as codes. The codes will be written next to the appropriate general segments of the text. Any emerging codes will be arranged accordingly.
- The researcher will use descriptions for the topics to divide them into categories. The number of topics will be reduced by grouping related topics together. Lines will be drawn to link interrelated topics.
- A preliminary analysis will be conducted and data will be recoded if necessary (Creswell 1994:155).

b) *Field Notes*

Field notes are a written account of the things the researcher hears, sees, experiences and thinks about in the course of interviewing (Greeff 2005:298). The field notes will comprise descriptions of the researcher's perceptions and interpretations of events. This will serve as a guide to the researcher to enquire further, thereby obtaining a more in-depth understanding of the phenomenon of xenophobia as experienced by the learners. Notes will be written as soon as possible after the interview and not during the interview, as it may be a distraction, but keywords pertaining to

reactions such as wiping of tears, change in voice, and becoming emotional will be noted immediately.

c) *Intercoder Reliability*

To ensure that the process is valid, the researcher will be using intercoder reliability as a validity check. Intercoder reliability is used to describe the simple fact that no group of individuals will interpret any set of non-numeric data the exact same way. High intercoder reliability is required in qualitative content analysis for assuring quality when more than one coder is involved in data analysis (<http://everything2.com/node/1944863>).

Intercoder reliability refers to the extent to which independent coders evaluate a verbatim response and reach the same conclusion. It measures the extent to which different coders tend to assign exactly the same code to each verbatim response. The goal of content analysis is to identify similar, somewhat objective ideas, reasonable interpretations and inter-subjective ideas. Data and interpretations of the data cannot be considered valid without a measurement of consistency. Coder reliability is a critical component of content analysis ([www.languagelogic.info/2007 Papers/LisaRichmond](http://www.languagelogic.info/2007/Papers/LisaRichmond)).

A second coder will code two “full” transcripts, randomly selected, to ensure that there is agreement on the allocation of codes and thus intercoder reliability. The supervisor, in her capacity as research expert, will be the second coder.

The primary strategy that will be implemented to ensure external validity will be the provision of a rich and detailed description so that the participant’s experience of the phenomenon of xenophobia will elicit in the readers the feeling that they understand what it would be like to experience the phenomenon themselves (Johnson & Christensen 2004: 369). This will allow the readers to vicariously experience the challenges that immigrant learners encounter and provide a lens through which readers can view the participant’s world.

3.5 Ethical Considerations

Ethics is not a simple issue that is governed by a code of ethics such as the Health Professions Council of South Africa (HPCSA); it depends on the researcher’s personal standard of ethics. The fundamental principle which underpins all ethical codes relating to research is that psychologists must always consider the welfare of the subjects who participate in the research study, and must protect them from being either physically or mentally harmed by the research process (Breakwell et al. 1998:29).

The qualitative researcher must address the importance of ethical considerations in the research design. The researcher has an obligation to respect the rights, needs, and values of the participants. An interview can invade the life of the participant as sensitive information may be revealed. This is of particular concern in this study, as the researcher has identified the possibility of secondary trauma as a risk which the participant would encounter in the research study. The following safeguards will be employed to protect the participant's rights:

- The research objectives and use of the data collected will be articulated verbally and in writing so that they are clearly understood by participants.
 - Written permission to proceed with the study will be obtained from the participants and their parents where applicable.
 - The participants will be informed of all data collection devices and activities.
 - The participant's rights, interests and wishes will be considered first before choosing to report the data.
 - The final decision regarding informant anonymity will rest with the participant.
- (Creswell 1994:165).

Research should never harm the participants whether they volunteer for the study or not. Because research participants can be harmed psychologically in the course of a study, the researcher must look for the dangers and guard against them. Probing questions in this study may injure the fragile self-esteem of the participant and produce unpleasant effects for them (Babbie & Mouton 1998:522).

As soon as there is the slightest possibility that a research procedure may have undesirable consequences for research participants, it is the researcher's responsibility to take the necessary precautions for their eventual elimination. In case of possible psychological discomfort or distress, provision should be made for a debriefing interview as soon as possible after the conclusion of the study. If, during the course of the interview, the researcher becomes aware of emotional problems on the part of the participant, arrangements should be made for the necessary professional help. In some cases, follow-up interviews may even be necessary to ensure that no harmful effects persist. Research suggests that debriefing interviews are effective in eliminating this kind of stress (Huysamen 1994: 182).

The researcher has undertaken the responsibility to provide psychotherapy to subjects during and after the research process to ensure their psychological well-being. Informed consent will be obtained from each learner participant and his or her parents. If it appears that the participant is displaying signs of fatigue and exhaustion, the researcher will suggest that the participant take a break before resuming the interview, and if the client is emotional and does not want to continue, it will be suggested that we continue later in the day or the next day and if the participant does not

want to participate, his or her wishes will be respected. After the interview the researcher will apply *positive suggestion* before sending the participants on their way. Applying positive suggestion refers to a thought that is planted into the human mind, the psyche responsively triggers a lingering product of that thought. The power of suggestion can be the intuitive spark of the human psyche. By coming to terms with an issue, addressing it and affirming your stance over it, the human psyche can and will bring about unsettled emotions, fears and feelings. In doing so, the human psyche enables the mind, body and spirit to release tension and stress; thus allowing an overall sense of well-being (<http://ambafrance-do.org/psychology-help/33719.php>).

The following positive suggestions will be made:

- Tough times never last. Tough people do.
- Don't you think people are the expression of the Creator's kindness? Look carefully and you will see the kindness in their eyes, faces and smiles.
- You are today where your thoughts have brought you, you will be tomorrow where your thoughts take you.

In addition, the researcher will:

- Furnish participants with phone numbers in order to contact the researcher should they wish to discuss anything further. If the participant does not have access to a telephone, arrangements will be made with a teacher at the school to contact the researcher.
- The researcher will promise them that she will be back in approximately two days' time to see how they are doing.
- After two days, the researcher will have a short interview to check on their well-being i.e. ask them directly how they are doing and feeling after the interview.
- The researcher will also briefly check on post trauma symptoms such as nightmares, flash backs, and concentration problems. If symptoms of trauma present themselves, the researcher will follow up with therapy.

Letters will be given to the selected respondents requesting permission from them to participate in the research. In obtaining permission, the researcher will give the assurances of confidentiality and anonymity and describe the intended use of the data. Schools will not be named but referred to as "School A" or "School B", etc. To ensure confidentiality and protect privacy, the learners will have coded names that they will give to themselves. Researchers have a dual responsibility – to protect the participants' anonymity from others in the setting and to protect the participants' from the general reading public (McMillan & Schumacher 2001:391).

3.6 Informed Consent

The principle of informed consent implies that the researcher should explain the research study to the subject. When the subject agrees to participate with knowledge about the research, it is considered to be informed consent (Breakwell et al. 1998:29). Participants must be legally and psychologically competent to give consent and they must be aware that they are at liberty to withdraw from the research study at any time. Nobody should be coerced into participating in a research project; participation must always be voluntary (De Vos 2005:27).

The learners will be required to sign an assent form (Appendix 5 & Appendix 6) to grant permission to become participants in the research study. The parent/legal guardian will be given a copy of the assent form. The following will be discussed in the assent form. The:

- general purpose of the research
- nature of the participant's involvement
- participant's freedom to withdraw from the research at any point
- identity of the participant will be protected by using pseudonyms.

The parent/legal guardian will be required to sign a consent form (Appendix 7 & Appendix 8) to grant permission for the learner to become a participant in the research study. The following will be discussed in the consent form. The:

- general purpose of the research
- nature of the participant's involvement
- participant's freedom to withdraw from the research at any point
- identity of the participant will be protected by using pseudonyms.

The educators will also be required to sign a consent form (Appendix 9) to grant permission to become participants in the research study.

The following will be discussed in the teacher consent form:

- general purpose of the research
- the nature of the participant's involvement
- the participant's freedom to withdraw from the research at any point

3.7 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the researcher discussed the research design including the methodology to be used in the data collection process. Methods of data analysis, sampling and ethical considerations

including intercoder reliability were discussed. This chapter will serve as a precursor to the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

EMPIRICAL STUDY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

“An individual has not started living until he can rise above the narrow confines of his individualistic concerns to the broader concerns of all humanity”

(Martin Luther King, Jr. http://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/authors/m/martin_luther_king_jr.html).

One of the aims of post-apartheid South Africa is to fulfil the obligations set out in the Constitution of South Africa (1996). Therefore, the right of basic education is “to ensure equity and the need to redress the results of past racially discriminatory laws and practices”. As discussed in chapter two, the Children’s Act and the Child Care Act aim to ensure that immigrant children are not disadvantaged in any way and are given access to education.

The aim of this research project was to explore the phenomenon of xenophobia as experienced by immigrant learners in the inner city schools of Johannesburg. The results of the study are presented in this chapter. A number of themes were delineated from the interviews with the immigrant learners, and are discussed as the chapter progresses. This is followed by the perceptions of South African learners on immigrant learners and xenophobia in schools. Finally, the views of educators on immigrant learners and the phenomenon of xenophobia in schools will be highlighted.

4.2 EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

The empirical research included observations, immigrant learner interview schedules, South African learner interview schedules and educator interview schedules. All 16 interviews were conducted by the researcher and observations made during the interviews were recorded as field notes. Interviews explored issues of xenophobia and the experiences of immigrant learners in the school environment. Although the initial idea was to interview five immigrant learners, during the sampling process at School B two immigrant learners were identified (cf. 3.4.2). The researcher requested to only interview one, but the principal had informed both learners. She asked the researcher to interview both learners so as not to disappoint the other learner. Both learners experienced xenophobia and met the criteria and therefore the envisaged five interviews increased to six interviews with immigrant learners. Positive suggestion was used to conclude the interviews to provide the immigrant learners with a sense of affirmation. A few responded immediately, whilst others mulled over the suggestion and spoke when the tape recorder was switched off.

Access was negotiated at all the schools with both the principals and the Gauteng Department of Education (Appendix 14). Data was collected over the period 25 May to 27 July 2009. Interviews were recorded and coded transcripts of the interviews, including recorded non-verbal communications such as the wiping of tears, tone of voice, becoming emotional, refusing to answer, crying, symptoms of anxiety and depression can be found in Appendix 13. Pseudonyms for all the participants were used.

4.3 DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED AND LIMITATIONS OF THIS STUDY

This section documents some of the difficulties encountered in the process of conducting research, as well as the limitations of this study where four major areas are considered: accessing the sample, resistance by immigrant learners to be interviewed, time and scope.

- As discussed in chapter three, the researcher encountered difficulties in accessing schools as the principals were reluctant to grant permission. It must be noted that the research context has a determinative influence on the research. The difficulties were further intensified when the immigrant learners selected for the interviews absented themselves on more than one occasion. Immigrant learners then had to be replaced with substitute immigrant learners. This situation did not always yield the information rich data that is required for an empirical study.
- Educators also tended to be reluctant to be interviewed. Many South African educators felt that immigrant educators would be a source of rich data and should be interviewed. The researcher thus deviated from the initial plan as outlined in 3.4.2 and included three immigrant educators. This introduced a new dimension to the data as immigrant educators spoke of their personal xenophobic experiences.
- Immigrant learners were very sceptical about the research despite it being explained to them. Many viewed the researcher with distrust. Further investigation revealed that journalists had visited two of the schools to obtain information for the one-year anniversary of the xenophobic attacks. Learners and principals were promised that learner and school names as well as photographs of learners would not be published. They were disappointed because the newspaper contained photographs and a sensationalist article, which included the identities of the learners.
- Similarly, another learner refused to co-operate for fear that the tape recording would be televised. She narrated her experiences after the tape recorder was switched off. She indicated that she withheld information during the interview because her neighbour was hoodwinked into an interview which later appeared on television, and the neighbour was subsequently deported.

- The researcher also realised that immigrant learners attending schools were the fortunate ones, because during the course of the empirical study, it was noted that many children were not attending school.
- Obtaining permission from parents was difficult as many immigrant learners did not want their parents to know about the interview; the mothers in most cases could not read English and many feared that they were signing papers which could contribute to them being sent to camps for deportation. The researcher resorted to visiting the immigrant learners' homes to introduce herself and obtained permission verbally.

4.4 ANALYSIS

The data obtained from the interviews was transcribed and read several times to create a holistic picture. Initial responses were noted, and bracketing was used to ensure that personal bias could be recognised during the analysis process. The content analysis is contained in Appendix 13.

Content analysis was employed to identify categories and themes within the data. To increase intercoder reliability, a second coder, Prof. D. Krüger, examined the coded transcripts in her capacity as supervisor and research expert.

4.4.1 BRACKETING

Bracketing was used to intensify the researcher's cognisance of the subject of xenophobia. This process required that the researcher rigorously reflect on her bias and opinions regarding the phenomenon of xenophobia, and that these attitudes be suspended during the analysis phase. The researcher's initial impressions of the data was that the older teenagers (16 to 18) had a sense of acceptance and understanding of the xenophobic attitudes. This is reflected in their level of maturity and tolerance of xenophobic attitudes.

The younger (13 and 14 years old) and especially the primary school teenagers were more sensitive to xenophobic attitudes. Their level of maturity did impact on the depth of their pain and acceptance of xenophobic experiences. This was not what the researcher expected, as she anticipated that all immigrant learners would experience the phenomenon of xenophobia in a similar way.

The older teenagers appeared to have accepted and tolerated the injustice of xenophobia, and tended not to dwell on it, whilst the younger immigrant learners felt pain and harmed by their xenophobic experiences. The researcher started wondering whether this was related to age or a consequence of being exposed to so much xenophobia that immigrant learners resigned themselves to accepting it and moving on. Perhaps they have found new alternate challenges to

focus on and have shelved the negativity of xenophobia to the subconscious. There was a marked difference in perceptions between the younger and older immigrant participants. Perhaps the older immigrant learners were not feeling disillusioned with South Africans after all, or maybe they deliberately do not want to open up wounds that will leave them vulnerable and traumatised again.

While considering these issues, the researcher realised that several personal biases could affect her perceptions:

- As a South African, the researcher was viewing the immigrant's perceptions of xenophobia from the mind of an adult. The researcher's adult perspective lacks the simplicity and naivety of the children's responses. As an adult, the researcher responded favourably to delayed gratification, responsibility and complexity of thought. This heightened awareness resulted from one of the interviews where the boy refused to be interviewed until the researcher bought him lunch. The principal of the school thought that the learner was capitalising on the situation. The researcher saw things from Maslow's perspective of needs being fulfilled. If the boy's basic needs were not met, he would be unable to focus on an interview. The researcher is still puzzled by the situation: was it immediate gratification or was he not going to let a golden opportunity slip by?
- The researcher's disappointment in the perceived superficiality of the responses may have emerged as a consequence of her exposure to immigrant learners. She felt that all immigrant learners were experiencing severe hardships and difficulties, however, responses from the interviews indicated otherwise. Some had overcome their initial difficulties and had triumphed, whilst others were content with their lot in life as it was reportedly better than a war ravaged country. Even in situations where a family of seven occupied one room, they were grateful for the television and electricity which they did not have in their previous countries.

4.4.2 CATEGORIES IDENTIFIED THROUGH CONTENT ANALYSIS

Categories were identified through content analysis and codes were applied to specific themes. Initial categories were identified on the research question and findings from the literature study. Discussion of each category is based on the perceptions of the participants (Refer to Appendix 15 for an example of an interview conducted with an immigrant learner).

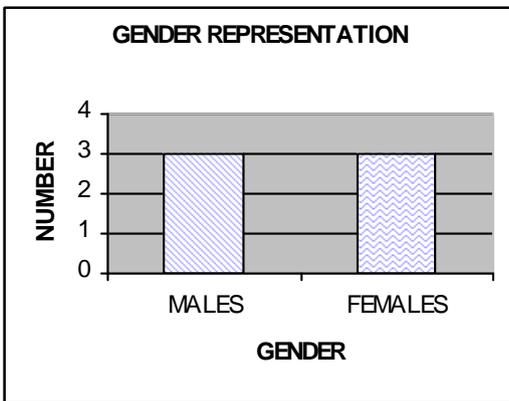
4.5 RESULTS OF THE INTERVIEWS WITH IMMIGRANT LEARNERS

4.5.1 INTERPRETATION OF THE DATA

Profile of the sample

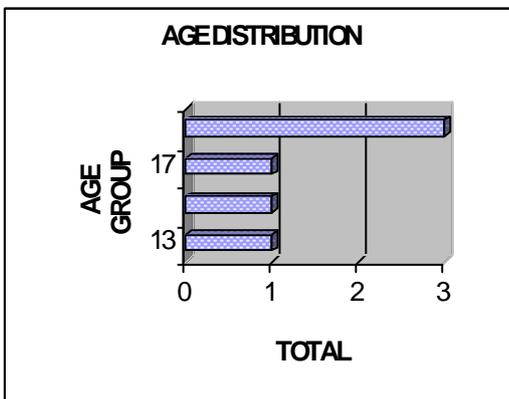
The profile of the sample will be discussed according to the various questions from the interview schedule.

4.5.1.1 Figure 1: Gender



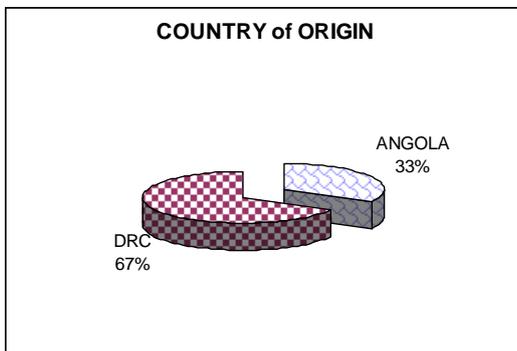
The sample of six learners consisted of three females and three males in the immigrant learner group. The researcher found that boys were more willing to disclose their experiences than girls, and they tended to be more emotional when relating their experiences.

4.5.1.2 Figure 2: Ages



The respondents ranged from 13 to 18 years of age (Figure 2). Thus, their developmental stage is of adolescence. Adolescence as a developmental stage is not clearly defined (Louw, Van Ede & Louw 2001: 384). However, it is generally accepted that adolescence begins at puberty, which is between 11 and 13 years of age and ends between 18 and 21 years of age. The entire sample thus fell within the adolescent stage.

4.5.1.3 Figure 3: Country of Origin and Duration of Stay of Immigrant learners



The majority of the respondents (four) were from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and two learners were from Angola. The duration of stay in South Africa ranges from 1 to 13 years.

4.5.1.4 Reasons for Coming to South Africa

The majority of the immigrant learners interviewed came to South Africa to escape the war in their own countries. South Africa offered hope in the form of safety and security. Mike sums up his reason for leaving as follows: "... because of war. There were soldiers fighting so we had to get out before you also [were] killed. So we left everything we had when we came to South Africa." This country appears to appeal to immigrants as it offers them security and a good education compared to other African countries. War is a factor that pushes people out of their countries and South

Africa lures immigrants into the country by offering hope, employment security and opportunities to study. These would be the factors pulling people into South Africa.

4.5.1.5 *Language at Home*

All the immigrant learners were able to converse in English as they were attending English medium schools. The respondents spoke English at home (one of them only spoke English), the other three spoke French as well as English, one respondent spoke Portuguese and the sixth spoke Kiluba at home. In an attempt to assimilate, five of the six immigrant learners are learning Afrikaans as well. The sixth respondent is studying Portuguese in place of Afrikaans as the first additional language. Thus, it is the researcher's opinion that these learners are making an attempt to assimilate and make the transition in a new country by learning English and an indigenous language. This will be discussed later in the chapter.

4.5.1.6 *Concept of Xenophobia*

All respondents were familiar with the concept of xenophobia. Their explanations indicate an understanding of the meaning of the concept as well as the connotations associated with the phenomenon. Although some interviewees mentioned that they had not experienced xenophobia directly, their responses in the interview are indicative of xenophobic experiences. Other respondents experienced xenophobia directly. Xenophobia is associated with "... we are poor ... we must go back to our country ... that we come and dirty their country," and "... people calling me, 'amakwerekwere' eating up our food, finishing up our money, taking their jobs away from them". The general description of xenophobia was one related to blood, violence and killings. It was evident that the teasing and name-calling tended to be painful and difficult to accept

4.5.1.7 *Finding a School*

All the respondents attend schools in the inner city of Johannesburg. The time taken to find a school varied amongst the respondents. They all indicated that it was difficult to find a school. Julie mentions that "... it was not easy to find a high school but then we had to try because I was a foreigner and all that English was a problem." It appears that difficulty in finding a school can be attributed to not being able to speak English.

