



PEOPLE TO PEOPLE  
DIALOGUES

# P2P Synthesis Report

October 2018 – November 2019



**Project Title:**

People to People Dialogues: Fostering Social Cohesion in South Africa through Conversation

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# Acronyms

ALPS	ALPS Resilience
CATA	Cape Amalgamated Taxi Association
CODETA	Congress of Democratic Taxi Associations
CPF	Community Policing Forum
IY	Imizamo Yethu
NoRBA	Northern Region Business Association
P2P	People to People
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SANCO	South African National Civic Organizations
SAPS	South African Police Service
SASA	Somali Association of South Africa
SaVI	Safety and Violence Initiative
UCT	University of Cape Town
USAID	United States Agency for International Development



# 1. Introduction

## 1.1. Project overview and summary

<b>Program Name:</b>	People to People Dialogues: Fostering Social Cohesion in South Africa through Conversation  (Referred to as People to People Dialogues or P2P Project)
<b>Activity Start Date and End Date:</b>	28 <sup>th</sup> September 2018 to 28 <sup>th</sup> December 2019
<b>Name of Implementing Partner:</b>	ALPS Resilience
<b>[Contract/Agreement] Number:</b>	FAA No: 72067418FA00002
<b>Name of Subcontractors/Subawardees:</b>	Safety and Violence Initiative (SaVI)
<b>Geographic Coverage (cities and or countries)</b>	Eastern Cape, Gauteng, Kwa-Zulu Natal and Western Cape provinces (To be implemented in at least 10 to 15 sites across the designated provinces)

## 1.2. Project background

Xenophobic violence in South Africa made international headlines in 2008, when anti-immigrant riots left at least 62 people dead, 670 wounded and more than 150,000 displaced.<sup>1</sup> Since 2008, xenophobia remains entrenched in South Africa, periodically erupting into violent xenophobic attacks against mainly African foreign nationals living in townships and informal settlements. In this context, a window of opportunity exists to build healthy relationships between foreign nationals and host communities and reduce violence by fostering social cohesion at local and provincial levels.

On 28<sup>th</sup> September 2018, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) awarded ALPS Resilience a Fixed Amount Award, titled *‘People to People Dialogues: Fostering Social Cohesion in South*

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<sup>1</sup> *Economic Migrants in South Africa: Health, Gender and Development*, International Organization for Migration, Switzerland, 2013, page 18.



*Africa through Conversation*. People to People Dialogues (P2P) is a 15-month project whose goal is ‘to combat xenophobia in South Africa by fostering social cohesion and healthy relationships between foreign nationals and locals, with a specific focus on decreasing xenophobic attacks against Somali foreign nationals’.

The two Intermediate Results of the project are:

*Intermediate Result 1:* Improved positive beliefs, values and attitudes of South Africans and foreign nationals, through dialogues to build peace and establish social cohesion within communities.

*Intermediate Result 2:* Increased support for community-based solutions to prevent xenophobic attacks and foster relationships between foreign nationals and South Africans at a local and provincial level.

The project is comprised of a series of dialogues, preceded by research to determine the main drivers and catalysts of local xenophobic violence and the potential for implementing conflict management interventions in five provinces: Western Cape, Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal, North West, and Gauteng. The dialogues are implemented in local communities across four of the five provinces and provide a platform to promote mutual understanding, shared identities, trust, empathy and resilient social ties between foreign nationals and host communities. The project activities will bring together South Africans, Somalis and other foreign nationals. Somali migrants are particularly relevant to this project because they have consistently been victims of attacks targeting foreign nationals in South Africa, with deadly attacks committed against them considerably escalating in early 2017. Key actors within each group include community leaders from community-based organizations, community forums, religious groups and schools; youth over the age of 18; women who are rarely the perpetrators of violence in communities, yet play an integral role in reconciliation; and local and provincial leaders.

### 1.3. Project theories of change

The P2P Project’s approach of using dialogue to foster social cohesion and healthy relationships between foreign nationals and locals in South Africa draws from two theories of change in conflict management and mitigation: Inside-Out Peacebuilding and Healthy Relationships.<sup>2</sup>

Inside-Out Peacebuilding is an appropriate theory of change for the project because of its focus on building shared identities, which can not only mitigate conflicts but also promote greater social cohesion. In South Africa, xenophobic attacks are perpetrated by South Africans against other Africans. Dialogue can elucidate a shared African identity amongst participants, and it can help identify other commonalities in their experiences, values and aspirations. *If foreign nationals and South Africans work together toward a*

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<sup>2</sup> USAID, Theories of Change and Indicator Development in Conflict Management and Mitigation (USAID: Washington DC, June 2010).



*superordinate goal and discover shared values through dialogues, then these broader values will form the basis of a shared identity and will promote constructive conflict engagement, thereby fostering social cohesion and reducing intergroup conflict.*

Healthy Relationships is an appropriate theory for the project because of its focus on facing the “fear of the other,” increasing inter-group understanding and developing mutual appreciation for one another. Anecdotal evidence suggests that xenophobic sentiment against Somalis in South Africa is often the product of misunderstanding. For example, many South Africans believe that Somalis are successful in their spaza shops because they use corrupt or unethical business practices. Activities such as business skills sharing workshops aim to dispel those myths, and to generate good faith between foreign and local business owners. Dialogues provide a similar platform to learn about the other, and to form an appreciation for one another’s experiences. Given the opportunity to share their experiences and stories of courage, Somalis and other foreign nationals may be able to mitigate the xenophobic sentiment against them. *If foreign nationals and South Africans are given the opportunity to interact positively and work together on a joint project, then they will better understand and appreciate one another and will prefer to resolve conflicts peacefully.*

The project utilizes both Inside-Out Peacebuilding and Healthy Relationships theories of change to combat xenophobia in South Africa because of their focus on identities and their prescribed use of dialogues and joint projects, which complements the people-to-people approach. Moreover, the theories of change guide the project to address peace writ large in South Africa.

## 1.4. Project activities – a summary

**Research:** The P2P research team were contracted from the Safety and Violence Initiative (SaVI) at the University of Cape Town and worked with ALPS Resilience to design a research methodology and site selection criteria and scorecard. The research team then conducted field research in 15 sites across four provinces, namely, the Eastern Cape, Gauteng, the Western Cape, and KwaZulu Natal. Based on the research conducted in the selected sites, the research team produced 15 site reports detailing the main drivers of xenophobic violence; the key actors and stakeholders in the violence; and the capacity of role-players for effective and sustainable conflict management interventions. Where the potential for intervention exists, the site reports will also assist in identifying potential dialogue participants and inform the design and content of the community dialogues.

In total, 15 site reports and one synthesis report were produced from the research. In addition, the research directly informed the site selection for the community dialogue phase.

**Recruitment and selection of community facilitators:** In February 2019, ALPS Resilience released a Call for Community Facilitators vacancy announcement for 8 to 10 Community Facilitators through its existing networks and contacts. ALPS Resilience selected 3 Community Facilitators (2 local and 1 refugee) in the Western Cape; 3 Community Facilitators (1 local and 2 refugees) in KwaZulu Natal; and 2 Community Facilitators (1 local and 1 migrant) in Gauteng. In the Eastern Cape, ALPS Resilience partnered with two facilitators (1 local and 1 refugee) (also part of the Eastern Cape Refugee Centre) to assist with the implementation of the community dialogues there.



In total, 10 community facilitators were hired across the four project provinces.

***Pre-dialogue training workshop:*** In preparation for the facilitators' pre-dialogue training workshops, ALPS Resilience developed a Facilitator Training Guide to equip facilitators with basic competencies and tools for the implementation of community dialogues. The purpose of the training workshops was three-fold: to familiarise Community Facilitators with the aims and objectives of the P2P project; to acquaint them with the key findings of the field research and to introduce them to the basic competencies and tools for entering communities and engaging key stakeholders in order to prepare for the commencement of community dialogues. To encourage the active engagement of facilitators with the training content, facilitators were provided with the research site reports, and the ALPS Resilience Facilitator Training Guides ahead of training workshops. Orientation and training workshops for provincial facilitation teams were held as follows:

- Eastern Cape: 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> April
- Western Cape: 12<sup>th</sup> April 2019
- Gauteng: 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> April 2019
- KwaZulu Natal: 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> May 2019

In total, four pre-dialogue training workshops took place across the project's provinces.



*KZN P2P Facilitators and ALPS Resilience Staff present the assets they bring to the P2P project, as well as identifying areas where they need support, 3 May 2019*

***Community entry and stakeholder engagements:*** In order to gain community buy-in and support, and in order to attract participants to the P2P dialogue process, stakeholder engagement was necessary across project sites. This included meetings with gatekeepers and key community stakeholders and leaders; meeting with organisations and structures and their representatives; meetings with foreign national groups and associations; and community entry activities such as community and stakeholder mapping. While this

was the sole initial focus on facilitators in each site – with community knowledge and support of P2P gained through the process – it was also a continual activity throughout the project. In many sites, ahead of launching the dialogue process, multi-stakeholder community meetings were called by the P2P facilitator/s. Stakeholder meetings, comprised of diverse stakeholder groups such as local authorities, ward committees, business forums, local community-based groups, and non-national groups.

Over the project course, approximately **100** stakeholder meetings were conducted across project sites.

**Community dialogues:** At the core of the project is community dialogues, with a series of four to be held across each project site. The series of dialogues has four core components:

- Dialogue One: To start unpacking the bigger issues: what is xenophobia and what are the causes of xenophobia?
- Dialogue Two: To identify and reflect on the main issues that were presented in Dialogue One in order to focus on and explore solutions.
- Dialogue Three: To move participants towards joint decision-making and problem solving in order to find solutions for the issues identified and discussed in the previous two dialogues.
- Dialogue Four: To focus on participants' joint action planning.

In total, **45** local dialogues happened in 10 sites, **10** in Gauteng, **14** in KwaZulu Natal, **13** in the Western Cape and **8** in the Eastern Cape Province.

**Action plans:** The aim of the local action plans is to ensure that the stakeholders find avenues for social cohesion not only through the dialogues but through joint action for the greater good. The action plans aim to generate increased support for community-based solutions to prevent xenophobic attacks and foster relationships between foreign nationals and South Africans at local and provincial levels. At a deeper level, the local action plans are intended to ensure (i) increased intercultural understanding and interactions between non-nationals and host communities and, (ii) increased joint action between South Africans and non-nationals in local communities.

In total, **10** local action plans were discussed, planned and/or implemented across project sites.

**Provincial dialogues:** Provincial dialogues brought together participants from across all provincial sites. The design of the dialogues reflected the needs of each provinces, with most including capacity building exercises, and all focusing on both reflecting on P2P and planning ahead, after the closeout of the project.



## 2. Research

The report presents the findings of qualitative semi-structured interviews conducted in 15 selected sites in diverse South African communities of the Eastern Cape (Walmer, Wells Estate, Korsten), Gauteng (Atteridgeville, Katlehong, Mayfair), KwaZulu-Natal (Inanda, Ntuzuma, KwaMashu) and the Western Cape (Belville South, Imizamo Yethu, Lwandle, Masiphumelele, Mbekweni, Zwelihle) provinces. The objective of this study was to understand the drivers of conflict and tensions between non-nationals and South Africans, with the broader aim to develop strategies to promote social cohesion. Prior to the fieldwork, researchers conducted extensive background, quantitative, and qualitative analyses for each selected site. This was followed by fieldwork in each location, including in-depth interviews with key stakeholders and community members, and informed rapid conflict assessments in each researched community. While similar criteria were used to select each site, the findings reveal that these communities are complex and dynamic, and hence there is no uniform standard for understanding and analysing them, as discussed below.

The research component of the P2P project included some important methodological aspects:

- **Site selection criteria:** ALPS Resilience worked to develop a flexible set of site selection criteria for the project. This included a focus on selecting a variety of sites, with an explicit focus on not only researching poor, predominantly black townships that have been the sites of xenophobic attacks. We noted that much of the prior research on violent xenophobia tended to focus in black townships, and we did not want to extend and pathologize without a fuller sample. Indeed, this research shows a complexity of issues across all research sites. Furthermore, we developed a site selection criterion that could be adapted while researchers were in the field. Given that site selection depended on secondary research, if researchers found in-the-field information to the contrary, the selection criteria could be used to develop alternative sites: this happened on more than one occasion during field research.
- **Site scorecard and a direct relation between research and intervention:** for this project, researchers were closely interconnected to the intervention, dialogue side of the project. First, the researchers developed a community scorecard that evaluated conflict and conflict resolution, leadership and governance, and other categories related to intervention decisions. This was one element that then guided interventions themselves. Second, researchers – in their site reports and engagements with ALPS Resilience – were asked to directly identify the risks and opportunities for the dialogue programme in each site. The researchers made valuable and important insights.
- **From research to site selection for dialogues:** Through agreements with USAID, it was decided that ALPS Resilience would not have to intervene in every site researched. Should the conditions for dialogue intervention be too hostile or problematic, or the chances of success too limited in the time given, and depending on community dynamics, site selection for interventions could be based on research findings. In this way, the project represents a ‘learning’ process whereby research directly informs the nature of intervention, and the decision about whether to intervene at all.



- **Responsiveness:** following research in the Eastern Cape, it was recommended that a rapid assessment and accelerated entry, particularly for Walmer Township be conducted. Walmer was experiencing a rise of tensions around a community group that was trying to extort foreign national businesses. Through engagements with our P2P facilitators in the Eastern Cape, ALPS Resilience was able to implement a rapid intervention, which contributed to the immediate calming of tensions and prevention of violence.

Overall, ALPS Resilience worked to ensure that the research and programmatic design was such that research and community intervention became strongly interconnected. This represents an important innovation and valuable learning for the project.

## 2.1 Research methodology

In order to conduct successful interviews in relevant sites with potential respondents, the site selection process was carefully carried out in line with the objective of the research project, which was to understand and promote social cohesion in South African communities. Based on previous experience, this process could have yielded unwanted results if the characteristics of the sites were not thoroughly examined prior to the final selection. In this regard, researchers intended to follow a site selection process which consisted of three steps, namely: determine site selection criteria; develop a list of candidate sites; and apply site selection filter. The main purpose of this exercise was to gather and analyse sufficient information about each potential site. This would allow the team to draw informed conclusions regarding the selection of the most appropriate sites. The site selection process was as follows:

### 1. Determine site selection criteria

- Concentration of businesses: Eligible sites were selected based on the concentration of Somali and foreign national-run ‘spaza’ shops in a particular area, and/or residential areas where they live. Descriptive statistical data on each potential site was sought for this purpose.
- Previous tension/conflicts: Background research was conducted through desktop research, specifically focusing on recent tensions or conflicts. Media articles as well as online websites such as *Xenowatch* were useful in this regard.
- Current tensions/conflicts: Sites that had experienced tensions between local and foreign shop owners and/or tensions between foreign national shop owners themselves were considered.
- Places that have experienced tensions/conflicts in the past but have been without reports of such conflicts in recent years: These are communities that were able to quell tensions and have since been living relatively harmoniously.
- One non-criteria site in each province: In each province, researchers wanted to enter one site which did not fit into the above-mentioned criteria for site selection. These sites were determined based on the concentration of the targeted group for xenophobic attacks but where there had not been reported attacks. In other words, in each province, the researchers aimed to select a site



where many foreign nationals live, but where reports of xenophobic violence had not taken place. Preferably, the sites should not be townships. The basis for this decision was to understand why these areas do not experience xenophobic conflict and violence, as well as to avoid pathologizing poor (black) communities by only focusing on them in research. In general, the sites that fitted this category were centres for shopkeepers, with owners who have multiple spaza shops in their province residing in the area, and with provisions, such as wholesalers and other business facilities, being present.

## 2. Develop a list of candidate sites

- The team first identified an initial list of possible candidate sites. The list included potential back-up sites to be entered in case of problems encountered within some of the sites selected initially.

## 3. Apply site selection filter

- The research team held a discussion to review the list of candidate sites and eliminated/added based on the requirements.
- The research team attempted to coordinate with the Somali community-based organisations to determine which sites specifically impacted Somali communities. This however was only partially successful.
- It was decided that if, upon site visitation, the environment was not conducive for fieldwork purposes, researchers would identify another site based on the selection criteria.

