DUT DURBAN UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY

The role of children in preventing recurrence of xenophobia in Umbilo, KwaZulu-Natal

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree Doctor of Philosophy: Public Management (Peacebuilding) in the Faculty of Management Sciences at Durban University of Technology

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November 2020

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Declaration

I, Ruth T Nyamadzawo, declare that:

i. The research reported in this dissertation/thesis, except where otherwise indicated, is my original research.

ii. This dissertation/thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.

iii. This thesis does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.

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Abstract

South Africa has witnessed a lot of conflict and violence in the post-independence era. The country has been characterised by direct, cultural, and structural violence. As a country that is economically powerful in the SADC region, it has attracted a lot of migrant nationals through its borders. A lot of violence has ensured as a result and this has been xenophobic in nature. Recurrence of the violence has continuously ensured with locals being aggrieved by the influx of foreigners.

Using an action research approach, the research focuses on creating friendships through peace training workshops of a mixed group of local and foreign participants between the ages of 12 and 15. The research found out that creating platforms for interaction has a positive transformative effect on creation of relationships and friendships. Platforms to listen to each other, share stories and carry out projects together allow for that to happen. Engagement using training workshops can create new understandings which can change attitudes and build friendships.

Acknowledgements

This research makes me to sing this portion of scripture Psalms 127 v 1 "Unless the Lord builds the house, those who build it labor in vain. Unless the Lord watches over the city, the watchman stays awake in vain." If it was not God, I would not have made it. I am particularly grateful to God who gave me the strength to pursue my Studies. I can safely say "I can do all things through Christ who strengths me" Philippians 4:13.

I am also grateful to my supervisor Professor Geoffrey Harris for his support, encouragement, and guidance throughout this journey. Thank you and may God bless you.

To Pastor Salijeni I want to say thank you dearest mum. You have been my biggest cheerleader from day one. You are my support system and you constantly believed in me. You are very special mum. Your support for my education from primary school to this stage saw me through the thick and thin of the struggle. I remember all the times you would remind me to push and do it even when I felt tired. I extend my appreciation and gratitude. May God bless you exceedingly.

To Apostle Michael my husband, thank you for your support and prayers. I am grateful for the teachings of faith that you have encouraged me with.

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my mother Pastor Salijeni.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AR: Action Research

CFCR: Conflict-Free Conflict Resolution'

CJCP: Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention

DRC: Democratic Republic of Congo

DUT: Durban University of Technology

GCRO: Gauteng City-Region Observatory

EPP: Education for Peace Program

FDR: Formative Dialogue Research

HEI: Higher Education Institutions

HSRC: Human Science Research Council

KZN: KwaZulu-Natal

NGO: Non-Governmental organization

NIPS: National Immigration Policy Survey

SABC: South African Broadcasting Corporation

SADC: Southern Africa Development Community

SAFA: South Africa Football Association

SAMP: Southern African Migration Project

UNICEF: United Nations Children's Fund

UNCRC: United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child

CHAPTER 1: Introduction, Research Objectives, and Overview

1.1 Introduction

This study is concerned with exploring the problem of recurring xenophobia in South Africa, reviewing the approaches that have been taken as a response to this phenomenon and proposing an alternative response of involving children in peacebuilding measures. This study highlights the importance of empowering children and helping them develop the capacity to become agents of change and raising them as peacebuilders in the communities in which they reside. In underlining the role of educating for peace in transforming human society, it is believed that peace workshops could contribute to preparing young generations for sustaining positive relationships with those considered as the other thus bringing peace in South Africa. The focus of this study is mainly on transforming attitudes (in relation to xenophobia) and does not necessarily focus on the action or effect of the attitude (xenophobic violence). Through the study, a training workshop was designed, implemented, and evaluated. The study has demonstrated that educating for peace with children is an imperative component of a successful prevention strategy for recurring xenophobic violence. This chapter contains the historical background to xenophobic violence, the research problem, study rationale, research objectives, research scope, and thesis structure.

1.2 Background to Research Topic

South Africa occupies the southern part of the African continent, stretching from the Limpopo River in the north to Cape Agulhas in the south. Covering an area of 1,219,090 km², the country shares borders with Namibia, Botswana, and Zimbabwe in the north, and with Swaziland and Mozambique in the north-east. It also surrounds the Kingdom of Lesotho. To the west, south, and east, South Africa borders the Atlantic and southern Indian oceans (Vigne and Thompson 2020: 2016).

This location makes South Africa a hot spot in terms of visitors, tourists, and migrants. South Africa is divided into nine new provinces including the Western Cape, Eastern Cape, Northern Cape, Free State, KwaZulu-Natal, North-West, Gauteng, Mpumalanga, and the Northern Province (Vigne and Thompson 2020). Refugees and migrants reside in most of these provinces. More so, the South African economy is well advanced in the African continent (Tati 2008: 2). As an emerging market in the global economy, South Africa is a leader and a competitive producer of raw commodity exports and value-added goods, such as motor vehicles.

As a result, South Africa has become a destination country for African immigrants, hosting approximately 14 million immigrants (Stats South Africa 2016) after gaining its independence in 1994. Many people have migrated to South Africa in search of a better life (Kapindu 2011: 94). Post-apartheid South Africa is a preferred destination for immigrants because of the attractiveness of its better economy in Africa. It is every human being who desires to improve their livelihood. To be able to do this, migration becomes the avenue to access different resources and better services (Chikowore and Willemse 2017: 87). People migrate to find work and higher earnings to improve their living conditions (Chikowore and Willemse 2017: 87). In addition, South Africa is rising as a country that enforces human rights as enshrined in their South African Constitution (Adjai and Lazaridis 2013: 193).

The general documented history of South Africa reveals a strong anti-immigrant sentiment. First, there is evidence of "the genesis, development and the dynamics of the anti-Jewish sentiment in South African political and social culture" (Kang'ethe and Duma 2013: 160). It has also been shown that the Indian immigrants who arrived in South Africa around 1860 also became targets of anti-immigrant prejudice (Kang'ethe and Duma 2013: 160). These examples highlight the fact that anti-immigrant prejudice in South Africa is not a new phenomenon, but that it has started from an earlier time. From its formation as the Union of South Africa in 1910, South Africa has been a deeply divided society. During this period, exclusion was established in its political and social fabric, entrenched by racism (Adjai and Lazaridis 2013: 193). At this time, legislation was created to deny the

black majority the ability to enjoy the same political and economic rights as the white South Africans (Adjai and Lazaridis 2013: 193). Through the legislation, South Africans were categorised into three racial groups, that is, white, black, or coloured and "they were forced to physically separate through the creation of different residential areas for different races" (Adjai and Lazaridis 2013: 193).

After independence, there was a transition to democracy in South Africa which ushered in the formal removal of racial discrimination that had been present in South Africa. This would allow for there to be access to political, social, and economic rights of which the masses had been deprived previously. However, this did not immediately eradicate the existing inequalities. Removal of legislation allowed for closer contact with all groups although this did not translate to greater racial integration (Adjai and Lazaridis 2013: 193). Some have thought that "the discrimination experienced by black South Africans because of their race should in theory make black South Africans in particular more sensitive and sympathetic to the plight of their fellow Africans" (Adjai and Lazaridis 2013: 193). However, this is not the case in South Africa. The issue of migration, migrants (asylum seekers, refugees, and permit holders) is highly controversial. Generally, as noted by (Serumaga-Zake 2017: 1-2):

> Immigration of talented people is viewed as a curse for developing countries for, at the national level, uncontrolled immigration tends to be repletion, governing problems, overcrowding, inequality, health problems (e.g., communicable diseases including HIV and Cholera), social problems and crime.

Reasons for this include scarce economic opportunities, political instability, a lack of natural resources, unfavourable socio-cultural settings, and poor socio-economic resources (Tati 2008: 2; Serumaga-Zake 2017: 2). South Africans believe that immigrants from neighbouring countries are swamping their country, taking their jobs, causing high crime rates, and taking their women. In a national survey conducted by the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP), approximately 48% of the population felt that migrants were a "criminal threat", 37% saw them as a threat to jobs and the economy, and 29% perceived migrants as a health threat. Most of the people in the survey exhibited

"simplistic, and largely unsubstantiated, association of foreignness with criminality, job-stealing and disease" (Crush and Peberdy 2003: 1). Hence, this has led to the outcry against foreigners, leading to them being attacked, harassed, and killed almost on a regular basis.

Migrants from Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Malawi, and Lesotho have been noted as comprising the highest number of immigrants (Kapindu 2011: 94). As the cost of living increases in South Africa and economic challenges arise, a new form of discrimination has erupted which is known as xenophobia (Sigsworth, Ngwane and Pino 2008: 7). As a result, by virtue of being foreigners, immigrants have become vulnerable to xenophobic attacks (Sigsworth, Ngwane and Pino 2008: 7). Many studies have paid attention to the migrant population with regards to xenophobia and hence this area has been over-researched (Sigsworth, Ngwane and Pino 2008: 8). However, most literature has focused on the competition for resources as the cause of xenophobic violence (Sigsworth, Ngwane and Pino 2008: 34). In South Africa, despite such research, one will find out that xenophobic violence is a recurring issue that has been occurring for over a decade.

1.3 Motivation for the Research

The history of the xenophobic recurrence in South Africa has been continuing and it seems to be on the increase. Underpinning this research is the belief that effective conflict transformation can be achieved through children playing a "crucial role in positively transforming conflict situations and in building the foundations of democratic and peaceful societies" (Del and Andria 2007: 3), thus this translates to their potential in the participation that needs to be utilised. This study highlights the necessity of empowering children and helping them develop the capacity to transform conflict as well as raising them to be agents of peace, through focusing on transforming attitudes in relation to xenophobia.

1.4 Research Problem and Aims

The South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) defines xenophobia as "the deep dislike of non-nationals by nationals of a recipient state" (Crush Project 2001:29). Thus, from the definition, it is an "attitudinal orientation of hostility" (Matunhu 2008: 97). Matunhu further states that xenophobia can take the latent form where it is engraved in the minds of the perpetrating nationals. In general, the researcher concurs with this as the explanation for the recurrence of xenophobia in South Africa. Ajzen (2005: 3) defines attitude as "a disposition to respond favorably and unfavorably to an object, person, institution or event". Attitude comes in three forms, namely, cognitive, affective, and conative, and it does not usually involve facts, but assumptions made about a certain group or object. Attitude and prejudice are barriers against the attainment of peace. Despite much literature being written on the issue of xenophobia in South Africa, it is still recurring. This means that all the recommendations that target the variety of economic reasons given as the main reasons for occurrence have not been successful in solving this violence. Civic organisations and government institutions have been called upon to help eradicate this disease but to no avail. News and campaigns have been put in place to conscientise people on xenophobia but still the violence recurs. Thus, that which is seen in the literature is the problem of an attitude of dislike and anti-foreign instinct which needs to be traded in for an attitude of peace.

1.5 Main Aim of the Research

The main aim of the research is to find ways in which children can help in preventing the recurrence of xenophobia by changing the mindset of violence, intolerance, and dislike of migrants to one of tolerance, humaneness, and peace through transforming attitudes on xenophobia.

1.6 Research Objectives

The research objectives of the study are as follows:

i. To review the literature on the nature, extent, causes, and consequences of recurring xenophobic attitudes in South Africa and investigate literature on the role of children as peacebuilders both globally and locally
ii. To explore the nature, extent, causes, and consequences of xenophobic violence in one community, as perceived by a sample of children, reflecting on how these factors have impacted their views and attitude towards others.
iii. Using participatory action research methods with the sample of children, to develop initiatives aimed at dealing with xenophobic attitudes and thereby behaviour
iv. To undertake a preliminary evaluation of the outcomes of these initiatives

1.7 Assumptions and Limitations

This study has made the assumption that participant engagement with the Action Research (AR) program is based on mutual respect, trust, and a willingness to contribute towards peace. However, in this case, the willingness had to first be approved by the parent and guardian.

An additional assumption is that the meaning embedded in participants' experiences will be evaluated through the researcher's own perceptions. This becomes a potential weakness and limitation; however, this has been mitigated by directly referring to the participants' actual engagement in the activities of the study.

A further limitation of the research is that the study is conducted over a certain time interval and will indeed be representative of conditions occurring only during that time. The time period necessary for a feasible participatory action research study to be conducted was taken into consideration when the program timetable was planned.

The study was carried out with a small group of participants and may not reflect the findings of the entire community of both foreign and local children. This thesis will not evaluate the long-term impact of the intervention because it is an academic research project for a doctoral study, bound by time limits. The scope of the study has been defined

by additional factors which include the population sample engaging in the research, the number of participants, and the geographic region covered. As a result, there is a limit to that which the findings can ascertain. The results of this study may therefore not be applicable to other geographic regions or populations and they can be treated as a case study that suggests transformative potential as the results of it cannot be generalised.

Lastly, the assumption that comes with this research involves the term *children* that is used. Despite the ages of the participants ranging between 12-15 years of age, it might be assumed that they are too young to participate in research. However, as reviewed in literature, it is suggested that "children under age 9 or 10 years have a limited ability to understand the purposes, risks, and potential benefits of research" (Field and Behrman 2004: 183) but those at the age of 14 or 15 differ slightly from adults on research comprehension. Thus, in this study, caution was taken regarding their level of understanding.

1.8 Overview of the Research Structure

The study is composed of different sections and contains ten chapters. The outline is given as follows.

Chapter 1 will briefly explain and outline the overall objectives and specific aims that will guide this research. It will note conflict transformation as the main theoretical framework of the study. Furthermore, the research design, research methodology, data collection methods, and data analysis approaches to be used will be defined in this chapter. Lastly, this chapter will present the limitations and delimitations of the study and the definition of the terminology used in the thesis.

Chapter 2 will examine the relevant literature by tracing the history of xenophobia and its recurrence tendencies to date. It will briefly discuss the unfolding of the events as well as review some of the effects of xenophobia. It considers how this has affected the relationships between the immigrants and the locals.

Chapter 3 examines that which prejudice is. Further, it will look at that which it means to create friendships and to eradicate prejudice. It will examine the various components of the friendship-making process and the theories that guide attitudinal change. It also looks at the conditions necessary for creating friendships.

Chapter 4 looks at the main peace theory that is guiding this thesis. Conflict transformation forms the basis of the main theoretical framework and will be discussed alongside other conflict-handling mechanisms such as conflict prevention, conflict management, and conflict resolution. It will also look at capacity building and peace education theories.

Chapter 5 looks at the concept of children as agents of change in peacebuilding.

Chapter 6 is dedicated to the research design, methodology, and data collection methods. It evaluates how the AR process itself measures up to AR practice as reviewed in Chapter 5. It also evaluates the effectiveness of the collective actions undertaken by participants during the life of the project.

Chapter 7 discusses the training workshops that took place, highlighting the activities that were done. It further describes and discusses the process, activities, and the action developed towards promoting friendship among the participants in the experimental group.

Chapter 8 discusses the analysis and findings of the study.

Chapter 9 will evaluate the outcome of the intervention.

Chapter 10 will give the summary, conclusions, and reflections on the entire research process.

1.9 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the purpose and aims of the research. It has also discussed the research approach, the theoretical framework, and the proposed data collection methods. This chapter has also discussed the delimitations of the study. The next chapter will discuss the background of xenophobia.

CHAPTER 2: Background and History of Xenophobic Violence in South Africa

2.1 Introduction

Migration patterns in South Africa have become more diverse in recent times, attracting many refugees, asylum seekers, skilled professionals, and environmental and socio-economic migrants from across the continent. South Africa's transition from apartheid has been influenced by many acts of xenophobic eruptions (Muchiri 2012: 1), placing the country as number one in the world in terms of xenophobic violence (Choane, Shulika and Mthombeni 2011: 130). This chapter seeks to define that which xenophobia means. It will further look at the different reasons forwarded as causes of xenophobia and its nature. The chapter will outline the recurrence of xenophobia in South Africa. Finally, the effects and consequences of xenophobia will be discussed.

2.2 What is Xenophobia?

Xenophobia manifests itself in many different ways and this thesis will adapt an extensive definition of the term. Xenophobia is derived from the Greek word *xenos*, which means strange or foreign, and *phobos*, which means fear (Muchiri 2012: 14; Dassah 2015: 127). Xenophobia has been defined as "the attitudes, prejudices and behaviour that rejects, excludes and often vilifies persons based on the perception that they are outsiders or foreigners to the community, society or national identity" (ILO, IOM and OHCHR 2001; UNHCHR 2001: 2; Dauda *et al.* 2018: 2681). Yakushko (2009: 43) describes it as "a form of attitudinal, affective, and behavioural prejudice toward immigrants and those perceived as foreign". Xenophobia also "denotes behavior specifically based on the perception that the other is foreign to or originates from outside the community or nation" (UNHCHR 2001: 2). Thus, from the above definitions, it can be seen that xenophobia has an "attitudinal orientation of hostility" (Matunhu 2008: 97). Xenophobia is embodied in discriminatory attitudes and behaviours, and often results in violence, abuses of all types, and exhibitions of hatred (Solomon and Kosaka 2014: 5). Some research has seen

xenophobia as a hate crime and a crime against humanity (Choane, Shulika and Mthombeni 2011: 130) and this is the same position that this thesis assumes. Xenophobia can take a latent form where it is within the minds of the perpetrators. In general, the researcher concurs with the explanation looking at the trend of the constant recurrence of xenophobia in South Africa.

Ajzen (2005: 3) further defines attitude as "a disposition to respond favorably and unfavorably to an object, person, institution or event". Dassah (2015) further states that in most of the definitions, the notion that xenophobia is an attitude or a state of mind is clearly revealed from these definitions and on this point, the researcher agrees. Looking at the research findings, the definitions of xenophobia have mostly been academic in content and they have lacked a South African context within their definitions because such context will highlight the effects and consequences of the attitudes of dislike, fear, and hatred present in the South African community. Dassah (2015: 128) terms *xenophobia* as "the lived experiences of black, African migrants" and this is different from attitudes such as dislike, fear, and hatred as defined by the academic definitions. Further, Harris (2002:170) is of the view that xenophobia is not only an attitude but also encompasses a practice and activity that results in "bodily harm and damage". In South Africa, xenophobia has manifested itself in the form of "afrophobia, the blatant hatred and dislike of Africans from other parts of the continent" (Koenane and Maphunye 2015: 85; Dauda *et al.* 2018: 2682). Thus, the research looks at the South African context, tackling xenophobia holistically and looking not only at dislike, fear, and hatred but also at the violent physical actions that comprise xenophobia. A detailed discussion on attitudes will follow.

2.3 Nature of Xenophobia in South Africa

After gaining its independence in 1994, South Africa gradually rose to the status of regional power with a leading industrial economy and higher job market (Choane, Shulika and Mthombeni 2011). The downside of this development though has been that it has become a destination country for many worldwide and African immigrants (Landau, Ramjathan-Keogh and Singh 2005: 3), hosting approximately 14 million immigrants (Stats

South Africa 2016). Many people have migrated to South Africa in search of a better life (Kapindu 2011: 94) and the host community feels threatened by the visitors (Yakushko 2009: 46). Yakushko elaborates why this is so by stating that in cases where xenophobia erupts, it usually is as a result of economic distress and political instability in other countries which is a pull factor of individuals towards nations that have higher prospects of earnings and survival (Yakushko 2009: 46). Migrants from Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Malawi, and Lesotho have been noted as comprising the highest number of immigrants (Kapindu 2011: 94; Friebel, Gallego and Mendola 2013). As the cost of living increases in South Africa and economic challenges arise, a new form of discrimination has erupted which is known as xenophobia (Sigsworth, Ngwane and Pino 2008b: 7). As a result, by virtue of being foreigners, immigrants have become vulnerable to xenophobic attacks (Sigsworth, Ngwane and Pino 2008b: 7).

Xenophobia in South Africa manifests itself in various ways, "from exploitation of refugees in employment and housing matters, to the subtle and not-so subtle social exclusion of refugees from engaging meaningfully within their communities, to outright violent attacks on refugees" (Khan 2007: 8). From the above, one can see that South Africa is highly xenophobic in nature and does not recognise the human rights of foreign nationals (Landau, Ramjathan-Keogh and Singh 2005: 3).

2.4 Characteristics of Xenophobia in South Africa

One of the characteristics of xenophobia is that it is 'black on black' in nature, assuming a somewhat racial dimension (Solomon and Kosaka 2014). This means that violent actions are usually directed towards black non-South African citizens yet Europeans or Americans are readily welcomed (Solomon and Kosaka 2014: 8). Dassah terms this as the "Cain-Abel (brother against brother) phenomenon" (Landau, Ramjathan-Keogh and Singh 2005: 4; Dassah 2015: 130). Research reveals that currently, there is no evidence that has been recorded that shows attacks on Whites and very little research has noted attacks towards Asians (Landau, Ramjathan-Keogh and Singh 2005: 4; Dassah 2015: 138), however, there is evidence of increasing reports of discrimination towards the

Indians from the sub-continent. However, despite such evidence, they are still at a lower risk of attack. In addition, South African citizens have carried out violent mass actions.

Xenophobic violence in South Africa is not limited to only one group in society, but it precedes the socio-economic status, gender, or racial status of the populace. Dassah notes that there is evidence of high xenophobic attitudes amongst the white population yet no record of white violence has been found (Landau, Ramjathan-Keogh and Singh 2005: 4; Crush 2008: 5). In explaining this phenomenon, Hagensen (2014: 2) highlights that "xenophobia runs deep in South Africa and goes beyond the fear and dislike of foreigners, since even fellow citizens have been attacked", which has usually been expressed through violent behaviour and hostilities (Choane, Shulika and Mthombeni 2011: 130).

Within South Africa, anti-foreigner attitudes are not universal, for example, non-nationals from Botswana have received positive treatment from residents of the North-West Province but they still express hostility towards the presence of Zimbabweans (Landau, Ramjathan-Keogh and Singh 2005: 5). "Similarly, some former Mozambican refugees living among Shangaan speakers in Limpopo Province are now largely integrated into local communities due to long-standing cultural links and a local government that has actively considered the interests of the former refugees" (Landau, Ramjathan-Keogh and Singh 2005: 5). This is a selective and unequal targeting of foreigners which is as a result of a bicultural hypothesis (Hagensen 2014: 4) where some foreigners are at a greater risk of attack than others. This means that xenophobia is located within "the level of visible difference, or otherness, that is, in terms of physical biological factors and cultural differences exhibited by African foreigners" (Harris 2002; Dassah 2015: 138) and these characteristics and differences make them easy targets (Hagensen 2014: 15). For example, some of the differences are the inability to speak local languages, the accent, vaccination marks, and the way of dressing. These biological markers act as pointers of who will be attacked (Harris 2002). Another notable nature of xenophobia in South Africa is that the targeted areas that suffer the most attacks are local government wards that house black residents, areas with informal settlements, and areas that have been prone

to protests over service delivery (Hagensen 2014: 19). Other targeted people are also those married to foreigners (Tshishonga 2015: 171).

2.5 Scale, Recurrence, and Intensity of Xenophobic Violence in South Africa

Xenophobic attacks in South Africa have been present historically since the 1990s (Friebel, Gallego and Mendola 2013: 560; Hagensen 2014: 2). Violence erupted in Johannesburg townships forcing out foreign nationals (Atlas 2009: 232). The 1990 march named '*Hlaphekani*' resulted in the loss of 300 huts belonging to Mozambicans that were burnt by locals (Choane, Shulika and Mthombeni 2011: 131).

Furthermore, in 1993, a clash between locals in Cape Town versus Namibians and Angolans on their access to land and services took place, which resulted in attacks by South African residents who trespassed into the homes of Namibians and removed their belongings (Choane, Shulika and Mthombeni 2011: 131). From 1994 to 1995, in Beruit and Alexandra, anti-immigrant campaigns took place, for example, *Buyelekhaya*, translated to mean 'go back home' (Monson and Misago 2009; Choane, Shulika and Mthombeni 2011: 132; Monson and Arian 2012: 33). The youths of the area evicted foreigners and burned and looted their homes. Further examples in the current year include violence between locals, Xhosa, and Namibian fishermen on the basis that the Namibians were stealing their jobs on the fishing boats (Choane, Shulika and Mthombeni 2011: 131).

In 1996, there was a record of home affairs about protests in Alexandra to disrupt the issuing of identity documents to immigrants. In 1997, the then South Africa's Defence Minister, Joe Modise, alleged that the high crime rates that had risen in South Africa were as a result of foreigners which led to attacks on foreign street traders (Muchiri 2012: 15; Dassah 2015). This led to the change of the free movement policy of immigrants into South Africa through the enacting of the Aliens Control Act. In Johannesburg CBD in 1997 and in 2000, Mozambicans were attacked at Maputo squatter camp, and they were

assaulted and their possessions were destroyed (Nieftagodien 2011: 126). In most of the cases, allegations were that they stole South Africans' jobs (Monson and Arian 2012: 33).

In 1998, in a training session in Johannesburg, the police set dogs loose on three Mozambican nationals in Johannesburg (Hagensen 2014). The video reveals the three foreign men pleading for help as the police officers stood by laughing. Hagensen notes that "such groups of people were chosen as targets because they were least likely to complain" (Hagensen 2014: 2). In the same year, in another xenophobic attack, three foreigners lost their lives on a train in Pretoria. While being harassed by an angry mob, one of the three men allegedly jumped or was pushed off the train to his death and the other two were electrocuted by the power lines as they tried to save themselves (Hagensen 2014: 2).

In 2004 and 2006, in Diepsloot, Johannesburg, there were cases of stoning, arson, and issuing of letters to Somalis to vacate from their neighbourhoods (Monson and Arian 2012: 35; Muchiri 2012). Throughout 2006 and 2007, attacks on foreign nationals increased in their manner and level of brutality. In 2007, it is held that approximately 100 Somalis were killed and their businesses and properties were looted (Crush 2008: 20). Evidence of xenophobia was also seen in the East Rand in 1998 and 1999, the West Rand (2001, 2007), and areas of the Western Cape, including Hout Bay (1994), Milnerton (2001), and Masiphumelele and Knysna (2006) (Crush 2008: 45-50).

The xenophobic outbreaks attacks on African immigrants in May 2008, took place in major cities in South Africa including Durban (Sidzatane and Maharaj 2013: 375; Dauda *et al.* 2018: 2686). On 11 May 2008, residents of Alexandra Township attacked their neighbours (Landau 2011: 1). Violence spread very rapidly across the entire country in Gauteng, Western Cape, and Cape Town and Durban townships and informal settlements (Landau 2011: 1; Friebel, Gallego and Mendola 2013: 560). These areas experienced different levels of violence and within two weeks, over 60 people had been murdered, many were raped, and those wounded reached approximately 700 (Crush 2008; Dodson 2010; Amisi *et al.* 2011; Adam and Moodley 2015; Abe and Katsaura 2016:

57). Many people found themselves displaced. In terms of the actual number of displaced persons, there are some discrepancies between that which authors state. Some estimate that approximately 100,000 people were displaced as a result (Amisi *et al.* 2011: 1) while others have stated the number to be approximately 6,000 (Atlas 2009: 532). Property and goods were destroyed, whilst the owners were attacked. The army was deployed though to eliminate violence in the streets (Dassah 2015: 132). That which is disappointing though is that none of the few persons that were arrested after the 2008 xenophobic rampages were convicted within the justice system (Adam and Moodley 2015: 203). On 18 May 2008, a Mozambiquan, Ernest Alfaberto Nyamuave, was set on fire in Atteridgeville in Pretoria (Friebel, Gallego and Mendola 2013: 560; Hagensen 2014: 3; Dassah 2015: 132). The question to be posed then is whether this does not pass as endorsement and acceptance of xenophobic violence in South Africa.

Again, in 2009, attacks took place in Limpopo, Mpumalanga, and in the Western Cape. In these areas, deaths of many foreigners were recorded and many people were displaced and became homeless (Choane, Shulika and Mthombeni 2011: 132-133). In the Western Cape, specifically in De Doorns, thousands, mostly Zimbabwean refugees, following confrontations with local residents who claimed that they were robbing them of seasonal jobs on farms in the area, were forced to abandon their shacks where they had been living (Choane, Shulika and Mthombeni 2011: 133).

In July 2010, after the Soccer World Cup, another wave of protests surfaced (Hagensen 2014: 3). However, these were "successfully thwarted by the army" (Monson 2011: 227). In 2013, a Mozambican taxi driver, Emidio Marcia, died in police custody after being handcuffed and dragged behind a police van. The facts of the case allege that the driver had parked on the wrong side of the road, and he resisted arrest. This event again was captured on tape and yet the police's initial response was one of denial (Hagensen 2014: 3). Again in the same year, in the Eastern Cape province, violence against foreigners broke out in communities around Port Elizabeth after a 19-year-old South African was allegedly shot to death by a Somali national (Hagensen 2014: 3).

In 2015, xenophobic violence started in Durban after a statement that foreigners must go back to their country because they were enjoying the South African wealth that was meant for the local populace (Dassah 2015: 132). It then spread into other cities such as Pietermaritzburg, Cape Town, and Johannesburg. This also caused the loss of lives (both foreigners and South Africans) and the destruction of properties which were mainly foreign-owned shops (Oluwaseun and Olusola 2014: 156). Mobs in Isipingo, Durban, turned on foreign migrants, burning and looting their shops and forcing thousands to seek refuge at police stations (Desai 2015: 247). Again, one sees a trend of victim-blaming within South Africa. Ignoring the attacks against foreigners in January 2015, Home Affairs announced that their legal status would be investigated (Adam and Moodley 2015: 203).

In March 2016, another incidence of xenophobic violence took place in the Katlehong community of Gauteng "where foreign nationals were brutally harassed" (Dauda *et al.* 2018: 2688). The Johannesburg Mayor also issued a public statement were he blamed the foreigners for the city's crime and wanted them to leave (Ogunnoiki and Adeyemi 2019: 10). In the year 2017, between 4 February and 6 March, xenophobia took place again in Gauteng and the Western Cape where foreign-owned businesses and residences were attacked (Hiropoulos 2017). Approximately 60 individuals were victimised (this number includes both locals and foreigners). In late March 2019, before elections, the President of South Africa, during a campaign, spoke using xenophobic statements which has been stated to have been the cause of the attacks that happened during this time (Ogunnoiki and Adeyemi 2019: 12). In August and September 2019, xenophobic attacks erupted in Johannesburg where the city came to a standstill for some days as vendors and shop owners were attacked. In a Durban city in a community called Burnwood, attacks also erupted against foreigners which led to them losing their properties and being displaced.

The above shows the history of the recurrence of xenophobia in South Africa. Xenophobia has been exhibited due to many factors. The most severe recorded cases are those of the image of the Mozambican who was set alight, another of a man who had to jump the train though he recovered later, and a Ghanaian who was shot dead in Cape Town

(DiManno 2010). However, such violence shows the high levels of intolerance and the attitude of dislike towards foreigners in South Africa. The conclusion hence is that such levels of attitudinal bias and violence create a high likelihood for the recurrence of xenophobia. There is hence a great need to change that attitude of intolerance and dislike and transform it to create peace amongst the local South Africans and the migrants. Despite such a mixed flow of migrants and many incidents of the recurrence of the violence, a policy or law that properly addresses this issue has not yet been developed (Muchiri 2012: 1).

2.6 Causes of Xenophobia and its Recurrence

Xenophobia has been seen as a "multidimensional and multi-causal phenomenon" (Yakushko 2009: 44). Researchers have put forward differing reasons on why xenophobic violence erupts. Many studies have paid attention to the migrant population with regards to xenophobia and hence this population has been thoroughly researched (Sigsworth, Ngwane and Pino 2008b: 8). However, most literature has focused on the competition for resources and other economic factors as the cause of xenophobic violence (Sigsworth, Ngwane and Pino 2008b: 34; Yakushko 2009).

2.6.1 Socio-Economic Factors

Black South Africans are the most affected by poor socio-economic situations. Statistics of poverty in the country are high, with over 40% of the population affected (Landau, Ramjathan-Keogh and Singh 2005: 7; Hagensen 2014: 6) and the majority unemployed. The national headcount rate of people living below the poverty line recorded is between 58% to 62% (Bhorat *et al.* 2016: 130; Isaacs 2016: 3). There is a high working poverty rate in South Africa. Statistics show that 54% of full-time employees earn below the working-poor line of R4,125 per month and cannot meet the most basic needs for themselves and their dependents (Isaacs 2016: iii). With a scarcity of jobs and high unemployment rates, the South African populace is then of the view that foreigners add on to the burden of limited resources.

After independence in 1994, the black majority in South Africa had high expectations of improvement of their socio-economic position yet a significant gap between the rich and the poor still exists (Choane, Shulika and Mthombeni 2011: 133; Muchiri 2012: 20). However, this has not been the case as poverty and inequality levels have remained constant and, in some instances, have increased since independence. The state of unfulfilled promises by government has also sparked debate on economic freedom (Kang'ethe and Duma 2013: 164). This has resulted in hostile attitudes and resentment towards fellow black non-nationals within their communities (Muchiri 2012: 19). It is usually inevitable that resentment against any group that has the potential to either fill jobs or push down the price of labour for those who are working will arise. Research highlights that many non-nationals are "better trained, more experienced, and willing to work for lower wages than the South Africans" and there is evidence that immigration provides a net-benefit to national economies (Landau, Ramjathan-Keogh and Singh 2005: 6-7), yet the locals rarely see the positive impact that having foreigners in their country can have.

The influx of non-nationals has increased over the years into South Africa and coexisting with the locals within their townships, and running profitable businesses (Muchiri 2012: 20). Scholars have argued that this usually breeds resentment and hate crimes such as xenophobia flourish within the communities with foreigners being viewed as threats to jobs, of being humiliated by foreigners, success, housing, and healthcare (Morris 1998; Muchiri 2012: 20; Adam and Moodley 2015: 201). Hagensen (2014: 5) has used the relative deprivation theory (adopted from Harris) to explain the above by stating that when one gets less than that which one perceives that one is entitled to, this can create xenophobic attitudes and social unrest which leads to scapegoating. Relative deprivation explains the psychological aspect of scapegoating where unrest is due to feelings of discontent. Harris (2002: 171-172) has used the scapegoating theory to show why foreigners are attacked in terms of social and economic reasons. According to the author, feelings of discontent and frustration, due to deprivation and poverty in relation to a lack of resources and jobs, cause anger and frustration, which in turn lead to blame, and the foreign minority becomes the receiving end of the antagonism.

In terms of jobs, locals view foreigners as cheap sources of labour who make it difficult for them to obtain jobs as they are willing to work for lower amounts of money (Dodson 2010: 6). Choane, Shulika and Mthombeni (2011: 134) raise a relevant point in stating that there is a nexus between poverty and civil unrest or violence. It is important to note here that economic inequality has the potential to become a driving force for the violence. However, a research study conducted by Wits University in inner city Johannesburg found that approximately 34% of migrants who were surveyed had employed South Africans at a higher percentage in comparison to 20% of the locals who had offered employment. This reveals that migrants are also a source of employment within the community (Landau, Ramjathan-Keogh and Singh 2005: 7).

Xenophobia appears to be a product of structural and human crises that have adversely affected low-income communities, and these include:

- High unemployment
- New migration rules and patterns
- Exacerbating service delivery problems (water/sanitation, electricity, and other municipal services)
- Extreme retail business competition
- World-leading crime rates
- Home Affairs Department corruption
- Patriarchal processes and cultural conflicts
- Severe regional geopolitical stresses, particularly in relation to Zimbabwe (Amisi *et al.* 2011: 3)

Community service delivery protests for local grievances have been directed against fellow community immigrant residents as opposed to the genuine sources of their problem (Amisi *et al.* 2011: 4).

Foreigners have been viewed as competition for houses, jobs, and other resources (Dodson 2010: 5). Another interesting aspect to this competition has been the gender and sexual part where foreigners are perceived as having more money and the local females opt to be married to them rather than their fellow South African males, resulting in the popular statement "they steal our women from us" (Tshishonga 2015: 171). As a result, there has been much scapegoating of foreigners but there has been very little evidence that supports the claim that non-nationals have significantly drained the state's financial resources as per the general population assumption (Landau, Ramjathan-Keogh and Singh 2005: 7; Dassah 2015: 137).

Landau, Ramjathan-Keogh and Singh state that the above observation is not meant to deny the presence of additional people in the country and there is a likelihood that they do place an additional burden on public services. However, looking at the small population of immigrants in comparison to the South African populace, it is exaggerated to single them out as the primary threat to the country's economic resources. Further, many international migrants are excluded from receiving social services which further limits their financial impact on public finances (Landau, Ramjathan-Keogh and Singh 2005: 7).

2.6.2 Lack of Regulation of Xenophobia in South Africa

As noted above, there is a general climate of the recurrence of xenophobia in South Africa which has rendered foreigners vulnerable to abuse and violence. Muchiri (2012: 21) notes that there are very large gaps within the legal, institutional, social, and governmental structures that have catalysed xenophobic tendencies. A very large gap exists between policy stipulations and practice that has worsened the situation. These factors are discussed in detail below.

Lack of a Specific Law on Xenophobia or Hate Crimes

South Africa does not have a specific law for the prosecution of xenophobia and other crimes motivated by bias or prejudice. It is imperative that the country enact laws that isolate bias-related crimes from general crimes covered under criminal laws. Currently, all targeted attacks on foreign-owned shops can only be prosecuted under the country's

general criminal law because such attacks are due to bias or xenophobic sentiments against foreigners. Because of the lack of a specific law to address xenophobia, the "parameters of the phenomenon of xenophobia and other hate crimes against foreigners are generally unknown to law enforcement agencies such as the police. As a result,significant levels of impunity exist for the individuals responsible for orchestrating violent mob raids in areas populated by foreigners" (Muchiri 2012: 22). Hagensen (2014: 3) gives statistics that reveal the arrest of 1,300 people in the 2008 attack, yet there have been few perpetrators who have been prosecuted and convicted (Monson and Misago 2009: 29).

Thus, South Africa draws a mixed flow of migrants, but it has not yet developed an all-encompassing policy that properly addresses this mixed flow. Its legislation falls short of covering the complex spectrum of migrants and presently it has only two instruments of law dealing directly with immigration – the Immigration Act of 2002 and the Refugees Act of 1998. It should be noted that both pieces of legislation are recent in their enactment. The South African Immigration Act of 2002 makes explicit the performance of immigration control within the highest applicable standards of human rights protection; its policy of integration thus mandates the government and civil society to work in collaboration to decrease xenophobia and ensure the correct implementation of immigration procedures (Choane, Shulika and Mthombeni 2011: 137).

2.6.3 Government Action in the face of Xenophobia

A number of authors are in agreement that government responses to xenophobic violence have been poorly resourced and limited despite the intensity of its rise in several provinces (Monson and Misago 2009: 26; Adam and Moodley 2015: 200). Thus, denial from state representatives as well as blaming non-nationals as criminals has the impact to encourage xenophobia (Hopstock and De Jager 2011: 123; Hagensen 2014). Monson and Misago (2009: 26) do ask a relevant question that if South African citizens had been the victims of the attacks, would risk management have been equally poor? Experts have noted that economic and social problems have less impact in cultivating intolerance

towards the 'outsider' and largely link this as a political tactic aimed at impressing the jobless youths such that they can win elections (DiManno 2010).

Research reveals evidence of the use of a denial approach in addressing xenophobia (Amisi *et al.* 2011: 1). In reference to the 2015 xenophobic attacks, Adam and Moodley (2015: 200) state that they were initially met with denial of xenophobia and with the preference to attach the violence to criminality; victim blaming on the part of the violence; and official silence and "long-standing passivity" on well-known xenophobic attitudes. Even former President Mbeki has insisted that South Africans are not xenophobic (Hagensen 2014: 13; Dassah 2015: 135), which directly ignores all conducted surveys. In addition, senior government officials have instigated violence by noting that immigrants put a strain on the country's resources and opportunities (Dodson 2010: 4; Dassah 2015: 135-136).

Abe and Katsaura (2016: 57) raise a very valid point when they note that in some areas, violence did not take place despite them having the same macro factors which are pointed to as the reasons for the eruption of xenophobia. According to them, structural factors are not the cause of xenophobia in light of their observation. This analysis leads to the view that some other elements have a role to play in the eruption of xenophobia within the South African community. This brings one back to the need to deal with xenophobia such that despite the presence of grievous conditions, tension will not lead to violence. Looking at the organisation of xenophobia in Yeoville, they tackle a different angle on the reason for the eruption of xenophobia. The occurrence of violence is a means "to consolidate their power and authority in a given area" (Abe and Katsaura 2016: 58). This is a very large difference from the notion usually raised that violence is as a result of people's discontent. The author purports that violence is encouraged by leaders who mobilise and control it. According to them, this was the reason for the eruption of violence in Johannesburg. It is important to note here that the South African government has not adequately acknowledged or condemned xenophobia within its borders. Instead, it has been observed that influential traditional leaders have been seen as instrumental in inciting xenophobia (Adam and Moodley 2015: 201).

The "belated recognition of xenophobia, unanimous condemnations of violence and noble solidarity marches reinvigorated civil society organisations", which on their own do not have the needed impact to change attitudes (Yakushko 2009: 201). Adam and Moodley validate this point by looking at a case of Setswetla in Alexandra township of Johannesburg, where foreigners were not attacked, despite being surrounded by areas that had violent eruption (Abe and Katsaura 2016: 58). They note that Setswetla hosted more foreign nationals than other areas and had the worst social service conditions, which would have been a valid reason to have violence as per the above-mentioned causes. The authors concluded that the community leaders and authority within Setswetla were assertive and acted positively to suppress violence, which made a very large difference. Landau *et al.* (2011) are also of the same view. They look at a case study of the Gqebera Trust in Nelson Mandela Bay where the leaders worked to protect Zimbabweans from violence by collecting information and investigating criminal acts with the local police (Landau, Segatti and Misago 2011). These actions then showed strong leadership. That which can be deduced from this is that "incidents of (non) violence [are] as collective acts and movements with a predetermined goal and direction, and proceed to analyse who mobilised whom and under what social/political conditions" (Abe and Katsaura 2016: 58). The merits of this analysis then explain violence as a planned matter.

