

**IMPLICATIONS OF XENOPHOBIA ON RELATIONS BETWEEN KENYA AND
SOUTH AFRICA; 2008-2018**

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DECLARATION

Declaration by the student

The project is my original work and has not been presented in any other university.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CORMSA:	Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa
DIRCO:	Department of International Relation and Cooperation
FGD:	Focus Group Discussion
FIFA:	Federation International for Football Association
KII:	Key Informant Interview
SADC:	Southern Africa Development Community
SAHRC:	South African Human Rights Commission
SMEs:	Small Medium Enterprises
U.N.:	United Nations

OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

Bilateral relations- This is how Kenya and South Africa conduct and execute their political, economic, and cultural relationship. A similar relationship among multiple states is known as multilateralism, whereas unilateralism involves single states.

Diplomacy- This is the art of dealing with representatives of Kenya and South Africa by way of negotiations with a view to influencing the behaviour of their respective states at the international arena.

Xenophobia- This explains the way in which citizens of a given country exhibit tendencies of dislike or display open hatred or prejudice against people from another country.

ABSTRACT

The impact of the various social ills breaks the bonds that anchor bilateral engagements between nations. With the countries involved in the engagement having a set of diverse social ills that would be deemed dangerous to their bilateral relationship, there has never been an adequate focus on how xenophobia has influenced bilateral dealings between South Africa and Kenya. Although it is not a new phenomenon, xenophobia has proved to be one area that determines the standing of bilateral dealing between other African countries and South Africa. The purpose of the study was to examine the impact of South African xenophobia on its relationship with Kenya between the years 2008 and 2018. Specifically, the study examined the causes of xenophobia in South Africa, analysed effects of xenophobia on citizens from countries neighbouring South Africa between 2008 to 2018, assessed the effects of xenophobia on the Kenya nationals wishing to work or study in South Africa and examined xenophobia effects on political and economic relations between Kenya and South Africa. The research used descriptive research design. Primary data and secondary data were used. The secondary data included the information extracted from existing written sources. Raw data were gathered by scheduling interview with officials in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Embassies. The gathered data were analysed qualitatively as well as quantitative by examining the interrelationships among factors and the obtained data. As per the research findings, it was clear that xenophobia is a matter that affects bilateral relations between countries. Despite the existence of minimal instances of xenophobia in Kenya, there is a growing feeling about it in South Africa due to increased influx of foreigners into South Africa and subsequently taking up jobs that would ordinarily be done by the locals. The study recommended that the message of African unity should be spread across African states to include Kenya and South Africa. The civil society and the media should pursue this agenda so that citizens of the two countries can realise the importance of unity and benefit from the same by way of achieving cohesion and economic integration and development. South Africa government should deal decisively with the perpetrators of violence in their country to deter the youth from engaging in killings and disruption of business and tarnishing the image of one of Africa's economic giants. This will be achieved through the development of domestic laws and strengthening of police and justice response to xenophobic violence.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This chapter provides basic background information of this research problem statement, the study objectives, the research questions, the significance, scope, limitations, and research assumptions

1.1 Background of the study

1.1.1 Origins of Xenophobia

Xenophobic sentiments experienced in South Africa is not anything new as they have been reported in other parts of the world. globally. According to the Bond, Ngwane, and Amisi (2010), xenophobia is defined as “hatred or fear of foreigners or strangers.” The word itself has been traced back to Ancient Greece where it meant “foreigner” or “stranger”. In 19th century England, xenophobia was described as “fear or hatred of foreigners” (OED). However, it was in the 20th century that xenophobia turned out to be a serious political issue. The causes behind this change can be attributed to several factors to include rapid changes in the economy and society, globalization and migration patterns. For instance, after World War II many Africans migrated to Europe as labourers or refugees fleeing wars or persecution in their home countries (Aremu & Ajayi, 2014). This led to an increase in inter-ethnic marriages between Europeans and Africans resulting in mixed race offspring which were often stigmatized by both sides (CURRY). As a result of this phenomenon, more people started having negative attitudes towards their own countrymen who were seen as outsiders.

Xenophobia is mostly rooted in developed states, but there are rising reports of dislike of foreigners in Third World nations for instance Ghana, Ivory Coast, South Africa and Equatorial Guinea. Several deaths of foreigners in South Africa have occurred as a result of xenophobic attacks. It is a threat to groups of people like refugees, individuals seeking asylum, and economic migrants, among others. The “Rainbow Nation” major sectors are also under the threat of xenophobia (Hart, 2016). These sectors include health, education, tourism, and financial sectors. According to the publications of Emmanuel (2014), it has been generalised that citizen of South Africa do not fancy diversity, and this state of affairs is likely to go on and affect sectors such as economy, tourism, manufacturing as well as mining in the nation not to mention immigration. On top of this, violence from xenophobia destroys the relations that South Africa has spent time establishing with the world.

Kenya and South Africa have always been on friendly terms. In fact, the two nations have a long history of trade and economic partnership. Their relationship has been characterized by close cooperation in various fields among them education, health care, transportation, agriculture and tourism (Konanani & Odeku, 2013). The countries also share similar sets of values that are aligned with those of the United Nations Charter. However, the recent rise in xenophobia against Africans living in South Africa has raised questions about whether Kenya should continue to maintain close ties with its neighbour. This is because many Kenyans seem to be concerned about their safety in South Africa as a result of xenophobic attacks against people who are not of white race.

According to Landau (2011:6), the debates concerning xenophobia as being a result of overzealousness in nationalism are unfounded. The author believes that the cause is more

likely to be fearful of strangers. According to him (2008: 114), the nationalism basis that resulted in May 2008 within the Government officials and middle class will increase cosmopolitanism. However, this will not apply to everyone, as revealed by the attacks. Many South Africans believe in territorial projects whereby the entire nation is exclusively their domain. The attacks have placed xenophobia at the same level as other vices like racism, sexism, and homophobia, so people may fear speaking openly about the matter. Landau (2008:114) believes that if South Africans are made to feel that the land belongs to all who live there, then they would be more accommodative. The foundation of a country is built on cohesion and collaboration which is achieved by embracing new things and ideas, particularly new nationalities. Failure to appreciate this might lead to the development of xenophobia.

1.1.2 Xenophobia in Europe and United States of America (USA)

Looking at xenophobic and racist rhetoric from the global perspective, Slovenia, Bosnia, and Croatia emerge as classic cases that would clearly show the accurate picture of intolerance among people until the 21st century. In Slovenia, one needs to consider the region's broader political and economic changes, which contributed to a shift in migration patterns after the state's independence. The position of the Slovene public towards "migrants" can be understood initially as an attitude toward refugees from the collapsing Yugoslavia, particularly Bosnia-Herzegovina, which underwent a notable change from the initial welcoming mood of solidarity (Bekker & Carlton, 2010). The "temporality" of the refugees' status exacerbated the precariousness of their position in Slovenia but eventually – since most could not return and stayed – also contributing to the growing dissatisfaction in the society. Stirred by ill-informed, intolerant, and biased media reports,

it was not long before the prevalent xenophobic rhetoric began cautioning the Slovenes against the refugee tide (Neocosmos, 2016). The reason for the escalation of the intolerant public attitudes and xenophobic media discourse was the equation of migrants with criminalised “illegals,” since the media reports focused on undocumented migrants “caught” crossing the border without documents. Stirred by the media that encouraged the public's beliefs that Slovenia was again under threat, civil initiatives were launched whenever the nearby local population felt threatened by the presence of detention centres and began to resist the settling of migrants.

At the same time, it should be pointed out that, by and large, the political rhetoric has avoided directly xenophobic or racist rhetoric on migrants. Even though there are notable exceptions, particularly nationalistic intolerant individuals and representatives of obscure political parties that have lost their parliamentary representation and thus attempt to use populist rhetoric to gain some public support, the overall political debate does not revolve around the issue of migration (Palmary, Rauch & Simpson 2002). Immigration remains an undervalued and under-debated theme that is not on anybody's political agenda. Still, while it is true that before the recession, the topic of migration and migrant workers in Slovenia was not an issue of any relevance in the Slovene parliament and consequently disregarded also in state institutions and most public policies, recently the anti-migration discourses also come to the political forefront (Owusu, 2012). This is particularly problematic because it resonates in actual anti-migrant systems, which pass mostly unnoticed because the public fails to engage in critical evaluation of such measures. A recent example of such anti-migrant rhetoric was when Zmago Jelinčič, the leader of the Slovene National Party, addressed the Government of Slovenia in the parliamentary

initiative in April 2009 about limiting the employment and work of “foreigners”. Jelinčič’s argument was that for foreigners to take up jobs in the country leads to a drop in opportunities for the locals and affects much of the other sectors of the economy.

1.1.3 Xenophobia in Africa

In May 2008, the wave of xenophobic violence swept across entire South Africa, where more than sixty individuals died through mob fierceness. The xenophobic attacks mostly meted on foreign nationals, were viewed as ethnic and uncalled for aggression in which those behind it face little or no punishment (Harowitz, 2001). Institutional structural discrimination is among the causes of xenophobia in South Africa. Nell (2005: 234) said employment opportunities and scarcity of resources are among the economic factors contributing to the violence visited on foreigners in South Africa. The genesis of this phenomenon can be traced to the 1960's (Romola 2015). However, there is a distinction between the two forms of xenophobia in Africa. Economic factors mainly drove xenophobia in Ghana, Nigeria, Angola, South Africa, and Uganda. In Congo and Kenya, however, the war on terrorism has been the cause of such biases. In Côte d’Ivoire, Gabon, and Equatorial Guinea, political and economic considerations have triggered the animosity that bit the locals against foreigners. In Tanzania, Congo and Burundi, xenophobia has been strongly influenced by the rhetoric where foreign citizens are accused of committing the crime.

In November 1969, Ghana's Prime Minister Kofi Busia expelled all undocumented migrants. In particular, "The foreigners who didn't have work permit were ordered to leave the country within two weeks (Aremu & Ajayi, 2014). Prior to adopting this

resolution, a general impression had been made on foreigners as the cause of Ghana's widespread unprecedented unemployment rate.