The researcher anticipated the issue of not affording to pay school fees to arise in the interviews, but none of the participants mentioned it. They all focused on the number of schools that turned them away and the time that it took before being admitted at a school. Immigrant learners seemed to be aware of their rights to education and challenged schools that declined admission. It also appeared that schools could no longer close their doors to the large numbers of immigrant learners seeking admission. One of the reasons attributed to finding a school relate to the time of arrival in South Africa. If immigrant learners arrived after September, which is the Department of Education's

closing date for admission, problems were intensified because prospective learners were placed on waiting lists or had to wait a whole year before their applications were processed.

4.5.1.8 *Feeling Different*

Five of the six immigrant respondents indicated that they felt different. Only one respondent (residing at a boarding school) indicated that he did not feel different. Jackson describes being different because "... the South Africans just give you this look ... that you are not part of the place where you are trying to belong. That's why, that's the only thing that makes me feel different, that you can't fit in." The researcher expected feeling different to be attributed to physical characteristics but none of the immigrant learners mentioned this stereotype. It is debatable whether they were in denial or suppressing their feelings, as this was not raised in the interviews. Instead, learners felt different because they did not experience a sense of belonging and acceptance.

Amanda indicated that she felt different because " ... when you grow up in a place of poverty ... you realise just how fortunate you are, so I definitely don't take things for granted ..., the way my peers do. I grab everything that comes ... so I definitely feel different."

Distinct xenophobic experiences emerged from immigrant learners, yet xenophobia tended to be perceived as a non-issue by persons in authority. Three of the five principals who were spoken to when the research project was introduced to them believed that the issue was addressed in the curriculum and in assemblies and that learners were not experiencing xenophobia at school. Some believed that because learners did not complain or it was not brought to their attention, it was not happening in their schools.

4.5.1.9 *How do South African Learners Discriminate?*

All immigrant learners experienced some form of discrimination at the hands of South African learners. The predominant theme that emerged from the interviews was name-calling. Responses ranged from derogatory name-calling and teasing to acceptance and embarrassment. Name-calling included terms such as '*amakwerekwere*', '*ingogongo*', '*kwang*' and 'crocodile drivers'. "They use some ugly names. I forgot the words, '*kwang*' or '*makwerekwere*.'" Learners experienced discrimination from South African learners in the form of looks, stares and glaring that was perceived to be unkind. This behaviour could be indicative of non-acceptance of immigrant learners and the embarrassment that they endure through critical looks. Discrimination also occurs in classrooms in the guise of teasing, which sometimes goes unnoticed by the educators. Comments such as "we ran home from hunger ... that we are poor ... we must go back to our country ... that we come and dirty their country ..." and "... in Congo, we sleep on top of the trees, like in Congo when there's a war, fathers and mothers forget their child ..."

4.5.1.10 *Communicating in English*

All the immigrant learners who were interviewed, were fluent in English and did not experience difficulty in expressing themselves. They had a good command of the language and were at ease communicating in English. All immigrant participants stated that they experienced humiliation when communicating in English in the classroom. Humiliation came in the form of being embarrassed when classmates laughed at them because of the way they articulated words, their accents or when using the wrong word. Pronouncing words with a French accent was described as “weird” and led to teasing. Consequently, for some respondents, this led to loneliness because they felt ignored and they were unable to socialise. Julie initially felt that she did not experience any difficulty but changed her view. She described her encounters as “... I feel ignored, I feel bad, I feel upset ... upset about classmates and I feel very alone ... I feel like saying it but I can’t ... so that really affects me.”

4.5.1.11 *Adequacy of Education System and Xenophobia in the Syllabus*

There were mixed responses to this question. Some respondents felt that the system was adequate but xenophobia was not covered in the syllabus. Learners from the DRC felt that they were receiving “a good education in South Africa more than the way I know people comes from Congo get”. It was evident that the principals at all the schools in the sample had addressed the issue of xenophobia in the assembly.

Many respondents felt that the education system was adequate because at school they were regarded as equal. Many were aware of their rights and stated that “Every child’s got a right to go to school.” Amanda’s response to whether xenophobia was covered in the syllabus was “Not at all, ... it didn’t speak about what’s really happening, how women are being raped in their own towns and how children are forced to become child soldiers ... and so people are never gonna understand it and they’ll never know why we’re here, they’ll never empathise with us, they’ll never sympathise.” She also felt that the education system was not adequate “... I just think the education system is not very realistic back at home in terms of the education system, is not the very best but ... they were given more skills in high school so that if somebody left their matric they can do something physically. In South Africa it’s kind of ... everything is just in books and you get out there and you can’t do anything ... So I don’t think the education system is very realistic and with the pass rate of being ... you pass with 30% and you can’t get into university unless you get 60 it’s just ... it doesn’t make sense so it’s not adequate.”

4.5.1.12 *Provision to Accommodate Immigrant Learners*

From the responses, it emerged that there was a feeling of satisfaction because they felt equal and were included in extra lessons and school activities. All participants were content at their schools and felt that they had been accommodated. Some respondents felt that counselling should be

offered to all immigrant learners to enable them to cope with the adjustment of settling in another country. Intensive counselling was suggested for learners who have been traumatised.

Lerato felt that her school accommodated immigrant learners “because there is some other children, they don’t eat, you know, they don’t have proper clothes and the school do donate proper clothes and food and at breaks, you know, they don’t carry lunch, they come by the kitchen, get bread and eat porridge and maybe soup or something like that to eat”. She felt that school made provision for immigrant learners by taking their basic needs into account. Three of the five schools visited had operational feeding schemes in place to meet the needs of the learners.

4.5.1.13 *Socialisation*

Immigrant learners were asked this question to ascertain if integration has taken place in schools and whether immigrant learners were socialising with South African learners. It emerged from the interviews that immigrant learners preferred socialising with learners from their own countries as they did not trust South African learners. Socialisation with South Africans occurred but on a limited scale. Integration appears to be a long process, as learners do not look beyond their differences. Jackson indicated that his “friends mostly are Congolese because ... the way they move Congolese on that side, coloureds on that side, South Africans, I mean, white people on that side. ... Congolese stays in one place. South Africans can also stay in their own place”.

Thembisa, who resides in a boarding school, experienced socialisation differently and appears to be assimilated into the school. This appears to be an instance of rationalisation when Thembisa describes his assimilation “Yes, they are South Africans; I’m actually related to all of them, I’m related to the Chinese, the French people, different people, the Angolan people and the South Africans”. Rationalisation is explained as an incident that is difficult to accept, a logical reason is made up to explain why it happened. Rationalisation may also be used when something happens that is independent from the individual and which causes discomfort, such as when a friend is unkind (<http://changingminds.org/explanations/behaviors/coping/rationalization.htm#>).

4.5.1.14 *Name-calling / Teasing*

All six immigrant learners had encountered name-calling and ethnic jokes. Ethnic jokes were experienced as “painful”. Jokes included derogatory terms as discussed in 4.5.1.9. as well as comments such as “this is not your country you must go back,” and “you are just a piece of rubbish, ... to clean our house, the toilets and scrub the toilet” Immigrant learners felt that South African learners were using “ugly names” that made them feel sad.

Amanda echoed the sentiments of the other five immigrant learners when she summed up ethnic jokes as “it’s just a joke and people like ... you know ... it’s just a joke but it always hits home, it always hits somewhere, and ... yeah it happens often actually”.

4.5.1.15 *Emotional Experiences*

The respondents experienced xenophobia as an emotion in their hearts, heads, stomachs, chests and even eyes. There were feelings of insecurity, as they did not know what to expect, as well as anger and being upset, as immigrant learners did not agree with the violent behaviour of South Africans. Memories of the hardship and suffering endured in the refugee camps came to the fore; the pain, heartache and sadness of uncertainty and death also surfaced as immigrant learners relived and described their emotional encounters.

Julie feels “... bad, I feel really like crying, I feel very weak inside me. I feel like I could go just out there, try to help stop this thing but I can’t, it’s just too bad ... people getting killed, a woman with pregnancy thrown from the sixth floor downstairs ...”. Julie has memories of “people getting killed, people running to the train stations, ... cutting their legs off ... that really pains because ..., a girl was cut off fingers on the table because her parents were not there and they were supposed to get the parents ..., the woman with pregnancy, they just had to shoot her”. Julie still experiences the xenophobia in her heart and has nightmares because of these memories.

Mike describes his experience of xenophobia as “Like suffering. And people getting hurt.” He felt these emotions in his head as well as his “stomach and chest” where he felt “cold and shivery”. He even experienced nightmares before and after the period of xenophobic violence. He describes his nightmares where people “wearing black masks” were “hitting me and cutting off my fingers. And then making me to lick my own blood”. Mike also fled from his house during the period of xenophobic violence because “they burnt our house and there were people holding sticks, so we took the back yard, the back mmm ... door. And we ran to the police station then we slept there but at ... after weeks er ... buses came and took us to camps. That is where we started living”.

4.5.1.16 *Perceptions of South Africans*

When the participants were questioned about their views of South African learners, and asked to describe the interaction between immigrant learners and South African learners, their opinions varied. Some participants did not feel safe because of comments such as “This is not your country, you must go back”.

Perceptions of South Africans varied. The following are excerpts from the interviews:

- “I don’t see South African learners having problems with the immigrant learners, they are friendly people, I don’t have a problem with them ...”

- “I don’t think kids like them can be so horrible like that. I think it’s the parents teaching them how to discriminate and hate other people.”
- “... sometimes you just feel lucky ... you know ... you read and write.”
- “it’s time for you to go back to your country because ..., we don’t accept you ... you come and steal our stuff, our dignity, you steal our wives, you steal our jobs.”

Amanda views South Africans as “... naïve ... they don’t see what they have,” referring to how ungrateful South Africans are as well as taking everything for granted. When questioned further, she stated that South Africans view immigrant learners as “that we have a dad who doesn’t have an arm and a mom who’s just suffering and old and a huge family and like suffering people ... that’s the picture the world has given ... you know ... of Africa ... we are probably dirty too and we have mosquito’s flying all over us”.

Interaction was described by all the participants as occurring in distinct groups. “Congolese on one side and South Africans on the other side.” It appears that interaction is taking place, but on a limited scale, and immigrant learners have not been assimilated into schools.

4.5.1.17 Treated Differently

“Being different” meant that South Africans behaved differently because “people start to feel sorry for you”. Language was seen as a dividing factor which led to teasing and made differences more conspicuous. Mike stated that “... it’s a bit different the way they talk, the way they eat, dance, play, everything they do is a bit different to us”.

Once again, none of the interviewees raised the issue of physical characteristics such as skin colour.

4.5.1.18 Safety and Security

Five out of the six respondents indicated that they felt safe at school. Mike was the only one who did not feel safe “because of the way the children are teasing us”.

Jackson said, “I was very safe.” Julie maintained “I feel safe because the school that I’m attending is a very good school, it has security”. Thembisa’s response was “The fact that I see that people here doesn’t have nothing against immigrant learners makes me feel safe here”. Lerato expressed her view on safety as “even though you don’t feel safe at home but when you just come here, you just step into the door you know, you just smile ... you just say everything is going to be alright”. Amanda responded with an emphatic “Yes”.

4.5.1.19 Victimization

Jackson and Mike felt that there was victimisation at school. Jackson's experience is based on not feeling accepted, "they said you must go ask your Congolese friends". This is emphasised once again when he states "we have got the Congolese RCL's, they'll call for you a Congolese RCL. 'Go sort it out in your language with your Congolese friend'".

Mike feels victimised because of "the way the children are teasing us" and "are threatening us".

Julie, Lerato, Amanda and Thembisa all felt that there was no victimisation at school.

4.5.1.20 *Xenophobic Experiences*

Only one immigrant learner indicated that he experienced xenophobia at school. The others mentioned that they were not involved but they did experience some form of discrimination. Despite mentioning that they were not involved in any incidents, their comments contradicted this view. For example:

- "...It's really, really bad ... You're not free because everybody is rejecting you."
- "they say that they collect electricity from Congo to here so they were like 'no, this one is a Congolese, if we had to touch this one we won't have electricity'."
- "the boy kicked my friend ... they started fighting when I came to stop, they put me inside the fight ... then they started hitting me ... the group beated ... the group of boys were hitting me ... then they ran."

Participating in school activities tends to facilitate integration and acceptance. Thembisa represents his school in sport and he appears not to "... have any problems; I try to do as many sports as I can". *None of the learners felt discriminated against in respect of activities at school.*

4.5.1.21 *May 2008 Xenophobic Violence*

Jackson indicated that he was not affected by the violence; he attended school "because in a way I was very safe ...". His results were not affected, but he heard comments from fellow learners such as "we would kill them here". The principal addressed the assembly on the issue of xenophobia but there was no counselling or support in any other form. Julie was affected "because ..., my family members, was attacked". She "felt like going out there and fighting these people, but the thing is ... I can't because they are very violent, I felt very angry ...". There was a time when she did not attend school and this impacted on her marks. She found the teachers and friends to be supportive "were comforting us when we came to school," and her friends said "we love you guys, we don't want anything to happen to you people so they were just friendly." Although she indicated that she did not receive any counselling, the principal stated that she was severely traumatised and was receiving counselling at the Centre for Violence and Reconciliation.

Thembisa attended school and was not affected in any way because he attends a boarding school. The learners and teachers were "... trying to make me scared, but I don't think they were serious, so that's why I think I felt safer here at school cause besides the jokes that people makes I can see they like us".

Lerato was affected by the violence: "We did not have exams; our marks were low". She was absent for "maybe one month". She received support from friends "they were telling jokes with me. Making me safe" and she also received counselling from the psychologist and art therapist at school.

Mike was severely affected by the violence: "they burnt our house" and he spent "like I think three months" at a camp. It affected his schoolwork because "I didn't do my test" and the teacher did not believe him. His friends were supportive: "they were angry at the teacher that didn't give me a test to write". He did not receive any counselling despite the trauma that he endured.

Amanda was emotionally affected by the violence "that was scary. It was very scary, our parents got paranoid, we couldn't leave the house". Amanda attended school and was "driven more to work even harder". She did not receive any counselling but felt that she did not need it. She was supported by the learners who were "really good, they're very sympathetic and the teachers as well".

4.5.1.22 Impressions of South Africa and Future Plans

All immigrant learners indicated a desire to return to their country of birth, four would like to return and make a difference for the people of their home countries but would like to settle in South Africa. Two wanted to return permanently. Impressions of South Africa are very positive: "South Africa is a good country but then there's so much potential here". "Actually I get a good education in South Africa more than the way I know people comes from Congo get". "... it's just that we just have to try and work together as a country".

Mike believed that "South Africa is not a nice country," because "they don't like other people of other countries ... because of their jealousy". He plans to "go back" to the DRC where he hopes to find employment.

4.5.1.23 Treatment of Foreigners

Immigrant learners felt that respect was paramount in the way they were treated, as they also had dignity "to respect, second to treat each other in a common way, as same people". It also emerged that South Africans "... should just try to be friendly, they should stop discriminating". To foster better relations South Africans must not "just assume things" and "through sharing experiences

with people and knowing them that you'll love them and that's the only way you can accept me if you understand me".

4.6 RESULTS OF THE INTERVIEWS WITH SOUTH AFRICAN LEARNERS

The researcher selected South African learners according to the sampling procedure outlined in Chapter three. Five South African learners, (inclusive of both genders and in the same age group as the immigrant learners) attending inner city schools in Johannesburg were interviewed to ascertain their views, which included their feelings, perceptions and attitudes towards foreigners, to enrich data obtained from immigrant learners. (Refer to Appendix 16 for an example of an interview conducted with a South African learner).

4.6.1. INTERPRETATION OF THE DATA

Profile of the sample

The profile of the sample will be discussed according to the various questions from the interview schedule.

4.6.1.1 Gender

The sample of five learners consisted of three males and two females in the South African learner group.

4.6.1.2 Understanding of Xenophobia and Interaction with Immigrants

All five learners had a clear understanding of the term xenophobia. Responses regarding interaction varied significantly from interacting "on a daily basis" to "no interaction at all" and just "total separation". It also emerged that interaction occurred when the need arose and if it was beneficial to South African learners. Immigrant learners are seen as intelligent and performing well in mathematics and science: "...there are people that I relate to on a school basis ... I mainly go to ..., actually, for help". Some saw immigrant learners as "classmates and that's it".

Pamela felt that interaction varied between the juniors and seniors. She felt that the "juniors do not mark you ... they take you as you are ... seniors think 'you know what, since you are different from me, your family is not as wealthy as mine, then I'm going to separate myself from you, ... In the junior phase you'll just see everyone with smiles on their faces and playing as a group of different nations". Tebogo's response differed because "during the xenophobic attack there was actually tension because then they didn't trust us the South Africans ... right now it's like interaction between everyone, we just normal, their friends, we are friends and everything". Immigrant learners indicated that they did not trust South Africans. They are "... usually foreigners amongst themselves because many people do not interact with them ... They will just be sitting amongst

themselves”, this description of interaction is in keeping with the comments from the immigrant learners.

4.6.1.3 *Language and Communication*

All five South African learners used the medium of English to communicate with immigrant learners. All five felt uncomfortable when in the presence of immigrant learners who were speaking in their indigenous language. They felt that “it can be intimidating because you don’t know what they are saying about you”. Being able to speak Zulu assisted in communicating with immigrant learners from Zimbabwe. South African learners seemed to distrust immigrant learners and language differences exacerbated the problem: “we want to trust that they were not gossiping right in front of us in their own language”.

4.6.1.4 *Preference for Admissions*

Responses varied regarding preference for admission to schools. Pamela felt that immigrant status should not matter. Admission should be “according to their academic results”. The other learners shared the opinion that preference should be given to South Africans. This is aptly summarised in the comment: “Honestly, it is the job of the government to look after the children of South Africa. This is our country, although it may sound as if I am being harsh or being insensitive, but this is our country and the government should treat us South African kids with first preference”.

4.6.1.5 *Interaction with Immigrant Learners*

South Africans had no inhibitions in expressing their views and there were mixed feelings regarding immigrant learners. Although communication with immigrant learners took place on a daily basis, and there are sentiments such as “they’re like us ... it’s just a matter of language and culture,” there were comments such as “But there are some that really are breaking down our country and they need to be deported ... on school turf ... I go to them for help, but I can’t really say that they are my friends”. Lisa felt that “They are different so it’s difficult to understand them because they act in different ways”. All interacted with immigrant learners “often at school,” but there was no contact with them outside school.

4.6.1.6 *Xenophobia in Schools*

South African learners shared the sentiment that teachers “treat them equally” and “actually go out to ... help the foreign learners that are struggling with their work”, In contrast, Steve felt that the “teachers do not understand and are harsh on them ... and they verbally abuse the student. Xenophobia is prevalent in school “yes amongst most of the learners, they normally call them mmm ... *kwerekwere*, foreigners ... they have these code names that no one else understands”. Interaction is described as “harsh treatment by South Africans on foreign nationals ... resulted in fighting with the foreign nationals”. Xenophobic incidents were witnessed: “a learner attacking

another learner during the xenophobic attack last year, he was actually accusing a learner of being a foreigner and everything, telling him to get out of the country and all that stuff". He describes interaction as "...there was actually tension ... they didn't trust us the South Africans ...". It seems as if interaction is restricted because immigrant learners are perceived to be "... very rough; they usually do not take jokes, so we have to watch how we speak to them. They are very violent".

4.6.1.7 2008 Xenophobic Attacks and its Effect on Schooling

The effect of the violence had emotional and social effects. Learners were frightened by the violence, which led to mistrust and separation. The little interaction between the two groups seemed to have dwindled to "total separation between South Africans and non-South Africans". It aggravated poor relations between the two groups as "the attacks brought in more anger ... little things that South Africans used to say were now taken to heart and really taken seriously".

South African learners reported that "Education slowed down, a number of people were not coming to school. Many learners didn't come to school, ... marks had to be collected and everything the teachers were struggling and they actually had like to first check and go to the ones who were lost and start afresh with them that didn't come to school during the xenophobic attack". It appears that all the schools in this sample were affected by the 2008 xenophobic violence, but it varied in severity.

4.6.1.8 Improving the Treatment of Immigrant Learners

Pamela supports the idea that "you shouldn't tag a person ... you should look at individuals and not a group". She feels that there definitely are problems at her school because "...it's a matter of 'I won't help you with your work, I know that you are struggling but just get lost because I don't know you didn't have a bath today so just get out of my face".