Following in-depth research about each site, the research team started fieldwork with the following *original* list of candidate sites:

**Table 1: Original list of candidate sites**

Western Cape	Eastern Cape	Gauteng	KwaZulu-Natal
Imizamo Yethu	Grahamstown	Atteridgeville	Inanda
Masiphumelele	Korsten	Katlehong	Verulam
Lwandle	Humansdorp/St Francis Bay	Mayfair	KwaDabeka
Mbekweni			
Zwelihle			
Mitchell's Plain			

### 2.1.1 Site changes

Upon commencing fieldwork, researchers immediately experienced issues with regards to site selection. In many cases, desktop research had proven inadequate/outdated as a means of accurately reflecting the dynamics and conditions in these communities. Therefore, the decision that researchers would identify



another site if one was not conducive for fieldwork was particularly useful. Several changes were made once fieldwork began.

- In the Western Cape, the ‘non-criteria site’ – Mitchell’s Plain – was switched to Bellville South, which was informed by fieldworker site observation. After making several contacts in Mitchell’s Plain and touring the area, researchers determined that there was not a clearly defined area that could be predominantly viewed as a haven for foreign nationals. Researchers worked with the assumption that Somalis in particular would live peacefully in an area with a predominantly Muslim and Coloured population. This did not appear to be the case in Mitchell’s Plain. Rather, Bellville’s central business district was perceived as a ‘safe haven’ for Somalis. However, researchers did not think it would be conducive to measure social cohesion in a business area. Instead, researchers focused on the residential area of Bellville South. After an initial visit to the area and establishing initial contacts, researchers noticed a large number of Somali nationals who appeared to feel safe in the site. It was thus selected as a research site.
- In the Eastern Cape, researchers met with the staff of the Eastern Cape Refugee Centre (ECRC) who advised the research team against entering Grahamstown. The reasoning was that the Somali presence had significantly declined since researchers had previously entered the area. Based on this information, researchers went to observe for themselves and discovered that there were only 2-3 Somali shops operating in the space. Ethiopians were now the primary spaza shop owners. The ECRC suggested switching to Walmer Township as a site due to current xenophobic tensions in the area. Researchers found the change in sites to be particularly helpful. Additionally, Humansdorp and St Francis Bay in the Eastern Cape, initially identified as sites, were too isolated and too distant for the budget of this project. The decision was made to switch to Motherwell instead. However, since Motherwell is such a large area, researchers decided to further narrow the scope of the site and rather focused on Wells Estate (which is based within Motherwell) as it was a site of xenophobic protests in 2017.
- In KwaZulu-Natal, there were numerous difficulties when choosing sites. Upon visiting Verulam, where the media had reported xenophobic attacks having taken place, researchers found that the violence was sectarian (between rival Muslim groups) and not based on xenophobia. Furthermore, when researchers entered KwaDabeka, they found that most of the shops were owned by South Africans and there were not many foreign-owned shops in the area. Based on these observations and through consultations with police representatives, community leaders and political organizations, researchers decided to focus on the INK area – Inanda, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu. This site selection had multiple benefits, as the INK area, in many regards, has similarities and operates as a whole. This did mean, however, that there was no ‘non-criteria site’ in KZN.

The final sites selected and researched are outlined in the table and marked on the map below:

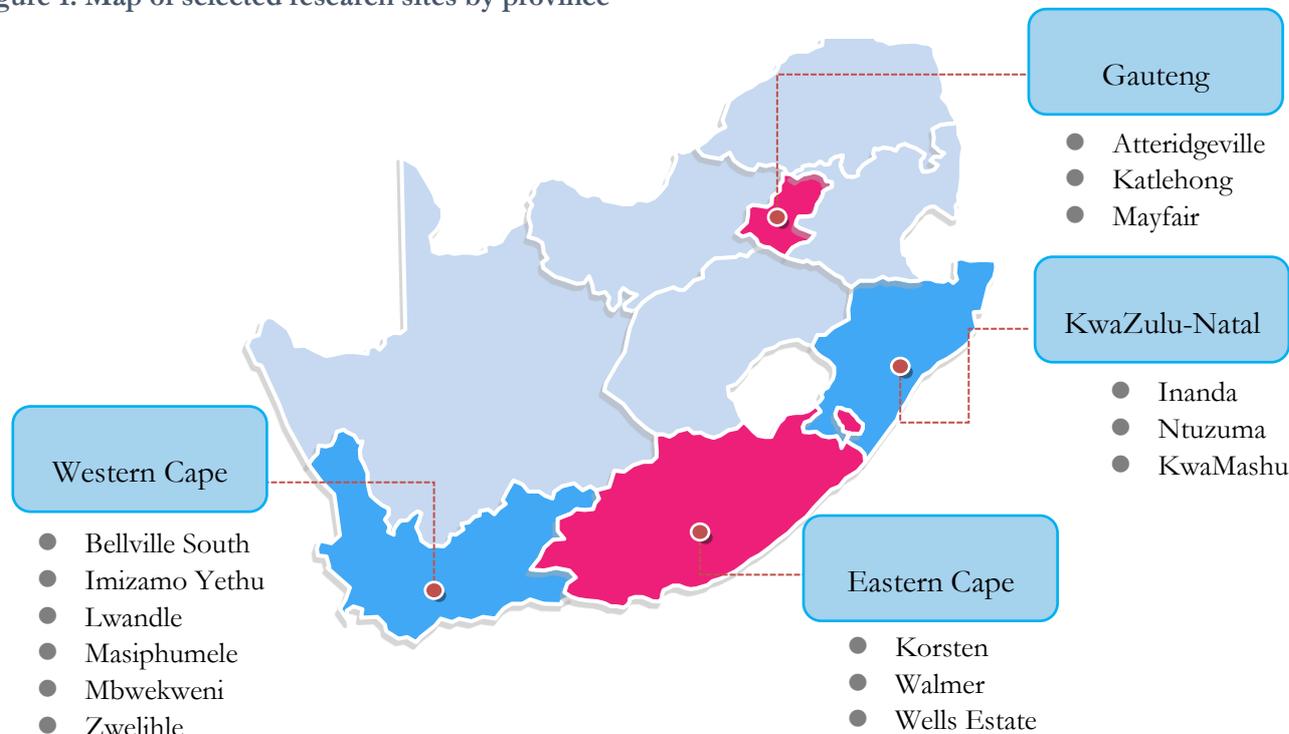
**Table 2: Final list of candidate sites**

Western Cape	Eastern Cape	Gauteng	KwaZulu-Natal
Imizamo Yethu	Walmer Township	Atteridgeville	Inanda
Masiphumelele	Korsten	Katlehong	Ntuzuma



Lwandle	Wells Estate	Mayfair	KwaMashu
Mbekweni			
Zwelihle			
Bellville South			

Figure 1: Map of selected research sites by province



## 2.1.2 Research methodology

The fieldwork was initiated in November 2018 and was completed in March 2019. While most of the interviews were conducted in public spaces, including local shopping centres, others were conducted in private homes at participants' convenience. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with research participants including foreign nationals, community members, community leaders, representatives of the local municipal authority, and representatives of community-based organisations. The respondents were males and females of various age groups from early twenties to 65 and above. The interviews were conducted in isiXhosa, Afrikaans, English, as well as isiZulu, and in some instances, Somali (with the help of an interpreter for Somali respondents). As mentioned above, the researchers took a qualitative approach, but combined different research methods, namely: individual face-to-face interviews and focus group interviews (as was the case with a Somali female group in one site); and human and locational observations, including informal conversations with police and basic community mapping. Some of the respondents were purposively selected by our partner organisations, particularly those who are involved

in community structures, while researchers also employed a snowballing technique during the fieldwork in order to identify other participants.

Most respondents were willing to take part in the research and even welcomed the researchers into their private spaces (homes and shops). On the other hand, foreign nationals, Somalis in particular, appeared suspicious, and in some areas were difficult to access. In some sites, researchers could not access the few local organisations that were specifically dealing with issues related to foreign nationals. Although foreign nationals have their own organisational structures largely based in the city centres, it often proved difficult to connect with their leaders who could have then assisted the researchers in connecting with foreign nationals in the selected sites. These leaders also appeared to be suspicious of the research team and were evasive and unwilling to meet with the researchers (despite numerous attempts to interview them). In addition, some local (South African) respondents and police officials were suspicious of the research intentions but felt comfortable after explanations from the researchers. Furthermore, some respondents wanted to know what benefit they would receive and whether there were any incentives for taking part in the research. KwaZulu-Natal proved to be a highly politicised area and, with the election around the corner, proved difficult to access some key stakeholders in their communities.

All interviews and discussions were voluntary and conducted in accordance with an ethics-approved protocol of informed consent. All interviews and observations used in this report were confidential in nature, in accordance with this protocol. For the sake of preserving this confidentiality, all participants are referred to by a collective name such as ‘CPF member’ or ‘community member’ or ‘police official’.

### 2.1.3 Evaluation of the scorecard system

After exiting each site, researchers would score the community based on its social cohesion and its ability to peacefully resolve conflict. These scorecards then informed ALPS Resilience as to whether intervention was necessary and possible in a site. The figure below represents the site scorecard that was used:

**Table 3: Community peace-making potential scorecard**

<h2 style="margin: 0;">Community Peace-making Potential scorecard</h2>		<p>Scorecard key:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 = strongly disagree</li> <li>2 = disagree</li> <li>3 = neither agree nor disagree</li> <li>4 = agree</li> <li>5 = strongly agree</li> </ul>
<p><b>Community leadership</b></p>	<p>It appears that community leaders are generally concerned with the wellbeing of all residents irrespective of their race, ethnicity or nationality.</p>	<p><b>Score</b></p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 60px; height: 60px; margin: 0 auto;"></div>



	It seems that community leaders are generally trusted and respected by residents.	
<b>Discrimination</b>	It appears to be no discrimination (on the basis of race, ethnicity or nationality) in terms of the allocation of, and access to common community resources.	
<b>Racism and xenophobia</b>	There seems to be an absence of racist and/or xenophobic comments and behaviour in the community.	
	Community members have a general understanding of what it means to be xenophobic or racist.	
<b>Cohesion &amp; Interdependence</b>	It seems that residents will help each other when they are in trouble irrespective of their race, ethnicity or nationality.	
	It appears that there are good relations between neighbours and residents on the streets.	
<b>Community conflict</b>	Conflicts in the community seem to be resolved in a fair and non-violent manner.	
	There appear to be processes and/or structures in the community that have been created to resolve conflicts in a non-violent and fair manner.	
<b>Community development</b>	There seems to be active community-based organisations and/or NGOs that provide welfare and development interventions in the community.	
<b>The Police</b>	There appears to be general community trust in the South African Police Services (SAPS), and community members typically report crimes to the SAPS.	
<b>Community safety</b>	There appears to be active community police organisations and/or neighbourhood watch type structures that work to promote safety for the whole community.	
<b>Fear</b>	It seems that residents are not overly fearful to walk in the streets during the day and night.	
<b>Tensions between shop-owners</b>	There appears to be no tensions between shop-owners of different nationalities	



<b>Identity /belonging</b>	Residents think of themselves as part of this community regardless of where they come from.	
		Overall score (out of 75)

The scorecard was taken into account with all research findings. Each site was unique and presented certain opportunities and challenges for dialogue interventions. These needed to be carefully calibrated ahead of community entry. Indeed, the scorecard might have been an accurate measure of the effectiveness of community structures and trust in the police among other things, but they did not accurately measure community resilience. In other words, the categories of the scorecard, while useful, were not reflective of the community. For example, in Imizamo Yethu, there was strong leadership and strong trust in those leaders to provide safety. Yet, the area itself was run autocratically with an extra-legal group enforcing an illegal curfew for residents. As such, each score for a community must be read with broader research findings and community dynamics in mind.

**Table 4: Overall scorecard results per site**

<b>Scorecard results per site</b>	
Site	Score out of 75
Imizamo Yethu	44
Masiphumelele	41
Mbekweni	35
Lwandle/Nomzamo	55
Zwelihle	43
Bellville South	64
Korsten	43
Walmer	31
Wells Estate	55
Atteridgeville	39
Mayfair	37
Katlehong	33



KwaMashu	24
Inanda	33
Ntuzuma	44

Despite not always being an accurate reflection of a community, the scorecard was particularly helpful for researchers as it aided the team to coordinate thinking, reach consensus and provide a better understanding of the communities in which research was conducted. At first, each researcher filled out an individual scorecard for each site and then compared these results. Researchers soon realised that while we had all entered the same community, we often had different understandings of the community. Discussing the variance in our scores allowed the research team to better share information and reach common understandings. It was then determined that researchers would work together to score the community on one scorecard, while making note of any issues where there was disagreement.

As such, it was the discussions after scoring the community that enabled researchers to make better recommendations regarding whether ALPS Resilience should enter the site for community dialogues. The scorecard itself should, therefore, not be used as a sole determining factor for site entrance. The scorecard might be useful for drawing comparisons between sites, thereby gaining an understanding of the processes and dynamics of the site. However, when determining which sites require intervention, the scorecard should only be used in conjunction with the findings and recommendations in the site reports.

## 2.2. Main Research Findings

This section summarises the major findings in each selected site. Researchers observed certain trends and commonalities across various sites. The findings of this research study are an important steppingstone to deepen understandings of social cohesion, conflict resolution mechanisms, community violence, xenophobia, and community relations. It also provides insights in understanding community complexities and dynamics in each site and informs the development of mechanisms with the potential to prevent violence in these communities.

The findings of this research project revealed that the determinants, nature and dynamics of xenophobic violence (or the absence thereof) in the fifteen (15) sites were relatively complex and often differed considerably from how this issue has been portrayed in the media. Indeed, there were stereotypical cases where groups of South Africans used violence to target foreign national spaza shop owners for commercial or personal reasons. In many cases, the findings showed that much of the violence that had been directed at certain foreign-owned spaza shops and/or spaza shop owners had been perpetrated by foreign nationals. Nonetheless, xenophobic sentiments were acute in many areas. Furthermore, given the reported inadequate service provided by the police (SAPS) in many areas, combined with the lack of trust that foreign nationals had in the police, the research findings emphasised the importance of ward councillors, CPF members and some community organisations as key facilitators of both social cohesion and conflict resolution. Hence, these entities are essential to arranging and sustaining community dialogues that are geared towards building peace (where required).



## 2.2.1. Main perpetrators

Researchers found that perpetrators of xenophobic violence were mostly young males who were usually unemployed and/or drug users. However, in many cases these young men were sent by others to commit acts of violence and were not always personally motivated to attack foreign nationals. Most xenophobic attacks in the sites were difficult to define as ‘xenophobic’ because they appeared to be motivated by business interests. In Katlehong, for example, local shop owners instigated attacks against foreign national shop owners in order to reduce business competition, but only targeted shop owners and left many other foreign national groups alone. In Lwandle, Mbekweni (Western Cape) and in the Eastern Cape sites, foreign nationals were often sent to destabilise the businesses of other foreign nationals. In Mayfair, one foreign national hired a South African to kill another foreign national. The incident was reported as xenophobia because the perpetrator was South African. However, it was difficult to establish the motivations behind many of the attacks. This is because the dynamics in these communities are complex: understanding the nature of inter-relations (or lack thereof) and the way in which multiple discriminations may influence an attack is important to properly unpack the nature of xenophobia in each place.

## 2.2.2. Main victims

Somalis and Ethiopians are targeted the most in townships, seemingly because they are the ones who have food-stores (spaza shops with bread, maize meal, etc.). Somalis used to be the primary target; however, the targeting of Ethiopians has increased as their dominance in the spaza shop sector grows. In many cases, the foreign nationals who run fruit and vegetable stalls or sell blankets and crafts are barely acknowledged. Alternatively, in more rural, industrial, and farm-based areas, Zimbabweans appear to be the primary targets. The reasoning behind this is that they often work for low wages. Other groups of foreign nationals were barely mentioned. Interestingly, in earlier research, it was uncovered that Nigerians were often targeted as victims of hate-crimes due to rumours and stereotypical views of Nigerians as being drug dealers. In this field research, however, Nigerians were barely mentioned when discussing foreign nationals and xenophobia.

## 2.2.3. How xenophobic violence starts

In many cases, foreign nationals will hire their friends and/or family members to operate shops without helping them understand the local language, norms, and social values of the community. This possibly discourages foreign nationals from further integration in their communities. This, in turn, encourages foreign nationals to band together, thus reinforcing local perceptions of foreigners as ‘outsiders’.

