



**UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE**

**IMMIGRATION AND SOCIAL COHESION: EXAMINING LIVED EXPERIENCES
AND RELATIONS BETWEEN LOCALS AND IMMIGRANTS IN PHILIPPI, SOUTH
AFRICA (2008-2017)**

By

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**A mini-thesis submitted to the Faculty of Economics & Management Sciences (EMS),
School of Government, University of the Western Cape, in partial fulfilment of the
Master in Public Administration (MPA)**

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September 2022

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ABSTRACT

It is essential that local authorities are aware of community needs and the required levels of service delivery in each geographic area in South Africa in order to facilitate quality of life for citizens. The focus of the study was to understand the immigration and social cohesion phenomenon. With the aim of identifying what contributes to lack of cohesion in townships occupied by both foreign migrants and locals. And to explore what exactly causes the xenophobic attitude and violence, and what actions might contribute to an amelioration of this attitude. The thesis answers the essential questions on what structural and institutional barriers that affect the quality of social relations between the two groups.

To gather empirical evidence the study implemented a qualitative methodology, using in- depth interviews for data collection. The researcher interviewed four local citizens and eight African immigrants who reside in Philippi. Eight informative officials interviewed included, community leaders, community development workers from local government, and members of a civic organisation (Africa Unite) and were selected purposively. The technique used to gather participants was the snowballing technique, an example of non-probability sampling. Secondary sources were also utilised to gather relevant information on the concepts under investigation. These included articles extracted from Google Scholar, Science Direct, newspapers and the university library on the contemporary social cohesion debate, the immigration crisis and xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals.

This study is informed by the theory of social capital. The researcher argues that strong social networks have the power to promote social cohesion and eradicate xenophobic conflicts. The study identifies the factors that weaken cohesion between local citizens and African immigrants and trigger intergroup conflicts, incessant xenophobic sentiments and discrimination towards African immigrants. The researcher supports the application of social cohesion as a policy goal for promoting interaction between individuals, institutions and the community to achieve consensus, establish shared norms, combat xenophobia and address the effects of immigration at local level. It emerged consistently in the research that prejudice sentiments towards immigrants resulted from poor institutional coordination. The research revealed four main themes that affect social cohesion in the community of Philippi: lack of consensus on shared values, lack of confidence in institutions, lack of integration and behaviour tolerance, and weak social capital. All of these areas can be addressed by effective leadership at the local, provincial and national level

The research alludes that there is a need to implement intervention programmes which address the plight of both African immigrants and local citizens at local level, in order to strengthen cohesion and eradicate xenophobic sentiments in South African townships. This can be done by providing effective formal institutions and coordinated social networks. The study concludes that institutional barriers, lack of confidence in government institutions, and the absence of consensus on national values and ideas on immigration weaken social cohesion among African immigrants and citizens in township areas.

Key Words

Immigration, social cohesion, social capital, xenophobia, civil society, local governance, Philippi.



DECLARATION

I declare that *Immigration and social cohesion: Examining lived experiences and relations between locals and immigrants in Philippi, South Africa (2008-2017)* is entirely my own unaided work, that it has not been submitted for any academic examination towards any qualification. All the sources that I have quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references. Furthermore, it is submitted for the degree of Master in Public Administration and it represents my own opinions and not necessarily those of the university.



RUTENDO NESTA MUTUKWA

September 2022



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many people have contributed to the accomplishment of this research study. I wish particularly to acknowledge and thank the following people who have made the journey a real learning experience.

First, I extend appreciation to my supervisor, Doctor Meron Okbandrias, for his unwavering support and expertise, which helped in shaping the outcome of this scholarly enterprise.

Sincere gratitude also goes to the Director of Africa Unite, community leaders in Philippi Township, the employees at the local councillor's office and the inhabitants of this area who took the time to participate in this study.

Deepest gratitude to Almighty God, who, through his strength and the gift of life, made it possible for me to complete this thesis.



DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my children, Kisha Moyo and Emmanuel Moyo, my parents Tambudzai Concilia Mukandi and Clifford Mukandi, and my siblings Melody Mukandi, Memory Mukandi and Monalisa Mukandi. I also dedicate it to my late brother, Tichaona Ronald Sikumbuzo Mahlangu, who supported me at the beginning of my journey.



ABBREVIATIONS

AFCFTA	African Continental Free Trade Area
ANC	African National Congress
AU	African Union
AUC	African Union Commission
CoRMSA	Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa
DAC	Department of Arts and Culture
DHA	Department of Home Affairs
GPSJS	Governance Public Safety and Justice Survey
IMRC	International Migration Research Centre
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
MPFA	Migration Policy Framework for Africa
NAP	National Action Plan to combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance
NDP	National Development Plan
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAMP	Southern African Migration Programme
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNHRC	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
ZEP	Zimbabwe Exemption Permits

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH

1.1 Introduction

Strong anti-immigrant sentiment and xenophobic violence against immigrants have been dominating media headlines in South Africa since 2008. The discourse of the right-wing anti-immigrant movement normalises and attempts to justify violence, bestowing social legitimacy on xenophobic attacks as a strategic way to deal with immigration (Machinya, 2022). Recently, the unresolved grievances of South African citizens in townships against illegal immigrants has caused xenophobic violence against African immigrants, many of them carried out by members of a powerful action group calling itself Operation Dudula. Alleged xenophobic violence took place when a Zimbabwean national, Elvis Nyathi, was brutally killed in Diepsloot, Johannesburg, after being dragged by an Operation Dudula mob when he failed to produce documents (Daily Maverick, 2022). Operation Dudula has positioned itself as a legitimate voice for South Africans against illegal African immigrants in townships (eNCA, 2022). The organisation was formed in Johannesburg in July 2021 and has already gained prominence and expanded to other provinces (Durban in KwaZulu-Natal and CapeTown in the Western Cape).

Opportunistic politicians use the issue of undocumented immigrants as the main scapegoat for South Africa's poverty and unemployment challenges. This has resulted in heightened violence and discrimination towards immigrants, despite the commitment of the South African government to liberal democracy, human rights and regional integration (Machinya, 2022; Matsinhe, 2011). Politicians add their voices to anti-immigration statements on social media platforms, which have triggered the formation of action groups determined to 'clean' South Africa and 'chase away' illegal immigrants. The danger is that when deep-seated frustrations combine with prejudice and weak leadership, the results snowball into something that the government cannot control, as appears to be the case with Operation Dudula. The immigration crisis in South Africa requires an intervention strategy which promotes dialogue and consensus in addressing societal challenges amicably. There is a need to invest in activities and infrastructure that promote social cohesion in communities, and find ways to increase social interaction between individuals, institutions and communities to achieve consensus and shared norms. This would go some way to

combating xenophobia and addressing the grievances of local citizens.

Negative stereotypes against immigration might be as a result of the similar social class position and inequalities both group encounter (Rugunanan & Xulu-Gama, 2022). Looking at migration through the lens of the African perspective (south to south perspective), migration is conceptualised and located in the context of HIV/AIDS, commonalities amongst blacks irrespective of nationality (black African identity), gendered vulnerabilities, and socio-economic positionality. The African region accounts for 46% of the worldwide infections (UN women,2020), and South Africa number one destination of southern migrants recorded a total of seven million people infected in 2015 and accounted for 40% of new infections worldwide (Statistics South Africa, 2016). Hence, xenophobic sentiments are triggered by stiff competition for resources and poor service delivery. However, due to identity politics that emerges from the social-relational interactions and intercultural marriages among citizens and African immigrants, the position of locals on African Immigrants shifts depending on one's relations. My preoccupation is with the existence of resilient relations which often get tested by disturbing incidents of xenophobic violence. The question relevant to ask is how social cohesion can be preserved in a society that is heterogeneous, fragmented, and differentiated along ethnicity, nationality, racial and class lines. There is a need for mapping social cohesion attributes which can be implemented strategically as part of the state to incorporate and demarcate them into its domain of influence.

The extensive focus on negative stereotypes against immigration and the narrative framing of migrants as inherently the stumbling block to the South African renaissance has been conveyed by the previous decade immigration governance scholars (Crush, 2001; Polzer; 2008; Crush, 2010). Misago & Landau (2020) termed it a co-authoring Spatiotemporal exclusion, whereby there is a dominance of interplay of high localised interests (anti-immigrant rhetoric), national discourse, and historically inherited tropes that neglect and deny the possibility of a shared spatial space with the others or a cohesive harmony between the two groups. This has resulted in government policies focusing more on perceived negative impacts of immigration than any potential benefits, and the possibility of a spatial future shared with non-nationals. Recent debates on immigration governance have been noticing the rhetorical categorisation and exclusion of migrants' interests, and denial by officials and citizens of the possibility of shared spatial space and time.

This study recognises the idea of advocating a commitment to the elimination of stigmatisation against immigrants and related intolerance, through investing in community cohesion. The global south has been popular for using displacement as a migration governance model without considering changing the anti-immigrant perspectives and the culture of cohesion to increase citizen participation and tolerance towards immigrants (Crush 2022; Gordon, 2022; Misago & Landau, 2022). The research sought empirical evidence to identify the patterns of intolerance and factors that both promote and weaken cohesion between foreign migrants and locals and draw conclusions based on lived experiences.

The social cohesion concept has gained prominence in international policy frameworks as a policy goal which promotes harmony among diverse cultures (Sharples & Colic-Peisker, 2022). It is considered a holistic approach to conflict prevention and a term that is neutral, universally applicable and recommended for usage in the global context. Despite the absence of legal structures specific to social cohesion, customary norms and international laws entitle individuals to the protection of their human rights, irrespective of their social or economic status. It is regarded as one of the essential aspects of managing transnational migration.

Social cohesion is a multidimensional concept and a crosscutting antidote to a multitude of social challenges. Most research measures social cohesion through the metric of social relations, as observed and attested to by people living in diverse communities (Demireva, 2019). Crime statistics are a further indication of the degree to which social cohesion prevails in any given community. Research makes use of positive community attributes as a key element of social cohesion, and a means of gauging the factors that weaken and strengthen social cohesion in an immigration-infused, diverse society. The key elements, as revealed by other researchers, are community cooperation, civic engagement, consensus on shared values, and confidence in institutions (Burns, 2018; Putman, 2007; Fanning, 2011; Lalof; 2021)

The main objective of the current study was to understand the everyday realities, rhythms and patterns of daily life of immigrants and local people in a selected community, to determine the extent to which the concept of social cohesion applied, and to find out whether the concept has the power to achieve the desired outcome amidst prevailing conflicts between migrants and local communities. The study intended to also examine social cohesion amongst local citizens to understand their perceptions in line with resolving the immigration crisis. The study made use of informal observation and semi-structured interviews to learn about the lived experiences of African immigrants and local residents, and the nature of the interaction between institutions, community and individuals.

The theory of social capital and the social cohesion framework informed this research. The study implemented a qualitative methodology, using in-depth interviews for data collection. The researcher interviewed local citizens and African immigrants who reside in Philippi. For key informant interviews, community leaders, community development workers from local government, and members of a civic organisation (Africa Unite) were selected purposively. The technique used to gather participants was the snowballing technique, an example of non-probability sampling. Secondary sources were also utilised to gather relevant information on the concepts under investigation. These included articles extracted from Google Scholar, Science Direct, newspapers and the university library on the contemporary social cohesion debate, the immigration crisis and xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals. In addition, documents on social cohesion, social capital and immigration were consulted, along with government gazettes on immigration policy, migration statistics, and statistics on Philippi settlement.

1.2 Background of the study

Debates on migrant management have given rise to different ideologies on the topic that include; assimilation, multiculturalism, integration and social cohesion. These ideologies have shaped public reasoning on immigration policy formulation and intervention. Despite the breadth of their scope, all these ideologies posit an optimistic philosophical assumption that the immigration crisis can be resolved and that migration promotes development.

The assumption posited is that if migration influences development, then there is a need to ensure social cohesion¹ in order to obtain the positive outcomes of wellbeing and successful diversity management. If there is sufficient investment in social cohesion by government, local authorities and community leaders, immigration is more likely to yield economic, cultural and developmental benefits, both to immigrants and the host community (Burns, 2018). However, there are debates on whether or not diversity and immigration actually reduce community cohesion and social capital (Putnam, 2007). For migration to contribute to inclusive and sustainable human development in both home and host communities, appropriate policies and intervention programmes should be implemented to make certain of the wellbeing of both migrants and the

¹Social cohesion may be defined as the social arrangements developed by a society for how people with different characteristics and interests can live together peacefully and productively. In this study, it refers to the ideal of a stable society.

host community.

Skeldon (2017) and De Haas (2010) argue that the migration and development nexus have initiated intensive debates which move back and forth like a pendulum, from optimistic to pessimistic ideologies, and back again to optimistic views. According to neoclassical Marxist pessimism, migration causes a brain drain in countries and results in capitalist hegemony rather than in economic growth and the wellbeing of migrants (De Haas, 2010). Refugees' and immigrants' wellbeing in their destination countries is another concern posed by more pessimistic scholars, who claim that immigration, particularly from low-income countries, usually proves fatal in the end, owing to a lack of safety and the migrants' susceptibility to exploitation.

More optimistic views, on the other hand, point to the existence of sustainable production factors which benefit both the sending and receiving countries, resulting in balanced growth. The developmental theory supports this idea, viewing immigrants as agents of change, in that they bring back money, new ideas, knowledge and entrepreneurial attitudes to their countries of origin. Immigrants are considered potential investors who send remittances² home and promote income distribution, poverty reduction, and economic growth (Agbibo, 2012). A 2016 international migration report indicated that migrants from developing countries sent home an estimated USD 413 billion in remittances annually (UN, 2017). The host countries also benefit from immigration as immigrants occupy the critical labour gaps, pay taxes, participate in entrepreneurship and make social security contributions (Agbibo, 2012).

In South Africa, migration has played a pivotal role in promoting development through labour migration. During the labour migration period, South Africa depended on migrant workers from the Southern African region, predominantly in sectors such as mining and agriculture. Crush posited that 'indeed, without migrant workers ... industry would not have developed at all, nor therefore would South Africa's modern industrial economy' (Crush, 2013). The ideological divisions and discursive shifts in the migration phenomenon are affected by empirical evidence which exposes the heterogeneity of migration impacts. This paper supports the idea of the migration-development nexus, and the implementation of an effective institutional and

²Remittances sent home from host countries constitute a significant source of household income for migrants' families, improving the livelihoods of families and communities through their subsequent investments in education, health, sanitation, housing and infrastructure.

bureaucratic approach to immigration policies. This would bring about social order and societal wellbeing.

Hence there is a need to examine how social cohesion interventions can influence migrant safety and wellbeing, and address the concerns of local citizens in order to minimise the xenophobic violence against immigrants that currently prevails in South African townships. The aim of the study was to examine the interactions between local citizens and immigrants to determine what weakens social cohesion and what needs to be done to promote it. Different approaches have been developed to understand migrants' perspectives and the matrix of labour migration, which together indicate that immigrants have been exposed to violence and an array of disturbing atrocities. Violence against foreign nationals has been documented globally, as well as on the African continent (Rugunanan & Xulu-Gama, 2022).

In Africa, for example, the Nigerian mass expulsion of Ghanaians in 1969 and again in the mid-1980s were clear examples of people and governments becoming increasingly intolerant of migrants from other African countries (Aremu, 2014). Omar Bongo in Gabon instigated violent attacks and the mass expulsion of foreigners in order to build up a Gabonese nation-state, divert attention away from intra-ethnic tensions and try to foster a measure of political stability (Kersting, 2009). In 2008, migrants from DR Congo were brutally expelled by Angolan state agencies (Neocosmos, 2008). These incidents indicate that hostility towards fellow African migrants is certainly not a new phenomenon in Africa.

In South Africa, African immigrants are susceptible to violence and xenophobic attack by citizens. The attacks are perceived to be a combination of an intrinsic human response to unwelcome, uninvited guests, and the fact that black South Africans continue to experience inequality and poverty in their own country. They thus experience themselves as battling with immigrants over scarce resources and opportunities. Allegations by local citizens are partly backed up by negative reports by media analysts and political representatives, which entrench stereotypes about migration and immigrants. However, simple prejudice also characterises the growing resentment of immigrants and refugees (Crush & Ramachandran, 2010).

South Africans face alarming inequality, unemployment, social stratification and ongoing racial divisions in addition to large number of immigrants. Given the simmering tensions that exist in society, and the lack of integration programmes for locals and foreigners, it is hardly surprising that attacks on fellow African immigrants occasionally break out. Levels of frustration are high.

Xenophobia has been the topic of a variety of analytical discourses and typologies over the years. The typologies or categorisation schemes of resentment advanced by different disciplines in recent years have tended to see ethnic diversity, political corruption, migrants' own activities and the absence of mechanisms to promote cohesion as root causes of the problem (Landau & Freemantle, 2010). Studies have also identified inadequate immigrant integration, management and orientation programmes as contributory factors (Misgun, 2022; SAMP, 2017; Crush, 2012). Despite the massive entry of African migrants pouring into South Africa in search of greener pastures and refuge, there has been no effective orientation for immigrants who settle in townships (Crush, 2010). Orientation programmes would apprise refugees and immigrants of the cultural norms of the natives, and assist in engaging the social capital which produces cohesion. According to (Crush, 2017) lack of effective integration is regarded as one of the factors that give rise to violence, social injustice and insufficient social capital. Social capital ensures access to information, resources, strong social networks and coordinated actions.

Bradshaw (2012) listed the challenges which threaten social cohesion in South Africa. These include lack of service delivery, the fault-lines of race and identity, neo-liberal macro-economic policies, high levels of crime, polarised opinions on salient issues, lack of interracial contact, resolutions of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), lack of land reform, farm murders, and lack of migrant management. To address these challenges which threaten social cohesion, there is a need for rigorous administrative and immigration policies which embrace the needs of both citizens and migrants and promote investments in social cohesion. Sustained social cohesion allows integration and social conflict resolutions that, in turn, may be used to measure community functionality and human development.