There were sentiments that immigrant learners should be treated "...like you treat your brothers and sisters". South Africans need to start tolerating and understanding that foreigners are human and derogative comments hurt". South African learners also realised that communication can bridge the gap between foreigners and South Africans. By communicating, one's understanding improves and acceptance becomes easier. Communication can change violence and animosity into a harmonious relationship

One of the reasons for the divide is that "South Africans think that they are better ...The way they look, the way they dress; cultures and where they come from".

All five South African learners admitted that there were problems at their schools and that immigrant learners should be treated better.

4.6.1.9 *Education System and Immigrant Learners' Needs*

The learners maintained that their education is adequate. Although the education system is seen as adequate, learners did see possible ways of improving it to benefit their immigrant counterparts. Sentiments expressed were that "...if they would do anything more it will be infringing on the South African curriculum ... probably adding French as an extra subject, would actually help the foreign students for a better future or something ... it is adequate but when it comes to Afrikaans it has to be a problem for them because they have to get extra lessons and stay after school to attend classes like French/Portuguese or whatever".

Lisa thought differently and responded with an emphatic "No, most of them they don't understand English and Afrikaans, which is really like what the schools teach. So they need maybe tutors of the languages that they don't know".

There were mixed feelings regarding the adequacy of the education system. The general feeling was that it was adequate, but the language issue needed improvement.

4.7 RESULTS OF THE INTERVIEWS WITH EDUCATORS

The researcher selected both South African and immigrant teachers according to the sampling procedure outlined in 3.4.2 because they were considered knowledgeable and informative about the phenomenon of xenophobia. Five educators at the inner city secondary schools in Johannesburg were interviewed to obtain their perspective on immigrant learners to enrich the data obtained from immigrant learners. (Refer to Appendix 17 for an example of an interview with an educator).

4.7.1. INTERPRETATION OF THE DATA

Profile of the Sample

The profile of the sample will be discussed according to the various questions from the interview schedule.

4.7.1.1 *Gender*

The sample of five educators consisting of four females and one male was interviewed. The group can be further divided into three immigrant educators and two South African educators.

4.7.1.2 *Immigrant Learners and Countries of Origin*

All five educators said that there were immigrant learners in their classes. Mary indicated that "Yes, we do have a number of immigrant learners ... from a number of African countries, predominately

DRC but also Angola and Mozambique”. Another educator, Angela, mentioned that in “the school about 60% are foreigners”. These learners originate from the DRC, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Angola, Nigeria and other African countries. There was consensus that the majority of immigrant learners come from the DRC “but some Zimbabweans, because of the cultural ties that they have with South Africans they can get away without being noticed”.

4.7.1.3 *Language*

At all the inner city schools where interviews were conducted, English was the first language and the medium of instruction. One educator stated that when communicating with immigrant learners “... at times I do use Zulu, a little bit of Sotho at times, but in class I always make sure that the communication is in English”. Another educator “had to communicate with them in French as I speak also French”. Once again, this highlights the diverse cultures that we are dealing with in SA and how versatile teachers need to be.

The perception is that language “does impact negatively ... linguistic abilities are really so low and they are struggling to cope”. There are also immigrant learners who are doing “exceptionally well, at times being top of their class,” have achieved “remarkably well and have mastered English ...”. It appeared that the learners who arrived recently could barely communicate in English “who really struggle, ... who repeat grades because of that language barrier, particularly where the English support is not present from the home”. The longer immigrant learners are in the country, the better their grasp of the English language and their ability to cope in school. Despite the problems with English, “some of them are doing Afrikaans”.

There are mixed responses regarding the impact of language on scholastic performance. Immigrant learners excel at some schools but struggle with English at other schools.

4.7.1.4 *Understanding of Xenophobia*

All understood the concept of xenophobia, but interpretations varied. Xenophobia was described as “...a fear of people who are African...”. Confusion reigned regarding the term “... xenophobia is a fear of strangers ... it wasn’t actually foreigners ...”. The conception that xenophobia is “The fear of that which is different, that which is unknown... where, foreign learners had begun to achieve there is sometimes a sense of threat that we are being overtaken by those who are different, those who are other ...”.

4.7.1.5 *Xenophobia in schools*

Peter stated that “discipline wise ... some immigrant learners could be a problem”. Physical attacks are seldom seen, but “there has been some verbal abuse”. One response to a discriminatory

incident is that "... there are times, when I had to confront the offenders, but there are times I had to pretend that I am not hearing what I'm hearing ...".

Interaction with learners is portrayed as "we've got so many of them that there's really no difference between the learners". The problems that were encountered were "financial ... so very often they haven't got a proper school uniform". Mrs Troy stated that "I don't think they differentiate in the xenophobic type of way, ... if there is a fight ... they would tell you the black child, ... or they would say ... the very dark child ... I don't think they say it in a very xenophobic way ... occasionally ... they tell you they don't want to sit next to that child ... they tell you that that child smells or something like that ...".

Mary stated that the older learners "are role models and eased things for the other learners". This contrasts with what one of the South African learners stated in 4.6.1.2 ("In the junior phase you'll just see everyone with smiles on their faces and playing as a group of different nations"). She also mentioned that the teachers' treatment "varies from complete neglect and lack of support to quite significant care and support". Xenophobic incidents were a reality, and the school would also resort to counselling that would either take place in the school or be referred to the Centre for Violence and Reconciliation. Mary also indicated that the interaction between learners "is good". She says that "workshops and training for educators is the best route and perhaps ... RCL councils and leader learners within the school to be trained to better deal with it at a learner level ...'

4.7.1.6 *Effect of the May 2008 Violence*

Educators indicated that the violence affected school attendance, as people were afraid and felt insecure. The biggest impact was absenteeism because of a real or perceived threat, as parents were concerned about their children's safety. Mrs Troy stated that "They were quite badly affected ... maybe 30 or 40 learners ended up at camps ... we had eight, I think, who ... went back to their countries ... they were absent for maybe like a whole term". At this school, the principal was very involved and went to the camps to "tell them they must come to school, which a lot of them did". The violence affected their marks: "their marks did drop because they have missed a lot of schooling".

At some schools, the learners were assisted to catch up on work when they returned and some learners were not penalised for wearing casual clothes to school instead of a school uniform. This strategy was used so that immigrant learners were not recognised and victimised whilst commuting to school.

The immigrant teachers stated that they did not report for duty, as they felt insecure, and the xenophobia affected them emotionally.

4.7.1.7 *Relations Within the Context of the School*

South Africans were described as “such friendly people” who must continue extending that friendliness instead of “looking for the differences.” Mary stated that “as South Africans ... we need to learn how to draw much strongly on our history ... to determine our future rather than repeating the patterns of the past” to integrate people. To facilitate the process of integration South Africans should “treat each other with dignity and respect”. Interaction with immigrants will enable South Africans to accept and embrace them by acknowledging that foreigners are not an economic problem, as they create employment and provide services for South Africans.

4.7.1.8 *Department of Education’s Role*

It was suggested that language laboratories be made more accessible to immigrant learners to assist them to improve their linguistic abilities. This could be done either by attaching language laboratories to schools or by clustering schools. Mrs Troy’s recommendation was that there should “be more psychological and emotional help” for the learners, as immigrant learners have endured trauma relocating to a foreign country “are traumatised ... some of them ... got really bad stories and circumstances”. She also felt that “there should be a bridging class to do some sort of ... especially to local languages you know ... the handwriting is also a problem”. Mary felt that “we do need to look perhaps at other languages ... I’m referring particularly to French because many learners come from Francophone countries ...”. Angela thinks that it is a good education system but “we can teach them about mathematics, physics”. Lee Ann echoed Mary’s sentiments regarding language when she stated “Maybe offer French and other international languages in schools like German and French and Portuguese”.

4.8 REFLECTION

The researcher found that the principals of a few schools were unaware or oblivious to xenophobia as a problem in schools.

At School A, it emerged that the principal was not approachable regarding learners’ problems. Learners had to solve their problems with the assistance of the RCL (Representative Council of Learners).

At School B, the principal and heads of department were aware that xenophobia existed. It emerged that the management was approachable, and assisted and supported learners when an incident occurred. Learners were comfortable about going to the principal. and they felt safe at school.

During an interview with the principal of School C, it was said that only two xenophobic incidents were reported to the office, and due to the disciplinary system at the school, there was no evidence of xenophobia. Interviews with both the South African and immigrant learners indicated the contrary. Xenophobia was prevalent and learners went to the extent of using “code names that no one else understands”.

School D differed from the previous schools, as learners felt that xenophobia did not exist in their school, but the educator who was interviewed mentioned that he had dealt with various incidents of xenophobia.

School E presented yet another scenario; the principal and learners indicated that xenophobia existed in the school but the educator who was interviewed felt differently. It emerged that “teachers started calling us names and stuff like that and children ... it became worse ... but now it stopped because my principal stopped it”.

It appears that in many schools, the principals are unaware of xenophobic incidents within the school environment.

4.9 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the empirical data has been analysed using content analysis. Intercoder reliability was established through a second coder. The findings from the interviews consistently indicate that xenophobia is a problem in the school environment, although the severity may vary. The levels of prejudice and discrimination against immigrant learners appear to be severe and persistent. Interaction between South African and immigrant learners is highly segregated and can be described as pluralistic, since the minority group seeks some degree of separation from the larger group despite being treated equally by the educators. It is too early to gauge the extent of assimilation of immigrant learners, since most are first-generation immigrants.

Findings indicate that there is satisfaction with the education system. No matter how long the immigrants were living in the country, they still felt alienated as they encountered xenophobic behaviour from South Africans. The findings will be linked to the literature study in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

*“Today I slept without peace underneath a darkened
South African sky
Lay on ground muddied by the blood
Of those who overcame
unimaginable struggles
Only to be met with ignorance and
senseless violence
Split by a once unified nation that
now stands divided
Desperation and poverty has created
an enemy
That resembles those North of our
borders

Tomorrow I wish I wake up in a
South Africa
Where my sister is my sister
Where my brother is my brother
Because Africa is our mother”.*

The above extract is from a poem by Mantedieng Mamabolo titled “*Unashamedly South African*” (Uncut 2009:8). It highlights the plight of foreigners in South Africa and their desire to belong and to be treated equally. The life experience of the immigrant learner in context of the inner city school is one of the dominant themes arising from the analysis of the data.

One of the greatest tests of a country’s democracy is how its government and people treat foreigners. The southern African region has become host to one of the largest refugee populations in the world because of political unrest and destabilisation (Klaaren & Handmaker 2008:278). South Africa committed itself to human rights by entrenching human rights in the Constitution. The 1998 Refugees Act and the Immigration Act of 2002 are examples of the statutory protection mechanisms that the South African government has effected in its commitment to protect

foreigners. The extent to which the data is able to answer the research question is discussed in this chapter. Recommendations for further research are presented, and the limitations of this particular study are discussed.

5.2 PURPOSE OF RESEARCH

This study was inspired by the xenophobic violence that took place against African immigrants in May 2008. The aim of this research was to develop a greater understanding of the phenomenon of xenophobia as it is experienced by immigrant learners in the inner city schools of Johannesburg.

5.3 SUMMARY OF LITERATURE AND EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATION

The literature review mapped out the main issues in the field being studied and provided a foundation for the study and placed the phenomenon within the South African and international context.

5.3.1 LANGUAGE

Language emerged as a critical issue in both the literature study and empirical research. The researcher had to bracket her perceptions that immigrant learners disliked the English language because they could not speak it. Contrary to her perceptions, immigrant learners had embraced the English language as they felt it would provide opportunities for them. None of the immigrant learners were opposed to being taught through the medium of English. Nkomo, Mc Kinney and Chisolm (2004: 9) examined reports by Mda and Comrie to establish the practical implications of a language policy in society as well as in classrooms. Mda and Comrie address local approaches to diversity and discrimination in schools and the barriers to learning presented by English as the language of learning and teaching where it is not the learners' home language. Mda points out the gap between language rights enshrined in the Constitution as well as in the education policy and practice. Despite the presence of a language policy in schools, the immigrant learner and educator interviews that were conducted, indicate that there is a demand for English as a medium of instruction.

Immigrant learners cherished the hope that they could maintain ties with their mother tongue. This could be accomplished by introducing the mother tongue as the First Additional Language instead of Afrikaans. As discussed in chapter two, the research findings conducted by Sookrajh, Gopal and Maharaj (2005:7) indicate that a "definite problem existed in learning other languages, especially Afrikaans". Consequently, many learners preferred to speak French rather than Afrikaans. It emerged from the interviews that immigrant learners (40%) felt disadvantaged having to learn Afrikaans, as it impacted on their scholastic performance. Immigrant learners considered it

beneficial to pursue French instead of Afrikaans as the First Additional Language in the Further Education and Training (FET) phase, as they were under the impression that they had to pass Afrikaans to be promoted into the next grade.

Xenophobic tendencies emerged because of the pronunciation of English words by immigrant learners. South African learners humiliated and laughed at them because of their accents. This caused hurt and pain to immigrant learners, as they felt further alienated. Tsai (2006:3) found that the youth keep a distance from English speaking peers to avoid nervousness and embarrassment. Further analysis derived from xenophobia found that limited English proficiency increases segregation.

5.3.2 SOCIALISATION

As discussed in Chapter four (4.5.1.3), immigrant learners preferred socialising with learners from their own countries, as they did not trust the South African learners. Socialisation with South Africans took place on a limited scale. Jackson indicated that his “friends mostly are Congolese ... Congolese stays in one place. South Africans can also stay in their own place”. Tsai’s (2006:3) findings confirm that it was not unusual for the youth to be “spending most of their time with those who were racially or ethnically similar to them”.

Pamela felt that the interaction varied between the juniors and seniors. She felt that the “seniors think ... since you are different from me ... I’m going to separate myself from you ... In the junior phase you’ll just see everyone with smiles on their faces and playing as a group of different nations”. These sentiments are validated by Tsai’s statement that older children experienced more difficulties in finding friends than those who were younger (Tsai 2006:3).

5.3.3 CULTURE OF VIOLENCE

Julie described the aggressive behaviour of South Africans towards her uncle during the period of xenophobic violence as “... they beat him up, they took all his teeth out, they left him on the floor and he was hospitalised for two weeks”. Mike was personally affected by the xenophobic violence: “they burnt our house and there were people holding sticks, so we took the back yard”. As discussed in the literature study, Harris (2001:5) found that a culture of violence prevailed in South Africa, “where violence is seen as the legitimate and normal way of solving problems in the country”. Xenophobia must therefore be understood in relation to the high levels of violence that persist in South Africa. Harris confirms Kollapen’s (1999) findings that xenophobia is inextricably linked to violence and physical abuse and that xenophobia cannot be separated from violence and physical abuse. The phenomenon of xenophobia is seen as an activity and not just an attitude. It is not just a dislike or fear of foreigners; violence is practiced, causing bodily harm and damage. Kollapen also stated that not all foreigners are uniformly victimised. This will explain why some of

the immigrant learners felt that they had direct xenophobic experiences whilst others felt that they were not directly exposed to the phenomenon.

Contrary to the literature study that a culture of violence prevails among South Africans, it emerged from the interviews with South Africa learners that “foreign learners are more physical and they are more aggressive and they want to fight”. It appears that violence seems to instigate violence causing both parties to become aggressive. One tends to ponder whether immigrant learners respond aggressively because of the exposure to violence in their countries.

5.3.4 BIO-CULTURAL FACTORS

Observations made by South African learners (4 of the 5) included the dark skin pigmentation of the immigrant learners and other physical features such as bone structure, height, muscular build, bigger noses, hair which is softer and an “awkward smell”. The educators involved in the research were aware of the teasing that took place using biological factors such as skin shade. Discrimination regarding physical appearance was reported by two educators (one South African and one immigrant). The bio-cultural approach, as explained by Moge kwu (2002:1) in chapter two, states that xenophobia operates through the level of physical and cultural appearance which explained that people preferred to be surrounded by their own kind rather than be exposed to others. The bio-cultural hypothesis (Harris 2001:71) states that because immigrants are easily identified by their visible differences, it triggers xenophobic behaviour.

The researcher is in agreement with Harris that physical features are significant in generating xenophobia because they point out targets, i.e. indicating which particular group of foreigners the South African public dislikes and against whom violence should be initiated. The visible “otherness” of foreigners therefore seems to be an important factor behind local hostility (Harris 2002:174). None of the immigrant learners interviewed mentioned discrimination because of skin shade. Amanda stated that biological characteristics such as her height made her feel different. Lerato identified immigrant women by their makeup, shoes and traditional dress, men were identified by their “American” behaviour and “big pants”. Mike felt that the “way they talk, the way they eat, dance, play, everything they do is a bit different to us”. Tebogo felt that language was the only difference between immigrant and South African learners. The empirical findings reflect strong support for the bio-cultural hypothesis, as South African learners seemed to be more aware of the “foreignness” of immigrant learners because of their physical appearance.

5.3.5 NAME-CALLING / TEASING

The empirical research revealed that all the six immigrant learners had encountered name-calling and “painful” ethnic jokes. These findings are supported by Tsai (as discussed in chapter one) i.e. that name-calling about one’s colour or race was the most common form of bullying in Asian and black children. Almost all black children experienced abuse or bullying (Tsai 2006:3). These findings are reinforced by Sookrajh, Gopal and Maharaj (2005:6) who state that immigrant learners continue to feel unwelcome because they are referred to as “*kwerekwere*”. The derogatory term invoked some form of marginalisation.

Name-calling and teasing happened at both primary and secondary schools; 50% of the immigrant respondents had experienced name-calling at primary school. (Mike was severely emotionally affected by the teasing and it had a profound effect on Amanda, as she has not forgotten her primary school experiences). Although it is normal for teasing to take place at primary school level, it has certainly had an impact on their lives as they still remembered the taunts. Due to their tender age, they were unfortunately prone to fall victim to this. The empirical study findings indicate that the teasing continues at secondary school level.

5.3.6 SOCIAL EXCLUSION

The majority (5 of the 6) of immigrant learners indicated that they felt different. The dominant image of the immigrant learner on the part of the researcher, educators and fellow South African learners is one of poverty, dependency, vulnerability and pity. This is confirmed by Amanda’s comment that the perception South Africans have of immigrants is “that we are suffering, we are probably dirty too and we have mosquito’s flying all over us”. Sookrajh, Gopal and Maharaj (2005:12) state that “memories of the violent, brutal past, the loss of relatives, friends and status ... creating an absolutely bleak, insecure life-world in which socio-economic discrimination and difficulties of daily survival” make immigrant learners feel excluded.

It emerged from the empirical study that comments from learners made constant reference to “us” and “them”, which emphasises the exclusivist ways in which they define their own identities. Strangely, one immigrant learner (Themبisa at the boarding school) wanted to become more like “us” so that they could feel a sense of belonging and acceptance. These comments indicate that being “different” is perceived negatively, and that difference is rarely viewed as a strength, or as the possibility of viewing the world with different eyes and broadening one’s understanding of things. The findings of this study support the educational interventions that facilitate effective inclusion of immigrant learners. Parents, teachers and coaches need to be aware of name-calling and teasing which can be cruel. Adults have a major role to play in setting the tone for mutual

respect and responsibility. As the empirical research suggests, it is commonplace for immigrant learners to have experienced humiliation, degradation and disrespect.

5.3.7 FUTURE PLANS

Findings reported by Motha and Ramadiro (2005:14) in chapter two indicated that language was an important element in providing relevant education for refugees, as many refugees wished to return to their home countries once political and economic conditions were suitable (Motha & Ramadiro 2005:14). It emerged that all the immigrant learners indicated a desire to return to their country of birth. Four wanted to return to “make a difference” for the people of their countries but wanted to settle in South Africa. Two wanted to return permanently. This correlates with Motha and Ramadiro’s findings. These findings are further reinforced by Sookrajh, Gopal and Maharaj (2005:8) in their statement “It is evident that as much as the learners feel ‘included’ in the new environment, there is a constant will to return to their homeland”.

5.3.8 POSITIVE OUTCOMES

Immigrant learners from the DRC (67% of immigrant participants) felt that they were receiving “a good education in South Africa”. These sentiments are supported by the findings of Sookrajh, Gopal and Maharaj (2005:8). They found that in terms of education, there is a perception among immigrant learners that “the quality and status of education in South Africa is far superior” than the education received previously in their home countries.

A sense of the resilience and determination of immigrant learners emerged in the empirical study. It is evident that the immigrant learners were able to adopt elements of the host country that are useful for survival and assimilation in a new environment. They were keen to learn the host language (English), as it would assist them to survive in South Africa. The immigrant research participants had undergone crises, psychological injury and rejection in some cases, but were grateful and appreciative for the opportunities afforded to them. All of the immigrant learners were thankful for the education that they received. Resilience was reflected in the strength and determination of the immigrant learners to empower themselves in order to succeed. Besides Mike, the immigrant respondents were driven to overcome any impediments that they encountered.