The violence against foreign nationals has been on the rise in Ethiopia. The U.S. Embassy in Ethiopia issued a warning to describe the "growing anti-Islamic sentiment", several incidents of sexual harassment and attacks against foreign nationals in Ethiopia, and a direct connection with the COVID-19. According to reports, most of the foreigners have been attacked with stones, denied transportation (bus, taxi, etc.), ill frightened pedestrians, and sensitive to the COVID-19 infection," the U.S. Embassy said in a statement. He called on the American people in Ethiopia to avoid that, just walk away, and close Journalists in Ethiopia reported that some of the people have taken to calling the foreigners "the crown," while the others attack the foreigners on social media, the posting of their photos, and this is the link to the Coronavirus (Buchanan-Clarke & Lekalake, 2015). Ethiopia's Foreign Correspondents' Association warned in a statement this week that it is "dangerous rumours," and "the evil reports of foreign journalists being spread, while the other aliens are being physically attacked. He advised the journalists to be careful (Good Halakha, 2014).

Xenophobia in Nigeria can be attributed to the economic deterioration experience since 1980's after the 1970 book, where labour markets expanded calling for cheap labour markets (Owusu 2012). Further, deportation of foreign nationals in Nigeria for alleged criminal activities was indeed due to the deterioration of the economic conditions in the country (Aremu 2013)

1.1.4 Xenophobia in South Africa.

The South African xenophobic undertakings against other Africans living in the country could cause economic constraints, affect businesses and strain bilateral relations between other African nations and South Africa. The South African government needs to put up measures to stem out the xenophobia situation. With the brewing tension between South Africa and Nigeria caused by xenophobia, there is likely to be fallout in their economic deals estimated at N1.5 trillion. Nigeria provides South Africa with fuel in the form of oil and gas. The magnitudes of their agreements are likely to affect several things if they are at loggerheads with one another (Dodson, 2010). President Jacob Zuma visited the nation to explain the seriousness of bilateral dealings between the two nations. Their economic relationship has been bound by several agreements that aim to promote trade and increase profits for both nations.

1.1.5 Effects of Xenophobia on Africans neighbouring South Africa

The mayor of Johannesburg, during that period, had a point of view that was believed by many at the time that migration may be of benefit to the cosmopolitan city but may also cause severe strains on employment, accommodation, and social amenities (Landau 2011: 7). Its effects are reflected in urbanisation and problems resulting from this. Thus, intending to accommodate foreigners will only worsen the situation. Many South Africans believe in the idea of global integration, but it does not show how they treat outsiders.

1.1.6 Effects of Xenophobia on the Kenyan- South African cooperation

Since the apartheid era, Kenya and South Africa have maintained a cordial relationship over the years. According to SARDC (1993) Cote d'Ivoire, Kenya, Zimbabwe and Nigeria

were identified by South Africa as sub-regional catalysts for economic growth. Thus, these countries are major players in the modern South African industrialization policy which is based on the perceived strength of these economies relative to the rest of the continent. Looking at the historical perspectives of bilateral engagement over the years, various critical aspects of the relationship can be highlighted as a general background in this study. For instance, Daily Guide (2015) reports that in 1990, during the first public inter-ministerial visits, former South Africa's minister for foreign affairs came to Kenya in 1991 and the then South Africa's president, F.W de Klerk, visit to Kenya and also former President Daniel Arap Moi went to Cape Town in the year 1992. The visit by President Moi was described as an official state visit by African head of state in South Africa. While Kenya- Apartheid South Africa's engagement could be seen as a way to develop post-independence foreign policy norms and guidelines on peaceful coexistence and non-interference with other states internal affairs, others disagreed. Both under the leadership of Jomo Kenyatta and Moi, Kenya failed to identify the importance of fighting apartheid by supporting the African National Congress.

Kenya's interests in the apartheid government led by President De Klerk painted an image that Kenya did not support the political spirit of pan-Africanism. In 1992, Kenya and South Africa redeveloped their international relations and enhanced the same to full status in 1994, but the connection wasn't as good under the rule of President Moi (Danso & McDonald, 2001). This state of affairs was a result of two incidents when government officials did not receive the President of South Africa at the airport on two separate occasions. Kenya made it clear that there were no ulterior motives behind this behaviour. However, this might have been a result of the view towards the South African liberation

movement. There has been a consistent lack of trust between South African and Kenyan governments when it comes to business deals. South Africa and Kenya's history of relations were not supportive to ANC during the South African liberation struggle compared to Tanzania. During the early days of post-apartheid, South Africa and Kenya, relations were not very cordial because of the Kenyan stance towards the South African struggle against apartheid. However, the sitting Presidents of the two countries have made various diplomatic visits to revive and strengthening their bilateral relations, which have continued to bore fruits.

Human Rights Watch (1998) noted that while significant efforts and strides are being made towards building a powerful bilateral relationship that is anchored on the pillars of environmental, peace, and economic diplomacy, xenophobia stands out to be a significant threat to this relationship just as it has affected the diplomatic relations in several other parts of the world. With significant efforts made in building bilateral ties between the two countries, South Africa xenophobia is a tendency that has dramatically affected the South African bilateral engagement with other countries. The eco-political and social relationship between the two countries would thrive within a structure of constructive engagement geared towards mutual benefits. Political instability and other social ills, including xenophobia, would significantly ruin the bilateral relations between countries. This study examines the implications of xenophobia and related activities on relations between Kenya and South Africa in the period 2008 to 2018.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The problem of xenophobia in South Africa is a grave one. The South African government has in the recent past taken some steps to address this issue, however there are still concerns that it may only be a temporary solution. In 1994 when President Moi (Daniel) ruled Kenya, South Africa had become an economic and political powerhouse. But over time, the relationship between the two countries has deteriorated (Hussein & Hitomi, 2013). And in the years to follow, South Africa increasingly became hostile towards Kenya witnessed in the increased security measures at the ports and airports to limit movement between the two countries. Also witnessed were restrictions on trade and travel and detentions of Kenyans who had visited South Africa without permission (Bond Ngwane & Amisi 2010). The attacks on Kenyan students studying in South Africa and the killing of a dozen others who have been living there for some years (Bekker & Carlton, 2010). For example, when Kenyan students were attacked by their south African colleagues for allegedly being illegal immigrants in that country, it was an indication that xenophobia had affected relationship between Kenya and South Africa (Konanani & Odeku, 2013). In addition, when people who have been living in South Africa were attacked because of their skin colour or nationality it was obvious that xenophobia had affected the bilateral relationship between the two countries. In 2014, hundreds of Kenyan students were barred from entering South Africa and deported. This led to diplomatic crisis and subsequent expulsion of diplomatic officials by the both sides (Hatcher, 2015). The strained relationship as a result of xenophobia has remained a great concern to Kenyans owing to the mass movement of Kenyans to South Africa especially those who live in Nairobi and other major towns (Seteolu & Ukeneye, 2017). Another implication of this scenario is that

there will be little desire by foreign investors to put their capital in Kenya for fear of chaos and subsequent destruction or looting of their investments. Initially there was optimism among many Kenyans their economic growth was on the increase due the flourishing bilateral relationship between the two countries (Romola,2015). But to erode all the hopes, cases of xenophobic attacks against Indians and Nigeria nationals were reported (Sylvester & Antony)

While the bilateral relations between Kenya and South Africa boasts a rich history of consistent cordial relationship with the two countries always trying to maximise their benefits in these kinds of engagements, several threats have always played out to limit this mutual bilateralism. With the intensive bilateral relationship building, every government would ever want to partner with people or group that is of like-minded and ready to journey together towards economic growth and self-empowerment. The political ties between Kenyan and South Africa are much shaken by the social ills that have re-occurred and have played out in public. For instance, the continuous xenophobic attacks have always exposed the growing rot that is coming up between immigrants and host populations in many countries (Amisi, Ngwane, and Bond, 2010). The world is integrating more national societies and economies to form what is termed as 'the international community, ' which has been dramatically challenged by xenophobic trends in some countries like South Africa. Ngwane and Amisi, note that the impact of the various social ills breaks the bonds that anchor bilateral engagement between nations (Olupohunda, 2013). With both countries having a diverse set of social ills deemed dangerous to the bilateral relations, there has never been an adequate focus on how the contrary, social practices impact the bilateral relations between the two parties. There is, therefore, a need

to focus on the eco-political and social implications of the various social biases like xenophobic tendencies between Kenya and South Africa. There is also the need to put the relationship between the two countries into its historical context and try to analyse the various trends and notable changes that have taken place over time. This study focused on examining the impact of South African xenophobia on its relationship with Kenya in the years 2008 and 2018.

1.3 Research Objectives

This research relied on the specific objectives mentioned here below;

- i. To trace motives informing xenophobic feelings among south Africans
- ii. To examine effects of xenophobia on the citizens of countries neighbouring South Africa in the period 2008 to 2018.
- iii. To interrogate implications of xenophobia on the citizens of Kenya wishing to work and/or study in South Africa in the period 2008-2018
- iv. To examine the effects of xenophobia on political and economic relations between Kenya and South Africa.

The research was guided by the following research questions:

- a) What are the causes of xenophobia in South Africa?
- b) What are the effects of xenophobia on the citizens of countries neighbouring South Africa between the periods 2008 to 2018?
- c) What are the effects of xenophobia on the citizens of Kenya wishing to work or study in South Africa?

- d) What are the effects of xenophobia on political and economic relations between Kenya and South Africa?

Research Premises;

1. Globally xenophobia is a product of unfulfilled needs and aspirations
2. Increased criminality has been experienced among citizens neighbouring south Africa against their neighbours
3. There has been decreased student and workers moving out to work in South Africa from Kenya
4. Strained economic and political relations between Kenya and south Africa in the period 2008-2018 were as a result of xenophobia related criminal activities by South Africans to Kenyans

1.4 Justification and significance

The research justification and significance of this study was to find out what factors affect xenophobia in Kenya and South Africa. The implications of xenophobia on relations between Kenya and South Africa are that it can lead to a war between the two countries and also make them less engaging economically. The significance of this study is that it will help governments of the both countries, who have been working hard towards peace and stability in their relationship, by providing them with an understanding of how xenophobia affects relations between countries. This will also allow for better decision making about what strategies need to be used to deal with such issues.

1.5 Scope and Limitations

1.5.1 Geographical Scope

This study assessed the effects of xenophobia on the relations between Kenya and South Africa by examining how xenophobia discourages Kenyans from visiting or settling in South Africa. The research was conducted in Nairobi Kenya, involving South Africans living in Kenya (Nairobi). The contacts of the respondents were obtained from the South African Embassy based in Nairobi Kenya. The staff from the Ministry of Foreign affairs and South African embassy in Nairobi were involved. The researcher also contacted some of the Kenyans living in South Africa, South African citizens living in Kenya through contacts provided by the embassy staff. The study covered the period between 2008 and 2018. However, where the researcher deemed necessary the period before 2008 and after 2018 was examined to help deepen our understanding of the topic.