The study seeks to identify what continues to weaken cohesion in townships despite efforts made by the government to combat xenophobia. The interplay between migration-induced diversity and social cohesion was investigated through the lens of people's experiences and the micro and macro context within which they are embedded.

1.3 Migration in South Africa

During the apartheid era, many restrictions prevented the entrance of undocumented immigrants into the country. The immigration policy was based on a racialised system and controlled by the Aliens Control Act (1991). In 1994, with the end of apartheid, a 'new South Africa' was born under the African National Congress (ANC), which embraced the free market and capitalism, and

relaxed restrictions on entry for other countries in Southern Africa. This resulted in rise in flow of immigrants, both political refugees and economic migrants, which later become a source of conflict between local populations and the new arrivals.

Crush (2001) states that the collapse of apartheid brought changes in patterns of migration to South Africa. In the 'new South Africa', people preferred to migrate to and settle permanently in areas where they worked, rather than to be labour migrants. Citizens did not welcome this change, resulting in revolts against the socio-economic activities of African Immigrants who generated stiff competition, worsened by the liberalisation of the business environment (Crush, 2001). This liberalisation paved the way for many traders to operate informal businesses freely (Landau, 2010). Landau (2022) indicated that African immigrants began to dominate not only in the informal sector but in the formal sector, causing local people to accuse them of 'job stealing'. Matsinhe (2011) concur that tension or xenophobia developed from the fact that immigrants were quickly perceived as 'job stealers'. This perception has been a strong contributory factor to the rejection of immigrants in townships.

Furthermore, large-scale immigration undermined trust and reciprocity between the citizens and the government owing to a lack of an educational mechanism to engage black South Africans on the reasons why South Africa is being affected by large-scale immigration. The public perception is that large-scale immigration is influenced by illegal immigrants invading ports of entry without permission from the immigration authorities. These perceptions leave South Africans with the feeling that it is their duty to drive away the illegal aliens invading 'their space'.

Also, government's exclusionary immigration policy aimed at protecting national security partly causes negligence of social fabric initiatives which worsen immigrants' vulnerability, since ineffective safety measures are put in place to protect the vulnerable group. African immigrants have responded by using various mechanisms to protect themselves in order to survive under these circumstances. These include forging documents and fighting for a sense of belonging (Nyamnjoh, 2014).

Decades of discursive and institutional efforts to control the political and physical space have generated different views on security for outsiders and citizens residing within South Africa. Outsiders are often perceived as inherently threatening to the post-apartheid renaissance, yet remain effectively impossible to exclude spatially (Polzer, 2008). The actions of citizens and the

experiences of immigrants in the country do not rest on the principles of the country's universalistic Constitution, which promises a legal identity and human dignity to all, regardless of legal status or origin (Crush et al, 2017). This study argues that unless xenophobia is acknowledged as a real and volatile phenomenon and systematically addressed through a wide range of interventions, the human development potential of migration will be seriously undermined in countries of both origin and destination.

Furthermore, the South African immigration narrative, whereby African immigrants are positioned as criminals, undesirable and undeserving, results in a phenomenon where migrants' protection and rights are driven largely by court judgements (Landau, 2010). Crush (2020) alluded that the national governments response to immigration challenges is mainly scapegoating, blaming immigrants for violence and denialism governance. This results in antipathy to migrants and intensive moves to curtail the recognition of their rights. For instance, the current court battles on the renewal of the Zimbabwe exception permits (ZEP) appear to be a battle between organisations representing Zimbabwean immigrants and the Department of Home Affairs, who are perceived by Zimbabweans to have neglected their right to safety and protection. A number of pro-migrant organisations and the Helen Suzman Foundation (HSF) filed court papers against the Department of Home Affairs as they claimed that they were being harassed and threatened for challenging the decision by the minister to terminate ZEP (New Zimbabwe News, 2022). The Home Affairs Minister Aaron Motsoaledi, responded by accusing the court of trying to impose unlawful decisions. 'We are determined to defend any spurious court actions aimed at undermining the lawful and reasonable decisions which I took in my capacity ...' (All Africa, 2022).

The Southern African Migration Programme (SAMP) national attitudinal survey suggested that widespread antipathy towards migrants affects their daily lives, as one third of local citizens regard them as undeserving of legal and police protection and social services (SAMP, 2017). Yet refugees and African immigrants prefer the urban setting, despite the situation they face of a hostile environment with discrimination, harassment, exclusion and lack of integration into township communities. Reinforcing social cohesion between locals and immigrants is important, as social relations are threatened by the current immigration policy which perceives African immigrants as undeserving and undesirable. Social cohesion as a political and policy action is perceived to build foundations for a high-level trust. This would be reinforced if there were fair institutions and consensus in immigration challenges. Together, these would counteract any

negative effects that immigration may otherwise have.

The long-term goal of successful cohesion is to foster ‘bottom-up’ development. The concept of bottom-up development or self-help is an optimistic idea partly driven by neoliberal political ideologies which postulate that immigration is essential for human development (De Haas & Rodríguez, 2010). Immigration policies and the position of immigrants and local citizens have fundamental development implications. Xenophobia and the denial of rights are not only detrimental to the wellbeing of migrants but also bedevil efforts to maximise the development potential of migration.

1.4 Definition of terms

1.4.1 Xenophobia

At the international level, no universally accepted definition of xenophobia exists, although it can be described as violent attacks, attitudes, prejudices or behaviour that rejects, excludes and vilifies persons, based on the perception that they are outsiders or foreigners to the community, society or national identity (McConnell, 2009; Crush, 2017; Landau, 2010). Xenophobia is in this study, considered explicitly ethnical, targeting low-income black migrants and refugees and, in some cases, citizens who are accused to be too black to be South African.

1.4.2 African immigrants

In this study, the terms migrants, immigrants and African immigrants are used interchangeably, referring to foreign nationals from the African continent who reside in South Africa for both the short and long term. This group of people comprises both legal and illegal foreign nationals and includes refugees, economic migrants and irregular migrants who migrated to South Africa for employment opportunities and/or safety from persecution in their country of origin.

Table 1: Kinds of immigrants (African)

Typologies of African immigrants	
Type	Description
Refugee/asylum seeker	A person who, 'owing to a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinions, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country' (DHA, 2017).
Economic migrant	A foreign national who migrates for economic reasons such as seeking employment or to conduct business (DHA, 2002).
Irregular/ undocumented/ illegal migrants	People who enter a country, usually in search of income-generating activities, without the necessary documents and permits (DHA, 2002).
Lawful permanent residents and legal migrants	Immigrants with legal documents to stay either permanently or temporarily in South Africa (DHA, 2017).

1.4.3 Social cohesion

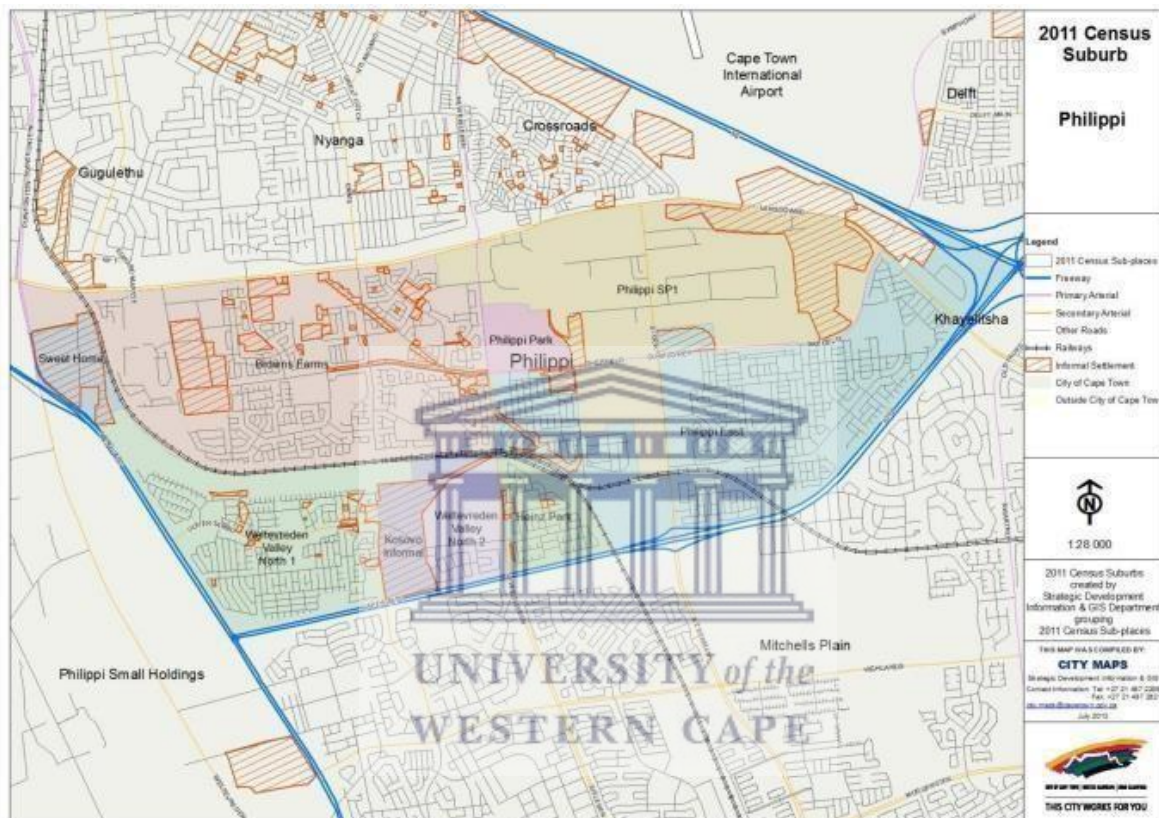
The term social cohesion refers to social arrangements developed by authorities or a society for how people with different characteristics and interests may live together peacefully and productively. In this study, it refers to the ideal of a stable society. The term is used interchangeably with community cohesion and societal cohesion.

1.5 Study setting

In any given study, it is appropriate to set out the geographical boundaries of the area which constitutes the focus of the study. In this study, Philippi Township is the location of a case study that examines the relationship between migration-induced diversity and social cohesion through the lens of majority attitudes and perceptions. In Philippi poverty is widespread, it consists of reconstruction and development programme (RDP) brick houses and overcrowded shack

settlements. Three types of residents live in Philippi, employed, unemployed and self-employed. The living standards are poor, with poor service delivery, high rate of violence and crime. Most African immigrants prefer to reside there because of cheap rentals. Philippi is one of the large urban and semi-urban townships in Cape Town, South Africa. It is sparsely populated compared to the surrounding city and contains many farms. The township consists of six wards, wards 34, 35, 36, 43, 80 and 88, each with separate councillors and suburbs.

Figure 1. Map of Philippi settlement and its surrounds



Source City of Cape Town 2011


The main areas of Philippi studied by the researcher were Heinz Park, Lower Crossroads and Hazeldene/Ekupumleni. These areas have large numbers of African immigrants and were prominent during the xenophobic violence of 2008, which resulted in some foreign nationals being killed or displaced to various provinces of South Africa.

When the researcher began thinking about where to situate the study, two criteria stood out. First, the area in question would have to have experienced exposure to immigrants over extended period of time. Second, the area should have experienced anti-immigration protests

and should be prone to social threats in relation to quality of life and the social environment. The following paragraph outlines how Philippi fulfils both criteria.

Philippi is among a handful of areas in the Western Cape which have dominated media coverage of xenophobic acts against African immigrants and criminal activities. Without understanding the subtle nuances of these events, it is difficult to identify whether the violations are a result of criminal activities, migration diversity or a lack of implementation of social cohesion (Anderson & Van Wyk, 2014). According to the crime statistics report of 2016-2017 and 2020-2021, Philippi ranked in the top 9 of 30 police stations in the Western Cape for murder cases. In the 2015/16 and 2016/17 reports, Philippi East precinct presented the highest rate of murders, at 245,9 murders per 10 000 of the population for the later period. Thus, it has been the area with the highest number of murders in the Western Cape for two consecutive years (Crime Statistics, 2020). This research aims to explore the nature of social relations between diverse groups in the area.

1.6 Problem statement



The gap and problem that gave rise to this research is that a vast amount of research focus on identifying definition of social cohesion and the correlation of cohesion and immigration (Putman, 2007; Skeldon, 2017; OECD, 2017; Fanning, 2011). Yet, research on what promotes social cohesion between locals and immigrants is not vastly unraveled. According to Sampson (1997) collective efficacy which he defined as social cohesion is linked to reduced violence. This study proposes the idea that if social cohesion (willingness to intervene on behalf of the common good) is combined with coordination of action and resources (social capital) by local institutions prejudice and violence against African immigrants can be maintained and reduced. The study examines the social relations between locals and immigrants and identifies elements that have an adverse impact on social cohesion, on the one hand, and that promote social cohesion, on the other.

The global arena is experiencing a massive immigration crisis owing to the displacement caused by conflicts and natural disasters (IOM, 2017; Walia, 2021). Debate on how to resolve the immigration crisis has become a major concern. The issue of how best to articulate and achieve social cohesion as a social policy has become predominant because of multiple challenges that accompany immigration. Burn (2018) and OECD (2012) suggested that social

cohesion is a harmonized policy goal that would respond to migrants' and hosts' needs for economic stability and community wellbeing.

In South African townships, incessant xenophobic attacks against African immigrants and anti-immigrants protests have been prevalent since 2008 and continue to the present day. In 2008, xenophobic violence claimed the lives of more than sixty immigrants, leaving over one hundred thousand homeless (Nyamnjoh, 2014; Landau, 2010; Crush, 2013). The current focus of the immigration policy in South Africa is predominantly border security. It neglects effective measures to achieve peace, efficient social integration and a cohesive society between diverse nationalities living in the country. The Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) has provided national guidelines on how to acquire social cohesion as a strategy to ensure social interactions and to combat socio-economic challenges (DAC, 2002).

The period between 1990 to the present day has witnessed an influx of migrants and refugees in South Africa from northern and southern Africa. According to the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), at least 20000 migrants travel through the Great Lakes and Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries to try to reach South Africa each year (IOM, 2020). The influx of migrants has caused conflicts with South Africans, who complain about the activities of the foreign nationals, particularly the idea that they 'steal' jobs from local people. The claim is that a huge number of irregular migrants are entering South Africa illegally, and that many more by default, since they have overstayed their visas. According to a new White Paper for International Migration published by the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) in 2017, social cohesion has weakened as citizens assume that most migrants from the rest of Africa are irregular and undesirable, resulting in xenophobic attacks and prejudice against African nationals (DHA, 2017).

Empirical evidence reveals many of the effects of immigration on social cohesion. This research aims to investigate the way in which social cohesion is understood at township level, and whether it is possible to forge strong relationships between local and immigrants and thus promote strong social networks, integration and manage social order. A cohesive society is of major value and concern, as large-scale immigration continues to undermine the trust of host communities in their own government. The new international migration framework proposes to implement an integrated approach in managing migration in the African context. The aim is to integrate migrants who

possess legal documents into South African communities, to facilitate cross-border movement for African citizens and to provide a legal route for SADC economic migrants. The integration and social cohesion approaches are based on the idea of accommodating skilled migrants to promote economic growth and development. The South African government's rhetoric is to provide strategic migration management which will reduce irregular migrants, assuming that in doing so it will improve social cohesion as citizens perceptions of migrants change. The DHA claims that the White Paper for International Migration is being amended because the 1991 framework is outdated, when in fact the policy framework needs to be justifiable to South African natives and expatriates.

It is against this backdrop that this study employs selected elements of social cohesion to measure the concept in relation to immigration. The elements selected include civic engagement, consensus on shared values, community cooperation, confidence in institutions and social capital. The focus of the study is not so much on coming up with a comprehensive definition or measure of social cohesion; rather it is to demonstrate that social cohesion is a means to effective outcomes and a way of preventing inter-group conflicts. The study relies on interrogating the experience of both groups, locals and immigrants, who are forced to get along by circumstances in situations where jobs, housing and social services are scarce.

1.7 Research questions

The central question the research seeks to address is: What are the social relationship challenges between locals and African immigrants living in Philippi, South Africa, and how can local institutions promote bottom-up social cohesion practices to reduce these challenges? The sub-questions guiding this study are the following:

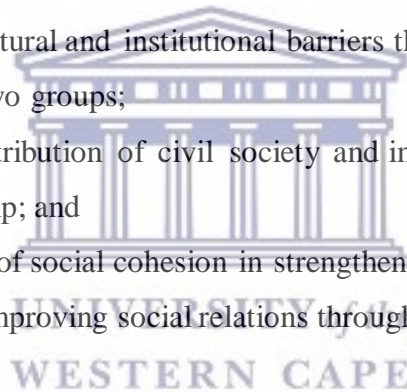
- i. What are the social cohesion dynamics that exists between locals and foreigners in Philippi Township, Cape Town?
- ii. What are the structural and institutional barriers impacting the quality of social relationships between the two groups?
- iii. What is the contribution of civil society and institutions in guiding social cohesion in this township?

- iv. How effective is social cohesion in strengthening social relations and what recommendations can be made to improve social relations?

1.8 Aims and objectives of the study

The focus of the study is to understand the immigration and social cohesion phenomenon. The main aim of the study is to identify what contributes to lack of cohesion in townships occupied by both foreign migrants and locals, what exactly causes the xenophobic attitude and violence, and what actions might contribute to an amelioration of this attitude. Conclusions will be drawn from the lived experiences and perspectives of the local community and African immigrants. The study also hopes to provide an assessment of social cohesion and its possibilities for combating intergroup prejudice occasioned by immigration. The sub-objectives of the research are:

- i. To explore the social cohesion that exists between locals and foreigners in Philippi township, Cape Town;
- ii. To understand the structural and institutional barriers that affect the quality of social relations between the two groups;
- iii. To understand the contribution of civil society and institutions in guiding social cohesion in this township; and
- iv. To investigate the role of social cohesion in strengthening social relations and make recommendations for improving social relations through social cohesion.