The continual migration of different people into communities makes it difficult for locals to accept foreigners, especially when familiarity cannot be established. Furthermore, many migrants have been traumatised by violence (often from their homelands and in South Africa) and their first instinct is to



defend themselves. Communities have come to believe that Somalis, in particular, are trigger-happy and prone to respond to injustice with gun-violence.

While there is often xenophobic sentiment and resentment in a community, it usually spills over into violence once there has been a shooting at a spaza shop. In Katlehong, local business owners admitted to waiting for a shooting to happen so that they could use it as an opportunity to chase foreign nationals out of the area. This occurred in KwaZulu-Natal as well. Most xenophobic attacks also occurred during service delivery protests. Again, the targets during these protests were the groups of foreign nationals who sell food. Often, these shops are attacked indiscriminately (meaning that if there were South African run spaza shops, they would also be looted), but it is still reported as xenophobia.

Researchers found that very few locals still own spaza shops in many of the sites. For this reason, when spaza shops are targeted, it is immediately reported in the media as xenophobia. This is problematic because it negatively influences site selection when researchers come to investigate media reports of xenophobia and find little evidence of such. However, not all these attacks are based on opportunistic looting. Foreign nationals are often targeted for robberies because community members know that the police do not protect foreign nationals and police at times extort money/goods from foreign national shop owners. Several foreign nationals also reported not going to the courts (after being victims of crime) because of time constraints, religious reasons, or fear of retaliation. This, in turn, makes them easy targets.

## **2.2.4. How xenophobic violence is prevented**

Evidence from Katlehong shows that leaders in the Maphanga area, which is adjacent to Mandela Park, stood up against xenophobic leaders and allowed foreign nationals to operate in their area. This indicates strong leadership is central to the prevention of xenophobic violence. This was after Mandela Park community members and their leaders decided to chase out spaza shop owners who they collectively referred to as 'Pakistanis'.

The findings also reveal that having informal regulations in place can allow for effective dialogue between foreign nationals and locals, which ensures communication and decreases the chance of tensions and conflict. In areas where there are well-organised business structures amongst foreign nationals, allowing for internal cooperation and coordinated engagement with other groups, there is more social cohesion. They can communicate with other community structures if any issues related to their shops arise. For example, the opening of a new shop outside of agreed restrictions by a Somali national in Masiphumelele did not result in violence because of communication between leadership structures. In Lwandle, protestors attempted to loot spaza shops, but this was prevented by community leaders who recognised foreign national leadership structures.

The relationship between shopkeepers and the community also plays an important role in preventing xenophobic attacks. This study has established that landlords and neighbours who provide shop rental space for foreign nationals can act to prevent xenophobic violence. Lastly, foreign nationals who become involved in community issues (funerals, sports, etc.) tend to be better integrated into their communities, and the practice seems to foster acceptance in the community. This also ensures that they are not exploited



by illegitimate community leaders because their involvement in the community would increase awareness of legitimate leadership structures.

## **2.2.5. Non-criteria sites**

As previously mentioned, Mayfair, Korsten and Bellville South were selected as sites because they were centres of migrant trading populations. Research found some shared commonalities. These areas are places where most spaza shop owners stay with their families. They send their children to schools within these vicinities, not far away from their residences. Business owners, especially those who have been successful in township businesses, do not stay in their shops, but rather hire shopkeepers (often males from their countries of origin). This is in contrast to other sites where most foreign national spaza shop owners sleep in their shops. Many respondents during the fieldwork mentioned that residents opportunistically used the apparent health concerns associated with shopkeepers sleeping in their shops as a justification to loot spaza shops owned by foreign nationals.

Another important finding is that foreign nationals, particularly Muslims, feel welcomed and comfortable living in these areas (Mayfair, Korsten and Bellville South) because of their religious links and the availability of infrastructural support, such as the presence of mosques. Islam stipulates how Muslims should do business, which lays a foundation for common understanding between the foreign nationals and local Muslims in these areas. Moreover, Muslims pray in Arabic, so a common language is shared regardless of their country of origin.

Yet, the apparent cohesiveness of community members in these areas is often questionable. At face value, one might assume that foreign nationals live in these areas because they connect well with locals. Instead, the evidence shows that some foreign nationals pay protection fees in order to feel safe in these areas. For example, foreign nationals in Korsten were assumed to have developed good relations with the Coloured community, but the real reason they felt comfortable was because they paid local gangsters for protection. The community is diverse (not only Muslims) and, as a result, foreign nationals felt they needed protection against those who are not Muslim.

## **2.2.6. Foreign nationals, income generation and competition**

South Africa has experienced significant and steady urbanisation over the last two decades. Pronounced poverty and unemployment in rural areas of the country has led many South Africans to migrate to the metropolitan cities of Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal, the Eastern Cape and the Western Cape. Similarly, migrants from other countries outside of South Africa also prefer to live in these cities to search for better opportunities. Like other research conducted in these areas, the current research has shown that xenophobia tends to happen in areas that have experienced considerable internal migration of South Africans. These are areas where, to some extent, foreign nationals compete for jobs with South Africans.



It must be noted here that those who are competing for jobs are not necessarily operating or employed in the spaza shop sector.

In Imizamo Yethu, Mbekweni, Lwandle and Zwelihle there have been issues with the employment of foreign nationals, especially in the hospitality, fishing and farming industries. Employers have been accused of hiring the cheapest labour and those most desperate, usually foreign nationals. This leads to tensions between foreign nationals and South Africans. Farmers in the surrounding areas of Mbekweni have been accused of ejecting South African labourers and their families from their farms in favour of hiring foreign nationals.

## 2.2.7. Informal regulations

One noticeable trend in the areas of Masiphumelele, Lwandle, Zwelihle, Walmer, Wells Estate, Imizamo Yethu, and Katlehong is the formulation and implementation of informal regulations in order to regulate spaza shops. The following are some examples of the informal regulations agreed upon by foreign nationals operating spaza shops, and to some extent these agreements involve community structures and local authorities:

- There must be no more opening of new shops by foreign nationals in these townships. However, if South Africans wish to open shops, they are not restricted by these agreements.
- Unless the shops are selling different items, each shop must be at least 100 meters away from each other.
- When new opportunities arise, such as the development of a new settlement in the area, preference is given to a local (South African) or it can be given to a foreign national who has fewer shops.
- If anyone opens a new spaza shop outside the agreements, it can be forcefully shut down.
- If there is an opportunity to open a new shop, community members who live in that street need to agree to it.
- Operating hours/prices must be agreed upon and monitored by relevant business forum members.

In these townships, key stakeholders or stakeholder groups are empowered to enforce these informal regulations through various mechanisms depending on the dynamics of the township.

The presence and active participation of both foreign nationals and community stakeholders in ensuring compliance to the informal regulations have both positive and negative implications. On the positive side, in areas where there is presence of informal regulations agreed upon by community stakeholders, foreign nationals gain acceptance and are protected by community leadership structures. The successful implementation of the agreements provides an identifiable channel for conflict resolution for each party and simultaneously promotes social cohesion. In this environment, foreign nationals fight less and collaborate with local community members making them feel more welcome in these areas. The establishment of business forums for each group (locals and foreign nationals) to oversee adherence to the regulations provides a platform for engagement in a peaceful manner. In addition, community leaders who are party to the agreements take responsibility and protect foreign nationals in the event of eminent attacks.



While the introduction of informal regulations has brought somewhat of a perceived ‘peace’, it has also led to violent threats between community members and among competing foreign national traders. This is partly because informal regulations are generally not accepted as legitimate and codified by foreign nationals who want to open new shops. Thus, although some community members are part and parcel of these agreements, they are not widely accepted as legitimate and are therefore not ‘rules in operation’. Consequently, informal regulations have resulted in the use of extra-legal mechanisms of conflict resolution, tension and criminal activities instigated by foreign nationals, as well as corruption.

## 2.2.8. Somali migration

Compared to the findings of previous research conducted by the Safety and Violence Initiative in collaboration with the African Centre for Migration & Society (ACMS), this research has revealed that Somalis are gradually leaving the townships while Ethiopians are taking over the informal business sector. For example, in 2016/2017, researchers went to Joza township in Grahamstown and found that there were some Somali shops in operation. The current research found that most of the Somalis had left the township and sold their shops to Ethiopians. In addition, when Somalis leave the townships, most relocate closer to the city centres in areas that are referred as ‘Little Mogadishu’ or ‘Somali Town’ such as Mayfair, Korsten, and Bellville. Some move to places that have infrastructural support for their businesses or religion (such as mosques). It appears that the entry of Ethiopians into the spaza business sector has increased competition and has caused friction between the various groups operating in the sector. Friction between Somalis and Ethiopians seems to have been exacerbated by Ethiopians having been more adept at integrating into South African communities than Somalis. This was particularly noticeable in terms of the greater number of marriages and friendships between Ethiopians and South Africans (compared to Somali-South African marriages and inter-relations).



# 3. Dialogues

ALPS Resilience opted to use community dialogues as an intervention strategy. Such dialogues resonate at various levels of society and present an opportunity to promote mutual learning in identifying and addressing social tensions and points of conflict, which in turn can strengthen leadership capacities at individual, group, community, and broader societal levels. Further, community dialogues provide a platform to generate an understanding of and response to xenophobia that integrates individual and collective concerns, values and beliefs and that addresses attitudes, behaviors and practices embedded in social systems and structures, which can yield the following expected results:

- Improved understanding of the drivers of xenophobic violence and the factors that promote resilience in mitigating community conflicts;
- Increased intercultural understanding and interaction between non-nationals and host communities;
- Increased joint action between South Africans, Somalis and other non- nationals in local communities.

Community dialogues or conversations are based on the recognition that communities have the capacity to bring about the social change they desire, and are particularly powerful in contexts where a historical pattern of exclusion underlies the societal problems to be addressed. In the context of the P2P project, community dialogues give a voice to those who usually have no say in key decision-making processes. Through using an interactive, inclusive approach to understanding issues and generating new thinking and potential solutions, community dialogues encourage confidence in participants' own knowledge. In this way the community dialogues provide safe spaces where people can share their experiences and perspectives of a problem situation and reflect on how their individual values and behaviours affect their relations with others. The process of sharing opens up opportunities for rebuilding trust, reshaping relationships and charting out new ways of dealing with common problems. Importantly, participants set their own targets for what is to be achieved, take ownership for the change they want to see, and in so doing provide a more enduring plan for building healthy social relations.

In order to assist P2P facilitators in their community entry and stakeholder engagement activities, and in the facilitation of local and provincial dialogues, ALPS Resilience designed two guides:



### People to People (P2P): Fostering Social Cohesion in South Africa through Dialogues

Facilitator Training Guide for Community Entry and Approaching Community Dialogues

March 2019

### People to People (P2P): Fostering Social Cohesion in South Africa through Dialogues

Facilitator Training Guide – Implementing Community Dialogues

June 2019



*The P2P facilitator guides*

Both training guides were designed to provide basic competencies and tools for: understanding and transforming the beliefs, values and attitudes of South Africans and foreign nationals; using community dialogues as a means for exchanging information and perspectives; deepening intercultural appreciation and interaction; joint problem-solving; and working collaboratively on action plans on issues of common interest to the communities in which they live. They are both an informative guide and not intended to be prescriptive: flexibility must be exercised to take account of situational contexts and dynamics in different communities and across provinces. Both guides provide hands on activities for facilitators to pick from, use and adapt in their community mapping/entry, stakeholder engagement, and the local and provincial dialogues themselves.

## 3.1. Community Entry

The first guide – the *Facilitator Training Guide for Community Entry and Approaching Community Dialogues* – was covered in initial facilitator orientation and training in April/May, and focuses on community entry. It explores five key topics, including:

- Defining dialogue, including exploring the concept of dialogue; understanding the differences between dialogues and debate; and how dialogues are a process rather than a discreet activity.

- Unpacking conflict, including types and conflict stages; and distinguishing between positions, interests and needs (and how a dialogue process can facilitate a moving beyond individual positions, interests and needs).
- Section three covers community entry processes and how to assess the possibilities for dialogue in each community. To assist with this assessment, it gives guides on conflict analysis tools, and how to conduct a stakeholder analysis.
- How to prepare for dialogues themselves: pre-dialogue preparations, including assembling a dialogue team; defining objectives; selection of participants; and the selection of location and venue.
- Tips and techniques for active listening – a key skills for dialogue facilitators and participants.

### Guiding Principals

The following ways of working are fundamental to dialogue:

- Sensitivity to community, local-level experiences;
- Facilitation rather than intervention of ‘experts’;
- Gender sensitivity and a focus on the participation of women;
- Mutual learning (facilitators with community, within and among communities);
- Rights-based participatory approaches;
- Respect for diversity and mutual trust;
- Belief that communities have the capacity to identify needed changes, ‘own’ these changes and transfer change to other communities;
- Willingness of facilitators to engage in a process of self-development

*Dialogue guiding principles, as covered in the first P2P dialogue training guide.*



### Activity 1: Conflict Web.

**Purpose:** The purpose of this activity is to enable participants to examine the attitudes and feelings they associate with conflict. This is a good exercise to start the workshop as it provides facilitators with a baseline, albeit a rough one, of participants' level of understanding of the concept of conflict.

**Resources for the Activity:** Flip chart, paper and markers

**Time Allocated for the Activity:** 20 minutes

#### Explanation of the Activity:

- Draw a circle in the middle of the flip chart and write the word “conflict” in the centre. Ask participants to quickly call out words or phrases that they associate with the word conflict. These may be descriptions of situations, parties to conflict, feelings, types of conflict, sources of conflict, or effects of conflict. Accept all responses without discussion or judgment and add them to the chart, drawing a line radiating out from the word “conflict” and writing the participants' words at the end of each line.
- As participants suggest more responses, try to cluster responses (for example, connecting feelings about conflict or connecting all words associated with types of conflict). Some responses may trigger related associations that become branches of the web.
- Continue asking for responses for approximately 10 minutes, or until the group stops offering responses.

**Discussion:** When the web is complete, ask the group to look at the drawing and describe what they think it shows. Often the majority of the responses are negative or violent. If this is the case, point this out to the group. Point out if you see many of the responses addressing feelings, or types of conflict. Questions to ask could include:

- Does anyone have any positive associations with the word conflict?
- Why is it that our reactions to conflict are so negative?

*A conflict web activity P2P facilitators may use, as per the first training guide*



#### Activity 4: Transect Walk

A transect walk is an assessment tool that involves facilitators walking through a township or informal settlement with dialogue participants/ community members to learn more about the community through direct observation and informal interviews and discussions.

**Purpose:** The ‘transect walk’ is a tool that allows community members to explore and rediscover familiar surroundings. This activity allows people to focus attention on community realities that are usually overlooked or taken for granted, leading them on a process of self-reflection and collective exploration. Participants are requested to look out for community resources, strengths, weaknesses, and for a possible ‘entry point’ for action to deal with community tensions and violence.

**Time Allocated for the Activity:** 30 to 45 minutes

**Explanation of the Activity:** Ensure that a specific community area is determined beforehand for the walk. Organize participants into groups of six to eight and have them walk through the community in various patterns. (The size of the group may change based on the size of the area being covered.) Inform participants that the walk should be done by looking at and observing the community environment.

Participants should look for:

- Three to five key features or characteristics used to describe their community.
- Community strengths and resources that contribute to positive relations within the community (‘green grass’).
- Places or situations that contribute to social tensions or violence in the community (‘dry grass’).
- Individuals or groups most likely to perpetrate violence.
- Individuals or groups in the community most likely to suffer as a result of violence.

Once re-convened in the meeting venue, ask each group to briefly discuss its observations during the walk-about. Bring the groups together and ask a representative from each to share the group’s observations and discussions.