1.6 Research Limitations

Due to the sensitivity of the subject matter, the information obtained may not require to be verified more conclusively. This posed a challenge and limitation to the researcher. These limitations were satisfactorily addressed by contacting people with accurate information on South African matters and in particular those relating to xenophobia. The main research limitation of this study was the lack of a control group. And due to budget limitations, the researcher was not able to include a control group in the study. Another limitation was that the study did not have enough participants for the study to be statistically significant. Though the results were consistent with previous studies, there are some areas that required more research. For example, it would be useful to look at the effects of xenophobia on people's attitudes towards immigrants in other countries or even

within their own country. Further, the primary limitation of this study is that it was conducted in a single location and therefore lacked experimental analysis. Secondly, the open-ended question format used in the survey might have affected the results. In addition, the participants' answers could have been affected by their social desirability bias.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter analyses literature review, theoretical, conceptual frameworks and knowledge gap for the research. The review covered studies on the effects of xenophobia on countries neighbouring South Africa, effects of Xenophobia on Kenyans traveling to South Africa, and effects of Xenophobia on the economic and political relations with South Africa. The study was guided by two theories, involving the isolation theory and the ‘Scapegoating’ theory.

2.1 Empirical Review

2.1.1 Meaning and Causes of Xenophobia

Several scholars regard xenophobia intense abhorrence (Nyamnjoh & Crowther 2006; Hunt 1996) while other scholars argue that xenophobia manifests itself as a visible hostility towards foreigners (Stolcke, 1999). Azindow (2007) depicts xenophobia as segregation towards foreigners. As per the SAHRC (Human Rights Commissions in South Africa), xenophobia is considered as hatred for non-nationals in a host nation. The hatred is shown to persons who are of the same colour with the host nation’s residents.

There exist several arguments according to Berezin (2006) on whether xenophobia starts at individual or a collective level. While a generalised acknowledgment unifies these strategies that xenophobia is a set of mentalities coming up about individual’s birthplace, exact locus of discussion and work profoundly contextualised from the varied explanation, xenophobia is considered a human right violation as indicated in 1998 UN convention on human rights (Article 26) that asserts that xenophobia, racism and racial discrimination are infringement of human rights (Bustamante 2002).

According to Dodson & Oelofse (2000), xenophobia is a deeply-rooted cultural issue in South African sectors that include media, government, and financial organisations. Political xenophobic offences and arrogance against outsiders are entrenched in politics that are considered politically instigated racial segregation and post politically instigated racial segregation authority and influenced public policy on issues pertaining to African migrants that filtered in post-apartheid, South Africa Vale (2002), Bond et al (2010). The current study focuses on this term as definitive aspects of the South African people's behavioural attitude against foreigners how this attitude affects the bilateral relationship that this country may be having with other countries like Kenya.

2.1.2 The effects of xenophobia on countries neighbouring South Africa

The xenophobic assaults by blacks that occurred in South Africa in the past against foreigners have changed the perception the world has had about Africa. The 'paradise state' is now considered a pariah state. The recent incidents of xenophobia that occurred in April 2015 stimulated debates and dislike from other nations of Africa and has confirmed South Africa's xenophobic troubles dates back to about 350 years back when the Europeans set foot in South Africa. Society was divided according to colour, that is, black or white, and this became the pacesetter for tensions. This tension made itself more evident in the competition for opportunities in society. The whites generally ruled over the black people, and they were the beneficiaries of most of the good things in the community.

A study conducted by Knige and Tiobo (2016) is based on qualitative research methods and was also based on some fundamental research questions. It involved interviews conducted on individuals from different nations. This research discovered many things

about xenophobia, including the causes. An example is the living conditions of the affected communities. Prevailing issues like job insecurity were also a cause.

The study by Kinge & Tiobo presents a classical illustration of the impacts of South Africa Xenophobia and how this affects relationship between external countries and South Africa, grounded on the context of the current study which aims to build its findings on the broad implications of xenophobia to bilateral diplomatic dealings between South Africa and Kenya. With a more specific illustration of the bilateral relationship, the current study presents the impact of xenophobia on the strategic pillars that the two governments are trying to build and sustain.

The Knige and Tiobo (2016) conducted a survey among stakeholders to understand the extent of xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals in South Africa. They used data collected from websites which reported attacks against foreign nationals and newspaper articles. However, they did not provide any explanation or justification for their choice of data sources. As a result, their findings cannot be generalized to other settings and circumstances. Further, the study only examines xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals in South Africa and does not explore other forms of racism or hate crimes committed against foreign nationals in South Africa. The study also does not examine how foreigners are perceived and treated by South Africans as opposed to South African natives or citizens of other countries living in South Africa. This study has identified a number of research gaps. The most obvious one is to what extent the findings can be generalized. The researchers have drawn their conclusions based on the experiences of South Africans, and this could not have been done without relying on interviews with respondents.

Therefore, it is impossible to generalize the results obtained to other nationalities and countries. Another research gap is in relation to the relationship between xenophobic attacks and racism. The data gathered about the perpetrators of these attacks does not allow for any conclusion regarding their motives or intentions. In addition, it is not clear whether xenophobic attacks are motivated by racism or if they are just an expression of racism (i.e., blaming foreigners for all kinds of problems). Another gap that needs further attention is that of how political leaders deal with such incidents and how they can prevent them from happening again in future.

2.1.3 The effects of Xenophobia on Kenyans traveling to South Africa

Xenophobic acts in South Africa have been demonstrated in various ways, such as abuse on the streets, mistreatment by authorities, and wide-spread violence against foreigners. Much evidence exists to support the fact that many foreigners in South Africa, comprised of different categories, are facing xenophobia. All of this is taking place with participation from ordinary folk, authorities such as the police, the government, and even private organisations that should work against this evil (Landau et al. 2004; Crush 2008). In post-apartheid in South Africa, xenophobic violence has evolved too much greater heights. Many foreigners have been mistreated and killed since South Africa's political transformation in 1994. The violence has continued to spread within smaller parts of the country ever since (Murray 2003, Landau and Haithar 2007, Palmary et al. 2003, Landau 2011). However, there are several research gaps that are found in these studies by (Murray 2003, Landau and Haithar 2007, Palmary et al. 2003, Landau 2011). Firstly, there is no mention of whether there is any scientific evidence proving or disproving whether aliens exist or not which means there could be people who believe in aliens despite lack of

scientific evidence but we don't know if these people exist because they aren't mentioned anywhere in these studies.

A great episode of xenophobic assaults occurred in May 2008 and left 62 individuals dead, among them 21 South African citizens and more than 100 000 displaced, 670 injured, and 1 300 captured by the South African authorities (Monson and Arian 2011). Zvomuya (2013) points out that during the great episode of the xenophobic occurrence, Ernesto Nhamuave, a Mozambican resident was blazed in East Rand (Ramaphosa) Landau (2011) further states that Shops, homes, and different organisations of foreigners were brought down. These acts of violence were claimed to be normal criminal acts, which targeted individuals supposed to be threat to the South Africans. After the 2008 acts of 14 Xenophobia against African foreigners, various debates arose concerning South Africa's tolerance for fellow Africans. Many of the individuals migrating to South Africa consider it a pillar of democracy and a fine destination, but the events of 2008 have made the victims to question the state of the nation as a destination for foreigners (Khan and Rukema 2013). The violence, in any case, didn't come to a stop in 2008. Very many lives were lost then (CoRMSA, 2008). In 2009 the Zimbabweans were ejected from their stay within De Doorns in the Western Cape. Three thousand individuals were displaced. According to Landau (2011), during the 2010 FIFA world cup, several fans that had travelled to South Africa were invited with undermining messages on flyers to leave the nation.

These studies give chronological trends of how xenophobia has been propagated and passed to the emergent generations. However, there is no illustration of the direct

implications of these trends on diplomatic dealings between other states and South Africa. On this ground, the present study aims to conduct an empirical analysis of these trends in view of their implications given their implications on the strategic relations between Kenya and South Africa.

Zvomuya (2013) states that in 2013 different occurrences of xenophobic assaults were witnessed. A taxi driver of Mozambican origin died at the hands of the police officers. Violence would later break in the Eastern Cape against foreigners who resided around Port Elizabeth. The violence broke out due to the alleged shooting of a South African citizen aged 19 years by a Somali national (Chauke, 2013). In the occurrences above, it could be argued that Xenophobia in South Africa would be able and routinely achieves savagery. As Harris (2010:10) indicated, prejudice, xenophobia, and related narrow-mindedness keep on flourishing in Southern Africa, only like the remainder of the world. As of now, there is not a great deal of examination focusing on the normal component of xenophobia on external nationals living in South Africa. This assessment contributed by examining the nature and sizes of xenophobia facilitated toward outside residents and give further understanding of the political ramifications included, especially between South Africa and Kenya. The studies also have some gaps. The first gap identified was the lack of knowledge about foreign invasion in South Africa. This was because there is no official record of how many people have immigrated to South Africa since 1994. The second gap was that there is very little information available on what happens after immigrants arrive in the country. This is because most researchers do not look at this aspect of immigration. Also, there is no agreement about what should be done with these immigrants once they have arrived in South Africa. A third gap is that there are very few studies on how

immigrants perceive their situation in South Africa, especially if they do not speak English well or if they came from another country where English is not spoken well.

2.1.4 Effects of Xenophobia on the economic and political relations with South Africa

The recent occurrences of xenophobic attacks in South Africa may be over by now, but the resultant effects will likely prevail for a while. The analysis on the present situation recommends that the major impacts focus on four significant regions; the threat of misfortunes from exportation is becoming much higher following the calls for an embargo on South Africa (Neocosmos, 2016). Mzwandile Masina, South African deputy Minister for Trade and Industry, recounted that South Africa lost billions in export revenue. The government is stressed over the expense and the negative effect of the xenophobic attacks on foreigners on the nation's picture and its economy.