1.9 Significance of the study

The research seeks to examine social relations in order to identify what constitutes social cohesion. The study is significant in that the perspectives of immigrants and host communities are essential in developing context-informed policy reforms. Despite an expansive body of literature on immigration and social cohesion, it is essential to understand the lived experiences of people with regard to immigration in South African townships. This focus provides latitude for the research to conduct an in-depth enquiry into the concept of social cohesion as a way of preventing or combating xenophobia, and to understand how cohesion relates to the achievement of the sustainable development goals (SDGs).

Empirical evidence indicates that migration management is still a dynamic and complex phenomenon (De Haas & Rodriguez, 2010; Crush & Ramachandran, 2010; Monson et al, 2012; Burns, 2018). The influx of immigrants is still being witnessed across South African borders daily, with most coming from other African countries. The majority settles in poor neighbourhoods already battling for resources and beset by a number of social problems. This results in conflicts caused by an array of socio-economic conditions. It is reasonable to accept that the movement of people across borders cannot be stopped. It will take more than political, social and economic perspectives to understand and resolve issues of migration.

The research views social cohesion as a strategic public policy goal which can be planned, mapped, designed and activated to curb immigration-related societal challenges. Social cohesion as a goal implies the need for governments to implement less cost-effective mechanisms which incorporates individuals to gain access to resources from formal and informal institutions, which would help address the grievances of communities in the host country. Empirical evidence suggests that there is an absence of adequate intervention programmes which promote social capital and social cohesion. Promoting social cohesion means recognising interactive strategic tactics used by community member on their day-to-day life, and development of local channels to aid in addressing challenges between the two groups. Social cohesion increases social interaction, bridging social capital, organic solidarity and collective consensus on immigration- perceived opportunities (Putman, 2000; Cheong et al, 2007; Fonseca et al, 2019)

This study examines the social relations between locals and immigrants, and identifies elements that have adverse effect and positive effects on social cohesion. It also seeks to identify a 'topology' of social cohesion that allows a given society to function as a unit. The results will assist in formulating policy reforms which are capable of addressing the grievances of local citizens and African immigrants. A thorough examination of social relations will assist the researcher to identify the grievances of both groups, and to understand the causes of the continuous conflicts that flare up between the two groups. The outcomes of the study will, it is hoped, offer new insights into the obstacles to progressive social interaction, anti-xenophobia strategies and mechanisms necessary to promote cohesion.

The study is justified as the results will contribute to public policy making as the study illustrates the need for community engagement in policy designing, rather than a reliance on government's rhetorical assumptions.

A record of the lived experiences of both groups will contribute to formulation of an adequate intervention of combating violence and promoting social order. Also, it will shed light on the concept of xenophobia and on possible ways to address and minimise it, along with the role played by government and civil society, if any, in managing conflicts.

1.10 Structure of the study

The study is divided into five chapters. Chapter One is an introductory chapter which discusses the background of the study, the research rationale, the problem statement, the research questions and the study objectives. It also provides a brief overview of important concepts in the research.

Chapter two provides an extensive overview of the literature on the concept of social capital, social cohesion, immigration, Australian experience and the South African experience. The chapter includes a review of the relevant legislation and international instruments. It includes a focus on policy analysis and various approaches to immigration, discussing how legal assumptions embedded in the concepts of migration management affect social cohesion at the community level.

The third chapter discusses the theoretical framework and the methodology employed in this study. The chapter evaluates and scrutinises the social capital theory and indicates how it is applied in the study.

Chapter four focuses on research findings, data presentation and analysis. The analysis of the findings ultimately demonstrates that social cohesion is an essential aspect of community life which can be implemented to manage the adverse effects of immigration at the micro level.

Chapter five presents summary of the findings, draws conclusion based on the evidence and makes recommendations on the relevant issues revealed by the research.

1.11 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the topic, discussed the main purpose and objectives of the study and provided a statement of the problem. It has discussed the background of international migration and its effects in South Africa, to which so many of Africa's migrants flock. It has

included some discussion on the various ideologies that have arisen in response to the global issue of migration and a brief overview of current issues faced by immigrants and citizens in South Africa. The chapter has also provided a definition of terms, the problem statement, the rationale and the significance of the study.



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the literature on immigration and social cohesion in order to identify the debates and perspectives posited by various authors on the topic. The chapter commences with a discussion about the legislation and various approaches used to formulate immigration policies in response to public sentiment. The Australian experience is used as a cross-sectional case, in order to show how one country has dealt with the immigration and social cohesion phenomenon. The chapter consists of two parts; the first part covers legislation and policy, and the second part elaborates on scholarly insights on the topic and related concepts.

2.2 Policy and legislative context

States and governments have a duty to ensure and facilitate not only the free movement of people but the upholding of their rights, safety and wellbeing, especially in this era of regional integration and globalisation. The global transformation demands modernisation in every aspect, which has left many countries using immigration as an economic strategy. Yet managing immigrants while simultaneously accommodating host citizen preferences and addressing the distinctions which engender division, distrust and conflicts in a planned, sustained manner has proved challenging to governments. Owing to racial divisions, discrimination against minority groups, ethnic and cultural divides and general prejudice against the 'other', the term social cohesion has become an overarching concept to try to engender a sense of unity and foster the ability of disparate groups to live together. The term is common in development discourse, featuring in government planning, academic panels and social policy goals. According to Burns et al (2018), social cohesion is practice oriented and linked to implementable programmes and policies offered by governments, international donors and NGOs. As a policy goal, social cohesion has the power to influence society and promote economic, social and political development.

In the international community, there has been an emphasis on tracking, promoting and supporting social cohesion interventions, although there has been no consensus on what constitutes social cohesion and the steps required to attain it. Hence, there are a great many

differences in policies that aim for social cohesion. According to OECD (2012: 52-53):

A cohesive society works towards the well-being of all of its members, fostering cohesion by building networks of relationships, trust and identity between different groups; fighting discrimination, exclusion and excessive inequalities; and enabling upward social mobility”

The Council of Europe defines social cohesion as

... society’s ability to secure the long-term well-being of all its members, including equitable access to available resources, respect of human dignity with regard for diversity, personal and collective autonomy and responsible participation.

In South Africa, the Department of Arts and Culture defines social cohesion as the degree of social integration and inclusion in communities at large, and the extent to which mutual solidarity finds expression among individuals and communities (DAC, 2012).

The South African government’s initiatives, as reflected in the Presidency’s 15-year review, have sought to make cohesion and state legitimacy key elements of the government’s development strategy. The National Development Plan (NDP) 2030 associates social cohesion with measurable outcomes that play a prominent role in the plan’s national policy framework. However, the challenge that has informed this research is the absence of specified indicators and clear social cohesion metrics that could eradicate social conflicts.

South Africa remains deeply hesitant about accepting migration as a source of socio-economic growth. Moreover, it is divided on how to manage the social adjustments required in integrating immigrants into society. The South African government is accountable to international and regional frameworks to promote human mobility, and to its own people. The regional frameworks include the Constitutive Act of the African Union (2000), the African Charter on Human and People’s Rights (2011), and the Treaty of the Southern African Development Community (2021). The government has adopted an approach which welcomes immigrants, as is evident in the wording of the Constitution. The South African Constitution of 1996, Article 12, states that ‘everyone living within the boundaries of the country has the same rights as South Africans except, to vote and to be voted for...’ (RSA, 1996).

Also, the 1951 Geneva Convention and the 1969 OAU Convention relating to the status of refugees stipulate that immigrants have the right to protection and the fair exercise of their abilities (DHA, 2017). Hence, signatories to these agreements have the responsibility to ensure migrants’ dignity, protection and inclusion. Crush (2001) asserted that these rights are not being enjoyed by African immigrants in practice, despite the high ideals and stipulations of various

pieces of legislation. Immigrants are susceptible to abuse and ill-treatment by government officials (bureaucratic officials) and xenophobic attacks by ordinary citizens.

The Bill of Rights and the Freedom Charter both make the case for the inclusiveness of the country and the respect of human rights for all. These are supported by South Africa's Municipal Structures Act of 1998, which envisages a democratic and developmental local government, in which the various municipalities work for all those who live in the community without any exclusion based on citizenship. This legislation is buttressed by the Refugee Act of 1998, which extends rights to refugees as part of their enjoyment of full legal protection, and by the rights enshrined in the Bill of Rights (CASE 2001:56). These stipulations fly in the face of the lived experiences of many immigrants and are far removed from the conditions that prevail for most. Conflicts between locals and immigrants at community level are their daily reality, despite the sentiments expressed in these various pieces of legislation. It is doubtful whether local municipalities' provision of services is equally distributed among groups, and whether the legal stipulations tally with the immigrants' experiences in practice.

The Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act, No 4 of 2000, speaks of equality before the law and works in synergy with the Bill of Rights and the Refugees' Act of 1998. Its aim is to prevent unfair discrimination and harassment, eliminate unfair discrimination and prevent and prohibit hate speech. The Act makes provision for remedies for victims of the above-mentioned, for compliance with international law, including treaty obligations, and for measures to educate the public on matters of rights and equality. The question remains as to why sporadic violence and hate speech against African immigrants is so prevalent with such legislative boundaries in place. The victims of violence and hate speech testify that they do not enjoy the protection of the law, nor access to the remedies stipulated by the Act.

This study, therefore, sought to explore the concept of social cohesion and the lived experiences of immigrants, to assess the conflicts and tensions that exist between locals and immigrants, and to measure social cohesion. The hypothesis proposed by the study conceives social cohesion as the implementation of social order.

The 2008 xenophobia attacks raised awareness of violent actions by citizens against African immigrants. In 2010, soon after the World Cup, rumours of xenophobia spread, and civil society organisations began to operate in communities to raise awareness and educate citizens about the dangers of xenophobia (Amisi et al, 2011, cited in Abang, 2013). For instance, the Agency for

Refugee Education, Skills Development and Advocacy (ARESTA) operated in Philippi and Khayelitsha, along with the Site C Action Committee Against Xenophobia (SACAX) and the Scalabrini Centre, to mention a few.

Social cohesion actions were also undertaken by the government to eradicate institutional xenophobic structures and xenophobic attitudes. The National Action Plan to combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance (NAP) provides a comprehensive policy framework to ensure that concerns of groups and individuals encountering intolerance and diversity-related incidents are effectively addressed (NAP Report, 2021). One is bound to ask what happened to these initiatives that seemed so promising in the years immediately following 2010. Over a decade has since passed and the problem not only persists but appears to be escalating, particularly with the formation of Operation Dudula. And appear to be worsening due to uncertainty over immigration status of 180 000 Zimbabweans (ZEP holders), who were given one year six months grace period up to June 2023 to renew their permits (eNCA,2022). Currently, a rumour of a planned xenophobic attack is already circulating via social media and anti-immigrant action groups, which will commence after the expiration of the grace period (June 2023) is, worry some (Daily Maverick, 2022).

Referring to the UNHCR Convention of 1951, a 1993 signed MOU obliges the South African government to protect immigrants of all categories. The UNHCR was responsible for giving effect to article 14 (1) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, which accords every individual the right to seek asylum from persecution, and the 1967 UN Declaration on Territorial Asylum, which also provides safeguards. In 1995, South Africa ratified the 1951 Convention relating to the status of refugees, its protocol of 1967, and the 1967 OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugees Problems in Africa. All these treaties and protocols went a long way to committing South Africa to refugee issues (UNHCR, 2000).

According to Palmery (2002), by opting to accommodate urban refugees as opposed to camp-based refugees, the South African government envisaged a scenario where refugees and South Africans would live in urban spaces side by side, enjoying the same human and economic rights. Polzer (2008) states that refugees in South Africa are not restricted to designated camps and are free to go anywhere and participate in economic and social ventures. This welcoming stance on the part of the law makes illegal immigration difficult to spot and counter and also makes it difficult to control societal relations between locals and immigrants. Refugees and immigrants have spread out across the country and are now a part of almost every urban setting, giving rise to social challenges and conflicts between groups.

After 1995, several pieces of immigration legislation were passed. The White Paper on International Migration (1999) laid the foundation for the Immigration Bill of 2000. The main aim of both pieces of legislation was to police migrants; in this respect, the Immigration Bill of 2000 was less liberal than the 1997 Green Paper. The bill emphasised irregular or illegal migration. Conditions that motivated the bill included that fact that illegal immigrants were having a negative effect on socio-economic development. Hence there was a need to react through restrictive laws to discourage illegal immigration. The assumption was that illegal immigration caused depreciation in service delivery, possibly spread infectious diseases and was a security threat (Landau, 2010). At this stage, South African immigration policy was governed by legal and regulatory mechanisms inherited from the old regime. Crush (2001) observed that decision-makers showed minimal support for immigration, a view widely endorsed at the grassroots.

The 2002 Immigration Act resulted in a pattern shift as a rights-based approach and constitutional values moved to centre stage as the main strategy for immigration policy. A ‘whole of society’ approach was used to formulate the new policy, in which civil society was encouraged to participate. Consultations were held with a number of civil society organisations and an Immigration Advisory Board was formed to guide the policy on international obligations on human rights. At this point, the paradigm for immigration policy was shaped both by national interests and human rights. National interests were expressed in the emphasis on state security, state sovereignty, and labour market restrictions. On the other hand, the human rights focus aligned with international obligations and Constitutional values.

Many scholars had questioned the government’s approach to immigration, pointing out that the policy framework was contradictory and confusing. On the one hand it was liberal towards immigrants and on the other hand it stipulated a restrictive immigration system. Many scholars indicated that the intention of the policy was to police immigrants, and was exclusionary; they stated that instead of race as the unit of discrimination, it used nationality to justify the same sort of discrimination formerly suffered by South Africa’s majority (; Crush, 2017; Landau; 2010; Nyamnjoh, 2014).

The Immigration Act of 2002 was enacted under a rights-based banner to give effect to Constitutional values, and involved widespread consultation with civic groups (Crush, 2017). South Africa was establishing a culture that welcomed the participation of civil groups in public policy formulation. The emphasis on incorporating the policy inputs of these players in

participative exercise has been acknowledged. Reich (1990) indicates how policy-making in a democracy gives particular attention to public choice, in which civil groups play a crucial role in driving participation.

By 2004 the South African government was becoming increasingly concerned about the economic and fiscal impact of unauthorised immigration, and passed the Immigration Amendment Act to deal with these concerns. The amendment stripped public participation with regard to the formulation of immigration acts and vested the power to make regulations in the Minister concerned – in this case, the Minister of Home Affairs. There was a drastic reduction in the formal consultative role of the Immigration Advisory Board, civil society and human rights experts. The amendments were designed to reduce the number of unauthorised immigrants both entering the country and already in it (Crush, 2017).

Concurrently with its attempts to discourage newcomers, the South African government continues to follow the regional integration ten-year implementation plan (2014-2023) formulated by the African Union Commission (AUC), which advocates for cooperation and harmonisation of labour migration policies. The plan stipulates the Migration Policy Framework for Africa (MPFA), which raises concerns about xenophobia and anti-immigration sentiments (Gordon, 2022). Through regional frameworks such as these, the government is forced to address issue of xenophobia and to invest in social cohesion. Hence, there is a need for an immigration policy which does not conflict with these policy plans.

Currently, the South African government's immigration policy partly conflicts with its commitment to regional and international human rights instruments. These protocols stipulate that immigrants' rights must be observed. It treats immigration as a step towards development rather than a threat. In South Africa, the period 2010 to 2020 saw a paradigm shift in immigration policy to a more restrictive approach to immigrants (Landau, 2010; Crush, 2012; Gordon, 2022). The DHA adopted an approach based on realism, with a strong emphasis on sovereignty and limits to its interest in global obligations. This approach was encapsulated in the 2017 amendment to the 1999 White Paper for International Immigration, which stresses state security. The White Paper acknowledges that the immigration policy change was a result of multiple court orders rather than engagement between the state, civil society and the concerned public.

2.3 Immigration policies

Immigration is an area of responsibility for several government departments. For a host country, accommodating people from other countries entails a responsibility to protect the guests in a way that acknowledges and protects the needs of locals. With these twin concerns in mind, parliament frequently intervenes in proposing adequate legislation incentives to address political, economic and social concerns. Even though migration is not a right, the protection of immigrants is a right, as they are a vulnerable group which requires remedial responsibility on the part of the government to ensure their safety and security (IOM, 2017). In this chapter, I explore immigration policies to contextualise the phenomenon of immigration and enable comparison. A broad background knowledge of the topic is essential for the study as it aims to focus on the specifics of one community, examining social cohesion through the lived experiences of a small cohort of African immigrants. A review of immigration patterns will enable an understanding of what it means to migrate, the interests of the host countries and what is expected of migrants.

Migration patterns in recent years have been influenced by globalisation, interplay between bottom-up and top-down policy making and by multinational and bilateral agreements between nations. These decisions and agreements determine the immigration policies of signatory countries, which then shape immigration patterns, which can have a tremendous impact on the socio-political activities of various states. Multi-disciplinary literature has depicted how globalisation has challenged states' capacity to control immigration and that domestic factors filter its effects (Ngandwe, 2017; Skeldon, 2017; Schrift, 2019; Hanson, 2009; De Haas, 2010). In general, there has been a tendency for high-income countries to impose limits to immigration. Fiscal distortions create an incentive for screening immigrants according to their perceived economic impacts. This has witnessed an emerging high-skilled immigrant trend.