*The Transect Walk activity, which some P2P facilitators adapted and used as part of their community mapping and entry*

## 3.2. Dialogues design

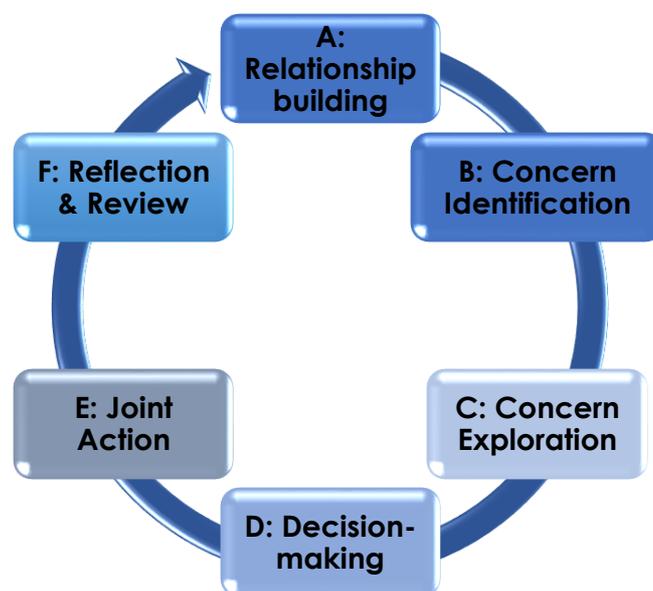
The second guide – the *Facilitator Training Guide – Implementing Community Dialogues* – was sent to facilitators as most started their dialogue implementation phase. With those who had conducted dialogues sooner, the overall design and implementation strategy of the P2P project was discussed and shared.

The training guide covers the methodological approach of the dialogues and outlines a design for the implementation of the dialogue series in sites and provinces. The guide covers:



- Building social cohesion and healthy relationships through dialogue, including why community dialogues were chosen.
- The Community Capacity Enhancement (CCE) methodology – a community-based dialogic approach, based on human rights principles of equity, equality, non-discrimination, human dignity, non-violence, participation, inclusion, accountability and responsibility. It draws on a participatory approach of co-learning among participants from different social, cultural, ethnic or religious backgrounds, where, through a process of listening, enquiry and reflection participants must critically examine their own values, attitudes and beliefs. This process of discovery and co-learning allows participants to identify and break through the barriers that had blocked communication, thus enabling them to find new and constructive ways of relating to each other.
- Process facilitation as a method and approach in community facilitation, with facilitators acting as change agents. Process facilitation recognizes that change and transformation are often complex processes and require a supportive facilitation process that makes the change smoother and more robust. Such a role can be played by a facilitator: to guide the change process, using a set of skills and tools, to help communities deal with their critical social challenges. The emphasis on facilitation rather than the intervention of ‘experts’, recognizes that facilitators are neither bystanders nor outsiders with a recipe for change, but rather subjective, active participants in the process of social change.

As represented in the chart below, the core stages for enhancing community capacity:



*The CCE methodological framework was used to guide the design and implementation of the P2P dialogue process*

The below listed are the main stages in the methodological framework. It is noted, however, that these stages do not necessarily progress in a linear manner. In some instances, it may be necessary to re-visit a particular stage, for example, to build new or consolidate existing relations or to identify and explore concerns or problem issues that the community may encounter.

- **Relationship-Building:** This is usually the first point of entry in a community and the way to begin engaging in a change process. In order to gain the confidence of the community, the



facilitator starts by acknowledging and respecting the community's experiences, norms, values and perspectives. Relationship-building requires time and may have to be re-visited at several points during the community change process. However, consistent emphasis on that which is common across individuals and communities, and the skilful use of participatory tools (elaborated below) will assist in setting the tone for constructive and trusting relationships.

- **Identification of Community Concerns:** Community concerns are general issues that disturb the community. Community concerns- as distinct from needs – typically arise as a result of a disjuncture between prevailing conditions and community norms, values and attitudes. Clearly identifying and mapping concerns is therefore an essential part of the facilitated community change process and is key to eliciting authentic community responses. This can be achieved by building trust and relationship within the dialogue space as it encourages people to share their real concerns and not what they think the facilitator wants to hear. Examples of community concerns may include the perceived competition for scarce resources between South African and refugee communities or the perceived dominance of foreign-owned spaza shops in local townships. The identification of such concerns is not immediately followed by prioritization of concerns as in some other methodologies. In community dialogues, concerns are verified and validated through a process of exploration before prioritization in the decision-making phase.

**Exploration of Concerns:** During this step the facilitator helps the community to explore their concerns by examining the magnitude of the concern, and the underlying factors that feed into or sustain the concern. For example, the concern about business competition among spaza shop owners may be related to high levels of unemployment, a lack of access to business skills training, or the lack of economic development in the community. By examining the linkages, community members begin to understand that their concerns are related to a host of underlying factors that, in turn, may affect many others. In so doing, it helps in reaching agreement on concerns, the underlying causes, and possibilities for new partnerships.

- **Decision-Making and Commitment to Action:** Communities have the capacity to make their own decisions based on identified concerns and the findings of their exploration. Enabling them to do so, strengthens community ownership and the sustainability of planned actions. A simple plan of how the action points will unfold can be drawn by clearly listing who is going to take action on what issue, where the action will take place and by when. Resources, including social capital, are also listed against specific action points.
- **Action (Implementation):** The timely implementation of actions prioritized by the community may require support and collaboration from other stake-holders, for example, local councillors. The facilitator acts as a link to other systems, keeping the community informed of available resources that may be helpful. This may include making joint action plans available to service providers and ensuring that they 'buy into' the process.
- **Reflection and Review:** Reflection and review is a participatory process in which communities identify what has been achieved, what and how they can improve, and how change can be sustained. The process should capture feelings, attitudes and values at the individual as well as the collective levels, and serve as an important milestone in enhancing community capacity.

Given the CCE approach and components, the intentions around each dialogue were as follows:



- Dialogue One: To start unpacking the bigger issues: what is xenophobia and what are the causes of xenophobia?
- Dialogue Two: To identify and reflect on the main issues that were presented in Dialogue One in order to focus on and explore solutions.
- Dialogue Three: To move participants towards joint decision-making and problem solving in order to find solutions for the issues identified and discussed in the previous two dialogues.
- Dialogue Four: To focus on participants' joint action planning.

The facilitator guide covers the key tools for enhancing community capacity, including the dialogues they would best suit:

Tools	Stages in CCE Methodological Framework					
	A: RB	B: CI	C: CE	D: DM	E: A	F: R&R
Historical Timeline	✓	✓	✓			
Transect Walk	✓	✓				
Community Mapping	✓	✓	✓			
Root Cause Analysis		✓	✓			
Dream Tree				✓	✓	
Five Friends of Planning				✓	✓	✓
Social Capital Analysis				✓	✓	
Strategic Questioning	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

As with the first facilitator guide, potential activities were then written up, with multiple options and adaptations the facilitator/s could make.



### Activity 8: Unpacking Xenophobia and its causes (Option 2)

Time: 1 hour

Now that participants have shared their perspectives, and all this has been captured on a big flipchart paper:

- Divide the participants into smaller groups (the facilitator will decide how many members per group, depending on the size of the group).
- Give each group one or two of the causes of xenophobia that are written on the flipchart paper.
- The guiding questions for the smaller group discussions are as follows:
  1. What are your opinions about the causes of xenophobia as presented here?
  2. What are the facts about the causes of xenophobia as presented here?
- Participants must capture all their discussions on a flipchart paper and present to the whole group.
- Validate each group that presents with a special clapping of hands.

*A popular activity selected by facilitators for dialogue one*



# 4. Summary by Province & Site

This section of the report offers province and site-specific information. Where relevant, it covers: (i) province-wide information; (ii) main research findings; and (iii) community dialogue implementation, including community entry, local dialogues and action plans.

## 4.1 Eastern Cape

In the Eastern Cape, ALPS Resilience was able to second staff with a great deal of knowledge and networks from the Eastern Cape Refugee Centre (ECRC) to be ALPS Resilience's P2P facilitators. P2P facilitators, Ms Sweetness Pullen and Mr Said Mohamed, have built up an extensive network of relationships with provincial government departments, local government institutions, non-government organisations, local business forums, and local and refugee communities in several sites, including in the project sites, Korsten, Walmer and Wells Estate. Utilising these pre-existing networks, and responding to a call from the project researchers, intervention was able to begin earlier in the Eastern Cape: from March 2019.

While the dialogue series proceeded rapidly – from April to June 2019 – protests broke out in the greater Port Elizabeth area in August and September that was to have a serious impact on the P2P project. This prevented the implementation of the intended action plans in Walmer and Wells: small business skills training in the former and a local vegetable market in the latter. The extended protests, which meant safety in sites was compromised, with foreign nationals feeling especially vulnerable, led to a change in the action plan for both Walmer and Wells. While project participants hope to continue with their original action plans when the situations are calmer in each site, a new action plan emerged in both sites: social cohesion through soccer.

In October, the local action plans – participation in a soccer tournament – was held with participants from both Walmer and Wells. *For more, please see the action plan reports for Walmer and Wells.*





*Participants of the Walmer soccer tournament including South Africans and non-nationals, with P2P facilitator, 19 October 2019*

In Q5, and as a way of wrapping up P2P in the Eastern Cape, a provincial dialogue took place. On 13<sup>th</sup> November, 28 participants, representing Walmer, Wells and municipal and government officials, took part in the Eastern Cape provincial dialogue. The dialogue focused on planning ahead for both sites. For Wells, participants and officials continued their support of the community vegetable plot, which will likely begin in 2020. *For more on the provincial dialogue, please see the Eastern Cape provincial dialogue report.*

### **4.1.1. Korsten (Eastern Cape)**

While a research site, it was discovered the issues that prevented social cohesion in Korsten were less about discrimination based on nationality/ethnicity, and more about religious divides. Along with the facilitators, it was decided not to enter Korsten as a dialogue site. However, given that it is a hub for shop owners, stakeholder meetings have taken place in Korsten, targeting shop owners who have shops in Walmer and Wells.

#### **Research Findings**

During a study on social cohesion in 2016, researchers visited Korsten and noted what seemed, at face value, to be a relative haven for foreign nationals, despite being surrounded by several communities where xenophobia was prevalent. Based on this observation and discussions with ALPS Resilience and the Eastern Cape Refugee Centre (ECRC), it was determined that Korsten would be an appropriate research site. Researchers also found relatively positive integration between foreign nationals and South Africans. However, the reasons behind the perceptions of safety were unexpected. While a shared religious faith and supporting infrastructure is a major reason for foreign nationals feeling integrated in the area, researchers also found that some foreign shop owners were paying protection money to local gangsters in Korsten so that their businesses would not be robbed.

There were also increasing tensions between the non-Muslim Coloured population and the Muslim population in general, which includes Somali nationals. The area had previously seen intense business competition between Ethiopians and Somalis, as well as clan conflict within the Somali community. However, in 2018, as a way to resolve the business-related and intergroup conflicts, a new structure was established by foreign nationals in the area. This structure was created in order for its leadership (mostly elderly) to be more inclusive, and representative of different clans and ethnicities among the Somalis and Ethiopians residents. Since then, crime and conflict has reportedly decreased, despite recent reports of Somali in-fighting. Although interventions have already taken place through the ECRC, an intervention targeted at improving Muslim-Christian relations in the area might go a long way to prevent future conflicts.

It seems that the peacebuilding work undertaken by the ECRC in the area has had a positive impact. Prior to their intervention, there was in-fighting between foreign national shop owners, but such incidents seemed to have lessened. However, there is a need for dialogue to address xenophobic attitudes held by the South African community leadership. Community leaders and members feel suffocated by the presence of foreign nationals and blame them for disregarding zoning laws. Although local community leadership structures make xenophobic utterances, it rarely translates into conflict between foreign nationals and South Africans.

## 4.1.2. Walmer (Eastern Cape)

During the initial research and community entry phase, researchers flagged Walmer Township as a site that required accelerated action to address ongoing conflicts and prevent further escalation. It is an area that has a history of xenophobic violence, and in early 2019 tension had flared up again between non-national spaza shop owners and a local youth business forum over limitations placed on non-national shop-owners. In response to the escalating situation, the ALPS Resilience, Programme Manager visited the area in February 2019, to gain a better understanding of the conflict and identify possible responses. She met with the Eastern Cape Refugee Centre (ECRC), the Walmer peacebuilding team, and various shop-owners. These discussions informed the design and accelerated implementation of the P2P project in Walmer, allowing for a tailored a community dialogue programme and action plan to advance social cohesion in the area.

### Research Findings

Walmer Township is an area that has previously experienced xenophobic violence. As early as 2001, Somalis who operated spaza shops in the area were threatened and attacked by rival local business people. Local business people were also able to mobilize other community stakeholders in an attempt to force foreign nationals to leave the area. The tensions relating to foreign nationals within the spaza shop business arena are still present within this community. Currently, the community is experiencing tensions regarding the regulation of foreign-owned shops. While foreign nationals have made significant progress in terms of integration in this area and with the community at large, business structures representing some South African residents in Walmer have laid several grievances against foreign shop owners. The most controversial of these structures is a youth business forum called Vuka, which is attempting to place



limitations on foreign-owned shops. Vuka is closely allied to the ward councillor and together they are advocating for locals to be hired in shops and for increased health inspections to be conducted in shops. Other demands from Vuka are that foreign owned spaza shops must pay R1500 per month to Vuka, and source products made in Walmer (such as bread). In response, foreign nationals have united under one representative business forum that incorporates all nationalities, tribes and ethnicities. They have also closed their shops in solidarity and to protest against these measures. During the fieldwork, the local councillor and relevant stakeholders initiated a dialogue to improve the situation, but tensions remained high.

Walmer Township appears to be cohesive in terms of general relations between residents on the street. There does not appear to be much interpersonal conflict and relations between customers and shop owners are good. However, residents will not offer the same help when crime occurs, on occasion intervening directly when a local is affected and only offering sympathy when a foreign national is affected. This might indicate that foreign nationals are treated well merely due to the commercial services they provide, but they are not necessarily accepted as part of the community.

The community does have structures that provide platforms for nonviolent methods of resolving conflicts, such as the CPF, Area Committees and even external help from ECRC. Nevertheless, violence has still occurred in this area and, in most cases, foreign nationals are targeted. There are also reports that community groups such as Vuka have resorted to criminal activities and the use of violence against foreign nationals in order to pursue their specific business interests. On the other hand, tensions between shop owners of different nationalities are not as high as in other areas because regulatory measures have been put in place to prevent such conflicts. Nonetheless, foreign nationals do not seem to have feelings of belonging in the community. They appear to want to belong; however, the local leadership has been making it difficult for them to integrate.

### **Community entry, dialogues, and local action plans**

On 13<sup>th</sup> March, P2P facilitators organized a stakeholder meeting to introduce and obtain buy-in for the P2P project. P2P facilitators identified six (6) people and forums whose attitudes and actions could impact the success of the P2P initiative, and whose involvement would ensure the positive flow of information relevant to the needs of the community. Key stakeholders invited to the meeting included the local councillor, ward committee, ward councillors, the Department of Social Development (DSD), the local municipality, local youth business forum, foreign business forum, and peacebuilders. The meeting expressed concern about the mushrooming of non-national owned shops in the area, and the high prevalence of drugs and substance abuse by youth, who are perceived to be the main perpetrators of violence against non-nationals. Stakeholders welcomed the P2P initiative and committed to work together to address the problems in Walmer.

In April and May, P2P facilitators organised a series of four community dialogues, the first of which was held on 9<sup>th</sup> April in the Walmer Community Hall. In attendance were thirty-three (33) participants, representing ward committees, ward councillors, the Department of Social Development, the local municipality, local youth business forum, foreign business forum, non-national shop owners, local shop owners, local community members, youth groups, and peacebuilders. The purpose of the community dialogue was to identify the key issues impacting relations between non-nationals and locals in Walmer. Participants reported that there are 117 non-national owned shops in Walmer, which, according to



participants, was an indication of non-nationals' dominance and their ability to leverage competitive advantage over local shop owners, through a range of business models and strategies. Local business owners felt that this creates an imbalance, whereby non-national business owners are enriching themselves at the expense of local businesses. It was also alleged that non-national business owners were not contributing to the growth of the country's economy, as they traded in counterfeit goods and therefore did not pay taxes. At the same time, participants condemned the harassment of non-national business owners by a youth group, called Vuka, who are demanding that they employ local youth and are extorting 'protection money' from them. Participants also felt that the high rate of substance abuse among the youth exacerbates existing social tensions in the community as the youth engage in criminal activities in order to feed their addictions.