Schools that had functional feeding schemes were providing for the basic nutritional needs of the immigrant learners. This nurturing and kindness made immigrant learners feel cared for and accepted. They also displayed their gratitude for the support that they received during the period of xenophobic violence. Drives held at the schools to collect clothes and other items during this period were viewed positively as concern and care.

South African learners also viewed their immigrant counterparts in a very positive light. They commended immigrant learners on their work ethic and commitment to school. South African learners and educators acknowledged immigrant learners excellent performance in mathematics and science. Sookrajh, Gopal and Maharaj (2005:9) also found that educators affirmed that immigrant learners “worked hard to succeed and were generally goal-oriented and as a result overcame many odds to excel”. Steve praised them and valued their assistance in both subjects. Educators saw them as respectful and not disruptive. It was also evident that immigrant learners were integrated into the school system and had assumed significant leadership roles such as RCL members, and Amanda who was appointed as Head Girl. It comes to the fore that immigrant learners, instead of being passive, are rather grasping opportunities that can assist in their upliftment and survival.

Despite the xenophobic violence, 80% of the immigrant respondents felt safe at school. Therefore, school is portrayed as a positive place that is a sanctuary for immigrant learners. One of the educators stated that uniforms played a significant role in inclusion, as immigrant learners felt equal and accepted at the school.

5.3.9 CURRICULUM

Education plays a vital role in influencing young people, because the views and attitudes they form as learners will stay with them for the rest of their lives. The South African curriculum has not changed to accommodate immigrant learners. Incoming immigrant learners are expected to adopt and adapt to the existing academic and cultural ethos of the school. Educational activities should be in accordance with fundamental democratic values and everyone in the school system must promote respect and work actively towards combating offensive behaviour, such as name-calling.

Immigrant learners (80%) felt that the curriculum was adequate. Amanda felt that the curriculum had to be revisited, as it did not equip the learner with life skills. She maintained that in her country the curriculum empowered one with “... more skills in high school so that if somebody left their matric they can do something physically”. She was also of the opinion that the syllabus “...didn’t speak about what’s really happening, how women are being raped in their own towns and how children are forced to become child soldiers”. It seems that there is a need for a more inclusive curriculum that would integrate the history and politics of the immigrant learners’ country of birth. To facilitate this into the curriculum, it is suggested that cross-cultural learning be introduced. Scheunpflug (1997:109) reports that the aim of cross-cultural encounters is to initiate dialogue with individuals and groups from different countries. Such interactions are designed to “eliminate prejudices and global conflicts”, and to resolve problems through “mutual understanding and respect”. Learning is facilitated by sharing therefore a cross-cultural relationship has the

educational aim of entering into a process of communication. The process of sharing personal encounters can be incorporated into the English and life orientation syllabi.

The Stephen Report (as discussed in chapter two) makes recommendations to empower young people to address racism, intolerance and xenophobia in schools. They are encouraged to support each other by being assertive as opposed to being aggressive or submissive when incidents occur at school. A further recommendation is to cover interpersonal relationships (including racism, xenophobia, bullying and name-calling) within the curriculum of learning for citizenship (Chakraborti & Garland 2004:173). Osler and Starkey (2002:157) support these recommendations. They emphasise the success of the Swedish government with regards to accommodating xenophobia in the school curriculum. A handbook that provided guidance on how to promote common values was implemented to ensure that schools had a clarified vision of basic values and tolerance limits. The principle of the equal worth of all people as a democratic value was entrenched in the curriculum. It is imperative that educational policies be developed to promote integration and combat anti-democratic discriminatory practices. Citizenship programmes are a specific initiative to promote democratic principles and curb racism and xenophobic behaviour in schools (Osler & Starkey 2002:157).

Citizenship education is increasingly seen as a priority to address “vociferous xenophobic populist parties” (Osler & Starkey 2002:143). They maintain that citizenship programmes are “instrumental in the fight against violence, xenophobia, racism, aggressive nationalism and intolerance”. The programme has demonstrated “how education for democratic citizenship can contribute to social cohesion through learning to participate in the life of society, to assume responsibility and to live together”. The success of the programme can be used by the National Department of Education in combating racism and xenophobia.

Practical action is needed to reach out to people and help change the underlying prejudices that fuel racist attitudes and behaviour. Education is essential in playing a fundamental role in this endeavour by promoting equality and encouraging respect for human dignity. National policy initiatives are necessary to facilitate micro level change.

5.4 LIMITATIONS OF THIS STUDY

Owing to the qualitative nature of the study, it is important to reiterate that the findings derived from this study are limited to the selected sample and cannot be used to generalise for all schools or for the different provinces. McMillan and Schumacher (2001:414) maintain that an extension of the findings will enable others to understand similar situations and to apply these findings in subsequent research. The findings of this research study may be extended to other provinces and

inner city schools. The findings may also have relevance to rural areas, townships and informal settlements where immigrants are residing and attending school. While this profile is not representative of South Africa in general, the data gathered in this research forms a base line for future research.

- The sample was limited to learners between 13 and 18 years of age. The researcher acknowledges that xenophobia is experienced by learners younger than 13 years.
- Though the themes derived from the data collection process are varied, it is assumed that a larger sample could have offered more diversity.

5.5 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

In follow up studies, the experiences of immigrant children could be explored according to gender and level of maturity.

- A direction for further research could be an investigation into the impact of xenophobia on immigrant children's development.
- The experiences of immigrant teachers and their treatment by South African learners can also be explored.
- It has emerged from the empirical investigation that unaccompanied immigrant children live in churches and places of shelter, whilst others have been abandoned by their families and left destitute. Therefore, it would be interesting to conduct research on the lives of these destitute immigrants and their ways and means of survival.

5.6 RECOMMENDATIONS

Education plays a vital role in influencing young people, as the attitudes and views that they develop at school will determine their future and have a lasting impact on them. Pandor in Nkomo, Mc Kinney and Chisolm (2004: 14) stated that change will only take place successfully if schools start integration that includes the entire school. Curriculum, teaching methodology, language and learning will have to be addressed. In light of this comment, the researcher makes the following recommendations:

- The Department of Education needs to develop a policy regarding citizenship education as part of the life orientation curriculum to bring about a paradigm shift so that the next generation is free from xenophobic and related intolerance.
- Programmes especially designed to be instrumental in addressing violence, xenophobia and intolerance, need to be included into the academic curriculum.
- Citizenship programmes need to equip immigrant learners with the skills to effectively challenge intolerance and xenophobia.

- The national curriculum must include activities that are designed to promote and enhance cultural awareness of different cultures. These initiatives must reflect the government's commitment and the Department of Education's support in the fight against xenophobia and related intolerance.
- It is essential that every school has a clear statement of values and that the staff are trained in how to implement it in their teaching and the ethos of the school.
- There is a need for admission policies at schools to be amended so that citizens of the country are not disadvantaged, whilst provision must be made for immigrant learners.
- In keeping with the policy of inclusive education, language policies have to be reviewed so that they are inclusive and accommodate both immigrant learners as well as citizens. It is suggested that teachers capable of teaching foreign languages such as French and Portuguese be appointed to service a cluster of schools.
- The status of immigrants as non-citizens needs to be reviewed, as it severely limits their capacity to participate in and derive benefit from bursaries and scholarships.
- Training and workshops for learner representatives as well as educators are suggested so that schools are adequately prepared to deal with the phenomenon of xenophobia. The skills of educators in the area of intercultural education must be improved.
- Educators need to be made aware of the immigrant learners in their classes and be trained to identify the needs of the immigrant learner. Educators must also be equipped with the skills to integrate the learner into classroom activities.
- To survive migration under traumatic circumstances and separation from family members indicates a profound determination to survive. The Department of Education must make the services of counsellors and psychologists available to all schools so that traumatised learners can be assisted. This would ensure that the emotional needs of learners are met. Once again, counsellors and/or psychologists can be appointed to serve a cluster of schools. Empowerment will change the perceptions that individuals have of themselves and boost their self-esteem.
- Further legislation (reviewing the immigration policy and schools admission policy) has to be developed to protect the rights of the citizens of the country as well as those of foreigners, as a measure to prevent any further violence.

5.7 CONCLUSION

This study was undertaken with the intention to investigate how immigrant learners experience the phenomenon of xenophobia. In the interviews with immigrant learners, the image of the immigrant learner as having brutal experiences is evident from the selected narratives. While the predominant theme was teasing and name-calling, insight into other aspects, such as language barriers, social exclusion, scholastic achievement and the alienation of being labelled as a foreigner, is covered as

well. The inability of the immigrant learner to communicate fluently in English, and the lack of psychological and emotional support makes them vulnerable. Despite the past experiences of the immigrant learners, they appeared to have a positive outlook on life, do not dwell on the past and are strong and resilient enough to deal with the present as well as the future.

The goal has been achieved by means of a detailed literature study and the interpretation of data obtained through interviews and observations. As South Africans, we have to change our narrow perspective so that we become aware of the strength and resilience of immigrant learners. It is hoped that insight and a better understanding of the phenomenon of xenophobia will decrease marginalisation and increase acceptance.

The May 2008 dramatic xenophobic violence presented evidence that South Africa is experiencing anti-foreigner sentiments. Drawing from this experience, the Department of Education needs to play a more active role in educating learners to foster integration and acceptance. The infusion of large numbers of immigrant learners into the education system requires that the ethos of schools and the curriculum change in order to accommodate the needs of every learner irrespective of biological or cultural factors and country of origin. There must be a conscious and direct response by all stakeholders to achieve the goals as set out in the South African Constitution.

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APPENDIX 1

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR IMMIGRANT LEARNERS

*Thank you for agreeing to participate in this research project. This interview is part of my Masters Degree in Educational Psychology. **All information shared is confidential and all participants remain anonymous.***

If you do not understand a question, please ask for it to be explained to you.

1. What name would you like to give yourself for this research study?
2. How old are you?
3. How old were you when you came to South Africa?
4. What is your country of birth?
5. What were the reasons for coming to South Africa?
6. Was it easy to find a school? Describe your experiences trying to find a school.
7. Do you feel different from the South African children in your school? If “yes”, what, do you think makes you different?
8. What language do you speak at home?
9. Are you taught in your mother tongue? If “no”, how do you feel about not being taught in your mother tongue?
10. How does this impact on your scholastic performance?
11. Do you think that you should be taught in your home language? Explain.
12. Do you experience problems when communicating in English? If yes, how do you feel when you cannot express yourself adequately in English?
13. Is the education system adequate to meet your needs? Justify your answer.
14. What does xenophobia mean to you?
15. Do you think that xenophobia as a topic is covered in your subjects at school? Explain.
16. What has the school done to accommodate you and other immigrant learners into the South African schooling system? (What do you think, should be done to accommodate immigrant learners?)
17. Who are your close/good friends at school?
18. Are you as an immigrant learner, looked down upon or made to feel inferior? Discuss.
19. Have you experienced or heard immigrant learners being called by derogatory terms? Explain.
20. What emotions does xenophobia evoke in you as an immigrant learner?
21. Where in your body do you feel it when you witness or experience xenophobia?

- 22 What does it remind you of? / What memories come to mind when you are confronted with xenophobia?
- 23 Have you experienced nightmares as a result of xenophobia? If “yes”, describe these nightmares.
- 24 As an immigrant learner, were you subjected to or have you heard other immigrant learners being the subject of ethnic jokes? Explain.
- 25 If you have a problem and you need help at school, whom will you turn to?
- 26 What are your views of South African learners?
- 27 Describe the interaction between South African learners and foreigners at your school.
- 28 As an immigrant learner, are you treated any differently from South African learners? Explain.
- 29 If something goes missing in your class, do your classmates consider you a suspect because you are an immigrant? Explain. (If “no”, have you witnessed it happening to other immigrant learners?)
- 30 As an immigrant do you feel safe at school? Explain.
- 31 Are immigrant learners subject to physical violence and victimisation at school? Discuss.
- 32 What problems do you face as an immigrant with regards to activities at school?
- 33 Were you involved in any xenophobic incident at school? If ‘yes’, please explain.
- 34 What do you do when a xenophobic / discriminatory incident happens to you at school?
- 35 How were you affected by the May 2008 xenophobic violence?
- 36 Did the violence impact on your attendance at school? If “yes”, how did your absenteeism affect your performance in the June examination?
- 37 What was the attitude of your teachers towards you during the period of violence?
- 38 What was the attitude of your friends towards you during the period of violence?
- 39 What kind of support was offered to you, your friends or your family?
- 40 Were you offered any counselling and, if so, by whom?
- 41 What do you think was the cause of the xenophobic violence?
- 42 What are your experiences of xenophobia outside school?
- 43 What are your impressions of South Africa as a country?
- 44 What are your plans for the future? (remain; leave, further study, employment?)
- 45 What can South African learners do to treat foreign learners better?
- 46 Are there any further issues that you would like to discuss?

Thank you for your time and contribution to this research study.

APPENDIX 2

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR SOUTH AFRICAN LEARNERS

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this research project. This interview is part of my Masters Degree in Educational Psychology. All information shared is confidential and all participants remain anonymous.

Please answer the questions honestly and as comprehensively as possible. If you do not understand a question, please do not feel afraid to ask me to explain.

Thank you

Razia Osman

Intern Educational Psychologist

1. What name would you like to give yourself for this research study?
2. How old are you?
3. What is your understanding of the word “xenophobia”?
4. Do you have any friends at school who are not South African?
5. From which countries do your friends originally come from?
6. In what language do you communicate with your foreigner friends?
7. How do you feel when your foreigner friends speak in a foreign language?
8. How do you feel about foreigners coming to your school?
9. Do you think preference should be given to South African learners for admission to schools? Explain.
10. What is your opinion of foreign learners?
11. How often do you interact with foreign learners?
12. How do your teachers treat immigrant learners?
13. Were you involved in or did you witness any xenophobic incident at school? Explain.
14. What do you do when a xenophobic / discriminatory incident happens at school?
15. Describe the interaction between South African learners and foreigners at your school.
16. How was your school affected by the May 2008 xenophobic violence?
17. Have you witnessed any forms of xenophobia outside school?
18. What can South Africans do to treat foreigners better?
19. What are the problems between foreigners and South Africans at your school?
20. Is the education system adequate to meet the needs of foreigners? Justify your answer.
21. Are there any further issues that you would like to discuss?

Thank you for your time and contribution to this research study.

APPENDIX 3

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR TEACHERS

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this research project. This interview is part of my Masters Degree in Educational Psychology. All information shared is confidential and all participants remain anonymous.

Please answer the questions honestly and as comprehensively as possible. If you do not understand a question, please do not feel afraid to ask me to explain.

Thank you

Razia Osman

Intern Educational Psychologist

1. Do you have any immigrant learners in your classes?
2. From which countries do they originally come from?
3. In what language do you communicate with immigrant learners?
4. Are they being taught in their mother tongue?
5. How does language impact the learning process of immigrant learners?
6. How would you describe the scholastic performance of immigrant learners?
7. What is your view of foreign learners?
8. How would you explain your understanding of the concept of xenophobia?
9. How would you describe your interaction with foreign learners?
10. What problems do you face with immigrant learners in your school?
11. How do teachers treat immigrant learners?
12. Are there any xenophobic incidents at your school involving immigrant learners? Explain.
13. What do you do when a xenophobic / discriminatory incident happens at school?
14. How was your school affected by the May 2008 xenophobic violence?
15. What did your school do to support xenophobic victims?
16. What measures does your school have in place to accommodate immigrant learners?
17. Have you witnessed any forms of xenophobia at school?
18. What can South Africans do to treat foreigners better?
19. Are there any problems between immigrant and South African learners at your school? Explain.
20. Is the education system adequate to meet the needs of foreigners? Justify your answer.
21. What suggestions do you have for the department of education to improve the plight of immigrant learners?

22. Are there any further issues that you would like to discuss?

Thank you for your time and contribution to this research study.

APPENDIX 4
QUESTIONNAIRE FOR SELECTION OF TEACHERS

1. Describe your interaction with immigrant learners.

2. Are immigrant learners coping in the South African education system? Explain.

3. What is your view of foreign learners?

4. How would you explain your understanding of the concept of xenophobia?

APPENDIX 5

ASSENT FORM FOR IMMIGRANT LEARNERS

Researcher: Razia Osman (Telephone number: 084 395 1607)

Dear Learner

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study that will take place from 25 May 2009 to 27 July 2009. This form outlines the purposes of the study and provides a description of your involvement and rights as a participant.

In light of the 2008 xenophobic violence, there emerged a need to investigate how xenophobia affects immigrant learners in the school setting. Five learners from various schools in the inner city of Johannesburg will be selected for this research study. Interviews will be used to collect information for this study. Participants may experience sadness and discomfort whilst sharing their experiences, therefore all possible measures will be taken to ensure that you receive the necessary psychological assistance if required. You may also derive benefit from talking about your experiences.

The research is conducted with the ethical approval of the University of South Africa (UNISA) under the supervision of Prof. D. Kruger. My final report on this data will be submitted as a dissertation of limited scope for my Masters degree.

The purposes of this study are:

- 1) *To investigate how the phenomenon of xenophobia is experienced by immigrant learners in inner city schools.*
- 2) *To gain insight and a better understanding into the experiences of immigrant learners in school.*

You are encouraged to ask any questions at any time about the nature of the study and the methods that I am using. Your suggestions and concerns are important to me; please contact me at any time at the telephone number listed above.

I guarantee that the following conditions will be met:

- Your real name will not be used at any point of information collection, or in the final write up of the data.

- The completed interviews (tape recordings and transcriptions) will be treated as highly confidential materials. Only I as the researcher will have access to the raw data. Your name will not be used and you have the choice of referring to yourself by any other name.
- Your participation in this research is voluntary. You have the right to withdraw at any point of the study, for any reason, and without any prejudice, and the information collected and records and reports written will be turned over to you.

Do you grant permission to be quoted directly? Yes _____ No _____

I agree to the terms:

This research project has been explained to me and I understand what is going to be done, and why. I have talked to my parents/legal guardian about this project and I have decided that I would like to be part of it. I understand that my parents/legal guardian will be given a copy of this form to keep.

Please do not sign this form if you do not understand the scope and nature of the study.

Learner's name _____ **Signature** _____ **Date** _____

Name of Parent/s or Guardian/s:

Researcher obtaining consent:

Name: *Razia Osman* Signature: _____ Date: _____

APPENDIX 6

ASSENT FORM FOR SOUTH AFRICAN LEARNERS

Researcher: Razia Osman (Telephone number: 084 395 1607)

Dear Learner

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study which will take place from 25 May 2009 to 27 July 2009. This form outlines the purposes of the study and provides a description of your involvement and rights as a participant.

In light of the 2008 xenophobic violence, there emerged a need to investigate how xenophobia affects immigrant learners in the school setting. Five South African learners from various schools in the inner city of Johannesburg will be interviewed for this research study. Your honesty regarding your experiences is appreciated, as it will provide a better understanding of the experiences of immigrant learners.

The research is conducted with the ethical approval of the University of South Africa (UNISA) under the supervision of Prof. D. Kruger. My final report on this data will be submitted as a dissertation of limited scope for my Masters degree.

The purposes of this study are:

- 1) *To investigate how the phenomenon of xenophobia is experienced by immigrant learners in inner city schools.*
- 2) *To gain insight and a better understanding into the experiences of immigrant learners in school.*

You are encouraged to ask any questions at any time about the nature of the study and the methods that I am using. Your suggestions and concerns are important to me; please contact me at any time at the telephone number listed above.

I guarantee that the following conditions will be met:

- Your real name will not be used at any point of information collection, or in the final write up of the data.

- The completed interviews (tape recordings and transcriptions) will be treated as highly confidential materials. Only I, as the researcher, will have access to the raw data. Your name will not be used and you have the choice of referring to yourself by any other name.
- Your participation in this research is voluntary. You have the right to withdraw at any point of the study, for any reason, and without any prejudice, and the information collected and records and reports written will be turned over to you.

Do you grant permission to be quoted directly? Yes_____ No _____

I agree to the terms:

This research project has been explained to me and I understand what is going to be done, and why. I have talked to my parents/legal guardian about this project and I have decided that I would like to be part of it. I understand that my parents/legal guardian will be given a copy of this form to keep.

Please do not sign this form if you do not understand the scope and nature of the study.