2.6.4 Role of the Media

Research reveals the negative impact that media and film have in the creation of negative images of immigrants. From the year 2000, tracing South African media coverage shows a negative attitude in relation to foreigners (Mawadza and Crush 2010: 363). High levels of anti-immigrant sentiments are largely a product of (mis)information regarding foreigners from secondary sources including the media (Muswede 2015: 120). The media has focused on foreigners as delinquents, illegal migrants, job stealers, illegals, and gang members (Yakushko 2009: 50; Dassah 2015: 138), thus encouraging xenophobic sentiments. Such negative language influences the perception of foreigners, enhancing their discrimination and prejudice, which may extend to the second generation of immigrants. Yakushko highlights that xenophobic prejudice may carry a negative

influence for individuals who experience it, just as with any other form of prejudice (Yakushko 2009: 51).

Danso and McDonald focus on the role of the print media in inflaming xenophobia. They note that numerous research reports have accused the South African press of playing a large role in contributing to antiforeigner sentiment (Danso and McDonald 2001: 116). Their article captures two views currently eminent in press coverage on foreign migration in South Africa. The majority view highlights immigration from an antiforeigner perspective. Such views advocate for stringent control measures and the banning of immigrants. The minority view is sympathetic and accommodating to migrants as it looks at the positive impact that migrant labour has in developing countries' economies (Danso and McDonald 2001: 117). Harris (2002) also looks at a set of article headlines written in the media about xenophobia and denotes that the word itself is described as something negative, ugly, and unwanted, a contaminant in South African society. It appears as an unstoppable and irrational fear or plague sweeping across the country. Xenophobia has been pathologised using metaphors such as disease, floods, and hoards in reference to immigrants. In other words, xenophobia as a pathology will be an abnormal and unhealthy part of society. Landau (2005: 8) reflects that although the arguments raised on criminality cannot be denied, empirical data still suggests that foreigners are a small threat in terms of percentage. Therefore, an argument that justifies criminality as a basis for xenophobic activities is a dangerous one.

2.6.5 South Africa's Culture of Violence

Various research studies have established that South Africa is an extremely violent country. A culture of violence can be described "as a situation in which social relations and interactions are governed through violent, rather than non-violent, means" (Harris 2002: 179) and in South Africa, it is a heritage from apartheid. In such cases, violence is preferred as a legitimate solution to problems. The violence is characterised by widespread criminality where most of the crimes and violent episodes have had a xenophobic dimension because they usually target foreign residents. For example, a five-year study concluded in 1996 found that approximately 70% of the urban population of

South Africa, randomly sampled, had been violently victimised on at least one occasion (Muchiri 2012: 25). South African society has been seen to embrace and accept violence as an acceptable and legitimate means to resolve problems and achieve goals (Hopstock and De Jager 2011; Muchiri 2012: 26). That which has been noted as a unique South African attribute is the savage mob violence exhibited towards other Africans with slum dwellers and service delivery protesters using violence towards non-nationals as the only means by which they can be heard (Amisi *et al.* 2011: 4; Adam and Moodley 2015: 200). The researcher concurs with Harris that despite evidence of this culture of violence, xenophobia is seen as an abnormality within the South African community (Harris 2002).

The culture of violence in South Africa finds its roots in the 1980s during apartheid, when violence was predominantly political in nature (Muchiri 2012; Adam and Moodley 2015: 200). This form of violence was transferred into the post-1994 period. Xenophobic attacks are a form of violence and violence is the norm in South Africa. Further, violence is an integral part of the South African social fabric (Muchiri 2012: 26) and marginalised slum dwellers have learned that they only receive attention when they act destructively. Research has also linked the culture of violence to the theory of ethnic violence which explains that violent actions occur when perpetrators know that the victims cannot fight back and that the law enforcement agents will not afford protection to the victims (Dassah 2015: 136). That which makes it worse is the fact that authorities appear to condone such violent acts and police do not arbitrate (Hagensen 2014: 21).

2.6.6 The Other and Cultural Stereotypes

The new non-racial country created after independence did away with issues of segregation and discrimination that existed previously. However, with South Africa becoming an economically rising and booming nation in Africa, attracting persons seeking greener pastures within the country, a new system of discrimination was created called the "non-South African" (Dodson 2010: 6). Mixing of the populace with a wide variety of nationalities in one place results in cultural insensitivity and stereotyping of both the foreigners and locals' cultural differences.

Mutual stereotyping of foreigners by South Africans and of South Africans by foreigners essentially exaggerates perceived cultural differences and thus gives rise to prejudice and antagonism because foreigners are easily identified (Dassah 2015: 136). Another reason for xenophobia in South Africa has involved politics.

2.6.7 Nationality

Nationality has been one reason put forward as an important reason for antiforeigner attitudes. Nationality is "the sense in each individual of membership in the political nation as an essential ingredient in his or her sense of identity" (Solomon and Kosaka 2014: 6). There is evidence of confusion over which rights are universal and those that are restricted to citizens alone, which is a potential source of conflict between South African citizens and those perceived as foreigners. When a country is going through a political transition, nationalism can assume the form of hostility towards foreigners (Hagensen 2014: 4). South Africa has been undergoing such a transition for the past 20 years. Further, South Africa sees itself as a "rainbow nation", and some South Africans tend to look down on the rest of Africa and see themselves as superior (Hagensen 2014: 13; Dassah 2015: 138). South Africans, irrespective of their racial group, view the country as developed like Southern Europe and Latin America, while the rest of Africa is thought to be "characterised by primitivism, corruption, authoritarianism, poverty and 'failed states'" (Neocosmos 2010: 143), whose citizens are interested in benefiting from South Africa's resources and wealth at the expense of its citizens (Harris 2001). This undoubtedly feeds into the xenophobia narrative (Hagensen 2014: 13; Dassah 2015: 139) as superiority is at play.

2.7 Impact and Effects of Xenophobia

Hostility can shape the cultural discourse on immigration. This tends to have detrimental effects on immigrants (Yakushko 2009: 50). Negative and inconsistent images of immigrants have often been the popular culture around the globe in terms of xenophobia. Immigrants are usually portrayed in stereotypical ways as, for example, lazy or being criminals (Yakushko 2009: 50). Focusing on the United States of America, Yakushko (2009: 50) reveals the impact of film on immigrants, where television shows create an

image of criminal elements in immigrants by focusing on immigrant mafia and gangs (Lemish 2001; (Yakushko 2009).

The manifestation of xenophobia undermines social cohesion, peaceful co-existence, and good governance, and constitutes a violation of human rights (Solomon and Kosaka 2014: 6). Riots and violent attacks have been the result of hatred targeted at immigrants; for example, in the Eastern Cape in early 2007, resentment towards Somalis from locals for supposedly stealing trade and jobs led to rioting that caused the death of over three dozen Somalis. In a similar but more severe case, rioting in Zandspruit due to the mere presence of 'illegal' immigrants culminated in more than 100 informal Zimbabwean dwellings being burnt down (Solomon and Kosaka 2014: 7).

2.7.1 Exposure of Children to Violence

Researchers who have studied violence and its effects on children have reported that a cycle of perpetual violence will continue to be present in communities where there are high levels of community violence. In such violent communities, children and their parents begin to tolerate, accept, and expect violence. When a child feels victimised by his or her environment or feels that the environment instigates aggression, the child is likely to act out aggression (Vestal and Jones 2004: 5). Exposure to violence increases the risk that children will engage in future violence and other antisocial behaviour. Yakushko (2009: 51), looking at a case study of Finland, reveals that xenophobia has greatly impacted the psychological functioning of those affected. Children face one of the toughest challenges when xenophobic violence erupts, and this involves interrupted education.

2.7.2 Death, Injury, and Displacement

Many human rights violations result from xenophobia, and the aspect of the death and displacement of people is of significant concern. The violence also raises other humanitarian crises such as shortages of shelter, food, medical care, and sanitation (Choane, Shulika and Mthombeni 2011: 138) which are necessities for day-to-day living. Xenophobic attacks are contrary to the values of the South African Constitution, which recognises the fundamental human rights of all who live in South Africa within its Bill of

rights. Examples of the affected rights are: the right to life; the right to personal security; the right not to be unfairly discriminated against; the right to human dignity in terms of being called with a derogatory name (Khan 2007: 8); the right to equality; freedom from violence; freedom of movement; the right for a person not to be deprived arbitrarily of property, freedom, and security; and the right to bodily and psychological integrity. It is therefore clear that the recent xenophobic attacks and other offences are violations of fundamental human rights that are usually directed against vulnerable groups such as women, children, and other defenceless people (Choane, Shulika and Mthombeni 2011: 139).

Xenophobic attacks violate Article 5 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights Laws. Article 5 states that "no one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment". Xenophobic violence falls under cruel and inhuman treatment. The attacks also destroy the human dignity of others and this is in contradiction to the stipulations of Article 6 which calls for recognition as a person before the law in a country (Choane, Shulika and Mthombeni 2011).

Most of the immigrants have had to flee to escape the danger of being killed or hurt (Friebel, Gallego and Mendola 2013: 560). A high number of displacement figures have been recorded after the violence. Many people, amounting to approximately ten thousand, have been affected. United Nations official reports record only approximately 38,000 refugees residing in South Africa (Friebel, Gallego and Mendola 2013: 560), a number that does not reflect the immigrant population in the country. However, they estimate that the total number of persons who were displaced in the 2008 attacks ranges between 80,000 and 200,000. This shows that many migrants are affected after any occurrence of xenophobic violence.

In 2000, Zandspruit residents in KwaZulu-Natal burnt down the shacks of Zimbabweans living there, and Zimbabwean and Somali refugees were beaten in Bothaville in the Free State in 2006. Somali traders were driven out of a Knysna township and approximately 30 shops were damaged, and a month later, foreign-owned shops in the Western Cape

were attacked and looted, resulting in the displacement of 40 foreigners who had to be sheltered in mosques and some by friends.

2.7.3 Economic Costs

Xenophobia also leads to the loss of income and economic activities. Migration arguably has important effects on the development of any country. Evidence is present that reveals human beings as the custodians and carriers of these resources necessary for development in the form of capital, labour, and entrepreneurship. Xenophobic attacks have the effect of destroying these resources as many may end up moving to other economies that are more welcoming (Choane, Shulika and Mthombeni 2011: 138). A representative household survey conducted in southern Mozambique in 2008 evidences this. It shows that migration intentions to immigrate to South Africa by Mozambicans was affected substantially after the violent xenophobic attacks (Friebel, Gallego and Mendola 2013: 578-579). Many in the populace returned to Mozambique and those at home would not favour migrating to South Africa.

Dauda *et al.* (2018: 2682) correctly state that xenophobic violence impacts nations' relationships:

> South Africans' attitudes towards the foreign nationals residing in South Africa, particularly Nigerians, may lead to frustration to Nigerians after they might have returned to their native land. Harms can be done on South Africa's investments in Nigeria as a way of retaliating the attacks meted on them while in South Africa. Such transfer of aggression can occur among Nigerians over South African investments in the country such as MTN, DSTV, Nandos, Shoprite, Pep, among others in retaliation to what the country's nationals have experienced under the aggrieved South.

This occurred in September 2019 when xenophobic attacks had erupted. It has been recorded that in Nigeria, the citizens looted South African shops and franchises (Shoprite, MTN, PEP) and demanded that they leave their country (Anon 2019; Head 2019). Soccer matches that had been scheduled between South Africa and Zambia were cancelled (Malepa 2019; Ndadane 2019). Madagascar, after Zambia had cancelled, had stepped in to play, however they too cancelled as a result. For these matches to happen, they incur

costs of millions in flying players and for the accommodation of staff and players. Here, other losses of stadium cancellation, player appearance fees, and security fees were incurred. South African Football Association(SAFA)states that it incurred losses, though minor (Malepa 2019).

2.7.4 Other Effects of Xenophobia

Xenophobic violence will result in a lack of peace within communities (Hove and Harris n.d). High levels of violence have also been seen to halt developmental progress within a nation by imposing high costs. Efforts to prevent violence can impose heavy costs on countries. Because of the violence that ensues, resources will be re-directed to violence containment and assistance of victims, which will result in fewer resources being available for development purposes. Africa is stated to be a continent where there is less upkeep in terms of the well-being of people (Hove and Harris n.d) as many still await personal development. Violence further adds to this problem.

2.8 Government and Civil Society Efforts in preventing Xenophobic Violence

Civil societies have had a role to play in all cases of xenophobic eruption. After the 2008 violence, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) advocated for programs that would offer 'civic education' focusing on human rights, refugees, and the role that neighbouring countries played during apartheid in assisting South African exiles (Amisi *et al.* 2011: 4). In Johannesburg, civil societies mobilised local supporters and immigrants to march in solidarity against violence. Churches and NGOs also provided food, shelter, and clothing (Amisi *et al.* 2011: 5). In Durban, neighbourhood associations and religious groups provided shelter, clothing, and food to affected immigrants (Amisi *et al.* 2011: 7).

The government, as mentioned above, has not done much apart from working in collaboration with NGOs. The growth of violent racism and xenophobia has usually been seen to be a result of "restrictive immigration policies; increasingly narrow interpretations of government obligations to protect refugees" (ILO, IOM and OHCHR 2001: 11). There

has not been any progressive policy and legislation interpretation and enforcement that has been carried out by the government. The government therefore needs to address this existing loophole.

An example of government and civil society partnership for action is the 1998 Roll Back Xenophobia campaign. This was collaborative action aimed at addressing the incidences of xenophobic hostility in South Africa. It included government organs, civil society, and the media. Its ambit was to host information campaigns, train the police, look at labour rights protections for migrant workers, sensitise trade union officials, awareness raising, and the need for the enrolment of immigrants and refugees in primary, secondary, and tertiary education (ILO, IOM and OHCHR 2001: 8). Although this is commendable, it happened approximately 20 years ago. There is a need for constant action.

Although these organisations were successful in the short-term goals, the assistance given did not specifically seek to address the root causes of xenophobic violence. Amisi (2011: 16) concludes that civil society's response to xenophobic violence did not go beyond relief, that is, food provision, temporary accommodation, lobbying, and advocacy. Also, the societies did not try and address the underlying issues that led to the violence. According to him, this left a possibility of the recurrence of xenophobic violence in the future. This prediction has been happening within South Africa. Despite such observations, this thesis does not fully agree that recurrence is due to a lack of addressing underlying issues. It is rather mainly due to the existence of negative embedded attitudes towards foreign immigrants. If all economic and social grievances recognised as the causes of xenophobic violence are addressed, and attitude is not changed, there is a great possibility of the recurrence of the violence in the future.

2.9 Conclusion

This chapter sought to trace the historical roots of xenophobic violence in South Africa and focused, specifically on its history. It went on to discuss xenophobia as a concept and its major causes ranging from economic issues, scapegoating, the violent nature of the country, media coverage, and a lack of political will. The chapter also examined the

effects of xenophobia. It concludes that, despite vast research on the issue, the situation seems to have worsened. It therefore *is* imperative to look at other conflict transformation measures to resolve this recurring problem.

CHAPTER 3: Xenophobic Attitudes

3.1 Introduction

Immigration has become a phenomenon in the present-day century. Anti-immigrant sentiments not only exist in South Africa but have been seen worldwide, even in European countries. The following chapter will explore that which attitude entails. Further, it looks at the issues of attitudes looking at the international, regional, and local levels reflecting anti-immigrant views as a growing phenomenon. The chapter will also explore children and how attitudes accrue on them. Lastly, the chapter will look at the issue of friendships between immigrants and local children. This is done to inform objective three of this research, and to see whether friendship creation will negate negativity and, in the end, eliminate violence.

3.2 Definition of Key Terms

3.2.1 What is an Attitude?

An attitude is usually an assumption made about a certain group or thing. These assumptions can lead to violent behaviour towards the other (Ajzen 2005). Attitude and prejudice are barriers against the attainment of peace. Attitude comes in three forms. It can be cognitive, affective, and conative.

3.2.2 Tolerance

Tolerance is the recognition and acceptance of the rights of all individuals and groups, and it is based on an understanding of "equalitarian principles" (Miklikowska 2016: 112). Tolerance towards immigrants is characterised by positive feelings towards them as well as an understanding and endorsement of equality between immigrants and non-immigrants. A person who is tolerant rejects negative stereotypes and prejudice (Bar-Tal and Rosen 2009: 565).

Intolerance comes from perceived threats from an out-group. Intolerance comes from the view that one group believes it is superior to the other and such thoughts need to be challenged. Tolerance is promoted by knowledge (Bar-Tal and Rosen 2009: 565). Thus, this research aims to utilise educating for peace, as seen in Chapter 6, as a measure to teach tolerance. The ability to understand abstract principles of equality that underlies educating for peace only emerges from early adolescence onwards. Zalk *et al.* (2013) posit that tolerant attitudes may develop later than xenophobic attitudes. Further, the author suggests that tolerant attitudes are not the direct opposite of xenophobic attitudes. A person might fear immigrants without having developed the abstract principle that immigrants do not have the same rights as others. Thus in some cases, high xenophobia might go hand in hand with low tolerance (Zalk *et al.* (2013: 629).

3.2.3 Prejudice

Prejudice often results from the mismatch between beliefs about the attributes typically possessed by members of a social group (that is, their stereotype) and beliefs about the attributes that facilitate success in valued social roles (Eagly and Diekman 2005: 2). Prejudice has further been defined as "a preconceived stereotype characterised by negative emotional evaluation of an out-group, and does not necessarily reflect abstract reasoning ability" (Miklikowska 2016: 112).

3.2.4 The Nature of Prejudice

Allport (1954, 1979: 191) is one of the first researchers to define prejudice. According to him, prejudice is a stereotype which is generally an "exaggerated belief associated with a category". Thus, it is directed towards a certain social group. According to Allport (1979: 190), inaccurate perceptions are a combination of both prejudice and stereotypes. Research in the 20th century makes it clear that some prejudices are not marked by negative attitudes (Eagly and Diekman 2005: 4). Eagly and Diekman (2005: 7) argue that the potential for prejudice exists when social perceivers hold a stereotype about a social group that is inconsistent with the attributes that are believed to be required for success in certain classes of social roles. They reject Allport's view mentioned above. According to them, despite the accuracy of the beliefs held about a social group:

> [Prejudice is a] lowering of the evaluation of members of the stereotyped group as occupants or potential occupants of an incongruent role, compared with the evaluation of members of groups for whom the role is congruent. This evaluative decline can occur regardless of whether or not the targeted *individual* fits the stereotype (Eagly and Diekman 2005: 7).

This then shows that many factors are attributable to the holding of perceptions by individuals or communities. The following section will look at attitudes in Europe and the factors that give rise to that prejudice.

3.3 Xenophobic Attitudes in European Countries

Anti-foreigner practice is attributed to the fast globalisation of society, which encourages migration of people to developed countries from less developed countries to search for greener pastures (Choane, Shulika and Mthombeni 2011: 130). Violence and discrimination against foreigners has also been present in the international arena (Dodson 2010: 12). Attitudes are not only an African element but are also present in Europe (Gang, Rivera-Batiz and Yun 2002: 2; Adam and Moodley 2015: 200). There have also been suspicions in European countries towards minority groups and immigrants in relation to their actions and being (Emmenegger and Klemmensen 2013: 228). In the past two decades, European surveys have indicated a substantial increase in anti-foreigner sentiment (Fourchard and Segatti 2015: 6). This lends to the conclusion that the phenomenon of stranger suspicion and xenophobia might be a universal matter (Yakushko 2009; Emmenegger and Klemmensen 2013: 228; Adam and Moodley 2015: 200). Perception, attitude, and prejudice then are at the heart of xenophobic tendencies (Solomon and Kosaka 2014: 6).

Yakushko highlights that there are many cases of anti-immigrant prejudice that are exhibited yet these are usually not recognised as emanating from attitudes "based on fear, dislike, or hatred of foreigners: xenophobia" (Yakushko 2009: 37). Emmenegger and Klemmensen (2013: 229) use the economic self-interest theory to show that negative attitudes arise as a result of personal self and competition clashes. In the European context though, xenophobia is different from the African form, but it is closely related to

racism, anti-Semitism, and Islamophobia (Sichone 2008: 11; Helbling 2010). According to Emmenegger and Klemmensen (2013: 228):

> A majority of Europeans think that minority groups in their countries abuse the social benefit system, that the availability of social benefits attracts immigration in the first place, and that most refugee applicants are not in real fear of persecution in their home countries.

Like Africa, immigrants in America have been associated with the "declining economy, overpopulation, pollution, increased violence, depleted social resources, erosion of cultural values, and terrorism" (Emmenegger and Klemmensen 2013: 229). American history has been characterised by discrimination, mistrust, prejudice, and indifference (Yakushko 2009: 43). Immigrant individuals are often portrayed as criminal, poor, violent, and uneducated (Yakushko 2009: 37).

That which research also reveals in America is the negative impact that media and film have in negative image creation towards immigrants by focusing on them as delinquents, mafia, and gang members, and they are even used as scapegoats in times of economic hardships (Yakushko 2009: 46 & 50). It has been held that such negative influence of perceived discrimination and prejudice may extend to the second generation of immigrants. Yakushko highlights that xenophobic prejudice may carry a negative influence for individuals who experience it, just as with any other form of prejudice (Yakushko 2009: 51). These attitudes are the same as those exhibited in the South African context, as will be discussed in the sections that follow.

3.4 Xenophobic Attitudes in African Countries

In Africa, cases of mass violence against groups considered as foreign to the nation or community have emerged, for example, in Rwanda, DRC, Nigeria, and Kenya. However, these acts have not been labelled as "xenophobic" but as "ethnic cleansing, religious riots or communal clashes" (Fourchard and Segatti 2015: 5). These different labels, which reveal the multiple manners in which social relationships have been historically constructed, will not be interrogated here, and lend themselves as a possible research area.

In 2001-2002, the Southern Africa migration project SADC (SAMP) conducted a National Immigration Policy Survey (NIPS) on the attitudes of citizens towards immigration within southern Africa. The aim was to see the extent to which xenophobia was reflected across southern Africa (Crush and Pendleton 2004). The survey covered South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Malawi, Swaziland, and Botswana.

In the study, xenophobia was measured using indexes which will be discussed below. The first index measured the attitude towards the presence of foreigners in the country. For this question, it was interesting to note that all countries did not favour open borders. However, South Africa took an extremely restrictive and heavy approach as it favoured a complete ban into the country. It was followed by Namibia, which showed the same sentiments. The rest of the countries had lower percentages in favour of a total ban. In addition, the research statistics revealed that most perceptions exhibited were not rational nor were they based on personal experience. The participants thought that one in every three or four local persons was a foreigner. In addition, there was a lack of knowledge on that which illegality and immigration meant. South Africans had perceptions that as a country, they were under siege from foreigners (Crush and Pendleton 2004: 13) and some were sceptical about the authenticity of refugee claims.

In measuring action and attitudes, people were asked a question on how they received information regarding foreigners. All six countries showed uniformity. The main source of information was the television, radio, newspapers, and for some, personal interaction. The survey revealed that xenophobia was widespread among diverse communities across urban South Africa and Botswana (Campbell, Oucho and Crush 2003). Moreover, it usually cut across class, employment status, race, and gender lines. Approximately 50% of the respondents in Botswana showed a willingness to participate in actions that would inhibit migrants from entering their country (Campbell, Oucho and Crush 2003; Tevera 2013: 13). South Africa topped the list in terms of anti-foreigner sentiment. Most of the countries associated foreigners with negative attitudes, for example, taking local jobs, using welfare facilities and services, committing crimes, and bringing disease (Crush

and Pendleton 2004: 22). This fear was not only confined to South Africans but all nationalities.

Crush and Pendleton (2004: 34) note that personal contact with foreigners has the capability of lessening prejudice and, on the other hand, casual contact can increase negative thoughts. Without contact, there is high intolerance and intolerance has a potential to lead to violence. They argue that intolerance is a fundamental feature of xenophobia. However, most contact experienced in their study was either in economic exchanges or workplace contacts. This shows a low percentage of contact in all countries. Negative perceptions are held only because there is no contrary evidence to negate those perceptions. This is true as reflected in the findings by Kraak (2016: 39) which showed a change in attitude after the participants had heard personal experiences and stories of the migrants. A significant point raised by the authors is that "interaction breeds tolerance and one of the primary problems in generating negative attitudes is unfamiliarity and lack of contact with foreign nationals in the country" (Danso and McDonald 2001: 116; Weder, García-Nieto and Canneti-Nisim 2010: 60; Kraak 2016: 26). This brings one to the need to allow personal contact between nationals and foreigners. Those who have personal contact with foreigners tend to be far more accepting and the opposite is true for those who have had little or no contact (Crush and Pendleton 2004: 44). Hence one can conclude that contact under optimal conditions gives rise to several mediating mechanisms, which in turn leads to the reduction of prejudice and improved intergroup attitudes (Weder, García-Nieto and Canneti-Nisim 2010: 61). By including a mixed population sample and encouraging contact, the researcher also looked to harness the same effects with her participants.

Another significant finding of the study was an attitude to policy and laws pertaining to immigration. Most of the country's participants wanted to have some form of border control with South Africa favouring a total ban and electrification of the border. Here, South Africa and Botswana ranked highest (Morapedi 2007: 248). In conclusion, the authors found that xenophobia could not be viewed as a regional phenomenon, but it depended on each specific country. However, a question that the study does not answer

is that of why South Africa has gone further in inciting physical violence even though most concerns that seem to incite the violence are also shared by other regional countries. The following section considers the South African position.

3.5 Xenophobic Attitudes in South Africa

In South Africa, attitudes towards other foreigners have become part of the society. Opposition and hostile sentiments towards migrants have become relatively widespread in South Africa (Sidzatane and Maharaj 2013: 374). That which is unique in South Africa is the manner in which this resentment is expressed (Koenane and Maphunye 2015: 85).

In 1997 and 1998, the Southern African Migration Project (hereafter SAMP) conducted two national surveys on the attitudes of the South African community toward immigrants and immigration policies and foreigner hostility (Danso and McDonald 2001: 115; Muchiri 2012). The survey uncovered that which Muchiri (2012: 16) terms as "attitudinal profile" that would be hard to eliminate. The surveys were aimed at acquiring a better understanding of the causes and dimensions of xenophobia in South Africa. The results of the survey reflect strong anti-immigration sentiments (Danso and McDonald 2001: 115; Muchiri 2012).

Approximately 25% of the population advocated for a complete ban on migrants entering the country. Approximately 45% in 1997 and 53% in 1998 called for stringent measures to limit the number of foreigners allowed into the country (Mattes *et al.* 1999; Danso and McDonald 2001: 115). In 1997, a small percentage of approximately 6% of the population adopted "an open-immigration position" that would allow entry of any migrant. Sadly, however, this figure decreased to 2% in 1998 with the population feeling that the country was accepting too many foreigners (Landau, Segatti and Misago 2011: 5). Secondly, the 1998 survey noted high levels of public intolerance of foreigners in comparison to 1994 (Mattes *et al.* 1999). Lastly, McDonald (2001: 116) importantly notes that these perceptions and attitudes are held by most individuals irrespective of their socio-economic status, age, and demographic group. It includes men or women, Whites or Blacks, and

people from all educational groups, and all groups have held the same general negative stereotypes about immigrants and immigration.

In 2000, SAMP conducted a survey which again showed that South Africans were "latent xenophobes" (Crush 2000: 6), favouring a total ban on immigration, and held stronger hostile attitudes towards foreigners than other countries (Muchiri 2012: 1; Hagensen 2014: 2). In late 2006, another national survey was conducted to determine the attitudes towards foreign nationals in the country. It yielded the following results:

> Half of the participants (50%) favoured deportation of foreign nationals, irrespective of legal status; three-quarters (75%) were against increasing the number of refugees and a similar proportion (75%) favoured the idea of containing refugees in border camps, instead of being integrated into society (Dassah 2015: 131).

The survey yet again revealed high levels of intolerance and hostility towards foreign nationals by the population (Sidzatane and Maharaj 2013: 374). From the surveys, a common belief that came up was the idea that migrants were a threat to the economy and social welfare of the country, thus they had to return to their home countries (Sidzatane and Maharaj 2013: 375).

Afrobarometer conducted surveys again in November 2008 and October 2009 which revealed that approximately 33% of the population were willing to prevent foreigners to gain entry into their places of abode, workplaces, and office spaces (Dodson 2010: 12). Similar sentiments were revealed in terms of school attendance where other parents did not want their children to be mixed with immigrant children. Twenty-one percent (21%) in the survey agreed that immigrants must be sent back to their countries (Dodson 2010: 12). In 2013, approximately seven years later, another survey was conducted which used the same questions as those administered in 2006. These findings are a cause for concern. A total of 50% of the South Africans interviewed wanted foreigners to carry their identity documents on them at all times, which resembles the pass book system in the apartheid era. Another 63% wanted the country's border fences electrified, 50% favoured migrants without proper documentation to be denied police protection, 41% supported

compulsory refugees' HIV testing, 30% wanted a complete ban of migration to South Africa, and 14% thought that all migrants enter the country in order to commit a crime (Dassah 2015: 131). The findings demonstrate a consistently and perhaps increasing negative attitude towards foreign nationals. Even those who did not favour the use of violence to drive away foreigners were happy about its occurrence because it increased their chances of having a better live if foreigners were not present (Monson and Misago 2009: 25).

The Human Science Research Council (HSRC) recently embarked on a study where the main question asked dealt with the level of the willingness of South Africans to participate in violent attacks on foreigners. In their study, approximately 6% of the population had engaged in violence in late 2014 to late 2015. This percentage totals approximately 2.2 million of the population of South Africa (Roberts, Gordon and Struwig 2016: 37). This shows high rates of participation of people in violent attacks towards foreigners for a variety of perceived prejudices. That which was more striking in this study was that a further 13% or 4.9 million people who had not participated in the violence expressed their intention to commit such violence in the future (Roberts, Gordon and Struwig 2016). The study showed that much of the violence emanated from black African adults in comparison to white, Indian, and coloured adults. A fifth of the residents in Limpopo, the Free State, and the Western Cape would all take violent action to prevent the immigrants from getting jobs, showing anti-immigrant support.

From the surveys, half of the population across the social and economic divide had deeply rooted negative sentiments despite having had no contact whatsoever with migrants (Dodson *et al.* 2008: 4). This clearly then shows that most "anti-immigrant sentiments in South Africa are not a result of personal exposure to noncitizens but rather a product of misinformation from secondary sources such as schools, friends and the media" (Danso and McDonald 2001: 116). Dodson rightly puts it when he denotes that "the lives of foreign Africans living in South Africa despite whether they are recent arrivals or long established; legally or illegally resident; economic migrants, asylum seekers, or refugees are marked by discrimination, exclusion, and fear" (Dodson 2010: 4). The attitudes precede all reason

and do not differentiate in terms of the above characteristics, and this is a representation of most of the South African populace.

Most research has suggested that because the causes of xenophobia are deep rooted and systemic, the responses required to prevent its recurrence therefore require "concerted and sustained efforts by government, civil society, and international organisations" (Dodson 2010: 12). However, this research differs in this regard. It does not concentrate on civil organisations but takes a grassroots approach that targets potential perpetrators of violence, which are children. These children will be taught peacebuilding and friendship approaches that will demystify prejudice and stereotypes. The provincial case studies discussed below show the increasing levels of hostility towards foreigners in the country.

3.6 Xenophobic Attitudes in South African Cities

Crush and Tawodzera agree that xenophobia is the evidence of an existing "intense or irrational dislike or fear of people from other countries" (Yakushko 2009; Crush and Tawodzera 2014: 678). This attitude towards immigrants is, as Yakushko (2009: 46) argues, based usually on economic stability where competition for limited resources leads to prejudices against the out-group members who are viewed as a source of competition. This is the viewpoint of this research as the researcher is to look to see how substitution of the intense dislike with friendship and peace values will have an impact in the recurrence of xenophobia. The following sub-sections will look at the attitudes exhibited in some of the major cities in South Africa.

3.6.1 Johannesburg

In a 2003 survey conducted in Johannesburg, 65% of the people interviewed were of the view that foreigners must leave. In 2006, the SAMP again conducted a national survey which was directed at the attitudes of locals towards foreign nationals (Crush 2008). The survey records approximately 84% of the populace showing attitudes of foreigner dislike and high levels of support for stern measures to be taken to get rid of them (Crush 2008). Landau (2005:7) states that "attitudes to new arrivals often characterise them as

parasites" who affect the livelihood of the people. Another 2014 survey by the Gauteng City-Region Observatory (GCRO) revealed an increase in the levels of xenophobia and intolerance of foreigners in Gauteng with approximately "thirty-five percent of respondents supporting foreigners being sent back to their home countries" (Misago, Freemantle and Landau 2015: 19).

3.6.2 Cape Town

In Cape Town, a pilot study was conducted in Du Noon informal settlement to determine the extent of the xenophobic attitudes within the populace therein (Hagensen 2014: 49). The focus group was a mixture of local men and women and migrant men and women. That which was striking was that the males from the two categories all had the same heterosexual views of women, their presentation, and what position they must have. This means that prejudice goes beyond nationality or immigration status as the men also questioned the position of South African women with both local and immigrant men agreeing that they had too much power and rights given to them. The article further shows the attitudes and hostilities that have been attributed to migrants. Allegations of the foreigners being violent and using South African women as drug mules have been some of the reasons for hostility shown in the study.

The researcher agrees with Sanger (2009;25) that perceptions have contributed to xenophobia and identifying them will help in developing creative measures to eliminate their practice and recurrence. Baron *et al.* (2014: 1) further bring out this point when they look at gender bias attitudes and stereotypes in children and show that children learn to categorise others based on gender, focusing on different traits and attitudes with both males and females. The author further explains that once these biases are entrenched in long-term memory, they can be easily activated in the minds of perceivers, acting as an unseen force that assigns different roles and activities to men and women (Baron *et al.* 2014: 2). This then becomes a danger in terms of action. Further research conducted with adults has also demonstrated that commonly held gender attitudes and stereotypes can uniquely affect friendship choices, hiring and voting decisions, and even jury verdicts (Baron *et al.* 2014: 5). An important finding raised by Baron *et al.* (2014: 7) is that

stereotypes or attitudes are learnt through the same basic process, despite the area of concern focusing on social groups or being based on non-social categories. This feeds into this study. This study will hence target how creating friendships and peace ethics within the young generation will help change such perceptions in the long-term, eventually eliminating the recurrence of xenophobia.

While such surveys have not been carried out in Durban or other cities, the above attitudes seem to be very widely held across the country.

3.7 Xenophobic Attitudes and the Print Media

The media has also been accused of intensifying xenophobia through various publications that encourage hostility and anti-immigrant beliefs (Muchiri 2012: 31; Sidzatane and Maharaj 2013). Media coverage has frequently portrayed foreigners as perpetrators of unsavoury incidents (Manik and Singh 2013: 2). Tevera (2013: 13) looks at a study by McDonald and Jacobs (2005: 11) which analysed media coverage on migration issues and the results showed that xenophobia was "pervasive, deep-rooted and structural". Danso and McDonald (2001: 116) focus on the role of the print media in inflaming xenophobia, and they note that numerous research reports have accused the South African press of playing a large role in contributing to antiforeigner sentiment, especially that of tying Nigerians and Zimbabweans to drug dealings (Muchiri 2012: 31). However, the downside is that this line of thought is largely 'impressionistic' providing only a qualitative analysis of a small number of press clippings samples. Looking quantitatively, the authors look at 1,200 migration-related print media articles written in English between 1994 and 1998. Quoting Gebre *et al. (2011)*, Sidzatane and Maharaj (2013: 375) note that South African media reportage has misled the public through imprecise information on immigrants and this becomes a justification on the prejudice that migrants are intruding in the livelihoods of the unemployed South Africans.

Their article captures two views eminent in press coverage about foreign migration in South Africa. The majority view highlights immigration from an antiforeigner perspective. Such views advocate for stringent control measures and the banning of immigrants

(Danso and McDonald 2001: 117). The minority view is sympathetic and accommodating to migrants as it looks at the positive impact that migrant labour has in developing countries' economies (Danso and McDonald 2001: 117). The print media has a responsibility to write all issues present in South Africa, but they must be responsible in encouraging xenophobic violence. The media therefore plays a crucial role in creating a negative image on foreigners (Crush and Pendleton 2004: 17). In South Africa, media coverage is highly biased and is of the view that it has a definite impact on citizen attitude.

The above-mentioned surveys show South Africans as holders of strongly negative views about people from other African countries. This cuts across the racial, educational, socio-economic, and demographic groups. This is interesting to note, because the South African Constitution and the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act prohibit prejudice such as racism or sexism. The reason why prejudice against foreigners has been naturalised in South Africa therefore needs to be investigated, even as a political form (Monson and Misago 2009: 25). The following section will look at factors that lead children to conform to negative or positive attitudes.

3.8 Theories of Behaviour Change

Figure 3.1 is a schematic diagram of the social cognitive theory.

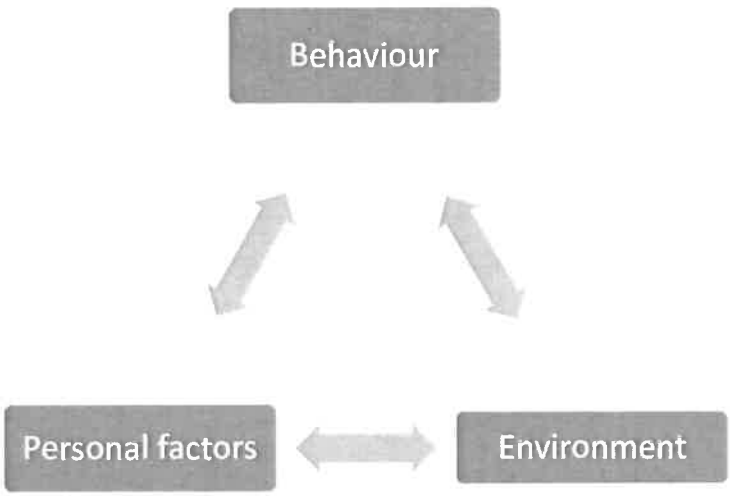


Figure 3.1: Social Cognitive Theory.

Allport (1994) proposed four theoretical approaches that lead to the socialisation of prejudice. Firstly, prejudice has been viewed through the theory of authoritarian personality. This suggests that authoritarian parenting leads to an authoritarian personality which is related to 'prejudiced attitudes' (Allport 1954). Secondly, the theory of developmental psychology is used to show how children acquire prejudice. This theory posits that children's attitudes are influenced by their social environment and their social cognitive skills (Rodríguez-García and Wagner 2009: 17). This is explained in Figure 3.1. The model suggests that people's actions are driven by external factors where environmental factors represent "situational influences" that lead to certain behaviour (CommGap nd: 2). Group-level and individual-level environmental influences may or may not be shared by family members who have grown up together, such as siblings (Kandler *et al.* 2015: 183).

Third, the social learning theory assumes that behaviour is learnt through direct experience. All "misconceptions about nationalities, ethnic groups, sex roles, and other aspects of life are modelled by the environment" (Rodríguez-García and Wagner 2009: 517). Allport (1954, 1979) proposes that development of prejudice in children is because of interactive social learning and contact. Miklikowska (2016: 96) adds to this line of thought by stating that "development of intergroup attitudes is a result of an interaction between genetic predispositions, socialisation influences, and situational determinants". Developmental and social psychological theories link attitude development to the role of socialising agents. This suggests that children's intergroup attitudes are as a result of the attitudes of their parents adopted through social transmission (Miklikowska 2016: 96).

Fourthly, conformity as an approach means that the children become aware of their family's social norms concerning out-group members and how they are then expected to behave. Because children identify with these norms and because they desire approval from their families, they conform to these norms. The last approach on how children learn prejudice is intergroup contact. Intergroup contact contributes to the reduction of out-group prejudice. It has been proposed that positive contact plays a role in intergroup experiences and can diminish intergroup prejudice in certain circumstances. There is

empirical evidence that increasing intergroup contact reduces negative feelings and attitudes (Kandler *et al.* 2015: 182). Thijs *et al.* (2014: 134-135), in looking at ethnic classroom composition and peer victimisation, further support this point by stating that children can have negative contact experiences which will lead to less positive attitudes exhibited towards the out-group. However, Allport (1954) views parental influence as having a stronger role to play in children's rejection of out-groups. There usually is a "direct transfer from parental words, emotions, and ideas to children's attitudes" (Rodríguez-García and Wagner 2009: 517). This may be the case because of the position of influence that parents hold over their children. The question to be asked here is whether children with knowledge about peace can create friendships that will negate stereotypes.

3.8.1 The Development of Xenophobic Attitudes in Children

Negativity towards foreigners is a construct that will be discussed below. Social-cognitive theories forward economic, social, and cultural explanations as the basis for out-group negativity. Competition for limited economic resources or political power between several groups may result in negative feelings and attitudes towards the competing out-group (Kandler *et al.* 2015: 182). In addition, symbolic threats based on conflicting values and beliefs between in- and out-group members, feelings of threat experienced during social interaction, and negative stereotypes also have a role to play in the creation of bias (Kandler *et al.* 2015: 182).

In this section, the question that the researcher seeks to ask is how and from where children obtain attitudes and prejudice. The researcher will ask additional questions that will inform on the issue whether tolerance and friendships eliminate such perceptions.

Children's attitudes depend crucially on early socialisation experiences and therefore that which one sees a child exhibiting is usually from significant adult influence (Pirchio *et al.* 2018: 2). This then suggests that a child's intergroup attitude is a function of their parents through the process of social transmission. Studies on the transmission of values between parents and adolescents indicate that the age of the child and the content of the

values or attitudes may play a role, together with the authoritativeness of the parents' educational style (Pirchio *et al.* 2018: 2).

In a European study, it was revealed that children below the age of five years can differentiate between language, hair colour, and other racial markers evident on other people (Tsai 2006: 287). As the child grows, their racial attitudes become more crystalised and affect them more (Tsai 2006: 293). Children learn prejudiced attitudes in the social environment, mainly from a family influence (Rodríguez-García and Wagner 2009). Children between the ages of six and seven already hold well-defined images on war but rarely on peace, as society is dominated by violent images (Middleton nd: 6). Seeds of war are present in the minds of young people and if they are trained to think in a positive way, progress can be made towards establishing peace (Agarwal 2011: 79). The presence of ethnic prejudice is manifest in children as young as three years old in terms of in-group favouritism and out-group discrimination (Pirchio *et al.* 2018: 1). In the black doll white doll test conducted in 2007 in the USA, children from as young as three years old showed signs of prejudice and negative perceptions towards the black doll (*Black Doll White Doll (online video)* 2007). This shows that attitude can be learnt from a very tender age and if one grows with it, this might result in violence and, in the case of this thesis, perpetrating xenophobia.