On 26<sup>th</sup> April, the second community dialogue was held in the Walmer Community Hall. In attendance were thirty (30) participants, representing ward committee, ward councillors, the Department of Social Development (DSD), the local municipality, local youth business forum, foreign business forum, non-national shop owners, local shop owners, local community members, youth groups, and peacebuilders. The purpose of this dialogue was to reflect on the issues of concern highlighted in the first dialogue, and to identify those that could be solved and the strategies to be applied to resolve these issues. After much discussion, participants identified the two main problem issues to be social conflicts linked to competition for business opportunities, and youth in conflict with the law due to gang-related activities and drug abuse. In order to address the matter of competition for business opportunities, participants agreed to build collaboration between locals and non-nationals by creating spaces for cooperation, information-sharing, and skills transfers between local and non-national business owners. It was further proposed that local artisans must form partnerships with non-national artisans and approach large scale business enterprises to market their products, and that an approach is made to the Department of Trade and Industry to assist both local and non-national businesses with grants and business programmes aimed at small and medium enterprises. Secondly, they noted that families of drug and substance abusers are severely impacted but there are very few avenues available to them to receive counselling and other forms of support to help them deal with the effects of abuse and violence on their households. To address this, it was agreed to approach the Department of Social Development, who has an existing programme for substance abusers, to provide group therapy for families affected by substance abuse and violence. The dialogue concluded with participants agreeing to meet again in May to map out the specific strategies to deal with these issues.

The third dialogue was held on 9<sup>th</sup> May in the Councillor's office in Port Elizabeth. In attendance were twenty (20) participants, representing ward committees, ward councillors, DSD, the local municipality, local youth business forum, foreign business forum, non-national shop owners, local shop owners, local community members, religious leaders, youth groups, SAPS, CPF, peacebuilders, and the National Youth Development Agency (NYDA). The purpose was to further discuss the issues raised in the previous dialogue and to agree on a joint action plan. Participants shared the view that when parties in conflict participate in economic development activities, tensions will subside, and that in order to promote collaboration between locals and non-nationals, the joint action plan should contain the following elements:

- Business education: offering business education on business best practices and financial management to local business owners.



- Improved access to information: expanding access to the internet and other sources of information in townships will help locals learn about opportunities, markets and various resources available to them.
- Engagement between non-nationals and local nationals: Non-nationals and locals must put their differences aside in order to promote information and skills sharing on sound business strategies and practices, which in turn will also facilitate the integration of non-nationals into local communities.



*A supplementary stakeholder meeting with the non-national business forum in Walmer, 8 May 2019*

Following dialogues on the 9<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> April 2019 and one other supplementary stakeholder meetings in May, on the 26<sup>th</sup> June, the fourth dialogue was held in the Walmer Community Hall, and was attended by participant from the local business forum, non-national business forum, ward committees, community-based organisations, religious leaders, youth groups, SAPS, CPF, DSD, peacebuilders, and the NYDA. The purpose of the dialogue was to create a platform for participants to start working on their joint action plan. The participants were divided into two groups to discuss and draft an action for the business training, and to identify the target group to benefit from such training. On presentation of their draft joint action plans, the NYDA representative provided feedback and advised that ECRC formally approaches both the NYDA and the Mandela Bay Development Agency (MBDA) for assistance in business training. The dialogue was concluded with the agreement that follow-up dialogues will be held to further develop the group's joint action plan.

Activities in Walmer in July initially focused on the development of the joint action plan – small business skills training for South Africans and foreign nationals – including stakeholder engagement with foreign national groups (with meetings conducted in Korsten, where business owners tend to live).

Protests in the greater PE area have affected Walmer. As such, in August project engagement in Walmer was cancelled due to unrest in the area. The leadership of Walmer was not available to engage and see where ALPS Resilience can assist with the current situation. The P2P facilitators have been closely monitoring the situation.



Unfortunately over the August/September, protests and tensions have led to an increase in crime, particularly crime targeting foreign nationals. Statistics shows that there has been a significant increase of business robberies, house break-ins and other violent crime in Walmer. It also shows that these robberies are targeting non-nationals and vulnerable groups in the community. Police say the increase of business robberies was significant after a group of young men were released on parole. These acts of violence and robberies have caused business owners to be despondent. Tensions flared back up again to where we began the project (with accelerated entry in March). Foreign national shop owners are questioning how they can collaborate on programs with people that violate their basic human rights. Police said they have requested parole reports from correctional services officials to investigate their suspicions. P2P facilitators are working very closely with stakeholders of Walmer to monitor the situation and continue to encourage non-nationals trading or residing in Walmer not to give up on these interventions.

As such, the implementation of the adjusted action plan – social cohesion through soccer – in October provided a welcome platform for bringing together South Africans and non-nationals in a positive and convivial space.

### 4.1.3. Wells Estate (Eastern Cape)

#### Research Findings

Wells Estate is a relatively small community on the outskirts of the Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality that has a significant population of foreign nationals (mainly Somalis and Ethiopians), especially in the spaza shop sector. It has a history of xenophobic violence (i.e. in 2001, 2007, 2011 and 2013), in which xenophobic attacks often involved the looting of and damage to foreign-owned – predominantly Somali - shops. Nonetheless, the findings of this research show that conflict resolution mechanisms have been established by community leaders with foreign nationals, as well as the ECRC, with an aim of preventing conflicts and violence in relation to spaza shops. Such mechanisms have been the outcome of extensive dialogue between foreign nationals, local authorities, community leaders and community groups. Furthermore, the efforts of the Eastern Cape Refugee Centre have reportedly had positive effects on reducing xenophobic sentiments through proactive dialogues and the implementation of measures that educate South African communities about foreign nationals.

However, policing in the area appears to have been substandard. The police station is situated quite a distance away and not easily accessible to residents of Wells Estate. Community members have claimed desperation as the reason for their acts of vigilantism because their community is plagued by crime, which is often violent. Community leaders have established structures to deal with crime, and apparently do not condone vigilantism, but they seem to empathise with the community members who they feel cannot rely on the government and police to deal with criminality. Consequently, vigilantism is a common occurrence.

Furthermore, the expansion of the area may lead to future xenophobic-related conflicts, especially in terms of competition over the establishment of new spaza shops. Wells Estate community groups have established conflict management processes and implement informal regulations in an attempt to prevent



and proactively deal with conflicts, particularly in the spaza shop sector. Such processes have appeared to be effective to date, but from an economic point of view, such an approach is anti-competitive as it has ultimately sought to prevent new entrepreneurs from establishing shops in the area. With the growth of the new informal settlement called eNdlovini on the outskirts of Wells Estate, such conflict resolution mechanisms may be insufficient. Consequently, this may ultimately contribute to conflict and violence in future if individuals or groups that are not party to the spaza shop regulations attempt to establish shops. While researchers were conducting fieldwork, it became apparent that there were already allegations of bribery in relation to the establishment of some new shops in eNdlovini.

### Community entry, dialogues, and local action plans

On 18<sup>th</sup> March, P2P facilitators organised a stakeholder meeting to obtain buy-in and support for the P2P project. In attendance were seventeen (17) participants including the local councillor, and representatives of the local municipality, ward committees, local business forum, National Youth Development Agency (NYDA), community members, and peacebuilders. The meeting sought to create a platform to facilitate collaboration between local and non-national business owners.

Over the third quarter (April-June), four (4) dialogues took place in Wells Estate. After long deliberations, it was agreed that non-national shop owners should support local vegetables growers and buy their products by way of giving back to local communities. The vegetable programme in this community is unique to other vegetable projects as it is based on the collaboration of stakeholders – non-citizens and citizens together. The programme is such that local small-scale farmers will supply the non-citizens owned shops with produce. The logic of this programme is that if citizens feel that they are active participants in the local economy (especially the spaza shop economy), then chances that they may disrupt the spaza shops are reduced as they have a direct stake in the value-chain. The idea for this vegetable programme was suggested by a non-citizen stakeholder in dialogues that took place in April 2019. This community action plan is one of the innovative ways which the People to People Dialogue Series can inspire in the different sites. Furthermore, the local business forum strongly endorses the vegetable programme as it means that more people will participate in the local economy of Wells Estate. This programme also means that there is an opportunity for an exchange of business strategies and ideas among entrepreneurs in the community.

Below are distinct observations that stakeholders made during the dialogues that took place in Wells Estate:

<b>South African owned spaza shops</b>	<b>Non-national owned spaza shops</b>
Do not support one another	Support one another
Do not collaborate to purchase in bulk	Collaborate to buy stock in bulk
Work limited hours	Work longer hours (05H30-10H00)



Prices are expensive	Prices are lower because of the discounts received from buying in bulk
Do not prepack items	Prepack items to accommodate those who are less fortunate e.g. (they prepack a R1 sugar)
Overheads are expensive	Limited overheads
Over burden business with expensive overheads	Do not have expensive lifestyle

The observations made by stakeholders above are well-known by the general public, the distinction that we should note here is the fact that, because of the People to People Dialogue Series, stakeholders were able to transcend these differences and hatch an action plan that tackles them directly through innovating a new business approach for township spaza shops through the vegetable programme.



*Wells Estate Stakeholder Dialogue, June 2019*

As mentioned above, protests have broke out in Motherwell area, where Wells is situated, in August/September. Ward 53 councilor’s office was petrol-bombed, and several vehicles stoned and set alight. Among the torched vehicles is shop owners’ bakkies. The angry mob closed a section of the R334 Motherwell to Addo Road, in protest over housing and electricity outages in the area and illegal connections taking place. Non-national shops near the main road in Wells Estate were looted and properties damaged. Buses and police vehicles were stoned, and delivery trucks were torched during the ongoing service delivery protest in Motherwell. These protests are part of ongoing service delivery dispute with the Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality.



The cry of Wells Estate community is that councilor and municipal official are never available to listen to their concerns. And the officials inclusive of councilor said it is very difficult to engage community when there are angry. The P2P-related committee, with the assistance of other stakeholders, created a safe space for both parties to listen from one another, and held a meeting. The meeting was structured in a community-based dialogic approach and meaningful participation within cultural context. This method of communication involves the whole community by means of dialogue which allows the discovery of the causes and origins of this conflict.

While stakeholder meetings continued in September – with the ward committee, the business forum, and the councilor – community tensions remained high, including the councilor’s office being closed. As a result of the violent protest and their effects, the launch for vegetable market was postponed for security reasons.



*Photos from the protest in Wells Estate, provided by P2P facilitators*

Nonetheless, the implementation of the adjusted action plan in October – social cohesion through soccer – and the provincial dialogue shed new light on the P2P project in Wells. During the provincial dialogue, participants that were present included governmental and other decision-makers who put their support behind the community vegetable garden, which is set to launch in 2020.

## 4.2 Gauteng

As outlined in the challenges section (below), Gauteng experienced a wave of raids and xenophobic violence in August and September 2019. This directly affected project sites, and activities had to be temporarily suspended. After xenophobic attacks, at the end of September, “defrosting” stakeholder meetings with P2P participants. Through these meetings, P2P facilitators and participants were able to acknowledge and discuss the violence that had happened in their community, and situate their roles in the P2P project accordingly. In both Mayfair-Fiestas and Katlehong, this led to renewed energy and enthusiasm for the P2P process, especially the local action plans.

The provincial dialogue in Gauteng, held on 13<sup>th</sup> November with 23 participants, included presentations from panellists and reflections from participants on how to plan ahead and continue their social cohesion work in communities. *For more, please see the Gauteng provincial dialogue report.*

### 4.2.1. Atteridgeville (Gauteng)

After the research findings and initial scoping by P2P facilitators, it was decided not to enter Atteridgeville. Tensions were high between foreign nationals and South Africans, and there were signs that organised crime was involved in running a protection racket. As such, we were concerned the P2P process could feed into these tensions and dynamics, become dangerous for participants and facilitators, and potentially cause harm.

#### Research Findings

Atteridgeville has experienced several xenophobic attacks in recent years and is considered to be at-risk for future xenophobic attacks. However, the reasons for xenophobia do not appear to be similar to other sites visited for this project where business competition is rife. Instead, there appears to be a political motive behind xenophobic attacks in the area, with community leaders calling meetings for genuine issues such as housing, but then using these meetings to foment anti-foreigner sentiment. Foreign nationals in the area feel as though they have little protection or adequate representation in the community. When a protest takes place, it is extremely likely that these protests will result in the looting of foreign-owned shops. As soon as protests start, most foreign national shop owners tend to relocate to Pretoria West in anticipation of being looted.

The area is diverse in terms of income, providing some opportunities for employment and entrepreneurship, which means that there is less competition for jobs between South Africans and foreign nationals. There are very few active community organisations, and even fewer effective ones. Most leaders appear to only join structures with an aim of gaining experience or recognition for future employment. The CPF appears to be the most functional structure in the area. However, there is only one police station and most formal community structures are based in the centre of the town, with very few in informal areas. Community leaders appear to be generally concerned with their own interests and seek community leadership positions for their own financial or personal gain. The councillors are generally seen as corrupt



and the police as inefficient. As a result of these perceptions, there have been numerous instances of mob justice and looting.

When interviews were eventually agreed to, researchers were often caught off-guard by respondents suddenly ending interviews or only allowing a certain amount of time to talk before dominating the conversation in a way that made it difficult for researchers to ask specific questions. This meant that researchers could not interrogate some of the more nuanced questions, such as whether there is discrimination in terms of access to resources; whether residents think of themselves as part of the community; or whether community members have a general understanding of what it means to be xenophobic or racist.

Conflicts and crime in the community are also generally solved in a violent manner since the community is not well organised and police are not trusted. Researchers heard that “if they catch you, you will die”, as well as “if they catch you, you will lose a hand”. There are processes and structures, such as South African National Civic Organizations (SANCO) representatives and the CPF in the community that seek to resolve conflict peacefully. However, these structures appear to exist in name only and are not functioning well. The CPF is the most trusted structure, but only sees its mandate as being that of police oversight. Furthermore, there are no neighbourhood watch or community safety structures. Thus, in the absence of trusted structures to deal with community issues in such a volatile environment, it is likely that foreign nationals may experience the same attacks in the future when local residents embark on protest actions.

## 4.2.2. Mayfair (Gauteng)

### Research Findings

As in Korsten, researchers in Mayfair anticipated that foreign nationals would be well-integrated and co-existing well with local South African residents in this area. This study found that there is a significant population of foreign nationals, mostly Ethiopians and Somalis, who seem to outnumber South Africans in the area. Residents are divided along national, ethnic or tribal lines. However, in this context, ethnic or tribal identities tend to be stronger than national identities which sometimes leads to conflicts between different tribal/ethnic groups. In addition, the findings show that, while tensions were often centred around business competition, most of the time, conflict takes place on an interpersonal level and escalates into tribal/ethnic conflicts. Elders from each group are considered as important role players in maintaining peace and fostering reconciliation among the community members. Furthermore, interviews with female respondents reveal that there is a perception that Somali/Ethiopian women are discriminated against in local hospitals because of their high number of pregnancies and children, and their religious belief against contraception. Concerns were raised that, despite various objections, pregnant women had been pressured into having caesarean sections (further research should be undertaken on this issue).

There is no one group of community leaders that is concerned with the wellbeing of all residents, as leadership is also divided along ethnic and tribal lines. Each ethnic group seems to have its own leadership



structure that generally does not communicate with other structures and only represents its own interests. Somali leadership is viewed as providing help exclusively to those from their own tribes. Leaders are not completely trusted by residents. Elders are seen as only being able to handle certain issues, while local leadership is barely acknowledged. Additionally, women's issues are often neglected.

There does not appear to be much discrimination with regards to access to schools based on nationality or ethnicity. This is mostly because there are specific Muslim and Somali schools, and many other services that cater to the Muslim population. However, there were cases where some Somali children were not allowed into schools without asylum-seeker documentation. There are also issues related to discrimination and harassment in taxis, clinics, and hospitals outside Mayfair.

The community has a general understanding of xenophobia and racism, but this does not mean that xenophobia and racism are not present in the space. Researchers were told several times, especially by Somali women, that “the blacks are the biggest challenge”.<sup>3</sup> There have also been threats of what some leaders termed reverse-xenophobia, where Somali people joked with the local Indian population that they were going to conduct an ethnic cleansing of Indians in Mayfair.

When it comes to community cohesion, residents tend not to help each other across tribal lines. There are also not many interactions on the streets across the ethnic divide. Researchers witnessed several intergroup altercations among foreign nationals during the fieldwork. However, if an outsider threatens the wellbeing of the residents of Mayfair, foreign nationals in the area often mobilise in response. This often takes the form of mob justice. People seem to feel safe walking around at all hours of the day. However, Somali women still reported feeling unsafe.