Ethnic and social diversity has implications for social cohesion, making it one of the most pressing political concerns facing the global community, from Western liberal democratic societies to democratic South Africa. Global politics have changed over the years, resulting in the opening of previously closed borders and wider human mobility, which has seen a rapidly changing and diverse populace created. This, in turn, has created tensions and difficulties, both with the existing population and between competing groups. Even before the transitory nature of global politics, tensions and difficulties were already there. Garis (1924:65) described America's attitudes towards immigrants as 'selfish altruism', as immigrants' interests were not considered.

According to Garis, this meant

We have welcomed the immigrant, not because he was an alien, not because he was escaping religious or political persecution, not because he was downtrodden and oppressed, but primarily and essentially because we believed his coming here was for our own good as a people and as a nation. We have welcomed him only so long as, and no longer than, we believed this.

Contemporary immigration and the opening of previously closed doors require that immigrants' rights are observed. Policies have changed to make the discriminatory treatment of minorities less permissible, although with attached preferences for skilled immigrants in many countries (Boucher & Cerna, 2014; Crush, 2013). Italy's 1988 legislation on immigration was proposed to re-address social concerns and the plight of desperate and vulnerable immigrants, with a policy of firm resistance to clandestine immigration to which Italy was increasingly exposed from the various sources in South East Europe, the Southern Mediterranean, and beyond (Veugelers, 1994).

Contemporary migration patterns highlight the need for public policy makers to consider more than migration numbers and preferences and focus more on how societies can hold together and function as one, with the coexistence of potentially compatible ideas and commitments. Traditional and cultural norms of societies are covert, and, if not embraced by immigrants, can lead to massive prejudice and impediment to services.

This resonates with the experiences of immigrants in South Africa. One of the primary components exacerbating and reinforcing the xenophobic attitude against African immigrants is the 'culture of violence' among black South Africans, dating from the apartheid historical experience (Olofinbiyi, 2022: 206). Addressing issues of social cohesion among such cultures and societies will require the support of local people. They should be important role players and major stakeholders in the formulation of immigration policies.

The formulation of immigration policy has been influenced by different approaches (Meyers, 2000), each of which shapes the immigration policy of a state in a particular way. The purpose of analysing the ideology behind immigration policy is to clarify the reasons for citizens' prejudice and perceptions against foreign nationals. Analysis will also reveal the level of commitment of a state to promoting cohesion. Five major approaches in the field of immigration control policy are scrutinised below, each linked to the concept of civic relationships in a bid to understand

whether there are elements that promote social cohesion, or if they merely consider the interests of the state in the global arena. Since migration is a multidisciplinary area, for the purposes of this review, only a few studies in the field of social sciences were selected. The studies take a Marxist and neo-Marxist approach, a national identity approach, and a society-centred and realism approach.

2.4 Approaches to immigration policy formulation

2.4.1 Marxism and neo-Marxism

This approach is influenced by economic factors and a class-based view of politics. Economic factors involve seems to covert the capitalist ideology of importing migrant workers in order to exert downward pressure on wages and thereby increase capital accumulation (Probsting, 2015). The approaches focus particular attention on relocation of people from one country to another in response economic forces at play. “neo- Marxism” is, in this sense, advocating for capitalism approach in dealing with migrant management (Probsting, 2015). According to the capitalist approach, cohesion between immigrants and natives is not a primary concern, as economic growth is used as a measurement of development, without considering the wellbeing of natives and immigrants. Immigration serves the ruling capitalist class as capitalism uses immigration labour as an ‘industrial reserve army’ to force down wages. Immigration is used as a tool to divide the working class, even though it may cause conflicts.

2.4.2 National identity approach

The failure of immigrants to integrate with the destination society and the fear of intrinsic culture dilution are the major philosophical assumptions upholding the national identity approach to immigration management. The major concern is that many immigrants and ethnic minorities fail to integrate into destination societies. The issue of national identity is complex and sensitive when it comes to immigration and cohesion (Putnam, 2007). The national identity approach is taken by France, as illustrated in the case of Muslim woman from Morocco who married a French man, yet was denied citizenship (Healy, 2010). In 2008, a French court ruled that she should reapply for citizenship when she had assimilated the values of French society, despite the fact that she had three French-born children and was married to a French citizen (Healy, 2010). Her practice of radical Islam was considered incompatible with French values.

The failure of many immigrants to assimilate the cultural norms and values of their host society

has fanned fears of many locals in various countries of losing their national identity. In addition, the failure of immigrants to integrate into their host society undermines social cohesion (Healy, 2010; DHA, 2017; Ho, 2013). The former Australian Minister for Citizenship and Multiculturalism, Gary Hardgrave, once stated, ‘... there are threats to Australia and our way of life in the post 9/11 era’. He was referring to Muslim Australians who had failed to integrate into Australian society. This resulted in the introduction of the citizenship test in 2007, to ensure ‘cohesion and integration’ (Ho, 2013). This, in turn, produced nationalism and nativism (a form of xenophobia) in trying to avoid a nationality struggle. Cultural idioms have thus shaped, and continue to shape, some countries’ immigration policies.

2.4.3 The society-centred approach and the realism approach

The society-centred approach is the umbrella approach of leftist politics in immigration policy formulation. The approach is based on the concept of human wellbeing, which forms the major concern in migration development frameworks. The approach contrasts strongly with the realism approach. The former requires economic and social issues to be viewed as high politics, and not as less important (Skeldon, 2017; De Haas & Rodriguez, 2010). Realism focuses on the relationship between foreign policy and international migration (Meyers, 2000).

The society-centred approach is identical to the migrant-centred approach proposed by the European Commission in 2005. The first consultation using this approach took place in Brussels at a gathering sub-titled ‘Towards a migrant centred approach’, which focused on migrants’ rights, migration, integration mobility, social rights, social cohesion and labour migration management. The approach is an alternative to the capitalist approach which promotes economic growth at the expense of migrants’ wellbeing. The Australian immigration ideological shift from assimilation to multiculturalism is a move towards a society-centred approach to immigration policies.

2.5 International immigration

2.5.1 The case of Australia

The case of Australia resonates with South African concerns regarding immigration policy. At one point, Australia was faced with citizens’ criticism about migrants taking jobs at the expense of citizens, as is the case in South Africa, where many black citizens complain of the same thing.

During the time of the Fraser government, an integration policy was adopted to accommodate migrants, identifying ethnic issues as the main problem (Claydon, 1981). On the first of September, 1977, a Committee on Post-Arrival Programmes and Services to Migrants was formulated with Frank Galbally as chairperson. The committee's report was presented on 27 April 1978, and thereafter was accepted and fully endorsed. The government consequently announced expenditure of more than fifty million dollars on immigration-related matters. Provisions included a programme of initial settlement, part of which took the form of special intensive courses in English and formal orientation courses on housing, education, employment and other areas of need (Claydon, 1981). According to the Galbally report, the assumption was that because Australian society was essentially democratic and egalitarian, the disadvantages suffered by some migrants were directly related to deficiencies within those groups, e.g., a lack of competence in English and job skills, rather than being located in the Australian structure (Ho, 2013).

The South African context is challenging, as the state appears to have difficulties in providing for the welfare of disadvantaged groups. Essentially, the problems of migrants are similar to those of the locals, i.e., lack of employment, poverty and lack of all other indicators of wellbeing. Applying the framework of social justice in addressing social inequalities will be relevant to native black South Africans; however, applying welfare policy to migrants might stir conflicts and dismantle social cohesion. A broad application of the welfare policy might not be appropriate in South Africa, with its many immigrants, but the ideology of social justice and cohesion through an intentional and comprehensive integration policy may well be the answer. Australia implemented it and it worked. Their integration policy emphasises the economic benefits of cultural diversity, which South Africa also aims to achieve, as expressed in the White Paper on International Migration, and as implemented in the Immigration Act of 2002. With the economic benefits of cultural diversity widely recognised, a multicultural society became an asset to Australia, helping to foster greater economic engagement with Asia. Christina Ho (2013) illustrated how Australia used multiculturalism as an effective economic tool in the eyes of the general community to silence growing tension and anxiety when the natives became concerned about immigrants 'taking jobs' during the economic downturn in 1984 (Ho, 2013). Australia has used multiculturalism as a tool to enforce strong cohesion, based on an acceptance of cultural diversity, using an approach that encourages citizens and immigrants to discover what they have in common. The Australian case shows how a multicultural policy evolved using different ideological orientations and political contexts.

The phases included the social justice period (1970s and 1980s), the productive diversity period (1980s and 1990s) and the social cohesion period (2000 to present). South Africa does not have adequate pragmatic mechanisms to foster integration, nor a sustainable approach which pays attention to the recognition of minority rights. Australia shifted its ideological orientation from assimilation to multiculturalism and integration to come up with a sustainable approach that fostered social cohesion.

2.6 Operationalisation of the study

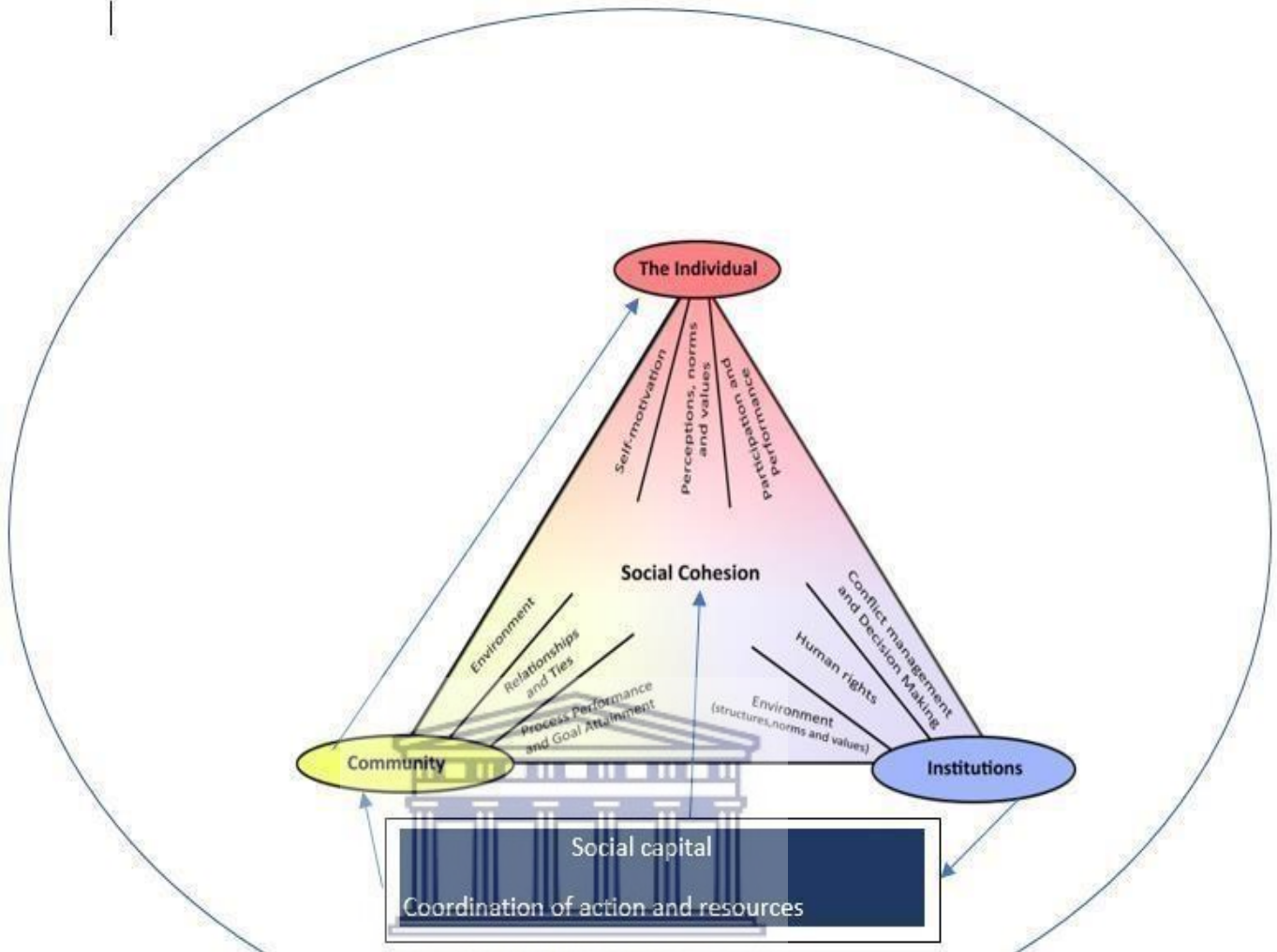
Social capital theory is used as a functional approach to understanding immigration issues, as it applies to formal and informal institutions which can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions. The concept provides a framework which elaborates the interplay between community and institutions in social networking and acquiring social cohesion as an outcome. Social capital helps in understanding functional social relations, emphasizing cooperation and coordination between institutions, community and the individual. Adequate and effective social networks minimise the dominance of informal social controls and informal modes of integration (i.e., vigilante groups such as Operation Dudula, gangsterism and mob justice) and promote legitimate state social control. This functional approach is derived from the work of Putman (1993; 2007).

The dominating concepts in this study are social capital and social cohesion. The concept of social capital is used to extract the essential meaning and most important aspects of social cohesion. Social capital theory is pertinent to this study as it helps answer the research questions. Social cohesion is an umbrella concept that encompasses several interconnected elements (Fonseca, et al., 2019).

Figure 2 below shows how the concept of social capital helps to explain effective social relations, which contribute to social cohesion. This theory forms the main conceptual underpinning of the study.

The operational concepts of social capital and social cohesion were explained to participants. The researcher explained social cohesion as the existence of strong social networks that prevent and soften intergroup conflicts, and promote mutual understanding, unity, ubuntu, trust and consensus on societal norms and participation.

Figure 2: The conceptual framework



Source: Researcher

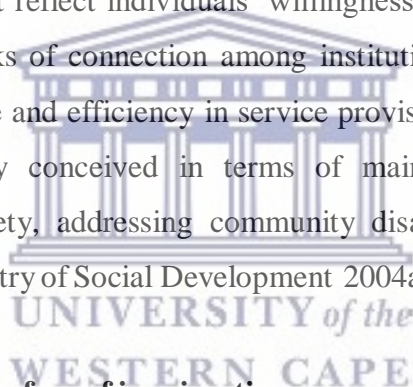
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2.7 The theory of social capital

The theory of social capital is used to shed light on social cohesion, focusing on social networks and social order. Social capital was first described in 1916 by rural educator Lyda Hanifan (1916). He defined social capital as the ‘... goodwill, fellowship, mutual sympathy and social intercourse among a group of individuals and families who make up a social unit, the rural community, whose logical centre is the school’ (Hanifan, 1916, p. 130). His suggestion is that public life and community interactions should boost the collective wellbeing and living conditions of a community. Robert Putnam explicitly rephrased the idea, providing a more advanced definition. He defined the concept as ‘features of social organisation such as trust, norms, institutional social control and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions’ (Putnam, 1993, p. 167).

Social capital generates positive externalities to institutions, individuals and the community. The provision of social capital by local institutions partly eliminates deliberate systematic marginalisation by dominant social groups to achieve political and personal gain (Nyamnjoh et al, 2022). The positive externalities for the community as a whole are understood as part of social cohesion, with formal and informal networks creating social ties between individuals and groups. Better performing institutions, the elimination of intergroup conflicts and a healthier population are the outcomes of a cohesive society with efficient, functioning social capital (Fonseca, et al., 2019). The existence of social capital also gives rise to a more politically engaged population (Putnam, 2007). OECD (2001) defines social capital as networks together with shared norms, values and understandings which facilitate cooperation amongst groups.

Social capital indicators contribute to understanding social cohesion and migration through their focus on social relations, personal relationships and organisational membership. Social capital also implies civic engagement in the public realm and helps define the subjective quality of social relations. Informal social networks may generate beneficial forms of social capital, showing itself in the form of civic behaviours that reflect individuals' willingness to co-operate with others for the common good. Strong networks of connection among institutions, and between institutions and citizens, enhance quality of life and efficiency in service provision. The government's role in building social capital is broadly conceived in terms of maintaining high quality public governance, protecting public safety, addressing community disadvantages and strengthening families, among other things (Ministry of Social Development 2004a).



2.8 Defining social cohesion in the face of immigration

Lack of clarity is often apparent in uses of the term 'social cohesion', particularly in policy and intervention programmes. A slippage in the language is often witnessed as the term moves from community cohesion to social cohesion and then to society cohesion. The assumption is that any of the terms will lead to the others, but the process of how this might take place is seldom explained.

Defining social cohesion is critical, as the term is complex and can shift from context to context, acquiring the meaning which suits the interests of the formulator (Burns et al., 2018). In some ways, the concept of social cohesion has been unsatisfying, because it's multiple definitions

prevent meaningful measurements and application. However, according to Fonseca et al (2019), in order for social cohesion to be capable of embodiment, attention needs to be paid to the lens through which it is understood, and to the matters it is supposed to address. In this study, common values and civic cultures are the lens through which cohesion is understood. The study attempts to measure the fragmentation and weakening of values within communities. Hence, social cohesion refers to an environment where all groups have a sense of belonging, mutual tolerance, participation, recognition and legitimacy.

The understanding of social cohesion as a policy tool has changed over time. When it was first introduced, it was practice oriented, and linked to implementable programmes and policies. At that stage, it was defined as an ongoing process of developing shared values, facing shared challenges and creating equal opportunities for all. Discussions then diverted and focused more on whether social cohesion was equivalent to or a subset of social capital. This was especially the case in relation to exclusion and a 'rights deficit' approach (Spoonley et al, 2005). Prevailing discourses focused on the consequences of exclusion and the perceived legitimacy of the system. Economic concerns and issues related to the redistribution of resources dominated policy formulation and measurement. Immigration policies reflected a mixture of political, social and economic cohesion with an emphasis on exclusion and inclusion. With this understanding, OECD defines social cohesion as the existence of networks, together with shared norms, values and understandings, which facilitate cooperation among groups (OECD, 2001). According to this view, social capital is a critical contributing factor to social cohesion.