Learner's name _____ **Signature** _____ **Date** _____

Name of Parent/s or Guardian/s:

Researcher obtaining consent:

Name: *Razia Osman* Signature: _____ Date: _____

APPENDIX 7

PARENT CONSENT FORM (IMMIGRANT LEARNERS)

Dear Parent / Guardian

In light of the 2008 xenophobic violence, there emerged a need to investigate how xenophobia affects immigrant learners in the school setting. Five learners from various schools in the inner city of Johannesburg will be selected for this research study. Interviews will be used to collect information for this study. Participants may experience sadness and discomfort whilst sharing their experiences, therefore all possible measures will be taken to ensure that your child/ward receives the necessary psychological assistance if required. He/she may also derive benefit from talking about his/her experiences.

The research is conducted with the ethical approval of the University of South Africa (UNISA) under the supervision of Prof. D. Kruger. My final report on this data will be submitted as a dissertation of limited scope for my Masters degree.

The purposes of this study are:

- 1) *To investigate how the phenomenon of xenophobia is experienced by immigrant learners in inner city schools.*
- 2) *To gain insight and a better understanding into the experiences of immigrant learners in school.*

I guarantee that the following conditions will be met:

- 1) Your child/ward's real name will not be used at any point of information collection, or in the final write up of the data.
- 2) Only I as the researcher will have access to the raw data. Your child/ward's name will not be used.
- 3) Your child/ward will also be required to participate in an interview which will be recorded
- 4) Your child/ward's participation in this research is voluntary. He/she has the right to withdraw at any point of the study, for any reason, and without any prejudice.
- 5) The researcher will offer, at no cost to you, therapy/counselling to your child/ward if the need arises.

Thank you for granting permission for your child/ward to participate in this research study.

Researcher: Razia Osman (Tel. no.: 084 395 1607) Date _____

Parent/Guardian _____ Date _____

APPENDIX 8
PARENT CONSENT FORM (SOUTH AFRICAN LEARNERS)

Dear Parent / Guardian

In light of the 2008 xenophobic violence, there emerged a need to investigate how xenophobia affects immigrant learners in the school setting. Five South African learners from various schools in the inner city of Johannesburg will be interviewed to supplement the data obtained from immigrant learners.

The research is conducted with the ethical approval of the University of South Africa (UNISA) under the supervision of Prof. D. Kruger. My final report on this data will be submitted as a dissertation of limited scope for my Masters degree.

The purposes of this study are:

- 1) *To investigate how the phenomenon of xenophobia is experienced by immigrant learners in inner city schools.*
- 2) *To gain insight and a better understanding into the experiences of immigrant learners in school.*

I guarantee that the following conditions will be met:

- 1) Your child/ward's real name will not be used at any point of information collection, or in the final write up of the data.
- 2) Only I, as the researcher, will have access to the raw data. Your child/ward's name will not be used.
- 3) Your child/ward will also be required to participate in an interview which will be recorded
- 4) Your child/ward's participation in this research is voluntary. He/she has the right to withdraw at any point of the study, for any reason, and without any prejudice.

Thank you for granting permission for your child/ward to participate in this research study.

Researcher: Razia Osman (Tel. no.: 084 395 1607) Date _____

Parent/Guardian _____ Date _____

APPENDIX 9
TEACHER CONSENT FORM

Dear Educator

In light of the 2008 xenophobic violence, there emerged a need to investigate how xenophobia affects immigrant learners in the school setting. Five immigrant learners, five South African learners and five educators from various schools in the inner city of Johannesburg will be interviewed for this research study.

The research is conducted with the ethical approval of the University of South Africa (UNISA) under the supervision of Prof. D. Kruger. My final report on this data will be submitted as a dissertation of limited scope for my Masters degree.

The purposes of this study are:

- 1) *To investigate how the phenomenon of xenophobia is experienced by immigrant learners in inner city schools.*
- 2) *To gain insight and a better understanding into the experiences of immigrant learners in school.*

I guarantee that the following conditions will be met:

- 1) Your real name will not be used at any point of information collection, or in the final write up of the data.
- 2) Only I as the researcher will have access to the raw data. Your name will not be used.
- 3) You will also be required to participate in an interview which will be recorded
- 4) Your participation in this research is voluntary. You have the right to withdraw at any point of the study, for any reason, and without any prejudice.

Do you grant permission to be quoted directly? Yes_____ No _____

I agree to the terms:

This research project has been explained to me and I understand what is going to be done, and why and I have decided that I would like to be part of it.

Please do not sign this form if you do not understand the scope and nature of the study.

Educator's name _____ **Signature** _____ **Date** _____

Researcher obtaining consent:

Name: *Razia Osman* Signature: _____ Date: _____

Thank you for taking the time to participate in this research study.

APPENDIX 10

SOUTH AFRICAN LEARNER NOMINATION FORM

I hereby nominate the following learner(s) to be interviewed for the research entitled:

The phenomenon of xenophobia and how it is experienced by learners in the inner city schools of Johannesburg.

- 1. _____
- 2. _____
- 3. _____
- 4. _____
- 5. _____

APPENDIX 11

IMMIGRANT LEARNER NOMINATION FORM

I hereby nominate the following learner(s) to be interviewed for the research entitled:

The phenomenon of xenophobia and how it is experienced by learners in the inner city schools of Johannesburg.

- 1. _____
- 2. _____
- 3. _____
- 4. _____
- 5. _____

APPENDIX 12

TEACHER NOMINATION FORM

I hereby nominate the following teacher(s) to be interviewed for the research entitled:

The phenomenon of xenophobia and how it is experienced by learners in the inner city schools of Johannesburg.

- 1. _____
- 2. _____
- 3. _____
- 4. _____
- 5. _____

APPENDIX 13

Table 4.1: Content Analysis Schedule: Immigrant Learners

CONTENT ANALYSIS: IMMIGRANT LEARNERS	
Research Question	Categories
<p>How is the phenomenon of xenophobia experienced by immigrant learners in the inner city schools of Johannesburg?</p>	Reasons for Coming to South Africa
	The concept of Xenophobia
	Finding a School
	How do South African learners discriminate?
	Experiences while communicating in English
	Socialisation
	Feeling Different
	Has the school made provision to accommodate immigrant learners?
	Is the education system adequate and is xenophobia covered in the syllabus?
	Name-calling/Teasing
	Emotional Experiences
	Perceptions of South Africans
	Treated Differently
	Safety and Security
	Victimisation
	Xenophobic Experiences
May 2008 Xenophobic Violence	
Impressions of South Africa and Future Plans	
Treatment of Foreigners	

Table 4.2: Content Analysis Schedule: South African Learners

CONTENT ANALYSIS: SOUTH AFRICAN LEARNERS	
Research Question	Categories
How is the phenomenon of xenophobia experienced by immigrant learners in the inner city schools of Johannesburg?	Language and communication
	Preference for Admissions
	Interaction with Immigrant learners
	Xenophobia in schools
	How did Xenophobia affect schooling in 2008?
	Improving the treatment of immigrant learners
	Is the education system adequate to meet immigrant learners' needs?

Table 4.3: Content Analysis Schedule: Educators

CONTENT ANALYSIS: EDUCATORS	
Research Question	Categories
How is the phenomenon of xenophobia experienced by immigrant learners in the inner city schools of Johannesburg?	Immigrant learners and countries of origin
	Language
	Understanding of Xenophobia
	Xenophobia in schools
	How were schools affected by the May 2008 violence?
	How to improve relations with immigrants?
	How can the Department of Education improve?

APPENDIX 14

APPROVAL TO CONDUCT RESEARCH



UMnyango WezeMfundo
Department of Education

Lefapha la Thuto
Departement van Onderwys

Enquiries : Shadrack Phele MIRMSA
Tel. No. : [+2711] 355 0285

Wednesday, 18 March 2009

Osman Razia
30 Protea Avenue
Alan Manor
2091

Dear researcher

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH: PROJECT

The Gauteng Department of Education hereby grants permission to conduct research in its institutions as per application.

Topic of research : "The phenomenon of xenophobia as experienced by immigrant learners in inner city schools of Johannesburg."

Upon completion of the research project the researcher is obliged to furnish the Department with copy of the research report (electronic or hard copy).

The Department wishes you success in your academic pursuit.

Yours in Tirisano,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Shadrack Phele".

p.p. Shadrack Phele [MIRMSA]

Mmapula Kekana
Chief Director: Information & Knowledge Management
Gauteng Department of Education



OFFICE OF THE CHIEF DIRECTOR
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APPENDIX 15

EXAMPLE OF AN INTERVIEW WITH AN IMMIGRANT LEARNER

AMANDA'S INTERVIEW		
NAME	COMMUNICATION	CODE AND COMMENT
RAZIA	Just remember there aren't any right answers or wrong answers. You answer as honestly as possible, say whatever you want to say.	
AMANDA	Okay	
RAZIA	Firstly...thank you for agreeing to participate. If you don't understand a question just ask me and I will explain it to you in simpler terms. What name would you like to give yourself for this research study?	
AMANDA	Amanda is fine.	
RAZIA	How old are you Amanda?	
AMANDA	I'm 18.	Age
RAZIA	How old were you when you came to South Africa?	
AMANDA	I was six.	
RAZIA	And what is your country of birth?	
AMANDA	Democratic Republic of Congo.	Country of origin
RAZIA	Do you have a study permit?	
AMANDA	Yes.	
RAZIA	Was it difficult to obtain a study permit?	
AMANDA	It was a long process, it was very long, we have applied for permanent residence, we've been waiting for 3 years, so yeah...	
RAZIA	Does it affect you life in any way?	
AMANDA	Yes, especially since I'm applying for universities, it has given me a lot of limits because I cannot apply for any bursaries because I am not a South African citizen and I don't have a permanent residential, so that is a huge limitation for me.	
RAZIA	And how does that make you feel?	

AMANDA	It's frustrating because I know I have potential, I really do so but just because <u>I'm not a South African or I don't have this documents then nobody is willing to give me that opportunity.</u>	(SE)
RAZIA	And do you think it is unfair?	
AMANDA	It is very unfair.	
RAZIA	Why do you think, they don't want to give you the opportunity?	
AMANDA	I understand South Africans previously was disadvantaged and I <u>think they want to bring up their own people first and foremost</u> before anybody else, so I think I understand that but I have been here long enough to...you know... grab a couple of opportunities myself.	(SE)
RAZIA	Well I wish you luck.	
AMANDA	Thank you.	
RAZIA	What language do you speak at home?	
AMANDA	A lot of English but I do speak French too.	Language
RAZIA	At any time did it cross your mind that you... that... you should be educated in French at school?	
AMANDA	Yes, it crossed my mind <u>that I should not have to do Afrikaans at school, and yeah... it did, yes.</u>	(L)
RAZIA	And English... did it cross your mind that you should be doing French and not English?	
AMANDA	No	
RAZIA	How many schools did you attend in South Africa?	
AMANDA	Three because I went to junior school from Grade 1 to grade 4, then I went to School Y from 5 – 7 and then I have been at School X since Grade 8.	
RAZIA	And was it difficult finding a school?	
AMANDA	No because we came in June when I was 6 and we were able to start schooling immediately. That was not a problem.	Finding a school
RAZIA	And finding a high school?	
AMANDA	No, it was not a problem either.	Finding a school
RAZIA	So you have been fortunate?	
AMANDA	Yes I have.	

RAZIA	What does the concept or the word xenophobia mean to you?	
AMANDA	Xenophobia...it's a fear that I know from phobia, I think it is a fear of something different. People who are different and because they are not from the same country that you used to, so you fear them in a way. I think usually people are threatened by immigrants.	Concept of xenophobia
RAZIA	Have you experienced xenophobia?	
AMANDA	When I was in primary school <u>it was such an embarrassment to say that you are not a South African because people could not understand that being from another African country was okay. It was wrong, so when I was in primary school, I was teased a lot.</u> It was embarrassing so they were like 'are you from the DRC, you know... you ended up saying no I am a South African , just because you didn't want people to reach in a certain way. When you get to high school...you know you are mature... you understand that it's you and it's the person that you are, and we do get like for and example, I'm in a taxi, a person says something and you tell them that you don't understand and <u>they get aggressive and want to know why you don't understand.</u> You tell them that you are not from here and there is something wrong with that.... So it has been hard but yeah...	Discrimination
RAZIA	Do you feel different as compared to South African learners in your school?	
AMANDA	I think I do	Feeling Different
RAZIA	In what way?	
AMANDA	Like my mom always tells us, we should never forget the reason why we are here and that's like that's very important because a lot of South Africans just see the everyday things it's just that and for me, you know...when <u>you grow up in a place of poverty and you are used to that you kind of take note and you realize just how fortunate you are, so I definitely don't take things for granted the way my learners do, the way my peers do. I grab everything that comes, you know...if I can do something I'm going to do it, be serious... oh! its just something else... so I definitely feel different.</u>	Feeling Different
RAZIA	Physically different?	
AMANDA	Physically different, I'm so much taller than half the learners in matric and yeah. I think our people are just taller people so yes.	
RAZIA	I didn't know about the tallest so it's something I learned	

	today. You mentioned your mom said: “don’t forget the reasons why you came here” so what were the reasons for coming to South Africa?	
AMANDA	The very first reason was <u>security</u> ...number 1... Its not...when we were back in Congo, we weren’t living in a place where there was war or anything <u>but it was important that we just move away from there and secondly it’s to study</u> , that the only reason we are still here, it is because we have to study, we need to get educated and South Africa, just has a lot of studying opportunity, so my mom and dad always said: “don’t forget why you are here” it’s to study that’s the first priority maybe then just know that we are here to study.	Reasons for coming to SA
RAZIA	Do you experience problems communicating in English?	
AMANDA	No, none at all	Experiences whilst communicating in English
RAZIA	Have you experienced that sometimes when ... looking for a word and the wrong word comes out and when giving an answer, what’s the response of the class then?	
AMANDA	Sometimes I pronounce words like the way they’d be pronounced in French and it sounds weird then everybody want to know why do you pronounce it like that, then I wouldbut people like French generally, so then they want to know “ aah... I want to learn... with the language thing they are <u>usually very interested in learning French, so then I don’t mind teaching them what they want to learn</u> .	Experiences whilst communicating in English
RAZIA	So do you think the South African education system at the moment is adequately prepared to meet the needs of foreign?	
AMANDA	I don’t think so even with the South Africans because I just think the education system is not very realistic if I can put it that way. Like for example, like back at home in terms of the education system, is not the very best but what will happen is that they have a lot more subjects: options number 1... you know... if you are interested in chemistry, you do chemistry and not be forced to do chemistry and physics and they were <u>given more skills in high school so that if somebody left their matric they can do something physically</u> . In South Africa it’s kind of ... everything is just in books and you get out there and you cant do anything you just your matric certificate unless you did A levels in a private school. So I don’t think the education system is very realistic and with the pass rate of being... you pass with 30% and you can’t get into university unless you get 60 it’s just ...it doesn’t make sense so its not adequate.	Is education adequate & xenophobia covered? (ED)
RAZIA	And the role of languages in schools?	

AMANDA	I don't.... I like... <u>I don't see why...for example, I don't like Afrikaans very much but I have to do it and I mean I pass well but then I understand that there is a lot of foreigners who come and they just...they do it because they have to do it because you've been doing it longer than five years and they'd rather have French proper lesson with the class and be in a class, so...no... that is not either.</u>	Is education adequate & xenophobia covered?
RAZIA	Does it disadvantage them?	
AMANDA	(Amanda interrupted.... I think so) <u>in a way they... never feel like they really belong.</u>	
RAZIA	And in terms of passing?	
AMANDA	Yes definitely, <u>even Afrikaans is just another thing all together and if you are not getting it, it's so important that you pass it too...you know...</u> It's yeah it disadvantages them.	Is education adequate & xenophobia covered?
RAZIA	Do you think that the syllabus covers xenophobia in the subject that you are doing at school?	
AMANDA	Not at all, not in grade 10 Geography, <u>we did immigrants and migration and things and we spoke about what are the factors that might pull people to come and why people might be pushed to leave a country but it didn't. It spoke about wanting jobs and stuff, it was very brief, very... it didn't speak about what's really happening, how women are being raped in their own towns and how children are forced to become child soldiers.</u> It didn't speak about that which is what's really happening and so people are never gonna understand it and they'll never know why we're here, they'll never empathize with us, they' never sympathize.	Is education adequate & xenophobia covered?
RAZIA	So what would you suggest then?	
AMANDA	Firstly history...in terms of history, like HSS they need to <u>teach the History of Africa, people would understand why I'm here they knew Mobutu damaged our country and our people were been taken as slaves and ... you know...</u> in Sudan, what's happening, people need to be taught about that, so it has to be current things and why Africa is suffering, not about Hitler and World War 2, that is important but it's not really helping us as Africans. So when they don't understand that, there's always gonna be problems, they are not educated about what's happening outside South Africa.	Is education adequate & xenophobia covered?
RAZIA	Does the LO syllabus cover anything on xenophobia?	
AMANDA	Not xenophobia as such but just accepting in general so it's just general accepting people and respecting other people.	Is education adequate & xenophobia covered?

RAZIA	Is it enough?	
AMANDA	No it's not enough, it's just not.	Is education adequate & xenophobia covered?
RAZIA	What has the school done to accommodate you and other immigrant learners into the South African schooling system?	
AMANDA	School X, firstly, there are a lot of immigrants in this school and when <u>I came I was comfortable, the fact that there were a lot of us around so I didn't experience any xenophobia as such.</u> But I think Athlonians are just more open-minded and it's not that big deal unless its personal things with personal individuals but generally I think the school is accommodating to xenophobia and stuff because with the attacks they were collecting clothing and things, we were encouraged to give things. I thought that was nice. That was great.	Accommodate immigrant learners
RAZIA	Who are your good friends at school, your close friends?	
AMANDA	Do you want their names?	
RAZIA	Are they South Africans or are they not South Africans?	
AMANDA	Ok my very best friend at school, she is a South African, actually apart from my twin but I do have South African friends, I have Congolese friends. <u>It's a mixture but I think I trust Congolese people more than I do South Africans.</u> We sit together and chat, although we prefer our own kind.	Socialisation
RAZIA	Was there anytime when you as an immigrant was made to feel small or inferior?	
AMANDA	Yes, I remember last year with the whole attacks, what happened, we were on the hockey field, we were having a discussion with...I think it was grade 11's ...ok... they were grade 10's back then and they were talking about how only certain... <u>all the immigrants should be sent back and I was like, well I'm one so do you think I should be sent back?</u> And they are like; but no, Amanda, we really like you but like honestly, just think about it, <u>we don't want people to be filled up in South Africa because you guys can't stay at your own countries,</u> now ... I was like...'wow' you honestly don't think I should be here? And you know...I think I've contributed a lot to this place and you don't think I should be here! It was hard, it was painful hearing that.	Emotional experiences
RAZIA	And have you had experience or heard of other immigrant learners being called by derogatory names?	
AMANDA	Yes	

RAZIA	At school?	
AMANDA	At school, I know in Grade 8, my friend actually left the school and <u>she had a huge fight</u> in Miss Smith's classroom, I don't know if you remember but she wasn't South African, and it <u>started because she was dark-skinned and that was a huge problem</u> . And I have friends who are really dark-skinned like most people who are around the equator of Africa and they...you know...me and her we connected because I was the only person who was there, when we were in grade 8, I was the only person who understood her and like she was tall and the matrics would point and laugh and that happens a lot, <u>there were a lot of fights that would just spark from comments like: "an...makwerekwere..."</u> and stuff like that, just childish.	(AGG & V) (STEREOTYPE) (V) (IN)
RAZIA	What does amakwerekwere mean?	
AMANDA	Believe it ...it apparently its... amakwerekwere is to say that when you don't understand what somebody is saying, so you say makwerekwere because it sounds foreign and yeah... it's a slang like that.	
RAZIA	When we talk of the word xenophobia, what emotions are evoked in you?	
AMANDA	<u>It's painful, it's sore, it's ...you know...I feel that it's so unnecessary so it's just saddening and yeah... those kind of emotions.</u>	Emotional experiences
RAZIA	And where in you body would you say you feel xenophobia?	
AMANDA	It's in my heart I guess, like ... yeah... it's heavy ...it's just not a good feeling at all.	Emotional experiences
RAZIA	So what memories come to mind when you are confronted with xenophobia?	
AMANDA	What memories? Like I said, when I was in Congo, we were quite well-off actually, but then I remember when my dad not being home for long periods of time because he comes to South Africa and try and set up something for us to come here to so it was just when you are a child you know...always want your parents there and he wasn't there and we couldn't understand it, we didn't know what was going on and like our family was always together, it's a huge family but like the fathers were never around because they were just going out and trying to...you know... provide for us, that was so painful, I could not understand why my dad wasn't there... like to this day he's still working very hard for us and you know...it's bad he isn't around but now I understand, I didn't, back then.	Emotional experiences
RAZIA	Have you experienced nightmares as a result of any of	

	the xenophobic attacks?	
AMANDA	Nightmares...no, a... just negative thought, <u>what would happen is we suddenly had to pack up and leave, if we were force to leave...</u>	Emotional experiences
RAZIA	Did that thought cross your mind?	
AMANDA	A lot of times. My mom continuously says you can't get comfortable, <u>what if the new government doesn't want any foreigners around and we have to leave</u> , what's gonna happen then ... you know... All you can have is you... you know..., so it comes around a lot.	(S&S)
RAZIA	And how does that make you feel?	
AMANDA	<u>It's heart-breaking, I don't think I know any other home but South Africa.</u>	(EM) (S&S)
RAZIA	Were you subjected to...or heard immigrant friends being made part of ethnic jokes?	
AMANDA	A part of ethnic jokes? Please explain that.	
RAZIA	When people were poking fun at them because they were immigrants.	
AMANDA	Yes but that happened like it's just a joke and people like...you know... it's just a joke but it always hits home, it always hits somewhere, and ...yeah it happens often actually.	Name calling / teasing
RAZIA	What are your views of South African learners?	
AMANDA	I think that... I can say... they're naïve. I don't know...they don't see that there's a bigger world out there, they don't see what they have...so many people don't have... that's what I think.	Perceptions on South Africans
RAZIA	And if you have a problem at school, who would you turn to ... who can you go and talk to?	
AMANDA	At school? Like an older person?	
RAZIA	Or a friend.	
AMANDA	Or a friend....I talk to my twin.	
RAZIA	And assuming that both of you are having a problem, who would you go to then?	
AMANDA	I think I would speak to Mrs John.	
RAZIA	So there is someone that you can talk to?	
AMANDA	Yes.	