Muzumbukilwa (2007) re-affirmed that Diplomatic strain rumours have been rife to the effect that Nigeria is withdrawing its diplomatic representatives in South Africa. However, this might have been a misconception since Nigeria's apparent intention was to form a consultative forum to address the strains. With dents in the public relations with the continued intolerance and xenophobic traits in South Africa, there is a great danger facing several economic sectors. For example, the tourism industry, an essential source of income in South Africa is under threat with several foreign governments providing travel advisories to their citizens. Reciprocal attacks are being triggered as there is great fear that xenophobia could cause tension within and among the surrounding countries. As a result of the ongoing attacks, some companies like petrochemicals group Sasol have already sent

home some of their workers. Nonetheless, the study was conducted on the basis of a questionnaire survey. It was conducted on a sample size of 200 women and men aged 18-65 years old. The respondents were selected randomly using a simple random number table. The survey used face to face interview method where the researcher asked each individual question regarding their migration experience, their current status, their previous experience and their future plans. The researcher found that most of the respondents had migrated from Malawi, Mozambique and Tanzania but some had migrated from other countries such as Zimbabwe, Zambia and Swaziland. The researcher also found that most of them came to South Africa between 1990 and 1995 while some came after 1995 until now. According to the researcher, the main reason why they migrated to South Africa is because they have no jobs back home which led them to migrate for employment opportunities in SA. They also felt that SA is a good place where they can start-up businesses because it offered better economic opportunities compared with their own countries.

From the highlighted impacts, it can be postulated that any diplomatic engagement with South Africa is highly endangered and is destined to fall, just like in other cases that have been experienced. The study of the implications of the xenophobic traits on the bilateral engagement between Kenya and South Africa is likely to reveal no different results. (Romola, 2015) The current study is aimed at taking a close look at the causes, trends, and impacts of xenophobia with a view of proposing significant avenues through which normalcy can be restored. Most of these studies focus on the xenophobic tendencies that substantially impact diplomatic relations. However, there is very little focus on measures of redress to the pre situation

2.2 Theoretical Framework

Two theoretical approaches guided the study; Isolation and the ‘Scapegoating’ Theory. The isolation theory is a psychological theory which states that people who are ostracized become more likely to commit suicide. This theory states that the person who has been isolated may feel angry, upset and a sense of loss, which can lead to depression. The ‘Scapegoating’ Theory suggests that when people are ostracized from their social group, they may begin to blame themselves for their situation and feel as though they are not good enough. They may also feel nervous about being alone with others and this can lead to feelings of sadness, fear and anger.

2.2.1 The Isolation Theory

This theory eludes that foreignness is the leading cause of dislike towards outsiders. Morris (1998) argues the rest of continent isolated South Africa during the apartheid. In this theory, citizens from other countries are denoted as obscure to South African nationals. Political advancement within the country has led to opening Africa’s borders to accommodate African migrants from other African nations. Attributed to study, this theory was relevant owing to its applicability. The theory also provides a wider area of understanding as to why natives decided to harm migrants in their country. Morris (1998) states that it may be hard to welcome when natives have no history of accepting and incorporating foreigners.

The Isolation Theory is a theory that explains how xenophobia affects the political and economic relations between Kenya and South Africa. The theory is based on the premise that when a country is isolated from other countries with which it has an economic

relationship, it loses its ability to engage in trade or exchange ideas or products. This can be due to a lack of knowledge about other countries, or simply because there is no need for them to do so. Isolation also affects political relations between countries, as it can cause a lack of understanding of different viewpoints, leading to conflict between groups within one country. For example, if there are two groups within Kenya who disagree over their nation's policies towards South Africa, they may find themselves at odds with each other due to their differing opinions on this issue. If this happens often enough, it could lead to violence between the two groups and even civil war if no one is able to resolve the conflict peacefully. In addition to this, isolation can also affect economic relations because it limits a country's ability to trade with other nations. In particular, if one country wants access to another's markets but cannot get it because of isolationism in their own country.

The isolation theory is the idea that increasing economic and political ties between two countries leads to a weakening of their ethnic identity. The theory was developed by George Homans, who believed that people would have a greater interest in preserving their own culture if they were not dependent on the other culture for trade. The isolationists argued that the more involved Kenya became with South Africa, the less willing it would be to protect its own people from South African aggression. The isolationists also believed that if Kenya was not able to protect itself from South Africa's aggression, then it would be unable to distinguish between domestic threats and external ones. This could lead to an increased risk of internal conflict. The isolationists also argued that because of this increased risk of conflict within Kenya itself, it could not afford strong ties with other countries such as South Africa or India. In addition, they believed that by trading with both South Africa and India at once, Kenya would be giving up too much control over its

economy. However, although there are some benefits associated with economic ties between these two countries (e.g., lower prices), there are also many disadvantages (e.g., loss of national identity). For example, when

2.2.2 The 'Scapegoating' Theory

This theory states that migrants are always used as scapegoats in areas that portray an image of loss of jobs, housing, education, and the healthcare system, particularly after South Africa's political change to a majority rules government, which right now revealed the inconsistent distribution of resources inside the nation (Tshitereke, 1999 and Morris, 1998). With the political change in South Africa, it promised equal employment opportunities and the utilisation. The scapegoating theory suggests that economic prosperity is a result of the harmony among different ethnic groups, tribes and races. The theory also argues that when an ethnic group is not happy with the way things are going in their own country, they will start blaming other groups for their problems. The other group was blamed for the poor state of affairs that has resulted from the group's negative attitudes towards development. This concept was created by Walt Rostow who believed that economic growth benefited all countries, regardless of race or culture because it brought about harmony among people through trade and commerce. He wrote in his book 'The Stages of Economic Growth' that once a country had achieved a high level of economic development, it would be able to afford to spend more on education which would ultimately lead to national development.

The scapegoating theory of political and economic relations between Kenya and South Africa is that the two countries have developed a relationship based on mutual scapegoating. The theory states that this relationship has been built on each country's

distrust of the other, which is seen as a motive for the establishment of diplomatic ties. The theory also posits that this relationship between Kenya and South Africa has led to a number of economic problems between the two countries, such as low industrialization rates, low levels of trade, and high levels of unemployment. The scapegoating theory suggests that xenophobia between Kenya and South Africa is caused by racial animosity and fear. Racial animosity can be attributed to many factors, including colonialism, apartheid, and racism in both countries and immigration policies. Fear can be attributed to recent political events such as violent protests against immigrants in Nairobi, Kenya (2008) and Johannesburg, South Africa (2009). The scapegoating theory is a theory that suggests that the spread of an infectious disease followed a predictable pattern. The first stage of the disease is referred to as incubation and this period may last for several days or weeks. During this time, people are not sick and they are not aware that they are dealing with an infectious disease. They may even be in denial about it. But eventually, symptoms emerge, including fever, sore throat and headache.

The second phase of the disease is referred to as outbreak or epidemic and this phase occurred when many people in a community become infected with the virus at the same time. It can happen very quickly in some cases and it can take longer in others. The final phase of the disease is known as clearing up or recovery period and it usually follows after about two weeks after the initial surge in cases has subsided. During this phase, people start to feel better again and life returns to normal for them. However, this does not mean that they have escaped from being affected by the outbreak because they still need to be careful about what they eat or do because their immune system might still be weak from being exposed for so long.

CHAPTER THREE: RESERCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter provides the research methodology used during the study. This chapter further contains the study population research design used, site of the study sample size and sampling procedure, data collection instruments, data analysis, validity, reliability, and ethical issues.

3.1 Research design

The study adopted descriptive and survey research designs. Descriptive research involves using data that are not statistically significant or reliable because they are not gathered at random and under controlled conditions. In this type of research, researchers try to determine what aspects of life are important for people who live in their area. This type of study would be descriptive because it would focus on answering questions about what people have experienced rather than what they believe or think about something. Survey research is used in many different fields but most commonly found in psychology and sociology where it provides information about a particular topic that can be used by other researchers or professionals working with the same issue or problem.

3.2 Study Location

The research mainly focuses on Kenya and South Africa bilateral relations by sourcing for relevant information from the South African Embassy officials living in Kenya and Ministry of Foreign affairs in Kenya – Nairobi.

3.3 Target population

The research targets Kenyans living within Kenya and those that have worked or studied in South Africa.

3.4 Sampling technique and sample size

The study used purposive sampling to select 20 employees of both South African embassy in Nairobi and 10 staff from Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Another cohort of a hundred Kenyan citizens who studied and/or worked in South Africa in the period under review were also interviewed and their responses analysed. The study uses purposive sampling technique which is a method used to collect data from a population where the researcher knows the characteristics of those individuals. Five(5) key informant interviews were also conducted to allow the research get a deeper understanding of the emergence and growth of xenophobia and the responses that governments of both Kenya and South Africa have taken to address the menace. The purpose behind using purposive sampling technique is not only to ensure that the sample reflects accurately how the population was in terms of its characteristics but also minimizes the possibility that some members are not included because they do not meet eligibility criteria set by researchers.

3.5 Data collection methods

The data for the study was obtained from both primary and secondary. The secondary data included the information extracted from existing peer reviewed journals, articles, and reports on effects of xenophobia. Scheduled interviews were done on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs officials to provide primary data. Primary data was drawn from interviews conducted using focus group discussions, key informant interviews and one-on-one in-

depth interviews with Kenyans and south Africans in Kenya. In total we had targeted 200 respondents but only 195 informants' interviews were successful. The views of five (5) respondents who did not turn up for various reasons were however not taken into account. This did not, however, affect our analysis of available data. We endeavoured as much as possible to corroborate primary and secondary data to come up with credible conclusions.

3.5.1 Data Analysis

Both primary and secondary data were analysed in this study. For primary data, a questionnaire was used to collect data from a sample of people. This data was then analysed using descriptive statistics. For secondary data, data was collected from existing sources such as reports, articles, and peer-reviewed journals. This data was then analysed using both qualitative and quantitative methods.

3.6 Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations took place during the research. To begin with, permission for the research was sought from Kenyatta University. The researcher additionally guaranteed that each and every of the references referred to in the study was cited appropriately. Confidentiality was also upheld and names of respondents anonymised.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION, AND DISCUSSIONS

4.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the researcher presents the data analysis, findings, and interpretation of the research outcome. This study sought to answer the following;

Causes of xenophobia among people of different countries, incidences of xenophobia in Kenya, the characteristics of xenophobia, categorising of certain behaviours as xenophobic, trends of xenophobia between Kenya and South Africa, implications of xenophobia on the relationship between Kenya and South Africa, challenges that have directly resulted from xenophobic behaviour, the solution to the aforesaid challenges and possible measures that could be undertaken to redress the problem of xenophobia

4.1 Overview of xenophobia in Africa

From the meeting and interaction guide, most respondents were categorical that high unemployment rates, limited economic strategy among nations, and generally little income among citizenry remain the major causes for xenophobia. The respondents referred Malawi and South Africa's xenophobic experiences. For example, in 2014, Malawi witnessed massive destruction of crops by floods that was later followed by a dry season. Malawi went through a challenging period at a time the donor communities had denied her foreign aid, and its citizens were encountering economic difficulties and had to do everything to survive. Due to the desperation among the people of Malawi, several of the citizens streamed to South Africa to look for all manner of income-generating activities to eke out a living. Malawian High Commissioner in 2016 was quoted as saying that “*her nationals were rushing to South Africa on a daily basis*”. Lindela Repatriation

Centre was established as the incarcerated centre to host Malawi nationals. The influx of Malawi nationals into South Africa led to strains the host county's resources in all sectors. Since the Malawians were desperately in dire need of survival, they took up menial jobs for unskilled South African citizens. The officials in the Embassy of South Africa gave another report of the xenophobic experience between South Africa and Zimbabwe. According to the respondents, the Zimbabwean economy had been in shatters, with unemployment escalating to as high as 95% in the country. As a result, many Zimbabwe citizens started streaming to South Africa in order to get any kind of work to do to survive. The majority of the Zimbabwe nationals who migrated to South Africa took up service sector jobs depended on by South Africans with no formal education.