According to Fonseca, et al (2019), they're 'definitional choices [which] have significant consequences for what is analysed, what is measured, and what policy action is recommended'.

In the face of global immigration challenges, the language of cohesion changed to an interest in social capital, social integration, diversity, identity, inclusion and solidarity. The use of social capital as a subset or equivalent of social cohesion involves a consideration of characteristics of social cohesion such as strength of social relations and trust among members.

The European approach to social cohesion emphasises the deleterious effects of social exclusion, inequality, poverty and marginalisation, and the unfair distribution of power and resources (Burns, 2018). It stresses the role of government in achieving social cohesion. The European Union characterised its approach to social cohesion as being consistent with 'the European model of society, founded on a notion of solidarity. It is embodied in universal systems of social

protection, regulation to correct market failure and systems of dialogue’ (Spoonley et al, 2005).

In the United Kingdom, the debate concerning social cohesion and immigrants has been recently defined by the work of the Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain. Social cohesion is seen as ‘... a community of communities and a community of citizens...’ (Verteljahresschrift, 2019). Cohesion in such a community derives from a widespread commitment to ‘certain core values, both between communities and within them; equality and fairness; dialogue and consultation; tolerance, compromise, and accommodation; recognition and respect for diversity; and – by no means least – determination to confront and eliminate racism and xenophobia’ (Parekh2000:56).

Non-European countries such as New Zealand, America and Australia place more emphasis on attitudes and norms such as trust, a sense of belonging and the relationships of individuals to each other, based on perceived bonds, which might result in greater solidarity, among other things (Putman, 2001). In this sense, social cohesion has much to do with the quality and nature of connections between people and groups.

In South Africa, social cohesion is understood as constructed from the historical common values of Africaness (pan-Africanism) and the spirit of ubuntu. Social cohesion is used to refer to common values and purpose in society, including a sense of belonging (social inclusion) and solidarity. It encompasses numerous other concepts such as multiculturalism, social interaction and social capital. Some of these concepts stand in direct contrast to an immigration policy which advocates for restrictions of immigrants for the purpose of ensuring state security.

Multiculturalism is sometimes identified as a threat, in that it is perceived to dilute and undermine the values of the host country, and can act to perpetuate the inflow of more immigrants. The Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) initiated a social cohesion intervention in 2012. The Department defines social cohesion as ‘the degree of social integration and inclusion in communities and society at large, and the extent to which mutual solidarity finds expression among individuals and communities’ (DAC, 2013). The question to consider is whether or not the ideal of social cohesion is currently being sustained and perpetuated in South Africa.

The 2012 intervention emerged from an array of explanations and advice that abounded in the aftermath of the 2008 xenophobic violence against African immigrants, which broke out as a result of insular attitudes towards foreigners. Xenophobic violence claimed the lives of 60

immigrants and displaced more than 100 000, involving the loss of millions of rands worth of property (Crush, 2017). The attacks were blamed on xenophobic sentiments and a sense of ethnic threat and prejudice in local black communities. In the diversity/cohesion relationship, ethnic diversity is sometimes seen to compromise social cohesion. According to Putman's constrictor hypothesis, diversity undermines relations between all people (not just between ethnic groups), which lowers the value of social capital. The literature gap which this research hopes to fill is the current lack of understanding of how cohesion may be sustained within an ethnically diverse community, with local institutions as mediators. This is particularly needed in communities such as Philippi that have already experienced conflict.

Social cohesion is shaped by historical and contemporary socio-economic factors and political realities. However, incomplete knowledge about causality and underlying mechanisms makes it hard for policymakers to develop effective policies to facilitate and promote community cohesion. In this study, social cohesion implies the ability of diverse groups to live together in solidarity, interacting without violence against the minority group (in this case, African immigrants). For social cohesion to prevail there has to be willing cooperation among all parties, and a willingness to let go of narrow individual self-interests which threaten the whole community. In the past, the African continent has exemplified the concept of social cohesion, in that common values prevailed throughout history; in addition, almost all people groups on the continent have experienced a shared history of colonisation. The main agenda of the AU2063 is to promote solidarity and African unification through freedom of movement of people and goods within the African continent. This ideal has yet to be attained.

According to the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC 2002), social cohesion is measured in terms of the active participation of community members, the existence of shared goals, a clear willingness to cooperate for the benefit of all members, and a shared desire to improve the quality of life of all members. When it comes to immigration-related challenges, the extent of cohesion will depend on the availability of planned and sustained effective local institutional services and support. These should accommodate immigration and recognise that diversity can help address some societal challenges and eliminate bad social capital (vigilante groups).

Despite the various definitions of social cohesion and the many references to it in the literature, few authors have attempted to describe what a socially cohesive community looks like. This study conceptualised the elements of social cohesion which led to the research questions posed by the researcher in the first chapter. These elements include social cooperation, the existence of

common social norms and confidence in institutions. Trust in institutions was measured through asking the question, ‘Generally speaking, would you say government institutions can be trusted in resolving conflicts between African immigrants and local natives?’ Institutional trust was thus used as a variable to measure cohesion by investigating participants’ confidence in institutions. The selected elements of social cohesion pertain to social relations and the role of government in the promotion of nation building and combating xenophobia against African migrants.

2.9 Views on what contributes to conflict and hinders social cohesion

Immigration causes massive demographic transformation, stiff competition in the labour market, prejudice and migrant management challenges. These negative aspects contribute to widespread barriers to social cohesion which some authors believe have been imposed deliberately and inadvertently by the state’s response to immigration (Fanning, 2001; International Organisation for Migration, 2017; Fonseca, et al., 2019). A list of characteristics of social cohesion has been indicated. These characteristics keep a group together, enabling it to function as a unit.

Using a metaphor, one could view social cohesion as the ‘glue’ that sticks society together. This implies avoidance of any action that dilutes or removes the glue. The mainstreaming of anti-immigrant populist discourse in South Africa has triggered conflicts and bestowed social legitimacy upon xenophobia, hence weakening social cohesion (Machinya, 2022). Politicians use media platforms to accuse undocumented immigrants of being somehow responsible for South Africa’s poverty and unemployment problems. South Africa has witnessed a trend in this regard; each time a powerful politician uses immigrants as a scapegoat for socioeconomic challenges, massive xenophobic and afrophobic violence breaks out. Home Affairs Minister, Aaron Motsoaledi, addressing the ANC regional conference in the Eastern Cape in Province on 4 May 2022 said,

We are the only country that accepts rascals ... I am coming for them. When all of them are in jail, locked in and the keys have been thrown away, then I will step down, only then.

These combative and accusatory sentiments contribute to an escalation of anti-immigrant sentiment and action, an example being the brutal murder of Zimbabwean national, Elvis Nyathi, by the anti-immigrant Operation Dudula on 7 April 2022 (SABC News, 2022). After Motsoaledi’s remarks, more incidents of harassment and xenophobic attacks were covered in the media.

Afrophobia and xenophobia is linked to the unresolved grievances of local citizens, who take out their frustrations on foreign nationals. The current anti-foreigner sentiment in the townships assumes that massive numbers of illegal foreign nationals, some with fake legal documents, are engaged in criminal activities and occupy the rightful place of locals in the job market. The state is blamed for lack of decisive action, which vigilante groups such as Operation Dudula use as justification for their radical and violent approach. These groups clearly link the presence of African immigrants to unemployment rates, poverty and other societal ills. Operation Dudula takes a direct and action-oriented approach, having commenced with its 'clean-up' campaign in Soweto by marching door to door ejecting foreign nationals from their homes if they could not produce legitimate documents. Statements from top politicians worsened the situation leading to the death and harassment of many immigrants. During his interview on Power FM, July 2021, Motsoaledi confirmed that 6,5 million foreigners possess fraudulent permanent residence documents. According to Operation Dudula, it is against this backdrop that the organisation is needed.

South Africa developed the National Action Plan (NAP) to combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance. However, when top officials responsible for formulating immigration strategies and guidelines participate in hate speech and xenophobia against immigrants, efforts at promoting social cohesion tend to be disregarded. The accusations of local citizens against immigrants often emulate the statements of top officials.

The link between social cohesion and immigration has absorbed both academic research and policy reform. The hypothesis assumption is that immigration erodes social cohesion; hence, to maintain the welfare state, immigration must be severely restricted. The hypothesis mainly focuses on the 'dents' which migration produces in the host country. The assumption is that large ethnic and cultural difference lead to low social trust in society and that diversity poses a threat to national identity and the maintaining of common values. It is generally accepted that a decline in social interaction makes a society prone to conflicts caused by differences in common values and opinions, and the absence of inter-group cooperation.

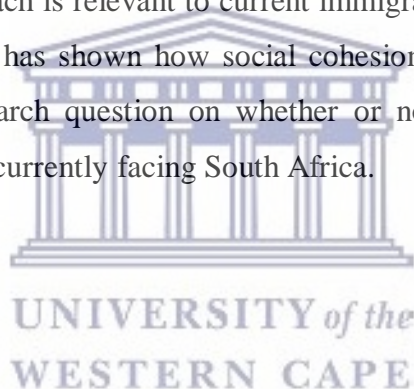
In the South African townships, conflicts seem to arise from frustration as a result of poverty, criminal activities and inadequate service delivery (Bradshaw, 2009). A long-term goal for social cohesion is to foster more fruitful interactions between structure and agency. Social cohesion has to be formed amidst the insecurities, fear and anxiety that is produced by immigration and other political and socio-economic challenges currently faced by the host community. With

that in mind, the most fundamental way to promote development is to identify conflict resolution mechanisms and act on a common set of guidelines for social cohesion, where immigration is the prime focus. Immigration-related challenges need to be disentangled from other inequality aspects such as racial discrimination, unemployment, poverty, crime and distrust in government. A social cohesion strategy which attempts to tackle all of these issues along with xenophobia comprehensively might not be adequate, given that local citizens in the townships are already insecure about the activities of foreign nationals.

Furthermore, South Africa's social and economic inequalities have been worsened by the Covid-19 pandemic. Promoting social cohesion entails prioritising emergency social ills first. The pandemic has had a negative social and economic impact on South Africa as a result of forced reductions in production and demand, and massive retrenchment of workers (Sucheran, 2022).

2.10 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the literature on immigration, social cohesion theory and social capital theory, attempting to show how each is relevant to current immigration challenges both in South Africa and globally. The chapter has shown how social cohesion elements may be measured, which partially answers the research question on whether or not the concept is part of the solution to immigration problems currently facing South Africa.



CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Research methods purposively involves the establishment of facts and accumulation of new knowledge through inquiry in a systematically and scientific manner. This chapter discusses the methodology employed to interrogate the social cohesion concept as a measurement and interpretation of relations between African immigrants and local residents in Philippi settlement in the Western Cape. The research techniques applied in this research to acquire data and information are discussed and justified. The core variables discussed include research design, sampling procedures, ethical statement, data presentation and research instruments.

3.2 The research design and approach

The research design refers to the procedures the researcher follows when carrying out research. According to Dale and Volpe (2008:4), a description of the design is intended to show that the researcher has understood the methodological implications of the critical choices made, and, in particular, that careful thought has been given to the links between the study's purpose and the research methods selected.

The research design indicates the overall framework for the empirical research to be undertaken. The study implemented qualitative approach. Qualitative approach is essential for its ontological stunts on social inquiries, which depicts that reality is multiple and needs to be constructed according to context. For the purposes of this study, the researcher adopted the case study research design. Case study research involves the study of a case within real-life and contemporary context/setting (Creswell& Creswell, 2018).

Figure 3 below shows the research structure of the framework used in this study.

Figure 3: Research framework and structure



Source: Researcher

3.3 Methodology

The research took a qualitative approach to understanding the lived experiences of a sample of people residing in a community that accommodates African immigrants. The qualitative approach was applied to help uncover latent content, such as the connotations of words used in context. The approach is relevant to the study as it seeks social meaning and human interpretation. The methodological approach integrated data-driven codes with theory driven codes based on the tenets of social phenomenology. Data coding of raw data led to the identification of themes.

The epistemological element utilized was social constructivism/interpretive approach. It presents hermeneutics expressions of life as it unfolds in the context (Carter & Little, 2007). The approach was essential in understanding the realities of what weakens social cohesion since reality emerges via interaction and interpretation.

The study was conducted using the case study approach as a method of qualitative inquiry. Case study research involves the study of a case in a real-life and contemporary setting

(Creswell, 2013). A single instrumental case study was selected, in the interests of gaining an in-depth understanding of the research problem. Thus, the issue of immigration and social cohesion was explored using the single case of one community to illustrate the relations between migrants and natives in the host community. The study used analysis of themes to understand the complexity of the case, with care taken not to generalise beyond the specifics of the case. Hence descriptive and case themes were employed as part of data analysis, since the study involved a single case study (a 'within site' study). One bounded case was felt to be sufficient for illustrating the issues. The case reveals a number of aspects of the problem.

Fieldwork took place in three field sites located in Philippi, representing both formal and informal settlements in the same geographical area. The sites were Heinz Park, Philippi Lower (with a recent history of anti-immigrant attacks) and Hazeldene/Ekupumleni. A government official from the mayor's office helped the researcher to identify eligible participants in each of these areas. The researcher used snowballing approach to identify other participants. This was done to avoid selecting participants who could contribute to the official's preferred narrative.

Semi structured questions for in-depth interviews were utilised. The researcher also used informal observations to observe participants behaviour. The interviews conducted by the researcher at the sites were preceded by a social mapping exercise under the guidance of a street committee members and a government official from the mayor's office (CDW). This exercise was helpful, yielding an understanding of the location of key population groups and initial insight into the local dynamics. Interviews with participants began with trying to understand the features of social cohesion as experienced at the local level, and then systematically exploring the themes identified through the preceding documentary and conceptual analysis.

3.3.1 Sampling procedure

Snowball sampling

Snowball technique is used in situations where the researcher is not familiar with the required respondents. To generate and increase the population of respondents the researcher highly depends on referral from the first participant (Creswell, 2013). The researcher used the gatekeeper approach recruiting the first respondent. The first respondent then made referral to the next suitable respondent. The snowball technique was helpful to identify targeted participants as each participant referred the researcher to others within his or her social network who might be able to help answer the research questions. The researcher depended on referrals to identify local

citizens and street committee members within their area suitable to answer the proposed research questions. Selection of local citizens and street committee members was based on snowball technique.

Purposive sampling

Purpose sampling entails that the selection of respondents for the study should be influenced by their relevance to the research questions and theoretical position. The respondents who were selected using this technique were highly relevant and had strategic value and information on social interactions between the local citizens and African immigrants. Respondents who were selected purposively in this study are African Immigrants, community development workers from the mayor's office and the founder of the civil organisation which operated in the area of study. African immigrants were selected purposively because the researcher targeted those resided in Philippi for a period of 10 years and above. The ten-year period acted as a criterion to get a better understanding of the relations between locals and African immigrants dating from the 2008 xenophobia explosion period. Community development workers and civil organisation official were central to understanding contributions of civil society and institutions in guiding social cohesion in Philippi. They are the officials on the ground providing services to the two groups and are well informed about availability of social networks to influence interactions.

3.4 Limitations of the study

Study limitations are unanticipated challenges that emerge during the study. Which result in constrains placed on the ability to produce adequate data and might impact or influence the interpretation of the findings (James & Murnan, 2004). The preliminary design intended to implement focus group discussion as part of the data gathering techniques. One focus group discussion was successfully conducted, but due to the fact that the researched topic was sensitive and it caused arguments between respondents, this challenge resulted in cancellation of group discussions. The two groups were not comfortable to discuss their perceptions in front of each other. And members of each group were afraid to express their opinion of the other group, and risk being labelled traitors. The study alternatively used in depth interviews from key informants and other respondents to get reliable and accurate results.

3.5 Data Collection Methods

The research made use of both primary and secondary data. Secondary data was extracted from government departments, scholarly articles and civil society organisations which deal with immigrants and refugees, advocate for their rights and monitor government policies on migration. Primary data emanated from fieldwork in-depth interviews. Some primary data collection was conducted at participants' homes, for safety, and official informants used areas where the community normally conducts their meetings.

The researcher used coding as a qualitative data analysis technique. The process involved going through every sentence of the interview transcriptions and coding each response according to certain themes that emerged after several readings. This process involved data reduction which entails selecting, simplifying and transforming the data in the field notes transcripts and used it as manageable material for analysis.

3.6 In-depth semi structured interviews

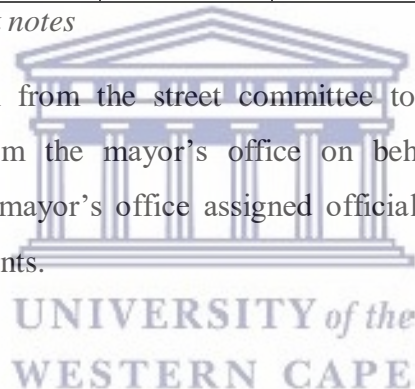
Over 20 in-depth interviews were conducted in this study. Eight semi-structured interviews were conducted with African immigrants who had been living in Philippi for ten years or longer. The ten-year period acted as a criterion for inclusion of participants in this set of interviews, as there was a need for a deep understanding of the relations between locals and immigrants dating back to the 2008 eruption of xenophobia. Insights gained in these eight interviews helped establish a baseline of knowledge and insight for the conducting of subsequent interviews. They yielded great insights on changes in relationships, attitudes, behaviour, and tensions between the two groups. Four respondents were local residents, and four were street committee members who operate in the area as a conflict resolution management team addressing any social, political or economic challenges faced by the local residents. Three participants were local government community development workers who operate in the area, and one participant was from Africa Unite, a non-profit organisation which operates in the area of study. Table 2 shows an overview of all interviews.