Pirchio *et al.* conducted a study that looks at internal and family-agents that influence "explicit and implicit ethnic prejudice transmission in children" (Pirchio *et al.* 2018: 3). They look at children aged between three and nine years. As a measuring instrument on their explicit ethnic prejudice, they all looked at six photos of children chosen from the following ethnic groups: Caucasian, African, Asiatic Indians, Asiatic, Chinese, and Arabian. The child participant would be required to indicate who the child would like to invite home and who they would like to be, based on the pictures that they had seen. In addition, the child was asked to choose from their given vocabulary an adjective that described the ethnic group in the picture. The words chosen were both positive and negative in nature (Pirchio *et al.* 2018: 4). The authors found that there was a correlation between a child's implicit

ethnic prejudice and their parents' subtle prejudice (Pirchio *et al.* 2018: 4). Their findings are as follows:

> Our findings suggest that children's prejudice may be rooted in the automatic behaviour and implicit social influence processes enacted by their significant adults, more than in what parents explicitly think (and likely say) about ethnically different people to their children. These findings also strengthen the idea that implicit and explicit attitudes are activated and expressed through different channels and processes (Pirchio et al. 2018: 6).

In sum, one can note that literature agrees that a child's life environment, combined with parental attitudes, play a role in a child's prejudice.

That which they found from the data was that children attending homogeneous schools did not attribute negative stereotypes to the black transgressors as compared to those attending heterogeneous schools. Instead, these children interpreted the behaviour of in-group members more positively (McGlothlin and Killen 2010: 630). European, American, and African American children attending heterogeneous schools did not display in-group bias or out-group negativity when evaluating the ambiguous situations. In terms of the creation of friendships, over two-thirds of the children who experienced diversity at school were optimistic about the potential for friendship between the black and white characters. Half of the European American children, with little intergroup contact, viewed friendship as a possibility (McGlothlin and Killen 2010: 631).

3.8.2 Children and Friendships

The discussion that follows will be guided by the findings from a study by Zalk *et al.* (2013) in the article entitled *Xenophobia and Tolerance toward Immigrants in Adolescence: Cross-Influence Processes within Friendships.* The authors conducted a study on the extent to which adolescents and their friends socialise one another's attitudes towards immigrants. Adolescence for the authors is a critical stage where attitudes are developed (Zalk *et al.* 2013: 627). During the adolescence period, some children adopt tolerant attitudes towards immigrants and this can assist in preventing racism and violence in societies (Zalk *et al.* 2013: 627). On the other hand, other children develop 'a negative,

xenophobic attitude' which can encourage violence and aggression against the minority. The authors indicate that it is therefore imperative to understand how xenophobia and tolerance toward immigrants develop, and secondly, how this avenue can be used to reduce xenophobia and to assist in promoting tolerance. To control for effects on having immigrant friends, in the study, Van Zalk *et al.* (2013) had to have a community sample including both immigrants and non-immigrants to allow for studying the impact of contact between immigrants and non-immigrants. This is a significant merit of the study, and the intervention in this study assumes such a position. One of the findings showed that friends' xenophobia predicted increases in adolescents' xenophobia. Stated simply, friends influence one another's xenophobic behaviour. Research shows that friends are important sources of information for political and societal attitudes. Thus, friends influence each other's attitudes and behaviours (Zalk *et al.* 2013: 627). It is evidenced in the study that friends can increase each other's xenophobia and can promote tolerance as well. This then indicates that prevention and intervention efforts should target friendship processes that promote adolescents' tolerance, and thus reduce adolescents' xenophobia (Van Zalk *et al.* 2013: 637).

A key question for this project is whether the development of friendships across ethnic groups can prevent or reduce the development of xenophobic attitudes. Abe and Katsaura (2016: 55), in looking at the South African community, argue that the notion of the rainbow nation has been lost and replaced by an "onion syndrome". The onion is symbolic of the current. The outer skin layer represents immigrants who are sometimes prone to attack, and the core layer represents those who are politically strong and may refer to locals. This syndrome leads to social exclusion and thus bars the formation of friendships.

Abrams and Killen (2014: 3) look at the process of social exclusion. The research shows that children who exclude others on "the basis of implicit or explicit stereotypes may, as adults, perpetuate negative patterns of social interactions in the workplace, furthering social inequities and social hierarchies, based on unfair criteria" (Abrams and Killen 2014: 3). Bandura's (1977) social influence theory purports that youths learn and develop

behaviours through observations and imitation of others' behaviours. Friendships have the impact of creating social bonds and in turn give rise to engagement. If these bonds are non-existent, then "there is no prescription to prevent outbreaks of violence" (Abe and Katsaura 2016: 57).

Abe and Katsaura (2016: 59) are then of the view that violence can be prevented by identifying specific actors who have played key roles in restraining xenophobia which include governmental and non-governmental agencies. The researcher is of a different view. The researcher submits that even those actors who were not key in addressing xenophobia can prevent violence from taking place. This research will look to see whether children participation, after enrolment in training sessions, would mitigate the tension and promote friendship and social cohesion for the prevention of the recurrence of xenophobia.

Empirical research lends some support to the idea that intergroup contact builds trust and this helps in reducing negative intergroup attitudes (van der Linden *et al.* 2017: 2). According to (Christ *et al.* 2014: 3996), positive intergroup contact provides a way to overcome intergroup tensions and reduces out-group prejudice in in-group and out-group members. According to them, positive intergroup contact brings about reduced prejudice "on a macro- and not merely micro level, whereby people are influenced by the behaviour of others in their wider social context". Direct positive contact between groups also changes attitudes on a micro scale and it affects prejudice on a macro level, where people are influenced by the behaviour of others in their social context (Christ *et al.* 2014: 3998). Cross-group friendships have been proven more effective in improving intergroup attitudes than other forms of intergroup contact. Hence, cross-group friendships are likely to be a particularly effective form of intergroup contact to possibly facilitate a negative relationship between generalised trust and anti-immigrant sentiments (van der Linden *et al.* 2017: 3). In other words, intergroup contact is argued to affect people's willingness to trust members of other groups extending the prejudice-reducing effect of contact.

From the above, the researcher concludes that to prevent the recurrence of xenophobia in South Africa, the findings from Zalk *et al.*'s study will be utilised in the intervention. Contact between local and immigrant children is a priority in the quest to try to prevent the recurrence of xenophobic violence in South Africa.

3.9 Conclusion

From the above discussion, several factors contribute to the attitudes, perceptions, and prejudice towards immigrants. They concentrate on the attitudes and perceptions towards foreigners from the international, regional, and local spheres. The chapter revealed that the phenomenon is an ever-present part of everyday life. Key words were defined and the effects of prejudice on children were also examined. The chapter revealed that it is possible for children to create new positive attitudes with an out-group through initiation of contact with them.

CHAPTER 4: Peace Theories and Practices

4.1 Introduction

Conflict is inevitable within any society, community, family, or relationship. Individuals see matters differently and as a result, these different perceptions may result in conflict. Violence levels have been increasing worldwide, exposing children and youth to these tendencies daily. This creates a need to educate children on the values of peace. Conflict transformation as a theory becomes essential in assisting in situations where conflict and violence might erupt.

This chapter deals with conflict transformation, educating for peace, and *ubuntu* in detail, examining how they can be practised. The chapter is subdivided into sub-sections: the first one deals with definitions of key peace theories. Peacebuilding will be discussed in detail as the branch wherein this research falls. Focus will be on the effectiveness of peace education, conflict transformation, and capacity building to create peaceful friendships that will prevent violence.

4.2 Some Key Concepts

4.2.1 Conflict

Conflict is a situation where two or more groups and individuals are in a conscious opposition to each other. It happens over "incompatible" needs, interests, and contradictions (Del and Andria 2007; Harris 2010: 293; Galtung 2013, nd). Conflict is universal and "natural, inevitable, necessary and normal" (Musoke 2011: 4; Olowu 2018: 15). A conflict has its own life. Frustration may lead to aggression which in turn may lead to attitudes of hatred, and it may lead to verbal or physical abuse (Galtung 2000: 1). The failure to transform conflict leads to violence (Galtung 2000: 3). Conflict can be latent, which means that a structure of violence exists although it has not yet been expressed. It can be overt, meaning the conflict has begun to manifest as relations have turned sour between the parties in conflict (Dudouet 2006: 10). Conflict has three cycles: "before

violence, violence and after violence" (Galtung nd: 14). Figure 4.1 depicts the cycle of violence starting from when conflict ensures.

Figure 4.1: Life Cycle of a Conflict Adapted from (Galtung 2000: 1).

Figure 4.1 highlights that for conflict to take place, there must be an attitude, which will usually lead to violence or contradiction. A discussion on attitudes has been explored in Chapter 3 and will not be repeated here. However, that which is important to note is that Galtung highlights that the existence of conflict, as depicted in Figure 4.1, does not imply that violence is unavoidable. That which is important is that there be a move to transform the conflict even before it has resulted into violent acts or, in other cases, where it has already caused violence to occur.

4.2.2 Conflict Resolution

Conflict resolution happens when violence is occurring. It is the process that "aims to address the underlying causes of direct, cultural and structural violence" (Reimann nd: 9). It facilitates negotiation, mediation, and problem solving in conflict situations. It also equips one to become better in conflict management, compromise, and negotiation (Bar-Tal and Rosen 2009: 566). It does not aim to eliminate the conflict but the destructive manifestations that may erupt as a result (Reimann nd: 9). Parties become aware of these underlying issues and this awareness can be used to redefine their interests, removing them from negative attitudes to positive ones (Shonhiwa 2016a: 11; Reimann nd: 9). Conflict resolution is defined as peace-making. Its criticism has been that it can only be achieved after arriving at a negotiated agreement by both parties. This then makes it a solution that resides within the minds of the parties in the negotiation of the conflict (Galtung 1976: 296).

4.2.3 Peace

As with many theoretical concepts, peace is difficult to define. It has usually been recognised by its absence within a given community (Webel and Galtung 2001: 6). Peace has been defined as "a way of life committed to the non-violent resolution of conflict, and a commitment to personal and social justice" (Harris 2010: 295). Peace as an outcome, for example, is assessed by the absence of violence. This is called "negative" peace (Webel and Galtung 2001: 6), while positive peace denotes the simultaneous presence of many desirable states of mind and society such as harmony, justice, and equity. Overall, peace is more than the absence of war and it involves "freedom, justice, conflict resolution, non-violence, community building and democratisation of authority" (Cherian and Singh 2014: 8).

Leckman, Panter-Brick and Salah (2014: 6) describe peace as a process. They give an example of the concept of peace as peacebuilding that is characterised by efforts to negotiate freedom from violence through the creation of social bonds between groups of diverse people. They add that peace is a human disposition, a personal and social orientation resting on a fundamental recognition of the freedom and dignity of all people. Lastly, peace is a culture that can help foster a sense of global citizenship. It must be noted that peace must be organic. This means that it must be developed from within as opposed to imported or imposed from outside. There should be ownership of the peace by those who have to live with it (Graf, Kramer and Nicolescou 2007: 126).

There are two levels to peace; it can be imposed or consensual. Imposed peace is based on domination, power imposition, and enforcement. A third party usually imposes it. An example includes peacekeeping. Consensual peace is based on reaching an agreement that ends violence and hostilities, and establishes new relationships based on human interaction to achieve mutual goals (Johnson and Johnson 2005: 280-282). It is divided into two levels:

i. Peace making: this usually entails cease-fire agreements, and frameworks for resolving conflict usually fall under conflict resolution.

ii. Peacebuilding: usually, economic, political, and educational institutions are used to create long-term peace.

Overall, peace should not only be about ending or resolving a conflict but should be about the renewal of existing relationships (Olowu 2018: 15).

4.2.4 Peacebuilding

There is uncertainty as to that which the term *peacebuilding* fully entails. The word first came about in the international arena in 1992 from the United Nations Agenda for Peace (Lederach 1997; Smith 2004: 10). Peacebuilding is a field where the aim is to understand the nature of destructive conflict practices (Kaye 2017: 7). Narrowly defined, peacebuilding refers to "a wide range of post-conflict efforts and activities associated with capacity building, reconciliation and societal transformation with a major concern of repairing broken human relationships" (Maoz 2004: 564; Nsengimana 2015: 37). Peacebuilding is important in communities where there is intractable conflict (history of hostility and constant eruptions of violence occur) (Maoz 2004: 565). South African xenophobic violence can be viewed as a form of intractable conflict. With regards to peacebuilding:

> There are basically two schools of thought when it comes to the practice and definition of peacebuilding. There are those who see it as solely a 'post-conflict' activity. These would include the UN and other organisations using track one diplomacy. Then there are those who see it as an activity that goes on before, during and after a violent conflict: these are usually those organisations which do track two diplomacy and tend to be more focused on local communities (Ngwenya 2014: 52).

The main aim of peacebuilding is to address the root causes in the social, political, and social spheres and the effects that a present or recurring conflict has on a community (Boutros-Ghali 1992: 46; King 2005: 905; Dudouet 2006: 100). This is important as it prevents a relapse into violence. This is achieved firstly by looking at the "nature of destructive tendencies or practices" (Kaye 2017: 7) and then through achieving stable and shared values amongst the parties. It has been noted by research that there is a high likelihood of recurrence once conflict has occurred in a certain community (Mold, Wilson

and Leteane 2016: 19). On average, approximately a 32% to 39% possibility exists that conflict will resume within the first five to ten years of a post-conflict environment (Collier 2009: 102). This assertion holds true in South Africa, as has been shown in Chapter 2 where xenophobia has been breaking out within a span of two to five years at most. Peacebuilding therefore "encourages the development of structural conditions, attitudes and modes of political behaviour that may permit peaceful, stable and ultimately prosperous social and economic development" (Smith 2004: 20). This will likely inhibit chances of the recurrence of violence. Peacebuilding may also focus on "building mutuality among all citizens and teaching them competencies, attitudes and values needed to build and maintain cooperative systems, resolve conflicts constructively and adopt values promotive of peace" (Johnson and Johnson 2005: 283). Also, the peacebuilding ambit extends to conflict analysis and development of alternative solutions to conflict (Musoke 2011: 28). Peacebuilding can take place through education to address issues of attitude, prejudice, and violence, and create a culture of peace (Musoke 2011: 4).

Peacebuilding has both long-term (King 2005: 915) and short-term transformative efforts which may be based on creating long-term harmonious relationships (Johnson and Johnson 2005: 283). Conflict affects individuals at different levels usually in the personal, emotional, physical, spiritual, and psychological aspects of their lives. Because of such a wide range of effects, reconciliation becomes a central and necessary component of peacebuilding efforts as it helps in the process of relationship building (Nsengimana 2015: 39). Reconciliation has been defined as the space where "truth (acknowledgement, transparency, revelation, clarity) and mercy (acceptance, forgiveness, support, compassion, healing), justice (equality, right relationship, making things rightly, restitution) and peace (harmony, unity, well-being, security, respect) meet by envisioning reconciliation in a theological perspective" (Lederach 1997: 30). Reconciliation then becomes central to peacebuilding (Nsengimana 2015: 39).

Scholars have argued that peacebuilding initiatives have been deficient in reconciling, supporting, and empowering people as they lack context-specific solutions because they

often neglect to include and engage with local actors. Peacebuilding has been criticised as dealing with small-scale, grassroots conflict and violence and not sufficiently recognising that these occur in a wider political, social, and economic context. However, it is quite possible to use the tools of peacebuilding and conflict transformation to tackle wider structural issues. This research hence aims to engage with children as participants in bringing a locally specific solution.

4.2.5 Conflict Transformation

The main theory that will be used in this thesis will be conflict transformation. Conflict transformation developed in the early 1990s (Shonhiwa 2016a: 24). The persistence of violent conflict over the past years has led to the development of new forms of conflict transformation (Graf, Kramer and Nicolescou 2007: 124). The discussion that follows will be guided by Lederach's principles on transformation.

Conflict transformation means "to envision and respond to the ebb and flow of social conflict as life-giving opportunities for creating constructive change processes that reduce violence, increase justice in direct interaction and social structures, and respond to real-life problems in human relationships" (Lederach 2003: 14). To envision and respond has a positive orientation towards the conflict and a willingness to participate in the conflict to bring positive change. In totality, this highlights it as the process of "constructive change" (Cherian and Singh 2014: 8). Lederach sees conflict transformation as "a way of looking as well as seeing" and not as a set of techniques. This looking is done using three lenses to view social conflict (2003: 9). These lenses are three different layers held together by the same frame, which show "the immediate situation, the underlying patterns and context and a conceptual framework" (2003: 11). Because there are three, they help in addressing the context, the content, and the structure of existing relationships thus going beyond obtaining a quick solution to the problem. Conflict transformation also refers to "the outcome, process and structure oriented long term peace building initiatives" (Reimann nd: 10). The assumption is that peacebuilding is already embedded within the particular community (Reimann nd: 11).

The conflict transformation theory emphasises the addressing of conflicts in the context of relationships. It has further been defined as "engaging with and transforming the relationships, interests, discourses and, if necessary, the very constitution of society that supports the continuation of violent conflict" (Miall 2006: 4). Lederach (2012) states that "envisioning entails deliberate perspective and willing attitude towards nurturing direction and purpose at the social conflict". This viewpoint is adopted by this thesis in terms of attitude change and creating friendships. This idea leads to a deliberate process, which deals with the personal and relational levels. Lederach supports this by stating that "the key to enduring change is not mass numbers of people but a quality of relationships between unlikely people" (Lederach 2012). The effects of violence are that they destroy a person's capacity to perceive themselves as an integrated part of a whole and as a result, people find it difficult to see themselves in a web of relationships that has to include those whom they perceive as their enemies (Lederach 2012). Conflict transformation's success lies in interaction and relationships. Lederach's moral imagination is discussed next.

Lederach (2007: 16) developed the principle of the "moral imagination" which is very useful in dealing with transformation and building peace which points to a journey. The moral imagination has four elements which are relationship, curiosity, creativity, and risk. The first element focuses on the "capacity to imagine the web of relationships". To build peace, people must have the ability to imagine themselves in a relationship with their enemy and without this, peacebuilding collapses (Lederach 2012). Breaking violence requires that people embrace "who we have been, are and will be" (Lederach 2007: 16) and this creates "relational interdependency" which can be likened to a web. To achieve this, there must be humility and self-recognition.

At the second level is "the discipline to sustain curiosity, a kind of imagination that lives in the untamed and mostly unexplored geographies of human interaction that lie beyond forced dualisms and polarization" (Lederach 2007: 17). This level focuses on deeply caring for people, the meaning of their experience, and a passion for people, truth, meaning, healing, and constructive change (Lederach 2007: 17). Creativity moves

towards the creation of something new and unexpected. Lederach (2007: 18) believes that the primary role of the moral imagination is to provide space for the creative act to emerge, and for this to happen, it requires an open attitude and perspective that believes that creativity is humanly possible (Lederach 2007: 18). Lastly, the final element is the willingness to take a risk. "Violence is known, peace is the mystery" (Lederach 2007: 18).

This thesis seeks to solve the recurrence of xenophobia as a problem and also bring change in the community through the moral imagination to transform the community. The aim is to begin to shift the understandings of who they are as a community and how they can work at local levels to address the issues and the sustainability of the changes that they are pursuing (Lederach 2012).

Conflict transformation sees peace as centred in the improved quality of relationships that people have (Lederach 2003: 20; Boege 2006: 7). At the personal level, the focus is on a change in perceptions and attitudes towards the conflict, and on the relational level, it looks to affect interaction and communication to enable mutual understanding (Musoke 2011: 27). The hope in the end is to transform fear and stereotypes and bring parties to redefine social connections. It should be noted that the focus of this study is that of the elimination of xenophobia through children's transformation. Children are the future of tomorrow thus conflict transformation through children will restore relationships at an early stage. This has the potential to address the recurrence of xenophobia in future in South Africa by raising a peace-practicing future adult group. Conflict transformation tries to restore a good relationship or to build one if it did not previously exist (Umubyeyi and Harris 2014: 456). Table 4.1 presents a brief comparison of the conflict resolution and conflict transformation perspectives.

Table 4.1: A brief comparison of the Conflict Resolution and Conflict Transformation perspectives.

Factor	Conflict Resolution Perspective	Conflict Transformation Perspective
The key question	How do we end something not desired?	How to end something destructive and build something desired?
The focus	It is content-centred.	It is relationship-centred.
The purpose	To achieve an agreement and solution to the presenting problem creating the crisis	To promote constructive change processes inclusive of – but not limited to – immediate solutions
The development of the process	It is embedded and built around the immediacy of the relationship where the presenting problems appear.	It is concerned with responding to symptoms and engaging the systems within which relationships are embedded.
Time frame	The horizon is short-term.	The horizon is mid- to long-range.
View of conflict	It envisions the need to de-escalate conflict processes.	It envisions conflict as a dynamic of ebb (conflict de-escalation to pursue constructive change) and flow (conflict escalation to pursue constructive change).

Conflict transformation assumes a bottom-up approach, which starts at the grassroots level. An example used by Lederach is that of Somaliland where he mentions that a series of discussions and dialogues on how to end war were conducted within local peace conferences and these dialogues managed to bring the clans together. Societal issues of immediate concern were brought to the fore of the discussions (Lederach 1997: 52-53). This is an example of a successful grassroots approach which the researcher believes is a relevant ingredient in successful peacebuilding.

Conflict transformation is usually for the long-term. This gives it a dual mandate where it becomes both an agent of social change and control (Reimann nd: 13) and transformation as the root character of human life can resolve the many conflicts that are constantly affecting people (Clarke-Habibi 2005). The failure to transform conflict leads to violence (Galtung 2000: 3). Contemporary approaches in conflict transformation uphold the values

of "(re)construction and/or (re)conceptualization" and transformation of "existing conflict intervention measures" (Ramsbotham *et al.* 2009: 22) for them to be successful.

Conflict transformation can be viewed as a series of phases.The first phase is when there is change from negative to beneficial debate directed at ending prevalent violence (Shonhiwa 2016a: 24). The second phase is on shaping a continuous peaceful bond accomplished by mending the damaging conflict and eliminating its core roots (Shonhiwa 2016a). Austin *et al.* (2011: 209) are of the view that training for conflict transformation plays an important role because it informs members on the causes, and it enhances people's skills in focusing on conflict and their feelings on the consequences of particular actions. This creates that which Lederach (2005) terms as a 'critical mass' or 'critical yeast'. Training then changes the conduct and attitudes of individuals (Austin, Fischer and Giessmann 2011: 222). This is in line with the theoretical framework educating for peace.

4.3 Educating for Peace

Mahatma Gandhi states "to have real peace in the world, we must teach children" (Song 2012: 79). The educating for peace theory, as a framework, allows one to be able to do that. Educating for peace has been embraced under the term "peace education" (Sellars 2004: 228) within existing literature. Because of this overlap, the researcher will explain that which it means and distinguish it from educating for peace. Peace education is defined by United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) as:

> The process of promoting the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values needed to bring about behaviour change that will enable children, youth and adults to prevent conflict and violence, both overt and structural; to resolve conflict peacefully; and to create the conditions conducive to peace, whether at an interpersonal, intergroup, national or international level (UNICEF: 2016; Das and Das 2014: 320).

Peace education has been further defined by Harris (2003: 9) as "a philosophy and a process involving skills, that include listening, reflection, problem solving, cooperation and conflict resolution". Hence from the above definitions, peace education involves the

empowerment of participants with skills and changing attitudes to create a safe world and build a sustainable environment (Ardizzone 2001: 17).

Peace education aims to teach about the threats of violence and the strategies for peace (Salomon and Cairns 2011: 11) such as non-violence, love, compassion, and reverence for all human life (Harris and Morrison 2003: 9). Its teachings provide the needed alternatives to societal violence and hence transform the present human condition through changing the social structure and thought patterns (Harris and Morrison 2003). The goals of peace education are to bring about persons who have the ability to critically think, to communicate, and to negotiate, and who are able to participate in conflict resolution and self-management which can be applied to peacebuilding and other areas of life (UNICEF: 2016). That which peace education looks at is the issue that if children are not taught to resolve conflicts in a non-violent manner and to treat others in a peaceful manner, they may become violent adults themselves later in life (Harris and Morrison 2003: 11). In this vein, peace education has mainly focused on and is limited to the curriculum.

Following from the above discussion, in this research, educating for peace will be defined as "educating for [peaceful] co-existence [that] seeks to replace dehumanising stereotypes, chronic distrust, hostility and moral exclusion with, first tolerance and minimal cooperation and, ultimately with moral inclusion" (Opotow, Gerson and Woodside 2005: 302; Lahai and Ware 2013: 72). Further, educating for peace focuses on "intersocial conditions engendering violence, including elements of violence in family upbringing and formal schooling" (Sellars 2004: 226). In essence, it becomes living peace which is reflected in doing, being, and knowing (Sellars 2004: 229).Educating for peace aims at "removing negative feelings by bringing people together and providing them with a forum where they can come to know each other and learn to trust, cooperate and coexist" (Agarwal 2011: 79). In qualitative research, peace education can be used to determine the impact that it will have on the behaviour of the participants (Harris 2003: 2). Peace education is rooted in the future, thus it is a long-term goal (Harris 2003: 20). The objectives of this study are to look at the recurring nature of xenophobia and hence

curb it in the future through peace education. Education cannot only be limited to that which the curriculum states, but the aim is to take it into the community environment at the grassroots level.

Education for peace can either be formal or informal (Harris 2003: 1) and the latter has been noted to have the capacity to promote social responsibility among young people (Ardizzone 2001: 21). Informal education includes family education and environmental education. Educating for peace can be "comprehensive, intergrative, critical or gender perspective peace education". Informal education has been applauded for its very large contribution to the success of education (Hermino 2017: 27). Educating for peace comes in three stages, which are peacebuilding, peace-making, and peacekeeping. This study will focus on the peacebuilding aspect of peace education which will not only aim at stopping the violence but at creating minds that desire peace as a basis for a just and sustainable future (Harris and Morrison 2003: 12). Educating for peace hence values the important contributions of each member in the group, for example, contributions within a dialogue (Pepinsky 2000: 164).

One attribute of educating for peace is that it must be framed within the social and cultural beliefs of the society as this will help the participants to "collectivise those individual experiences to promote national reconciliation and social healing" (Lahai and Ware 2013: 72). This allows for transforming the behaviour and beliefs of the people (Agarwal 2011: 79) and affords an opportunity to gain ownership of the peacebuilding process. Through educating for peace, the participants in this study will be taught skills on peaceful conditions and the process of creating them, thereby creating a peace-oriented consciousness within them. This will act as a transformation mechanism to ways of thinking that have been developed over a period of time from different sources and help them create new friendships (Harris and Morrison 2003: 28). Further, educating for peace brings children to a process where they can, on their own, create open relations with others and choose how they will relate when faced with violence (Pepinsky 2000: 167). From the above, educating for peace is therefore a powerful means to bring about change.

4.3.1 Characteristics and Nature of Educating for Peace

Education for peace programs usually differ from one place to the other based on the present situation that needs change (Bar-Tal 2002: 3). This means that it is "condition dependent" (Bar-Tal 2002: 4) as conditions that lead to conflict are different in each community. Thus, as a framework, it must be open-minded, simple, and creative. Also, educating for peace must be relevant and deal with real life issues concerning the society (Bar-Tal 2002: 8). Educating for peace is value-based (Zoeppritz 2016: 13) and requires experiential learning which affords an opportunity to acquire "values, attitudes, perceptions, skills and behavioural tendencies" (Bar-Tal 2002: 8). Peace education is holistic in that it includes both the emotional, cultural, social, and spiritual aspects (Ardizzone 2001: 17; Zoeppritz 2016: 13). It is remedial in that it aims to deter children from becoming violent within society and strives for the total development of the child (Das and Das 2014: 320).

4.3.2 Criticisms of Educating for Peace

Notwithstanding the above advantages, peace education has faced some criticisms within the field of research. For instance, it has been held that peace education by itself will not reduce violence hence it needs to be accompanied by legitimate economic opportunities (Lahai and Ware 2013: 86). Some have seen educating for peace as posing the risk of indoctrination (Sellars 2004: 229) in each different community. As a result:

> [To educate children for peace can then] give rise to the idea that we are very close to a community of saints or perfect altruists in which there would be no need of claiming for our rights simply because they would be always respected. Such a community, however, is far from being and even becoming a reality (Lourenço 1996: 26).

This has the risk of leading to the opposite, unintended route. Educating for peace concerns the entire community and not only pupils (Bar-Tal 2002: 5) yet it appears to be utilised more in a school setting. However, Hermino (2017: 27) argues that learners are at school less than 30% of the day and in the remaining 70%, learners are with their families and in the neighbourhood. From the above calculations, education in schools

contributes to only 30% of the educational outcomes of students. This allows educating for peace to be utilised in other non-conventional educational settings. Research also highlights that it is a difficult task to evaluate peace education objectives, as they are subjective. Also, research has revealed that peace education will not be successful in reducing violence on its own but it needs economic renewal which will give the youths a reason to get up in the morning (Lahai and Ware 2013: 86). However, having noted the weaknesses of educating for peace, the researcher strongly maintains that it is still a very effective theoretical framework for this study. Here, the setting is not within a school and secondly, the research design is participatory in nature and this will negate the possibility of propaganda and bias. The participants will, in the course of the action research cycle, create their own solutions for the issues discussed with them. The following section will look at case studies that show the effectiveness and impact of educating for peace.

4.4 Case Studies on Educating for Peace

4.4.1 South Africa

Maxwell, Enslin and Maxwell (2004: 104) conducted a study on educating about violence within South Africa using preschool children as participants. Located within South Africa, it focused on 11 schools and five pilots and 40 teachers were assessed. They note that child aggression has a possibility of developing into adult violence, thus they looked to see if aggression can be reduced in preschool children. They further note that using peace education in South African schools requires transformation of the educational curriculum and structure (Maxwell, Enslin and Maxwell 2004). The study reveals that the South African Education department has developed a peace education curriculum that focuses on issues of democracy and human rights through the subject of life orientation (Maxwell, Enslin and Maxwell 2004: 7).

The Methodist Church of Southern Africa preschool peace education program has used an action research framework with pre-schoolers. This is a unique development as it is the first time that one sees peace education for pre-schoolers being utilised. The teachers were first trained and they in turn trained the preschool pupils. The data was collected through conducted interviews, questionnaires, teacher observations, journals, and

structured observations during the free-play periods at the schools. The results reveal an evident reduction in the levels and occurrences of aggressive behaviour. That which the data however does not show is any evidence of any increase in tolerance or the negating of stereotypes. Hence this research reveals that peace education programs specifically directed at young children can facilitate the reduction of aggressive behaviour in early childhood and in turn they might reduce societal aggression. A unique and valuable contribution to take from this study is that children are a valuable human resource who can be utilised through educating for peace to see the reduction of recurring xenophobic violence in South Africa. A similarity that exists between this study and the researcher's research is that both aim at the reduction of violence using children as participants and both are located within a South African context. However, a variance exists where the researcher's focus is not on violence in general, but on a particular type of violence, xenophobia. Another difference that exists is that the researcher's intervention is child-oriented whereas in the above study, the children were not directly involved in the process. Their teachers were the ones who taught peace principles and they in turn taught and observed the pre-schoolers. Another disparity is that the setting is within a formal setting, a school, and the researcher's intervention is informal.

In another study conducted by Hariram (2003), looked at the commitment by the Department of Education in South African to enhance peace education in school. They saw that the department's education policies and curriculum statements reflected a genuine desire to deal with conflict at a curricular level. The researcher further found out that curriculum used in the intermediate phase in South African schools, made provision for the effective teaching of peace education principles and needed some modification to include more strategies on conflict resolution and nonviolence education (Hariram 2003: 51). The author also found that Life Orientation (LO) had been fundamental in empowering learners to live meaningful lives through "enhancing the practice of positive values, attitudes, behaviour and skills in the individual and the community" (Hariram 2003: 35). One of the assessments of LO requires that the learners "demonstrate an understanding of the advancement of a human rights culture by a display of anti-discriminatory behaviour" (Hariram 2003: 35). The values offered by this subject

suggests "that positive work is being done in South African schools to encourage positive behaviour patterns amongst learners" (Hariram 2003: 42). Looking at the South African position, I am therefore not aware of any changes in implementation and trained that occurred from use peace education. It appears that these studies might have been influenced by the ongoing revision of the Life orientation subject within the nation's Department of education.

4.4.2 Bosnia and Herzegovina

In September 1999, as part of the Royaumont Process, a three-day seminar on 'Conflict-Free Conflict Resolution' (CFCR) was conducted through government sponsorship. This came approximately four years after the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreements. The seminar hosted multi-ethnic groups that viewed each other as enemies (Clarke-Habibi 2005). The seminar proceeded over a couple of days, engaging this diverse group over issues on conflict, power, violence, transformation, and unity building. At the end of the workshops, the participants were transformed, and signs of friendship and mutual trust could be noticed. These results led to the design and creation of a unique program, Education for Peace (Clarke-Habibi 2005). This program would deal with the effects of the 1992-1995 war, which had caused the breakdown of trust within the communities.

The study was conducted using six pilot schools (inclusive of primary and secondary school) in three cities, namely, Sarajevo, Banja Luka, and Nova Bila, for the duration of two to three years. This is another case where peace education was used within a formal setting. The Minister of Education commissioned this study, which involves a disparity with this study, as no government authority has commissioned it. Another difference noted from this study is with respect to the length of the study running for three years. The degree for which this thesis is intended has a limitation in terms of years, and fieldwork will not be conducted for three years. However, the researcher thinks that such a number of years is relevant if educating for peace is to be effective. To change and shape new attitudes needs time to develop and nurture. Teacher trainings took place which were intended to equip them in being good facilitators as well as on the principles of peace. The findings of this research are a significant insight into enhancing educating for peace

as a theory. Conducting teacher trainings sessions is vital for the transference of knowledge as teachers usually encounter many children in every different year of enrolment. However, it would be of great advantage as well to directly train the children themselves to be peace-conscious such that they in turn can use peace principles in their day-to-day relations and at home. Art as a tool was used, for example, drama, puppet shows, mime, dance, and poetry and peace principles were included in the curriculum.

The outcomes of the project revealed that there was a change in teaching styles, interactions, and techniques. In addition, there was transformation of intercommunity relations. Children started to view each other from the peace lens and not from division. Lastly, local bonds were created (Clarke-Habibi 2005). Clarke-Habibi (2005) describes the Education for Peace Program (EPP) which was used since it had "demonstrated transformative effects on intrapersonal, interpersonal, intercommunity and inter-institutional relations over the past three years" (Clarke-Habibi 2005: 34). According to the author, educating for peace can act as a conflict resolution mechanism. This is in line with the forms of conflict transformation as mentioned in the above section by Austin *et al* (2011). Here, educating for peace "alters beliefs, attitudes, and behaviours "... from negative to positive peace attitudes toward conflict" (Clarke-Habibi 2005: 35). This is a relevant aspect and the most powerful impact that can be harnessed through using educating for peace as a framework. From the evidence in Chapter 2, one can note the impact that negative attitudes and stereotypes can have in inciting violence within a community. It will be necessary to utilise the positives of attitude alteration from peace education. Secondly, educating for peace can be used as democratic education where the participants are trained in skills to have critical thinking, debates, and coalition building, among other issues. Lastly, it can be used as a human rights awareness training model. This means that educating for peace, as a theoretical framework, can be used to achieve multiple desired results when implemented. That which is important to take away from this research is the fact that it is possible to carry out a child-focused community approach to bring about transformation in a society, the same objective of this research. Although the study provides useful insights, it is different in that it still takes place in a school setting as opposed to a community setting as is the case in this study.

4.4.3 Israel-Palestine

Biton and Salomon (2006) describe the process that was undertaken in mediating on Israeli-Palestinian youth relations through peace education. The groups included both males and females. These two groups within the community had their own different narratives regarding the violence that was imminent in their country. Hence the programme was designed to attain the goal of tolerance for the other side, weaken stereotypes and prejudice, and increase positive attitudes (Biton and Salomon 2006: 169). The study helped to create a pathway to reconciliation, which addressed the following:

a. Concerning the other: this was aimed to create self-awareness.
b. The other over me: to understand, be aware of, and be tolerant of others.
c. The distant other: to cultivate tolerance of Palestinians or Jews.

Face-to-face meetings were used to afford both sides an opportunity to listen to each other. As with the study in Bosnia and Herzegovina, it was carried out as workshops in regular schools with teachers as facilitators. The trainings became part of the curricula in the subjects of history, literature, and sociology. Tenth-grade males and females between 15 and 16 years of age participated. The findings showed that participation in a peace education program affects perceptions of peace within a group's collective narrative (Biton and Salomon 2006: 176). The participants' views on peace changed at the end and were different from that which they thought prior to the initiation of the study. There was evidence of positive and non-negative manners, viewing peace as cooperation and friendship.

However, that which is a unique finding from the study is evidence that peace education can become a barrier to the elimination of negative views and feelings. This development was noted especially among the Palestinians who favoured war as a peace measure after the program (Biton and Salomon 2006: 177). Levels of mistrust and hatred seemed to increase after the program, thus the authors conclude that participation "decoupled the

link between events and individuals humanising the latter in the eyes of their adversaries but not affecting the perception of their perspective" (Biton and Salomon 2006: 177). This was not an anticipated outcome. This then raises a valid question: does educating for peace directly affect views, perceptions, and attitudes at all or does it worsen them? From this study, peace education did the latter. It can be safely alleged then that when one uses educating for peace as a framework, one has to be aware that stereotypes and negative attitudes may be worsened and end up contributing to the continuous existence of conflict (Levy 2014: 4). Though there are various ways of teaching about conflict and peace, not all of them can be successful in mitigating conflict. This means that peace education has to use an effective peacebuilding tool other than a workshop to bring out a change in attitudes and perceptions. The above finding might lend itself to that which Levy (2014: 3) states:

> In various studies, the role of education in situations of conflict and peace and its effectiveness are mediated by several factors. For example, the nature of the conflict and its continuation from the past into the present affect the methods employed as well as the chances for a successful education for coexistence and peace.

4.4.4 Sierra Leone

Sierra Leone had a damaging civil war where much cruelty and human rights violations took place (Lahai and Ware 2013: 70). According to the authors, transitional justice and peace processes such as Truth and Reconciliation processes, though used, were not adequate to help those affected by violence. Hence they argue that there is a need to use grassroots initiatives such as peace education (Lahai and Ware 2013: 71). There was a great need for healing and reconciliation especially of ex-combatants into the community, which is the same angle from which this research is based. However, to achieve this, the participants in the investigation included representation of everyone within the community, different from the researcher's research which focuses on a child community. Lastly, this study's focus is on transformation and not only reconciliation and healing. The authors explored the social relationships of the community through educating for peace. Their study employed many tools to bring about national reconciliation and social healing. Examples of tools used were talking drums, comedy shows, African drums, and soap

operas which the authors note have changed societal attitudes and behaviours, and that have helped them to learn how to peacefully coexist (Lahai and Ware 2013: 79-81). This study highlights a significant point that for peace-oriented education to succeed, there needs to be a locally framed peace system and the adoption of relevant tools which will bring about the required change.

As seen from the above examples, most educating for peace or peace education programs have been institutionalised and concentrated within school settings (Bar-Tal 2002: 6). Johnson (2005: 290) has alleged that for education to impact children and youth, compulsory public education is necessary, thus this position sees schools as the major agent to achieve socialisation (Bar-Tal and Rosen 2009: 560). The school hence becomes the place where peace can be achieved. It is true that schools do have a greater reach in terms of human resources as participants, as children are compulsorily required to attend schools (Bar-Tal and Rosen 2009). This is supported by Song (2012: 79) who states that children need to learn values within an educational setting and for the author, the school setting is an ideal place for such. However, this limits the scope of the usage of educating for peace which can go beyond formal spaces into other informal spaces. Bar-Tal and Roosen (2009: 559) also recognise this fact that schools play an important role in bringing the required change, but they are only one agent. King (2005: 906), in her article entitled *Educating for conflict or peace: Challenges and dilemmas in post-conflict Rwanda*, notes that curriculum reform has the potential to reduce hostile perceptions which could spark new hostilities in a community and acknowledges that informal education is important as well. Sellars (2004: 228) adds a further category of curricula from where children learn from the thus-termed "hidden curiculum" which is a structure of indirect violence. To achieve major change, more has to be done within the political, institutional, societal, and cultural spheres. In the following section, the concept of *ubuntu* will be looked at as a concept on its own and as a tool that can be used within educating for peace.

A related concept is that of capacity building. Capacity building is essential for peacebuilding to be successful in a post-conflict society (Karbo 2014: 16). It seeks entry

into post war and violence societies (Karbo 2014: 20). The main aim of using this approach is the "desire to bring about positive social change" (Karbo 2014: 21). Capacity building has been defined by the International Development Research Centre as "changes in behaviour, relationships, activities or actions of the people, groups and organisations with whom a program works directly" (Karbo 2014: 16). For capacity building to be successful, it must be engaged on the individual, institutional, and societal levels (Karbo 2014: 17). Capacity building becomes the ability of organisations, individuals, and societies to identify problems and to plan and manage development effectively, efficiently, and sustainably. This means that human resources are developed for effective change (Knowledge Managementand Program Support Department 2004: 8).

It has been noted through case studies that development of capacity has usually been shaped by cultural, political, economic, social, and historical influences, among other factors (Karbo 2014: 17). Thus, interventions that need to be employed must focus on the transfer of knowledge and skills development to build capacity for peace and this process must aim to strengthen the society or individual to increase their capacity to meet the challenges that prevent their efforts for peace and to identify that which is important to enable them to pursue peace (Karbo 2014: 17). This thesis aims to build the capacity of children in South Africa to be individuals that know, practise, and acknowledge peaceful means in resolving any grievances, thus promoting the elimination of recurrences of xenophobia in South Africa in the coming years.

Capacity building has two levels, which comprise the individual and the society levels. The individual level involves enabling individuals to embark on a process of learning to build on their existing knowledge and skills (Knowledge Managementand Program Support Department 2004: 9). On the other hand, the societal level involves developing the capacities of the society as a whole to bring transformation for development. Social capital and cohesion are at the core of societal capacity (Knowledge Managementand Program Support Department 2004: 9). This thesis takes an individual capacity building approach where it desires to see change on individual perspectives.