RAZIA	Do you think as an immigrant learner, you are treated different from South African learners?	
AMANDA	From educators or just learners?	
RAZIA	Both	
AMANDA	From both, educators...not at all, it's just like same. As learners, a couple of them... like if they know me and they know Amanda and it doesn't really matter what I am and then other people would be like...they think I'm South African at first and then they find out I'm not and they start <u>behaving a little differently</u> and you don't understand why because I'm still the same person.	Treated differently
RAZIA	And how does the behaviour change?	
AMANDA	Some people start to feel sorry for you, I don't think they should but then they start to ... like... yeah how are you and stuff like I see personally when I go, like I was part of council and I was meant to present the school in this huge environment and it was just Amanda...whatever. And then what happened is... we had a cultural day and we had to spoke about our cultures and I spoke about being Congolese and they were like "Aah, so you are not from South Africa, so what was it like back at home? Do you ever go there? Do you live with your mom and dad? And I was like 'you guys, I'm just like you...you know... it's no big deal' but yeah, I understand that ... you know...maybe they thought that everybody goes through the same thing.	
RAZIA	So what perceptions do they have of immigrant learners?	
AMANDA	They think all of us are just ... I don't know... <u>that we have a dad who doesn't have an arm and a mom who's just suffering and old and a huge family and like suffering people. That's what they immediately think when they see you because that's the picture the world has given ... you know... of Africa and so... and then they're shocked because I'm light-skinned because they have this perception that anyone who's dark is not South African...it's just another thing, they're not educated because you would see that we are very light-skinned people too. So that's the perception they have, <u>that we are suffering, we are probably dirty too and we have mosquito's flying all over us ...and ...yeah.</u></u>	Perceptions on South Africans
RAZIA	While we are talking about perceptions...if something goes missing in your class, to they suspect ...as an immigrant it has to be you?	
1	No, I've never experienced anything like that at all.	
RAZIA	But is there a general thought happening like that?	
AMANDA	It also depends where you are from because there's this	

	picture that Nigerians are just ...you know...sleazy type of people, so they suspect a Nigerian over a Congolese person because it this thing...like we were in Geography last year, my friend used to tell me, And you know... I did that part of Nigeria, they're so into drugs, and stuff like that. Again another picture the world has given us. So it depends where you are from ... I'd have to say.	
RAZIA	So how can these misinterpretations be corrected?	
AMANDA	People need to be educated, we need to be made aware firstly, because if... I don't know how can I put it, ok...it also needs to come from an individual wanting, or having that interest, wanting to know what is like and wanting to know people personally and not because they are something else form a different country, so if like we are Nigerians but we're like this and this, it's our culture and then ...you know...Nigerians have these movies, I don't know if you've seen any of them...yeah.. Nigerians have movies and its becoming very popular amongst South Africans, so then they watch and know...I see that now they are understanding Nigerians culture more. And they see they Nigerians do things and can understand, so it is things like that, maybe they could show more movies from Africa and Africans and we understand each other because TV is like a popular form of just communicating to the world...so have more programs like that and ...you know... educate people.	
RAZIA	Do you feel safe at school?	
AMANDA	At school? Yes.	Safety and security
RAZIA	Is there any victimization and physical violence that takes place with immigrants?	
AMANDA	NO...not at school, <u>I feel very safe at school</u> actually.	Victimization
RAZIA	And do you think that there are equal opportunities for you to participate in extra mural activities?	
AMANDA	Yes.	
RAZIA	So preference is not given to South African learners?	
AMANDA	No.	
RAZIA	What problems do you face as an immigrant learner?	
AMANDA	At school or in general?	
RAZIA	In general, at school, outside school.	
AMANDA	The first thing is ...the fact that I don't have permanent residentship and I'm not a South African citizen it's just so much more complicating. Like...it's gotten to a point, like	

	in matric I had to get to matric to realize how important that document is because now I'm applying for varsities and I need to take extra steps than everybody else and if I can't prove that I have some sort of refugee status I got to pay international fees which is more than R10 000 more than normal South African... you know...I wrote my admission exam on Saturday and I didn't have a South African ID, my process is much longer than everybody else. And then I was able to write the exam. So that's just ... it's not right and I don't know why documents taking so long ... you know... that's something that needs to be fixed up, it's not fair...it's not fair at all.	
RAZIA	Were you involved in any xenophobic incident at school?	
AMANDA	No.	
RAZIA	And if something did happen, something discriminatory and xenophobic, what would you do?	
AMANDA	What would I do? Okay...firstly with me as an individual, I'm the president of the RCL, I have some sort of authority...so I'd do something about it. I don't know...I'd probably <u>get a whole bunch of us immigrants together and we'd like...have a talk at assembly...well just... let everybody know how we are feeling and why we are feeling that way, how we expect them to treat us and I'd do that because I can, so I'd do something like that.</u>	Xenophobic experiences
RAZIA	What was your best experience at school, from an immigrant's perspective?	
AMANDA	You know...when I got to school, I went to grade 1 from September only and then I passed and like by grade 2, I was like 1 st in class so like...yeah... <u>I didn't know any English and I was able to beat South Africans who've been talking English all the time so I was like..."Hey I'm smart"...so that was cool.</u>	(Pos)
RAZIA	Now...what was your worst experience?	
AMANDA	Mmm....worst experience....I think...it was because schooling here is so much different from Congo and I didn't go to school there and my parents couldn't understand certain things. They couldn't understand like what civvies day was... fun day...whatever, so it would be like...can we... and it was like 'no' because they thought school was just going about getting educated so when I was like in the younger grades, I wasn't participating in anything because my parents couldn't understand it. So I just went to school and people would do fun things and we just had to sit and watch from the sidelines.	
RAZIA	And when did this change?	
AMANDA	When I got to grade 4, I was able to explain to them what	

	was going on because I knew so much more myself and then I became a prefect then ,and I was able to tell them this is what was going on, there is still a lot of things they don't understand but because I think we're older and they trust us, so they are ...expect us to but I'd be like, I was a Head Girl in grade 7 so I'd be like, 'No, I'm a headgirl' and she doesn't understand like 'what are you talking about?' because they didn't have all those stuff ... you know... so she didn't come to my headgirl inauguration in Grade 7, I cried because she missed it because she didn't understand what it was about.	
RAZIA	Have things changed since then?	
AMANDA	It has changed, it has changed now, <u>It's like we can tell them that this is what's happening, this is how it works because so and so and yes things have changed.</u>	(ED)
RAZIA	Do you find that you have to act as interpreter for your mom or explain processes to her going to a hospital or whatever it may be?	
AMANDA	Yes, for my mom, my dad is just fluent in English. My mom, she speaks English <u>but she is not like very good so she doesn't understand a couple of things so like... school forms...I know I'll be filling it and she'll just sign, I fill in my sister's forms, I'd be filling in my application forms</u> you know... so I have to do all that paperwork for her. I have to type in letters if she has to do something...so yes.	(ED)
RAZIA	Okay, how were you affected by last year's xenophobic violence?	
AMANDA	There was no... like physical violent attacks around where I was living at all. I was still coming to school...that was and everything. But then like it happened in Yeoville and that was so close to us... <u>that was scary. It was very scary, our parents got paranoid, we couldn't leave the house, we couldn't be out of their sight at all because of that. So everything just tensed up and they wanted you at home straight from school and stuff. But it was just a feeling being really scared.</u>	May 2008 Xenophobic violence
RAZIA	And what impact would you say the xenophobic violence had on your school?	
AMANDA	My school work.	
RAZIA	It was just prior to the June exams?	
AMANDA	To the June exams. I think I still performed okay and though it was scary...but like it was more like...Amanda, now you know...like my mom at that time she was like...'no you guys know why we are really here, now ...so, <u>you guys need to work hard and you know...once you get what you need, which is that education, you can</u>	(ED)

	<u>do whatever you want. So it was at that time when we are like 'I really got to work hard now because there's nothing else for me but this. So I think I driven more to work even harder.</u>	
RAZIA	And your attendance, was that affected in any way?	
AMANDA	No, I was still coming to school.	
RAZIA	Okay...and what was the attitude of the teachers and learners towards immigrant students during the period of violence?	
AMANDA	Oh I remember when the xenophobic attacks hit Yeoville during the weekend, I didn't come to school on the Monday that was just the 1 st day because my mom felt things should calm down and I got a lot of sms's asking if I was okay and we haven't spoken to in years suddenly cares so much. But the learners are really good, they're very sympathetic and the teachers as well...you know... they just say...are you guys doing fine? And stuff.	
RAZIA	Okay... what kind of support were you offered? To you, was here any counseling?	
AMANDA	I didn't get any counseling.	
RAZIA	Was it offered to you?	
AMANDA	No.	
RAZIA	Did you think you needed it?	
AMANDA	No.	
RAZIA	Okay... what do you think was the cause of all the xenophobic violence?	
AMANDA	<u>South Africans were feeling threatened, I guess, and you know... because the way it started out ... example in Alexandra where ... you know... they have so little themselves, they weren't willing to share and then these immigrants come in wanting to take that very little that was there, they felt threatened so something had to be done and then ... you know... when people are not educated they resort to violence to solve things.</u>	(Scapegoating / Power conflict) (V)
RAZIA	What are your impressions of South Africa as a country?	
AMANDA	I think <u>South Africa is a good country but then there's so much potential here and there's a lot of change that can happen</u> and even though right now it's not looking that good and a lot of people are negative about what's going on ...but then with like this generation, my generation I think there'll be a lot of change just because of people being more interested in what's going on around them.	Impressions of South Africa

RAZIA	And your plans for the future?	
AMANDA	Next year I wanna go to university, study civil engineering. I do wanna do something in Human Rights field. I wanna join UNICEF and make change where I can, it's more about educating the youth, I think my passion is there so I'll probably do something in that field you know... make the youth aware.	Future Plans
RAZIA	Would you remain in South Africa or go back to Congo?	
AMANDA	I was thinking about that yesterday, I don't know...I still haven't decided yet because even though I know my roots are there, I've grown up here, this is the only home I know...like I said, so I have to put a lot of thought into that.	
RAZIA	And in which way do you think the scales are gonna tip? Which way do you think you are going to...what decision are you going to make?	
AMANDA	I honestly don't know. I'd probably stay here but then realistically thinking...must I get married or something...I don't know...maybe I'll go back...ooh I don't know... I really don't know...I've no idea.	
RAZIA	But do you see a future for you in the Congo?	
AMANDA	I see me going there and making change. Me going there and making opportunities for other people because it's not in the state where something is gonna just change unless ... you know.. the generation...my generation...the people who came like...their children because I know there's a whole bunch of us in matric, we were to get educated and keep what we needed then go and increment it and bring it back there and then there'll change for the generation that will be to follow in 2 years then. But right now I don't see anybody fixing it up, so I can go there and live the luxury life.	
RAZIA	Now, in your personal opinion, do you think South African school should give preference to South African learners and if there is space, then to the immigrants?	
AMANDA	My personal opinion? I think so, <u>I mean it is their country you know... lets feed our own people first, we can feed others. So yes, as saddening as that is...yes.</u>	(SE)
RAZIA	And in term of pro-active, what do you think South Africans should do to treat foreigners better?	
AMANDA	They must have an interest to learn about them, to learn about us you know... come and ask me why I'm here, <u>don't just assume things.</u> Come speak to me, see what I'm going through and through sharing experiences with people and knowing them that you'll love them and that's	Improve treatment of foreigners

	<p>the only way you can accept me if you understand me. <u>So get to me and me for me and not because you think or you heard that Congo people are this or that and now you are gonna be scared because I had one bad experience with them and how you've gonna hate every single one of them and that is not the way it is.</u></p>	
RAZIA	<p>Now, if you were appointed as the next principal of this school, what measures would you ensure in class to make sure that there are no problems between South Africans and foreigners?</p>	
AMANDA	<p>What would I do, like for example, if there's a cultural, heritage thing or something, I'd make it a huge event, like a point that everybody participates and then I'd give these foreigners a chance to just speak and just this situations and like if people ... you know... are aware of what's going on like, I've been saying they wont, I wont hate you if your mother has been through this and you are here because you had to walk from Zimbabwe or something, I wouldn't because I am a human, I'd obviously act in a loving way towards you and I am not going to know that if you don't talk to me. So things like that where people would just get together and just talk, would bring about opportunities for new relationships to form, so I would definitely work on bringing that sisterhood so I'd look at making functions where people can communicate about their cultures and histories and past and their lives.</p>	
RAZIA	<p>Now we are at the end of the interview, is there anything that you want to add or say before we close?</p>	
AMANDA	<p>In Geography, we were supposed to do an assignment, a questionnaire and do research and I chose the topic on xenophobic so I was interviewing like immigrants myself and I found that when I asked them the question, do you feel that you get the same amount of services as South Africans? The majority of them said, no, and I said "what change do you think that the government should make and to make sure that people aren't deprived because at the end of the day we are all human beings" and most of them said that the government or whoever is holding authority, should give immigrants channels and chances to tell them what's going on because I don't think that we are going against the government because were are doing about the government failing to provide for it's people, <u>I don't think that they are getting to know us personally and ask what we want, they jus sit there and assume what's going on it's so important to just hear from people personally and I think they should like come through to schools like these things really nice so they get an idea of what's going.</u></p>	
RAZIA	<p>Thank you , now do you think you need counseling:</p>	
AMANDA	<p>No.</p>	

RAZIA	Are you sure?	
AMANDA	I'm sure.	
RAZIA	You are not traumatised in any way?	
AMANDA	No, it was a nice experience...I'm just... I'm thinking about a lot of things myself. Yeah...I'm not traumatized.	
RAZIA	Thank you very much Amanda, thank you for your time.	
AMANDA	Thank you.	

APPENDIX 16

EXAMPLE OF INTERVIEW WITH A SOUTH AFRICAN LEARNER

Steve sat very comfortably in the chair opposite, legs outstretched, hands relaxed on his lap. He spoke in aloud, confident voice. There were no inhibitions as he expressed his emotions.

NAME	COMMUNICATION (VERBAL/NON-VERBAL)	CODE AND COMMENT
RAZIA	Thank you very much for sacrificing your afternoon for this interview. What name would you like to give yourself for this research study?	
STEVE	Steve	
RAZIA	Steve, and how old are you Steve?	
STEVE	Steve is 18 years old.	
RAZIA	Good, Steve what is your understanding of the word xenophobia?	
STEVE	Xenophobia is the <u>fear of the harsh treatment of foreigners by South African citizens</u> for ... by citizens of that country.	Understanding xenophobia
RAZIA	Have you had any experiences with xenophobia?	
STEVE	<u>Many experiences and at school there have been incidents of xenophobia that I cannot really dispute because we are in a school with foreigners and South Africans actually.</u>	
RAZIA	Do you have friends at school who are not South Africans?	
STEVE	<u>Not actually friends but there are people that I relate to on a school basis on school turf in which we help each other with school work or where as I go to them for help, but I can't really say that they are my friends.</u>	Interaction with immigrants
RAZIA	So who are your friends here?	
STEVE	<u>South African nationals obviously...many of the people that live around where I live, where we've got similar, rituals, beliefs, traditions and people that I can actually relate to on a more personal note.</u>	Interaction with immigrants
RAZIA	And the people that you relate to at school and go to for assistance, from which country do they come from?	
STEVE	The one is from Zimbabwe, and the other one is from the DRC. <u>Those are the two students that I mainly go to that are not South Africans, actually, for help.</u>	Interaction with immigrants
RAZIA	And if you compare those two, the one from the DRC and the one from Zimbabwe, are they different in any way?	
STEVE	Not really, <u>I cannot say that their intellectualness is the same</u>	(WE)

	<u>but they are two of the most highly working people that I know...that are really dedicated to their school work and that they are really push for a brighter future for themselves.</u>	
RAZIA	And interaction with other foreign learners/	
STEVE	<u>There has been...., it hasn't been always pretty and there has been some harsh interactions but most of the time we just tell hem and each other where they keep their side and I keep our side and that is how it is.</u>	Interaction with immigrant learners
RAZIA	When you say harsh, is it harsh from both sides?	
STEVE	<u>Its harsh both sides in which we South Africans talk, badly of them and the foreign learners are more physical and they are more aggressive and they want to fight. But then in that terms it is more of a verbal for South African, and more physical for the foreign learners.</u>	
RAZIA	Okay...now when we say verbal, what kind of language is used?	
STEVE	<u>It would be calling them derogative names, 'amakwerekwere', those obvious names and actually making them feel with words that they are not needed or wanted in our country. Those are the harsh words, we cripple them emotionally like this and we make them feel like they have just come to corrupt and pollute our country.</u>	(SE) (IN)
RAZIA	And do they respond?	
STEVE	<u>Most of them are...as I said most of them become physical and want to fight but then as they see that there is an overwhelming number of South Africans then they cannot come against me because they can see that one of them will be taken on by 20 South Africans so they are at a disadvantage. So they may be a...aggressive but they reduce their aggression because of the number.</u>	(V&AGG)
RAZIA	Were you involved in physical fights with them?	
STEVE	<u>No, no physical fights lately but it came to the break of nearly one, which luckily I avoided by just seeing the light. You know... sometimes you don't need to fight to resolve issues between human kinds.</u>	(V&AGG)
RAZIA	Okay...now if you said you go to the two foreign learners for assistance, in what language do they communicate with you?	
STEVE	<u>Its definitely English with the two learners because the one guy from Zimbabwe has an understanding of Zulu, so we do sometimes talk in Zulu and we relate in Zulu but it's mainly on an English basis which is a common language for both of us. So that is the language that we normally use, English.</u>	Language and communication
RAZIA	And the learner from DRC?	