An elderly informant noted that

“xenophobic assaults in South Africa assume the dimension of racism directed mostly at African immigrants in the Southern country. This is attributed to the fact that South African National is threatened with the presence of foreigner in their social standing and identity...The host citizens also fear that their economic progress and success were at risk with the arrival of the intruding immigrants, while at the same time, they feel they will not allow the foreigners to undermine their perceived superiority.”

Generally, the fear towards foreigners by South Africans is deeply rooted, as witnessed in the 2008 and 2009 Gauteng and Western Cape assaults demonstration in Limpopo, Western Cape and Mpumalanga where four deaths and thousands of displaced migrants was reported. The demonstrations were sparked by economic inequality and frustration

with the government's failure to address poverty and unemployment. The protests quickly turned violent, with protesters looting and burning stores and businesses. The security forces responded with tear gas, water cannons, and rubber bullets. The violence left a deep divide in South African society, with many people feeling angry and resentful towards the government.

4.2.1 Tracing Xenophobia in South Africa

Xenophobia in South Africa is not a new occurrence but it is regarded as a reflection of the historical legitimisation of intolerance. It has been intersectional connected to racism, where South Africa's history is implanted in the blend of race and ethnicity. The feeling of superiority sits unendingly at the chances with real factors of regular financial debilitation as joblessness emergency and significant degrees of poverty. For example, xenophobia in relation to the 2008 attacks manifests societal relations founded on attitudes of exclusion. The dawn of a new era in South Africa in 1994, coupled with guarantees of a better future for all, has fizzled to bear fruits, and this has been cited as one of the triggers of xenophobic attacks resultant from the anger of the disenfranchised populace (Everrat, 2011). South Africa Xenophobia has played out as a function of the past veiled with a life of mastery and mistreatment and generally coordinated by the white minority. Respondents 11 stated that

“The apartheid system of the government is characterised by the white minority rule and the black majority who bear the brunt of oppression. The system is unfair and unjust, and it needs to be changed. The black majority deserves to have equal rights and opportunities, and they should not be oppressed by the white minority.

The system is also detrimental to the economy, as it keeps the black majority from participating fully in the economy. The apartheid system is a stain on South Africa, and it needs to be changed’.

The respondent’s perspective confirms the assertion made by Kayode (2014) that the apartheid system of the government is characterised by the white minority rule and the black majority who bear the brunt of oppression.

The freedom of the apartheid regime meant that South Africa’s black would be to apply the strategies of resistance from those who were going to get them to submit to the other, the neo-apartheid. However, this opposition frequently emphasizes the African race, which should be "brothers and sisters" before the white individuals, who exposed them to a thorough evaluation of the Apartheid system.

The historical backdrop of xenophobic savagery in South Africa could be established in the tradition of politically-sanctioned racial segregation and the disappointment of the later post-politically-sanctioned racial segregation Government to viably address the ills of the politically-sanctioned racial segregation towards non-nationals (Hanekom, and it's 2009/2010, Adam and Moodley 2013). Respondent 1 cited that

“There has been a long history of xenophobic behaviour between Kenya and South Africa. This has been characterized by periods of tension and violence, followed by periods of relative calm. The most recent outbreak of violence occurred in 2015, when a group of Kenyans were attacked in a South African township. This led to a diplomatic crisis between the two countries, and a number of Kenyans were

forced to flee their homes. Xenophobic behaviour between Kenya and South Africa is often driven by economic competition and fear of immigration. This has led to a cycle of violence, as each outbreak of violence leads to an increase in anti-immigrant sentiment. This, in turn, leads to more violence. The only way to break this cycle is to address the underlying economic and social issues that lead to it”.

Such xenophobic attacks are traced back to 1995, when settlers from Malawi, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, who moved and settled in Alexandra Township were "actually assaulted for three weeks in January 1995, when individuals equipped with all manner of weapons commandeered them to the police headquarters to "clear" the city of the aliens," (Human Rights Watch, 1998). Similarly, Konanani and Odeku (2013) have contended that the locals of South Africa, detecting the risk of being denied opportunities by non-citizens, particularly from other African countries branded them as “illegal immigrants with the hope that the government authorities will expel them. And on the contrary, the involvement of security personnel in corruption increased crime rates, dwindling employment opportunities and scarcity of resources heightened the hate, aggression, and intolerance by the South African natives towards the African immigrants.

4.2.2 Motives of xenophobic attacks on Kenyans by South Africans

The South Africans have been treating Kenyans like any other African immigrants out to deprive them out of employment and social security benefits, while others believe that the Kenyans were more responsible for the crimes of the other groups. In South Africa, there is competition for jobs, food and housing, and the locals blame the foreigners, including Kenyans, for taking jobs and other social benefits supposedly belonging to them.

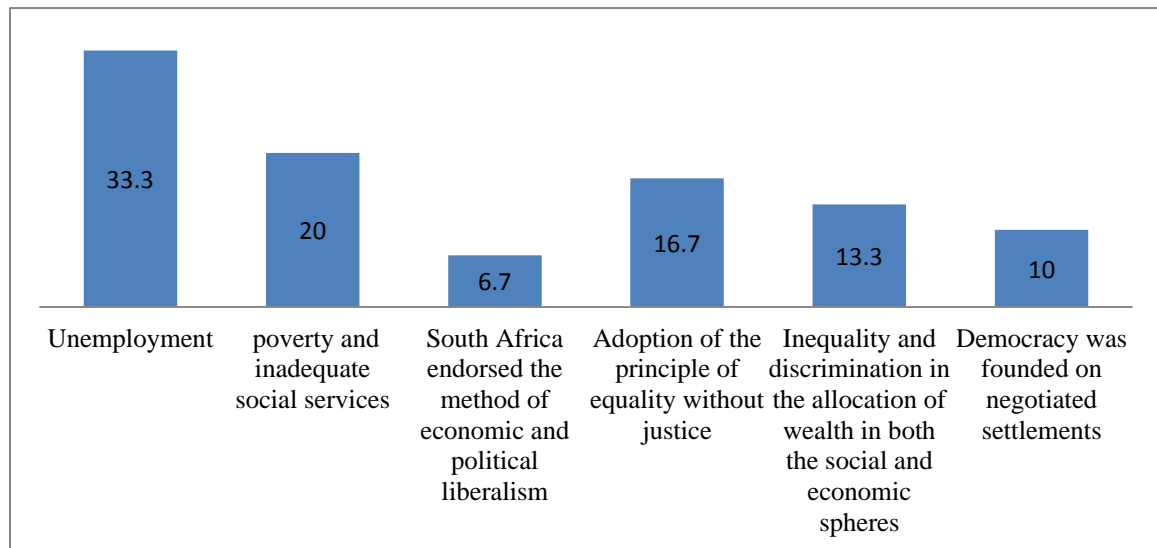
According to the citizens of South Africa, some of the owners of capital in that country offer low wages, which foreigners are ready and willing to take, for as long as they need the income. What's interesting to note is that immigrants from Kenya, who have been the victims of the xenophobic attacks seem to own small businesses in Johannesburg while at the same time believing in their state or province. Respondents 7 acknowledged that

“There are many factors that contribute to xenophobia among people of different countries. One of the main causes is a lack of understanding or knowledge about other cultures. This can lead to fear and mistrust of people who are different from us. Another major cause of xenophobia is insecurity or fear of losing our own cultural identity. This can happen when we feel like our way of life is being threatened by people from other cultures. Sometimes, xenophobia can also be the result of past negative experiences with people from other cultures.”

According to the Human Sciences Research Council study (2016), the South Africans have a sense of superiority vis-à-vis that of other Africans, such as the Kenyans. It can be concluded that South Africa has placed itself in the category of developed countries in Africa given its fast economy, and its citizens have therefore comparatively succumbed to superiority complex over African foreigners Kenyans included.

4.3 Social and economic reasons for xenophobia in South Africa

Figure 4:5. Social and economic sources of xenophobia in South Africa



Source: Research Data (2021)

From the above figure 4:5 regarding the causes of xenophobia in South Africa, 33% of the respondents indicated that unemployment (foreigners are taking up our job) was the major cause of xenophobia. However, 20% of the respondents said poverty and inadequate social amenities bore the greatest responsibility for xenophobic violence. Ten percent (10%) are of the contention that it is through negotiated settlements that democracy was founded but certain conditions were not met. According to the interviewees, the transition of democracy in South Africa was grounded on negotiation and settlement that resulted to various promises that were made and were not honoured, leading to several unresolved questions. This failure to provide solutions to the glaring national problems can be ascribed by south African citizens interest based on stability and prosperity in Africa as indicated by the by liberal foreign pollicising South Africa.

Six-point seven percent (6.7%) of the respondents indicated that economic and political liberalism was endorsed in South Africa to allow economic prosperity. Therefore, it can be concluded that the liberal nature of South Africa's foreign policy has arguably contributed to xenophobia. In their opinion

“There are a number of possible causes of xenophobia among people of different countries. One of the most likely causes is a lack of understanding or knowledge about other cultures. When people are not exposed to other cultures, they may be more likely to view them with suspicion or fear. Additionally, economic insecurity can also lead to xenophobia, as people may view immigrants as competition for jobs and resources. Finally, political instability or conflict in a country can also led to xenophobia, as people may view outsiders as a threat to their safety.”

Of the total respondents interviewed, 16.7% indicated that ignoring the rule of law bred an environment of tension between the privileged and the less privileged in South Africa. As a result of the tension, the South Africans realised that their constitutional right had not been taken care of effectively being made to believe that their material rights of citizenship have been denied. The sum total of all these led to continuous competition with foreigners who were on the hunt for income for livelihood.