Table 2: Overview of interviews

Date	Informative official	Respondents	African immigrants	Respondents	Local residents	Respondents	Total
July 2019/ Jan 2022	Community development worker	3	Refugees	3	Youth	1	
July 2019/ Jan 2022	Community leaders	4	Other	5	Adults	3	
July 2019/ Jan 2022	Civic Organisation Member	1					
	Total	8		8		4	20

Source: Researcher's fieldwork notes

The researcher sought permission from the street committee to conduct interviews and the committee sought permission from the mayor's office on behalf of the researcher. Once permission had been granted, the mayor's office assigned officials from the office to help the researcher identify further participants.



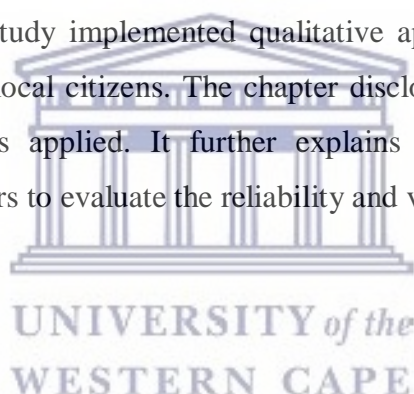
3.7 Ethical considerations

During the process of designing, it is of primary importance to consider ethical issues that might surface during the course of the research, and to plan how these issues will be addressed. Weis and Fine, cited by Creswell (2013), postulated that ethical issues arise during several phases of the research process, and proposed that researchers consider the full list of possibilities. It is necessary for researchers to establish respectful relationships with participants, and not to stereotype people or use labels that participants do not embrace. In this study, the researcher was aware that conducting a study which involves the lived experiences of vulnerable groups such as immigrants could raise ethical issues. Every endeavour was made to protect their identity and to be sensitive in the kinds of questions asked.

Moreover, the cultural norms and charters of the indigenous society were respected. As part of the preliminary research process, the researcher managed to find out about cultural, religious, gender and other differences that needed to be respected. During interviews, care was taken to develop rapport with participants before interviews began, so that they felt comfortable and relaxed in the presence of the researcher. Care was also taken not to cause any harm to participants. The practice of local endorsement for the research was initiated and information was provided to participants and involved authorities on the purpose of the research, objectives of the study and how data would be used. All participants were given informed consent forms to sign before participating. Participants were assured that participation was voluntary, and that all interviews would be anonymous. No names were used at any stage of the research process and no names appear in this final report.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter explains the research design and methodological approaches which were implemented in this study. The study implemented qualitative approach to unravel the social dynamics of the immigrants and local citizens. The chapter discloses the study limitations and ethical consideration mechanisms applied. It further explains the sampling size and data collection methods, to allow readers to evaluate the reliability and validity of the research.



CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH FINDINGS, DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

As a result of the xenophobic attacks of 2008, the government of South Africa implemented social cohesion intervention programmes and introduced policies aimed at building social cohesion. The programmes were intended to contribute to the prevention and mitigation of violence directed at African immigrants. The 2017, White Paper on International Migration for South Africa published by the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) states that social cohesion has weakened, with many citizens assuming that most migrants from the rest of Africa are irregular and undesirable (DHA, 2017). Hence immigration is seen to weaken social cohesion which results in prejudice against African nationals. The study interrogated societal relations between local citizens and African immigrants. Social cohesion is regarded as both a goal and a means to maintaining social order and facing societal challenges, including the challenge of living in culturally and linguistically diverse communities.

Societal relations are used as the core means to measure or assess social cohesion. ‘Social relations refer to the quality and strength of people’s relationships and bonds with each other’ (Putman, 2007). The concept is used to identify aspects of social cohesion, which lacks bureaucratic oversight and is being neglected in communities. Hence, we see an undermining of intergroup relations in diverse and poor urban South African townships. Social cohesion as a goal requires a holistic approach to examining and improving intergroup relations (OECD, 2012). The analysis in this study focuses on interrogating the lack of vertical social cohesion (i.e., relations between citizens, immigrants and the state) and horizontal social cohesion (i.e., relations between citizens and African immigrants) through the lens of social capital.

All the elements of social cohesion mentioned in chapter two are interrogated in-depth in the following section. The effort of individuals and the practical effectiveness of their efforts in the context of the Philippi settlement are discussed. Much of the discussion relies on the theory of social cohesion postulated by Fanning (2011) through thematic analysis. The themes that emerged from interviews are: a) consensus on shared norms and values b) integration and behaviour tolerance c) confidence in institutions d) social capital.

4.2 Consensus on shared norms and values

Shared norms and values enable a community to function and work together for the common good, as their goals align with each other. According to Bradshaw (2009), social cohesion is about total consensus on shared values and priorities, and a group's capacity to resolve disagreements and problems. Agreement among the majority in a group or society about what is considered appropriate behaviour is expected of its members. Without a degree of normative consensus, social order cannot be maintained. One of the objectives of this study was to examine the relations of the two groups and discover what weakens good relations between African immigrants and locals. Participants demonstrated an understanding of the elements of social cohesion which were explained to them.

African immigrants and local citizens expressed their concerns about shared norms and values. They indicated that the complete absence of consensus on what entails a pro-immigrant narrative is the major reason they have problems living in harmony with one another. They indicated what they considered a pro-immigration narrative, comprising three complementary themes:

- a) Enforcement of immigration laws which put South African citizens first;
- b) Labour laws which minimise exploitation of labour migrants. This results in employers not preferring to hire immigrants; and
- c) Enforcement of laws which eradicates illegal immigration.

These three points were considered valuable in helping to establish good relationships between locals and immigrants, as they afforded a measure of protection for locals if they were all enforced. The open border policy is regarded as an immigration policy which is not in consensus with national goals and values, as it encourages illegal immigrants to enter the country. Illegal immigrants commit various crimes and the local authority does not have the capacity and sufficient resources to track them. Immigration tends to bring adverse social conditions instead of achieving sustainable development, owing to the failure of government institutions to prevent illegal immigrants from entering the country. The local citizens indicated that the government does not share their values. Lack of consensus on national shared values and an absence of initiatives which would minimise the entry of illegal immigrants into the country can be explained as the reason for weakening cohesion between local citizens and African immigrants.

The White Paper on International Migration for South Africa (DHA, 2017) postulated that immigration deteriorates social cohesion because of the presence of illegal immigrants in South Africa. However, the interpretation of the local citizens is that it is the porous laws which allow illegal immigrants to enter. Hence immigration itself does not erode cohesion; rather it is the absence of effective laws that produce this result.

This idea has been reiterated by the various movements against illegal immigrants that have arisen; they all blame the government for illegal immigration. For instance, Operation Dudula maintains that it is the organisation that will secure South Africa's future, rather than the government, because the government is not doing its job. The leader of Operation Dudula, Nhlanhla Lux Dlamini, said 'South Africans are not xenophobic and they do not have problems with African immigrants. We are against the government, which is failing to address the illegal immigration issue. 'We have decided to do the clean-up campaigns to force all illegal foreign nationals out' (SABC News, 2022).

4.3 Integration and behaviour tolerance

In responding to the question of structural and institutional barriers impacting on quality social relationship between two groups and between government and residents, local citizens expressed their discontent towards the character and behaviour of each group- both the immigrants and the locals. They blamed the government for not introducing integration programmes which would foster dialogue between concerned parties to discuss issues of social norms and acceptable behaviour, and educate locals on possible reasons why foreign nationals were coming to their communities.

A street committee member explained how lack of knowledge about the immigrants hampered relations, and how the refusal of recent immigrants to integrate was causing problems.

There is no integration when they come here. We do not even know why they are coming and when they come, they do not even understand our language. However, we include them in our plans. For instance, because of house burglaries in the area, we agreed as a community that every male from each household should take turns in patrolling during the night. Foreign nationals who have stayed with us for a long time, they don't have a problem in joining the patrol, but the newcomers always give us problems. And when their houses are robbed, we do not help them because they refused to be part of the neighbourhood patrol unit. Then you will hear them say the burglars only targeted

foreign nationals. If they were integrated, they will not have problems because they will know the norms and values of our community (SC 1).

It would appear from the above that a lack of institutionally facilitated dialogue results in African migrants being hesitant to take part in collective efforts to fight crime of the community. If being a good community member means participating in community actions to improve security, then isolating themselves from these plans makes them easy targets of criminals and other adverse situations.

The International Organisation for Migration (2017) noted that migration governance actors must ensure that newcomers are successfully integrated into society. When insufficient or ineffective efforts are made to ensure integration, newcomers can become marginalised, and are thus vulnerable to risks of all kinds. A community must have consensus on shared norms and values to ensure tolerance and understanding which promotes social cohesion. According to Fanning (2011), challenges of social cohesion are probably not linked to immigration and the existence of ethnically diverse communities; the challenges long precede the phenomenon of immigration. Negligence and lack of bureaucratic oversight over core practices of immigration management cause locals to become frustrated by the presence of immigrants in a country of net immigration (Bradshaw, 2009; Fanning, 2011). The absence of integration in Philippi communities gives an assumption that local institutions do not have specific outlined national guidelines on ensuring social cohesion, as stipulated by the DAC (2002).

An immigrant participant stated:

I thought we shared common norms and values as Africans, through the spirit of ubuntu. But it was difficult to integrate into the community because of the language barrier and absence of orientation programmes. I thought, since my country helped South Africa during their struggle with apartheid, living here was going to be easy, since it's now their time to help us. History of how South Africa was helped by other nations should be taught at schools for them to understand why we are here (AI 1).

These remarks again indicate that there is a lack of consensus on shared norms and values between citizens, local institutions and African immigrants. The government promotes free movement (SADC passport holders) between countries because of shared anti-colonial struggles, yet local institutions do not provide adequate civic education to locals on the existence of refugees and economic migrants in South Africa (DHA,2021).

A street community member indicated had the following to say:

With my experience as a leader, I observed that both groups have their flaws. Some of our local residents have an entitlement mental tendency. They do not want to work but they want to grab foreign nationals' belongings by force. If the government institutions responsible for social order could create a structure in which to enforce collective conscience, this will help us go against those people. But without that structure, it's hard to go against them and reduce crime. They will consider you as a traitor (SC 2).

4.4 Confidence in institutions

Institutions have different mandates and capacities, and some are more oriented towards addressing certain dimensions of social cohesion than others. There are two types of institutions in the township settlements: Civil society institutions and government institutions. Social institutions include civic organisations and community organisations. Government institutions include clinics, South African Police Services (SAPS), local government structures and schools.

4.4.1 Perspectives on South African Police Services (SAPS)

Despite differences in nationalities, the two groups shared a common negative perception of the SAPS, and their ability to address conflicts and other societal challenges faced by these groups. The participants indicated that some of the SAPS officials in townships lack high standard professional ethics. Those officials fail to adhere to values and principles which govern public service. Service must be provided impartially, fairly, equitably and without bias.

One Somali shop owner addressed the issue of perceived incompetence and corruption in the police service.

Reporting crime to the police is a waste of time. They take time to show up and when they come, they take a statement and they will never come back with the feedback about the case. There is no accountability for perpetrators motivated by xenophobia and justice for us victims. Sometimes even the police demand things from us. One time I reported to the police when my shop was attacked, one of the police officers told me that if I want protection so that I avoid such

incidents from happening, I must pay him so that he can help me. Since that day, I told myself, I would rather take revenge than waste my time reporting (AI 2).

The issues of corruption, indifference towards victims and failure to follow up on reported crimes by SAPS undermines social cohesion and worsens relations between locals and foreign nationals. Some foreign nationals have resorted to seeking justice by taking revenge, which in flames prejudice against them and perpetuate conflicts between the two groups. If not managed, the situation results in locals performing collective justice by killing nationals who take revenge.

A local citizen commented:

I think some of the local police officials are involved in organised crime. Individuals who demand a protection fee from foreign nationals do not get arrested. There is no point reporting to them. They will tell you if you are willing to be a witness of crime, we cannot protect you. Without protection, people will refuse to become witnesses, that's how easy getting away with crime is. It's even worse for foreign nationals (LC 1).

Institutions are meant to provide safety and protection for residents of communities. The normalisation of criminal tendencies affects social cohesion, to the point where resolving conflict begins to seem unattainable. Bradshaw (2009) indicated the key propositions for resolving conflicts, which include distributive justice and the continual adjustment of social institutions to meet the needs of individuals and groups. The failure of the police to provide 'prevention' processes has consequences for social cohesion, making it all appear impossible. In section 7(2), the South African Constitution states that the Bill of Rights must be respected, protected, promoted and fulfilled, and in section 8(1) states that it 'applies to all law, and binds the legislature, the executive, the judiciary and all organs of the state' (Human Rights Watch, 2020).

In the absence of police protection, gangs have started protection rackets (Goga & Goredema, 2014). This has resulted in the dominance of informal social controls, and the state appears to be no longer the primary actor in township power dynamics. Vigilante social capital is witnessed in township areas through organised crime groups which often attack vulnerable groups such as African immigrants in the absence adequate local institutional services (Wheer, 2016).

Another factor that has hampered the success of social cohesion is the issue of government officials denying incidents of xenophobia, branding them merely as criminal activities. In some cases, government officials actually instigate violence and hinder the adequate functioning of organs of the state. For instance, an incident occurred during a Freedom Day address in 2015 when the former president, Mr. Jacob Zuma, referred to Emmanuel Sithole, a Mozambican national murdered by locals, as ‘an illegal migrant who was not supposed to be here in the first place’ (Zuma, 2015). During interviews, one of the committee members stated, ‘It’s obvious that most of them are illegal and are not supposed to be here’ (CM3). Thus, one sees how statements made by people in authority are echoed by ordinary citizens. When asked if he had had encounters with undocumented African immigrants, he mentioned that the authorities say that all the time. He felt that this was why the police cannot help them.

Also, racial profiling and perpetuating stereotypes triggers attacks on foreign nations. An African migrant shop owner mentioned that when he reported incidents of looting to the police and asked if there were any chance of being compensated, the police officers laughed and said ‘You foreign nationals are criminals, yet you want to be compensated as well!’ He felt offended and stigmatised (AM4).

4.4.2 Perspectives on intergovernmental systems

Intergovernmental systems of South Africa comprise interactions among the three spheres of government—national, provincial and local. The spheres operate distinctly, yet are interdependent and interrelated in the performance of their respective duties. The governance system is thus an interacting network of these institutions, created and refined to enable communication, coordination of actions and consensus on norms and proposed strategic plans for tackling social ills in communities. The intergovernmental system was introduced in 1996 through legislative processes after the inception of the new democratic dispensation (Layman, 2003). The idea was to ensure that the three spheres of government form a cooperative governance system and work together in strategic planning processes which address societal challenges, and deliver comprehensive services, as stated in Section 41(1) of the Constitution of South Africa.

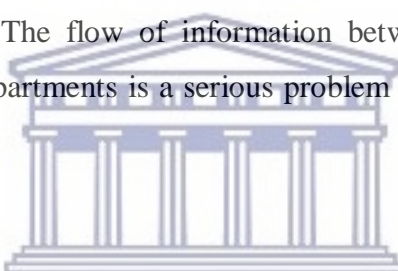
To interrogate the role of government institutions in undermining or promoting social cohesion, the researcher found it necessary to examine intergovernmental relations (IGR). Social cohesion can be successfully created when there is a fruitful intersection of the three spheres of government. Social policy decisions are discussed at the national level and enforced at the local

level; hence all spheres should be in consensus with the operationalisation of all programmes and issues that flow out of policy planning. The researcher asked key informants (community development workers – CDWs – and civic organisations) who work with these institutions to give their perspectives on the role and capability of intergovernmental relations (i.e., cooperative governance) in resolving conflicts and building social cohesion in the Philippi community.

The participants displayed an understanding of how the intergovernmental system functions. The major concern mentioned by participants was a lack of clear and specified roles in the various institutions. This leads to poor services, delays in programmes and processes, and inability to provide what is required (CDW1).

In the case of migration-related social challenges, there are seldom adequate mechanisms provided by the nine institutions to address the plight of citizens at the local level, and it is unclear whether Intergovernmental Relations Committee(s) of Ministers and Members of Provincial Councils (MINMECs) regularly make full reports to the executives or cabinet. Chapter nine institutions refer to a group of organisations established in terms of chapter 9 of the South African Constitution to guard democracy. The flow of information between local and provincial and between provincial and national departments is a serious problem raised by both the CDW and a member of the civic organisation.

One participant stated:



As you know, there are protocols and channels of information to be followed. Sometimes it's hard to hold government accountable because sometimes when we invite ministers from provincial department to present our memorandum, they will indicate they were not aware of ineffectiveness of programmes of civic engagement facilitated by the local government (CO 2).

The CDW added that another challenge they face in trying to foster social cohesion is that when they are invited to discussion forums to tackle social challenges, the provincial government imposes information and ideas on them without giving them the chance to present evidence-based data which they have accumulated during their engagement with concerned parties and groups. This results in government formulating solutions which have no positive impact on the complex problems faced by the local community. Lack of real cooperation between spheres of government thus impacts negatively on social cohesion. This concurs with what Fanning

(2011) suggested– that immigration does not undermine social cohesion, as determinants of poor social cohesion invariably precede immigration challenges.

According to the Human Rights Watch (2020), for the National Action Plan to work, there is a need for effective implementation of policies and proper coordination between the three spheres of government. The complexity of dealing with social issues is more than dividing the work between the levels and assigning issues to respective spheres. The majority of issues have national, provincial and local implications (Farazmand, 2019). Hence programmes such as promoting integration and managing migrants, refugees and asylum seekers demand attention from all spheres of government.