The community of Mayfair is often described as lawless, and residents usually resort to violence to solve conflicts. However, there are structures in place to resolve conflict peacefully. The elders might not always be able to resolve conflict through peaceful means, but their decisions are usually respected. Due to the more traditional mechanisms of conflict resolution, the residents of Mayfair do not always report safety issues or crimes to the police. Trust in the police is minimal, as it was alleged that the police often exploit foreign nationals, seek bribes, and perform illegal searches on them. However, the issue with Mayfair residents not reporting to the police seems to be less about issues of trust than about issues of procedure. They have their own methods of solving conflict, and the police are considered unnecessary and unwelcome in Mayfair.

There are still tensions between shop owners of different nationalities. It was reported that Somalis and Ethiopians (predominantly of the Oromo ethnic group) frequently fight amongst themselves due to business competition. However, most of the conflict and violence happens within their own groups. Researchers also heard vehement claims of belonging in Mayfair, where foreign nationals complained about police because they were intruding in ‘their’ space. This sense of belonging has prevented authorities, such as law enforcement officers, from conducting their duties in the area as they are seen as outsiders. In

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<sup>3</sup> Interview with Somali woman, Mayfair, February 2019.



sum, while official mechanisms of conflict resolution are in place, foreign nationals prefer traditional approaches and view officials as outsiders.

### **Community entry, dialogues, and local action plans**

Efforts to identify and reach out to key stakeholders in Mayfair started on 17<sup>th</sup> April. Through the Community Facilitator in the Eastern Cape, the Community Outreach Manager and the Gauteng-based facilitators received the contact details of the Chairperson of the Somali Youth Association and member of the Community Policing Forum (CPF) in Mayfair. As he had previously assisted the researchers in identifying prospective interviewees, he was conversant with the objectives of the P2P project, and was able to refer the facilitators to important stakeholders in the area. Consequently, over three days (17<sup>th</sup>, 23<sup>rd</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup> April) in Mayfair, the team met with representatives of the Johannesburg Central Police Station (SAPS), CPF, Mayfair Community Library, Somali Community Board of South Africa, and the Mayfair clinic. Similarly in May, stakeholder meetings happened with the Johannesburg Institute of Social Services (JISS); South African National Zakah Fund (SANZAF); Activate! Leadership; Gift of the Givers; Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR); and, in June, South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO).

Generally, the project was well received with several representatives expressing an interest in attending a stakeholder meeting. Several stakeholders, however, indicated that due to the large presence of Muslims in Mayfair, it would be difficult to organize such a meeting during the month of Ramadan (from 5<sup>th</sup> May to 5<sup>th</sup> June). Consequently, over the month of Ramadan, facilitators reduced the frequency of their visits to Mayfair, entering the community only to strengthen their relations with individual stakeholders.

On the 14<sup>th</sup> of June, the team visited Mayfair again. This visit was to cement the relations that the team had been built with different stakeholders, and hand out invitation letters to stakeholder meeting to be held on 26<sup>th</sup> June. The stakeholder meeting held on 26<sup>th</sup> June laid was to lay the foundation for the community dialogue series.



*Stakeholder meeting in Mayfair, with representatives from the CPF, Somali Community Board, Somali Association of South Africa, and Sector Forum, 26 June 2019*

In July, the project started to gain traction in Mayfair area. With challenges reaching stakeholders in just Mayfair – with many busy business owners who would commit and then not be available for meetings – the positive decision was made at the beginning of the quarter to include Fiestas as part of the site geography. With this inclusion, a number of engaged participants became part of the programme. This led to the first community dialogue at the end of July, which unpacked xenophobia and its causes in Mayfair-Fiestas. Dialogue two followed quickly in early August and continued the concern exploration from dialogue one and brainstorming. Dialogue three (in mid-August) included a significant increase in the number of participants (up to 44) which meant many of the issues covered in dialogues one and two had to be re-visited in order to move the whole group forward. A major success, however, of this dialogue was that it included a significant number of foreign nationals: 10 Malawians and 1 Zimbabwean. Unfortunately, project activities had to be suspended at the beginning of August, due to xenophobic violence in and raids in central Johannesburg.



*Participants during Dialogue Three, Mayfair-Fiestas, 14 August 2019*

In October, Mayfair-Fiestas completed its local dialogue series and begun planning and implementing its local action plan. Dialogue four took place on 2<sup>nd</sup> October, with a follow up dialogue (five) on 16<sup>th</sup> October, focusing on joint action planning. Using the five friends of planning, the P2P participants developed a joint local action plan to be implemented in October/November and beyond. On 23<sup>rd</sup> October, the P2P participants met again to report back on arrangements and finalise plans for upcoming action plan activities. Overall, the P2P Mayfair-Fiestas team has worked well together, dividing tasks, allocating responsible persons, and engaging in regular communication and feedback.

The Mayfair-Fiestas action plan includes various activities to support youth engagement and foster social cohesion between South Africans and foreign nationals. This quarter, activities have included: a soccer and netball tournament (2<sup>nd</sup> November), a talent show (26<sup>th</sup> October, with the local soup kitchen), and the start of a work readiness programme (planned for 1<sup>st</sup> December). *For more on the action plan, please see the Mayfair-Fiestas local action plan report.*





*Participants during an action planning plenary, Mayfair-Fiestas, 23 October 2019*

In particular, the netball and soccer tournament – held on 2<sup>nd</sup> November – was a great success. It included both genders, was attended by mainly youth who participated in the event, as well as some older people who were spectators.



*Netball and soccer teams during the Mayfair-Fiestas tournament, 2 November 2019*

### **4.2.3. Katlehong (Gauteng)**

An area of Katlehong – Mandela – experienced displacement of foreign nationals (particularly Zimbabweans) in September 2019. While xenophobic violence was limited to this area, it affected project activities and had a great impact on participants. In response, the P2P participants in Katlehong – as a major component of their action plan – have started a series of community dialogues. Furthermore, following the xenophobic attacks in the province, ALPS Resilience made connections to the Department of Social Development (DSD), who support community conversations. Building on the work of ALPS Resilience, DSD has expressed an interest to work with the Katlehong team, and they will be meeting in December 2019, with the hope of working together in 2020. Given the interest of DSD, and given that many of the P2P participants in Katlehong are representatives from civil society organisations in the area, it is hoped that project activities will continue after the official end of P2P.

## Research Findings

Katlehong (Mandela Park) used to have a number of foreign nationals from countries such as Ethiopia, Somalia, Pakistan and Bangladesh. During the fieldwork, it was established that these nationalities were not visible in Mandela Park, but were located one street adjacent to Maphanga area. All spaza shop operators from the above-mentioned countries from were displaced by community members, led by structures like the Business Association, SANCO, as well as CPF. The findings suggest that Katlehong is an area that is mostly governed by local extra-legal groups and businessmen who have been against foreign nationals who operate spaza shops in recent years. The research focused on an area called Mandela Park, also referred to as Holomisa. Mandela Park is an informal settlement where foreign national spaza shop owners were previously displaced in late 2016 due to threats from South African residents in the area who subsequently seized control of their shops. Perpetrators of these xenophobic attacks reported that, as they had permitted foreign national fruit vendors to remain in the area, the displacement of the spaza shop owners should not be considered as xenophobic. During the fieldwork it was established that those foreign nationals who were displaced were still not welcome in the community by the Business Association.

Community structures and leadership appeared to be xenophobic, particularly toward foreign national shop owners. Foreign nationals, especially Ethiopians and Somalians, struggled financially after they were forced to leave the area due to xenophobic violence. Many of the local landlords want the Somali and Ethiopian shop owners to return because it was reported that they generally paid rent on time, gave the landlords credit, and provided cheaper prices than the South African shops. Other foreign nationals such as Malawian, Mozambican and Zimbabwean businessmen who remain in the area appear to have been exploited the Business Association financially. In order for this group to operate a business in the area, such as selling fruit and vegetables, they have to pay a fee of R5000 to the Association.

There is very little trust in the police, with residents on occasion refusing to allow the police access to the area. There have been several killings of community leaders, leading to mistrust and an atmosphere of tension. ‘Parliament’ is the converging space for community leaders where community members typically go when they are faced with challenges, such as conflict and crime. Leaders of the ‘Parliament’ are usually based in their shack office and tend to address community concerns and criminality extra-legally, and sometimes even resort to vigilante justice. Residents do engage with street committees and the CPF to address some community problems, but most of the conflicts in the community are solved in a violent manner. Voices of dissent are often disregarded, and the areas that have protected foreign nationals have been ‘othered’, with some of the leaders of Mandela Park stating: “if anything happens in that area because of those foreigners, we will not help them.”<sup>4</sup>

### Community entry, dialogues, and local action plans

On 18<sup>th</sup> April, the P2P facilitation team met with 8 representatives from six organisations, namely, the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC), Kgomotso Children Centre (KCC), LLBC Foundation, Health and Social Development, LoveLife, and the South African Men’s Action Group (SAMAG). Following

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<sup>4</sup> Interview with Business Association member, Katlehong, 9 February 2019.



introductions and explaining the purpose of the meeting, discussions focused on the mandates of the organisations represented in the meeting, and what they perceive as the main social challenges in building healthy relations in the community. Stakeholders cited competition for business opportunities as the most pressing social problem, expressing the hope that through the dialogue initiative, ALPS Resilience will contribute to the creation of safe spaces where South Africans and non-nationals can engage, share business skills and learn to work together. A concern was raised about the lack of women representation, with only one woman present in the meeting. It was agreed to have another stakeholder meeting on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of May, and that organisations present will mobilise a larger number of female participants.

As planned, a follow-up stakeholder meeting was held at the Mabotweni Custom Care Centre (CCC1), Katlehong, on 3<sup>rd</sup> May. In attendance were 14 representing 10 organisations: ANC, Lovelife, iThemba Community Organisation, South African Men Action Group (SAMAG), TAC, Ditsong Youth Development Centre, LLPF, KCC and Alok. No non-nationals were present. The purpose of this meeting was to brainstorm issues affecting Katlehong, and to decide on which issues to surface in a community dialogue, scheduled to take place on 11<sup>th</sup> June. Participants spoke about their concerns regarding the local government service delivery challenges, as well as concerns about non-nationals, who are generally perceived to be dominating business opportunities in the area and are unwilling to share the business skills. Participants expressed a willingness to participate in the planned dialogues, indicating that they would want to see an action plan aimed at fostering social and economic cohesion.

The first community dialogue in Katlehong was held on 11<sup>th</sup> June. Prior to the dialogue, and on reflection of the views expressed during the stakeholder meeting in May, the facilitation team decided to hold separate dialogues – one for locals and another for non-nationals – to defuse the apparent tensions between them ahead of a joint dialogue at a later stage. Consequently, the community dialogue was comprised of 18 participants – 16 local representatives (5 females and 11 males) and 2 non-national males.

Following introductions and the setting of ground rules, participants were asked to do a simple exercise, enabling them to reflect on the notion of ‘dialogue’ and the difference between dialogue and debate. The learning they took away from this exercise is that dialogue is a two-way conversation, focused on finding mutually beneficial solutions to a difficult or problem issue, and supported by a clear joint plan of action. In order to improve awareness of the situations and factors that cause people to leave their countries and seek refuge elsewhere, the facilitation team showed a 10-minute video of the on civil war in the Central African Republic in 2014. Participants were asked to identify the ‘push’ factors that force people to migrate, and to consider the ‘pull’ factors that influence their decision to settle in a foreign country. Through this exercise, participants were encouraged to discuss who and what it means to be considered a ‘foreigner’. The feedback at the end of the dialogue suggests that it was an eye-opener: it created a new awareness of the plight of non-nationals, and asylum seekers and refugees in particular, and challenges the participants (as leaders within their own organisations) as to how they can continue the conversation in their work and social spaces and mainstream social cohesion in their organisations and in all that they do. The beginning of changing attitudes was confirmed in a follow-up stakeholder meeting on 26 June, in which participants shared how, after the first dialogue, they started to view foreign nationals in their community differently, and in which they began to brainstorm possibilities for (i) bring foreign nationals into the dialogue space in Katlehong, and (ii) the local action plan.





*Katlehong stakeholder engagement meeting, 26 June 2019*

In July-August, Katlehong completed its dialogue process. The series included a discussion on the major causes of xenophobia in Katlehong (Dialogue Two); the values barometer to understand stereotyping and scapegoating of foreign nationals (Dialogue Three); and development of an action plan (Dialogues Four and Five, as well as subsequent meetings). The contents and results of each dialogue is presented in the dialogue reports. While the site has struggled to directly engage foreign nationals in the dialogue process itself, the Katlehong team is full of energy and momentum – and there have been many personal transformations in terms of views towards foreign nationals.



*Group presentations at Dialogue Two, Katlehong*

In terms of the action plan, the Katlehong team identified two key themes as central to xenophobia in Katlehong: health and education. In the initial brainstorming dialogue, key topics, themes and potential actions were identified. In the second, it was decided a structure must be formed in order to form and execute the action plan. As with all action plans, an emphasis was placed on sustainability. Fortunately, most of the participants in the P2P dialogues programme are part of organisations that work to address

social ills and improve social cohesion. The A committee was formed, including several organisational representatives, in order to develop action, publications, and local advocacy plans. In a subsequent action planning meeting on 23 August, the action plan was consolidated. The team aims to focus on health and education in an inclusive way to address xenophobia and social cohesion in Katlehong.

Xenophobic attacks in Gauteng and Katlehong itself in early September hindered the implementation of the local action plan. Insecurity in the area meant that project activities had to be suspended until the situation calmed. Given the high tension in Katlehong, and due to safety concerns, no in-site activities took place in September. However, the facilitator remained in close communication with P2P participants. Energy to develop the local action plan has been maintained over this time. Activities were able to resume at the end of September (with a participant “defrosting” meeting) and then – with renewed focus – further development and implementation of the local action plan.

Given the volatility of Katlehong, its close inter-relation to neighbouring communities Vosloorus and Thokoza (collectively known as Kathorus), and the work of P2P participants (who mainly represent NGOs) in Kathorus, it was decided to develop and implement the action plan in the greater area.

As its first action planning activity, the Kathorus team decided to host a community dialogue, using the P2P dialogue model and activity: *unpacking xenophobia and its causes*. On 24<sup>th</sup> October, the community dialogue was hosted in Vosloorus with 60 participants including youth; elderly; a local councillor; a ward community member; community members; and many local NGOs, including Itemba, TLB, LoveLife, TAC, Tshohang Youth Project, Thuto le Botumo. *For more on the dialogue and the Katlehong local action plan, please see the Katlehong local action plan report.*



*Participants during the Kathorus community dialogue, 24 October 2019*

A second community dialogue was planned to take place on 6<sup>th</sup> November, in Mandela, Katlehong. Mandela had been at the epicentre of xenophobic attacks in Katlehong in September, and it was hoped that the dialogue could provide a space to improve the reintegration of foreign nationals into the area and foster social cohesion between foreign nationals and locals. Everything was set up and primary stakeholders – the P2P dialogue participants – were going to facilitate the whole dialogue and community facilitator was going to support. Sadly, it had to be cancelled as xenophobic attacks, once again, occurred in the area.

## 4.3 KwaZulu Natal

In KwaZulu Natal (KZN), site selection became three sites that neighbour one another: Inanda, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu – collectively known as INK. As such, both research and community entry activities were conducted INK-wide. As such, this section first covers INK, and then explores each individual site.

### Research Findings

KwaZulu-Natal had mixed spaza shop types and was in many ways quite similar to the sites in Gauteng and the Eastern Cape. The three researched areas that make up the INK site (Inanda, Ntuzuma, and KwaMashu) face similar issues that are often a result of shared key role players who have an influence over all three areas. In the INK areas there are quite a number of shops owned by South Africans, where they sell through windows. Similarly, container shops owned by Ethiopians sell to their customers through windows. Somali shops were in rented spaces in houses while Ethiopians would either be located outside the yard or on the fence or gate inside the yard. Ethiopian shops would often be minded by two shopkeepers while, with Somali shops there would be, on average, four staff in addition to a cleaner (usually from Malawi).