Thirteen (13%) percent of the respondents attributed the standoff to discrimination and inequality in the dissemination of wealth in social and financial circles. According to the respondents, even though South Africa had managed to become one of the leading economies in the black continent, the country was still faced with serious problems of discrimination and inequality in the allocation of wealth among its people. As a result of

this disparity, it has created a bridge amongst the poor and the rich which has led to growing resentment among the locals, especially the blacks. The other factors that have triggered violence against migrants in South Africa include; insecurity, poor housing conditions and inadequate rate of service delivery that the respondents pointed out

4.3.1 Factors informing xenophobic attacks on Kenyans

The interviews and focus group discussions were conducted in the South African Embassy based in Nairobi Kenya and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs between May and August 2022. As per the focus group discussions (FDGs),

“There has been a recent trend of xenophobic behaviour between Kenya and South Africa. This has been manifested in a number of ways, including violence and discrimination against foreigners, as well as an increase in anti-immigrant sentiments. There are a number of factors that have contributed to this trend, including economic insecurity, competition for scarce resources, and the perception that immigrants are taking jobs away from locals. This has led to tension and conflict between Kenyan and South African citizens, and has resulted in a rise in xenophobic incidents. There have been a number of high-profile cases of xenophobic violence in recent years, which has only served to exacerbate the problem. In 2015, for example, a series of attacks against foreigners in South Africa left seven people dead and dozens more injured. This led to a wave of protests and international condemnation, but the problem has continued to persist. The trend of xenophobic behaviour between Kenya and South Africa is a cause of concern, that needs to be addressed as a matter of urgency. If not, it is

likely to lead to further violence and conflict, and could damage the already fragile relations between the two countries.”

State and law enforcement agencies across the country have used the fight on trading in fake goods as concealment to xenophobic attacks and risk. Respondents interviewed intimated that these attacks have been carried out with the aid of government machinery and the metro police department, but to the local population, civil society, whose role is to identify the fake goods, mostly from foreigners. It has become a collective practice to storm shops that are suspected to trade on fake goods so as to stamp out such business. Kenyans have been made to believe that their stores are disproportionately targeted by the authorities, leading to raids on their premises allegedly in the search of counterfeit goods. It was said that their business stores were destroyed during the raids; the police beat them and shot them with tear gas and rubber bullets.

Group of angry protestors in South African harassed and confronted Kenyans, condemning them for taking up their employment opportunities, perpetrating crime, and loading the blame on the government of South Africa for allegedly failing to contain the migrants' menace. Hundreds of South African citizens were seen in 2019, blicking highways, shutting and blocking roads in Kwazuku natal, Western Cape and Gauteng. They also brought to a close taxi operation, schools, and businesses belonging to foreigners, among them Kenyans.

4.3.2 Implications of xenophobic attacks Kenyan

Xenophobia affects people at individual levels and negatively impacts on the entire society socially, economically, and politically. The cultural attitudes, political differences

and economic competition breed difficulties where people are unable to coexist within the society occasioning challenges in the access to housing, employment opportunities and healthcare.

Kenyans living in South Africa affected by the attacks had their houses torched; properties destroyed, exposing them to poor living conditions. Xenophobia therefore, does not only have the great potential to destroy the lives of those targeted by the perpetrators of such violence but also greatly affects society in general.

4.3.2.1 Economic implications

The South African racist attacks on foreigners have had a far-reaching economic implication on the non-citizens' entrepreneurial investments and the country's economy as a whole. In terms of business impact, Tshishonga (2015) reported that in the earlier xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals, the victims were forced either to flee, leaving their companies and other investments at the vagaries of the aggressors. In some cases, those who were not lucky to flee but managed to survive were reduced to paupers as they helplessly watched their hard-earned investments destroyed (Adeleke *et al.* 2008). Respondent 22 stated that

“There is no doubt that xenophobia has had a negative impact on the bilateral relationships between Kenya and South Africa. The economic implications of this are far-reaching and could potentially be devastating to both countries. For one, xenophobia has led to a decrease in trade between the two countries. This is because businesses community are reluctant to invest in or do business with a country that is seen as hostile to foreigners. This decrease in trade has a direct

impact on the economies of both countries, as it leads to a loss of revenue and jobs. In addition, the economic implications of xenophobia extend beyond just trade. Xenophobia also makes it difficult for foreign investors to feel confident about investing in a country that is seen as unwelcoming. This lack of investment can lead to slower economic growth and development, as well as an overall decrease in living standards. Finally, xenophobia also has negative implications for tourism. Fewer people are likely to visit a country that is perceived to be unsafe or unwelcoming, which can lead to a loss of tourism revenue. All of these factors together illustrate the significant economic implications that xenophobia can have on bilateral relationships. If left unchecked, it could potentially lead to a downward spiral in the economies of both Kenya and South Africa.”

In the latest xenophobic attacks on Kenyan nationals living in South Africa subjected the mayhem to Kenyan business community to harsh economic reality. The attacks, which resulted in killing more than 60 non-citizens and thousands forced to flee, triggered a near diplomatic row between South Africa and Kenyan. Through channels, the Kenya government intervened to forestall a scenario of degenerated bilateral relations. Although there were no Kenyans killed in the violence, many of them lost their properties through destruction and looting in what appeared to be an organised assault on the Design companies in South Africa. Among those killed in the skirmishes included South African themselves.

4.3.2.2 Social, political and diplomatic relations

Vrsanska et al. (2017) observed that people who suffer from such attacks showed fear, anxiety, depression, and suicidal thoughts, interfering with normal social life. We further find that foreign nationals and asylum seekers in South Africa think that confinement and forlornness make them an obvious objective for enrolment by radical and terrorist groups, particularly those who are not in a position to get physical support and a sense of belonging. (Vrsanska, *et al.* 2017). Respondents stated that

“There is no doubt that xenophobia has had a negative impact on relations between Kenya and South Africa. The incidents of violence and looting that have taken place in recent years have soured relations between the two countries and led to deterioration in diplomatic relations. The Kenyan government has repeatedly condemned the violence against foreigners in South Africa, and has even threatened to withdraw its ambassador from Pretoria. This has put a strain on relations between the two countries, and has led to deterioration in diplomatic relations. The Kenyan government has also been critical of the South African government's failure to protect foreigners living in the country. This has led to a rift between the two countries, and has resulted in a decrease in trade and investment between them. Xenophobia has also had a negative impact on the social and political relations between Kenya and South Africa. The Kenyan government has accused the South African government of not doing enough to stop the violence, and has even accused it of tacitly supporting it. This has led to deterioration in relations between the two countries, and has resulted in a decrease in trade and investment between them.”

The statements confirm the findings by Gopal (2013) that the consequences of the racist attacks also focus on the bilateral relations between the host country and the original state of the victims of the violence. The administration of the host country ought to strengthen and tighten foreign policies in order to safeguard the interests and lives of foreign citizens. The findings are pertinent with the scapegoating theory of political and economic relations between Kenya and South Africa is that the two countries have developed a relationship based on mutual scapegoating. The theory states that this relationship has been built on each country's distrust of the other, which is seen as a motive for the establishment of diplomatic ties. The theory also posits that this relationship between Kenya and South Africa has led to a number of economic problems between the two countries, such as low industrialization rates, low levels of trade, and high levels of unemployment.

4.4 Addressing xenophobic fears, attacks and strengthening relationship between South Africa and Kenya

Most respondents were unanimous that it was possible to stem out the fears and attacks that characterise the xenophobic behaviour among Kenyans in South Africa and those who intend to travel to the continents' southern country. The respondents also indicated that

“Kenya and South Africa have so many ways of strengthening their diplomatic relations to contain hatred visited on Kenyans by South African nationals. These include mostly the economic and political fronts. For example, a Kenyan delegation to South Africa in April 2019 implored the South African private

investors to tap into lucrative investments in food production, manufacturing, and housing investments in Kenya.”

The private sector was called upon to drive trade and investment growth meant to increase capital flows between the two countries. This will increase Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), exports, and transfer of technology, creating jobs for the citizens of the two countries.

As per the responses gathered from the focus group discussions,

“In strengthening diplomatic relations with South Africa, Kenya demand protection of its citizens by the host country, and full responsibility should their lives and property be put at risk in its foreign policy? The foreign policy has contained a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU), which ensures the citizens' security and ensures that international treaties on the welfare of quest citizens in a country are respected.”

Enhanced cordial relations between the two countries are critical and ought to be jealously guarded to allow citizens to travel in and out of the countries without any fear of attacks manifested from xenophobia

4.5 Incidences of xenophobia in Kenya involving South Africans

Thirty percent (30%) of the respondents from the Kenya’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs cited a recent instance where two Kenyans were attacked in South Africa and their grocery shops completely destroyed. 40% of the respondents from the South African Embassy in Nairobi indicated that there is a growing feeling of uneasy by Kenya towards foreigners

and in particular South Africans. 40% of respondents at the Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs officials indicated that some of the South African nationals who have been to Kenya engaged in petty crimes. The respondents cited an incident that took place in Umoja estate Nairobi where *“some South African nationals were accused of gang-raping a Kenyan woman.”* Two Kenyan officials in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs cited another instance in which *“a Kenyan man was punching a man from South Africa who called him a monkey”*. There was a case of mistreatment of South African citizens at Nairobi's industrial area but no incidence of violence has been reported through the emotion is the same as indicated above.

4.6 Characteristics of xenophobic tendencies

The individuals interviewed in this study indicated that the economic malaise and political turmoil's in given societies had been identified as innate characteristics that lead to anti-Semitism and other forms of xenophobia. As a result of the anti-Semitism, they lead to the actualisation of hatred and violence that is associated with exclusion and discrimination against migrants. The issue of contempt or hate towards foreigners and intolerance for religious, ethnic, cultural differences, and racial discrimination must be placed in the bigger setting of prevailing political developments with a transnational measurement.

According to respondents from the foreign affairs ministry in Nairobi and the South African embassy,

“there are links between racism, migration, ethno-religious stereotyping, discrimination, and xenophobia. The increase in racial diversity and ethno-

religious in communities makes the truth of the heterogeneity of human societies more self-evident”.

It could be inferred from the responses that without legal, political, economic, and social mechanisms to guarantee mutual respect and bring together the societies' differences, racism and xenophobia become more manifest. Similarly, the findings agree with the isolation theory that the more involved Kenya became with South Africa, the less willing it would be to protect its own people from South African aggression. The isolationists also believed that if Kenya was not able to protect itself from South Africa's aggression, then it would be unable to distinguish between domestic threats and external ones. This could lead to an increased risk of internal conflict. The isolationists also argued that because of this increased risk of conflict within Kenya itself, it could not afford strong ties with other countries such as South Africa or India.