4.5 Ubuntu

Ubuntu is a principle of social organisation that has been used to manage conflicts (Rampke 2016: 31), and has also been seen as a form of guidance for non-violence (Makoni and Higgs 2016: 197). *Ubuntu* (Zulu), *Unhu* (Shona), *Ujanaa* (East Africa), *uMunthu* (Chichewa), *Botho* (Tswana), *Vumunhu* (Changani), or *Utu* in Swahili is a word that comes from the 'Bantu language' used widely in Africa (Asike 2016: 3; Mangena 2016: 67; Mawere and van Stam 2016). Other scholars are of the view that the word originates from the South African Zulu/Xhosa/Ndebele culture (Chinomona 2016; Okoro and Nkama Chinyere 2018: 115), and it means human interdependence and humaneness (Murithi 2009: 225; Hapanyengwi- Chemhuru and Shizha 2012: 21; Waghid 2014: 268). People are all human because all belong to the human society (Olowu 2018: 11). The word originates from an idiom, *Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*, which means 'I am because we are; we are because I am' (Arthur, Issifu and Marfo 2015: 70). *Ubuntu* thus becomes "a bond of unity amongst the people of Africa" (Asike 2016: 7).

The *ubuntu* practice has been linked to respect for elders, treating the destitute and helpless with care, and cultivating sharing and trust amongst Africa's peoples (Asike 2016: 6). *Ubuntu* is a "form of moral consciousness in terms of which communal Africans embark on caring, compassionate, hospitable and forgiving human engagements to ensure that human interdependency and humanity become actualized" in the practices of individuals, communities, and in educational institutions (Waghid and Smeyers 2012: 13-15). In the South African context, Archbishop Desmond Tutu (1999) states that a person with *ubuntu* is open and available to others, affirms them, and does not feel threatened by them because he or she knows that he or she belongs in a greater whole and when others are humiliated, tortured, or oppressed, they themselves are diminished (Shizha 2009: 143). Mawere and van Stam (2016) liken this openness and availability to Christian biblical principles where Jesus Christ states "Abide in me, and I in you" (John 15: 4). They conclude that being together and available to others, as mentioned by Bishop Tutu, essentially means abiding in love and togetherness. They dissect that which this love entails and state that it goes beyond the individual self and is expressed towards others

(Mawere and van Stam 2016). The same sentiments of the biblical principles of love in view of *ubuntu* are also raised by Buqa (2016). Looking at the commandment "love your neighbour as you love yourself" (Mark 12: 31), he states that love is the "apex of Ubuntu" where self-love has the ability to extend to other people who can be family or friends, and even to the love of the country of South Africa (Buqa 2016: 2). According to him, love can only be complete if it is also extended to the minority groups within the nation and thus this love becomes a symbol of peace (Buqa 2016: 63). *Ubuntu* then becomes the instruction to love one's neighbour as per that which is required in the Gospels (Eliastam 2015: 2-3). This love will embrace the 'other' who will include even a foreign immigrant.

Ubuntu/Unhu values comprise brotherhood, respect for each other, and the respect for the great value of human life (Hapanyengwi- Chemhuru and Shizha 2012: 22; Asike 2016: 8). These values then inform the attitudes that people have and the way in which they will interact with each other (Murithi 2009: 224). If one has *ubuntu*, they are not threatened by others' prosperity because they belong in the greater good (Murithi 2009: 225). Hence the focus of this study is premised on the notion that when society has *ubuntu*, they are compelled to value human life and the mere fact of being human (Hapanyengwi-Chemhuru and Shizha 2012). The philosophy of *ubuntu* can be the basis for transformation as opting for *Unhu/Ubuntu* preserves life.

Dube (2016), in contribution to the discussions on *ubuntu*, brings a different legal view to it and looks at it through the lenses of human rights. Here, *ubuntu* regards humanity as universal. Thus, in his article, *ubuntu* values can be enhanced and strengthened when people embrace the idea that as humans, they share "our common humanness" (Dube 2016: 3). This view of humanity is also supported by Chinomona (2016: 26) who states that human rights and *ubuntu* are linked together and gives an analogy of them "as working telephone wires that work hand in hand". In this regard, xenophobia becomes an act against humanity. The author further highlights that for there to be a successful alleviation on the challenge of xenophobia, there needs to be an adequate understanding of the "spirit of Ubuntu" by all South Africans (Chinomona 2016: 26). He further observes that in the new South Africa, human rights and values such as *ubuntu* have been defined

narrowly and exclusively for the benefit of locals thus excluding foreigners (Chinomona 2016). The author is of the belief that through exercising the 'spirit of Ubuntu' we can eradicate the occurrence of xenophobia in South Africa (Chinomona 2016: 26). In this study, that which the research aims to bring about is that which Asike (2016: 2) states is "a commitment to the philosophy of 'ubuntu' to be able to bring about sustainable peacebuilding in our modern states in Africa".

To achieve the above means that there is a need to have an "*ubuntu*-style" (Biraimah 2016: 50) education that will be used as a means to attach an African aspect to the educating for peace framework. This is done to frame educating for peace as a theory within the social and cultural beliefs of the participants (Lahai and Ware 2013: 72). According to Waghid (2014: 268), as a form of moral consciousness, *ubuntu* carries within it the ability to prevent inhumane acts which include genocide, the abuse of human beings, torture, murder, and xenophobia. It has been constitutive of African communal practices for a very long time over 35 thousand years (Hapanyengwi- Chemhuru and Shizha 2012: 22; Waghid 2014: 272). With *ubuntu*, all persons have an "indivisible right to be respected and valued, and to have their perspective and voice recognised, subject to no other condition than being human" (Rampke 2016: 32). Etieyibo (2017: 311-320) highlights the importance of moral education on child and adolescent development by expressing that:

> [Ubuntu] requires us to create an environment that nurtures and develops the critical, creative, collaborative, and imaginative thinking of children. This is because, in ubuntu communities and ubuntu-inspired communities, the children that are gathered together are expected to individually reflect on the stimuli that are before them. This is not all. They are also expected to contribute collectively to moving the discussion and activity forward, both in the kinds of questions they ask and in the solutions they proffer. In their contribution, they are expected to be critical, interpretative, creative and imaginative. They cannot simply rehash the ideas, views and suggestions of others, but have to show some originality and how they, as individuals, are implicated in the context.

The above-mentioned characteristics of *ubuntu* also have an added advantage in that they enable the AR methodology adopted by this study to work and yield results. The

philosophy of *ubuntu* can be the basis for transformation as it can be used to educate for diversity, building trust between adversaries within the community, and become a key to peacebuilding in South Africa (Hapanyengwi- Chemhuru and Shizha 2012: 24; Waghid 2014).

However, there has been criticism on the relevance of *ubuntu* in Africa. Some researchers have argued that though people celebrate *ubuntu* as an African phenomenon that values respect, there are many human atrocities that are constantly happening in Africa (Murithi 2009: 223; Waghid 2014). Naude (2013: 246) argues that when *ubuntu* has been interpreted in a narrow or ethnic fashion this will lead to it being corrupted and reduced to benefit those regarded. 'We' is limited to those in one's family, tribe, or political party, and *ubuntu* becomes a system of patronage that is used to pursue power and money. Naude (2013: 246) adds that there are signs that *ubuntu* has disappeared completely and traces this to factors such as the damage done by colonialism to African identity, cultural globalisation, and the encroachment of modernity on traditional African culture. Another reason why *ubuntu* has been criticised is that relating to the high murder, rape, and violence rates in South Africa coupled with corruption and nepotism, and these question the effectiveness of *ubuntu* as a social value (Eliastam 2015). The question often asked is how this can be possible if *ubuntu* is a lived reality of all African people. It is the researcher's consideration that to tackle this, there needs to be an expansion of the practice of *ubuntu* from being a value uttered to a value practised. Educating for peace can help bridge this gap.

In their article, Makoni and Higgs (2016: 197) further note that *ubuntu* as a value has almost lost its value because of the influences of modern times, thus there is a need to revisit it in African peacebuilding. The authors, however, do not call for "an uncritical or blind return to the African past but for innovative approaches for peace making and peacebuilding that take cognizance of indigenous structures that can be exploited to build sustainable peace in Africa" (Makoni and Higgs 2016: 199). Okoro and Nkama Chinyere, who state that *ubuntu* must be re-studied as an instrument for social cohesion, also

support this view. *Ubuntu* then becomes the force that binds the African community in an "interlock web of social relationship" (Okoro and Nkama Chinyere 2018: 124).

From the above discussion, *ubuntu* is in contradiction with current xenophobic violence in South Africa. Xenophobia "defaces African moral and historical pedigree" and if allowed to thrive, "Africa will be side-lined into the dark path of human history and reduced into socio-philosophical obscurity" (Okoro and Nkama Chinyere 2018: 121). There needs to be a change in this current position. In South Africa, *ubuntu* has played a significant role in peacebuilding, especially in conducting the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). During the TRC, *ubuntu* was used as a conflict resolution mechanism that "required the parties to consider peacebuilding in the spirit of pardon, forgiveness, fairness, and openness; helping to begin a process toward a sustainable peace" (Etieyibo 2017: 464). Despite the arguments noted in research that the TRC, though an innovative move, was not successful (Neocosmos 2010: 126-127), it is the hope of this study that *ubuntu* can also be used to attend to xenophobic violence in South Africa.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the concepts of conflict transformation, educating for peace, *ubuntu*, and capacity building. It emphasised the importance of conflict transformation as a peacebuilding framework and educating for peace. In addition, case studies where educating for peace has been used have been looked at in detail. In all this, it has been argued in this chapter that for change to be effected in social conflicts, a framework for change has to include building relationships of trust and action learning. The research methodology will be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 5: Children as Victims, Perpetrators, and Change Agents

5.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide an understanding of children's participation in peacebuilding. The focus will be to look at child participation as a recognisable right for children in South Africa. In addition, the extent to which the right has been utilised in peacebuilding will be discussed. An exploration of some key factors on participation will take place and a selection of case studies that focus on child participation will be examined.

5.2 Children as Victims (foreigners)

While most migrants are still adults, there has been a major change in recent years where parents migrate with their children. Children then comprise part of the migrant group within South Africa. Crush and Tawodzera (2014: 678), in looking at the Zimbabwean migrant group, state that more and more Zimbabwean migrants are settling in South Africa and bringing their children with them or sending for them on arrival. Some research has focused on the experiences of immigrant students at a university or at the secondary school level. Osman conducted a study on xenophobia as experienced by immigrant learners in the inner city schools of Johannesburg. The study focused on five schools in Johannesburg's inner city (Osman and Kruger 2010: 54). The author found that in the 2008 xenophobic violence, schooling was affected in numerous ways (Osman 2009: 67). For example, immigrant teachers did not report for duty as they feared for their physical security. The study further found that prior to the attacks, migrant children were regularly subject to derogatory labelling, verbal abuse, and name-calling from fellow pupils (Osman 2009: 69). This finding is supported in another study by Motha and Ramadiro (2005: 19) who also state that refugee children have often been taunted by their teachers in the classroom through name-calling.

Interestingly, Osman (2009) also reported that principals were 'unaware' or 'oblivious' to xenophobia at its peak in 2008. The author reveals that the immigrant participants reported that they received very little compassion from the locals and they were often humiliated through stereotyping as poor or dirty, prejudice (taking our jobs), bias, and discrimination through name-calling (Osman and Kruger 2010: 59). Most of the immigrant participants showed a strong sense of not belonging, and thus experienced social exclusion. Osman then concluded that the level of prejudice and discrimination against immigrant learners was severe and persistent. She cited bio-cultural factors such as the shade of the skin colour as an important determinant of prejudice (Osman 2009: 73).

Osman then argues that for the anti-xenophobia education to be instrumental in the fight against xenophobia, it should address the deeper damage done to South Africans in the past (Everatt 2010: 8) to rebuild trust in the self and in others. This is commendable but this thesis suggests that the process to conflict transformation should not only be on addressing the past injustices, but also the contemporary damage caused by xenophobic violence. This brings one to the need of having child peacebuilders as part of the process as a long-term and sustainability measure. Osman indicates that both immigrants and locals have high levels of distrust amongst themselves. This could also be some form of fear of those who are different which provides the grounds for violence. This brings one back to the need to address it. Fear is the opposite of trust, and rebuilding trust through conflict transformation can assist in dealing with this collective fear which creates the 'us' versus 'them' mindset (Osman and Kruger 2010: 59).

(Singh 2013a: 95) conducted a study at a university in Limpopo which involved fifty male and female students selected from the foreign students at the university (from Botswana, Kenya, Swaziland, Nigeria, Zambia, and Zimbabwe). Participation was voluntary and anonymous. Data collection involved questionnaires and interviews. Similar findings were noted as per the two studies by Manik and Singh (2013). The students, as the teachers, had suffered from name-calling from other students and exclusion from class discussions because they did not speak or understand the local language. That which they experienced is termed as "non-violent xenophobia" (Singh 2013a: 100-101) which leads

to psychological scars. Muthuki further delves into the experiences of university students in Durban through a qualitative study (Muthuki 2013; Singh 2013a: 110). The study sample comprised twenty-two foreign African male and female students from Kenya, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Malawi, Tanzania, Uganda, Cameroon, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), and Liberia. Open-ended interview questions were used to allow the students to reflect and give detailed accounts and perceptions of their experiences in South Africa (Muthuki 2013: 112; Singh 2013a: 113). The social identity theory was used to examine how foreign African students at the University of KwaZulu-Natal constructed and modified their social identities. The findings of the study revealed that as much as South Africans seemed to recognise and embrace *ubuntu*, the hostility towards foreign African nationals was to the contrary (Muthuki 2013; Singh 2013a: 117). Women felt vulnerable and men felt that they were hated for stealing jobs and women. However, these two studies focused on university students and not children which speaks to the fact that children's experiences have not been adequately documented. Perhaps this is the case because of the stringent ethical requirements set when dealing with children.

An article entitled *'They call us Makwerekweres' – Foreign Learners Speak out against Xenophobia* reports a study with 24 (male and female) respondents (Gopal 2013: 131). These respondents were aged between 18 and 20 years of age. Face-to-face interviews were conducted in KwaZulu-Natal and respondents were selected through snowball sampling across the greater Durban area. The study focused again on the position of the individual respondents and on their views in relation to xenophobia, that is, their perceptions (Gopal 2013: 131). The questions centred on the respondents' construction on xenophobia, recollection of the 2008 attacks, the relationship between the locals and foreigners, and feelings of safety (Gopal 2013: 137). The respondents showed fear of the violence that they had experienced in the 2008 attacks and they lived in the fear of its recurrence. There was also a concern regarding personal and bodily safety. They further felt discriminated by the South African Home Affairs, in public libraries, and by the police (Gopal 2013: 136). As in the above two articles, it does not explicitly deal with children below the age of 18 which is the majority age in South Africa.

Another research study was conducted in Johannesburg looking at the experiences of Zimbabwean children who were enrolled at a refugee school. At this school, they accommodate documented and undocumented children (Meda 2017: 63). The study looked at twelve refugee children. These were aged between 15 and 18 years. The researcher used semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions to obtain the required data. The study revealed that the participants faced hostile post-migration experiences in the communities in which they resided. The learners faced discrimination and were denied access to health care. The learners experienced exclusion by community members and much hostility and dislike (Meda 2017: 66). These refugee children also faced these post-migration experiences at school as they tried to fit in (Meda 2017: 64). That which is interesting from the findings is that despite the experiences that they had faced, the refugee children remained dedicated and perseverant, resulting in them obtaining higher marks at school. They showed high "resilience and optimism" (Meda 2017: 66) despite their experiences. However, that which was evident was that the Zimbabwean refugee children still did not have a relationship with their own identity, and they showed high levels of uncertainty about their destiny. Usually, they end up changing their identity to fit into the community in which they find themselves. "The only certainty was the state of being uncertain about the future" (Meda 2017: 66).

Educational exclusion has been another issue that has been of concern perhaps as a different manifestation of xenophobia (Crush and Tawodzera 2014). South African schools have been saturated with parents looking for educational spaces for their children. Crush and Tawodzera conducted a study in 2010 in Cape Town and Johannesburg. In Cape Town, it targeted three in three different neighbourhoods: Observatory, Du Noon, and Masimphumelele. In Johannesburg, interviews were conducted in Alexandra (a township) and Orange Farm (an informal settlement). Fifty (50) participants in each city were interviewed, ranging between the ages of 18 and 40+ (Crush and Tawodzera 2014). The study shows that many parents have difficulties in enrolling in studies without documents and they did not know that they had rights as per the South African Constitution. Parents also thought that they only had privileges that could be taken away by the South African government at any given time. It has been argued that the

legal status of Zimbabwean migrant parents and their children, and in some cases of independent child migrants, cannot be a determinant in allowing access to the schools (Crush and Tawodzera 2014: 679). All Zimbabwean children, irrespective of their immigration status in South Africa, confront the same types of obstacles when they or their parents and guardians seek to access the public South African educational system. The authors state that there is significant evidence that schools are infringing children's rights guaranteed in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and the South African Constitution. This is a form of institutionalised xenophobia in the school system.

There has also been a focus on the experiences of Zimbabwean immigrant learners in view of access to education (Crush and Tawodzera 2014: 680). From their study, there is evidence of a contradiction between the Constitution and Immigration laws pertaining to access to education. The Constitution, as the highest law of the land, guarantees all a right to education and yet Section 39 of the Immigration Act bars attendance if a child is not well documented. This contradiction makes it difficult to enroll children (Crush and Tawodzera 2014: 682). The study presents the same results as given in the study by Osman and Kruger (2010) and shows the existence of immigrant prejudice towards the educational rights of immigrant children. The limitation, however, in this study is that it specifically targeted one group of immigrants, that is, the Zimbabweans, yet research reveals the existence of other migrant nationalities within South Africa.

The above studies show that most literature has focused on the perceptions of those who are affected, and these have mainly been adults and not children, even within the formal settings at universities and secondary schools.

Livesey (2006) studied Rwandan refugee children and the effects that xenophobia has on them in South Africa. The scope of participants was however limited to only one category of foreigners, that is, Rwandan refugees. According to the author, little research exists that targets children's experiences on the issue, hence the aim was to determine in which ways the children were affected through a survey. Of the 10 children interviewed,

four were boys and six were girls between the ages of seven to 17 years of age. Livesey identifies this age range as the middle childhood developmental and adolescence stages. This research also adopts a similar approach in terms of participant age. All participants resided or had resided in one of two shelters in Athlone, Cape Town (Livesey 2006: 69). Most of the participants were enrolled in school. This is a different observation from that noted by Crush and Tawodzera (2014) above which raises issues of enrolment being difficult. Literature has suggested that refugee children rarely attend school due to a lack of finances to pay for school fees and because some schools refuse to take children without papers. This is a slight contrast with Livesey's findings (2006). However, it seems that this is one exception in the problem of exclusion from school. According to the author, enrolment of the participants was facilitated by the social workers at the shelters where children resided which reflects the reason why all were enrolled at school without any problems.

The findings also show that the children shared that a positive relationship existed with their teachers. They usually supported them in cases of discrimination by other class members. This aspect differs from that noted by Osman above where teachers had certain attitudes towards the learners. This reveals a unique and different finding which highlights that a possibility of good relationships can exist between pupils and teachers and perhaps between pupils themselves. However, some of the participants did acknowledge xenophobic comments that were made by others regarding them, their language, and their countries of origin (Livesey 2006: 70). As a result, the majority of the children expressed the desire to go back to their home countries. Name-calling was also noted (*'makwerekwere'*) (Livesey 2006: 81). The research gives a significant insight into the perceptions, feelings, and emotions of the refugee children. The author states that experiences had to be seen within the context of a child's developmental process. Children between middle childhood and adolescence might experience and interpret incidents from a developing process and not within the framework of xenophobia (Livesey 2006: 74). This might explain why some of the children experienced xenophobia in their community but could not recognise it due to a lack of experience and knowledge about xenophobia (Livesey 2006: 74). The findings of the study further show that white South

Africans treated the foreign children better than black South Africans. This has been discussed in the previous chapter on the findings of SAMP that revealed that although white nationals also showed negative attitudes towards immigrants, they most often did not convey this through actions that were noticed by refugees (Livesey 2006: 84). Coloured South Africans in this study were also found to not be as prejudicial in comparison to the black nationals. This was a positive situation for the refugee children as all of them are living in areas where mostly coloured people reside. In conclusion, the research showed that refugee children do experience xenophobia in Cape Town, but the actions directed towards them are not life-threatening. However, in the future when they become adults, it is the consideration of this research that they will face life-threatening attacks that need to be mitigated now.

From the above, three observations can be made. Some of the studies tend to focus on a specific migrant group, for example, Zimbabwean or Rwandan immigrant children instead of migrant children from a broad spectrum of the immigrant population. Secondly and more importantly, there has been no attempt to investigate the possibility of children's contribution towards the elimination of xenophobia in South Africa as a form of participation. Most studies focus only on the experiences of either the learners or teachers. Thus, it limits the right to participation. Much research in the area of children and xenophobia examines the effects of xenophobia on children at their schools, their experiences within the community, and issues of exclusion from schools but not their role as peacebuilders to eliminate it. No research has looked to see friendship creation and tolerance between the immigrants and local children. However, some research has focused on child participation in peacebuilding through the use of participatory means to end general societal violence. However, this area needs to be further developed.

5.3 Children as Perpetrators (South Africans)

This section reviews the research on the involvement of children in xenophobic violence towards foreigners. Singh, in the article entitled *Zimbabwean Teachers' Experiences of Xenophobia in Limpopo Schools*, looks at Zimbabwean teachers' experiences of xenophobia at schools in the province of Limpopo (Singh 2013b: 52). Using the integrated

threat and scapegoating theories, the author highlights the problems of threats of other groups as felt by those with whom they co-exist. The integrated threat theory has four major components of threats which are the realistic, the symbolic, intergroup anxiety, and the negative stereotyping components (Singh 2013b: 57). The scapegoating hypothesis highlights that foreigners have been responsible for the increase in limited resources in South Africa and this is used as a valid reason for scapegoating migrants (Singh 2013b: 58). The author used the qualitative methodology to collect data through interviews that were conducted with teachers. Zimbabwean teachers were purposively selected from the teacher population and were interviewed through semi-structured interview sessions that focused on the experiences of the foreign teachers in South Africa (Singh 2013b: 38).

The findings revealed that teachers experienced xenophobia in direct ways, for example, a lack of respect from learners because of their inability to speak the local language. This disrespect was also evident within the staff community and the workplace setting in the exclusion in promotions and the possibility of losing their jobs because of their nationality. That which the study concludes is that "South Africans need to change their attitudes towards immigrant teachers who are providing an essential service for local children who are in dire need of the skills they bring into this country" (Singh 2013b: 63). The conclusion is the focus of the current research. The question to be asked is how child participants, through educating for peace, can negate such attitudes.

Another study was undertaken in KwaZulu-Natal in 2011 focusing on Zimbabwean immigrant teachers who had migrated to South Africa after 2000. The objectives were "to provide a demographic profile of the teachers, the reasons for their exit from Zimbabwe and migrating to SA, their personal and professional experiences in South Africa and the duration of their stay in SA" (Manik 2013: 73). As with the above article, the article focused on their experiences and thoughts on xenophobia in South Africa. The study covered three areas: Durban, Pietermaritzburg, and Jozini. Purposive and snowball sampling was used to locate eleven participants who were interviewed through either face-to-face or telephonic semi-structured interviews. The findings revealed that a majority of the immigrant teachers were experiencing xenophobic prejudices, attitudes, and behaviour

at the workplace and within the society (Manik 2013: 74). Further, the author found that "xenophobic behaviour and attitudes were apparent in HEI's, students and colleagues with damaging social and psychological effects for the immigrant teachers such as self-quarantining which eventually led to loneliness for some teachers" (Manik 2013: 82). The findings again highlight the impact that attitude has in terms of xenophobic violence. The researcher agrees with the conclusion by the author that attention must focus on how Zimbabwean immigrant teachers can be harnessed to become agents of positive change in South African schools and Higher Education Institutions.

From the above findings, one can note that children have also been perpetrators of xenophobic violence in their own right. There is a need to change this narrative and equip them to become agents of peace.

5.4 Children as Change Agents

Some researchers have argued that allowing children to participate in public issues robs them of the enjoyment of their childhood (Malone and Hartung 2010: 28). The obligations on the state to protect, respect, and promote the rights of children to participate in decisions that affect them are governed by international, African, and national legal instruments which will be discussed in the following sub-sections.

5.4.1 The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) is a document that has given civil rights to children. South Africa has ratified this Convention. The Convention defines children as those below 18 years of age. It allows and encourages child participation and since its enactment, child participation has become a debated issue (Lansdown 2010). In Article 12 and 13, the Convention gives children the right to express their views freely, civil rights, freedom of expression and religion, freedom of conscience, association, information, and the right to privacy. These rights extend to the family, school, or community spheres. All children who have the capability to form their own personal views can apply these rights (Lansdown 2010: 12). In such circumstances, age

cannot be used to sideline child participation in any issues. From the convention, participation becomes a human right (Varjavandi 2017: 29).

Children's participation has been interpreted and practised in different ways depending on the country. In bringing about the child values of Article 12, meaningful child-led action research projects must be undertaken that allow the children to be a "catalyst for transformative practices" (Malone and Hartung 2010: 30). The effect of this is that it will directly enhance and improve children's lives. According to Varjavandi (2017: 28-30), the CRC views children in two ways. Firstly, in the "dominant protectionist approach", children are seen as weaker than adults and thus needing protection. Secondly, a "protagonist approach" is also highlighted in the CRC and here, children are protected and recognised as holders of rights in their own capacity (Varjavandi 2017: 30-31).

5.4.2 Child Participation

Child participation has most often been defined in terms of the roles that adults have attached to children as appropriate for children. Usually this is from a viewpoint that children on their own cannot "participate in decision-making or contribute to society unless they are formally engaged through adult-initiated projects" (Malone and Hartung 2010: 24). There is no universal definition of participation. The literature has generally described participation as "belonging within a family or community" (Lansdown 2010: 11), and taking part in that community (Theis 2010: 344). Furthermore, it has been held that participation has been narrowly defined and has always taken an adult-centred definition. Also, most participation has been educational and not transformative (Malone and Hartung 2010: 33). Using Chawla's definition, Malone and Hartung further define participation as a process where children and youth engage with people over issues that impact their individual persons or their collective life situations. This suggests that children and youth have the potential of becoming active agents in the construction of a more peaceful society through peacebuilding (Ataöv and Haider 2006: 128). However, research shows that in adult-centred societies, children have not always been given their right to participate, but have usually been sidelined (Lansdown 2010: 17; Varjavandi 2017: 2).

Lansdown (2010: 20) has identified three broad types of children's participation:

a. Consultative participation: this means that children's views, knowledge, and understanding are sought by adults such that they can build an understanding of their experiences. This becomes a chance for the children to express their views.
b. Collaborative participation: this involves a form of partnership between adults and children which creates room for the active engagement of the children in initiation of the projects or services.
c. Child-led participation: this gives children the opportunity to identify issues concerning them, to initiate activities, and to advocate change for themselves or their communities. Adults will only assume a facilitator's role to help children in terms of administration, advice, and support.

This study recommends that child-led participation allow children to participate in peacebuilding and to own the experience.

There are two types of participation. "There is a discourse of children's participation that is predominantly social – that speaks of networks, of inclusion, of adult-child relations, and of the opportunities for social connection that participatory practice can create" (Thomas 2007: 206). On the other hand, there is participation that is political in nature. This thesis focuses on the discourse where the child can be involved in participatory practices that create change. Hart's ladder of participation becomes a point of particular importance. Most literature shows that children's participation is usually seen in that which Hart describes as 'Tokenism' (Hart 1992; Ward 2012). Tokenism means that children are given a voice, but they have "little or no choice about the subject or the style of communicating it, and little or no opportunity to formulate their own opinions" (Hart 1992: 9-10). This means that they are consulted far too late within a process of policy review or creation. This results in a limited influence on agendas. Even when they do contribute their views, feedback is missing such that they do not know if their views have had any impact (Tisdall 2017: 61). Decoration has also been a form of child participation where

children support a particular cause. For example, giving children T-shirts to wear and having photographs taken becomes a decorative type of participation.

5.4.3 Ladder of Participation

To overcome the above-mentioned forms of participation, Hart (1992: 2-3) highlights that realising a child's right to participation entails "giving children a 'voice' to control the process and children having control over the decisions". It comprises four levels, which include:

> (a) being informed about a decision that will be or has already been made; (b) being consulted for purposes of expressing a view; (c) having an opportunity to contribute towards influencing outcomes; and (d) making independent decisions (including the right to veto a decision already made by others) provided the child in question has the intellectual and emotional competence to do so.

In South Africa, some forms of these requirements have been met. Figure 5.1 depicts the ladder of participation.

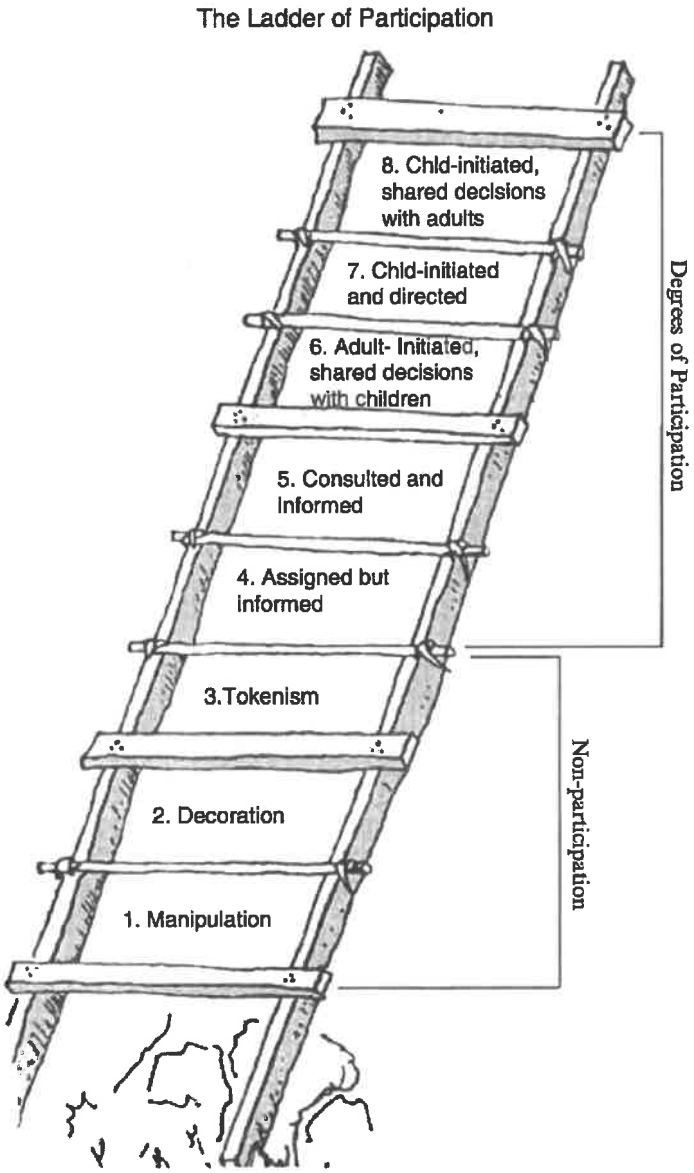


Figure 5.1: Ladder of participation

Malone and Hartung (2010: 33) bring out the advantages of child participation when they state that "we believe that for many children's participation projects, even though the intention may be transformative, change mainly occurs as mere 'awareness raising', sometimes moving to actual physical changes, but rarely contesting the dominant political and cultural hegemony". A study that evaluated the impact of child and youth participation

in peacebuilding in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo found several benefits of child participation in peacebuilding:

a. Child participants became more aware, responsible, and active citizens in peace matters.
b. There was a shift in the mindset of the children, and they became more optimistic and peaceful. Also, their thoughts and behaviours in the way they engaged at home and in the community changed.
c. They showed more individual commitment to peacebuilding.
d. A reduction in discrimination was noticed and, on the other hand, they became more open to cohabitation. Here, in the study, cohabitation meant "moving beyond co-existence, towards peaceful, dynamic relationships within and between diverse groups" (Zigg and Mcgill 2015: 39).
e. Also, there was reduced violence in the community through the educational and conflict resolving work of young peacebuilders.

In Southern Africa, it has been highlighted that cultural practices and attitudes related to the status and role of children within the family and community inhibit the promotion of children's participatory rights (Martin 2012: 3). Child participation has not been adequately realised as a result of children being viewed from a position of being incapable. Research reveals that adults have constantly underestimated children's capacities and values (Farrar *et al.* 2010: 86; Lansdown 2010: 10). Children's participation has been more popular in child rights and development issues and it has not evolved to the wider development of the community (Theis 2010: 343).

Del and Andria (2007) highlight that violent conflict has devastating effects particularly for young people. As a result, most academic literature on children, adolescents, and youth has been undertaken from a psychological or public health perspective, to study the effects of violence on the youth's behaviour and life choices (Del Felice and Wisler 2007: 8). Secondly, in situations of conflict, youth are seen as violent actors who will likely use violence as a way of dealing with conflict (Del Felice and Wisler 2007: 10). It is true that

children have "physical immaturity, relative inexperience and lack of knowledge" making them vulnerable and therefore requiring protection (Lansdown 2010: 16). However, the unfairness lies in that children's incompetence is usually in comparison to adult's capabilities. Usually most initiatives aimed at realising the child's right to participation are limited in scope, they are usually controlled by adults, and they rarely afford opportunities to children to influence decisions directly (Schelenz 2016: 16; Varjavandi 2017: 26). The lack of children and youth participation in decision-making processes at all levels is also seen as a form of structural violence (Del Felice and Wisler 2007: 9). They give six examples that show the power of the youth in peacebuilding. From those examples, young people are effective peacebuilders because:

a. Young people are more open to change and are willing to listen and critically assess feedback.
b. Young people are future-oriented. In many cases, they have not witnessed conflict directly but have heard about it from their parents or grandparents through storytelling, and because of their youthfulness, they have a long lifespan to try alternatives and are more bound to "forget" the past.
c. Young people are idealistic and innovative, and there is evidence that shows that many revolutions were started by young students or activists.
d. Young people are courageous, less experienced, and willing to try new adventures.
e. Young people are knowledgeable about their peers' realities. Young people possess valuable knowledge of the needs that exist among their peers, based on their own experiences and close contact in their age group (Del and Andria 2007: 25).

Because young people "play a crucial role in positively transforming conflict situations and in building the foundations of democratic and peaceful societies" (Del and Andria 2007: 3), their potential has to be utilised.

5.5 Child Participation in Peacebuilding: To what extent has it been practised?

Most articles on peacebuilding have generally focused on youths and women as impactful members of the community in bringing about conflict transformation. Seldom have children been seen as possible peacebuilders. Although such an opportunity is present for the children, it has yet to be utilised in peacebuilding research on xenophobia in South Africa. Research has undermined the role of youth and children as peacebuilders although they are the highest population group in any country (Schnabel and Tabyshalieva 2013: 3). Children and youth have been looked at as victims rather than as agents of peace, and as being helpless and vulnerable (Schnabel and Tabyshalieva 2013: 17).

Children's main activities in peacebuilding have focused on "raising awareness on peace, strengthening (in some cases rebuilding) social relationships and in some contexts demonstrating peaceful ways of resolving conflicts with families, schools and communities" (Feinstein, Giertsen and O'Kane 2010: 56). Children and youth, however, can determine the political life, social relations, and culture of the coming generations and hence if sustainable peace has to be achieved, they have to be included in the peacebuilding bracket (Schnabel and Tabyshalieva 2013: 13). However, not only will they impact the future, but they will also be an influence and impact within their homes, schools, and the community at large. It is vitally important to engage children and youths below 18 years of age in justice, peacebuilding efforts, and reconciliation issues (UNICEF 2010: 65). Children are active social and political actors with valuable contributions (Jamieson and Mukoma 2010: 73) and active roles of input "in developing and promoting sustainable post-conflict initiatives" (Nosworthy 2010: 4). Child or young people's participation awards them the opportunity to become equal and involved citizens and then it acts as a "strengthener and rebuilder of social relationships" (Farrar *et al.* 2010: 83-84; Theis 2010: 345). This research will thus focus on children only as a capable stand-alone group that can be actively involved in peace, to erase the 'us' versus the 'other' attitude that creates prejudice and that may thereafter lead to violence and conflict.

5.6 Participation in Practice: Examples of Child Participation

Examples of child participation in practice will be presented in the sub-sections that follow, where the study will highlight the impact that children have had in enhancing peacebuilding.

5.6.1 Kosovo World Vision's Kids for Peace Project

One example of a program that has involved children and youth as agents of peace in a post-conflict society is the Kosovo World Vision's Kids for Peace project. The program was launched in 2002 in four municipalities in the country, and in 2016, it had grown to 16 clubs where children could participate on a yearly basis. After the war that had given rise to ethnic hostility, there was a need to overcome these divisions through building capacity to resolve disputes amongst the youth and children. Children between 10 and 15 years of age who were interested were chosen to participate and contribute to bringing peace in the country (World Vision 2013). The children were equipped with skills on conflict management and knowledge on peace through advocacy.

World Vision then facilitated activities such as "dialogue, peace education, artistic expressions, advocacy, and a focus on holistic needs involving psycho-social, relational, spiritual and economic well-being" which have enabled emotional healing to take place (World Vision 2013: para 1, Line 5). They have also included religion and cultural values as a means that enables durable peace. For these activities to be successful, club structures have been used, especially at the primary school level. Hosted art show exhibitions have allowed for the creation of unlikely relationships between the children. It has also facilitated community engagements as a means to conquer the historical divide. Such child-led initiatives constitute a bottom-up model of child participation and this makes them effective and meaningful (Schelenz 2016: 22). Such a child-oriented bottom-up approach will be used in this research.

All the above-mentioned activities provided safe spaces for conversations, places that would allow social and cultural exchanges, thus assisting the youth in building relationships with each other. The children and youth would come together and express

their views. This helped to break down the tensions that existed. Though this project was looking at the theme of security and children, it went beyond security and into peacebuilding. Nosworthy (2010: 9) correctly states that:

> [C]hildren can actively contribute to peace through rebuilding social relationships and helping develop a culture of peace. They can play a role in enhancing security, reconciliation, the search for truth and justice, and rebuilding the education system, economy and livelihoods.

This is true for the children in this project. Currently, the project has evolved and every year, over 400 children participate. The project has been successful and has managed to include many participants from the different ethnic groups in the country (Serbians, Albanians, Croatians, Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptians). Summer camps and community peace councils are being used to bring about peace. The summer camps have enabled children to meet with diverse groups and encourage knowledge sharing. This, in the long run, creates relationships with wider groups of people thus widening the impact.

5.6.2 The shining recorders of Zisize Children's Radio Project

This project started in Ingwavuma, located in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal, the same province where this study took place. It was launched at Okhayeni Primary School (Odine 2014: 56). Children in this district have grown up in intense poverty with limited access to health care, high HIV rates, and poor service delivery. Zisize, a local NGO, in collaboration with the Children's Institute at the University of Cape Town and a local school, initiated a radio project in the district. The project involved approximately 60 children participants. After looking at the research, they saw that children's voices had only been used in media to support adult "preconceived ideas" rather than involving them to directly produce their own media accounts (Meintjes 2014: 150). The aim of the project was to award children who are growing up in poverty and HIV-stricken communities the ability to use radio and audio recordings to share their experiences and stories (Varjavandi 2017: 42; Children's Institute nd). In so doing, this would improve the local and international understanding of the issues of poverty and HIV, and raise more awareness on their predicament. The project saw the participation of children between the ages of nine and 18 who received training on how to record personal radio diaries. These children were grouped into four

different groups (Meintjes 2011: 66). They were also taught on a wide range of issues that included poverty, abuse, teenage pregnancy, and access to water.

Weekly after-school sessions and holiday workshops were utilised, and the young participants were taught how to produce their own broadcast radio programs. This led to the production of personal radio diaries, commentaries, radio profiles, documentaries, or features. Children's activities were facilitated in various processes. For six months, the children had to write books on their own personal lives, which assisted them to develop writing and oral skills. These books would then make the radio diaries. Training workshops would teach them interviewing skills and give them sound and production knowledge (Anon nd). After this, additional training was given to further equip them and enhance their radio skills. The children would then identify their preferred topics for their programmes. Accompanied with this, they would plan who they would interview, the questions to be asked, and the locations for the recordings. They were also taught how to wield mini-disc recorders and microphones. Once they completed the recordings, the children would then script and narrate their programmes (Meintjes 2011: 69).

Their produced content was then distributed through a created web page. They would also host monthly shows on their local Maputaland community radio station. On these shows, their pre-recorded and edited programs would be aired, and the children would facilitate live discussions in the studio giving them a chance to report on collected information gathered from the schools within the area (Meintjes 2011; 2014: 151). The children also used storytelling and children's narratives to conscientise on children's experiences in the face of HIV/AIDS and poverty (Children's Institute nd).

As reporters, the children would target adult perceptions towards them and encourage them to change their perceptions towards their status. The project was solely child-led and adults acted only as facilitators on how to broadcast, giving room for child participation to be utilised fully (Moses 2008: 334). This demonstrates the capacity that children have in being involved in issues that affect their everyday lives. This project is important in showing a cultural and traditional shift in child participation in South Africa.

Also of importance is the means that was used as an intervention in the project. In a rural community, radio has offered a potential for impact as it is the most accessible form of media in rural areas. This speaks to the need to use relevant, appropriate, and effective tools to bring about an anticipated output in the research field. Generally, children could not speak both at home and outside their homes. In this project, children were seen as active agents of change in their community and this project won a UNICEF award on broadcasting (Odine 2014: 56).

5.6.3 Junior-Youth-led Community Action in Durban, South Africa

A participatory action research project was conducted at a high school in Mayville, Durban. As with the above study, it took place within the same province in which this study will be based. The project involved 20 participants between the ages of 14 and 17 who were members of the Eco Club at the school. Its main aim was to develop young people's potential as peacebuilders. The students were a mixture of males and females. The study was premised on the principle that young people have strengths as peacebuilders. Employing art as an intervention tool, the findings revealed that art is an effective means to encourage the participation of young people (Varjavandi 2017: 133). The research used activities such as drama skits, mapping, and photo stories to collect data. The data was collected through research diaries, video and audio recordings, and photography. The researcher also employed the use of written and visual activities such as posters which the participants made.

Overall, the study demonstrated the importance of creating opportunities that give young people a voice and that help them in capacity building. The stages in the participatory action element of the research allowed the young people an opportunity to study their social context and identify social issues that they would discuss and then they would decide on which social issues they would do an intervention (Varjavandi 2017: 140). This is a commendable approach that was taken in this study as it took child participation to a practical level. It not only allowed for verbal participation but encouraged action using art.