STEVE	The learner from the DRC also, because the only language he can speak is English and French. I think, <u>so me and him only communicate in English.</u>	Language and communication
RAZIA	Now, when foreign learners speak in French, how does that make you feel?	
STEVE	I feel that as long as they are not talking about me, it is okay with me. <u>As long as they keep their side and they are talking about their own thing its okay with me. But in my presence, I feel that it is not actually a good sign if they talk in French or in foreign language when I am there because I cannot relate and understand what they are saying. So it feels as if they might mocking me or something in a language that I cannot understand.</u>	(SE) (L)
RAZIA	So you find this intimidating?	
STEVE	At an extent maybe, <u>it can be intimidating because you don't know what they are saying about you...</u> did you...you might not know that maybe when you are around them one of them does not like you and actually planning something against you. So it is kind of intimidating but not to such a great extent.	Language and communication
RAZIA	So what is your personal view of foreign learners coming into your school?	
STEVE	I realize with all the interaction I've had with foreign learners, a lot of them are motivated. Many of them are motivated that I have seen. But there are some that <u>I do not like...that have come to the school to just corrupt and do as they please. not regarding what they have gone through and now they have to study and finish and do well in life. But with the foreigners, that I know, that I interact with, there is a lot of hard work, there is a lot working to the future with them and I think I have to commend them for that.</u>	(SE) (WE) (O&P) (WE)
RAZIA	And the ones that are corrupt, what are they doing?	
STEVE	It's a way in which they act around the school. They don't want to be like normal boys of the school, wear a tie, wear a blazer, the normal things that we do...you know...that we South Africans find valuable to come to school and our society. They come up looking like they have covered up a dumpster, with their ties wagging. "The American kind of style of living". As I can put it, <u>that looks untidy and not neat. I think those are the things that really make me angry and the thing is that when you tell them or when you reprimand them, it makes them feel like they are inferior because they are foreigners. Now you are being harsh on them because you don't like them, xenophobia, those type of stuff.</u>	(V&AGG) (IN)
RAZIA	Do you think it the way in which the messages communicated to them and the way in which they are reprimanded that	

	makes them feel like that?	
STEVE	I think that when you learned that <u>someone is aggressive, you learn to treat them in aggressive manner. I think that the way, in which they portray themselves as the greatest, we will treat them in that way. If you are being nice to someone who is being aggressive, they will not listen to you, they will take you for granted.</u> And I think that perhaps we are at false for putting up message in a sense that we patronize them and make them feel that they cannot understand for probably they do understand that but because they are foreign nationals, we might underestimate their intentions. So I think that maybe it is the way we portray it, but I think that with most of them they are aggressive, we are also going to be aggressive because it's in their nature and we learn from their nature.	(V&AGG) (V&AGG) ((O&P))
RAZIA	Now... do you think that preference should be given to South African learners in admission to schools, or should foreign learners also be given preference?	
STEVE	Honestly, <u>it is the job of the government to look after the children of South Africa. So I cannot say that a foreign national has to be above a South African child because our parents vote for the government for the betterment of South African students. So in a way we understand that the foreigners have come first. This is our country, although it may sound as if I am being harsh or being insensitive, but this is our country and the government should treat us South African kids with first preference.</u>	Preference for admission
RAZIA	What is your opinion of foreigners?	
STEVE	My opinion of foreigners is different. It differs from being totally <u>admirable of some of them and totally ugly of some</u> and what they do in our country. I believe that as a human being there are two sides, a good and an evil. I think that with some of the foreigners, <u>I really admire their work ethic. I really admire that they understand that from where they've come from, they need to make a better future</u> for themselves but for some of them as you see in places like Hillbrow. How can we then be happy as South Africans to welcome them into our country when things like that are happening? <u>Not that I'm saying that they are the only perpetrators of crime and violence and drug substances but they do promote these things in our country and I think that's why, that's why I say that my view of foreigners just because there are some foreigners that I go to for help and knowledge and those are the people that I really look up to, to push me as a South African to move further along the lines. But there are some that really are breaking down our country and they need to be deported.</u>	Interaction with immigrant learners
RAZIA	How do you fee in terms of scholastic performance that the foreign learners are doing better than you and I'm assuming that they are doing better than you, would I be correct in saying that?	

STEVE	<u>The assumption is correct, they are doing better luckily, I have spoken to some of them as I said about the level of education that they have in their country and its actually surprising that their levels of education are higher than ours and that some of the things that we do in our later stages of schooling, they've done is in their early stages, which gives them an advantage so we cannot be angry at them for being intelligent, they cannot help it, their hard work, things that we as South Africans, if we want to be on their level, then we should start pushing ourselves that much further.</u>	(WE) (O&P) (CUR)
RAZIA	And who do you think the teachers are treating the immigrant learners?	
STEVE	<u>Teachers and immigrants relationship is really...it's really as I said it's really harsh. From the teachers you find that they can't understand why foreigners do not understand some of the concepts. Like in Maths and Science, foreigners do really good, but in languages like English, our English, Afrikaans, Zulu, you cannot expect a foreigner to be good at those because it's not the language of their birth, so I think that teachers are really harsh on them in which the teachers cannot relate to them and why they can't differentiate between South Africans and the foreign learners because I think that it is a barrier for them in languages so the teachers do not understand and are harsh on them.</u>	Xenophobia in schools
RAZIA	Describe this harsh treatment to me.	
STEVE	<u>There's a lot of verbal abuse so it's things on that, "why don't you do French"...you know...like in classes like Afrikaans and the teacher tells the student that "you are inadequate, you just came here to waste our time, you should leave the subject because it's not for you, do some other subject and leave Afrikaans alone...those are the sort of things that happen in classes, where teachers patronize and they verbally abuse the student.</u>	(V&AGG) (CUR) (LS)
RAZIA	Is language really a barrier for the foreign learners?	
STEVE	<u>It is because I think that they have a disadvantage with languages as in some schools, their main languages are from English, Afrikaans, Zulu or Sotho. How do you expect then, someone from a foreign country who has learnt French to now come and adapt Afrikaans in 2 years and understand it like a South African child who had actually been groomed in Afrikaans from primary or in Zulu from primary or in home language, so it is a barrier for them? I think English is the language that they understand easily but in other languages like Afrikaans and Zulu we cannot expect them to be on a South African level.</u>	(L) (CUR)
RAZIA	And how does this impact on their scholastic performance?	
STEVE	I believe that with languages their marks are below some of	

	the other marks that they have in other subjects and I think that, that affects them in a sense that “I don’t even understand and now my only option is opt for Afrikaans. And understanding of some subjects they may not understand because of the language that is given to them because the language is the basic medium. <u>If you cannot understand the language, I don’t think you can understand what the work entails. So I think that, that is how language affects their scholastic performance.</u>	(L)
RAZIA	What should the Department of Education do, knowing that there is a problem regarding language?	
STEVE	Encourage people to read. I believe that not to bash the system but I feel that with some teachers they don’t motivate the students to read. I think that reading is the key to a better South Africa because the more we read, the more we understand the language. I think that from a younger age, there should be a reading competition or something, some sort of initiative that actually promote children’s reading because even though they are not foreigners, some South African children also have problems with reading till matric level and that I think is really a big problem in our country. <u>But then from a young age, the department should actually start to introduce some reading activities that children can do to enhance their understanding of language.</u>	(L) (CUR)
RAZIA	Do you think the education system is adequate and it’s meeting the needs of foreign learners?	
STEVE	I think that they have done to an extent what they can do. I feel that if they would <u>do anything more it will be infringing on the South African curriculum. If they would probably try and put French as a language of learning, it would be a problem. If French student are to learn Maths in French, then it would be infringing on the South African curriculum. I think that with the introduction of probably adding French as an extra subject, would actually help the foreign students ‘for a better future or something’, if I may say that, but then I think they have done to and extent what they can do for a foreign learners and that is all that can be offered.</u>	Is the education system adequate?
RAZIA	Now, were you involved in any xenophobic incident at school?	
STEVE	I cannot say that it was an incident of fighting but there were a part where, as I said, <u>I had disagreement with foreigners and not having good relations or understanding with them on particular points. I think that in a way I might have probably made a comment after that, that might have been xenophobic in a way.</u> But I don’t think I’ve been.....to my understanding in harsh situations where we fought or anything really bad was actually happening.	(SE) (O&P)
RAZIA	So what comment was this.....?	

STEVE	But it might <u>be the usual comment of 'amakwerekwere', 'amakwanga' what are they doing in our country. They came to bring problems in such a form, in Zulu which is actually, I think not appropriate of you because I think if you wanna say something harsh to someone, say it in a way that they understand.</u> So I might have probably said it in a language which they didn't understand and that is xenophobic to me.	(SE) (IN)
RAZIA	And besides your personal experience, have you witnessed anything else?	
STEVE	There has been a lot of xenophobic...xenophobic...mmm...incidents here...mmm... because of the number of foreigners here. ...mmm...security guards <u>fighting with...with...with...the foreign nationals, as you know the foreign nationals have a good build in body structure.</u> So I think that security guards feel more or less <u>intimidated by the foreign nationals.</u> And there has been an incident where they had aletrcations you know...with words and has been on the brink of fighting. There <u>may have been harsh treatment by South Africans on foreign nationals in reprimanding them you know... and which we talk without thinking, they actually resulted in fighting with the foreign nationals.</u> So those are the sort of incidents that I have.	(V&AGG) (O&P) Xenophobia in schools
RAZIA	Is there a lot of name-calling that happens at school?	
STEVE	<u>Ah...too much... too much of name calling. I think that name calling has become a habit I the school. Name calling has become something that we are not even aware of, that we are being biases against foreign nationals.</u> It's been a way of life; It's been something that we speak of. It's an English term for us; let me put it like that. It's something that we say every day and every time. It's in our lives and at school so there is too much of name calling I think.	(O&P) (IN)
RAZIA	So give me examples of names that are being used.	
STEVE	<u>Two particular, "amakwerekwere" , "Amakwanga" those are the names, main names that are being used to refer to foreign nationals.</u>	(SE) (IN)
RAZIA	Other terms?	
STEVE	Other terms I haven't heard of, I just know that these are two predominantly those we use. The other words ... no...sort of...	
RAZIA	Nothing? Okay...	
STEVE	That are in my language?	
RAZIA	And that would lead to physical violence?	
STEVE	It does...does...it does, I think it leads to <u>ganging up of South Africans and foreigners and I think foreigners are aggressive</u>	(SE) (V&AGG)

STEVE	Teachers...(sigh)...mmm...teachers...I mean... you know, they will teach, they treat everyone actually...but ... I think with foreign learners it is a bit more. I think with foreign learners they ... they take it a bit more in which talking to South Africans would probably now touching the foreigner, probably shaking him a bit you know... <u>trying to put that fear in him or making foreigners feel unwanted.</u> I think that plays a major role of what happens in the class where foreigners should feel like, "you know what...drop the subject...it is not for me, teacher is not treating me well, le me just leave". I think that is one of the main factors that making a person feel unwanted that they just came to mess up the country or something like that. So I think that, that maybe how the teachers have ill-treated the foreigners.	(SE) (AGG)
RAZIA	And in terms of the lesson and the actual teaching that is happening, how are teachers addressing foreign learners?	
STEVE	Haai... <u>I think that more attention is paid on South African students than on foreigners.</u> ...mmm...phew, teachers will have an attempt of understanding group of people. <u>They just think that foreign learners will never understand...will never catch up...so why should we waste our time trying to educate these people?</u> I think that they give basic education to all students, but they mainly focus on South African students. So I think that ... that is how the dynamics of the teachers or the teachers have gone through in my high school.	(SE) (O&P)
RAZIA	And mmm... language is the barrier?	
STEVE	Language is the barrier.	
RAZIA	So how do teachers try and overcome that barrier?	
STEVE	Hee...hee...hee (laughing) overcoming barrier?...mmm...with some nationals, as I said its French and English.	
RAZIA	Its ...?	
STEVE	French and English.	
RAZIA	French and English?	
STEVE	A teacher cannot speak English, so the only way he can try and communicate with a foreigner or cannot understand French actually...sorry ... cannot communicate in French, <u>so I feel that the lack of French teachers that we don't have in the school has an impact on teaching.</u> Because I don't think, <u>if you cannot understand English, how are you able to understand Afrikaans?</u> So I think that the teacher although they have tried possibly but there is nothing else they can do. I feel that they feel hopeless in a sense that they try and convey a message in English, but is still does not filter its.... <u>Even worse in Afrikaans, so what can the poor teachers do?</u> But then that...there can't be anything that they can do, there	(IN) (L) (CUR) (L)

	isn't anything that they can do, it's the non...controversy situation.	
RAZIA	So are you telling me that they are ignoring the foreign learners or that they belittling them, are they embarrassing them, or are they just putting foreign learners down?	
STEVE	I think that, in a sense that 'they are given up' the foreign learners. I think that each year they get a new foreign learner and try to implement it, still does not filter in. So they have this picture in their minds that the next foreign learner, he will not filter in, so what is the use of trying to give this person special attention when it is not gonna help?	
RAZIA	Is the command of the language so low in the foreign learners that the teachers cannot communicate with them?	
STEVE	It differentiates with each subject, <u>with English it's gonna be better, but with Afrikaans it is 'yoh' it's totally different</u> , it's embarrassing.	(L) (CUR)
RAZIA	So do they try baby talk?	
STEVE	Ahhh... I think baby talk would be insulting them. In that you cannot take a 16 year old and start speaking to them like a baby, like... mmm...as you know in a school environment, that you could press charges of them you know...and you can't actually act or reprimand a person like a baby and talk to them like a baby because they aren't a baby, they are teenagers. I think that they have not used baby talk but the message is not filtering, the language is just not filtering.	
RAZIA	Okay...like if you had to describe interaction between South African learners and immigrant learners. I walk into the fields, what do I see?	
STEVE	Walk into the field, when?	
RAZIA	During the breaks, what interaction am I going to see?	
STEVE	<u>Total separation.</u>	Interaction with immigrants
RAZIA	Total separation?	
STEVE	Total separation.	Interaction with immigrants
RAZIA	...mmm....	
STEVE	mmm...probably a greeting...here and there...probably a 'Hi' here and there, but as long as a foreign learner do not know Zulu or Sotho or any other kind of indigenous language, he will not sit with a South African. <u>Straight to the point because South Africans would be on the one side, foreigners would be on the one side doing their own thing. South Africans doing their own thing. No interaction at all.</u>	(SE)

RAZIA	So what language will the South Africans be speaking, what language will the foreigners be speaking?	
STEVE	Foreigners will be speaking French or a language in which they are familiar with and then South Africans will also be speaking their own language...you know... <u>so that is how it is, that the foreigners will speak their own language and the South Africans will speak their own language, separate languages, separate places to sit, separate action totally.</u>	Language and communication
RAZIA	So, I wouldn't see other South African learner going and try to initiate conversation with a foreign learner?	
STEVE	(Laughing), attempts would be tried but ended in 5 minutes. I don't even think they would last. Ten minutes sitting there around group of foreign learner ... you know..., I think that you have laughs with the foreigners, probably tease them... you know... <u>we tease each other, like probably say; 'you don't have a girlfriend', a foreigner would laugh; 'you don't have a girlfriend', and they are highly distanced. I don't mean that South Africans have ever seen a South African or probably there are South Africans that sit with foreigners and speak to them on a meaningful conversation, but I think that if it is besides school work, South Africans would not go and sit near a foreigner.</u>	(O&P)
RAZIA	What would you say is the reason for this?	
STEVE	As I said, it's the language....it's...it's....the tradition, the values they differ and so would be the action that we do. So I don't think it's expected that a South African would immediately understand the values of a foreigner, you know...because if it was someone to identify with, someone of same values, same characteristics...you know...same religion as them, <u>so we cannot expect a South African will just go and sit with foreigners and be seen with them.</u>	(SE) (IN)
RAZIA	Er...what are the things that they have in common?	
STEVE	mmm...(sigh)...I think very...very little that they have in common. Probably as I said most interaction on the school, you probably get to intellectuals sitting together ... you know...speaking about school things...sports probably, with the foreign learner, like soccer, South Africans are...South African is a soccer nation, so we interact on those sort of things. Probably sport, probably education but the rest I don't know...probably modern society, hip-hop dancing ... you know...those are the common elements that South Africans and foreigners have. But with beliefs and values and traditions, totally different.	
RAZIA	How was the school affected by last year's xenophobic violence?	
STEVE	The..., the attacks... <u>the attacks brought in more anger in...in...in the foreign nationals against them, because little</u>	May 2008 violence affects schooling

	<u>things that South Africans used to say were now taken to heart and really taken seriously. Some foreign nationals wouldn't come to school for that period you know... because as you know South Africans, we like teasing when we are not in the situation. So maybe South Africans would probably say that "no, they are coming for you"...to a certain foreigner... "they are coming for you tomorrow", you know... and the foreigner would actually take that seriously and not come to school. So I think that...that is how it affected them and effected their education in which they could have had in that period of time, staying at home. And it also brought about anger within them to saying that "we came into the country you wanna better ourselves but now they are attacking us and they are taking our families.</u>	
RAZIA	So you think the people in school were supportive to the foreign learners during this time?	
STEVEmmm....at school as a whole? Mmm...there will be some sort of ...of... of support to those foreigners that you like.	
RAZIA	mmm....	
STEVE	You know...there will be that encouragement, that little bit of encouragement that..."no, nothing is going to happen come to school, let's come...let's learn..." But too ...er...much more broader extent, no encouragement at all. It is maybe they are making fun of the situation and you know... <u>and we are teenagers, so we will make fun of the situation at present you know.</u> So I think that the encouragement was lacking but to some foreigners that you like, you obviously try and say "no come to school, let's come and learn and let's go ahead".	(O&P) (IN)
RAZIA	So what kind of jokes would you make or did you make at that time?	
STEVE	As I said you... probably say...because you know that the attacks was spontaSteveus so I might say, the next thing we come to Bez Valley because you know that Bez Valley is a place where a lot of foreigners were coming from you know...or I will call my father, he is a part of the taxi association, he will com and get you...those kind of small jokes that were made in passing you know...but ...mmm... <u>as I said they were taken to heart by foreign nationals. So... or maybe you would say that they are coming now, they are coming to deport you ... you know...those kind of jokes were made just in passing to...to...for a good laugh.</u>	(IN) (O&P)
RAZIA	And now are the jokes continuing?	
STEVE	No, after the xenophobic attacks, the jokes...jokes... don't continue. Now it's more of awhen a South African says he is really mean, he really wishes it comes true...you know... <u>when a South African says: "I hope you go home soon", he really means that he hopes you will go home soon</u>	(SE) (IN)

	<u>... you know...</u>	(O&P)
RAZIA	So what make you say something like that?	
STEVE	I think that it's a sense of security knowing that I am safe in my country and you cannot do anything to me because I've got my friends backing me. So if I tease you...there is nothing that you can do. I think that...that is the main fact that in which <u>South Africans were actually felt that they were entitled to tease the foreign nationals</u> because they are going through a harsh time. So I think that's...that's one thing, a sense of security that South Africans have in their own country.	(IN)
RAZIA	What would you say were the causes of the violence?	
STEVE	Of the xenophobic? Sorry...okay... oh now it's the history...mmm...I think that <u>South Africans were starting to get angry about the working conditions that were happening in South Africa, I think that when the foreign nations come and being paid a cheaper wage and South Africans are losing their jobs because the know their rights and they don't want to be undermined or exploited, those are some of the circumstances that lead to the violence because like I don't think you can a ...poor...poor person to be rational.</u> You cannot tell a poor person to be rational. When a person is hungry he will do anything and it means actually get a plate on a table and so I think that is a fact, that actually made the...the xenophobic attacks happen you know...the ... the lack of job opportunity for South Africans that have been take by foreign nationals. That is the main factor that happen you know... <u>they cannot say it's the crime rate because there is 44 million of South Africans more that foreigners who are propagators of crime you know...there is more South Africans doing crime than foreigners, that is a fact.</u> So I think that more of it, while of...South Africans being tired of not having food on the table and not being able to provide for their families because jobs were going to foreigners, that's cheating.	(Resources) (Scapegoating) (Scapegoating) (Resources)
RAZIA	You said you were gong into politics, would you say this...a political more by some politicians?	
STEVE	Mmm...phooh...mmm...political in a sense that the politicians...propagated the attack?	
RAZIA	Yes	
STEVE	Possibly...possibly... I think that mmm...you attack someone; you tell them the attacks are not going to stop until your person is put in charge so that...the person can be put in that position where he can exploit government resources, with his friends you know, possibly...possibly...its...ah...it wasn't political. <u>Possibly South Africans were just tired of being hungry. They being in squatter camps you know...</u>	(Resources)

	<u>background entails. So I think that South Africans should actually start being more cautious about what they say around the foreigners and how they interact with foreigners you know...</u> I think that nothing will hurt people from going to deal with the foreigner and understanding and trying to relate with them. Nothing will hurt.	
RAZIA	Is poverty a problem at the school...amongst the foreigners?	
STEVE	Poverty? Yeah ...there are some...there are some that I believe are living in relative poverty. I cannot say absolute poverty but in relative poverty where the school shoes... you can say that they probably been wearing their school shoes for 5 years. Probably the blazer is torn, they bought is from some ...you know... so I think that poverty...relative poverty does play a factor in the school but not absolute poverty.	
RAZIA	And what does the school do to support them?	
STEVE	Nothing.	
RAZIA	Nothing, there is no feeding schemes? Nothing?	
STEVE	Nothing?	
RAZIA	No counseling services?	
STEVE	Nothing.	
RAZIA	Nothing?	
STEVE	Nothing.	
RAZIA	What do you think should be done?	
STEVE	mmm...what do I think should be done? It's kind of a hard one <u>because as much as foreigners are related to poverty...South Africans aren't rich, it is difficult to say that we South Africans should have feeding schemes while we have problems actually trying to feed ourselves.</u> So in that sense, I feel that feeding scheme would be a good idea if only we could cater for it.	(Resources) (IN) (Power conflict)
RAZIA	Assuming you could cater for it, would it benefit only the foreign learners or would it benefit South African learners as well?	
STEVE	A feeding scheme in South Africa would firstly benefit a South African and as you know, you would give compassion with love and all you know.. that food with a smile to a South African. You would put your brother, as we call each other brothers first and you would give them first preferences. And then foreigners would probably get what is left after that. So I think that...that is how the feeding scheme would actually work. You would feed South Africans and then feed	

	foreigners until you want.	
RAZIA	In a nutshell, if you had to come up, what would you say are the problems, being the foreigners and South African at school?	
STEVE	I would say that a lack of communication because communication is the most valuable and only way to bridge a gap. So I feel that without communication <u>and without understanding of where one comes from, we cannot break the shackles of these differences.</u> I feel that if we, <u>South Africans or even foreigners, could start understanding of where South Africans come from vice versa with us, that would make a much better living area between us and a harmonious relationship</u> being that communication is the only tool that actually bridges the gap between foreigners and South Africans you know...so if we started communicating...and having compassion for one another that would bridge the gap between South Africans and foreigners.	Improving the treatment of immigrant learners
RAZIA	What's the treatment of South African learners towards foreign teachers at the school?	
STEVE	Ooh...I think well...foreign teachers...mmm...	
RAZIA	You do have foreign teachers?	
STEVE	We do have foreign teachers ...mmm...it depends on the...the teacher...	
RAZIA	mmm....	
STEVE	If the teacher is good at what the teacher does, then the students will listen, but if the teacher is somewhat foreign students will try to take advantage. If the teacher did not try, does not comply to what the students want because you know...that students are sometimes picky you know... <u>students will be derogative to the teacher</u> because the teacher does not want to comply to what the students want so I think that...that is the relationship between the student and the teachers in South Africa, in my school.	(IN)
RAZIA	So you are saying...would you say there's a respect?	
STEVE	As I said, it depends on the teacher, <u>most of the boys lack respect for foreign...foreign teachers, most of them lack respect for a foreign</u> teachers, most of them lack respect for a foreign teacher but those foreign teachers that actually stand their ground you know...there actually is a lot of respect because of the...as I said foreigners feel that it's one against 20 so that, that...that is a bit of intimidation which makes the student feel like he's above the teacher and then that manifest itself in a lack of respect.	(IN)
RAZIA	Outside school, have you witnessed or experienced any kind of xenophobic incident?	