4.7 Categorising certain behaviour as xenophobic

The majority of the respondents (70%) indicated that certain practices and behaviours towards others in the group other than your own have over time manifested into xenophobic tendencies by making.

Much as xenophobia is recognised in some disciplines as mental behaviour, some psychologists and psychiatric specialists are of the opinion that extreme racism and prejudice should be treated as a mental health problem. Other professionals hold a contrary view that categorising xenophobia as a mental illness on the basis of extreme racism or prejudice was tantamount to radicalising a social problem. Xenophobia can therefore be categorised as cultural and immigrant in formation. In contrast, for cultural, it involves

rejecting traditions, objections or symbols associated with others. In contrast, for immigrant xenophobia, it entails a rejection of migrants of other nationalities on the basis of religion and race.

It is naturally intuitive for individuals to behave in a manner to protect the interest of a group posed by threats from outside, often manifesting in tension and violence.

Other respondents also indicated behaviours such as avoiding neighbourhoods when going out. Discounting any form of friendship against other people because there are migrants and the fact that you do not share the same beliefs is also a type of xenophobia.

4.8 Implication of xenophobia on the relationships between Kenya and South Africa

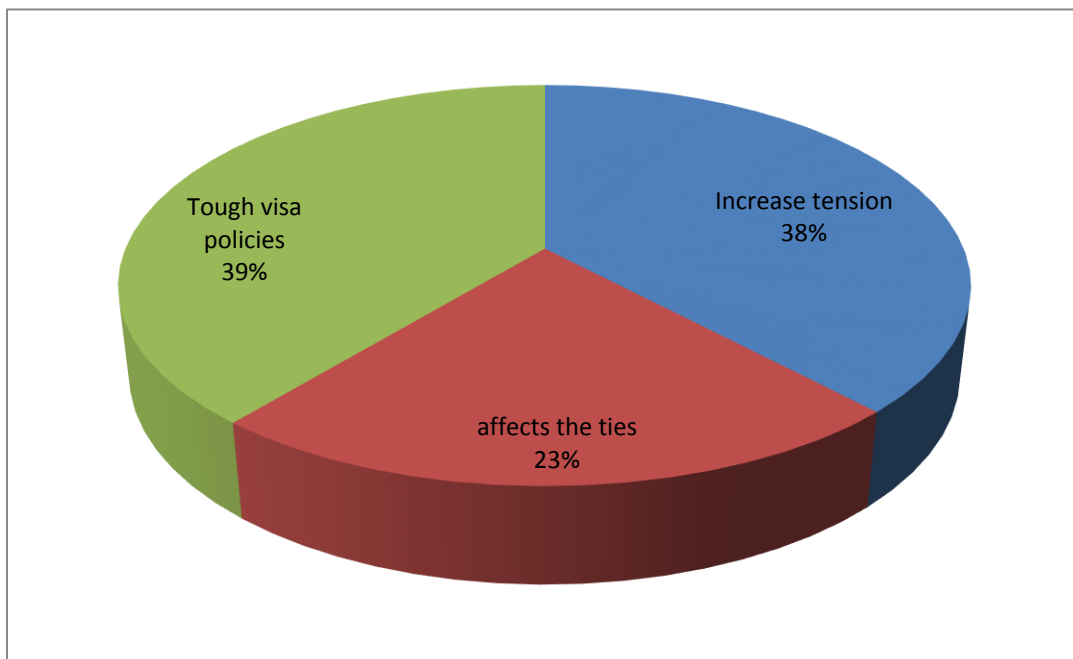


Figure 4:1 Effects of xenophobia on the bilateral relationships between Kenya and South Africa

Source: Research Data (2021)

From figure 4:6 above, the respondents indicated xenophobia violence could affect countries' diplomatic relations. It's common for diplomats to be recalled whenever there is persistence of diplomatic row by the host country. It takes quite some duration to retain normalcy, also putting in mind that Kenya and South Africa are from the same continent, the impact of diplomatic rows affects the progress of other African countries.

Thirty-eight per cent (38%) of the respondents indicated that xenophobic assaults could increase tensions between countries. The Kenya administration may feel it is South African counterpart is not doing enough to protect her citizens from being exposed to hate in South Africa or vice versa. Another twist to this occurrence is its view and encourages war in Africa rather than unity despite African being regarded as bothers from different nations, it goes against this background that any slight affront on the relationship between South Africa and Kenya is probably to complicate the African continent's united voice to stand together in the international political arena. Thirty-six per cent (36%) of the respondents indicated that visa policies and restrictions have also had an impact on the movement of migrants in search of safer places to make an economic livelihood. The act of individuals moving to look for a greener field is just like an old man trying to secure employment, and real sense, its each person's right to look for secure regions with better financial conditions; this is as per international convention of 1965 that seek to eliminate and forms of discrimination and the Universal declaration human rights 1984.

4.9 Challenges that have directly resulted from xenophobic behaviour

The social impacts of xenophobia attacks in Kenya result from African disunity from the secondary data. The moment Africans stop seeing fellow Africans as outsiders and

consequently regarding them as one, the test of such a state of disunity was addressed in the continent. This kind of behaviour implies that Africans will develop fear while in foreign countries. In addition, insecurity is a significant ramification of xenophobia. For example, when one suffers socially and culturally, this may result in alienation and humiliation, triggering people to form groups of gangs in order to provide security for their people. The ultimate result of this is to perpetuate hooliganism and increase insecurity within the African continent.

Respondents indicated that South Africa's xenophobic attacks have resulted in immense economic implications. Fundamentally, the poor state of the economy among the youth is the main reason for xenophobic attacks in South Africa. The less privileged locals have resisted the migrants from competing with them over the scarce resources. However, research findings indicate that the arguments by the South Africans lack merit as most of the migrants are conducting legal businesses. It is important to note that South Africans also have their business around the African continent and any uprising against them by their hosts will heighten xenophobia and by implication will affect Africa's economy.

4.10 Solution to the above-mentioned challenges

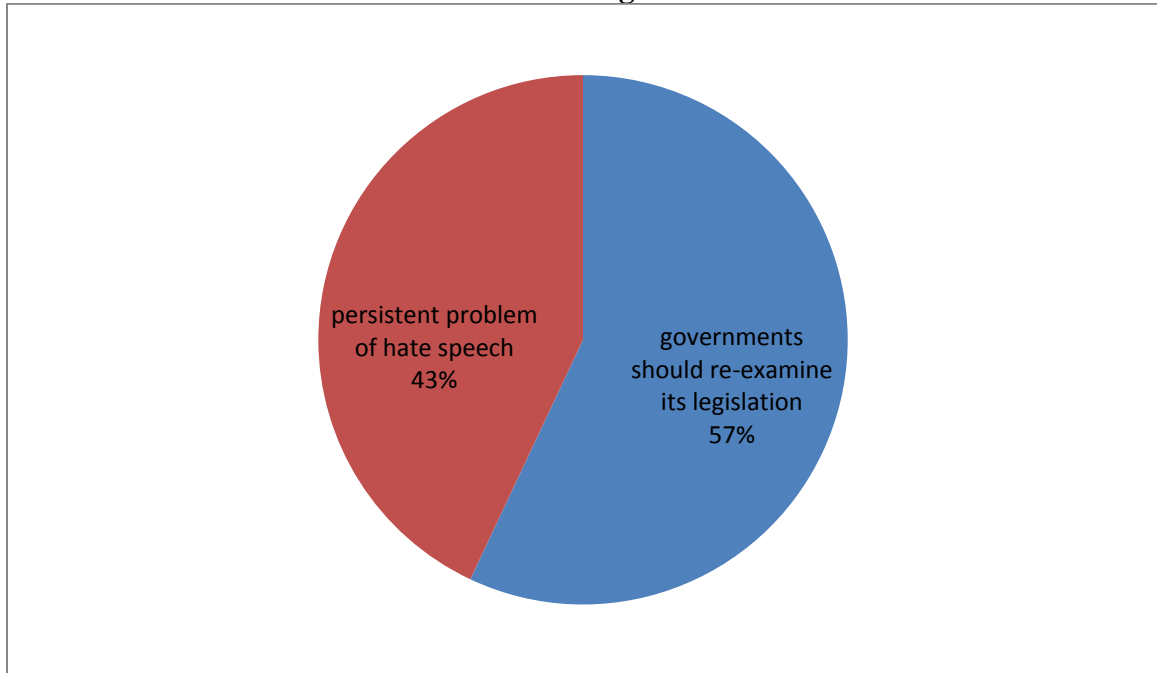


Figure 4:2: Solutions top Xenophobia in Kenya

Source: Research Data (2021)

Fifty-seven per cent (57%) of participants interviewed by the research opined that to solve the xenophobia problem in Kenya, the Kenyan government should introduce stringent laws to criminalise and punish xenophobic tendencies in the country. Hate speech which always precipitates attacks on other citizens and by extension individuals who are non-natives should be clearly spelt out and entrenched in the law to effectively contain xenophobic criminality.

Forty-three per cent (43) of those interviewed indicated that both the Kenyan and South African lawmakers should enact legislation aimed at outlawing hate speech and punish those hell-bent on inciting violence through xenophobia. Although legislative remedies to deter hate speech have been introduced in both Kenya and South Africa, a lot more is

expected to be undertaken to completely wipe out the menace Respondents demonstrated that the two nations must take legislation actions that must combat incitement and hate speech, as witnessed in the efforts currently being pursuit by the Kenya’s National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC). It is also important to note that respondents pushed for the development of multiple approaches to fight the causes of racism, discrimination, and hate speech.