The study provided significant insight into the power of child participation in the prevention of violence within their community and schools.

5.7 Child Participation in South Africa

The 2014 census shows that over 34% of the population of South Africa are children (Hall *et al.* 2014: 106). This is a substantial amount in terms of the South African population and as such, they must be perceived as vital to peacebuilding (Varjavandi 2017: 19). Ignoring them will mean exclusion of a lucrative community that can practice peacebuilding. A number of legislative amendments in South Africa have allowed children to participate and make decisions in matters affecting them in medical treatment, legal proceedings (custody and adoption), and access to state grants (Bray and Moses 2011: 8). Laws that stand to enforce the constitutional rights of children are mostly age-considerate, and they leave a few opportunities for children in their pre-teenage years to participate in decisions affecting their lives (Moses 2008). Exceptions to this is the Choice on Termination of Pregnancy Amendment Act No. 92 of 1996 which allows female children of any age to access termination of pregnancy without parental consent. The Children's Act No. 38 of 2005 also allows children under the age of 12, who are deemed to be of sufficient maturity, to consent to their own HIV testing without parental consent and to consent to the medical operations of their children (Bray and Moses 2011).

The following sub-sections list the different methods of child participation that have been used in South Africa.

5.7.1 Child-led Political Action

Children in South Africa have effectively participated in street protests against government and school governing bodies' policies.

5.7.2 Formal Participation in Schools' Governance

The South African Schools Act (SASA) no. 84 of 1996 legally mandates school principles to include elect representatives onto the School Governing Body (SGB). Bray (2011: 10)

notes that full child engagement is usually not attained as there has often been attitudinal obstacles from the school governance that bar the representatives from meaningful engagement.

5.7.3 Children's Participation in Law Reform and Policy Development

In South Africa, there has been a progressive move towards child participation in legislation and policy that has been introduced. This departure from the traditional no-participatory role of children in South Africa is captured in a project called *Dikwankwetla.* This project was established to facilitate children's participation in decision-making, debates, and matters related to the provisions of the Children's Bill within a period of four years (Jamieson and Mukoma 2010: 73-74). The project was initiated by the Children's Institute in Cape Town. Selected children were between the ages of 11 and 17 years from four provinces, and they worked with three adults who offered support to the children. The workshops that were held focused on building "legislative literacy" through discussions on the law. Further workshops held were on the children's experiences and for this section, a psychologist was present to deal with trauma. After the workshops, the organisations presented their findings to the National Assembly (Jamieson and Mukoma 2010: 75-76). It was seen that the participation of children here enabled them to develop an understanding of the democratic processes and provide input to the laws and policies that affect their wellbeing as well.

Thus, while there have been various child participation initiatives around the development of some policies and laws in South Africa, most of these have been ad hoc, led by researchers, NGOs, or the South African Law Reform Commission, and they are limited in the number and representation of the children reached (Bray and Moses 2011: 10). Children's participation in policy processes has not been secured as a matter of right, but is dependent on the discretion and willingness of relevant government departments to incorporate their views (Bray and Moses 2011). This position has to be changed.

5.7.4 Participation in Community Actions

Non-governmental organisations in South Africa have attempted to adopt participatory approaches in their decision-making and service delivery but children have still added little input in the design or delivery of services that are supposedly geared to meet their needs. Adults still do not involve children in the planning stages of service delivery, because they assume that they know that which children need and require (Bray and Moses 2011: 11). It has thus been criticised that in those instances, the children's views have not been taken seriously enough by politicians and policy-makers. This is evidenced by the failure to act on inputs received from children through participatory processes and to provide children with feedback on the outcomes of their inputs (Bray and Moses 2011: 8).

5.8 Conclusion

This chapter has sought to trace foreign children as victims of xenophobic violence by looking at conducted research. That which the chapter revealed is that the voice of the child victim has not been given more opportunity to be voiced in research. The chapter went further and looked at the role of the child as a perpetrator in enhancing such violence by citing examples. Lastly, the chapter looked at children and their capability in being agents of peace and change through looking at their participation rights embedded in the United Nations Convention on Children's Rights. Furthermore, it went further and looked at the rights and their application in South Africa. It also discussed the levels of child participation and the extent to which the right to participate has been realised in South Africa.

CHAPTER 6: Research Design, Methodology, and Data Collection Methods

6.1 Introduction

This chapter will discuss the research approach, research methodology, data collection methods, and methods of analysis used in this project. Personal interviews and focus groups that were conducted were used as exploratory data. Observations (collected by the facilitators) and written reflections were used to gather data from trainings and evaluations carried out during the experimental intervention. In addition, the ethical considerations that guided this research are discussed. The chapter also explains how the study was concerned with its validity and reliability. The limitations encountered during the research process are also related in this chapter.

6.2 Research Approach

The research approach chosen for this study is Action Research (AR). AR has no singular definition (Kaye 2017: 9) as it is a research approach rather than a specific method (Meyer 2000: 8). AR utilises the notion that for change to take place, the members of the community facing the challenge must be involved in the process of inquiry (Brydon-Miller, Davyyd and Maguire 2003: 93). The definition is broadly captured in the following statement:

> An orientation to knowledge creation that arises in a context of practice and requires researchers to work *with* practitioners. Unlike conventional social science, its purpose is not primarily or solely to understand social arrangements, but also to effect desired change as a path to generating knowledge and empowering stakeholders (Bradbury Huang 2010: 93).

Thus, action research argues that understanding and action are not separate, but rather dual; all study on its basis is solely for change or improvement (Berg, Lune and Lune 2004: 198). It then becomes "a living, evolving process of coming to 'know' rooted in

everyday experience" (Reason and Bradbury 2001: 5). The core features of AR are that most of the work happens in the context of action. Rather than doing action for them, AR has a process of engaging with the participants who shape the research and research design (Bradbury Huang 2010: 98). The participants themselves become part of that which they are investigating (Kaye 2017: 9). Action research challenges the positivistic view which holds that credible research must be objective and value-free (Brydon-Miller, Davyyd and Maguire 2003: 134). Instead:

> [AR embraces] the notion of knowledge as socially constructed and, recognising that all research is embedded within a system of values and promotes some model of human interaction, we commit ourselves to a form of research which challenges unjust and undemocratic economic, social and political systems and practices (Brydon-Miller, Davyyd and Maguire 2003: 11).

Action research rejects the idea of carrying out an objective and value-free approach. According to AR, knowledge comes from doing and that is action. The action in AR has to be followed by reflection and the truth is vice versa (Levin 2012). AR has been criticised because it does not produce scientific results contributing to the general body of social science knowledge (Levin 2012: 134). Its exercise is uncertain and ethically complex. Prior to this research, the researcher had not been exposed to action research as a research method. When the researcher enrolled in the International Centre of Non-violence to purse a PhD, the researcher was then introduced to AR. Using this research design enabled the researcher, as the AR facilitator, to be a partner in the research process (Berg, Lune and Lune 2004: 202). Importantly, action research moves away from viewing researched individuals and communities as sources of research information but rather as individuals participating as co-researchers (Ngwenya 2014: 98).

6.2.1 Features of Action Research

AR is the term used to mean that the research is collaborative and educative (Pain *et al.*: 1). This type of approach enriches those who are part of the experience. It is research that has both participation and action research (Walter, Comeau and Pestall 2010: 5) with equal involvement and collaboration of the researcher and participants (Greenwood, Whyte and Harkavy 1993: 176). The action part in this research approach is aimed at

bringing positive change through involvement of the community and empowerment of research participants through educating them regarding the problems being studied (Dickson 1997: 1). Action is achieved through a reflective cycle. The participants collect and analyse data, then determine what action should follow and participate in the solution. Although levels of participation will differ, in the process, participants "take responsibility and own the process of addressing a problem" (Basabose 2017: 49). The resultant action is then further researched, and the cycle continues again to data collection, reflection, and action.

This research used the AR approach because it offers participants an opportunity to attempt to transform attitudes as it is "concerned simultaneously with changing *individuals,* on the one hand, and, on the other, the *culture* of the groups, institutions and societies to which they belong" (McTaggart 1994: 318). Its strength resides mainly in exploring the local knowledge and perceptions (Cornwall and Jewkes 1995: 1668) and then addressing the issues with which their communities are confronted through that knowledge (Brydon-Miller, Davyyd and Maguire 2003: 14). AR is an effort to effect a desired change to empower the stakeholders by changing individuals and their social cultures (Hiang 2010: 93), and this summarises that which this research aims to do on the issue of the recurrence of xenophobia.

That which is of great importance is that action research involves the participation of those who are experiencing the problem at all stages of the research (Ngwenya 2014: 120; Kaye 2017: 9). Participation is fundamental with those involved continually participating (Meyer 2000: 8). Thus AR's purpose of action is to produce practical knowledge that can be useful in the everyday conduct of their lives (Reason and Bradbury 2001). For it to succeed, strong and permanent relationships at the community level must be developed (Basabose 2017: 50).

An advantage of AR is that of its flexibility in the tools and methods that can be utilised (Chirambwi 2017: 193). Here, it will enable the researcher to use observations, interviews, and other tools such as sport and art as intervention tools. Another advantage of action

research is that some form of peace is instantly built through a few people (Harris 2017: 261). Here, the participants will be a small number of children who will be used to build some form of peace within the community. However, time factors are always an issue in AR. Because action research aims to change the perceptions and attitudes, the extent of the change is not usually immediately realised but can take years and even run into the future (Harris 2017: 167). This means that even after the three-year period of the researcher's research, in-depth change may not have been realised. Another challenge of AR is that a detailed plan of the project cannot be provided for in advance because the direction of the research is not clearly known due to the participant input (Harris 2017: 268). For instance, in this research, the intention was to have the children themselves decide on an intervention that they viewed as appropriate and that would bring about peace in their community.

6.2.2 Elements of Action Research

Action research has had many differing definitions which share certain commonalities. These are 'interwoven pillars' that make AR possible and include the following factors:

a. Collaborative: this is between the participants and the researcher or facilitator.
b. Value-committed: it aims to create awareness of values such as love, humility, trust, hope, justice, and oneness (Kaye 2017: 16).
c. Future-oriented: it looks to bring change for the present and future.
d. Reflective: this takes on different stages depending on the nature of the project. Reflection takes place after the action has been done. The reflective stage fosters new learning as it builds into the next cycle process.
e. Evaluative: assesses the impact of an intervention.
f. Participative: this gives it an individual aspect in that it allows one to work with others to achieve change (McTaggart 1994: 317).
g. Empowerment: this involves equipping the participants with new knowledge (Kaye 2017: 14).

6.2.3 The Process of Action Research

AR is cyclical in nature (Kaye 2017: 12) and it uses various sequences in which one plans, acts, observes, and reflects, then replicates this series of action repeatedly until the desired aims have been achieved. The cycle of action research may be arrived at any point, depending on the circumstances and the type of problem. In action research, each rotation includes some new action and some form of data collection. The greatest value then of AR lies in its processes of planning, action, and reflection (Kaye 2017: 25). The action research components are discussed in the sub-sections that follow.

(a) Identify the Problem: Diagnosing

This process allows for the understanding of the problem, underlying factors, and consequences. The researcher assists the participants to recognise the situation and problem (Berg, Lune and Lune 2004: 198).

(b) Exploration

Exploration is a valuable means for one to find out that which is happening and to gain new insights into the existing issue (Saunders, Phillip and Thornhill 2009: 139). In this case, new insights will be gained on how children can assist in curbing the recurrence of xenophobia. Exploration will be done through literature, interviews, and focus group discussions.

(c) Design and Implementation of the Intervention

By its nature, action research will not allow the researcher to predict the intervention in its entirety. The design will depend on the exploration part and hence it cannot be stated with certainty what intervention measures the participants will propose.

(d) Evaluation

Evaluation constitutes an important aspect in research. Here, one has to assess the impact that the intervention has had on the intended outcome and write down the observations. In action research, it is crucial to analyse the before and after intervention

patterns and compare the two. Two questions must be asked here: what effects did my action have and does this relate to that which has been achieved? Evaluation, therefore, is concerned with that which has been learnt in the intervention and to ascertain if the desired output has been adequately achieved (Townsend 2013: 111). Evaluation comprises the "talents, knowledge, and viewpoints of the members involved in the program" (Shonhiwa 2016b: 84). Since this research was largely a qualitative evaluation, the researcher looked at the outcome of the intervention as well as the data obtained from the individual interviews with the participants and focus group discussions before and after the intervention. This was then analysed.

Figure 6.1 illustrates the stages in action research.

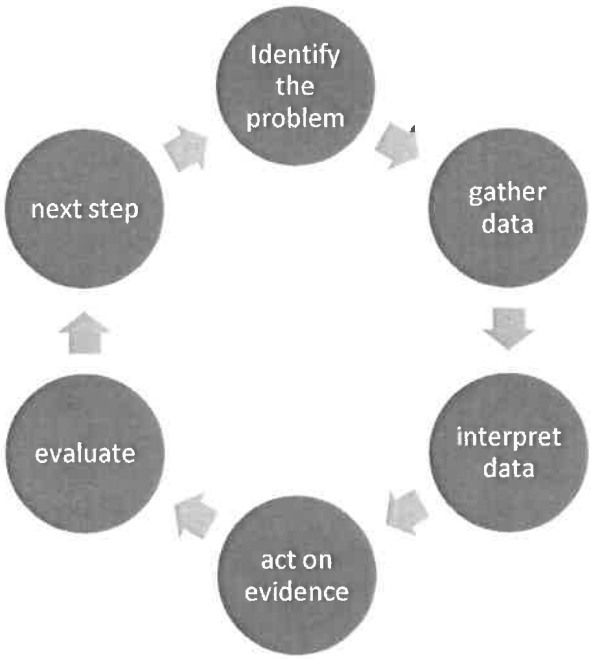


Figure 6.1: Stages in Action Research, adapted from Ferrance (2000: 9).

6.3 Research Design

Because the research was action-oriented, the qualitative research paradigm was used. Qualitative research is defined as "a research process that uses inductive data analysis to learn about the meaning that participants hold about a problem or issue by identifying

patterns or themes" (Lewis 2015: 332). It allows for the exploration and understanding of how individuals and groups identify with a social or human problem (Creswell 2009: 4). Qualitative research is good at answering the 'why', 'what', or 'how' questions (Lacey and Luff 2007: 5). Qualitative methods allow researchers to get closer to the respondent's point of view through ethnography and interviews (Denzin and Lincoln 2008: 17). Qualitative researchers can also appreciate the constraints on the everyday lives of their subjects because their research focuses on the details of specific cases (Denzin and Lincoln 2008: 17).

Qualitative research helps in obtaining culturally specific information about the values, attitudes, opinions, behaviours, and social contexts of the particular participant populations (Mack *et al.* 2005: 1). A qualitative design was chosen for this research as appropriate in obtaining information on the attitudes that lead to the recurrence of xenophobia and how these can be mitigated by friendships. In addition, a qualitative study fits together with interviews, which was one of the researcher's chosen methods for data collection. A qualitative research design provides information on the 'human' side of an issue which includes contradictory behaviours, beliefs, opinions, emotions, and relationships of individuals. The advantage of using this method is that "it is also effective in identifying intangible factors, such as social norms, socioeconomic status, gender roles, ethnicity, and religion" (Mack *et al.* 2005: 1). This hence covered one of the objectives of the research as mentioned in Chapter 1. Lastly, a qualitative design was exploited because it would allow for observation on the interaction and behaviours of the participants and how they relate to each other as a way to reflect on any elements of prejudice in the workshops that were done (Creswell 2009: 16).

According to Creswell (2009: 175-176), key features or characteristics of qualitative research are as follows:

- Natural setting: the collection of data happens at the site where the participants are experiencing the issue being studied.
- Researcher: main data collector through documents, observations, and interviews.

- Focus is kept on participant meanings over the problem.
- 'Emergent design': this means that the initial plan of action is flexible and can change after the researcher enters the field.
- It is a form of an interpretive inquiry of that which is seen and heard.
- Holistic: involving 'multiple perspectives, factors'
- It allows for the use of multiple sources of data.

From the above, it can be summarised that a qualitative research paradigm has the ability to "capture and illustrate human behaviour and condition in social settings and is better placed to explore people's experiences, feelings, and perceptions" (Muchemwa 2016: 240). The qualitative approach was therefore the most suitable for this study, since the researcher sought to identify and understand attitudes and behaviours that could be best understood by interaction with the participants in a relaxed and natural setting.

6.4 Research Context

The research will be carried out in Umbilo, Durban, South Africa. Umbilo is a largely working class or lower-middle-class area (Vahed 2013: 199) and has many businesses, particularly factories, in the Sydney Road area (Vahed 2013). There have been issues of rising crime and fear of crime in the area, largely seen to be as a result of the presence of foreign nationals (Vahed 2013: 205). Demographic statistics of the area show the presence of more black people and foreigners (Vahed 2013: 211). The researcher chose this area because of its proximity to her and her knowledge of the area housing a high number of immigrant families who have children within the required age range. Initially, the sample was to comprise 18 children from the Umbilo area in Durban. These children were all selected from different households. However, due to relocation and the leaving of some participants, the number finally became 15. This number was composed of immigrants and local South African children. A total of five South African children (one Black, two Indians, two Coloureds), four Zimbabweans, two Congolese, one Nigerian, two Tanzanians, and one Malawian comprised the sample. This sample population is representative of the geographic area which houses people from differing nationalities. It hence gave a full representation of the immigrant community in the area. The selection

criteria balanced both male and female representatives though not in an equal ratio as a result of the aforementioned relocation. Thus, the representation ended up being 52% male and 48% female. The children interviewed were between the ages of 13 and 15. The motivation of choosing children in this age range had to do with the fact that they are more amenable to change than adults who most likely have more set-in-stone attitudes towards the issues of xenophobia. Also, it would be of more significant value to invest and transform the young generation as a future investment of peace.

6.5 Sampling Method

Sampling is "the method of selecting a participant group to represent the total population to find cases that will enhance what the researcher will learn about the processes of social life in a specific context" (Osman 2009: 38).

The researcher used purposive sampling. This sampling strategy is a "non-random way of ensuring that particular categories of cases within a sampling universe are represented in the final sample of a project" (Robinson 2014: 33). The sample was chosen on the basis of its convenience to the researcher, the investigator, as the required diverse participants were all in an area of close proximity to the researcher (Acharya *et al.* 2013: 332). The purposeful selection of participants allowed for a selection of information-rich cases for an in-depth study of the research topic. The participants were all selected from different households. This increased the usefulness of the information obtained from the samples and allowed for the creation of enduring and progressive friendships later. However, limitations of the chosen sampling method were that the researcher would not be able to accurately measure and control variability on the participants and bias as the children resided near each other (Acharya *et al.* 2013: 332).

6.6 Data Collection Methods

6.6.1 Interviews

An interview is a method used that "involves the investigator gathering data through direct verbal interaction with participants" (Binenwa 2016: 103). An interview must be a

purposeful interaction where information passes from one person to another. "The interview should be friendly and at the same time impartial to whatever the participant says to you" (Shonhiwa 2016: 91). This helps prevent bias and maintains interview trust. DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree (2006: 316) state that an unstructured interview is "generally organised around a set of predetermined open-ended questions, with other questions emerging from the dialogue between interviewer and interviewee/s". In-depth descriptions in this type of interview allow there to be an 'exploration phase'. An exploration stage is defined as "the point in which the interviewee becomes engaged in an in-depth description. This process is accompanied by learning, listening, testing and a sense of bonding and sharing" (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree 2006: 317). This was the exact intention that the researcher had in using this data collection method.

In-depth semi-structured interviews (see Appendix A) were used in this research to obtain feedback. The sessions were recorded using a digital audio recorder which would later be referred to at the transcribing stage. The interviews were done in a face-to-face manner with the respondent, and they were centred on key themes of the research such as the xenophobic violence, discrimination, peace, and attitude change. The interviews allowed the researcher the opportunity to explore the issues at hand. They also allowed the participating interviewees to express their opinions, concerns, and feelings on the subject of xenophobia in South Africa. Questions on age and sex were asked in a standardised format (May 2011: 134). The semi-structuredness of this method allowed for the conversations to flow without limitation and provided the advantage that the researcher could make use of several probing questions. Most times, the researcher saw that she needed to probe or follow up on the questions as some of the participants usually did not get their messages across clearly in one answer. The above experiences support that which May (2011: 135) states that "an interview will allow for clarity and elaboration and understanding of how the interviewee generates and assigns meaning to social issues".

All 15 participants were interviewed. Three interview rounds took place in order to assess attitude challenges. There was a fourth interview that was scheduled, however, it had to

be cancelled because there were xenophobic attacks that erupted from the end of August 2019 to the first week of September 2019. The researcher, parents, and children did not feel safe to attend the scheduled session. During the interviews, data was recorded through taking notes using notebooks and pens and via a recorder from which information would later be transcribed. At every interview session two facilitators were present. This would enable the one facilitator to chair the session and the one to record observations and notes. Consent was given to record the interviews. The semi-structured nature of the interviews gave allowance to the participants to answer in their own terms, giving variation in the quality of information generated by each individual (May 2011: 136). The face-to-face interviews helped the researcher to also gain an in-depth understanding of each participant's insights and knowledge of being exposed to xenophobic threats or of hearing xenophobic comments as either a migrant or a South African citizen. Also, the aim was to analyse the psychological (mental, emotional) and attitudinal effects that it had on the participants. The interviews were conducted using English as the medium of communication as all the participants could speak and write in English.

6.6.2 Observations

Observation is a method for collecting data about people, processes, and cultures. It involves careful looking and listening (Shonhiwa 2016b: 93). According to Collis and Hussey (2009: 151-152), observation is where information is gleaned by observing the natural research setting, and it has been stated that observations can take place in the form of non-participant observation (researcher is objective from the research environment being studied) or participant observation (researcher is involved in the research environment being studied) (Collis and Hussey 2009: 153-154). Participant observation is a technique that allows researchers to find out about the activities of the people under study in the natural setting through observing and contributing to those activities. It is also valuable for gaining an understanding of the environment in which the study participants live (Shonhiwa 2016b: 93). According to Basabose (2015: 131):

> Participant observation is characterised by such actions as having an open, non-judgmental attitude, being interested in learning more about others, being

> aware of the propensity for feeling culture shock and for making mistakes, the majority of which can be overcome, being a careful observer and a good listener, and being open to the unexpected in what is learned.

The examiner watches and records that which people do and state whilst immersing themself in the host society, learning to think, perceive, and feel. At times, the researcher is involved, and at other times, the researcher is detached. Researchers can also uncover factors essential for a detailed understanding of the research problem through observation. Covert observation poses an ethical dilemma, whilst overt observation must contend with the Hawthorne effect – people change their behaviour if they know that they are being observed (Shonhiwa 2016b: 93). This technique is considered as both an overall tactic for qualitative research and as a data-gathering mechanism. The researcher does not gather data to respond to a specific hypothesis; rather, details are inductively derived from the notes.

The investigator enters the realm of the individuals, gets to be known and trusted by them, and methodically keeps a thorough journal of that which is perceived (Bogdan and Biklen 2006: 2). The goal of observation was to assist the researcher in gaining the different viewpoints held by the research participants. Observations enabled the researcher to explore the experiences of the participants in their natural relaxed state. Each meeting, interview, discussion, and training workshop that was done was subject to observation. Here, that which was recorded were the feelings, attitudes, reactions, and actions of the participants to questions, views, opinions, and contributions. After each observation session, an evaluation was conducted in order to keep meaningful information from the data captured. Observation was data recorded through notetaking, workshops (see Section 6.6.4 later), and gathered from reflective papers written by the participants. The direct personal observations and comments of the facilitators on the workshops and the information on the effects of the workshop collected through indirect observation were added to the compiled data. All the qualitative data was combined to make field notes which were analysed using the content analysis method (as explained in Section 6.6.5 later).

Reflection has been defined as "the act of thinking on ways or responding to problems or situations" (Leitch and Day 2000: 180) . It therefore looks at problem finding and problem solving and hence this was the reason that the method was used to enable the participants to discover the problem and to find a solution during their intervention. This research made use of that which Ruch (2002: 204-205) terms as "critical reflection". This type of reflection seeks to challenge the existing social, political, and economic structures and the oppression that is embedded in these areas in oppressing one group and not the other (Ruch 2002: 205). Since the aim of the research was transformation, critical reflection was found to be a relevant tool to use to allow the participants to voice out their thoughts and opinions on paper. Three written reflections were submitted by the participants. One was done in the second week of commencing the field work and the last two were done during the last three sessions of the focus group meetings. This work was then read and analysed as data.

6.6.3 Focus Groups

Focus groups were also used as a second data collection method. Focus groups "emphasize the interactive patterns among group members and how they come to generate mutual understanding and ideas" (Boeije 2010: 64). Discussions took place under the researcher's guidance as the facilitator and the researcher would moderate the conversations between the group members (see Appendix B). The focus group is a method that has been preferred as it allows the use of role-playing and drawings, among other activities, to capitalise on group interaction and observe, take notes, and even supervise recordings (Boeije 2010: 64). In this research, it allowed for the use of PowerPoint slides, videos, and games. The focus group discussions were inclusive of both the foreign and local children. The participants were not separated as this allowed for observations on how they would interact in the group, especially at the inception of meetings when they did not know each other. This was used at all meetings and it allowed the researcher to observe and note the changes in the levels of interaction between the local and foreign children as time passed. The focus group method was used to discover and underscore the social opinions that these children held in relation to xenophobic

violence. Some initial perceptions of interviewees were a cause for concern as they showed a very large inherent dislike of those called 'the other'.

6.6.4 Training Workshops

The term *workshop* means "a usually brief intensive educational program for a relatively small group of people that focuses especially on techniques and skill in a particular field" (Merriam-Webster online 2019). Orngreen and Levinsen (2017: 71) are of the view that workshops are a place where a group of people can learn and receive new knowledge and perform creative problem solving. Workshops can be used as a means of teaching and reading, and they foster engagement with those participating (Ahmed and Asraf 2018). They accommodate the writing of workshop notes and work well as a qualitative method of data collection (Ahmed and Asraf 2018). The success of the workshops was premised on the participants learning new knowledge that would bring about transformation within them both individually and within their communities. The advantage of a workshop is that it does not require any skill from those participating, as it was in the case of the study's participants.

The researcher conducted workshops with the 15 members. These were broken down into six parts which would fall on different days such that the participants would not be overwhelmed with too much information. The workshops took place on Saturdays between 6 April and 1 June 2019 and also in August 2019, as it was a holiday period for the participants. However, the research team and participants were not able to meet during the week of 14 April until 28 April 2019 as this was the Easter holiday combined with Freedom Day. Some of the parents were taking the participants away for a weekend-away holiday. The researcher also had a very important event that was taking place during this Easter period for which the researcher needed to plan and prepare. Data was recorded for each workshop that was held.

The workshops focused on conflict, myths, peacebuilding, xenophobia, non-violence, and integration. During the presentations, mention was made on the importance of peace and non-violent behaviours. With the aid of projected slides and videos, the facilitator took the

participants through the basic steps of looking at that which violence and conflict were. Subsequently, the workshops moved to issues dealing with conflict non-violently, and on how to build individual capacities that would allow for non-violent behaviour. The sessions on non-violence were also followed by those of a stimulating discussion on crime and violence against women in South Africa followed by question-and-answer sessions. More details on the workshops will be dealt with in Chapter 7.

6.6.5 Data Analysis

Analysis of data is one of the most important steps in the research process. Constant comparison analysis will be used to code the collected data. The goal of constant comparison analysis is to generate a set of themes (Leech and Onwuegbuzie 2008: 594). All data collected is carefully read and divided into sections as per themes. Data analysis is the "methodological process of running through the data in order to get an understanding of what is emerging from the data" (Babbie 2011: 396). Initially, the researcher had intended to use NVIVO as a data analysis tool; however, the researcher could not manage to locate the software. This then led the researcher to look for manual methods of data analysis.

The first method used was interpretive thematic analysis. This is an inquiry that involves a thorough analysis of focus group notes, reflection papers, interview transcripts, and workshop notes in order to distinguish the behaviours, perceptions, and attitudes of participants (Braun and Clarke 2013: 13).

Sorting was done by looking at the three main stages of the constant comparative analysis viewpoint. Within the first stage, 'open coding' would be done. Open coding is "breaking down, comparing, examining and conceptualizing data" (Boeije 2010: 96). Strauss and Corbin (1998: 223) have described it as being "like working on a puzzle". During this stage, the data is compressed into smaller segments, and then a descriptor is attached for each segment. The second stage, 'axial coding', is when the researcher groups the codes into similar categories (Leech and Onwuegbuzie 2008: 594). The third stage is called 'selective coding'. In this stage, the researcher creates theories or themes from the

data gathered. Leech and Onwuegbuzie (2008: 594) contend that this type of coding can be used with different data collection tools, for example, observations, drawings/photographs/videos, and documents. This would be relevant as in the researcher's interventions, the participants made use of posters and poems. The coding and labelling process of themes was done using the following categories:

1. Themes
2. Theoretical concepts
3. Keywords
4. Participants' narratives/stories, values, interpretations, situations, relationships, and state of mind
5. Settings/environments (Grbich 2013: 262)

Research, however, has criticised interpretive thematic analysis as a data analysis method. It is alleged that the involvement of the researcher in the process might result in subconscious and conscious biases, which will likely affect the validity and reliability of the results (Muchemwa 2016: 145). The next section will expound on the safeguards that the researcher used to guard against such bias.

The second data analysis method that was used is content analysis. Content analysis is a "systematic coding and categorising approach" used to explore textual information (Grbich 2013: 190). This method of analysis was used as it is flexible and can be used to analyse any type of communication material, ranging from open-ended interview questions, focus groups, observations, and printed resources (Shonhiwa 2016b: 95). One advantage that it has is that it can identify intentions, attitudes, emotions, and even propaganda (Grbich 2013: 197). The research objectives aim at seeking out such and hence it became an appropriate method.

6.6.5.1 Data Documentation

Data documentations ensures that data will be understood and interpreted by any user through explaining how the data was created, what is the context for the data, structure

of the data and its contents[1]. The data gathered followed the following stages: organizing the data, generating categories, and analysing the themes and patterns presented. Patterns that emerged from data that was recorded during interviews, workshop sessions and from observation were arranged into the identified themes. This was then later analysed according to themes and categories after linking this data set with the observations during interaction. Related materials for example, name calling was categorized. After identifying the patterns, sub-categories were created. This then led to coding of the data. Here, data was put into codes for easy interpretation through looking at commonalities and dissimilarities in the data set. Data was reduced to themes derived from opinions and behaviors which then the researcher analysed and offered causal explanation in relation to the objectives of the research. Afterwards richly descriptive findings were presented.

6.7 Validity and Reliability

6.7.1 Validity: How will validity be ensured?

Qualitative validity means "that the researcher checks for accuracy of the findings by employing certain procedures" (Creswell 2009: 190). Validity will be judged by the extent to which an account seems to fairly and accurately represent the data collected (Lacey and Luff 2007). To ensure validity and reliability, the following four-stage approach will be used:

1. Credibility
2. Transferability
3. Dependability similar
4. Confirmability (Guba 1981; Shenton 2004: 64)

[1]Information available at
https://data.library.arizona.edu/data-management/best-practices/data-documentation-readme-metadata#:~:text=%20Data%20Documentation%20and%20Metadata%20%201%20Data.of%20Arizona%20Libraries%20suggests%20the%20following...%20More%20
accessed on 18 April 2021

Validity means that the results must be in harmony with reality. It has been seen as a strength of qualitative research (Creswell 2009: 191). "Validity is the strength of our conclusions, inferences or propositions" (Colosi and Dunifon 2006: 1). To achieve this, the factors covered in the following sub-sections will be considered.

(a) Peer Debriefing

To achieve this, there will be frequent debriefing sessions after each interview of a focus group discussion with the participants, which will be used to bring clarity to that which has been discussed and keep track of the issues raised (Shenton 2004: 67). This will also widen the knowledge base of that which has been gathered and will bring more clarity (Shenton 2004: 67). The research will be open to peer scrutiny by colleagues, peers, and academics which will assist in designing and strengthening the research designs and argument (Shenton 2004). This is called "peer debriefing" (Creswell 2009: 192). After the final data collection, translation, and interpretation, the researcher reported the preliminary results to the participants.

(b) Triangulation

Triangulation is another method that will be used which will see the use of different methods of data collection which will give more information and compensate for individual limitations. Triangulation means gathering and analysing data from more than one source to gain a fuller perspective on the situation one is investigating (Lacey and Luff 2007: 27). Respondent validation (Lacey and Luff 2007: 28) will be used to verify if that which has been recorded reflects the participants' views. Creswell (2009: 191) terms this as "member checking". Some people are not able to express themselves in focus groups but are able to do so when they can write, thus using different methods such as observations, semi-structured interviews, and focus groups will validate the accuracy of the data.

Triangulation helps the researcher guard against the accusation that a study's findings are simply from a single source, or are based on a single investigator's bias (Bowen 2009: 28). The researcher will take back part of the polished works such that they can comment and utilise the feedback (Lacey and Luff 2007: 28). A researcher's reflective commentary

will be used which will record the initial impression of each data collection session (Shenton 2004: 68) and the final output as a measure to maintain trustworthiness. The researcher will also clarify the bias that she brings to the study. Creswell (2009: 192) states that this openness and honesty will "resonate" well with readers. Negative and discrepant information that are contrary to the themes and anticipated outcomes will be presented. This helps the research account to be more realistic and valid (Creswell 2009: 192). The findings must accurately describe the phenomena being researched. In this research, attempts were made to understand the meaning of the data collected and to explain the data accurately.

(c) Checking Transcripts

This process involves checking the transcripts in order to re-check for possible errors that may have occurred during transcription ((Muchemwa 2016).

(d) Use of an External Auditor

An external auditor is not familiar with the research or the project. The external auditor should be able to provide an objective assessment of the entire project without fear or favour (Basabose 2015: 144; Muchemwa 2016: 147). The researcher found two external auditors not familiar with the field of peacebuilding to assess the objectiveness of the researcher.

6.7.2 Reliability Procedures

Reliability involves looking to see whether a technique, when applied repeatedly to an identical object, would produce the same results on each occasion (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 119). In this research, this was done by:

- Checking transcripts for mistakes that might have been made during transcription
- Looking to see if there was any drift in the definition of codes used in the coding process
- Double checking codes

Other indicators that were used here were derived from asking questions that would highlight any change in the participants. Questions used to determine to what extent the process had informed and influenced social transformation in the participants are as follows:

1. How have things changed?
2. What has not changed?
3. What has been confirmed?
4. What has been ignored? (McTaggart 1998: 228)

6.7.3 Evaluation of Outcomes

An evaluation process should be carried out concerning social change among people and their communities. Evaluation is a "systematic and objective assessment of the results achieved by the program" (Khandker, B. Koolwal and Samad 2009: 8) and examining the worth, value, or meaning of an activity or a process (Mohammed Saad and Mat 2013: 18). The aim is to see which and to what degree objectives were or are being achieved (Farjad 2012: 2893). Evaluating the effectiveness of a training program is an important step as it is carried out to see how well the training objectives have been met and whether it is the best method for achieving those objectives (Aryadoust 2017: 154). To prove whether the intervention undertaken in the research had the intended effects on children's attitudes and behaviours, a preliminary evaluation was initiated. Evaluation refers to:

> [A] process of constant change and development because it is used for inspection and study. It begins with the aim of evaluating the level of success of a program, determining if a given program has advanced or reached its goals and what the side effects of its activity may be, in order to improve the efficiency and contribute to the continuation of an on-going educational, community, or social project (Levin-Rozalis 2003: 3).

The evaluation made use of quasi-experiments based on pre- and post-training tests completed by the participants. These are experiments were participants are not randomly assigned into groups and there may not be a control group (Krishnan 2018: 37). Instead,

the researcher compares non-equivalent groups or periodically measures the same group. Quasi-experimental designs aim to demonstrate causality between an intervention and outcome (Krishnan 2018: 37). Pre-/post-testing is a method that is commonly used to evaluate learner outcomes on educational programs to determine if the programs where a success (Barge 2007: 1). Pre- and post-test methods of evaluating training "will help to show whether knowledge and skills have been obtained from the training experience" (Mohammed Saad and Mat 2013: 19). The researcher opted for periodically measuring the same group.

The evaluation exercise was conducted after one and a half months after the intervention had been completed and was used to assess the short-term impact of the study. The evaluation in the action research allowed the researcher to quantify the accomplishment of the peace training workshops using evidence-based qualitative data. It was comprised of the creativity, knowledge, and ideas of the participants involved in the research to measure whether the research was meeting the demands of the overall objectives. The evaluation guide was designed using the Kirkpatrick (1998) 'four levels of evaluation' model which will be explained in Chapter 8, which contains information on how to proceed and conduct the evaluation activities. It is believed that the activities carried out during the evaluation helped in collecting useful qualitative data. The details on how the activities were organised and conducted are presented in Chapter 8.

On 16 November 2019, the researcher met the participants and received feedback on the training sessions that had been held and on the process that the participants had undergone when doing their interventions in their communities. The meeting also provided the opportunity to discuss how the evaluation would be conducted. The evaluation site remained the same as the place where the trainings had been held. The evaluation exercise took an average of six hours such that the participants would not be overly exhausted. It generally started at 09h00 and ended by 15h00. Tea and lunch were served to the participants. The evaluation session comprised activities which included icebreakers, role play, fun and playful aspects in order to keep the participants attracted and engaged in the sessions. Evaluation will be explained further in Chapter 8.

6.7.4 Anonymity and Confidentiality

The names and faces of the respondents were kept anonymous by using a secret name of their choice and by not publishing their photos in this thesis. This was done to protect them as they are still children and they might be vulnerable if their identities are known. To ensure privacy and confidentiality, the collected data will be kept on a password-secure computer to which only the researcher has access. All data will be saved on password-protected documents accessible only to the researcher.

6.7.5 Ethical Considerations

Researchers have an obligation to respect the participants. The study was conducted in line with professional ethical codes for social science research and the DUT research ethical requirements policy. A gatekeeper's letter was obtained from the relevant authorities. Door-to-door visits in Umbilo at the houses of potential participants were undertaken. A brief discussion of the research and its content follow. The goals of the research were stated and made clear to the respondents before the interviews commenced. In addition, an informed written consent form was given to the participants, and the research purpose was explained. The consent forms were signed by the parents, caregivers, or guardians and the children. Afterwards, a form that details the research and the participation schedule was given to the parents of the children. The letter that was received by the parents contained the following information:

Responsibilities of the participant

i. Attend all scheduled meetings
ii. Be on time
iii. Respect others in the group

Consultation/interview/survey details

i. Meetings will be for 45 minutes per session
ii. Venue details to be agreed and transport will be provided.

Explanation of tools and measurement outcomes

i. Questionnaires will be used to ask questions and the participants (children) will be expected to answer them

ii. Focus group discussions will also be used where the participants (children) will discuss issues and what they think about them

What is expected of participants?

i. They must be between 13-15 years old

ii. They must be able to speak, write and understand English

iii. They must be available for the study

iv. Only 18 participants are required

v. The children must be a mixture of South African children (blacks, Indians, white, colored), Zimbabwean, Congolese, Nigerians, Tanzanians and Malawians

Risks or Discomforts to the Participant: No physical risks to be caused on the participants

Benefits:

The research will be published after three years of the project.

Reason/s why the Participant May Be Withdrawn from the Study:

Participant can withdraw at any time during the research, and they are free to do so. No adverse consequences will follow as a result of withdrawal.

If a child is Ill or there has been an emergency, they are allowed not to attend

Remuneration: Accepting to participate is on a voluntary basis. No monetary remuneration will be received by the participant. However, they will receive a transport stipend and food allowance. At the end of the sessions a certificate will be awarded the participants.

Costs of the Study: The participant will not cover any costs towards the study. All costs are covered by the researcher.

Confidentiality: The names of the participants will not be mentioned. They will choose a name they would like to use for the duration of the research. Their names and personal

details will remain anonymous. All data and information collected will be kept on a password protected computer in a password protected document folder. All information will be kept confidential between researcher and the participant.

Research-related Injury: If there is a research-related injury on the participant, the researcher will cover all medical costs related to that injury.

All the above information was included to ensure the protection of the participants' rights during data collection (Creswell 2009: 89). Participants were informed that participation was voluntary. Expressed consent to publish their information anonymously in the research was also obtained.

Because the study was using child participants, the best interests of the child, as stated in Section 28 of the Constitution of South Africa, were observed with regards to trauma of the children. As mentioned above, at all times when there was xenophobic violence in the area, the research team would not hold any sessions for the safety of the children (Peens and Strydom 2007: 103).

The research was also aware that each child might react differently to issues of xenophobia and of the possibility of engaging with a foreign child who had been affected by the 2015 xenophobic attacks, and also took note of the fact that the questions asked might trigger traumatic responses (Kelle-Dupree 2013: 2). As a result, the following measures were to be additionally taken:

- Respect of the dignity, privacy, and confidentiality of the child and his or her family would be maintained (Peens and Strydom 2007: 109).
- Withdrawal at any time would be respected and no reasons would be needed.
- The researcher was constantly mindful of not pressuring anyone to speak about or do anything with which they were not comfortable.
- Notably, the group formulated a constitution of ground rules together that would govern the research process.

- Icebreakers were used if anyone felt that matters were becoming too tense.
- Reflections were used where one would write down notes and one did not necessarily have to voice them out.

6.8 Conclusion

The chapter has sought to provide a thorough description of the entire research process used in the study. The chapter explained how the research was carried out. The chapter explained action research as the main research design. It was indicated that the study employed a qualitative research design and collected qualitative data. The chapter explained the sampling techniques used to identify the participants, and looked at the data collection methods that were used and explained the focus groups, interviews, and observations. Further, the chapter described the data analysis process together with the issues on validity and reliability, then concluded with the ethical considerations.

CHAPTER 7: Training Workshops to build Friendships

7.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to describe and discuss the process, activities, and the actions that were developed to promote and create friendship among the participants in the experimental group. AR was used because the training had already been prepared for use before the training sessions. Training workshops drew inspiration from the Hlayiseka training manual[2] and from 'I painted Peace Handbook on Peace Building with and for Children and Young People'[3] from which a model was developed and used to facilitate engagement and contact between participants. The engagement and contact were structured to cover the following themes: conflict, peace, peacebuilding, integration, and friendship.