4.4.3 Barriers to basic services

This study established that many African immigrants face challenges in accessing basic services in government departments. The barriers are a result of multiple challenges which include institutional structures, xenophobic sentiments among governmental officials and indifferent treatment by institutions. These barriers go against the principles of social cohesion which require commitment to core values such as tolerance, fairness, recognition and elimination of xenophobic attitudes.

Participants mention barriers in accessing good services at local clinics. Bureaucratic xenophobia in government institutions is evident in the ill treatment of foreign nationals at hospitals by health workers. During a follow-up interview conducted by the researcher in 2022 via WhatsApp, a participant mentioned that during the corona virus pandemic, he nearly died at the hospital, as local citizens were treated first without any consideration of the degree of sickness.

Another local citizen participant mentioned how the police treat cases of African immigrants differently.

There was an incident where three foreign nationals were shot. The police took statements and never investigated the matter. But when a similar incident happened to a South African who was shot, the police investigated the matter. Even though there were no arrests made, but they came back and forth into the community trying to solve the murder (LC 2).

The study established that the language barrier forms another stumbling block that prevents the integration of newcomers into the community, preventing them from expressing their

grievances and problems when visiting government institutions like SAPS, schools and clinics. There is an absence of government projects that might empower immigrants with the local language. Moreover, because of the language barrier, immigrants find it hard to communicate with community leaders and government officials. The officials are not aware of the differences in nationality among African immigrants, and treat them as all one group.

From the words of a street committee member, the local community appeared to have the same attitude and a degree of ignorance about the immigrants who lived among them.

I do not even know the difference between these people, and most of the community leaders and CDWs can also relate. At one point we suggested that foreign nationals should form their own funeral policy like what we do. We were surprised to hear that most of them were from different countries so it was not practical for them to form a policy together (SC3).

This observation indicates that barriers to basic services have to do with not understanding the circumstances of asylum seekers and refugees. This contributes to a lack of cohesion. The fact that the government does not have effective programmes to address these challenges worsens the relations between the two groups, widening the gap that exists between them.

4.4.4 Civic organizations (Africa Unite and the Scalabrini Centre)

A participant mentioned that civic organisations only operate when social ills manifest at the level of a crisis. Thus, civil society organisations are visible mostly when xenophobic attacks are intense and a high number of foreign nationals are affected. Africa Unite runs programmes which promote social cohesion and integration. They also run exchange programmes, whereby South African students are granted scholarships to visit other African countries to learn their culture and interact with other Africans. Orientation programmes are scheduled three times a year by the organisation. The researcher attended the immigration orientation programme presented on 30 November 2020, which included stakeholders from the Department of Home Affairs, the police department, the City of Cape Town, religious groups and South African youth. During discussions, most immigrant participants mentioned how the organisation keeps inviting the same group of immigrants and refugees.

One participant said:

Africa Unite should look for an effective method to recruit potential participants and engage with them. The reason why the organisation's efforts are failing to

impact on relations between locals and foreign nationals is that they keep empowering those who are already empowered. The organisation needs to operate in the communities and work with street committees who can help to identify newcomers and locals to engage with (Africa Unite discussion forum, 2020).

Another participant concurred with the sentiment. The participant indicated that civic organisations operate with minimum coverage.

We have tried to form Stokvel and funeral plans to create more bonds and social capital. Waiting for civic organisations to assist will not help us. It is up to us to stand together. However, issues of trust and lack of supportive institutions is still a stumbling block towards our efforts (SC 3).

4.5 Social capital

Social capital is crucial for social cohesion. Despite the negative encounters with organs of state and among themselves, participants identified some elements of social capital that partly balanced the negativity and mended the fractured social fabric created by the ineffectiveness of government institutions. Evidence of social capital was detected in participants' views on what helped them survive in the face of inequalities and injustices.

The acknowledgement that some measure of social capital exists does not negate the many oppressive conditions that mitigate against building relationships in this community. It is merely an indication that government would have something to build on if it were to offer effective programmes, which could be expanded and deepened. The concept of social capital is episodic, socially constructed and value based, and depends on the prevailing ideological climate (Cheong et al, 2007). According to Bourdieu (1986), social distinctions and the class structure in society mitigate against the development of social capital. This reality is evident in the uneven and harsh reception experienced by immigrants.

An immigrant participant stated:

Sometimes I feel safe because of Aunt Tee (a CDW in the area). My phone was stolen last year by two young guys who came and demanded that I give them my phone at my house. I went to Aunt Tee and reported the case. She managed to recover my phone and warned them not to repeat the same mistake. Since then I have not encountered the same ordeal.

The CDW who helped the migrant indicated that she had been working in Heinz Park for about 15 years and took it upon herself to help immigrants whenever possible. She said that the CDWs work hand in hand with street committees and other community members. Criminals in the area are aware of these community builders and respect them, and acknowledge in their presence that they are not supposed to attack members of their community, no matter what their nationality (CDW2). The participant added that during the wave of xenophobic attacks in 2008 and 2015, foreign nationals were protected by street committee members.

I agree that there are a lot of incidents where foreign nationals are attacked, but the CDWs and committee members try to protect them at all times. Even during the xenophobia attacks of 2008 and 2015, our community members here in Heinz Park were not greatly affected, because no shops were looted in this area. However, the only challenge is that there is need for adequate government support through intervention programmes which promote skills sharing between foreign nationals and locals, and civic education. Our people need to be taught hand crafting skills and share their skills with migrants, so that they will not be frustrated due to unemployment and poverty (CDW2).

Social capital can appear in two forms: bonding and bridging social capital. Bridging social capital entails the formation of voluntary associations and horizontal ties based on common interests that transcend heterogeneous differences of ethnicity, religious and socio-economic status (Putman, 1993). Bonding social capital is within a group (Putman, 2000) emphasis that bridging capital is most crucial as it allows getting ahead; yet bonding is just good for getting by. Participants mentioned the existence of this type of social capital in every aspect of the relationship between groups and between themselves and informal organisations. Because of social capital ties, some citizens assist foreign migrants to circumvent structural challenges which prevent them from enjoying the same privileges as South African citizens. Economic migrants face challenges in opening bank accounts when using a visitor's visa. One African immigrant mentioned how his friend, who is a South African, helped him open a bank account in his name in order to access his money after his permit had expired and his bank terminated his contract.

Not every South African is a criminal or a bad person. Some of them are good people. I have stayed in this neighbourhood for five years. My first permit expired. I came back using a visitor's visa, whilst waiting for my permit renewal. I was lucky my working

contract was not terminated and my South African friend opened an account for me, which allowed me to receive my salary (AM 4).

Informal organisations in the community are another aspect of the dense social network used by the two groups. This node in the social network works as an asset and a resource which is used to acquire community cohesion. The researcher observed that religious institutions, too, promote interaction and thus act as a form of social capital. Also, groups such as informal savings clubs, known as stokvels, involve both citizens and foreign nationals and go a long way toward fostering trust and creating solidarity between the two groups. Members of these institutions regard each other as equals without basing their relations and interactions on ethnicity and nationality.

4.6 Conclusion

The maintenance of quality societal relations is one of the major elements of social cohesion that keeps a community integrated and, consequently, more resilient to threats such as crime and xenophobia. When relationships are not conducive and adequate, a community fails to function well and social unrest and lack of social order become the norm. Based on the lived experiences of local citizens and African immigrants, it is evident that some aspects of solidarity and social capital are operational in the diverse community of Philippi. At the same time, there is evidence of preference among community members for their own ethnic group and a degree of suspicion of those perceived not to belong to this group. Social cohesion in the researched community thus appears fragile. This is largely because of the absence of effective government initiatives which could promote integration and address the social ills brought about by suspicion of 'the other'. Social cohesion tends to deteriorate easily, especially when prejudice flares up into violence, or when crimes are perceived to be committed by one group against another. The simmering tensions that do exist ought to be a draw card to government institutions, which could do a lot more to address grievances.

The research revealed four main themes that affect social cohesion in the community of Philippi: lack of consensus on shared values, lack of confidence in institutions, lack of integration and behaviour tolerance, and weak social capital. All of these areas can be addressed by effective leadership at the local, provincial and national level. The perspectives of local citizens, African immigrants, CDWs and street committees influenced the findings of the research.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter concludes the study by summarising the findings of the research. The researcher found that the majority of participants, across all categories, understood what social cohesion entails; they understood it to be a multifaceted concept that is fragile and needs work to maintain. The study aimed at understanding what undermines relationships between locals and African immigrants, as witnessed by sporadic violence and ongoing prejudice.

The chapter summarises the findings, indicates how the study contributes to the disciplines of social science and public administration, and makes recommendations to local government and civic organisations.



5.2 Overall findings

This study aimed at understanding what undermines relationships between African immigrants and local citizens and the quality of social cohesion, if any, which prevails in the community of Philippi, acting as an antidote to challenges perceived to be a result of diversity. The results indicate that immigration has resulted in a clear social transformation in this township, and in some ways has threatened, in other ways contributed to, social capital in the community. There were clear indications of ethnic tensions which can be overcome if social cohesion is actively promoted. From the goodwill expressed by many participants, it became apparent that diversity does not impact the community as negatively as other factors such as poverty, crime and lack of trust in government institutions. When xenophobic attacks do occur, they appear to be a result of already-existing levels of frustration among local citizens, arising from poverty and unemployment.

The frustration is driven by poor living conditions exacerbated by lack of adequate income and lack of bureaucratic immigration management. According to Schiefer (2016), when people lack basic needs and endure hardships, relationships between and within communities suffer. Basic

necessities are foundations and indicators of social progress and contribute to a strong social fabric. Hence, there is a need to foster social networks via social services. Informal social networks and community level structures in the area has played a major role in lessening the impact of violence against African immigrants. Members of stokvel groups and community leaders have taken it upon themselves to protect members of their community during xenophobic attacks. This level of social capital is described by Putman (2007) as part of social network which manifest from bridging social capital.

The contributions of many participants indicated that some local citizens do not have a problem with African immigrants residing in their area. Some consider them an integral part of the community, since they share the same race, have a shared history of colonial oppression and live in the same conditions of struggling to make ends meet. These areas of commonality contribute to social cohesion, and forge emotional bonds and common values among the two groups. Cohesion requires shared norms and values, and many in this community clearly share common values and social norms. The various groups are eager to achieve the same goals, i.e., to combat crime, eradicate household poverty and built a pleasant community environment. However, limited resources and day-to-day hardships trigger conflicts. Also, all groups experience challenges owing to lack of government initiatives to capacitate them with adequate resources to achieve their goals. For instance, there is an absence of civic education and platforms for sharing skills between the groups.

Most African immigrants have common household routines, in which they practise both new and previously acquired skills upon arrival in their host country. Many locals emulate and benefit from observing the survival skills that immigrants' practise on a daily basis– and vice versa. Income-generating skills are the major concern. Most African immigrants are self- employed and possess either craft skills or proficiency in entrepreneurship which tends to elevate their living conditions above those of many local citizens. Locals observe these better living conditions and commit xenophobic attacks because they feel foreigners are somehow reaping benefits that ought to accrue to them, the locals. Thus, it is not immigration per se that undermines social cohesion, but the perception of exclusion and deprivation among locals, who feel they ought to benefit from skills brought into the country by immigrants. Social cohesion entails inclusion and the development of social capital through the sharing of skills.

Furthermore, despite the sporadic xenophobic violence committed against undocumented immigrants, social cohesion exists among the two groups on an individual basis. Specifically,

it is apparent among those who live close together or belong to the same informal cluster, such as stokvels or churches. According to Putman (2007), social capital and good relationships are developed in ethnically and culturally diverse communities as people become more trusting of their neighbours, owing to daily contact. In this study, citizens went as far as assisting foreign migrants to circumvent structural challenges that exclude them from integrating and accessing basic social services. For instance, a number of African immigrants mentioned using their neighbours' details to access salaries and purchase mobile phones.

An absence of effective policies which would ensure participation in decisions pertaining to immigration laws is a major stumbling block to social cohesion. There is a clear disconnection between citizens and government in this regard. Local citizens posited that the basic complementary themes which are considered to be pro-immigration are:

- a) Enforcement of immigration laws which put South African citizens first;
- b) Equity labour laws which minimise exploitation of labour migrants;
- c) Enforcement of laws which minimise illegal immigration.

The above conditions mean that South Africans have a measure of protection against the large flow of illegal immigrants. Immigration tends to bring adverse social conditions instead of achieving sustainable development mostly because of a failure by government institutions to prevent illegal immigrants from entering the country. Lack of consensus on national shared values and an absence of initiatives to prevent illegal immigrants from entering the country are contributory factors to lack of social cohesion between local citizens and African immigrants.

5.3 Research contribution

Social cohesion is a broad and multifaceted concept that has attracted continuous debate and a vast body of literature. Much of it is critical of the lack of consensus regarding the definition (Schiefer, 2017). The current study has not dwelt on the definition, but concurs with the idea that social cohesion can be redefined in alignment with the individual dimensions of social cohesion, which the research has examined. The research examined a range of social cohesion components which are empirically associated with one another. For example, strong social relationships are viewed as an important component of social cohesion, as is confidence in institutions. The quality of social relationships in a culturally diverse community is largely determined by whether or not the local citizens are satisfied with service delivery by the institutions mandated

to provide the basic resources for quality of life, such as healthcare, education, police services, water, etc. Where these are deemed inadequate, social relationships are affected, which negatively affects social cohesion. In this study, institutional involvement in the challenges of the community was seen as minimal. Thus, to understand social cohesion, one needs to understand the interrelated components of social cohesion and apply them. Perceptions of social cohesion differ and the interrelatedness of the components depends on the society and group under review.

Furthermore, there are gaps in existing research on immigration and social cohesion. The current research suggests that social cohesion has two interpretations; it may be seen as both an antecedent (cohesion that existed before the arrival of immigrants in communities) and a consequence, or outcome (cohesion that is enacted and invested on) (Bradshaw, 2009; Chonget al, 2007; Schiefer, 2017). Schiefer (2017) pointed out that how the concept is constructed determines the way it is used. Hence, the definition and constitutive elements of social cohesion might depend on the category one focuses on. To understand the concept entails integrating selected components with their respective indicators in a meaningful way.

This current research contributes to the body of literature on the topic of both immigration and social cohesion. The research addressed the narrative on immigration expressed in the White Paper on International Migration for South Africa of 2017, which postulated that immigration erodes social cohesion. The aim of the research was to investigate the challenges affecting social cohesion, using the perspectives of local citizens, CDWs, street committees, African immigrants and NGOs. Hence the main objective was to understand what undermines relations between African immigrants and local citizens, and the impact of social cohesion as a holistic antidote to the challenges perceived to be due to diversity.

The findings suggest that immigration partly threatens nationalism. However, the problem of deteriorating social cohesion precedes immigration-driven challenges. Lack of social cohesion, as evident in xenophobic attacks, are a result of poor immigrant management and the absence of adequate government involvement in addressing the struggles of locals. This study concurs with the findings of other research that immigration per se does not erode social cohesion. It is the lack of proper management that does. Also, the study concurs with the literature in finding that that nationalism and xenophobia are not dependent on each other. It is possible for a community to be strongly aware of its own identity and yet to accommodate foreign nationals in its midst. Social cohesion in this context would entail the formation of new types of interaction which requires

new types of governance and participation in order to cultivate consensus on a national pro-immigration narrative.

5.4 Recommendations to the ministry of Local Government

With regard to the government's response to immigration governance processes the national government has focused more on displacement without providing proactive steps to deal with collective violence against African immigrants and xenophobia. The study found that the local government is the closest institution to the people and its response boost confidence in government and tolerance of immigrants. Hence, it is essential for municipal government to generate remedies which influence cohesion and social capital, this might minimise vigilante groups and strengthen cohesion.

International labour migration is on the rise, with human mobility having increased exponentially in Southern Africa, especially in South Africa. This has arisen partly as a result of the recognition of the African Continental Free Trade Area (AFCFTA), which promotes the free trade and human mobility envisaged by the African Union Agenda 2030. South Africa is regarded as a 'greener pasture' by neighbouring countries beset by economic hardship; hence the influx of economic labour immigrants. There is a need for clear and integrated legislative frameworks which align with social policies. For instance, the national crime combating strategy should acknowledge and be integrated with the recommendations of the White Paper on Safety and Security. Challenges relating to crime, safety and security should be addressed as they arise. Crime manifests in several forms, including both organised crime and crime against minority groups such as immigrants. There is a need for individual strategies for each kind of crime, so that they are addressed individually, rather than the current grouping together of all kinds of crime. The Medium-Term Strategic Framework (MTSF) of 2019-2024 has social cohesion and safe communities as its sixth priority, in recognition that a lack of social order negatively affects socio-economic development (SAPS, 2018). The Governance Public Safety and Justice Survey (GPSJS), also indicates that public order needs to be maintained.

Furthermore, there is a need to draft clearly how respective local government will enforce community awareness campaigns and deal with immigration-aligned challenges. All undertakings initiated at local and provincial level should align with national social policies. The Immigration Act 13 of 2002 states that communities need to be informed upon arrival of immigrants in communities and educated on the national agenda on immigration. However,

this policy is not effectively implemented, as there is no community centred integration programmes and no clarity on which government institutions are responsible for running community awareness campaigns to execute the policy. The evidence from the current research indicates that lack of bureaucratic migrant management and lack of programmes to promote interaction between the two groups is contributing to the deterioration of social cohesion in the community of Philippi in the Western Cape.

The manner in which immigration related challenges are handled indicates that the strategies which are being designed by the national government to be enforced by the local government are not formulated based on the needs of the society. The participants displayed lack of knowledge on issues of immigration and mentioned absence of civic education as the major cause of intolerance. The local government needs to put in place systematic civic education strategies that helps build a common national identity to defuse the potency of group related conflicts.