4.11 Approaches that can be taken to redress the problem of xenophobia

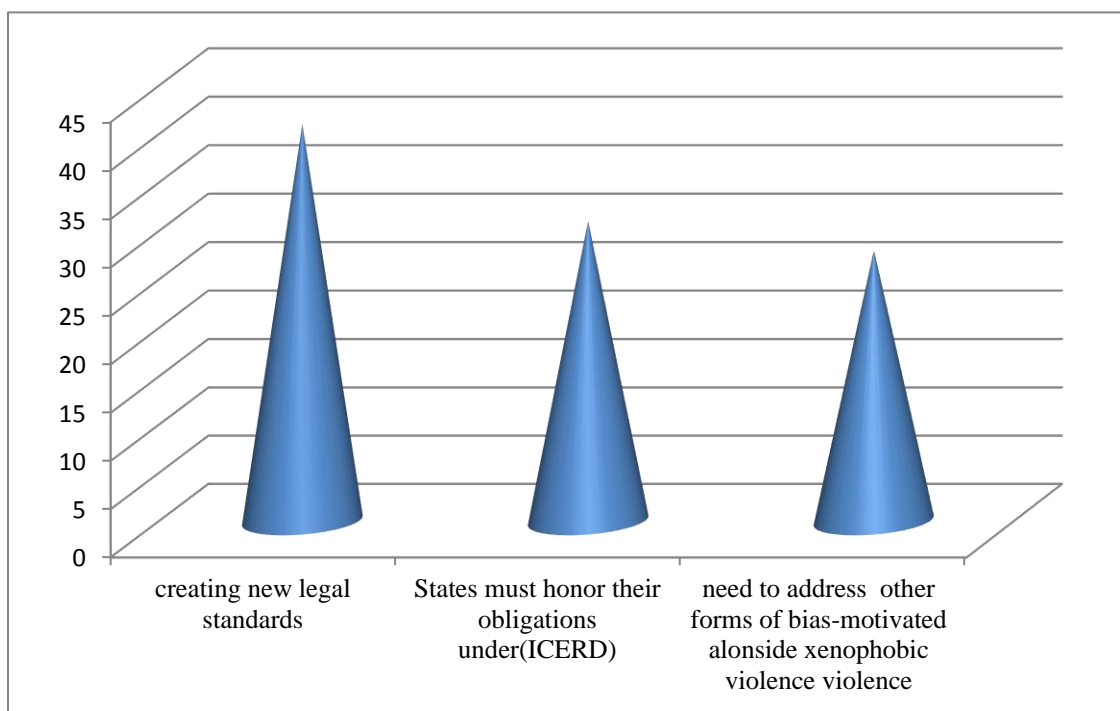


Figure 4:3: Approaches to dealing with xenophobia

Source: Research Data (2021)

From figure 4:8 above, (41%) of the respondents stated that approaches to redress the problem of xenophobia should include creating new standardised legal parameters that would effectively oversee elimination of xenophobic violence. Another 31% of the

respondents emphasized that nations must show commitments towards the ICERD (international convention on elimination of all forms of discrimination and take required step towards implementing” xenophobia and xenophobic violence endorsements set the committee of elimination of all forms of discrimination. 28% of the respondents indicated that there is need to address other forms of bias-motivated violence and xenophobic violence rather than avoiding the real issues about the violence’s, given that types of inclination may cover or that individuals may confront segregation or violence because of more than one part of their character.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents summary of the research findings of the study based on research objectives and discusses the findings in relation to the data presented in the previous chapter. This is followed by conclusion derived from the study, recommendations and suggestions for further research.

5.1 Summary of Findings

The high unemployment rate between countries, poor economic policy, and poverty are the significant causes of xenophobia among people of different countries were the considerable causes of xenophobia among countries. Other causes include the economic reasons xenophobia in nations, for example, South Africa, include: the transition of democracy in South Africa that was grounded on negotiation and settlement where some promises were implemented hence leaving several questions unresolved. To a degree, the inability to resolve national issues can be a cause of South Africa's xenophobic issues that can affect stability and prosperity in Africa, a sign of South Africa's liberal international strategy. Therefore, the liberal idea of the global policy idea of South Africa can be credited as being among the reasons for xenophobia since, in order to be admitted to the international community and continental organizations, national interest interests were put at bay

The instances of Xenophobia in Kenya were reported in terms of feelings. The respondents cited an incident in Umoja where Nigerian national were alleged of gang rapping Kenyan

woman. There was a video clip of a Kenyan citizen beating Chinese descent after he called him a monkey. Another scenario was of Chinese boy who was banished for referring to Kenya's President as a monkey. Most of the perpetrators of the violence opine that foreigner who have come to try their luck for survival in the territory are the causes of their poverty there are numerous cases ill-treatment by Indian within the Nairobi Industrial areas, but nil xenophobic issues have been reported, although the 'feeling is the same' as described above

Characteristics of Xenophobia include; other forms of xenophobia and anti-Semitism that are frequently identified as a result of political turmoil and economic malaise within a given society. However, these clarifications do not bring out the true picture, but it only normalises hatred and violence associated with systemised practices of discrimination and exclusion.

According to the respondents, the relentless influx of xenophobic assaults on South Africans living in Kenya has a lot of consequences if the two states fail to address the xenophobic issues. The xenophobic assaults can negatively influence the bilateral ties between the two nations.

The respondents indicated that the social impacts of xenophobic attacks in Kenya are as a result of African disunity. The moment fellow Africans begin to perceive their fellow black Africans as outsiders and therefore regarding them as one, the final product is clearly the disunity in the landmass of siblings and sisters that respect each other with a common history and descent. To solve the problem of Xenophobia in Kenya, the government should re-examine its legislation with regard of fighting xenophobia. The government

should also put a clear and precise definition of hate speech to lessen the arbitrary application of the law

Approaches to redress the problem of xenophobia include crafting a new legal framework; nations must be committed towards the ICERD (international convention on all forms of discrimination) and implementation of xenophobic violence endorsements put in place the committee on elimination of all discrimination.

5.2 Conclusion

Based on the study findings on causes of xenophobia in South Africa, it can be deduced that xenophobia is an issue that affects bilateral relations between countries. Despite the existence of minimal instances of Xenophobia in Kenya, there is a growing feeling due to the influx of foreigners in the country and taking up jobs that ordinarily can be done by locals. However, if the government of Kenya does not respond to numerous complain raise by Kenyan citizens on ill treatments by their brothers within institution such as SGR (Standard Gauge Railway. In that instance, the emotions might gang up and result to xenophobia. When foreigners are treated better than locals. The runaway unemployment that the government doesn't appear to deal with and the many reported cases of mistreatment and police buying by foreigners will one day culminate in something that the so-called National Intelligence Service is not prepared for. Insecurity additionally is a significant ramification of xenophobia, for when one endures and got humiliated socially and culturally from one's brothers and sisters the awful idea emerging from such segregation, distance, and embarrassment might lead them to begin as well as join awful packs which toward the day's end will prompt an expansion in security challenges inside

the African mainland. Respondents demonstrated that the monetary effect of the successive xenophobic assaults on outsiders in South Africa is colossal. All the more ever the chief purposes behind xenophobic assaults in South Africa are attached to the economy for instance outsiders and local people going after scarce assets

It is equally important for a more precise definition of hate speech be articulated, to deal with the arbitrary application of the law. With emerging research on hate speech from institutions like the Umati Project that is researching on hate speech in Kenya and other such independent studies should be brought on board during this process. Kenyan and South African lawmakers should take essential steps in dealing with the persistent problem of hate speech

5.3 Recommendations

Based on the reported findings, if authorities in Kenya fail to solve these incidences and complain raised by Kenyan on mistreatment by foreigners mostly from South Africa, then these tendencies may manifest in xenophobia. With better treatment of foreigners as compared to the locals; the failure by the government to tame the runaway unemployment and numerous cases being reported while police and doing nothing but receiving bribes from foreigners' things might run out of hand, sparking off related xenophobic violence. The governments of both Kenya and South Africa should create economic stability through job creation to their citizens to minimise cases of migration. To succeed in this end, the leadership of the two countries should rid corruption from their midst to allow prudence in management of public resources hence creating wealth to its citizenry. It

should be done with specific emphasis on the youth whose statistics show that they are trooping in large numbers to specific towns in search of employment.

The Multinational companies in South Africa should consider giving the locals opportunities for employment and support the education through scholarships in order to enable them compete favourably with citizens of other countries. This was a long-term process of creating a stable South Africa devoid of violence and hate.

The message of African unity should be spread across African states, to include Kenya and South Africa. The civil society and the media should pursue this agenda so that citizens of the two countries can realise the importance of unity, in order to promote cohesion and economic integration and development.

South Africa government should deal decisively with the perpetrators of violence in their country to deter the youth from engaging in killings and disruption of business and tarnishing the image of the country. This was achieved through development of domestic laws and strengthening of police and justice response to xenophobic attacks.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Key informants interview guide

This interview is aimed at assisting me, (Philip Kipngeno Ruto) a student at (Kenyatta University) in pursuit of my MA (Masters in International Relations and Diplomacy). Thank you for taking part in this study. The information provided was treated with utmost confidentiality and will only be used for academic purposes. Your participation is highly appreciated.

In your own opinion, what would you point out to be the main causes of xenophobia among people of different countries?

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Are there any reported incidences of xenophobia in Kenya, especially those that involved Kenyans and South Africans? If yes, please mention a few.

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What are some of the specific characteristics of xenophobic tendencies, or how would you categorise certain behaviour as xenophobic?

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From a historical perspective, what have been the trends of xenophobic behaviour between Kenya and South Africa?

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What are some of the remarkable incidences in the history of xenophobic tendencies between the citizens of Kenya and those of South Africa?

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In your own opinion, what could be the implication of xenophobia on the bilateral relationships between Kenya and South Africa? (You can talk of socio-economic and political implications).

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(a) What are some of the challenges that have directly resulted from xenophobic behaviour between the citizens of Kenya and those of South Africa?

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(b) What could be the possible solution to the above-mentioned challenges?

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What are some of the approaches that can be taken to redress the problem of xenophobia?

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Thank you

Appendix II: Focus Group Discussion (FGD) guide

This discussion is aimed at assisting me, (Philip Kipngeno Ruto) a student at (Kenyatta University) in pursuit of my MA (Masters in International Relations and Diplomacy). Thank you for taking part in this study. The information provided was treated with utmost confidentiality and will only be used for academic purposes. Your participation is highly appreciated.

What would you point out to be the main causes of xenophobia among people of different countries?

What have been the trends of xenophobic behaviour between Kenya and South Africa?

What could be the implication of xenophobia on the bilateral relationships between Kenya and South Africa?

What are some of the approaches that can be taken to redress the problem of xenophobia?

Appendix III :Nacosti Permit

**THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:
MR. PHILIP KIPNGENO RUTO
of KENYATTA UNIVERSITY , 19-20401
BOMET,has been permitted to conduct
research in Nairobi County**

**on the topic: IMPLICATIONS OF
XENOPHOBIA ON BILATERAL TIES
BETWEEN KENYA AND SOUTH AFRICA**

**for the period ending:
7th June,2020**

**Applicant's
Signature**

**Permit No : NACOSTI/P/19/70379/30297
Date Of Issue : 7th June,2019
Fee Received :Ksh 1000**




**Director General
National Commission for Science,
Technology & Innovation**