In the INK area there is a regional business association covering the entire area called the Northern Region Business Association (NoRBA). NoRBA is in opposition to the business competition presented by foreign nationals in the area and the association has resorted to violence and intimidation against foreign nationals. The association has allegedly mobilised drug addicts and other community members to incite violence against the foreign nationals in the spaza shop sector. One of their justifications for attacks included an accusation that foreign nationals get preferential treatment from wholesalers. They postulate that, because most Somalis are Muslim, Indian wholesalers (who are also predominantly Muslim) give Somali business owners exclusive discounts and credits. This argument is quite flawed in that Ethiopians are predominantly Christian and are fast becoming the majority in the spaza shop sector in the area.

### Community entry, dialogues, and local action plans

On 7<sup>th</sup> May, the facilitation team carried out a stakeholder mapping exercise, identifying a list of 21 relevant organisations and key stakeholders in the Inanda, Ntuzuma, and KwaMashu (INK) area, to inform their approach to entering the respective communities and engaging stakeholders. It should be noted that, while spanning a large area and population, INK communities are inter-connected and can, in some regards, be entered and approached as a whole. In this way, the P2P planned a mixture of general and specific meetings.

It should be noted that, given tensions around the national elections in KZN (held in May 2019), community entry to sites should only be conducted after the dust had settled. As such, initial community entry activities were held outside of the INK sites.

Over May and June, the P2P facilitators conducted meetings with: a pan Africanist organisation; Africa Unite; Zoe Life; Youth in Action (YIA); YMCA; Ethiopian Community Liaison and leadership; and Right 2 Know. In July, facilitators focused their attention on INK-specific structures, including the local “war



room”<sup>5</sup> (based in Ward 46 in KwaMashu), the Area Based Management (ABM) and multiple government and municipal INK structures. Throughout the project, chairs and committee members from these structures were engaged in stakeholder meetings. This has resulted in strong local government and councillor support in the P2P project, including regular attendance at community dialogues.

Furthermore, in July the P2P facilitators had a stakeholder meeting with foreign nationals. Due to the security and safety concerns foreign nationals experience in INK, this was conducted in town. The platform gave foreign nationals the opportunity to air their concerns about living in South Africa in general and INK in particular. While many foreign nationals openly spoke in this space, and affirmed the importance of the P2P INK dialogues (often committing to attend), attendance of foreign nationals in INK community dialogues had been extremely limited. In one opening dialogue, three Ethiopians came at the beginning of the dialogue, but left after 10 minutes. When the facilitators followed up with the Ethiopians, they said they felt unsafe and unwelcome. The P2P facilitators have, however, continued to engage foreign nationals in the INK area during Q4; while they have not been directly part of the dialogues, they have still formed part of the project processes and engagements.



*Participants – foreign nationals, including refugees and asylum seekers – during the stakeholder engagement, 23 July 2019*

In Q5, the local dialogue series in all KZN INK – Inanda, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu – sites was completed. The final dialogue and planning meetings focused on the initial development of local action plans, which P2P participants hope to continue after the closure of the P2P project. *For more on the INK action plans, please refer to the Inanda, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu local action plan reports.*

Furthermore, on 14<sup>th</sup> November, the KwaZulu Natal provincial dialogue was hosted. The dialogue brought together participants from across all INK sites and aimed to developed skills and knowledge around non-violence (including understanding violence and violence prevention), as well as a reflection

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<sup>5</sup> The “war room” emanated from the Operation Sukhuma Sakhe (OSK) launched by the KZN government many years ago. It is a monthly meeting attended by the ward councilors, representatives from different municipal departments, community leaders, SAPS, and many other stakeholders. Attendees discuss different matters arising in the ward and how to resolve them.

on the P2P project in INK and the way ahead. *For more on the provincial dialogue, please see the KwaZulu Natal provincial dialogue report.*

### 4.3.1. Inanda

#### Research Findings

Inanda has high levels of poverty, unemployment and crime. Since 2015, it has been affected by various acute incidents of xenophobic violence, with the most recent incident occurring in May 2018. During this incident, foreign-owned shops (mainly owned by Somalis and Ethiopians) were damaged or destroyed and looted. The violence was exacerbated by the actions of NoRBA. NoRBA demanded that foreign national shop owners close their shops and vacate the area, which was largely ignored by shop owners. The conflict resolution process that was initiated by government, both local (eThekhwini Metropolitan Municipality) and provincial (KwaZulu-Natal led by premier Willies Mchunu and former Member of the Executive Council for Economic Development, Sihle Zikalala) has largely been unsuccessful to date. Efforts to establish longer-term peace-building processes by the eThekhwini Metropolitan Municipality have been stalled given the lack of robust and representative community leadership structures and tensions within the community of foreign nationals in the area. This is also exacerbated by the divisions among general community members who still prefer foreign national shops in the area.

#### Community entry, dialogues, and local action plans

The first community dialogue took place in Inanda on 27<sup>th</sup> August and, with the support of strong community mobilisers, included 43 participants. It focused on the causes of xenophobia and tensions and misconceptions between foreign nationals and South Africans. Representatives from DRC, Burundi and Rwanda formed part of the dialogue participants; at the end of the dialogue, it was agreed that Somalis and Ethiopians should be part of the project. However, as mentioned above, the participation of foreign nationals directly in the dialogue process has been a challenge in Inanda and INK more generally. Nevertheless, dialogue one garnered community support and buy-in for the P2P dialogue process.





*A participant during the first dialogue in Inanda, 28 August 2019*

Inanda experienced a busy final quarter with dialogue two (11<sup>th</sup> October), dialogue three (25<sup>th</sup> October), dialogue four (21<sup>st</sup> November), and local action planning (8<sup>th</sup> November) taking place.

Dialogue two included a community mapping exercise whereby P2P participants identified hotspots in their community that were unsafe and prone to lead to violence. Participants identified Sbu Lounge – a bar at which youth drank, took drugs, robbed people and committed crimes – and came up with solutions to address the problems, such as a youth centre, more youth engagement in the CPF, and other community programmes.

Dialogue three used the values barometer method, and asked participants about stereotypes of foreign nationals in South Africa. This dialogue led to some changed perceptions of participants about foreign nationals, e.g. that they are not the cause of high unemployment in South Africa.

On 8<sup>th</sup> November, the Inanda P2P participants and facilitators met to compose the local action plan. The group identified social activities between foreign nationals and locals (e.g. sports); an anti-xenophobia campaign; and P2P dialogues in schools as possible action points. *For more, please refer to the Inanda action plan.*



*Participants and facilitators in action in Inanda, 25 October 2019*

Dialogue four built on the local action planning and provincial dialogue material and lessons, and covered social capital analysis. Participants were asked to identify values in their community, and then asked: How do these values find expression in the ways people in the community relate to each other? Participants replies included:

- Sports: prevent children from doing drugs and crime. It also helps with health maintenance and activities. Scouting also happens during children playing on the grounds and professional players can be scouted from there.
- Schools: teachers play a big role in our children's life whereby they give knowledge to children. They are also able to sharpen and polish children's skills and build self-esteem, moral values and self-confidence in our children which are tools kids need for the future
- Libraries: Help with gaining further information for children and adults in the community. Children use this information for their assignments and other school activities. Children also can form library clubs to further their knowledge.
- Police Station: rehabilitate people from crimes and empowers them although its's always seen as a place to punish. people. policemen/women also play a role of mediation within family, schools and community disputes. The policewomen/men play an important role in keeping our community safe.

## 4.3.2. KwaMashu

### Research Findings

The area has a well-documented history of collective violence. Since the 1980s, the area has been renowned for politically motivated killings and rivalries between members of the African National Congress (ANC), Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), and, more recently, the National Freedom Party (NFP). Over the past 20 years, there have been various incidents of xenophobic violence, including the looting of foreign-owned shops. The reasons for such violence towards foreign nationals have generally appeared to be due to business competition between local (South African) and foreign national shop owners combined with

opportunistic behaviour by some residents who loot shops run by foreign nationals during xenophobic attacks.

Local shop owners, many of whom are represented by NoRBA, perceive foreign-owned shops (and large shopping malls) in the area as being major threats to their business survival. This group has demanded that every spaza shop owner, including foreign nationals, be registered on a database and certified with the aim of preventing the perceived unsustainable proliferation of new spaza shops in the area. Many local residents, however, appear to be supportive of the foreign-owned shops due to the generally lower prices of their goods. Members of the local community leadership structures expressed a generalised sense of dissatisfaction with the local municipal authority and the South African Police Services (SAPS), particularly regarding their inadequate responses to conflict within this community. There appeared to be minimal levels of visible civic organisation and participation, but there was distinct party-political activity taking place, especially in hostels.

### **Community entry, dialogues, and local action plans**

The first community stakeholder meeting/dialogue was held on 11<sup>th</sup> June at the El Shadai Family Church in KwaMashu. In attendance were twenty (20) participants including seven (7) female participants. Following introductions and the setting of ground rules, participants were asked to discuss the factors that hinder or facilitate healthy relations between locals and non-nationals. The general view was that non-nationals isolate themselves and do not integrate into the communities where they live. This offends local cultural norms and practices as the community would expect people living in a particular area to intermingle, attend community meetings or funerals, and contribute financially in times of natural disasters or funerals. Participants felt that non-nationals abuse their hospitality as they undercut local businesses by selling goods at lower prices, or they sell fake and expired products, introducing sicknesses in the community. As a way forward, participants felt that South Africans should be involved in all businesses that are being introduced in their community, locals and non-nationals must be educated on their human rights, and social activities, such soccer matches between South Africans and non-nationals should be encouraged.

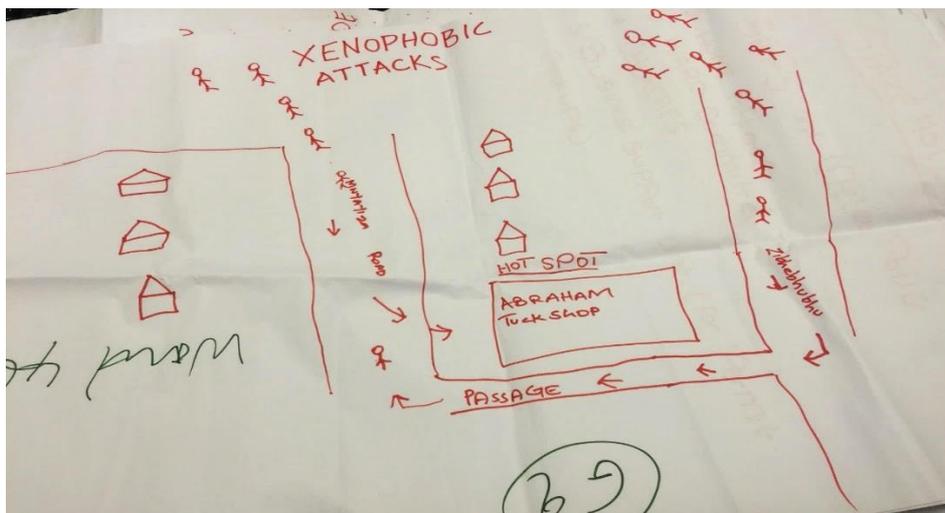
After steady, concerted and comprehensive stakeholder meetings and engagement in INK and KwaMashu including the war room (9<sup>th</sup> August, discussed above) and a multi-stakeholder meeting on 9<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> August, the first INK P2P community dialogue started in KwaMashu on 15<sup>th</sup> August 2019. The dialogue focused on concern exploration around what participants identified as factors hampering peaceful relationships between South Africans and foreign nationals in KwaMashu. A huge number of dialogue participants attended: 82. Like many of the other first dialogue across the country, South African raised concerns about foreign nationals selling fake and expired goods; foreign nationals accepting low wages and therefore contributing to unemployment in South Africa; selling drugs to youth; and the lack of foreign nationals taking part in community activities and structures.





*Participants during the first community dialogue, KwaMashu, 15 August 2019*

The second dialogue took place in KwaMashu on 19<sup>th</sup> September 2019. The dialogue followed the same format as the second dialogue in Ntuzuma, and focused on identifying hotspot areas and burning issues that cause tensions between foreign nationals and South Africans. There was significant overlap in terms of the issue raised: perhaps reflective of the shared characteristics of the INK area; the nature of the relationships between foreign national and locals; and the general high levels of crime and lack of safety.



*Hotspot areas – Abraham Tuckshop, Mayaza Road in Ward 26, identified during group work in the second community dialogue in KwaMashu, 19 September 2019*

In Q5, dialogue three (8<sup>th</sup> October), dialogue four (22<sup>nd</sup> November) and action planning (12<sup>th</sup> November) meetings took place. The third dialogue focused on the values barometer methodology.



*KwaMashu participants respond to the statement: “Foreign nationals are the cause of high unemployment in South Africa”, 8 October 2019*

For KwaMashu’s action plan, participants identified the follow as potential action points:

- Ongoing P2P dialogues in KwaMashu.
- Trainings on peacebuilding, human rights and others which can allows us to live in harmony as KwaMashu community and with foreign nationals.
- Men to Men dialogues which will focus on abuse against women and children, elderly people, rape and about the negative impact of drugs abuse.
- Women to Women dialogues focusing on issues concerning women.
- South African citizens and foreign nationals to work together for social cohesion so that we could stop xenophobic attacks, create good relationships and live peacefully in KwaMashu.
- Work with foreign nationals in different activities happening in our community.

KwaMashu’s final dialogue looked at social capital and points of value in the community. Participants were asked to identify areas of value, and the question: How can the social capital in KwaMashu community be better utilized to promote respect for and human dignity of all members of KwaMashu community? Participants replied:

- In our community the lives of orphans, homeless and elderly people has been dignified by many interventions that are done by businesses operating here. They provide food, clothes, blankets and shelter to vulnerable people.
- With the implementation of shopping centres in our community, the lives of community members has improved as they save from travelling to town every time they need to shop.
- During the xenophobic attacks, foreign nationals living in KwaMashu received shelter at the police station and some of the shopping centres provided food to them.
- We all need to unite with foreign nationals trading in KwaMashu and work together so that we could live in peace as brothers and sisters and fight together all the ills in our community.
- We would like more people to be employed by the businesses operating in our community in order to reduce unemployment, poverty and crime.

### 4.3.3. Ntuzuma

#### Research Findings

Ntuzuma is the most underdeveloped of the three INK areas (Inanda, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu). At present, leadership in the area appears ineffective, especially from elected leaders. Leaders are said to be unaccountable and inefficient. The community policing forum (CPF) and South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO) leaders have reportedly dealt with community issues inadequately. Police are not trusted and appear to lack adequate resources. Furthermore, foreign nationals are not organised within the community, making it difficult for them to engage with South African community leadership structures. However, foreign nationals (spaza shop owners) seem to have a good relationship with some CPF members, resulting in the CPF providing information and protection to some foreign nationals at the time of the attacks. Compared to the other two INK areas, the effects of attacks driven by the North Region Business Association (NoRBA) were relatively minimal in this area.

#### Community entry, dialogues, and local action plans

The first community stakeholder meeting/dialogue was organized in collaboration with Youth in Action and was held in the YIA offices in Ntuzuma on 12<sup>th</sup> June. In attendance were twelve (12) participants, from organisations such as the Youth in Action (YIA), a key stakeholder and partner in our KwaZulu Natal sites. Following introductions and the setting of ground rules, participants were asked to discuss the factors that hinder or facilitate healthy relations between locals and non-nationals. The general view was that non-nationals were responsible for many of the social ills in the community: they reportedly sell expired goods which affects the health of the community; they introduced drugs, resulting in a high prevalence of substance abuse among youth; and they are responsible for high rate of sexually transmitted diseases among local women. As a way forward, participants proposed that the facilitation team organizes meetings between them and non-nationals so that they are made aware of participants' sentiments and the issues raised.

Ntuzuma kicked off its local dialogue series on 5<sup>th</sup> September. After increased security checks to ensure the dialogue should go ahead, the series began with discussion around issue concern and the causes of xenophobia. Both dialogues held in Ntuzuma in Q4 – the first on 5<sup>th</sup> September and the second on 18<sup>th</sup> September – had no foreign national representation. This is perhaps because they occurred at the same time as xenophobic attacks were occurring in Gauteng and elsewhere in KZN, with foreign nationals fearing they would be attacked and therefore being uncomfortable in INK. This created challenges, particularly during the second dialogue, which focused on how to strengthen relations between South Africans and foreign nationals. Nevertheless, through strong community mobilisation, including good communication and cooperation between the P2P facilitators and the ward councillor and ABM, support from community leaders, and active participation by dialogue participants, the dialogue was a success. The dialogue revealed hotspot areas in Ntuzuma that contribute to explosive xenophobic attacks; crimes committed, and drugs sold by some foreign nationals; the installation of illegal container tuck shops by foreign nationals; and other burning issues as those preventing positive and healthy relationships between South Africans and foreign nationals. As with many of the other dialogues across the country, the dialogue



also revealed that South African participants tended to view that all foreign nationals were in the country illegally.