STEVE	Outside school...	
RAZIA	The taxis the townships, the malls?	
STEVE	Yes...mmm the townships, malls...mmm...I'm trying to remember...I'm trying to think of an incident ...mmm...not really...not really...not outside school.	
RAZIA	So you haven't heard, at Gandhi Square for example, name-calling or...?	
STEVE	(Sigh) Gandhi Square is a very wide space, there might be name-calling at Gandhi mmm...	
RAZIA	That's fine; do you think this problem is unique to your school?	
STEVE	I think that the problem is...the problem is everywhere, there's a problem everywhere but it mainly affects me at school you know... I think that in other places there are more South Africans and ...and...there'stwo places where I go, there are more South Africans than foreigners, so I think that this problem would not be as vast as ... as it was if there was only foreigners you know...because in school there's a large amount of foreigners and at proportion a large amount of South Africans so you are bound to see them and these incidents happen in school because of the surrounding areas but in areas where...where I live and which I go there's not a lot of these xenophobic attacks.	
RAZIA	Okay...we've come to the end of the interview. Are there any things that you would like to discuss that I may have overlooked?	
STEVE	(Sigh)..about...about xenophobia?	
RAZIA	mmm...about xenophobia?	
STEVE	<u>Mmm...it's a harsh reality, it's a sad reality, it's something that we live through and as South Africans we put people through on a daily basis something that we cannot be proud of ... something that we need to try to rectify as soon as we can because by actually helping these people we'll be helping ourselves.</u>	(A)
RAZIA	Mmm...	
STEVE	These people come with a lot of skills, a lot of knowledge, we as South Africans should be looking to use that to better ourselves and to better them, we are under one umbrella of the African bond, we should start acting like it. <u>We are no better than them...</u> We should ...are fortunate that we haven't been through the circumstances that they have been through. Its gonna be a hard one and a long journey in which to curb and to kill the xenophobia. As long as...as long as... <u>people</u>	(A) (O&P)

	physical traits must I look out for?	
STEVE	Bone structure.	
RAZIA	Mmm...in what way?	
STEVE	<u>The colour of the skin, the pigment of the skin is much more darker. Foreigners are much more...as we use it buffer, that you are muscular.</u>	(Biocultural)
RAZIA	Mmm...	
STEVE	<u>Their hair and their smells.</u>	(Biocultural)
RAZIA	What about their hair and their smells?	
STEVE	Their hair is more Asian, It's softer. African hair is rougher, South African hair....(bell rings)...African hair is much more, South African let me not say African, South African hair is much more rougher and <u>I think with the smell, they've got this ooh...awkward bad smelling, things that we do not know where it comes from. Its just a stink that hits you whenever you pass, you pass by them. It's not all of them but most of them yeah...</u>	(O&P)
RAZIA	So those are the distinguishing factors?	
STEVE	I mean for me, those are the distinguishing factors that I have noticed.	
RAZIA	And are they teased about it at school?	
STEVE	<u>Not that they ...probably with the skin pigment and the smell, I think they are often teased. Probably someone saying that 'you look like a coal'.</u>	(SE) (IN)
RAZIA	You look like a coal?	
STEVE	<u>Yeah...like a coal, a charcoal, just to say that their skin pigment is dark or with the stink you know...they'll say that 'you really smell' you know...probably comparing it to a dumpster or something like that.</u>	(SE) (IN)
RAZIA	Mmm...	
STEVE	Those are some of the things that are said by South Africans to foreign nationals.	
RAZIA	How do you think it makes them feel?	
STEVE	As with anyone it wouldn't make you feel okay...it will make you feel, it will belittle you ...you know, it would really wish you ...really <u>make you feel unwanted, angry you know...</u> Those are the sorts of feelings that I think that the foreigners feel and have to deal with on a regular basis.	(V&AGG) (SE)

RAZIA	Thank you very much, sounded very informative, thanks for your time.	
STEVE	OKAY	

APPENDIX 17

EXAMPLE OF AN INTERVIEW WITH AN EDUCATOR

INTERVIEW WITH MARY

(Sat with hands on desk, smiling, very relaxed and co-operative)

NAME	COMMUNICATION (VERBAL/NON-VERBAL)	CODE & COMMENT
RAZIA	Thank you for participating Mary, do you have any immigrant learners in your classes.	
MARY	Yes we do, have a number of immigrant learners at the school from a number of African countries, predominately DRC but Also Angola and Mozambique.	Immigrant learners Countries of origin
RAZIA	In terms of ratio, how many would you say?	
MARY	I would need to check the stats on that; I haven't had a chance to do so. I would say probably about 5 to 8 percent but I wouldn't like to be ...	Immigrant learners
RAZIA	Its fine, and in terms of terms of communication, how are you getting along with these learners? Are they understanding? Are there communication problems?	
MARY	Our <u>senior learners are very well integrated</u> , very understanding, very well Many of them are <u>amongst our most competent students</u> . We have ..., at the junior level we do have some learners who have <u>severe language limitations</u> . They are not struggling that much but those are few.	Language
RAZIA	And what intervention strategies would you say are in place to help the struggling learners?	
MARY	We do have an internal computer base reading program. But we do have links where they do refugee program which runs language lessons at achieving level and so <u>we refer those who haven't learned English at all to that center where they receive intensive training</u> . We do also encourage parents to do additional lessons for them but that doesn't very often happen.	Language
RAZIA	Okay, correct me if I'm wrong but my understanding is that it's an English medium school and learners are....	
MARY	That is correct, English is the medium of instruction and	

	English is a first language.	
RAZIA	So how does language impact on learning skills of immigrant learners in terms of performance?	
MARY	For those who have <u>mastered English, and we have some who have achieved remarkably well and have mastered English and proving to be as capable and in some cases more capable than a South African learner.</u> But we have others who really struggle, we had some <u>who repeat grades because of that language barrier, particularly where the English support is not present from the home base.</u>	Language
RAZIA	In your opinion, if these learners are taught in mother tongue instruction, would you say their preference would get better?	
MARY	Yes, it would.	
RAZIA	Should it be offered as a First language or as an additional language	
MARY	Well, it could also be <u>helpful it will also be helpful even if they could take the particularly French in many cases as a 3rd additional language in place of a South African language, that would be very supportive for them because it would give recognition to the language which they have already mastered.</u>	Language How can the Department of Education improve
RAZIA	And would you say that immigrant learners are coping in the South African education system?	
MARY	I...m sure that 'varies vastly from school to school. <u>I would say here that some are not coping. Some are coping reasonably well, some are coping excellently.</u>	Scholastic performance
RAZIA	Would you say that the education system has to be amended to accommodate the learners that are not coping and what would your recommendations would you make?	
MARY	I think that the education department does need to take cognizance of the fact that we are the leading economy in Africa and we are part of SADC and we are part of the wide African continent and therefore we do have an incoming population and that is not going to change. <u>So we do need to look perhaps at other languages. I know that ..., I'm referring particularly to French because many learners come from Francophone countries or countries, then we talking Portuguese.</u> French and Portuguese were somewhat downgraded as additional languages. But I think they need to take their place along perhaps with some other South Africa languages that would make it a lot easier. Both for <u>those learners to integrate and for also South African learners to increase their skills.</u> In those African languages which I think its important if we are to continue to being a continental power.	How can the Department of Education improve

RAZIA	And how do you find it necessary for them to learn English as First language?	
MARY	Because, although we have eleven official languages and although all of them should be recognized and valued and treasured <u>it is practically the case that English is the prime language in the country. Particularly as they come to the school and those who come to the school the parents have generally elected to bring them here with the knowledge that it is an English medium school, with English First language.</u>	Language
RAZIA	What is your own personal privilege at the school with our foreign learners?	
MARY	We have been very privileged at the school with our foreign learners sometimes it is a <u>real challenge to work with them, to integrate, especially those who have had to overcome extreme trauma.</u> And particularly I have been at school for ten years, there is certainly in the first 5 years I was here there was a lot of them.....I was in this school and so when I was needing to overcome that and <u>it was a lot harder to integrate learners.</u> But they have brought a really enriching element to the school and they have <u>played a role over the years themselves in turning around perception in the school. So they and the South African learners have done things like plays in assembly or talking in Life Orientation classes about their experiences.</u> And that has empowered them in such a way for South Africans to change perceptions in this school, is not perfect, but it's a lot better than it used to be. And I think that it is a very enriching experience for all of us at school. We have <u>had a cultural day where they also have changed perceptions just by showing who they are and what they have from their own traditions.</u>	Interaction
RAZIA	So it sounds like they definitely an asset to the school?	
MARY	I would say most definitely.	
RAZIA	Okay, how would you explain your understanding of the concept xenophobia	
MARY	The fear of that, which is different that which is unknown. So that can apply in a wide variety of context but where there is any sense of threat. And certainly that has been the case here where, particularly where, <u>foreign learners had begun to achieve there is sometimes a sense of threat that we are being overtaken by those who are different, those who are other</u>And there is a sense of entitlement on the part of South African to learners who feel that they should be entitled to be doing the best then as soon as there is a <u>bit of an element of threat or discomfort or their safety might have been infringed then one forms the attitude of rejection, of criticism of judgment, of</u>	Understanding of xenophobia

RAZIA	Has there been a xenophobic experience incident at the school?	
MARY	As far as within the school is concerned yes, there have. If I look over the years it certainly use to be more severe that it is of late. But in the xenophobic attacks of 2008, we had learners who perceived that ... again it was a sense of <u>“why should foreigners have places in our school and be the achievers?”</u> One had comments like <u>“they have taken our top 10 places”</u> and so there was definitely a sense of xenophobia within the school when they were part of the wider context. But the interesting thing was that there were many, <u>both South Africans and non South African learners who quickly challenged those helped those who held those views and not the majority.</u> But many of our learners were affected in the context in which they live, although there wasn't very much within the school, there was quite a bit external to the school. And a lot of learners missed out on periods of learning because of absenteeism due to what was happening.	Xenophobic experiences
RAZIA	And what problems would you say immigrant learners are facing now at school, after the violence has finished?	
MARY	I had been trying to observe quite closely but haven't There seem <u>to be quite a high degree of acceptance and as I say, a lot of immigrant learners are quite assertive and are part of leadership</u> of the school in many cases. So they have not been ... they have not held in talking about the issue. And we seem to have, to a large extent, the <u>are-integrated as a single entity at the school.</u> And several teachers at school seems to those other issues at this point.	Interaction
RAZIA	And those learners who have just come into grade 8, how were they accommodated?	
MARY	Well, we do try to process those through the school based support team, through discussions with the staff. That takes longer, but I do think that we do now have the fortunate position where <u>there are older learners who are role models and who are at ease in the school, which I think those contribute to processing a little bit easier for them.</u>	Interaction
RAZIA	You mentioned the staff and the school based support team. What role do they play in supporting learners and how do you think they treat the learners as teachers?	
MARY	I think it varies considerably. I think it varies <u>from complete neglect and lack of support to quite significant care and support.</u> One of the advantages I think in our school is that we have a very multi-cultural staff and we have staff from other countries in Africa as well. And there is ...although all staff have their ups and downs, <u>there is a high degree of acceptance and appreciation of the diversity</u>	Integration

	of the staff, generally not always but generally speaking I think that contributes to the message that the staff overall gives that people of different backgrounds and origins are acceptable in the school.	
RAZIA	So then the xenophobic incident does happen at your school?	
MARY	Yes	
RAZIA	What procedure... what happens to the learners ... what action do teachers take in terms of discipline and how is it resolved?	
MARY	It will depend on the nature of the incident. It often would, teachers would refer it to either myself as having responsibility for counseling aspects in the school or to the S.B.S.T, we would look at some form of counseling which would either take place in the school or in one or two incidents <u>we would select the centre for violence and reconciliation and refer people to outside agencies.</u> We've worked with the families, some of very few organizations. So we try to have a network of people to whom we can refer if we feel that there is a need for a learning support and counseling. I can't think of an incident, but certainly if an educator were repeatedly involved in xenophobic type issues, we would take it up with that particular educator. And we would presumably then do that in some way at management level.	
RAZIA	How would you describe the interaction between South African learners and immigration learners at the school?	
MARY	Currently, generally speaking it is good. But learners are very influenced by what is happening in their environment. So in the areas last year where there was violence one could see that some of our <u>South African learners were influenced by the views of fellow South Africans around them.</u> So if there is something going on in the wider environment then it does spill over into the school. But the interesting thing there was that there were quite a lot learners who would counter those views sometimes in discussions they can quite feature it. But there are platforms in the school within say <u>LO and English where topics like that can be covered.</u> And if it is an issue then we really try and to focus on things that are happening in the real world and we try to unpack them and process them. So at the moment I would say that generally it's quite good but it is not that far below the surface. So that if there were to be big disruptions in the community again, it would re-surface but I think we would again have processes to deal with it and our learners are quite assertive in their views and so they are not afraid to challenge reason. So even among themselves quite often there is a bit of self-correcting process. And I think as a school <u>we have grown in that respect and I have no doubt</u>	Department can improve

	<u>that we still need to grow</u> but ...	
RAZIA	You mentioned environmental factors, how would you say that May 2008 xenophobic violence affected the school?	
MARY	As I said, it depends on the extent to which it was happening and our learners come from huge variety of places, sometimes from areas where nothing occurred and sometimes from areas where there was quite a bit of violence, so learners from areas like Alexandra, like inner city Johannesburg, Berea, Yeoville areas where there was real, with real uprisings, they were more affected than others and the <u>biggest impact was absenteeism of non South Africans sometimes because of real threat and sometimes because perceived threat and families wanting to ensure safety so that I would say was the biggest impact.</u>	Schools affected by May 2008 violence
RAZIA	And what attempts were made by the school to assist these learners?	
MARY	We did keep in quite regular contact with pockets of them we did try to find out whether <u>things would be safe, we did assure them that the school was safe.</u> I can't recall ... I think there might have been 1 or 3 occasions where some of them left earlier, I think when there was concern on the part of the parent or the learner, there were no penalties attached to having been away from school and we tried to assist learners to catch up on work when they returned.	
RAZIA	In terms of exams because this May/June period when the violence took place was a period when learners where writing exams, how did the school accommodate them?	
MARY	I don't recall that any learners missed exams, we did have some learners coming to school in civvies clothes and we didn't penalize them for that so that they were not recognized in transport or couldn't be picked on if that were possibly an issue.	Schools affected by May 2008 violence
RAZIA	What suggestions and recommendations did you have at the dept of education to increase the plight of immigrant learners?	
MARY	I think they need to be <u>involved in training of educators because I think that it's the educators and the people on the ground, in the school</u> who have to deal with that so I think possibly workshops and training for educators is the best route and perhaps also could extent that through RCL councils and leader learners within the school to be trained to better deal with it at a learner level.	Department can improve
RAZIA	In your opinion, do you think that the school has done enough to accommodate the foreign learners?	
MARY	I don't think <u>we do enough at entry level on the language issues and perhaps going back to the previous question</u>	Department can improve

	<p><u>something that could be helpful would be if the department could consider perhaps what used to happen in the past when one had immigrant classes and learners would be out of classes with a tutor for a set period of time before they integrated into real subjects.</u> I don't know what the economics of that would be but those immigrant learner classes could be of assistance as long as they are done in the right way and they don't stigmatize or isolate learners but I think they are done in a constructive way and then they can be helpful.</p>	
RAZIA	<p>From your knowledge do you think that immigrant learners experience difficulty finding schools when they come to South Africa?</p>	
MARY	<p>I think they do, but I do think that generally speaking they tend to have reasonable networks among themselves and they also have to support each other in pointing each other in directions of schools but I do think it's difficult particularly if they don't have a network like that but it's extremely difficult I think.</p>	
RAZIA	<p>And as a councilor at school what kind of xenophobic experiences have you been enlightened about or shared with violence?</p>	
MARY	<p>If I look at over the years I have dealt with various learners who fled their countries of origin in situations of civil war, some learners <u>who have lost family members, learners whose family members have been killed, sometimes in front of them, learners who have lost contact with family members, learners who walked all the way from DRC to here and made contact with a parent 3 or 4 years later and loss of siblings, loss of all possessions. Learners who were in fairly comfortable socio-economic situations having to come to living crowded, very poor conditions so those would be the most severe extremes and then a lot of them and particularly more recently things like, very difficult to deal with ongoing legally undermining language being used as a tool and I think that becomes difficult on an ongoing basis to deal with. It is more undermining issues so anything from extreme violence to ongoing perceptions.</u></p>	<p>Xenophobic experiences</p>
RAZIA	<p>Would you say that the counseling that's offered at the school is adequate to assist these learners or should more be done?</p>	
MARY	<p>When there is a case of severe trauma we are quite a privileged school into access to people including trained people within the school but we also try to work on having a network of people and quite often we do need to refer out of the school where there's a need for ongoing more in depth counseling.</p>	
RAZIA	<p>What was your worst experience regarding xenophobia or working with immigrant learners?</p>	

MARY	Probably too many stand out, one is just hearing of <u>the violent slaughter of family members that were seen by learners and the other was 3 learners who were all from the same family had all failed would be thrown out at home for not having passed trying to calm 3 learners who cowered under my desk and wouldn't go home and at the same time trying to communicate with their family French and trying to make it possible for them to go home and not be assaulted or kicked out of their home.</u>	Xenophobic experiences
RAZIA	Do immigrant parents have lots of hope or high expectations of their children?	
MARY	Many do I think often because some of those who come to South Africa often <u>they're people of capacity and they're people of initiative and they're people of survival so because of those things they know that they need to survive and they want their children to thrive and so there is a certain amount of pressure and high expectations on them.</u>	
RAZIA	What can be done to treat immigrant learners better?	
MARY	Just that as South Africans we all have a lot of growing up to do and I think we need to learn how to draw much strongly on our history and our past to determine our future rather than repeating the patterns of the past to learn from the lessons of past interment in how we integrate people who are different.	How to improve relations with immigrants
RAZIA	Thank you so much for your time and your contribution, it was very enlightening. Thank you for sharing your experiences	
MARY	Thank you	