7.2 The Hlayiseka Toolkit: Theories and background

The word Hlayiseka means "be safe" and is the name of a school intervention program that seeks to equip youth learning in schools experiencing violence to cope better. Their training manual has been implemented by the Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention (hereafter CJCP) (Ward, Dawes and Van der Merwe 2012: 200). The aim is to 'develop, inform and promote evidence-based crime prevention practice, with a particular focus on children and youth' (Staff Reporter 2010). Hlayiseka usually hosts four-day training workshops which take the form of a toolkit containing informative handbooks to equip the participants (Braun 2007; Khan, Arnolds and Burton 2009: 6). It has been hosted in more than 2,200 schools nationally (Burton 2013). The toolkit mainly recognizes that violence has "physical, social, psychological, and environmental roots", that need to be addressed at multiple levels and from different sectors of society (Burton 2013). Children are influenced by their communities and homes in view of violence. The Hlayiseka Toolkit

[2] Hlayiseka Training Module "EVERYONE'S A FOREIGNER SOMEWHERE": Understanding and Addressing Xenophobia Trainer's Manual, Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention. Available at http://www.cjcp.org.za/uploads/2/7/8/4/27845461/understanding_and_addressing_xenophobia_reader.pdf

[3] This is a book by Save the children to promote, build, and sustain peace in their local communities, schools, districts, and nations.

uses a "training methodology built on the principle of a whole school approach" on school safety (Braun 2007: 22; Ward, Dawes and Van der Merwe 2012; Burton 2013: 200). This approach states that for there to be success in school safety, commitment must arise from all stakeholders (this includes learners, educators, principals, parents, and the school governance structures).

The toolkit is built on a foundation composed of the following:

1. Be prepared to prevent and manage problems and violence;
2. Be aware of what is happening at school;
3. Act when something happens; and
4. Take steps to build a caring school. (Khan 2008: 4; Burton 2013).

The toolkit has four booklets and interactive posters providing a step-by-step guideline how to manage school safety (Khan 2008: 4). Implementation of the toolkit in some instances has resulted in significant reductions of violence incidents in individual schools – as high as 23 per cent over an annual period - but there are also schools where the approach has failed to adequately address violence in the school (Burton 2013). Though the Hlayiseka kit includes lesson plans focusing on foreigners, it has predominantly targeted general school violence and I was not able to locate any academic literature on written on its outcomes with respect to xenophobia. I will, however, examine one project that was undertaken using the Hlayiseka model within the context of school violence - the Groblershoop Youth Resilience Demonstration Project which has been well documented by (Khan, Arnolds and Burton 2009).

Groblershoop is characterized by high levels of unemployment; high teenage and single mother pregnancy rates; poor social services and infrastructure; few recreational facilities; and poor educational outcomes, all of which have contributed to the high levels of interpersonal violence and property crime. The designed youth project was to build resilience to crime and violence among young people within a high-risk environment. The Youth Resilience project was enclosed in an "ecological perspective", which recognized that children are influenced by their family set up, school, network of friends and their

community. As a result, services that targeted individuals, families and communities with a special focus on schools were implemented. At the individual level, the project sought to strengthen and extend existing diversion services to young offenders, so that they could be taught to become responsible citizens. Leadership training through the form of workshops, was designed. At the family level, the project focused on improving family communication and conflict-resolution training. At the community level, the project sought to have interventions that build socially through rights-based awareness training workshops. Within the Groblershoop context, the activities were tailored to meet the specific needs in phases for a period of four years. There was a strong emphasis on youth participation in planning and implementing the project through a Youth Action Team which provided a source of information and ongoing link to the issues affecting young people in Groblershoop.

The study found that giving young people opportunities to be involved in activities outside of school helped to deter them from involvement in crime. Life skills sessions gave young participants the ability to make wiser decisions in the face of challenges. The results of the project saw the "emergence of new leaders as individuals' capacity and innovation are harnessed during its course" (Khan, Arnolds and Burton 2009: 10). The capacity-building programme led to the training of the members which led to impartation of understanding of their roles and responsibilities within the projects.

7.2.1 I painted Peace Handbook on Peacebuilding with and for Children and Young People

The I paint for peace handbook was solely based on the participatory research and evaluation processes undertaken by girls and boys, in collaboration with adults, in Uganda, Nepal, Guatemala and Bosnia-Herzegovina. It took place over a two-year period in places where there was currently armed conflict or where it had recently ended and has been documented by Feinstein and O'Kane (2008). Save the Children regards child participation 'as a need and a right' and that "girls and boys have the right to organize themselves and contribute to the development of their societies through taking part in

decision making processes that affect them (Feinstein and O'Kane 2008: 7). In their study, children's participation in armed conflict, post conflict and peace building was based on the importance of peace and education and, the need for support of child participation in peace initiative. The research assumed a thematic evaluation angle which built upon the ideology that children and young people can be agents of peace and involved:

> • "Research into the impact of conflict on children's lives and children's understanding of conflict, peace and peace building; and
> • Evaluation of the quality, strengths and weaknesses, challenges and opportunities, achievements and lessons learnt from Save the Children Norway's work on children's participation in the programme contexts of armed conflict or post conflict and, with a focus on children's participation in peace building." (Feinstein and O'Kane 2008: 9)

Formative Dialogue Research (FDR) was used as a key methodological framework as it allowed opportunities for ongoing reflection, dialogue and analysis amongst the participants (Feinstein and O'Kane 2008: 23). An example of FDR project was the Children's Radio Project, Guatemala. This project produced a programme on peacebuilding where messages where transmitted by the children. Among the participatory tools used by children during the research were 'Tree analysis, Body map, Risk Map, Stories, Peace Albums, poetry, drawings, Peace building Balloon; Focus group discussion, Value Line Discussion, Songs, Drama: Visioning Tree; Circle Analysis (activities at different levels); Spider tool and Partnership mapping' (Feinstein and O'Kane 2008: 43) which expressed their experiences of conflict and their vision of peace.

The outcomes point to the fact that it "created a space in which girls and boys of different ages, abilities and backgrounds were able to express their views, reflect upon their experiences, analyse their situation and the impact of conflict and, share their hopes and suggestions regarding peace and their role in peace building" (Feinstein and O'Kane 2008: 157). They also were given platforms to contribute to the development of more peaceful, inclusive, fair and safe families, schools and communities. The participants gained knowledge, recognition and empowerment and became committed to peacebuilding (Giertsen 2009: 257).

7.2.2 Applying the two models in my research

The model developed for my study is broadly similar in content to the Hlayesika tookit on the topic of the foreigner, particularly the topics on 'Othering' and discrimination', 'Myths, stereotypes and language' and 'Migration, asylum and refugees'. Here the toolkit gave detailed outlines on these topics and were thus used as the major points of reference. The content was simple and therefore easy for the participants to grasp. My study also adopted the activity 'a letter from a foreigner'. However, within my study it was to be written by a local person pretending to be a foreigner and this helped them to put themselves in the other's shoes. It also would allow them to reflect about their own attitudes and behavior towards non-South Africans or South Africans, as relevant (Ruedin 2019: 1113).

There was no direct lesson plan focusing on conflict and violence in the Hlayesika toolkit, a topic which was foundational for my study and which were added. The Hlayesika toolkit focused more on conflict and violence within schools and how these were influenced by the wider community. This study focused on violence and conflict in the context of peacebuilding in mixed communities and thus looked at xenophobia. The capacity building thrust in the Hlayesika training was also used in my project insofar as it helped children to think about their role as peacebuilders. Lastly, my study did not have a collaborative partnership with any other local community actors.

What was adopted from the I painted Peace Handbook on Peace Building with and for Children and Young People mainly was the 'visioning exercise', which I used as a means to help the participants to express and share their hopes and visions of peace. However, in my study, the exercise was used as a measurement to understand if the participants were able to identify and recognise what conflict and violence looked like in their communities and then formulate discussions on the basis of this. This would act as a foundation when we began to talk about xenophobic violence. Another section that was adopted from the handbook was the section on 'Children's and young people's understanding of peace building', which became an important pillar for the training

workshop. The lesson plan on 'Children's and young people's understanding of the history and impact of conflict' was also adopted, but instead of the conflict tree analysis and body mapping, a video on conflict was shown and discussed. My study used many of the participatory action research tools as used in the I painted peace handbook, including poetry, drawings, posters and role play dramas.

7.3 Training Workshops

Following from Chapter 6, this section aims to consider the possible links between peace education and training workshops. Definitions of the workshop will not be mentioned here as these have already been mentioned in the previous chapter. The main reason why trainings were used is because it was felt that the workshop setting would give the participants the chance to:

1. Gain knowledge and understanding on the meanings of conflict and violence
2. Enhance listening skills through the activities that are central to peacebuilding
3. Identify how myths contribute to violence
4. Encourage the understanding and acceptance of diversity and differences
5. Enable the participants to find ways to contribute to a more peaceful community through working together in teams

Table 7.1 presents the participants' ages.

Table 7.1: Participants' bio data: age.

Age	Number of participants	Percentage
12-13	3	20
14	8	53.4
15	4	26.6
Total	**15**	**100%**

As can be seen from Table 7.1, 15 participants participated in the workshop from the initial targeted number which was 18. Three members relocated and hence had to

involuntarily be removed from the group. Participants were selected using the random sampling method (see Chapter 6). Table 7.1 also indicates that the participants were young adolescent children whose ages were between 12 and 15. The motivation of choosing young children had to do with the fact that they were likely more receptive to change than adults who might have hardened attitudes. Table 7.2 presents the participants according to sex.

Table 7.2: Participants according to sex.

Sex	Number of participants	Percentage
Male	8	53.4
Female	7	46.6
Total	**15**	**100%**

Table 7.3 indicates the journey and steps taken toward training the participants and building friendships through the workshop sessions.

Table 7.3: Steps taken to build friendships.

Date	Steps	Participants involved	Purpose
29 May 2017	Initial contact	10	After receiving the gate keeper's letter, the researcher had to establish the initial contact. The researcher had to make contact well ahead of time because the research was dealing with children who fell under level 3, and the expected process of obtaining ethical clearance would take time due to protocols that had to be observed. The researcher's first contacts about gaining research access were the ward councillor in Umbilo as well as the body corporate in charge of the flat where the participants were to be found. It took approximately

			two weeks to get the response required.
31 August 2020	Second contact	23	After receiving the final confirmation of the approval of the researcher's PG2, the researcher embarked on the recruitment of participants. Potential participants were recruited through a door-to-door search. After a dialogue with the flat caretaker, the researcher was given room numbers of possible participants, and the researcher embarked on a door-to-door recruitment. Initially, 23 parents of the participants indicated interests in allowing their children to participate. Eventually, only 18 attended the initial first meeting.
5 October 2018	Initial meeting	18	The initial meeting with the potential participants who had responded to the call aimed at clarifying issues pertaining to the research.
26 October – 9 November 2018	Interviews and FGDs	18	The interviews and focus group discussions were firstly meant to gain an understanding of the knowledge on xenophobia and what that type of violence meant to the participants. The second purpose was to have a pre-intervention evaluation of the attitudes of the participants.
6 April 2019	Initial workshop	15	The first workshop session was designed for ice-breaking. Secondly, it was to watch a video and discuss the role and impact of conflict and how one can improve understanding of each other. The number of participants had reduced as three participants had relocated.
13 April 2019	Second workshop	15	Myths, diversity, non-violence
4 May 2019	Third workshop	15	Xenophobia

18 May 2019	Fourth workshop	15	Integration, ubuntu, and peacebuilding
1 June 2019	Fifth workshop	15	This was the implementation of the activity.
19-26 November 2019	Final workshops: Interviews	15	These were individual interviews, which were meant to analyse the post-intervention attitudes of the participants.

7.4 Outline of the Training Workshops

Learning methods used included:

1. Capacity building: Skills training to help build participants' basic skills in conflict resolution
2. Audio visual tools
3. Brainstorming and interrogation
4. Interactive sessions
5. Plenary and small group discussions
6. Teaching and group presentations
7. Role play and simulation

The learning process was:

1. Interactive: involving the participants actively and ensuring cooperative learning
2. Applying theory to concrete situations
3. Participatory: encouraging individual and group participation
4. Reflections: thinking about issues

The topics for the training were divided into three parts, and were as follows:

Part 1

1. Introduction and meaning of conflict
2. Causes of conflict

3. What is violence?

Part 2

The topics or lessons in the second part were on:

1. Myths and stereotypes on cultural differences, nationality, citizenship, language, and their link to violence
2. Explain what is meant by myths and stereotypes
3. Identifies myths and stereotypes encountered everyday
4. Highlight how language and images help to reinforce myths and stereotypes
5. Counters prevailing myths and stereotypes through illustrating their harmful effects to others

Part 3

The lessons in the third part were on:

1. What is xenophobia?
2. Impact of xenophobia on non-South Africans and the community
3. Stigmatisation
4. Asylum seekers, permit holders, refugees, and what each category means

Part 4

The lessons in the fourth part were on:

1. Integration and peacebuilding
2. What are *ubuntu* and its four pillars? How does this concept work?

7.5 Data Collection for Outcome Evaluation

It was expected that the training would positively influence participants' attitudinal approaches to handling conflict and to help them realise that they can be peacebuilders themselves. More importantly, it was aimed that the workshops would make the participants more peaceful and encourage them to positively influence their colleagues and community through creating lasting friendships. The researcher engaged in six workshops with the participants. A central aspect of data collection was the diarising of

activities during each workshop session and observations of the actions and reactions of the participants. To be able to do this, two facilitators were present at each session as this would enable the one facilitator to chair the session and the one to record observations and notes. Data was also collected using reflective writings which the participants submitted at the end of the workshops.

The venue for the workshop was located on church premises. It was chosen because it was well secured and had plenty of space to accommodate the workshops and the interviews. Security of the venue for the interviews and workshop was a main consideration as this could affect the data collection process. The venue allowed the sessions to be conducted in a comfortable setting, free from any potential disruptions and noise.

7.5.1 Pre-tests

Before commencing the training sessions in each case, the researcher conducted pre-tests for the participants. This was done during the focus group sessions. The thesis did a traditional pre- then post-test session. That which happens in the traditional pre- and post-testing is that "participants are asked a series of questions at both the beginning of a program (pre-test) and then again at the program's completion (post-test)" (Colosi and Dunifon 2006: 1). This type of design was used because it has generally been considered to assess the changes in "participant knowledge, attitudes, or behaviours regarding whatever the program content is (e.g., disciplining children)" (Colosi and Dunifon 2006: 1). This change in perception that takes place between the pre-test and post-test becomes a "response shift" (Drennan and Hyde 2008: 699). This measurement was preferred as it would allow the researcher the opportunity to accurately detect any participant changes that would result from participation in the workshop, which was one of the study's research objectives (see Chapter 1). The pre-training test comprised some of the following questions:

a. What do you know about conflict and violence?

b. Have you ever been involved in conflict?
c. How have you dealt with the conflict?
d. Is conflict and violence a good thing?
e. Have you ever experienced xenophobic violence, or have you participated in it?

7.5.2 First Workshop: 6 April 2019

The initial session had been scheduled to take place in the last week of March 2019, however xenophobic attacks took place during the week of 25 March 2019 (see Chapter 2). As parents were worried about the safety of their children, the research team had to postpone to the week of 6 April 2019. On that day, the researcher, research assistant, and participants arrived at the venue to begin the workshop sessions. In the first session, 15 participants were present for the session. Initially, the researcher had managed to speak to 18 participants whose parents had given consent. However, before commencing the training workshops, two members who were from one family relocated. Another participant became unavailable to attend. Since the participation was voluntary, the researcher had to adjust and work with the new number of 15 participants.

The session commenced with greetings and introductions. The first dialogue session was difficult for the participants as well as for the researcher – the facilitator – in that all did not know what to expect. The uneasiness could be seen from the way in which the participants sat in the room, scattered and leaving big gaps in between the arranged chairs. The researcher introduced herself to the participants, as well as introduced the contents of that which they were to be trained on during the workshops. Some of the participants were very shy even in introducing themselves to others.

The first matter that needed to be established was to have a common set of values[4] that would be used for the duration of the workshops for all the participants. The research

[4] This is a term that was borrowed from a module that is offered at the Durban University of Technology by the Centre for General Education. These common set of values are values that the students develop and that they will use in their lecture sessions as guidelines of how to behave when sensitive and valuable information is shared. This helps to create a safe and open place in the session taking place.

team started by inviting the participants to volunteer and to help list their expectations. The expectations and values that were offered included the following:

> I just want to be respected when I speak, considering my English is not too good.
>
> I want to see if there is hope for the future to end the violence. So let's encourage each other.
>
> I am here to listen and to hear others' opinions.

The participants agreed that they should all respect each other, they should not make noise, they should raise their hands if they had a point to share, everyone was equal, all cellphones would be put on silent, and they all agreed that English would be the main language of communication, however, during break times, they could use their vernacular language with those who understood it. The research team wrote these down and would always emphasise them if anyone failed to remember them. The researcher emphasised the need to have open and honest communications in the training sessions and highlighted that the purpose of the workshops was to listen and to be listened to such that there would be empathy, understanding, and appreciation of one another's viewpoints. The aim was not to have an argument to listen and hear others out. Figure 7.1 depicts the common set of values.

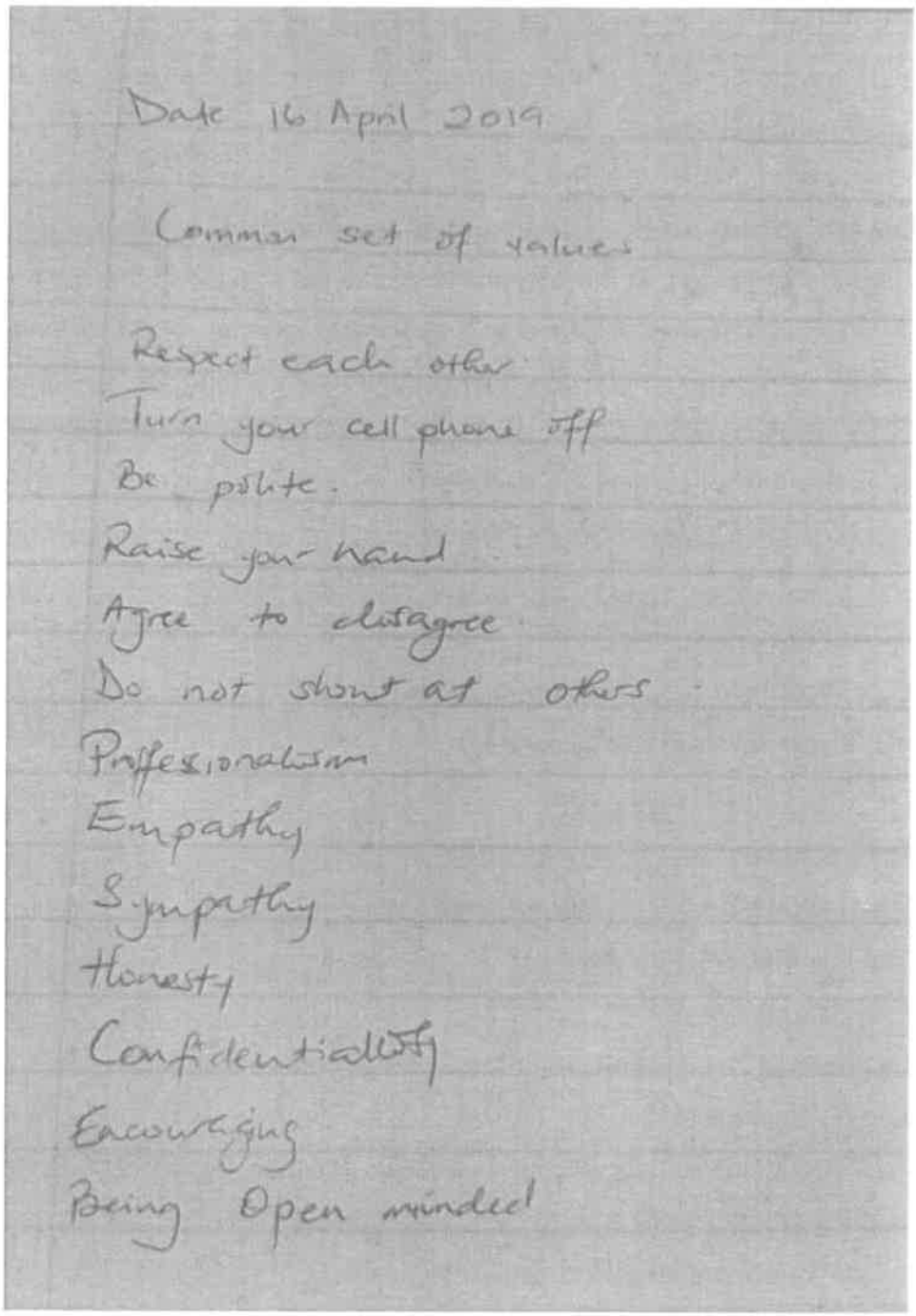


Figure 7.1: Common set of values.

Even though some of the participants were acquaintances, they were not very close to each other and one could tell that they were not comfortable to raise any points. To remedy this, an icebreaker had to be carried out. This was an icebreaker that was learnt

from a module called 'cornerstone' which is offered at the Durban University of Technology. The researcher felt that this game would meet the intentions that she had when administering the icebreaker.

The first matter carried out was to explain the exercise where the researcher would ask them to stand up if something that the researcher called out applied to them. Thus, if for example the researcher would state 'Stand up if you are vegetarian', only those who were vegetarian would stand up. Once the instructions were clear for all, the game commenced. This was to create a fun atmosphere and the icebreaker was also to help in terms of showing how the differences that people have and the diversity that exists in the world can encourage conflict and violence. The instructions listed as follows were asked:

Standing up exercise icebreaker[5]

- Stand up if you have ever driven on a public road
- Stand up if you have a driver's licence
- Stand up if you know how to swim
- Stand up if you ever herded cows (*izinkomo*)
- Stand up if you ever had to carry water for the family
- Stand up if you are an only child
- Stand up if you are a mother
- Stand up if your grandparents had more than one home language
- Stand up if you are a twin
- Stand up if you think climate change is a major danger to humans on Earth
- Stand up if you have more than five brothers and sisters
- Stand up if your home language was English
- Stand up if you use Facebook
- Stand up if you went to a wedding in the last 12 months
- Stand up if you went to a funeral in the last 12 months
- Stand up if you are left-handed

[5] Facilitator guide Cornerstone 2018.

- Stand up if you speak four or more languages
- Stand up if you were born outside KwaZulu-Natal
- Stand up if you ever travelled outside of South Africa
- Stand up if you know that some or all of your ancestors came from outside South Africa
- Stand up if you have ever lost a friend or relative who you know was HIV positive

After the game, the researcher asked the participants to comment on this exercise. Questions asked included the following:

> What did you feel during this exercise? What did you notice? (Follow up with a couple more questions before moving on, e.g. was it ever embarrassing? Did you ever find it difficult if you were the only one or one of a small group who stood up? Why? Did people ever laugh? Why? Did anything surprise you? Do you think people here ever felt stigmatised when they stood up (clarify what that means)? What did you learn from this? (Gonsalves 2018: 9).

These questions allowed for responses, which were documented and were to be used later in the section on diversity. Generally, the exercise revealed unexpected commonalities and unexpected diversity. The following are some of the commonalities and differences which were seen in responses to the questions. Majority of the participants did not know how to swim. For the questions if they had ever herded cattle, if they had ever driven in a road or carried water for their family the answers for all of them was no. All the participants had been to a wedding or funeral recently. This showed them that they all were the same and they valued and celebrated life, and they also experienced misfortunes such as death too. This did not matter whether you were a migrant or not. In relation to the question on the participants having travelled outside of South Africa or even to another province, it appeared that few of the local participants had done so. This was an interesting point of departure for the activity I am a foreigner as it allowed us to explore how others felt when they went to an area where they felt like an outsider. In terms of the question on languages, majority of the local participants spoke only two languages with English being the common denominator and their vernacular language being the second language. The vernacular languages were either Afrikaans or Zulu. Majority of the

migrant participants spoke four or five languages. On explanation they highlighted that they were able to speak these languages because the country from which their parents came from spoke 2 languages already. At school they had to adopt Zulu, Afrikaans and English which summed up the languages to five. Within this group there we also some migrant participants who spoke only three languages (this is because the country of origin of the parents only spoke one language). The ice breaker in other instances, also revealed a major lack of information, for example, others did not know if they had ancestors who came outside of South Africa or not. This question led us to the discussion of history and how movement of tribes had happened leading to the relocation of tribes in the current geographic location of South Africa. Another interesting issue which came about was from the colored community where their ancestry was so very mixed that we could not pinpoint the exact point of origin of their ancestry.

Afterwards, the researcher commenced training using the book entitled 'I painted Peace Handbook on Peace Building with and for Children and Young People'. The team started with lesson one in the section that was entitled 'a visioning exercise'. The objective of the lesson was that students would identify and explore that which conflict and violence looked like in the communities from which they came. Here the aim was to see that which the participants identified with as conflict or violence, and to formulate discussions based on this. Contrary to the researcher's fears that the participants were going to take time to understand that which they were doing, they seemed to have a reasonable understanding and appreciation of that which conflict and violence was. The participants responded by giving out scenarios of what they felt was conflict and violence. Most of the examples given revealed that the participants were more aware of physical violence and at most times would define conflict in the context of this type of violence.

One of the participants pointed out that:

> I have heard so many stories that there are a lot of gangsters and thieves in other communities and it is not safe to go there. My school friend lives in Umlazi and he says his father was mugged last week as he was coming home from work at the train stations.

Another participant also indicated that:

> Every time on the news you hear news of children being killed or women being killed. It makes me feel a bit uneasy that it could happen to me that I will leave home one day and never be found.

After recording the visions of violence that the students came up with, the research team went on to the next segment of the program. A cartoon video (Pelmon 2016) that depicted a conflictual situation, violence that resumed as a result of the conflict, and possible conflict resolution was shown to the participants. A projector had to be hired for this purpose. This video was chosen because of its simplicity and since it offered information even without using any words. The video depicted conflict using two chameleons. Peace in the rainforest is disrupted when the two chameleons literally become glued to each other in a conflict, both wanting to catch the same insect for a meal. Neither chameleon wants to let go of the insect for the other to have. The chameleons fight and pull each other but they both do not let go. Opportunities of getting more insects are lost when they present themselves because neither wanted to let go. The conflict also affects innocent bystanders when the parties are engaged in violent acts. After fighting for a long time, the insect falls into the hands of a frog which becomes the mediator. He shares the meal between them in equal shares.

This video was chosen because it was able to "conscientize people and communities towards a deeper understanding of the causes of violence" (Brabcova et al. (2013: 180). In their study, Brabcova *et al.* (2013: 180) show that it is effective to use educational animated videos and educational drama to increase the level of knowledge in children aged from nine to 11 to reduce stigma. Through the use of educational videos, knowledge on epilepsy was imparted and there was evidence of an improvement in understanding that which conflict was. The educational drama was implemented and used in such a way as to maximise the involvement of children. An additional reason why videos were incorporated in the training sessions was because videos have the ability to bring realism to learning, they can captivate and stimulate the mind of the learners because of their use of images in motion depicting real life situations (Turuthi *et al n.d.*: 16). This was the

intention. However, the older ages seemed not to be fans of watching animation videos, viewing them as appropriate for younger kids.

After seeing the video, a discussion arose, and the participants shared that which they had learnt from this. This was then linked to the visioning exercise that had happened prior. Definitions of that which conflict and violence meant were suggested by the group and these were discussed. However, some of the participants were still not confident enough to contribute. That which struck the researcher regarding that which emanated from these discussions was that everyone in the group realised that conflict was something that one could face irrespective of one's age. The participants highlighted the fact that conflict was something that they would or might experience daily, and that it is a normal and natural part of life. Also, from the video, they became aware of the fact that conflict exists in the society because people are different and have different perspectives, personalities, likes, and preferences. This even starts with having different places of birth, countries of origin, religions, and cultures. As the facilitator, the researcher had to help the students in understanding that which they see around them. The training helped the students understand that conflicts are an everyday reality in the communities in which they live and they needed to have skills in conflict resolution on how to behave when confronted with a conflictual situation. If not handled well, conflict will result in violence. From there, the participants highlighted the negative effects of violence among which death, disability, and displacement were mentioned.

At the end of the training, the research team and participants engaged in a discussion where they offered peaceful and creative solutions to conflicts. Because of the time, the team had to briefly browse through issues on violence, cycles of violence, and types of violence. The researcher did not want the children to not return to their homes at the stipulated and agreed times with their parents. However, in that brief discussion, they learnt that violence is different from conflict and that violence results when conflicts are not handled well. The participants linked violence to the day-to-day violence that they would see at their schools when students fought after school. The workshop assisted in laying a foundation in the area of training which is expected to help positively influence

students' attitudes and promote social change amongst the participants. Because of time restrains we did not get a chance to look at the issue of violence and if there were any feasible solutions that the participants had pertaining to bringing an end to the violence they have seen in their communities. This could have been a transforming angle to pursue.

The participants asked questions during the workshop, especially pertaining to concepts of which they had not heard previously. Answers to the questions were given and concepts were clearly explained. After the session, participants were given a reflection exercise where they had to answer the following questions as part of the process of evaluating:

a. What do you now know about conflict and violence?
b. If you are involved in a conflict, how will you deal with it?
c. If you see others involved in conflict, how will you assist them?

The first training workshop session started in a very promising way. This was to the researcher's surprise. At the end, the team also discussed and planned the logistical issues surrounding the second workshop which was scheduled for the following week.

7.5.3 Second Workshop

The researcher again held a meeting with the participants on 13 April 2019. Since the previous week, the team had rushed and browsed through violence, and stated and recapped from that point briefly training on that which was significant. Then the researcher continued the training looking at the theme of non-violence. The objective of the lesson was for students to understand how differing cultures, nationalities, and ideologies have contributed to the violence that could be seen in the country. This section aimed to look at the myths associated with different cultures or nationalities that would result in high levels of violence. The participants here had to do a role play where they would depict the different myths that they had heard pertaining to a represented nationality that was a member of the group. In the role play, the participants had to accurately act out how they

felt the person whom they were representing felt based on the myths that they had heard. This was imperative in helping promote awareness of cultural differences and encouraging respect for the diversity existing between different cultures, and it mainly was to dispel any wrong misconceived myths that would have been inherited and passed down to the participants from those who surrounded them. The intention of this role play session was to enable the participants to move away from just talking about an issue but to interpret it expressively. The types of performances in the role play suggested that this intention was fulfilled. Five role plays were acted out by 5 groups which had 3 participants. The reason for group work was to continue to encourage interaction and communication amongst the participants.

The role plays revealed the different myths that the participants had heard pertaining to the other and different aspects, both negative and positive, were revealed from the role plays. Participants demonstrated that young children also had myths that they had inherited from their families or communities pertaining to other groups, as seen from the literature in Chapter 3. A participant pointed out that:

> Because I am Nigerian, and my family is from Nigeria, we are always branded as drug traffickers and we are responsible for the high crime rates in South Africa. But my mother works in a saloon to feed us and take care of us. Not all Nigerians are bad in nature.

Another participant indicated that "We have been told that South Africans are lazy and that is why they hate our parents because they are hard workers". Another participant stated that "They are too many people living around us. My mother always says that I must be careful when we put the clothes on the washing because they will be stolen by the neighbors" (one should realise that the neighbors were foreigners and some years ago, a disagreement over missing clothes had ensued between the two families).

This existence of tensions through myths between the migrants and locals seemed to have created barriers that made it difficult for the young children to connect with each other. Even though the participants stayed in the same vicinity, there was some invisible wedge through the myths which was inhibiting the process of reaching out to each other.

This made friendship very important in addressing conflict. The sharing of perspectives and watching a myth about one's culture being acted out enabled the participants to gain a better understanding of the conflict that exists, and it proved to be an important exercise. The participants demonstrated that young children themselves did not view each other as enemies as such, and by breaking the barriers that had been evidently deposited by myths, friendships could be a possibility. That which they spoke of was inherited. There was a discussion on how the participants felt as they performed the roles plays and how those watching the role play felt as they watched the performance, and the responses were documented for analysis purposes. The discussions on the role plays continued to be recorded through an audio recorder and some important points were written in the research journal. These were later documented and coded under the theme of negative association, name calling and lack of knowledge in Chapter 8.

After the role play, the team and participants engaged in the activity entitled 'a letter written to a foreigner' (see Annexure 2). The objectives for using this activity were that the participants would be able to highlight their own attitudes and behaviours towards non-South Africans and South African nationals. Also, from this activity, it was hoped that the answers that would be written would draw out the similarities that might exist between the migrants and South Africans. As the session was dealing with myths, the training session wanted to determine the extent to which the participants' ideas and attitudes towards non-South Africans were as a result of the myths that they had heard about them.

Each participant received a copy of the letter which they needed to fill in. After receiving the letter, they were instructed to write on the letter the answers to the sentences as if they were a person who was not a resident of South Africa. They had to express that which they believed that a person of a different nationality would tell them. After filling in the letter, the participants were put into pairs and had the opportunity to discuss the answers that they wrote and to highlight the common attitudes that were reflected there. The pairing of the participants was done through a number's allocation. I allocated each participant a number tag starting from number one to number seven. This was done twice to create two sets of the same number. After number allocation the same numbers would

pair for the discussion. In the end we had one group with 3 participants and the other groups had two participants. From this, the entire group came back to a plenary discussion where the key themes, differences, commonalities, and ideas were drawn out. The following questions are examples of that which was revealed from the discussions. For example, who is superior between the non-South African and the South African? Were the people different? And lastly, would any of the participants want to be treated in the same way if they were to go to another country? The copies of the letters were collected at the end of the session as a source for further data collection.

Issues on differences, interactions, and connections were discussed in the groups. The following are some of the points that were revealed from the discussion on the letters:

> Personally, I don't have any problem with foreign people. I just view them as any other normal people in South Africa. The problem is as much as I have some who I study with, I have never been close to one. We only meet if we have a project to do together in class or I need to ask for a book they have that I need in the class only. Outside of school we never talk.

Another South African participant stated that "I think people from other countries are very smart and clever. In my class at school, they are always on top and they never are mischievous". Another migrant participant also highlighted that:

> I think sometimes they treat us as if they are superior to us because we are refugees. Maybe it's because they have never travelled to other countries to reside there. It's hard when you are not welcomed. But umm I think some are different. At church, I have a lot of Zulu friends and they are actually very close, and they do not treat me differently.

After the letter discussion, the researcher could note that the participants had much on which to reflect. The above comments show the belief that there is always something good about each person and there can be something bad about each person as well. However, usually, one amplifies the side that one wants depending on that which one might stand to gain or lose in any given situation. Participants indicated that society is too quick to judge an individual and the judgement is motivated by existing beliefs and other common societal trends which are usually untrue. To ensure that the participants

engaged in all the discussions, I had to give them the option to volunteer. This was done so that the participants would feel more confident as opposed to forcing them to speak. In addition, I used turn-taking which allowed them to take turns to speak up. This allowed everyone to get a chance to share their ideas. Sometimes you would realise that even when they had a turn to speak, they were shy or reluctant to contribute. In those instances, I would encourage them that their ideas were important and as well remind them of the set of values we had set out previously. From the discussions, it was evident that the participants had the ability to connect to each other but there was the existence of boundaries, and as one of the researcher's objectives, in order to relax these boundaries, it was important to develop friendships. This would be a challenge however, because it entailed dealing with the socialisation that young children receive when being raised at the family level.

The second workshop session ended with the pronouncement from the participants that people from different backgrounds, though a myth, may be described as something they are not and this might not be true per se. They then are branded as such without one attempting to get close to truly understanding who they are. Since people have no choice over their backgrounds or countries of origin, it would be very unfair to judge them based on their circumstances and not on who they are. The analysis of the children's role plays showed that myths of the represented homeland provide a basic framework on which to build a representation of a negative experience.

7.5.4 Third Workshop

The next session for the workshop was conducted three weeks after the last session on 4 May 2019. This is because the researcher was not available during the past week because of a personal event that was taking place for her for which she needed to prepare. The issue to be discussed was on the topic of that which xenophobia was. The objectives were to explain to the participants the understanding of the term *xenophobia* and have them define it. The first activity that was done involved the participants writing a reflection which would be discussed. These reflections were read and analysed. From these reflections what was important was the content, description and language used.

These were then analysed and conclusions were made thereafter. The participants were encouraged to describe what they felt, and this enabled me to understand their context. However, a limitation here was that some reflections were grammatically unsound such that I needed to follow up verbally to understand what the participant meant. The reflective exercises were important because they provided an important summary of that which had been learnt in the past weeks. During the personal reflections, participants demonstrated signs that they had grasped key issues that had been covered previously. It was also interesting to note that with each session, there were always some notable and visible improvements in terms of enthusiasm when compared to the previous session. Participant V stated the following: "When we left last week, I shared with my family what I learnt today. I still kept on thinking about the letter to the foreigner activity".

During this session, the children were presented with a puzzle word game called 'Find the word' (see Annexure 3). The letters in this puzzle represented the word *xenophobia* and they were required to work out what the word was. This exercise was done in groups of three to evenly distribute the number of the students. After the exercise, only two groups managed to find the word within the stipulated time limit of three minutes. The first group to get the words correct became the winners of the game and received a mini prize of sweets.

This game set the tone for the discussion to start on that which xenophobia was understood to be in South Africa. The participants highlighted from where they had come to know the word. Then the training went on to discuss the effects of xenophobia, how it operated, and how the violence that results from it has affected the participants personally or indirectly. An issue of identity was raised during the discussion and this seemed to be an issue where they would be labeling each other and calling each other names. Migrant participants, especially those who happened to speak English with a dialect, disclosed that they had been victims of identity abuse in many instances.

The training also looked at discrimination that came through the lenses of xenophobia. A very interesting discussion on the names that were attributed to non-South Africans

ensued. Many of the participants stated that at school they were occasionally called *amakwerekwere* without them having done anything at all. All the migrant participants went to different schools. Two of the locals however attended the same school and were in different grades. In cases where they excelled in school, it was seen as showing off and they would be called names as well.

One participant stated the following:

> Because I am very dark skinned, I stand out from my schoolmates. And that is the one reason they can know I am a *makwerekwere*. I did not choose this skin colour; I was just born that way. Sometimes I don't feel confident at all. Maybe when I am older, I will find facial creams that will help me out.

The discussion highlighted how the name-calling helped to stigmatise migrants. The topic on xenophobia at the schools showed that some of the migrant participants at schools had at one time in their life been name called. From the discussions, it appears that the participants were not physically assaulted, and neither were they name called all the time. This was something they had experienced at one time at the school from their peers[6]. The participants are not confident and become self-conscious. Another migrant national stated the following:

> Even on the news, I always see negative comments posted on the SABC Facebook page about foreigners if there is xenophobia happening. The people are always saying go back to your countries, but we have done nothing wrong.

As a result of such points raised, the participants also looked at the effects of media (television, radio, and internet). In addition, the participants had to explore that which it meant to be a migrant through looking at other words such as asylum seekers, permit holders, and refugees. It was very interesting to see that some of the participants did not know the difference between those who had a permit and asylum and/or had refugee

[6] From the discussions, no report was given relating to teachers being part of those that had name called the participants. Also, the local participants did not highlight whether they had been culprits and had also name called other. I did not want to pressure and pursue this point of view because the aim of the research was not to put the child participants in the spotlight by having them speak on their participation in derogatory name calling. Rather the aim was for there to be an understanding of how name calling affected others.

status. This then highlighted the confusion that exists where all migrants are viewed as illegal. The lack of this knowledge had led to everyone being branded as illegal.

Thus now, after this discussion, the question that required answering was whether the young children could do something about xenophobic violence and achieve that which has seemingly failed to happen in South Africa, that is, eradicating the violence. This became the key issue with which the participants were confronted by the time the third session had ended. The researcher encouraged the participants to continue thinking about this even without her presence as it would be spoken about in the following workshops.

7.5.5 Fourth Workshop

The workshop took place on 18 May 2019. This workshop aimed to look at integration and peacebuilding. The topic on *ubuntu* was also covered as this was part of the methodology that this study was to utilise. "Ubuntu is the common foundation of all African cultures and a consciousness of belonging together. The existence of xenophobia demonstrates an absence to tolerance of other Africans" (Chinomona and Maziriri 2015: 25). Exercising the spirit of *ubuntu* through educating for peace might therefore eradicate the occurrence of xenophobia.

This theory was used in the hope that *ubuntu* could serve as a theory of moral conduct, human dignity, and creating friendships. For the training, *ubuntu* was reshaped in its interpretation, construing it considering the objectives of the research. After discussions on *ubuntu*, it was clear that the participants felt that they needed to act and honour this legacy of *ubuntu*. Perspectives shifted from the general knowledge on the concept to seeing it in practice in peacebuilding. After this session, the research team immediately proceeded to decide what intervention the participants would like to implement, following from the last session that was held. This workshop was aimed at allowing the participants to share ideas on which action to take on their own to help in dismantling xenophobic prejudices and bias. Most importantly, this would be a way to create friendships through working together in teams. Unlike the first workshop session that had been conducted,

one could observe that the participants had become somewhat closer or accustomed to the other participants. This was noticeable from their sitting arrangements, greetings, and even how they conversed before commencing the sessions.

Even though there was an interesting vigour and eagerness to do something, the feeling of incapacity was also noticeable in the group. The participants were not sure of that which the researcher meant by intervention, and the researcher had to explain this in simpler words. The researcher also noted that this was one of the biggest challenges of using action research where it is not easy to arouse the interest of the participants and to encourage them to do something about their situation and make a difference in the community. However, for them to decide which action to take seemed like a very large burden had been placed on their shoulders. Groups were created differently here. Three groups were created by the participants themselves. The participants quickly paired themselves into groups adopting 3 members. The groups were a mixture of sexes as well as ages. From observation, it appears that these participants had a common ground of interest and had bonded in terms of who understood who more. The remainder of the participants I had to use the same method as used in section 7.5.3 of numbers allocation.

During the session, the researcher realised that as a facilitator, she had to constantly explain and clarify to the participants that which the participants needed to do. Also, the researcher saw that the other members felt that they were not a big group and hence their efforts might not make an impact. As a result, the researcher had to encourage them that they had the capacity to make change and that while the group was indeed small, their efforts, no matter how little, would be important. It had been proven elsewhere that small steps could have an impact not only on the world but also on those involved in the process. These sentiments were clearly captured in the statement by Mahatma Gandhi which states "In a gentle way, you can shake the world" (Anon 2018 para 5 line 7). The challenge was also that they wanted to do something, but this would be difficult to prepare as they had academic obligations. The participants attended school during the weekdays.