5.5 Recommendations to civil society organisations

Participants raised concern on the lack of effective operation by civil society in the communities. Civil society organisations are visible mostly when xenophobic attacks are intense and a high number of foreign nationals are affected. Most organisations do not continue awareness operations in the townships when there is no intensive collective violence or incidents targeting African migrants. Even though organisations like Africa Unite runs programmes which promote social cohesion and integration. And also run exchange programmes, whereby South African students are granted scholarships to visit other African countries to learn their culture and interact with other Africans. There is a need for civic organisation to engage with local government on formulating mechanisms which initiate social networks and interactions on community level.

Furthermore, civil society needs to consult with the community on the type of programs they can provide which benefits the community. Some of the programs implemented by the civic organisations are not aligned with the demands of the society, resulting in initiating programs which are not effective and adequate in reducing conflicts and promoting social interactions between the two groups.

5.6 Conclusion

Politics of immigration governance and management appears to be complex, yet it needs effective strategies to achieve sustainable development and quality human life. The study proposed a set of questions to unravel social cohesion concept as a policy goal to achieve pro-immigration. The study has answered the proposed research questions and objectives clearly. The findings indicate that weak cohesion manifest due to the absence of effective institutional involvement, lack of confidence in institutions, mechanisms to eliminate conflicts and absence of social networks to capacitate and influence positive social interactions.

The research makes it clear that human migration is now the permanent order of affairs and that South Africa will not be able to sidestep this prominent feature of modern life. For this reason, it needs a strategic plan for dealing with it that is nationally, provincially and locally coherent, with each level of state playing its part. The fact that the transformation and social change brought about by human mobility is here to stay demands new types of interaction which requires a new type of governance and new forms of participation. The government of South Africa is confronted by a host of unresolved problems of which immigration is only one. Without adequate institutional coordinated action and resources, immigration will continue to negatively affect social cohesion throughout the country.

The government needs to pay urgent attention to high levels of poverty and the regular eruption of anti-immigration protests, and begin to implement effective conflict resolution mechanisms, among other things. There is a need for the government to specify clearly how it sees social cohesion and what it intends to do to promote it. In this respect it could well learn from other countries whose immigration programmes have been deemed relatively successful, such as Australia. The South African government ought to formulate separate strategies to deal with immigration-related issues and address the needs of both immigrants and locals in order to achieve adequate socio-economic development which benefits the nation. In that way, they might achieve consensus with citizens on what constitutes a positive immigration narrative. The research has revealed areas that government needs to address by raising the perspectives of the stakeholders.

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ANNEXURES



Annexure 1

FACULTY OF ECONOMIC AND MANAGEMENT SCIENCES

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

RESEARCH TITLE: Immigration and social cohesion: Examining lived experiences and relations between locals and immigrants in Philippi, South Africa (2008-2017).

Participation information sheet for Africa Unite

Dear Director

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted by **Rutendo Mutukwa**. It is in partial completion of the researcher's thesis towards the Masters in Public Administration Degree at the School of Government, at the University of the Western Cape.

Before you decide to participate, it is important for you to understand the purpose of the research and what it would entail. Please take time to read the following information, if you are unclear of anything, I would be happy to answer any questions you may have.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The research aims at discovering the nuance in behaviour, attitudes and relations of immigrants and local citizens in this town ship. This is essential to promote peace and security in South Africa through uniting African Immigrants and locals. Also, to provide the perspective of civic organisations on issues of immigration and social cohesion based on their experiences in conducting programs like immigrants orientation, integration and cohesion. This research will be partly to make contributions to the social policy planning platform through data provision which can be applied in conflict resolutions. The research is purely for academic purposes only.

DESCRIPTION OF STUDY AND YOUR INVOLVEMENT

We are inviting you to participate in this research project because you meet the set criterion for the population of interest and your organisation's aims and objectives addresses the questions of the

proposed topic. You are kindly requested to provide a professional view on issues of interaction between nationalities. Your understanding of the tension and interaction in your area of expertise is appreciated.

The study is a case study of Philippi and your organisation operates in Gugulethu hence essential to my proposed population since Gugulethu is a neighbour to Philippi. The discussion will last approximately 45 minutes and will be conducted at your offices in town.

CONFIDENTIALITY & ANONYMITY

Please be advised that the results of the study will neither divulge the organization's particulars nor the individual particulars, as to maintain confidentiality at all times. Any information that can connect the responses to an individual or organization will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission. The researcher shall keep all records and tapes of your participation, including a signed consent form, which is required from you, should you agree to participate in this research study, locked away at all times.

All the data will be kept in encrypted format and can only be accessed by the researcher and supervisor. Data collection sheets and audio tapes will be kept safely in a lockable filing cabinet accessed only by the researcher. All raw data including written documents and tapes will be stored in the University data archive. Any information provided by the participant will be treated with confidentiality and your identity will be protected.

RISKS OF THE RESEARCH?

No risks involved.

BENEFITS OF THE RESEARCH

The Benefits of this research are outlined as follows:

- Identification of possible solutions to the immigration phenomenon and the importance of citizen engagement in all government policies by alluding the perspectives of the citizens concerning immigration issues.
- Contribution to the knowledge of perspectives of the locals and the African immigrants.
- Provide knowledge on the importance of the implementation of the social cohesion project.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary, which means that you are free to decline from participation. It is your decision whether or not to take part. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind - and without giving a reason. You may





also choose not to answer particular questions that are asked in the study. If there is anything that you would prefer not to discuss, please feel free to say so.

PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

There are no costs to the participant for partaking in the study or payment for participating in the interview.

INFORMED CONSENT

Your signed consent to participate in this research study is required before I proceed with the interview. I have included the consent form with this information sheet so that you will be able to review the consent form and then decide whether you would like to participate in this study or not.

QUESTIONS

Should you have further questions or wish to know more, please contact:

Student Name	: Rutendo Mutukwa
Student Number	: 3868243
Mobile Number	: +27749793173
Work Number	: +27798228377
Email	: 3868243@myuwc.ac.za
I am accountable to my supervisor	: Dr Meron Okbandrias
Department	: School of Government
Telephone	: +27 219593827
Email	: mokbandrias@uwc.ac.za

The details of the Research and Ethics Committee are:

HSSREC

Research Development

UWC

Tel: 021 959 2988;

Email: research-ethics@uwc.ac.za

Annexure 2

FACULTY OF ECONOMIC AND MANAGEMENT SCIENCES

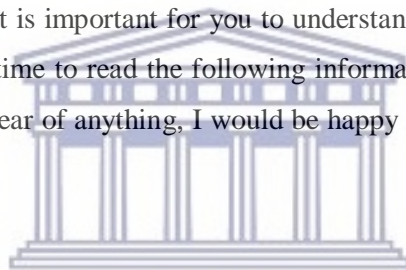
RESEARCH TITLE: Immigration and social cohesion: Examining lived experiences and relations between locals and immigrants in Philippi, South Africa (2008-2017).

Participation information sheet for street committee members

Dear Participant

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted by **Rutendo Mutukwa**. It is in partial completion of the researcher's thesis towards the Masters in Public Administration Degree at the School of Government, at the University of the Western Cape.

Before you decide to participate, it is important for you to understand the purpose of the research and what it would entail. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. If you are unclear of anything, I would be happy to answer any questions you may have.



PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The research aims at discovering the nuance in behaviour, attitudes and relations of immigrants and local citizens in this town ship. This is essential to promote peace and security in South Africa. Also, to provide the perspective of civic organisations on issues of immigration and social cohesion based on their experiences in conducting programs of integration and cohesion. This research will be partly to make contributions to the social policy planning platform through data provision which can be applied in conflict resolutions. The research is purely for academic purposes only.

DESCRIPTION OF STUDY AND YOUR INVOLVEMENT

We are inviting you to participate in this research project because you meet the set criterion for the population of interest and your organisation's objectives address the questions of the proposed topic. You are expected to provide a professional view on issues of interaction between nationalities. Your understanding of the tension and interaction in your area is appreciated.



CONFIDENTIALITY & ANONYMITY

Please be advised that the results of the study will neither divulge the member's particulars nor the individual particulars, as to maintain confidentiality at all times. Any information that can connect the responses to an individual or organization will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission. The researcher shall keep all records and tapes of your participation, including a signed consent form, which is required from you, should you agree to participate in this research study, locked away at all times.

All the data will be kept in encrypted format and can only be accessed by the researcher and supervisor. Data collection sheets and audio tapes will be kept safely in a lockable filing cabinet accessed only by the researcher. All raw data including written documents and tapes will be stored in the University data archive. Any information provided by the participant will be treated with confidentiality and your identity will be protected.

RISKS OF THE RESEARCH?

No risks involved.

BENEFITS OF THE RESEARCH

The Benefits of this research are outlined as follows:

- Identification of possible solutions to the immigration phenomenon and the importance of citizen engagement in all government policies by alluding the perspectives of the citizens concerning immigration issues.
- Contribution to the knowledge of perspectives of the locals and the African immigrants.
- Provide knowledge on the importance of the implementation of the social cohesion project.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary, which means that you are free to decline from participation. It is your decision whether or not to take part. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind - and without giving a reason. You may also choose not to answer particular questions that are asked in the study. If there is anything that you would prefer not to discuss, please feel free to say so.



PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

There are no costs to the participant for partaking in the study or payment for participating in the interview.

INFORMED CONSENT

Your signed consent to participate in this research study is required before I proceed with the interview. I have included the consent form with this information sheet so that you will be able to review the consent form and then decide whether you would like to participate in this study or not.

QUESTIONS

Should you have further questions or wish to know more, please contact:

Student Name	: Rutendo Mutukwa
Student Number	3868243
Mobile Number	: +27749793173
Work Number	: +27798228377
Email	: 3868243@myuwc.ac.za
I am accountable to my supervisor	: Dr Meron Okbandrias
Department	: School of Government
Telephone	: +27 219593827
Email	: mokbandrias@uwc.ac.za

The details of the Research and Ethics Committee are:

HSSREC

Research Development

UWC

Tel: 021 959 2988;

Email: research-ethics@uwc.ac.za



FACULTY OF ECONOMIC AND MANAGEMENT SCIENCES

CONSENT FORM FOR KEY INFORMANTS (CSOs & CDWs)

Name of researcher: Rutendo Mutukwa

Title of research project: Immigration and social cohesion: Examining lived experiences and relations between locals and immigrants in Philippi, South Africa (2008-2017).

By filling out this questionnaire / answering the questions put to me:

- I agree to participate in this research project.
- I have read this consent form and the information it contains and had the opportunity to ask questions about them.
- I agree to my responses being used for education and research on condition my privacy is respected, subject to the following: - (*tick as appropriate*)

	Yes	No
My name may be used in the published research		
My personal details (e.g. age, occupation, position) may be included in the published research		
My responses can only be used in a way that I cannot be personally identifiable		

- I understand that I am under no obligation to take part in this project.
- I understand I have the right to withdraw from this project at any stage.
- I understand that this research might be published in a research journal or book. In the case of dissertation research, the document will be available to readers in a university library in printed form, and possibly in electronic form as well.

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree to participate in this study.

Participant Name : _____

Participant Signature : _____

Date : 7/07/2019

Place : Philippi

The researcher must supply you with an **Information sheet** which provides his / her contact details, outlines the nature of the research and how the information will be used and explains what your participation in the research involves (e.g. how long it will take, participants' roles and rights (including the right to skip questions or withdraw without penalty at any time), any anticipated risks/benefits which may arise as a result of participating, any costs or payment involved (even if none, these should be stated))

Has this been provided?	Yes	No	
Have your received verbal confirmation/explanations where needed?	Yes	No	

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS (LOCALS & AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS).

FACULTY OF ECONOMIC AND MANAGEMENT SCIENCES

RESEARCH TITLE: Immigration and social cohesion: Examining lived experiences and relations between locals and immigrants in Philippi, South Africa (2008-2017).

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by Rutendo Mutukwa towards the Masters in Public Administration Programme at the School of Government (SOG) at the University of the Western Cape.

This study has been described to me in a language that I understand and I freely and voluntarily agree to participate. My questions about the study have been answered.

I understand that my identity will not be disclosed and was informed that I may withdraw my consent at any time by advising the student researcher. I have also given consent for the interview to be recorded if need be.

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree to participate in this study.

Participant Name : _____

Participant Signature : _____

Date : _____

Place : Philippi, Cape Town

Student Researcher : Rutendo Mutukwa

Student Researcher Signature : _____

Student Number : 3868243

Mobile Number : +27 7449793173

Email : 3868243@myuwc.ac.za

I am accountable to my supervisor : Dr Meron Okbandrias

School of Government (SOG)

Telephone : +27 219593827

Fax : +27 219593849

Email : mokbandrias@uwc.ac.za

FACULTY OF ECONOMIC AND MANAGEMENT SCIENCES

CONSENT FORM FOR Street committee members

RESEARCH TITLE: Immigration and social cohesion: Examining lived experiences and relations between locals and immigrants in Philippi, South Africa (2008-2017).

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by Mrs. Mutukwa towards the Masters in Public Administration Programme at the School of Government (SOG) at the University of the Western Cape.

This study has been described to me in a language that I understand and I freely and voluntarily agree to participate. My questions about the study have been answered.

I understand that my identity will not be disclosed and was informed that I may withdraw my consent at any time by advising the student researcher. I have also given consent for the interview to be recorded if need be.

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree to participate in this study.

Participant Name : _____

Participant Signature : _____

Date : _____

Place : _____

Student Researcher : Rutendo Mutukwa

Student Researcher Signature : _____

Student Number : 3868243

Mobile Number : +27 749793173

Email : 3868243@myuwc.ac.za

I am accountable to my supervisor : Dr Meron Okbandrias

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Telephone : +27 219593827

Fax : +27 219593849

Email : mokbandrias@uwc.ac.za



Dear Sir/Madam

Subject: Request for assistance in conducting research interviews

I kindly request for assistance from Thembeke Mqengqele on Wednesday 23 July 2019 during an interview session with the street committees, foreign nationals and residents in Heinz Park. The researcher is a student from university of Western Cape and she is not familiar with residence of Heinz Park. Hence Mrs. Mqengqele will assist in developing a rapport relationship between the participants and the researcher.

According to the department of social development it is required to use community development workers to organise and participate in chairing research interviews involving community participants. Due to this course Mrs Mqengqele is the key role player for the interviews to be a success.

The title of the research is: *Immigration and social cohesion: Examining lived experiences and relations between locals and immigrants in Philippi, South Africa (2008-2017)*. The research is in partial completion of the researcher's thesis towards the Masters in Public Administration Degree at the School of Government, at the University of the Western Cape. The research aims at discovering the nuance in behaviour, attitudes and relations of immigrants and local citizens in this town ship. This is essential to promote peace and security in South Africa as one small township can aggravate instability embedding violence in society. Also, to provide the perspective of the perpetrators of violence on how social cohesion can be promoted. This research will be partly to make contributions to the social policy planning platform through data provision which can be applied in conflict resolutions. The research is purely for academic purposes only. Please note that the results of the study will not divulge the individual, as to maintain confidentiality at all times. Any information that can connect the responses to an individual or organization will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission. The researcher shall keep all records and tapes of participation, including a signed consent form, which is required from participants, should they agree to participate in this research study.

All the data will be kept in encrypted format and can only be accessed by the researcher and supervisor. Data collection sheets and audio tapes will be kept safely in a lockable filing cabinet accessed only by the researcher. All raw data including written documents and tapes will be destroyed after three months of the final dissertation being marked and graded. Any information provided by the participant will be treated with confidentiality and identity will be protected. The research is purely academic and no payments is involved.

Should you have further questions or wish to know more, please contact:

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The details of the Research and Ethics Committee are:

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FACULTY OF ECONOMIC AND MANAGEMENT SCIENCES

Interview guide (SCOs and CDWs)

As indicated in my appointment communication, my name is **Rutendo N Mutukwa**, a student pursuing Master in Public Administration degree at the School of Government (SOG) of the University of the Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa. I am conducting a research on, “Immigration and social cohesion: examining lived experiences and relations between locals and immigrants in Philippi, South Africa (2008-2017)”. The purpose of the research is purely academic as it forms the requirements of my Masters by mini thesis. Thank you very much for granting me permission to interview you in our prior communication. You are at liberty to refuse to answer any question or withdraw from the study at any time you wish. I assure you that your identity is anonymous unless you want it mentioned in the study. All the information you provide will strictly be treated as confidential and will only be used for the purpose of the master thesis. Please feel free to ask any questions before, during and after the interview if you wish. You may reach me at +2774 979 3173 or via email at 3868243@myuwc.ac.za or rmutukwa08@gmail.com if you have questions later on relating to the study for clarification.

Introduction to Interview

Philippi Township in Western Cape has witnessed conflicts emerging between local citizens and African immigrants. This study examines the social relations between immigrants and locals to identify the elements that have both an adverse effect and a beneficial effect on social cohesion. The results will assist in formulating policy reforms capable of addressing both the grievances of local citizens and the needs of African immigrants. The researcher supports the application of social cohesion as a policy goal for promoting interaction between individuals, institutions and the community to achieve consensus, establish shared norms, combat xenophobia and address the effects of immigration at the local level.

These questions will be guidelines in terms of introducing themes in the discussion.

Social cohesion

1. what is your understanding of Social Cohesion
2. Describe some of the projects you are implementing to promote Social Cohesion
3. In your engagement with the community, what are some of the gaps and challenging you face in promoting social cohesion strategies?
4. In your own opinion, would you say social cohesion is the effective way of eradicating xenophobia and developing sustainable social capital?

Social relations

1. What are the living conditions in Philippi Township?
2. What type of conflicts have you come across between the locals and African immigrants
3. How do you think the conflict can be resolved?
4. Explain the efforts by the community, NGOs or government to address the conflict between locals and foreign migrants in your area?
5. Do you have community-based organisations? How effective are these organisations?