After explaining more on the possible actions to take, the participants now shared the idea that they wanted to be creative in a practical way of promoting friendship and peace amongst them. The idea of posters for peace is that which the students came up with. For the researcher, this was something towards which the researcher would not have guided the children as the researcher had never thought of peace posters as a form of intervention. Initially, the researcher had sports in mind as an intervention. However, after consultation with the supervisor on this, he explained to the researcher that as it was the chosen intervention by the participants themselves, the researcher had to work with it. This was apparently a new phenomenon in peace activities, as the researcher had not encountered it previously in any literature. However, the researcher believed that this method of intervention would fall under "participatory media" which includes:

> Practices that empower community members with knowledge and technical skills to create visual, audio, theatrical, musical and textual representations of social, political, economic and cultural issues affecting them, with the ultimate aim of stimulating dialogues, experiential learning and social change (Akande 2016: para 5 line 1).

With such understanding, the research team proceeded with the planning. This intervention was not a difficult task for the participants to do as it required only colouring pens, colour paper, pre-stick, among other items, which had to be bought to facilitate preparing for the posters. The fourth workshop session ended with participants settling on posters for peace as their joint activity and setting possible places where they could, as a team, take their posters and present on peace and integration. Participants also agreed that this had to be presented at the end of August or early September 2019. As for the researcher, she had to source and set aside the funds for the participants to buy the stationery that they would need to use. In the end, some of the groups decided to make designs using the internet and the researcher had to outsource and rent laptops for this process.

7.5.6 Fifth Session

During the weeks after the last encounter with the participants, the researcher managed to acquire the list of items that the participants required for the poster project. Due to

some financial constraints, it took the researcher over two weeks to obtain the necessary items and then to distribute them to the participants. During the action, planning, and preparation, the participants collaborated with each other via WhatsApp. This provided participants with an opportunity to connect informally. The notion of creativity promoted the idea of contact, which had been initiated by the workshop sessions.

From 1 June 2019 thereafter, the research team immediately initiated the process and began to plan the finer details, and to have the participants work on their posters. Topic identification was the first activity that each group had to do. The process of topic identification began with the groups listing down potential areas and designs that they would want to make a poster. In this session, the researcher decided to have a games session as an icebreaker session with the participants. The venue gave the team access to their youth activity items such as the darts board, table tennis station, and a football table. The researcher had a monopoly game and some playing cards. The researcher wanted this day to be a little more relaxed before beginning the continuation of the process of the peace posters by the participants. It appeared that the games were very enjoyable for the participants as they independently started their own warm-ups and game-playing upon arrival.

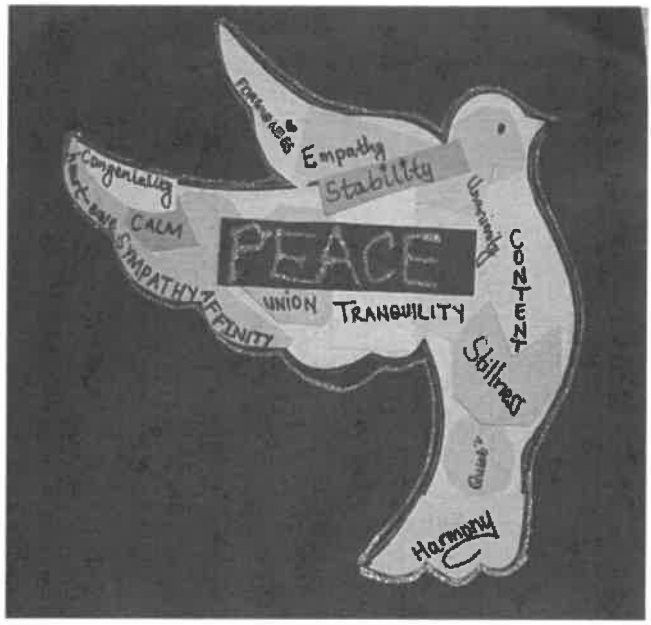
After the games, group members convened again to make final touches in the drawing and design aspect of this activity. In groups of three, the participants were asked to brainstorm the types of posters that they could do in order to contribute to peace towards migrants in their communities. Each group would come to a collective decision on their peace poster format and performance. Different groups decided to present their posters differently and to post them or share the poster messages at their churches in their children's church sessions, and another group chose to perform at the school of one of the participants. One group was to share the poster and message on peace at their brother's school. Another group decided to share their message at an adolescent girl's group at their church. Other groups decided to share in public spaces in the community in which they stayed.

The participants continued to work on this production and at the end of the session, they gave the researcher a copy of their drafts to peruse and see viability. In addition to the poster, two groups wanted to add a poem. However, only one group managed to present the poem, and the other group did not get a chance to do the poem and the idea did not materialise (the poem is given in Figure 9.1. The process of preparation and designing lasted for four weeks before the posters were ready.

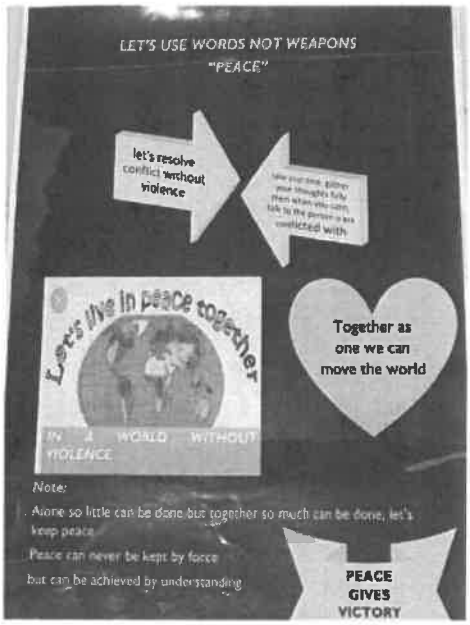
7.5.7 Final Session

After diligent work, wonderful and very authentic posters were made by the participants. The poster work did not take as much time as had been anticipated and in August, the participants were ready to present. However, between August and September 2019, xenophobic attacks erupted in Durban and the guardians of the children were worried about the children coming to present their work. Thus, during this time, the researcher advised the parents to allow the children to work on their final details on the posters and to keep a record of their progress. If they needed any help, they would send the researcher a message and she would assist. The team had to postpone this until the end of the violence. The presentations of the posters were eventually made in October 2019. Initially I had intended to discuss with the participants if they had in any way been affected by the attacks that had taken place in August and September. However, from the preliminary inquiries it seemed that the migrant participants had not been affected directly but they were aware of the incidents because their parents had told them. For the local participants they had been made aware of the eruptions of the violence because their parents had told them of the cancellation of the presentations. But one group because of this violence, they then decided to add to their poster a creative idea to have people sign a pledge of peace and coexistence with others. Examples of that which the participants did are included in Figure 7.2 which presents some of the posters that were made by the participants.

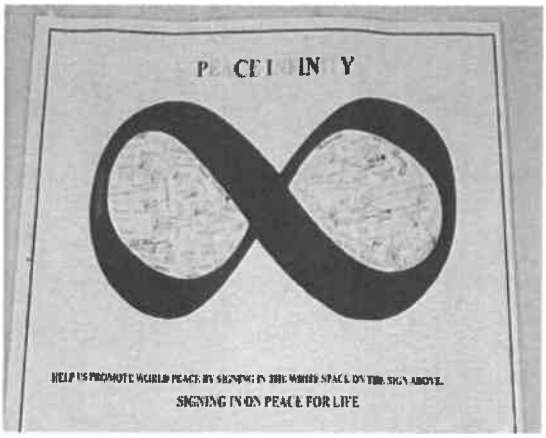
(a)


Empathy
Stability
PEACE
UNION
TRANQUILITY
CONTENT
Skilled
Harmony

(b)


LET'S USE WORDS NOT WEAPONS
"PEACE"
let's resolve conflict without violence
Let's live in peace together
Together as one we can move the world
Note:
Alone so little can be done but together so much can be done, let's keep peace.
Peace can never be kept by force but can be achieved by understanding
PEACE GIVES VICTORY

(c)


HELP US PROMOTE WORLD PEACE BY SIGNING IN THE WHITE SPACE ON THE SIGN ABOVE.
SIGNING IN ON PEACE FOR LIFE

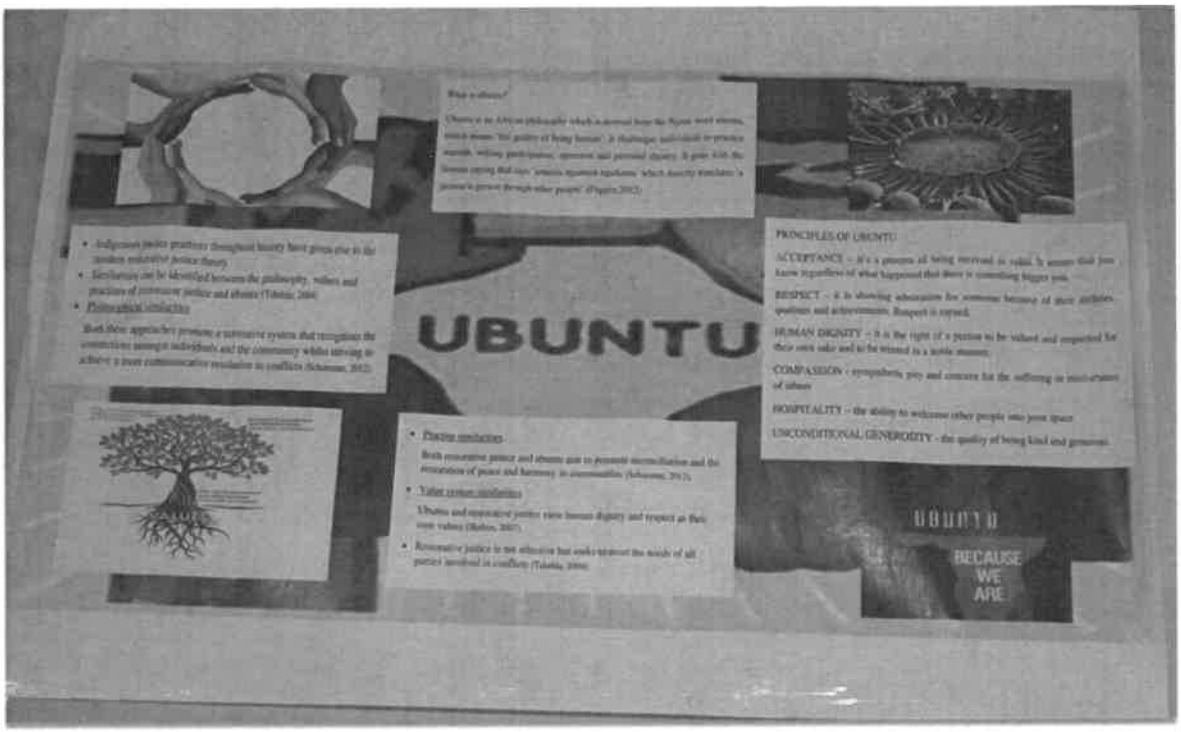
(d)


LET PEACE BEGIN WITH ME
ONE MUST BELIEVE IN IT.
ONE MUST WORK AT IT.

(e)


-UBUNTU-
HUMANITY
Stewardship
Forgiveness
feelings
offender
response
Respect
The Three R's of a Restorative Community
Respect
Relationships
Responsibility
ACCEPTANCE
ubuntu
I am because we are
UMUNTU
NGUMUNTU
NGABANTU

(f)


UBUNTU
PRINCIPLES OF UBUNTU
ACCEPTANCE
RESPECT
HUMAN DIGNITY
COMPASSION
HOSPITALITY
UNCONDITIONAL GENERODITY
UBUNTU
BECAUSE WE ARE

(g)

Figure 7.2: (a) to (g): Posters that were designed by the participants.

7.5.8 Presentation of the Posters

The five groups of three decided to present their posters differently. One group decided to also add fliers which they would give out to those in their community with a brief guidance of that which the poster was about. Another group, as seen in the images in Figure 7.3, hosted a girls' tea party and decided to have a bring-and-share session with girls their age discussing issues on peace with their poster. Another group decided to visit a primary school in their area to do the presentations. It appears from the evidence submitted that most of the people targeted by the participants were young people themselves. Figure 7.3 depicts the presentation of the posters to the girls' group.

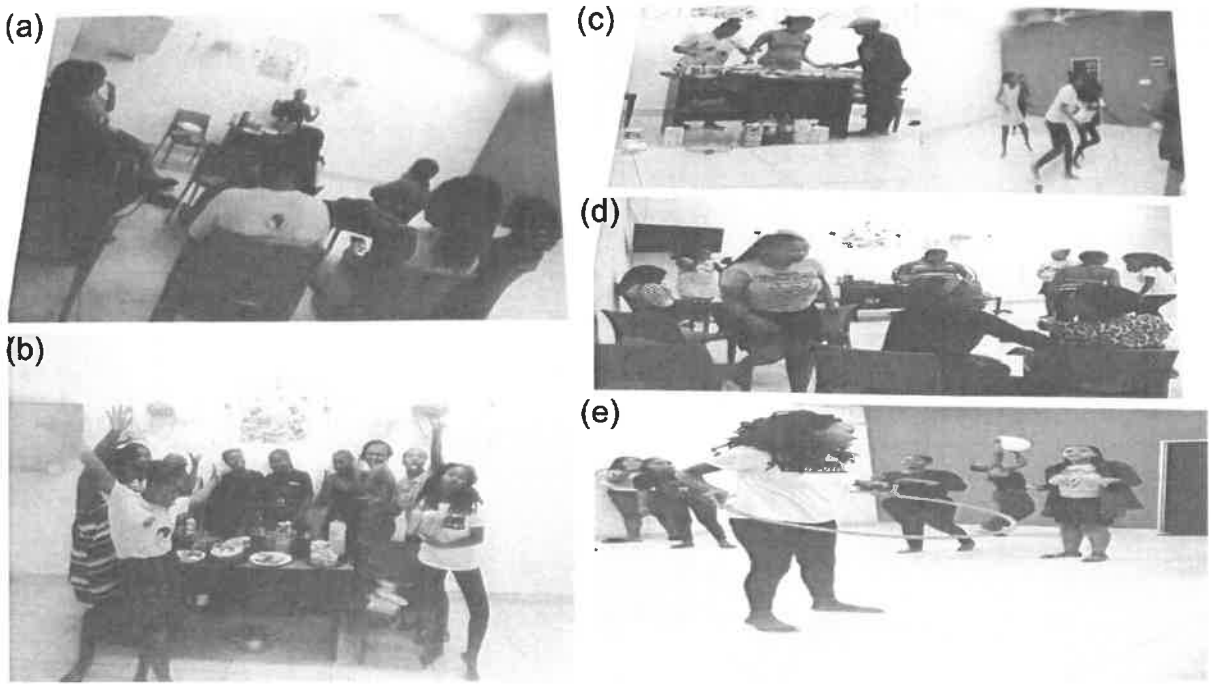


Figure 7.3: (a) to (e): Presentation of the posters to the girls' group.

The researcher made a prior arrangement with the parents of the participants to allow them to present their posters. This was arranged. The researcher also assisted the group 2 members to obtain transport and food to bring the girls' group for a presentation to the workshop venue. For groups 3 and 4, the researcher had to assist them in giving moral support as they presented their posters and fliers in public corners in their community. Figure 7.4 shows the poster presentations in community corners by one group.

(a)

(b)

(c)

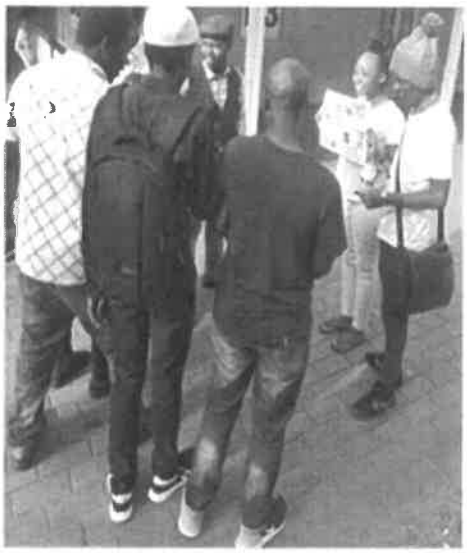


Figure 7.4: (a) to (c): Poster presentations in community corners by one group.

After these presentations, the participants underwent interviews over the process of making the posters and that which they felt had changed during working with others and the impact that they felt that their presentations had made in their communities. At the end, each participant was given an A4-sized copy of the posters that were presented, along with a certificate of participation.

7.6 Summary

This chapter has reported on the training workshops in which the participants participated, the objectives of each workshop, the number of meetings carried out, and the content that was followed. The idea of bringing people together to become friends was not an easy one and it did not just happen. The workshop sessions were a means to create a safe space that would enable participants to connect. The next chapter is devoted to the outcome of the themes that came out during the training workshops.

CHAPTER 8: Exploring the Emergent Themes

8.1 Introduction

Interpretive thematic analysis "is a method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns" (Bonhomme *et al.* 2020: 563) and it can be used to make interpretations of data through describing that which is happening regarding that which has been presented. This chapter will identify and describe some of the themes that emerged during the workshop sessions, interviews, and focus group discussions conducted in this study to offer an understanding into how the context of the study and the lived experience of the participants led them to their intervention phase. It also allows one to interpret the poster designs as made by the participants. The following sections describe key themes that emerged from the data gathered. The common xenophobia-related issues that the participants shared included verbal abuse and name-calling, issues of isolation, and a lack of belonging.

8.2 Using the Kirkpatrick Model

The study's change measure was done through the Kirkpatrick model. The evaluation workshop was the last workshop that was conducted. It was conducted using the Kirkpatrick Model (Maguire *et al.* 2015: 134). The reason why this model was used is because it allows for the realisation of one of the objectives of the research as mentioned in Chapter 1. According to Kirkpatrick, this model has four levels (Mohammed Saad and Mat 2013: 18; Farzad 2012: 2893) which are described in the sub-sections that follow.

8.2.1 Level 1: Reaction

At this level, that which is measured is the reaction to the training or learning experience by the participants (Aryadoust 2017: 153). The one investigating must "assess learners' willingness and readiness to ask questions and to be fully engaged as well as how they perceived the learning experience" (Abou-El-Soud, Mohamed and Prince 2018: 101).

Emotional reaction refers to the attitudes of participants at the end of the training (Mohammed Saad and Mat 2013: 18). Figure 8.1 depicts the adapted Kirkpatrick model.

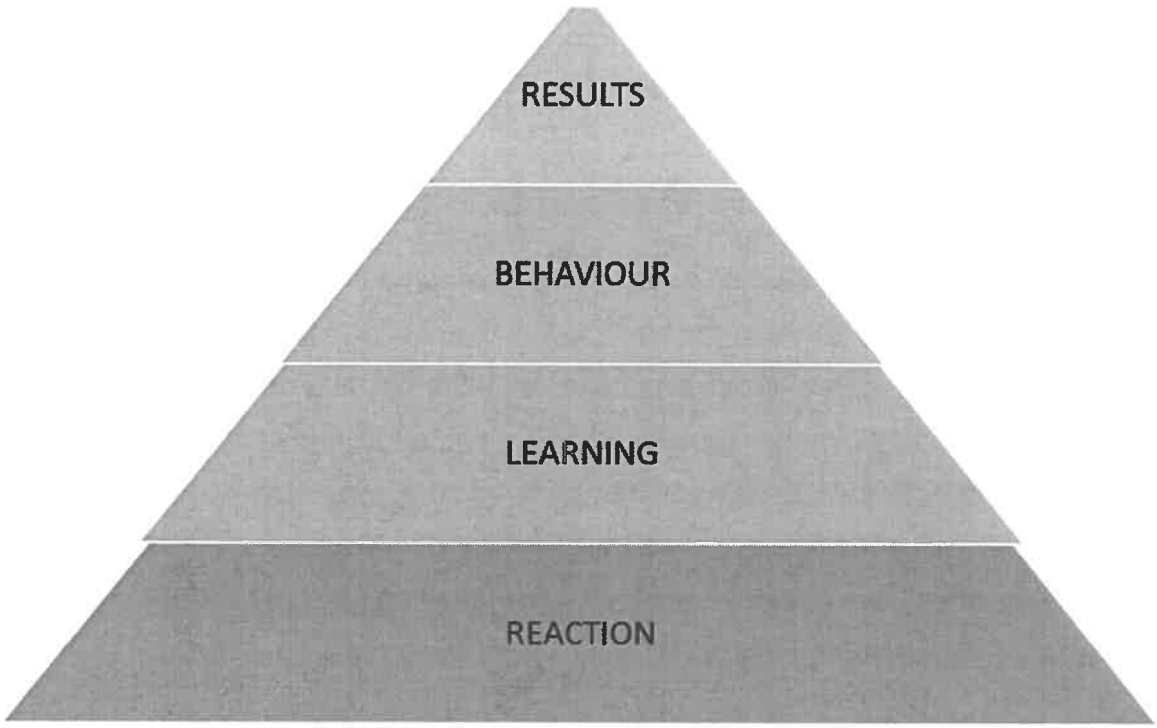


Figure 8.1: Kirkpatrick Model (1998)(Kurt 2016).

8.2.2 Level 2: Learning

At this level, an assessment of the extent to which the participant's knowledge has improved or changed from the pre- to post-learning experience is conducted (Abou-El-Soud, Mohamed and Prince 2018: 101). Here, the aim is to see how much the participants have comprehended.

8.2.3 Level 3: Behaviour

The investigators in this level will "analyze the differences in the learners' behavior after the training and their ability to apply the change in knowledge and skills gained from the training into their work" (Farjad 2012: 2893; Abou-El-Soud, Mohamed and Prince 2018: 101).

8.2.4 Level 4: Results

The main goal of the training is evaluated at this level to see the outcome and to identify any factors that could have enabled or hindered implementation (Abou-El-Soud, Mohamed and Prince 2018: 101). Flowing from the above, the participants were asked open-ended questions that spoke to the four areas of learning, behaviour, and results.

8.3 Theme 1: Lack of Acceptance and Belonging

One of the matters that was revealed during the workshop on that which being a refugee, foreigner, migrant, asylum seekers etc. was the fact that the participants realised that not all foreigners, contrary to that which was believed, were illegal. There were those who were second generation migrants: those who were born in the host country from migrant parents. That which was evident was that these migrants have faced many problems such as finding acceptance and belonging within the host country which has repelled them yet, on the one hand, they have also not had a sense of belonging with their parents' countries of origin as they were not born there.

Participants explained that they tended to be identified as foreigners by the locals because of their language (how they pronounce and speak words) or by the way in which they dressed. "Bodily looks, movements, sounds and smells are legible as evidence of imagined citizenship" (Mario Matsinhe 2011: 302). In the South African imagination, indigenous bodies are expected to produce authentic native sound patterns. In contrast, nothing but incompetence and a lack of authenticity in this regard is expected of foreign bodies. Thus, language and accent are crucial signifiers of imagined nativity (Mario Matsinhe 2011: 303).

The majority of the participants usually would or want to wear their country of origin's dressing regalia at one point. A change of dressing then was a form of disguise; to escape from hostility and for them to be accepted. Research has highlighted that language and dietary habits are cultural markers. Three participants stated that "I do not use my vernacular name. I prefer the English one". Another stated:

> I do not like to wear my traditional clothing, but my parents force me to. Now, I am no longer wearing them because I feel like people look at me in an unfriendly way when I wear them. And these days, I choose my own clothes when we buy. I feel that when you wear like a local when other kids at the school or in the road see me, they will think I am a South African.

Another male migrant participant stated that "I no longer take a prepacked lunch to school; I would rather buy something from the tuck-shop because the food we eat is different".

Bhugra and Becker (2005: 21) show that there are psychosocial changes that migrants experience which can include assimilation ("a process by which cultural differences disappear as immigrant communities adapt to the majority or host culture and value system") (Bhugra and Becker 2005: 21). This means an individual's cultural identity may be lost during this period of assimilation. This is the same matter that is seen in this study. The participants seem to have acculturated involuntarily as a protection measure. Bhugra and Becker (2005: 21) further state that during acculturation, both the immigrant and host cultures may change, and this is that which one sees in the migrant children. Forced cultural changes can lead to stress and may result in problems with self-esteem (Bhugra and Becker 2005: 21). In the study, a loss of self-esteem was seen as a result of the deculturation, through the loss of their cultural identity (Bhugra and Becker 2005: 21) as a protection measure against attack.

From the discussion, the migrant participants seemed to highlight that if one was fluent in Zulu, the treatment received from the locals was better when one was only using English. One other participant stated that "The only way to fit in is to learn Isizulu, so that I appear to belong". This conforms to the study carried out by Zorlu and Hartog (2018: 2) which found that:

> Proficiency in a local dominant language is an essential first step toward upward socioeconomic mobility of immigrants in the host countries. Language skills are not only a form of human capital to enhance individual productivity in economic actions but also a gateway for immigrants entering the receiving society. Language skills create a foothold for immigrants to explore opportunities and to integrate in the host society.

This inability to speak the local language – isiZulu in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) province – is one of the ways that made it easy for participants to be identified as non-South Africans. The effect of this was to create a barrier for the participants in contacting local populations, resulting in their social isolation.All migrant participants indicated that they had tried to learn about South African culture in order to fit better into South African society. They had to adapt their dressing, hairstyle, and language to fit in. No local participant could state the same in terms of having tried to adopt a new language. No local participant highlighted cases where they had to adapt to fit in.

8.4 Theme 2: Name-Calling and Verbal Abuse

The research found that it was common for the participants (both local and migrant) to be called by derogatory terms. For locals, it was their family that would call them with derogatory names. This seemed to have a negative impact on them in terms of self-esteem. For migrants, they were generally called such names as *kwerekwere*, as mentioned by the participants. It appeared that unlike the locals, they had developed a hard skin regarding this name-calling. They stated that this name usually associated them with negativity such as crime and other social ills. The term *kwerekwere* connotes "a derogatory designation for people from other countries in Africa. It is usually regarded as having an onomatopoeic reference to the un-understandable languages spoken by the foreigners or the manner in which they speak South African languages" (Field 2017: 3). All the migrant participants (100%) indicated that they had, at one point in their lives, experienced verbal abuse such as name-calling. An example given by several migrant participants was: "This is not your country, go back to where you came from!".

L stated the following, which astonished everyone in the group:

> My father is South African, but my parents are not married. However, I do not belong as they say my mother is not from here. My mother has told me that here they believe that a child is the mother's so as is I am not considered a local South African. I remember one day when I went and visited my father's family, they all would joke that I was a *kwerekwere*. I really felt uncomfortable and I told my mother I will never go there again.

From the experiences shared by the participants, one can tell that there is a negative impact on the recipient of the name-calling whether it is locals or migrants. This name-calling even extended to those expected to be family. However, the migrants were now accepting the name-calling to be a normal part of who they were viewed as.

8.5 Theme 3: Lack of Knowledge

Eighty percent of the local participants revealed the existence of a lack of knowledge about refugees, asylum holders, permits, and issues on legality. The study demonstrated a lack of understanding on the various reasons that lead one to be called a migrant. This might be because of the age of the participants. The participants were ignorant of the different positions of legality of migrants in South Africa. One participant described this as follows: "All along I thought all foreigners were illegal. I did not know the different statuses one can be given from the home affairs". Another added that:

> I am surprised that they pay money to apply for the permits. I thought it was free and they were using government money that should be for South Africans. And a lot of things are needed. I have never taken a radiology report before.

Two other participants had the following to state:

> I know my classmate from school at one time was almost refused access at school because they were waiting for their permit to come out.

> Yes, we struggle. My application was rejected, and my mother had to appeal. It took a year before it came out. I am a child, but I was also stressed. I could see my mother stressed. And there is a place called VFS were we go, she had to keep on paying the thousands needed. Then when you hear someone saying they take things for free, its heart-breaking.

From the discussions with the participants, it was indicative that there is even a lack of knowledge on who a refugee is and the differences between them and other immigrants.

All the above resonates with that which literature states as pertaining to the lack of knowledge. Because of the lack of knowledge, it appeared that it did not matter whether

the presumed migrant was in South Africa legally or illegally. Either way, the hatred was intense, and they were viewed as a threat.

8.6 Theme 4: Friendships

Friendships have been described to be "voluntary and spontaneous relationships" (Hawke, Vaccarino and Hawke 2011: 178). Cultural differences can determine the formation of friendships based on values and identity. Two definitions of friendship came to the fore. Others in the group described friendship as having someone with whom they could talk every now and again, while others viewed it as having a relationship with someone and being able to do activities together, for example, going to the movies and sharing secrets with each other (Hawke, Vaccarino and Hawke 2011). Looking at the issue of friendship, 80% of the participants commented that they never truly had any strong friendship with any migrant or local. If they happened to know the person, it was on a general greeting level and nothing more. This is depicted by one of the participants. T was inclined to state more generally that it was not very difficult for him to make friends with locals:

> I have two people who I can call friends. We meet at school and we talk, but that is all. I can say though we only discuss school-related issues, these people are my friends. They have never been to my house though.

H, a local Zulu participant, stated:

> I have a friend from school from Zimbabwe and she knows how to speak Zulu fluently. We go to the same church too and our parents seem to be friends too. On my father's birthday, we went together to the beach for a braai.
>
> I have never thought of having a foreign friend. But if I think about it, I would never have a friend a foreigner because I think if I bring them home, they would call them a *kwerekwere* and I will be very ashamed.

These statements by the participant expresses that there have been some contacts and interactions between participants, however, friendships have been very few. The interactions that the participants had were mostly limited to school and religious activities. From the above statements made by the participants, the participants felt unwanted and

this hindered the creation of friendships. In addition, language was a barrier and from the study, a lack of ease in communication seemed to be a hinderance in creating friendships. From the standing ground exercise, approximately 70% of the people in the group shared similar interests, norms, and values. The participants did not realise that they had much in common and this, from the researcher's observations, could be a potential place from where friendship could stem. The existing boundary only appears to be a lack of similarity in the country of origin which seemed to influence the decision to have only friends from one's own culture. After being asked how difficult it was to make friends with those from their own cultural backgrounds, an overall percentage of 75% believed that it was not difficult to make friends with people who were from their own cultural background in comparison to others from other ethnic backgrounds. That which was observed was that the participants needed to have the motivation and interest in forming friendships with those not from their own cultural backgrounds and further work was needed to be done to develop these friendships further.

8.7 Theme 5: Fear and Safety

Issues of safety and fear were recurring themes. From the discussions, the participants had the following to state:

> Life has not been easy in South Africa for a migrant. People are always on the run. I know each time there is an attack and it is reported on the news, my grandparents all my parents to hear if we are safe. I always hear my father saying we have no option but to stay. It seems no one knows what will happen tomorrow. My grandparents keep praying that God protects us.
>
> It is true what he has said. That is the reason why we did not come the other week. Even going to church we did not go that Sunday because we use public transport. Where we stay there is a lot of migrants. Maybe one day we will be kicked out who knows.
>
> The only time I have feared to walk is at night because of the high crime rates. And I have always been fearful of Nigerians because I heard they traffic young girls.

As a result, the participants were not free to talk in crowds or travel freely using public transport. The study found that in one way or another, all participants inclusive (100%)

had experienced fear of the other. Some were afraid of xenophobic attacks and others exhibited the fear of being kidnapped or robbed by migrants.

8.8 Theme 6: Negative Associations

Interaction with the local children highlighted the fact that in their experiences and understanding, they tended to associate every foreigner with being a Nigerian and every negative crime committed was associated with Nigerians as well. This was evidently seen in the role plays by the children. In the role plays, all the participants depicted issues concerning drugs, car theft, rape, murder, and trafficking of people as being mainly perpetrated by foreigners. The role plays revealed to the researcher that even at young tender ages, there was a lack of knowledge and myths played a very large role in disseminating negative information. The role plays also depicted the locals as very violent and this was seen in the acting of a foreigner being killed, a foreigner burning under a car tyre, and a migrant crying as his shops were being raided by locals. These depicted actions have been supported by research (Mothibi, Roelofse and Tshivhase 2015: 153).

Upon further interrogation, it was revealed that these negative statements were inherited from the media when they depicted issues about migrants (refugees) in South Africa as well as from their close family members. This has been revealed in literature in Chapter 2. This supports that which research states as pertaining to media analysis which finds that in the media discourse, the media does not portray the positive stories of success, but they portray immigrants as unwanted economic threats (Kariithi, Mawadza and Carciotto 2017: 7). All migrant participants expressed concern over this as they highlighted that they were mainly featured as being involved in criminal activities yet in reality, they themselves did not know anyone who was like that. They agreed that it was possible to have a few bad apples that would spoil the rest of the bunch. They highlighted that despite such sentiments, their parents were good members of society.

H responded on the aspect of being good citizens by stating that:

> On the news it has always been pastor who are busy laundering money from South Africans. I remember on the news they arrested that pastor Omotoso

> who was raping girls. So even if you say you have a relative a pastor who knows if they are good people.

Another participant highlighted that:

> I for one cannot justify and say that all of us foreigners are evil. We also live in fear of being killed and robbed by South Africans. And I would not want to be married to a South African because they love to fight.

From the workshop, the migrants also attributed negative associations with the locals, most of which revolved around issues of them being lazy to work, being corruption enhancers, being too addicted to alcohol, and being abusive. One participant also thought that the local citizens were the ones who were committing crimes: "Surely my mother was robbed of her cellphone and it was not a foreigner who did it. Everyone can do crime".

From the researcher's observations, the researcher suspects that some participants' attitudes might have been inherited from their parents and perhaps their communities. It struck the researcher that all the children would highlight issues on work yet they themselves had not yet worked. This demonstrates firstly that "research is correct when it shows that young children learn prejudice through adults' instruction and these social rules shape children's understanding of their social worlds" (Haji and Noguchi 2020: 57). This is also further supported by research which states that "a large body of research on attitudes indicates that parental warmth together with reasonable levels of control combine to produce positive child outcomes" (Dyavanoor and Jyoti 2017: 2).

8.9 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to impart a range of themes that emerged from the data gathered during the AR process. Interpretive thematic analysis allowed the researcher to present the activities and comments of both groups of participants, thus highlighting the prevailing themes. The evidence presented in this chapter suggests that participants were aware of the issues related to xenophobia and some had experienced them. During the workshop session, participants understood xenophobia and the meaning of the word. Themes on the lack of friendship and interaction, fear and safety, isolation, and negative

associations were revealed. The following chapter will look at the evaluation of the intervention.

Chapter 9 Evaluating the outcome of the intervention.

9.1 Introduction

This chapter engages with evaluating the outcome of the peacebuilding intervention, which was implemented in the research. Even though this research was conducted based on a small sample of fifteen participants, the outcome of the intervention produced encouraging results. Though it is difficult to generalise and replicate the outcome of this research, taking into cognisance the difficulties of the action research design, the outcome of the intervention demonstrates that peace trainings can make a difference. Although the change may appear as a tiny drop in the ocean, the outcome shows a meaningful contribution in a small way.

The evaluation made use of quasi-experiments based on pre- and post-training tests completed by the participants. These are experiments where participants are not randomly assigned into groups and there may not be a control group (Krishnan 2018: 37). Instead, the researcher compares nonequivalent groups or periodically measures the same group. Here, in this study, there was a periodical measure of the same group. Quasi-experimental designs aim to demonstrate causality between an intervention and outcome (Krishnan 2018: 37). Pre-/post-testing is a method that is commonly used to evaluate learner outcomes on educational programs to determine if they have learnt new information (Barge 2007: 1). Pre- and post-test methods of evaluating training "will help to show whether knowledge and skills have been obtained from the training experience" (Mohammed Saad and Mat 2013: 19). "Measuring changes resulting from a peacebuilding program intervention remains challenging as the desired peacebuilding change is often less tangible and long term" (Marzana, Alfieri and Marta 2020: 232). With the recurrence of xenophobic violence in South Africa, a long-term intervention would have been ideal, however it was not possible to do.

9.2 Importance of Evaluation in Peacebuilding

Evaluation has been defined as "an activity in which certain aspects of the quality of research practice are investigated" (Mårtensson *et al.* 2016: 593).From the definition, one

can note that evaluation is to engage "in a systematic assessment of policies, programs, or institutions with respect to their conception and implementation as well as the impact and utilization of their results" (Mårtensson *et al.* 2016: 594)).

In peacebuilding, impact evaluation is interpreted in different ways as follows:

a. "It can be attribution of specific outcomes to an intervention;
b. assessment of effects of the intervention on broader drivers of conflict;
c. assessment of whether and how effects have been sustained over the longer term" (Chigas, Madeline Church and Corlazzoli 2014: iii)

For peacebuilding, determining an intervention's contribution in tackling causes of conflict is important (Chigas, Church and Corlazzoli 2014). However, peacebuilding has been targeted with a fair portion of criticism. An important question at this stage is how the identified gap in the peacebuilding paradigm can best be addressed to promote greater ownership and effectual implementation of the "sustaining peace concept" (Mahmoud, Connolly and Mechoulan 2018: 67). Table 9.1 presents the evaluation methods used in this study.

Table 9.1: Evaluation methods used.

Method	Section in this thesis
An analysis of training workshops and observations	Section 9.4
Analysis of the posters	Section 9.7
Group discussions and semi-structured interviews with participants	Section 9.6
Reflections	Section 9.6

9.3 Preliminary Evaluation of the Short-Term Outcome of the Intervention

The evaluation carried out in this study is a precursory short-term outcome of the intervention. This was done hinged on data obtained from the post-intervention follow-up interviews with participants that were carried out three months after the intervention. It was feasible to only measure the short-term outcome because of the nature of the study and the length of the intervention, which only took place for a period of over eight months. A medium- or long-term intervention would have been preferred, however it was unrealistic to do it as the research project that was being conducted for a doctoral study had limitations with regards to the time frame.

9.4 Beneficial Engagement of the Workshops

The workshops were important as an intervention because they created opportunities for talking, training, and engagement, and promoted contact. One participant confirmed that:

> With my fellow group members, we are now closer to each other than before because we now know each other better than before. We did not visit each other's homes before but because of the peace posters, we ended up meeting more often in our homes. Before when we met outside, we did not have conversations, but we would just stare at or pass each other.

This probably signifies the impact of the workshops, poster intervention and training, as identified by Allport in the Intergroup Contact Theory (1954). Allport states that:

> [B]ringing groups into physical contact with each other would promote more positive attitudes toward the other. This ought to be particularly the case when the interaction is marked by optimal conditions, including equal status, common goals, cooperation between the groups, and the support of authority or societal customs (Haji and Noguchi 2020: 57).

Contact within a workshop setting helped in demystifying misinformation and myths. A key principle in which this research was grounded upon is that children have specific strengths as peacebuilders in their communities. It is impossible for many to conceive of the strengths of young people as peacebuilders.

9.5 Workshop Analysis

This section will look at the effectiveness of training workshops in the context of this study. The researcher will evaluate the workshops' effectiveness by comparing some of the sentiments expressed by the participants before and after the workshops. The researcher will discuss the contents of the workshop evaluation meeting and finish with a review of the follow-up interview that took place after the workshops.

On 2 November 2019, the researcher met with the participants and received feedback on the training sessions. The meeting provided the opportunity to discuss how the evaluation would be conducted. The evaluation site would remain the same as the place where the trainings had been held. The evaluation session comprised activities which included icebreakers, fun and playful aspects, in order to keep the participants attracted and engaged.

The participants showed evidence of being excited to see each other. The first question that the researcher had to ask was 'what had been and what had not been helpful?'. In response to these questions, it did appear that the two exercises that stood out above the rest in the training was that of the 'standing up exercise' and the 'I am a foreigner' role play (see Section 7.4 in Chapter 7). The participants highlighted that they had learnt a lot from those two activities. The researcher was privileged in that the discussions throughout the evaluation were not tedious but very interesting. This was perhaps because the participants were of a younger age. That which struck the researcher in particular was that the contributions, responses, and experiences shared did not cause any negative reactions from within the group. The discussion showed that the majority of the participants now had an idea of peace and peacebuilding. Although this was the case, at the initiation of the session, approximately a quarter of the students seemed to have forgotten some of the activities that had been done during the training. Thus, the researcher had to undertake a brief review. The researcher supposes that this was as a result of the passage of weeks after the training had taken place.

9.6 Change in Attitude

During the discussion sessions and in the early weeks of the training workshops, via observations, there seemed to be some form of separation amongst the participants. As time progressed and as the researcher observed, it appeared that there were some sparks of friendships and more relaxation of the parties towards each other. The workshop introductions were done in such a way that they would put participants at ease. The standing ground approach helped to remove whatever reluctance and uneasiness there might have been, as the participants felt at home with the process and were friendly from the beginning. The second aspect that this activity managed to do was to show the participants that they might be people with different nationalities, but they did share much in common with each other. Though different, they were the same.

The results found that the program was effective in improving children's short-term attitudes and the researcher cannot state with certainty if this impacted the long-term attitude. Some effect on empathy towards each other was also shown. One of the participants had the following to state before the training workshop: "They take all the jobs. They make and fix cellphones in town. I have never seen a black South African man fixing phones. It has always been Pakistanis or people from other countries". This statement showed an inbuilt negativity towards migrants although it was not in relation to the younger migrant participants. This would mean that these children had indeed been exposed to issues that had started to bring an element of negativity. As soon as she had heard this, the researcher's question was how could this child of 14 years be able to narrate that they take all the jobs when they themselves were not at an age where they could go and work. However, as the training workshops continued, it was a relief to be able to see that some progress had been made. The same participant stated the following during the evaluation:

> In the 'I am a foreigner' activity was extremely insightful. I had to search deep within, and I realised that people are all the same and we all experience the same feelings and prejudice. Having to role play the activity was very hard as I could feel how the others felt as I had to act it out. It's not a good feeling at all.

Another participant further highlighted the change when they stated the following:

> My father is a truck driver. We used to stay in Joburg before we relocated to Durban. I have always eavesdropped on my father and his friends talking about the foreigners he works with. All I have heard was that they are bad people and a threat to their job security. I have never had any time to speak with or interact with one apart from when I came here. I have realised that it's not true what they say. The same feeling, I felt of being alone and not belonging when I relocated are the same ones they also felt. Now as I have met and heard from migrant members, I identify with their flight and the ideas I had before coming have changed.

This response further demonstrates that participants did not just gain an understanding of each other; there was also a hint of an empathetic understanding of the other. This is viewed by the researcher as an important step in demystifying negative myths and misinformation. Researchers highlight the need to cultivate "an attitude of acceptance of the other, acceptance, and even the celebration of differences needs to be instilled from a young age" (Haji and Noguchi 2020: 57). It seems that the study managed to accomplish that. However, the researcher accepts the limitation that the impact may not seem to bring a very large change in terms of influencing change between the locals and migrants at a national scale because this was all happening at a micro level. However, such evidence, little as it might be, does pinpoint to change for the better, demonstrating the transformative potential of the intervention.

The findings here resonate with other research on training and conflict transformation that already exists and demonstrate how training contributes to change of attitudes, behaviour and relationships. In a study conducted by J Mitchell, the same results as found in this study were noted. The main aim of the author's research was "to analyse how the attitudinal environment influences anti-immigrant attitudes" (Mitchell 2019: 1528) and from the results it revealed that when participants are exposed "to different attitudinal environments" they begin to develop their attitudes in relation to their own social identity within that social context. The amount of exposure within a context in this case a classroom setting became very important in effecting attitude change the same way we see that the training workshops facilitated attitude change. Ay, Keskin and Akilli (2019) also conducted a started which sought to investigate the effects of "Negotiation and Peer Mediation Training Program on conflict resolution and problem-solving skills". The study looked at whether there is a significant difference between pre and post conflict resolution

skill tests or a difference between pre and post problem solving skill tests. From their results they concluded that "it is possible to argue that the Negotiation and Peer Mediation Training Program had positive impacts on the problem-solving skill" and it could reduce undesirable behaviors.

In another study by Turk (2018) they examined the effects of conflict resolution, peace education and peer mediation educations on the conflict resolution skills of students through the meta-analysis method. The results of this study observed that conflict resolution, peace education and peer mediation education resulted "in an increase in the constructive conflict resolution behaviors of students as well as a decrease in destructive, aggressive and antisocial behaviors".

9.7 Posters and the Lessons of working together

The workshop sessions were the platform to facilitate engagement. However, as action research requires, the researcher realised that there was a need to have something more practical added to complement the workshops. The researcher left this to the participants to choose something practical on their own. However, the researcher offered guidance in terms of how practical and feasible that chosen activity would be as the researcher would be the one to provide the needed resources for the process to be successful. The purpose of the practical action was to create another platform for participants to work together and brainstorm ideas. Because of time and resource constraints, the agreed activity was to be simple and easy to execute. It was to be creative and, at the same time, enabling the participants to work together and get to know each other more. The workshop managed to build capacity for peace in individuals through a group-based approach.

From the previous chapter, one can see that this was not the first activity for participants to do together as during the workshop sessions there were other activities that they had to do together, for example, the puzzle game, which also contributed to the spirit of togetherness to an extent. The poster design proved to be difficult initially as the participants were not very forthcoming in sharing ideas. The researcher realised later that it was because they were not sure of that which was required of them. The researcher

then had to play another role of listing possible activities that they could do and explain those activities to them.

One of the participants stated that:

> I was a very shy person and I do not easily talk with people I am not familiar with. But this journey has made me realise my voice and I am able to speak with others and work in group with them.

Another one added that "I was happy I was not judged because of the pronunciation of my English words". One last participant commented that they had learnt to work together with the community and share information with those they knew regarding that which they should do to build peace. This is a very positive output and a strength that emerged from the study.

It was a relief to see the presence of the ability of the participants to work together with each other. This strength is a necessity in unifying groups and creating lasting friendships. A unified spirit in the preparations allowed for the inclusion of all members. On the last final session of the workshops, it was notable that those who had formed groups had a relationship that was more than just for presentation purposes. They greeted each other with smiles, and they sat together happily catching up on issues. Observation from the gestures and facial expression revealed some form of liking amongst each other.

The literature reviewed indicates that various individual factors are involved in friendship formation. These "include attractiveness, communication skill, personableness, and sense of humor, similarity, mutual self-disclosure, and reciprocal liking". (Campbell et al. 2018: 35) In the current study, data gathered shows that some form of friendship might have formed not because of the above-mentioned factors but because of the personal interactions the sessions encouraged to take place. Here the contextual set up provided an opportunity for friendship formation. Within the short space of sessions, I was not able to really deduce if any strong connection existed and whether future interactions would persist. However, what was evident was the fact that there was a huge likelihood of further communication via WhatsApp amongst those who had been paired in groups. Whether

this would be long term and evolve into physical visits since the participants reside near each other was left unanswered.

9.7.1 Analysis of the Peace Posters

Since the researcher was dealing with young participants, the researcher was not sure what to expect on the posters that were to be made. However, the researcher was fascinated by the deduction they made in their posters using images such as doves, hearts, and diverse colours in telling their story of peace. Their depiction of the different facets of peace was as a result of the training workshop on peace. The fact that the group interpreted the workshop with such detailed posters can be depicted as a positive indication of the effectiveness of the process of the workshop. After discussing the issues on citizenship, nationality, *ubuntu*, violence, conflict, and migration, the participants who attended the workshop agreed that the process had been worthwhile in terms of knowledge impartation and that they had found it helpful as it gave them a new perspective in their lives. This also helped them create the posters. Research also supports this notion, as highlighted by the participants. Some benefits of using participatory media that were mentioned are as follows:

i. "It gives opportunities to groups and individuals to experience and influence positive change in communities".
ii. It creates a shared sense of community.
iii. Participatory media practices provide positive channels for youth for conflict transformation.
iv. Participatory media can enhance intercultural dialogue and tolerance by providing a physical opportunity for communication of diverse groups (Akande 2016: 44).

From the study, it was evident that the posters, as a participatory form of media, did enhance dialogues and interaction as they awarded them a platform for interaction. Secondly, the participants found a way to have the individuals with whom they spoke sign a pledge on peace. A poster on the peace infirmity can be found in Figure 7.2 in Section 7.4.7 in Chapter 7. This created a positive influence in their community.

9.7.2 Colours and Images

Colours can represent important aspects, carry a deeper meaning, and impact on people's affect, cognition, and behaviour (Elliot and Maier 2014: 95). Colour is perceived in essentially every object that is viewed in daily life (Elliot and Maier 2014: 96) and this is that which was depicted in the posters. The colours and designs used in these posters expressed the forms of peace that the participants had in mind. Of importance are the colours and images that were used to depict peace. Colours are important as they can show "societal issues through their visual expressions because, through the significations attached to them, colors (can be used to) do things in a performative sense" (Elliot and Maier 2014: 109). In most cases, colours provide meaning to objects. In most of the posters, white was the predominant colour. From research, white is a colour that represents peace and tranquility, a positive quality, and black has tended to carry general negative implications (Elliot and Maier 2014: 109). Research suggests that the colour black may be linked to greater aggression, and white to lesser aggression.

One of the posters that was made (see Figure 7.2(a) in Section 7.4.7 in Chapter 7) was a dove that was on a black background with words of peace written on the template that was in the shape of a dove. This poster revealed, from the presentation by the participants, that the black colour symbolised the violence and the dove represented peace, unity, and an end to the violence. This poster showed that the participants had truly thought about that which peace was and this was reflected in their piece of work. The participants' engagement with art showed that the participants gained immense knowledge on peace. Their designs show an awareness of that which peace entails. On some of the posters, there was an inclusion of hearts. Generally, love is represented by the heart shape. Inclusion of the heart means that the participants saw the relevance of loving thy neighbour as a way in which xenophobic violence could end.

Other posters revealed and focused on the issue of *ubuntu*. Through the training session, issues on the concept of *ubuntu* had been mentioned, but the participants went a step further to research more on the topic. The posters were evidence of such research. It

must be noted that art in South Africa has used *ubuntu* as a means of communicating. An organisation called APS, which is a community printmaking studio in Johannesburg, South Africa, creates *ubuntu*-based artworks. It is stated that "APS sought to incorporate ubuntu in its organization and practice, using it as a tool to discard inequality and racialized power dynamics, promote reconciliation and healing, empower its members, and reflect the spirit of a healthy democracy" (Sarra and Berman 2017: 474). The participant posters on *ubuntu*, as with the ideas implemented by APS, also showed detail of immense thought and organisation.

The posters on *ubuntu* revealed the following:

a. The participants recognised that there was a need for acceptance.
b. Co-existence was possible.
c. Violence was not the solution.

This has been supported in research as some researchers are of the view that *ubuntu* can be a means of ending xenophobic violence (Zondi and Makhoba 2018: 274). From the posters, it can be stated that "artistic media strengthened existing capacities of young people to engage creatively towards the goal of peace building" (Akande 2016: 43) and this finding was evident in the creation of the posters.

9.7.3 Presentation of the Posters

The performance of the participants was based on the posters that they had made, as seen in the examples in Figure 7.2 in Section 7.4.7 in Chapter 7. All participants had a role to play. On the day of presentations, some were shy and unable to speak. This was understandable as they were undertaking unfamiliar activities. However, despite this, the message of peace that they intended to share was not lost. Those presenting at church also incorporated biblical references in their descriptions which made them relatable. Most of the performances were conducted in English as they wanted to include everyone. Feedback from the presentations revealed that in these controlled settings, people paid attention to that which was being presented. One participant stated the following:

> I was happy that the girl group poster presentation went well. I was not sure what to expect. My hands were sweating before we started the discussion. But the support they gave to the poem helped ease my nerves.

The depth of the meaning of the poem showed the impact of the training sessions on the participants. Two stanzas of the poem have been included in Figure 9.1.

Peace and unity poem

Through the fear and hatred
Through the killing and death of innocent souls
What more that is left for us?
Can't we just make peace?
Can't we just find things to ease the pain?
And forget the past?
Foreigners or not
We are all the same when you turn the light off
We are all the same before God
Why hate and kill one another for no reason?
Why so much hatred in this world?

Figure 9.1: First two stanzas of the poem on peace.

9.8 Conclusion

The current study evaluated the peace workshop training sessions and interventions organised. It represents a step towards understanding the short-term impact of such interventions on the attitudes and behaviours in the context of xenophobic conflict. Compared with the control groups, the participant group showed an increase in empathy towards migrant members in the group, even after months of participation in the peace workshops. It is true that:

> Children and young people proactively engage in building peaceful communities and can make important contributions to reconciliation and reconstruction processes when presented with participation and engagement opportunities. It is therefore important to expand the participation of the younger generations in peacebuilding efforts and processes and proactively examine how formal and nonformal education can support their agency and capacity for leadership (Affolter and Valente 2020: 234).

The following chapter will look at the summary, recommendations, conclusion, and reflections.

CHAPTER 10: Summary, Reflections, and Conclusions

10.1 Introduction

This research was conducted with the aim of providing answers to the challenge of recurring xenophobic violence in South Africa. The study's overall aim was to promote contact and interaction amongst a group of children with an intention to build friendships as a way of peacebuilding, targeting to eliminate xenophobic violence. Additionally, the aim was to find ways in which children can help in preventing the recurrence of xenophobia by changing the mindset of violence, intolerance, and dislike of migrants to one of empathy, tolerance, humaneness, and peace.

The study made a comprehensive evaluation of the possible sources of influence and experiences among child participants in Durban, South Africa. To achieve this, the researcher carried out a participatory action research that would enlighten the main areas of peacebuilding. Its specific objectives were:

i. To review the literature on the nature, extent, causes, and consequences of recurring xenophobic attitudes in South Africa and investigate literature on the role of children as peacebuilders both globally and locally
ii. To explore the nature, extent, causes, and consequences of xenophobic violence in one community, as perceived by a sample of children
iii. Using participatory action research methods with the sample of children, to develop initiatives aimed at dealing with xenophobic attitudes and thereby behaviour
iv. To undertake a preliminary evaluation of the outcomes of these initiatives

The study has explored the concept of xenophobia and discussed its existence and recurrence in South Africa. It has proposed the use of educating for peace through workshops as a strategy to be used to mitigate the recurrence in South Africa. The study has demonstrated the link between violence and peacebuilding efforts. The study has

also stimulated discussions on the impact of involving children in fighting against xenophobic violence. It has drawn attention to exploring and using children as capable resources within the communities who can assist in combatting social menaces such as corruption through promoting the creation of friendships. The study has two main parts. The first part consists of exploring xenophobic violence in South Africa, from where it stems, how it happens, and the history of its constant recurrence. In this part, the concept of xenophobia has been discussed together with causes, prejudice, and attitudes.

Xenophobia has been presented as a concept that has a universally accepted common definition. Corruption is a complex social phenomenon and consequently a difficult notion to define. Through the discussions held on the concept, the participants in the study have given and defined xenophobia in the same form. It has been realised through the study that the participants understand the concept of xenophobic violence with its multiple forms. It was also observed that the concept of xenophobia mostly correlated with differences on belonging and this made it a sensitive issue, especially for those who were born in South Africa but to non-South African parents.

Although South Africa has made some progress in terms of fighting against and discouraging the existence and persistence of xenophobic violence have been particularly emphasised by the participants as difficult to control in South Africa. This position has been supported or justified by different cultural practices and the fact that they are done through tricky and clandestine ways.

The causes of xenophobic violence have been important elements to discuss as this study was expected to suggest a remedy to this social danger. Discussing the causes has been one of the most critical sections of this study. The causes of xenophobic violence suggested by different scholars such as competition for resources; economic factors such as poverty, high unemployment, and extreme retail business competition; world-leading crime rates; patriarchal processes and cultural conflicts; and human greed have convinced this study as the participants highlighted them as the causes of violence.

The study has introduced a tentative comprehensive understanding on the causes of xenophobic violence from the world of children.

The study, without intending on being exhaustive, has also identified the effects of xenophobic violence. For many of the migrant participants, violent xenophobic practices have deep roots in the attitudes of the local South Africans and hence it becomes difficult to root out. Among other negative attitudes, the participants mostly and frequently pointed out and deplored the following: jealousy (foreigners work harder and are more intelligent than them), cultural differences, laziness, and fear of the other.

The second part of the study has reiterated the role of educating for peace in fighting against xenophobic violence, and this was applied through the use of the training workshop sessions. Educating for peace has been described as a powerful tool for change and has been applauded for its ability to transform people's mindsets as well as societal constructs, attitudes, and beliefs. Xenophobia has been presented as a social and moral issue, and in consideration of this, peace education has been recommended to be the effective alternative response to the socially destructive phenomenon.

The study has emphasised the role of educating for peace by using training workshops. Education is an effective weapon to transform people's mindset and can certainly be used as a powerful instrument to combat corruption. Education is also essential for changing the conduct and attitudes of individuals and societies. It has been undoubtedly confirmed that educating for peace could develop capacities to desist from xenophobic practices and attitudes among its beneficiaries. As a result, it is urged that more educating for peace strategies for both children and adults be implemented in South Africa. For children, this will help them to grow up with a mindset and attitude that condemns and resists xenophobic violence. This can be done by holding education training sessions on the television channels and the Ministry of Education can implement these sessions in the Life Orientation modules offered in the South African curriculum.

The intervention phases discussed in Chapter 8 describe the experiences of participants in their peacebuilding interventions and during the workshop sessions. This section shows the ultimate result of the participants' engagement. A change in attitude was a result. A potential outcome is that participants are strengthened as peacebuilders and bonds are made through their interaction and contact with diverse people.

From the evaluation, it has been realised that children may know and recognise violent or non-violent acts of xenophobia but lack the capacity to resist them. Thus, in addition to the knowledge on and recognition of xenophobic practices, children need to exercise and apply the knowledge in order to develop and embed attitudes and behaviours that resist such violence. It was noted during the evaluation that some of the participants seemed to have forgotten some of the activities that had been done in the workshops. From this observation, it is arguable that knowledge only is not enough to form character, develop attitude, and generate a behaviour: there is a need to continually practice the knowledge. For this study, there are no further prospects of trainings that will be continually done to continuously mould the violent anti-xenophobic mindsets among the children. Therefore, without such a practice or exercise component readily available, it will be difficult whether the exhibited attitude change will not be eroded once the children reintegrate back in their communities. As Salomon (2013: 4) concludes, "short-term intervention usually yields only short-term effects. Desired changes of hearts and minds need continuous reinforcement and scaffolding". This is an area for further research.

It is believed that the study has revealed that children, as much as they have been vulnerable, are able to engage in peace initiatives that can bring an end to xenophobic violence through the building of friendships. Although the research did not yield as many friendships as anticipated, it is the researcher's submission that given more time, this would have been realised. In addition, the study has drawn attention to involving children in the combat against xenophobic violence and equipping them with the capacities to build friendships to develop with a mindset free of negative attitudes. The study highlights that with children, it can be easy and effective to reach the entire community, as seen in the involvement and presentations that they did. It is necessary to involve children not

only because they constitute most young societies as is the case in South Africa, but also because they are potential agents for social transformation and are easy to prepare for the needed change. Educating for peace through training sessions was presented as a powerful and effective means of dealing with xenophobic attitudes through restoring and building integrity among people regardless of their age, nationality, and skin colour. Attitude change was observed in the study. This saw the children grow up with humaneness, compassion, and integrity during the training sessions. This was evidenced by one group that managed to get their peers to sign a pledge for peace, as seen in the peace posters in Section 7.4.7 in Chapter 7.

Lastly, the present study has contributed to the issue of eliminating xenophobic violence through building friendships and peace trainings to build just and peaceful societies, with a focus on South African society. The main contribution is perhaps the awareness raised on involving children and helping them grow up with a commitment to disassociate themselves from xenophobic practices. There is no doubt that the study has inspired new perspectives on the struggle against xenophobic violence and its implications in moving South Africa toward sustainable peace. However, it is recognised that the study has not entirely explored this wide topic on educating for peace with children and its detailed contribution to the process of building friendships. The question to ask is whether these friendships will last.

At the end of this study, it is important to reiterate that xenophobic violence undermines the process of peacebuilding. Therefore, any effort aimed at fighting against and rooting out xenophobic violence will contribute to moving society towards sustainable peace and social cohesion.

10.2 Reflections

The researcher felt that during this study, she needed to constantly reflect on the process on which she was embarking as she was new to this field. The researcher realised that conducting research and AR fieldwork changes every researcher in many ways (Palaganas *et al.* 2017: 426). In this section, the researcher briefly reflects on how this

research project contributed to her understanding of both the research process itself and the topic under study as the researcher highlights the journeys of learning that she underwent as an AR field researcher. The researcher realised that she needed to include a reflexivity section, one that gave an "analytic attention to the researcher's role in qualitative research" (Palaganas *et al.* 2017: 427).

Doing this research has involved a very large learning curve for the researcher. Coming from a Master's degree that was solely based on case and legal document analysis, tackling the components of action research was very challenging. Action research was unfamiliar territory. The researcher's research skills and knowledge were limited and using AR as her research design made matters more difficult. Reading through the articles and AR examples, the researcher understood that there was the need to engage the participants in a way of interrogating the situations to be able to develop a better understanding of the issues being tackled in the research. The researcher concurs with Thomas, Vesk and Hauser (2019: 1) when they state that "field data collection can be expensive, time consuming, and difficult".

During the thesis, there were times when the researcher felt unsure of the process that she was taking and had to revert to her supervisor for guidance. An issue that the researcher had to constantly deal with was that of the age of the participants who were minors. There were times when progress had to halt as parents exercised caution, especially in the times when xenophobic incidences were reported. That which was encouraging and helped the researcher to push through the research process was the level of commitment of the participants in coming to and attending all the workshop sessions. Truthfully, going through this research was overwhelming in the sense that half of the time, the researcher was not sure of that which she was doing. Literature and textbook theory do not give one detailed guidance of the practical steps to take. There were times, even during the writing of the thesis, when the researcher felt that she had lost direction and momentum. However, the researcher is grateful for friends and family who continuously encouraged her.

At times, the research was frustrating because it was time-consuming (Chetty 2016). Data analysis was also a process that was very time-consuming. At times, the researcher was not able to predict the direction and outcomes of the actions as much as she would have liked to do. The researcher's learning through this process has been substantial. The researcher learnt a lot about the practical aspect of AR as a research design. The researcher also learnt how to facilitate training workshops and to plan and execute the actions that were to be learnt. For instance, while reflecting on the research that she had done, the researcher noted the following:

> Today I have discovered that lecturing and facilitating at a workshop are two different things. I had to learn to balance these 2 and facilitate the workshop and not lecture (Personal reflections, 30/04/2019).

As the researcher reflected on the workshop program, she took time to adapt it to suit young ages and the learning pace of the young participants. Being accustomed to working with adults, the researcher was not sure what to expect when the young participants and her made first contact. However, despite their age, the researcher went into the workshop with a mindset that even young participants had something to teach and impart. From the beginning of the workshop, it was set up in such a way that each participant would contribute to the workshop, sharing their experiences and opinions. The researcher believed that this would allow for critical reflections and that it would, in addition, strengthen listening and collaboration skills.

As the facilitator, the researcher had to prepare for each session by familiarising herself with the content of the videos to be utilised and the required readings. Though most times a schedule would have been prepared, the content was at times paused and changed to allow for reflection and the sharing of insights on issues such as diversity, and social and cultural issues to xenophobia. The workshops included dialogues which allowed for questions to be asked and encouraged the exchange of experiences. Workshop attendance and active participation in the discussions were monitored together with the frequency of each participant's regular attendance. Luckily for the researcher, all participants managed to attend all the workshops. The participants' attendance was regular, despite the meetings being held at a venue far from their homes. At times, some

participants appeared distracted, which required the facilitators to intervene. Observations during the workshops revealed a renewed interest in participating in the activities and group work, designing the group outputs, and it also showed some level of care in the relationships.

There are many challenges that one faces when engaging in any AR program. The following challenges were met, and they have been included herein such that they might be useful to improve practice when approaching this type of research.

The biggest challenge faced in this study was that of guaranteeing the involvement of young children in the research. Participation is always limited by parental discretion and it is the ethical and legal role of parents or guardians to make decisions about research participation based on their child's best interests (Field and Behrman 2004). Initially, some parents seemed to be keen on the idea of participation. Others outrightly shut the researcher out even without a chance of pitching the researcher's topic to them. In working with children, the involvement is solely based on parental consent and without such, one cannot work with any children. Getting the parents involved truly took time and effort. At times, one would leave one's contact details with them for them to call one back, and unfortunately, most times no one would remember to do so. Consistent follow-up was a strategy that the researcher had to employ (however, the researcher had to be mindful of not being a nuisance). For action research, especially with children involved, to be a success, after the recruitment of participants, follow-up measures must be put in place before the program commences to rally the participants. Otherwise, if that is not done, no one will be ready. During the recruitment phase, the researcher spoke to 50 potential candidates and only 18 eventually committed to participation. The researcher managed to get this number by constant follow-ups. Afterwards, due to circumstances beyond the researcher and the participants' control, the researcher lost five other participants, making the total to be 15. Another challenge was that of time. The research project was being conducted for a doctoral study with a graduation timeframe where the researcher anticipated to complete the study in three years. However, the process took longer than anticipated and hence this target was not met.

The researcher's intention during this research was to offer a space for young children to be able to participate in peacebuilding and to create friendships targeting xenophobia. The researcher believes that this was done, and part of the evidence is seen by the signing of the peace infinity to promote peace. The researcher understands that the limits are that as the study has ended, there may not be another space that will be created in the future that allows them to constantly be empowered and to continue forming authentic friendships.

10.3 Scaling up

Scaling-up is a "process, which occurs across diverse systems and contexts with no one-size-fits-all approach" (Power et al. 2019: 1). To scale-up is usually time consuming and challenging as it is usually complex to implement across diverse contexts especially on those areas where the population, finances, resources, and capacity may differ (Power et al. 2019: 1). Replication is the "ability of a researcher to duplicate the results of a prior study if the same procedures are followed but new data are collected" (Kim 2019: 599). Scaling-up can involve expanding geographically, or to a wider population within the same setting (Power et al. 2019: 2). In AR, 'replications duplicating the methods of an original study are both rare and difficult to implement' (Barker, Reid and Schall 2015: 2). Thus, there is need to adapt the study to suite local contexts. Adaptation are important as they ensure that the intervention 'content, context and/or delivery strategy fits with local needs across scale-up sites.' (Power et al. 2019: 2).

The evidence from this research is that more positive attitudes towards others can be built using training workshops and participatory media approaches. A possible peace infrastructure which could be employed to scale up the positive effects of this research is peace clubs, possibly under the auspice of churches. The church with the study was at most times mentioned as a key place where there was the presence of mixed populations and where peace teachings could be held by the participants. These peace clubs can help to bring people together to cooperate, unite and befriend one another within a

spiritual setting. This initiative can be based on the biblical principles of care for the stranger and love for the neighbor as evidenced by the following scriptures:

> *Leviticus 19:34 NET Bible*
>
> *The foreigner who resides with you must be to you like a native citizen among you; so you must love him as yourself, because you were foreigners in the land of Egypt. I am the Lord your God*
>
> *Deuteronomy 10:19 NET Bible*
>
> *So, you must love the resident foreigner because you were foreigners in the land of Egypt.*
>
> *Luke 6:35 NET Bible*
>
> *But love your enemies, and do good, and lend, expecting nothing back. Then your reward will be great, and you will be sons of the Most High, because he is kind to ungrateful and evil people*

Building relationships with strangers and enemies via church-based peace clubs could be a first step in training children and youth to be peacebuilders.

This project would have greatly benefited from the inclusion and participation of parents. Some of the parents showed interest in the project however their participation and engagement with the project was hampered by personal factors such as employment. Majority of parents were working in the informal sector providing the basic necessities for their families and this appeared to be their first priority rather than research participation. For some, this was not the first time they had been approached for research and they seemed to have the idea that this was a waste of time as they had seen no changes despite knowing research had been happening in the area that was being researched. The project could be scaled up to include both parents and children.

10.4 Recommendations

The findings of this study can offer further recommendations around the implementation of AR and of the involvement of young children aged 12 to 15 in peacebuilding activities. Firstly, further research would need to be done to replicate similar studies across other

communities and provinces. Inclusion of more research sites would broaden the experiences in the field of child-led participation in peacebuilding.

Using Educating for Peace and AR as a vehicle to foster the development of young people is only one of several approaches that can be used to create friendships. It must be noted that other means, for example, spiritual curricula, can also offer valuable outcomes. In this research, AR methodology was used, however other methodologies can be used to provide data from which to draw conclusions.

The field of peacebuilding would benefit from developing the knowledge of how specific participation of young children, training workshops, and thereafter the creation of friendships such as those featured in this study, can lead the way for the eventual ceasing of xenophobic violence. This means that a future study within the same area and same participants will need to be done in the future to determine the future impact. Creating sustainable peace and transformation which will lead to a peaceful society can only occur when it is a process open for a vast number of people to contribute towards. This means that the numbers of participants to be involved need to be increased.

It must be noted that this research will not be sent to the Department of Basic Education. However, the researcher recommendations the further study on this topic in regards to development of a curricula within schools that has a component in the Life Orientation subject speaking against Xenophobia.

Lastly, it is hoped that there will be more avenues that are opened for children of young ages to participate in peacebuilding initiatives without disregarding their contribution and participation because of age.

10.5 Conclusion

Looking at the study, most of the ideas that were proposed and discovered have been supported by available literature on the causes and underlying dynamics of xenophobia, and the attitudes in South Africa. The researcher is of the view that action research is

strengthened when participants in an AR program can expand their own critical thinking on xenophobia and embark on actions that seek to impact their communities positively. The phases of an AR program can make an important and unique impact on the participants' behaviours, attitudes, and thought patterns.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX 1 : INFORMATION LETTER

Dear Parent or Guardian

RE: Letter of request to participate in a research project

I am currently undertaking a PHD Degree in Peace building at the Durban University of Technology. In fulfilling the requirements of the degree program I am conducting research on the following topic: ***The role of children in preventing recurrence of xenophobia Umbilo, KwaZulu-Natal.*** As a result I need to conduct interviews and focus group discussions with your children on a voluntary basis. I do hereby request permission to carry out this research with your child. Time and venues will be negotiated in due course. The following is a brief summary on the research.

Principal Investigator/s/researcher:
Ruth Tafadzwa Nyamadzawo LLB (UKZN) LLM (UKZN)
Supervisor/s:
Professor Geoffrey Thomas Harris BComm DipEd
MEc Phd

Brief Introduction and Purpose of the Study:
South Africa has become a destination country for African immigrants, hosting about 14 million immigrants after gaining its independence in 1994. As the cost of living increases in South Africa and economic challenges arise, a new form of discrimination has erupted which is known as xenophobia (Sigsworth, Ngwane and Pino 2008a: 7). As a result, by virtue of being foreigners, immigrants have become vulnerable to xenophobic attacks (Sigsworth, Ngwane and Pino 2008a: 7). Despite so much literature written on the issue of xenophobia in South Africa, it still is recurring time and again. This means that all the recommendations that have been forwarded in past research that targets a variety of economic reasons as the main reasons for occurrence, have not been successful in solving this violence. Literature has revealed the problem of an attitudes of dislike and anti-foreign instinct within the South African locals. This study seeks to investigate the causes of this attitude of dislike, its violent manifestation and find ways that can help to eliminate the recurrence of xenophobia by changing the mindset of violence, intolerance and dislike of migrants to one of tolerance, humaneness and peace. Literature reveals that children as little as 3 years old can have such attitudes already instilled within them. The study will look at the manner in which children as members of the community can help eradicate the xenophobic violence recurrence through creation of friendships with immigrants and through attitudinal change.

What is the aim of the study?

To find ways in which children can help in eliminating the recurrence of xenophobia by changing the mindset of violence, intolerance and dislike of migrants to one of tolerance, humaneness and peace.

Outline of the Procedures:
Responsibilities of the participant

i. Attend all scheduled meetings

ii. Be on time
iii. Respect others in the group

Consultation/interview/survey details

i. Meetings will be for 45 minutes per session
ii. Venue details to be agreed and transport will be provided.

Explanation of tools and measurement outcomes

i. Questionnaires will be used to ask questions and the participants (children) will be expected to answer them
ii. Focus group discussions will also be used where the participants (children) will discuss issues and what they think about them

What is expected of participants?

i. They must be between 13-15 years old
ii. They must be able to speak, write and understand English
iii. They must be available for the study
iv. Only 18 participants are required
v. The children must be a mixture of South African children (blacks, Indians, white, colored), Zimbabwean, Congolese, Nigerians, Tanzanians and Malawians

Risks or Discomforts to the Participant: No physical risks to be caused on the participants

Benefits: The research will be published after three years of the project.

Reason/s why the Participant May Be Withdrawn from the Study:
Participant can withdraw at any time during the research and they are free to do so. No adverse consequences will follow as a result of withdrawal.
If a child is Ill or there has been an emergency, they are allowed not to attend

Remuneration: Accepting to participate is ***on a voluntary basis.*** No monetary remuneration will be received by the participant. However, they will receive a transport stipend and food allowance. At the end of the sessions a certificate will be awarded the participants.

Costs of the Study: The participant will not cover any costs towards the study. All costs are covered by the researcher.

Confidentiality: The names of the participants will not be mentioned. They will choose a name they would like to use for the duration of the research. Their names and personal details will remain anonymous. All data and information collected will be kept on a password protected computer in a password protected document folder. All information will be kept confidential between researcher and the participant.

Research-related Injury: If there is a research-related injury on the participant, the researcher will cover all medical costs related to that injury.

If you are willing and interested in having your child
Please contact the Researcher: Ruth T Nyamadzawo (cell no.) **0846450407 or 0625596755** or email: **ruth.nyamadzawo@gmail.com.** Alternatively, you can notify the Flat supervisor and fill in the form and I will collect your details from him.

Your assistance will be greatly appreciated.

Yours Faithfully

STUDENT NO 21751129
CONTACT: 08464504

APPENDIX 2: Workshop guideline

Workshop One

Day I	Introduction to the Workshop
	This session is the crucial first contact between the participants and the facilitator. ***A key issue is the understanding of how we view and identify what is conflict. The objective of the lesson is that students will identify, explore what conflict and violence looked like in the communities they came from. Here the aim is to see what the participants identify with as conflict or violence and to formulate discussions based on this.*** ***This requires that students start to engage with new information; the icebreaker is one way of getting students to notice and comment on what is happening around them. It is also designed to reveal important issues such as commonality across multiple social identities, races, nationalities, and cultures that is often not expected when one looks at the other on face value. The icebreaker will be used to start to develop a critical view of experience and of each other in a positive manner*** ***The participants were a diverse group the training is to have respectful engagements. The development of a workshop Common Set of Values is important. These must be decided by the participants as the rules that will govern the training workshops*** ***Video clip: This is a helpful means to put into perspective what has been learnt and discussed*** ***Learning outcomes*** **I To develop a identify, explore what conflict and violence looked like in the communities they came from.** **2 To develop an understanding of how deal with conflict daily** **3 Formulate a Common Set of Values that will assist in building trust and communication in the class.** ***The outcomes relate to the purpose and general learning outcomes for the training workshop. The main aim to encourage awareness and acceptance of difference to develop through* laying a foundation in the area of training which is expected to help positively influence student's attitude and promote social change amongst the participants.**
	1. Welcome, introduction with name/s of facilitators present. **2. Go through the important aspects of the training:** **3. Explain that we will do an ice-breaking exercise that is designed to get you to know something about each other.** **ICEBREAKER EXERCISE** **To explain the exercise:**

Task 2	**"I am asking that you stand up if something refers to you. So if I ask, 'Stand up if you have ever voted in an election', stand up if you have. If you have not, don't stand up. When people stand up, look around to see who is, and who is not, standing up.** **Do we understand this?"** **Standing ground exercise** **Stand up if you have ever driven on a public road** **Stand up if you have a driver's licence** **Stand up if you know how to swim** **Stand up if you ever herded cows** **Stand up if you ever had to carry water for the family** **Stand up if you are an only child** **Stand up if your grandparents had more than one home language** **Stand up if you have more than five brothers and sisters** **Stand up if you went to a wedding in the last 12 months** **Stand up if you went to a funeral in the last 12 months** **Stand up if you are a (biological) parent** **Stand up if you were born north of the equator** **Stand up if you speak four or more father or mother** **Stand up if you were born in KwaZulu-Natal** **Stand up if your home language was English** **Stand up if you ever visit a game reserve** **Stand up if you are married** **Stand up if you grew up in a city** **Stand up if you are under 30 years of age** **Stand up if you feel you were born to be a leader** **Stand up if you have worked in a factory** **Stand up if like hip-hop music** **Stand up if you are the first member of your family to go to university** **Stand up if you ever walked or ran 30kms in one day** **Stand up if you have ever had TB** **Stand up if you have been to a prison in the last 12 months** **Stand up if you never, ever, made a mistake in your life** **Stand up if you play an active sport** **Stand up if you were born before apartheid or after the end of apartheid** **Stand up if you have ever lost a friend who you know was HIV positive** **Stand up if you have worked to support the family before you were 18** **Stand up if you do not eat meat** **Stand up your parent or grandparent was ever a domestic worker** **Ask the group to comment on this exercise:** **What did you feel during this?** **What did you notice?** **What did you learn from this?** **Discuss the issues of both diversity and commonality that the exercise reveals.**
	Ask for proposals for the Common Set of Values, and list these; after this discuss them and test for consensus. This process needs to be given full time. Likely elements to

	emerge will be respect, not attacking others for differences in opinion, confidentiality on personal issues, punctuality. **Farewell: Facilitator says goodbye to the participants and thanks them for coming and for their active participation.**
	Children's and Young People's Visions on Peace (Adapted from F, Clare & O, Claire 2008) **YOU WILL LEARN ABOUT THE FOLLOWING:** • **How to use a visioning tool** **'Peace is life and survival. It is to live in our houses and sleep without being displaced. It is reflected in how we treat each other and how we work and live. It is to respect each others silence and listen to each others song; to respect and realise that every single human being has got a worth. It is having social order and freedom of opinion; and having a government'.** **Children's description of peace** **This section shares a visioning tool which helps children, young people and adults to explore and draw visions of peace. Poetry, song, drama, dance, or mime are also other creative ways through which children and young people can express and share their hopes and visions of peace.** **At the end of the section, you can read some reflections from children and young people.** **What Is Your Vision Of Peace?** **A visioning exercise:** **Find a quiet place for you and your friends to lie/sit down comfortably. Close your eyes and breathe deeply. Dream about your vision of peace. What does it look like? What does it feel like?** **What are girls and boys doing? What are adults doing? How are children and adults interacting with each other? What are children doing to help sustain peace? Dream, dream, dream.** **After a few minutes of dreaming give each child a piece of paper, and a pencil or pen. Each of the children will write a poem to capture and show important parts of your dream.** **Share your pictures with one another so that you can put together your collective vision of peace.**
	Reflection exercise **They must answer the following questions as part of the process of evaluating.**

	a. What do you now know about conflict and violence? **b. If you are involved in a conflict, how will you deal with it?** **c. If you see others involved in conflict, how will you assist them?** **Brief review on the lesson: Facilitator asks questions that help children to review what they have learned and retell their commitment**

Workshop 2

Day 2	Introduction
	Facilitator's welcome remarks and comment: the facilitator warmly welcomes the participants. She must proceed by Reviewing the previous lesson with the participants ***A key issue is the understanding of non-violence. The objective of the lesson is for students to understand how differing cultures, nationalities and ideologies contributed to the violence.*** ***This section aims to look at the myths associated with different cultures or nationalities that would result in high levels of violence. The participants will do a role play where they will depict the different myths they had heard pertaining to their counterparts.*** ***Objectives*** **1 Identify issues of identity, myths, and stigma in relation to the diversity of the participants** ***2 Continue to create awareness and acceptance of difference to develop***

	1. Remind participants about the common set of values discussed in workshop 1 2. Introduce the role play and letter. Ask the participants to note what they see in the roleplays. After Relate these to the myths they have heard. Ask the following questions? What did you see from the role play? How did your thoughts change about the other when you had to act who they should be? When you think about your own description as acted out, do you think this is the correct depiction) Give more time for discussions to take place
	Ask the participants to take out a page and answer the following questions as honestly as possible (individual exercise). 1. What surprised you the most in role play? 2. Why were you surprised? 1. How do you see the above translating into success for you in your educational journey? 2. What does the word 'education' mean for you? Bring students back into the plenary and discuss the following questions: 1. Do you see culture impacting on our journeys and dispositions (virtues)? 2. In what way does this occur? 3. What is your understanding of culture?
	Brief review on the lesson: Facilitator asks questions that help children to review what they have learned and retell their commitment Farewell: Facilitator says goodbye to the participants and thanks them for coming and for their active participation.

Workshop 3

Tasks	Introduction
	Work outcomes

	The issue to be discussed is the topic of what is xenophobia. ***The objectives were to explain to the participants understanding of the term xenophobia and have them define it.*** ***Write a reflection. The reflective exercises are important because they provide an important sum up of what have learnt from last week*** ***. During the personal reflections, participants demonstrated signs that they had grasped key issues that had been covered previously. It was also interesting to note that with each session there were always some notable and visible improvements in terms of enthusiasm when compared to the last session.***
	"Find the word" Puzzle (see annexure)
	The participants will individually take time to find the word in the puzzle. **Instruction:** **You need to find the words that has these letters represent.** **Thereafter the first person to find the words will raise their hand and get a reward.** **The game is for 3 mins. After they can come back to the plenary. Then ask for comments.**
	The many faces of xenophobia **Here look at issues on discrimination, stigmatisation, and experiences of the group members.** **Define what xenophobia is and how it is manifested. Use the slides prepared for this.** **Lastly, look at migration laws in South Africa and the terminology related to visa and asylum** **Issues on legality and refugee status** **Engage in discussions** **Watch video** **Brief review on the lesson:** **Facilitator asks questions that help children to review what they have learned and retell their commitment** **Homework**

	A reflection which will be due next session that speaks on what the participants learnt and what had and had not changed with the information they had received. **Farewell: Facilitator says goodbye to the participants and thanks them for coming and** **for their active participation.**

Workshop 4

Day 4	**Peacebuilding**
	This will conclude the workshop content. This workshop aims to look at integration and peace building. The participants will share ideas on what action to take on their own to help in dismantling xenophobic prejudices and bias.
	Learning outcomes: **Develop a creative response to what they have learnt.**
	Introduce the learning outcomes and explain what we will be doing. We will start by reading a poem on peace **Winner 2018 Peace Day Poem, Zamony W. from South Africa (available at https://www.globalawareness.com/2018/10/winner-2018-peace-day-poem-zamony-w-from-south-africa/** **Climbing to the top of a mountain and**

Flying over the sea.

I kept searching where could you be?

Looking for you in New York,

You were not there.

I searched in Nevada even Portland

With no time to spare.

I sat under a tree in total despair,

Maybe you are a myth and not really there.

Until it was quite and the sun began to set,

I just sat there with my eyes drizzling wet.

While I dried my tears, I looked up and

Saw a butterfly rising straight into the bright sky,

Fluttering it's little wings,

while the wind sings.

I suddenly felt a rush and my heart,

Began to gush.

I was wrong the whole time.

What I wanted was not something to find, but a

Feeling only a person can define.

	The thought of what something simple can bring, **Gave me inner joy and peace within.** **Ask these questions** • **What do you notice in this poem?** • **What do you like about it?** • **Is there anything you do not like about it?** • **Do you think peace is a person**
	Take some feedback and have a discussion with the group. **Thereafter teach briefly on peace and peacebuilding**
	Reflection
	Ask the participants to write a one paged reflection on the discussions held.
	Brief review on the lesson: **Facilitator asks questions that help children to review what they have learned and retell their commitment** **Farewell: Facilitator says goodbye to the participants and thanks them for coming and** **for their active participation.**

APPENDIX 3: Letter to a foreigner

A letter to a Foreigner

To whom it may concern,

When we cross each other in the street you look at me and you think

_____

_____

_____

_____

I have also the feeling that, in relation with my needs, my problems and my areas of interest you

_____

_____

_____

Of me, my feelings and my way of thinking what you know

_____

_____

_____

_____

You think you are _____of/from/than me and, so, you can _____with/for/from/of me. Perhaps you have never imagined that you could be, like I am, a foreigner, someone different in a world where the rest of the people speak another language and have other ways of life. If you were, what you would wish, like I do now, is that

_____

_____

_____

_____and that your values, your knowledge, your capacities would be_____; and then you would feel, like I do now, that you had the right to_____

_____

_____

That, what you would wish for yourself, is what I expect from you now. You will not be surprised that/if _____.

My best wishes,

Someone different