*Group work during the second dialogue in Ntuzuma, 18 September 2019. The second picture represents Nozaza Garage area – a hotspot in the area.*

Over Q5, Ntuzuma had local dialogue three (10<sup>th</sup> October), dialogue four (29<sup>th</sup> October), and local action planning (7<sup>th</sup> November). Dialogue three used the values barometer activity, whereby facilitators read statements about foreign nationals. While the activity was of interest and use to participants, the reflection revealed the growing changing in attitudes and approaches of Ntuzuma P2P participants towards foreign nationals.



*Participants reflect on the values barometer exercise, Ntuzuma, 10 October 2019*

Dialogue four focused on social capital analysis as part of the process of action planning. Social capital analysis refers to the norms and values people hold in the area, which informs the extent to which the

community collaborates and cooperates, levels of trust, and willingness to engage. Participants identified the church and sports as bringing people together, but also pointed out that unity with foreign nationals is difficult as (i) they are perceived to be bringing problems (crime, unemployment), and (ii) they do not attend community events or meetings. Participants identified attitudes and behaviours that was preventing mutual respect and trust, and social cohesion between foreign nationals and locals.

On 7<sup>th</sup> November, Ntuzuma P2P participants meet to develop the local action plan, which seeks to combat xenophobia and xenophobic violence. Participants came up with various strategies and action plans; *for more please see the action plan report.*



## 4.4 Western Cape

### 4.4.1. Imizamo Yethu (Western Cape)

Imizamo Yethu represents a site where a clear lesson was learned. Despite research findings that suggested that strong gatekeeper presence may make neutrality of the P2P facilitator/s difficult, given the previous experience of a facilitator in the site, it was decided to enter for community entry and dialogues. However, as predicted, the gatekeepers limited community entry in serious ways, and it was decided to exit the community.

#### Research Findings

Imizamo Yethu (IY) is a relatively small township located in the mostly affluent area of Hout Bay. There is a significant population of foreign nationals from Malawi, Zimbabwe, as well as Ethiopia and Somalia, who reside in the area and who own several shops in the community. This research found that competition between shop owners has resulted in some violent episodes in the past, and informal regulations have been implemented in order to limit the number of shops operating in the area. This strategy seems to have worked as incidences of violence related to spaza shops have reportedly decreased significantly in recent months.<sup>6</sup>

The researchers also established that some tensions between South Africans exist, which are mostly underpinned by conflicts relating to a lack of housing and the re-blocking process that is currently underway in the area due to a massive fire that destroyed numerous dwellings in 2017. In this context, foreign nationals who live in the site targeted for re-blocking are caught up in these tensions as they fear losing their houses when the government builds new ones for South Africans. Furthermore, the findings suggest that there are some tensions between locals and foreign nationals as a result of fishery employers who prefer foreign nationals over locals.

There is ongoing taxi-related conflict and violence centred around the licencing process and access to lucrative taxi routes. The violence is believed to be related to ongoing disputes between two associations affiliated with the two main taxi associations, the Cape Amalgamated Taxi Association (CATA) and Congress of Democratic Taxi Associations (CODETA), with one of the taxi associations attempting to prevent competitors from operating in the area. This violence has claimed the lives of five people and left two injured in early April 2019.

There are some community initiatives that seek to foster good relations between South Africans and foreign nationals, and one of them is iSolezwe, which is the most influential community leadership structure in the area. iSolezwe has multiple functions, but its largest function is as a community safety

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<sup>6</sup> Interview with the Community Development Worker, Imizamo Yethu, November 2018.



patrol. However, iSolezwe is a patriarchal organisation that has regularly used violence and intimidation to resolve conflicts and exert social control. Besides researchers observing people going in and out their office, several respondents mentioned this organisation as being a key actor they approach when they are in need of assistance with family matters, robberies, truancy, etc. In order to receive assistance from the iSolezwe group, community members are expected to pay certain fees for their services. The biggest challenge is that, through violence, this structure has acquired some legitimacy and is trusted by many residents, including foreign nationals.

Lastly, while observing the community and trying to get access, researchers established that the Imizamo Yethu community needs to be approached delicately. There were major sensitivities where community leaders took offence at the word 'violence' when researchers described the project. Several community leaders wanted to know where the team had heard that there was violence in the area and complained about how the media misrepresented the community. Researchers were often made to feel unwelcome and the attitude towards research without material benefits created a hostile environment at times. The community leaders argued that they would have preferred to be approached as a group, because they want to be transparent, and many interviews were denied because no one wanted to speak on an individual basis. When they heard that the research team was only on site for three days, they said the team should come back in several months after a WhatsApp group had been formed and all leaders had been informed of the research project.

### **Community entry, dialogues, and local action plans**

Throughout April and early May, the site facilitators contacted stakeholders, including the ward councillor, to set up meetings and travelled to Imizamo Yethu, only to have the meetings cancelled at the last minute. Engaging stakeholders was also difficult for the site facilitator as there is general mistrust in the community of outside interventions. This meant that securing community buy-in was almost impossible. As was noted in the Imizamo Yethu (IY) Situational Analysis Report, the situation in Imizamo Yethu is highly volatile at the moment; the site facilitator was made to feel unwelcome and our work was frustrated by key community leaders. As the researchers noted, the facilitator worked in an environment of paranoia and suspicion. Our progress in the community was thus frustrated from the start.

A key stakeholder representing a well-known NGO in the community further frustrated our work in the community. It appeared that this stakeholder wanted to control access to key stakeholders whilst insinuating that a he needs compensation for him to be fully involved with the project. This came as a shock because this stakeholder was key in ensuring community buy-in, especially from non- nationals. This was one of the reasons why we had to pull out of Imizamo Yethu informal settlement. A final stakeholder meeting was held on the 18<sup>th</sup> of June 2019 to inform relevant stakeholders that ALPS/P2P Dialogue Series is pulling out of the community because of the above reasons.

## **4.4.2. Masiphumelele (Western Cape)**

### **Research Findings**



Masiphumelele is an area that has previously experienced xenophobic violence, as well as protest violence. At the time this research was conducted, Masiphumelele appeared to be a relatively calm place, and foreign nationals, including spaza shop owners, have been able to live in relative peace for the last few years. Informal regulations around the number of shops and closing times appear to be in place and seem to facilitate communication and the management of business-related conflicts between foreign national shop owners. The findings suggest, however, that a key challenge is the current lack of credible community leadership structures owing to the leadership vacuum left behind after the previous protests, and the disconnect between younger and older people in the area (due to the inter-generational change of leadership). Vigilantism as a collective method of problem-solving seemed to have led to tensions between the older and younger generations. Such a state of affairs would make any effort to implement a dialogue or conflict resolution process a risky endeavour. There is, however, a distinct need for interventions that focus on foreign national women within Masiphumelele. Foreign national men appear to have integrated well in terms of business and community relationships. The women, however, are still dependent on the men to help them integrate and this has not been happening. If relationships can somehow be built between women of different nationalities, this might help foreign national women to feel safer in the community.

Overall, Masiphumelele does not appear to be a community where xenophobic attacks are likely to happen anytime soon. This assumption is founded on an event that occurred after researchers left the site, where a foreign national drove over a South African resident, but the community was able to resolve the problem peacefully. However, the leadership vacuum in the site does mean that, should xenophobic attacks occur, then such conflict would be difficult to manage. The tribal issues caused by the lack of oversight of shop openings combined with the lack of community structures are likely to cause tensions in future. Business owners seem to be the most organised, but community tensions cannot be resolved by only talking with business structures. Moreover, one cannot leave out the community structures that are still claiming to be in control of the community. The community might be seen as relatively cohesive for now, but there are several challenges which can affect that cohesion. Various groups are vying for a leadership role, and this may give rise to conflict within the community in the near future. Additionally, when a community is seen as leaderless and disorganised, it is more likely that radical individuals or vigilante groups will emerge and attempt to assume control.

### **Community entry, dialogues, and local action plans**

Preparations to enter Masiphumelele started immediately after the completion of the facilitators' pre-dialogue training workshop, commencing with the development and verification of a contact list of stakeholders, through online searches, email communication, and telephone calls requesting introductory meetings. Mindful of the protocol around community entry processes, the priority was to secure meetings with the City of Cape Town sub-council and other local authorities responsible for Ward 69, within whose jurisdiction Masiphumelele resides.

Over April and May, P2P facilitators met with the action ward councillor; Department of Social Development; Somali and Ethiopian businesses; and various other community stakeholders. In a meeting held with foreign businesses on 30<sup>th</sup> April, in attendance were nine (9) participants from several local community organisations. The meeting was highly successful as the participants committed themselves to



participating in future P2P activities. Continuous contact by the site facilitator with various stakeholders led to another date set for another stakeholder meeting.

On 11<sup>th</sup> June, the official community stakeholder meeting took place. In attendance were 30 participants, from diverse backgrounds but sharing common interest in the P2P dialogue series. Following the welcome of participants, and the introduction of the ALPS team, the ALPS Resilience Deputy Director provided a brief background of ALPS Resilience and the P2P Project. This was followed by a short presentation by the Community Facilitator responsible for Masiphumelele of the SaVI Community Peacebuilding Scorecard, used during the field research in the area. In her presentation of the scorecard, the facilitator emphasised that she would focus on key aspects only, as issues raised in the scorecard will be debated in the planned community dialogues. This presentation was followed by a second presentation highlighting the struggles and challenges faced by non-national, specifically asylum seekers and refugees, to integrate in South Africa. At the end of the presentations, participants were invited to ask questions for clarity. Feedback from participants was as follows:

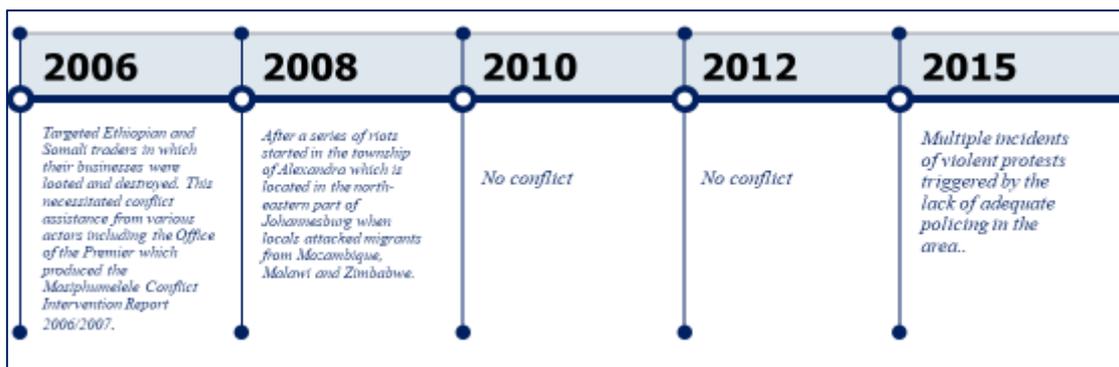
- Issues raised in the presentation of the scorecard, for example on the absence of credible leadership, was not a true reflection of what was happening on the ground. Participants felt that leadership was in place to address issues between locals and non-nationals.
- There is reportedly a Masi Business Forum that represents the broader business community in Masiphumelele.
- Some felt that the community engagement was not done properly as they were not part of community entry activities. When further probed, the facilitator realised that some had mistaken the meeting with an actual dialogue. The process was explained to them and an agreement was reached.
- It was felt that the second presentation, on the struggles and challenges faced by non-nationals, should have been supplemented by a presentation from a member of the community to provide a more balanced perspective that reflects the challenges facing the local community as well. Some felt that non-nationals did not attend community meetings where some of their challenges could be discussed. The meeting was assured that their concerns are taken into account and that the upcoming community dialogues will provide the platform for open exchange of views and experiences.



The weeks following the Stakeholder Meeting were spent liaising with Steady Urayai from XRoots Africa and Nonkazimlo Mtimkhulu from Siyaqhuba. These two stakeholders are very active in Masiphumelele around issues of community development and peacebuilding. Furthermore, this was to follow up on matters raised during the meeting and to seek community input on planning for the community dialogue. In consultation with community members, the facilitator set up a 15-member Community Dialogue Task Team, comprised of 6 non-nationals and 9 locals, to assist with community mobilization and planning of future community dialogues. Taking into account the research findings regarding the reported lack of integration among non-national women, and the community perception of youth as the main perpetrators of violence and criminality, it was agreed that the first community dialogue will focus specifically on women and young people. This dialogue will also be an opportunity to prepare them to better engage in future community dialogues.

A task team for Masi was established as part of this process, and the team met on 3<sup>rd</sup> August. During this preparatory meeting, while attendance was poor (as multiple leaders were involved in the clean-up from a large fire that had engulfed Masiphumelele), in attendance was the councillor, a PR councillor and a representative from the Desmond Tutu Foundation. Nonetheless, during the meeting and in subsequent communication with other leaders, roles were identified and clarified.

After these preparations, the first dialogue – entitled “Unpacking issues that lead to conflict and unhealthy relationship between locals and foreign nationals” – took place on 29<sup>th</sup> August. During small group work, participants were invited to share their concerns and share their experiences. The dialogue plenary revealed that Masiphumelele does not consider xenophobia to be a major community problem. There was a clear distinction made between xenophobia and the community wanting to root out criminal elements and non-compliance. Participants – only South Africans – expressed concern that foreign nationals do not participate in local structures.



*Masiphumelele conflict timeline, as identified by dialogue participants, 29 August 2019*

As with other sites, planned dialogue events were suspended in September due to xenophobic attacks in the country and security concerns in Masi. However, stakeholder engagements – including with the Masi NGO Forum – continued, with the dialogue series set to re-commence in Q5.



In Q5, dialogue two (12<sup>th</sup> October), dialogue three (26<sup>th</sup> October), and dialogue four (5<sup>th</sup> November) took place. Dialogue two focused on exploring solutions to the issues of concern raised in dialogue one. Issues raised included poor communication, mistrust, disrespect and lack of accountability between foreign nationals and locals; poor leadership from both communities; poor management by local authorities such as SAPS; and a lack of resources leading to conflict over jobs and housing opportunities. Solutions identified included: holding regular meetings; community mobilisation; paying attention to language barriers; safety and security processes; business training; and other social cohesion processes.

Dialogue three used the values barometer activity, whereby the facilitator read out statements about foreign nationals in South Africa, and participants put themselves in the “yes”, “no” or “don’t know” categories. The exercise resulted in a robust and engaging dialogue. Dialogue four focused on the development of joint action plans, building on the solutions identified in dialogue two, and the values and attitudes in dialogue three. Using the five friends of planning, participants developed a series of action plans around (i) leadership, (ii) formal and informal businesses, (iii) safety and security, (iv) joint social responsibility programme, and (v) engagement between non-nationals and locals. *For more, please refer to the Masiphumelele local action plan.*



*Small group work during the second dialogue in Masiphumelele, 12 October 2019*

### 4.4.3. Lwandle/Nomzamo (Western Cape)

While tentative community entry activities took place in Lwandle, due to the capacity of facilitators and distances between sites, it was decided not to enter the site for the dialogue series.

#### Research Findings

Lwandle is an area that has previously experienced xenophobic violence, violent protests and considerable crime against foreign national shop owners. Despite this, research shows that the community is relatively cohesive and there are identifiable leadership structures in place that seek to maintain peace. These community leadership structures seem to be functional and are able to undertake interventions, implement conflict resolution mechanisms, and get involved as peacekeepers in cases of alleged xenophobia. There



is, however, a misunderstanding within the community regarding what constitutes xenophobia (as explained below). In this regard, it is paramount that any interventions in the area should clarify this, as well as contribute to understandings of xenophobia and the integration of foreign nationals in this community, especially Nigerians. In addition, members of the South African Police Services (SAPS) at times have been accused of being complicit with regards to some extra-legal activities by virtue of working with some structures within the community.

Community leaders appear to be competent and seem concerned about the needs of the community and are generally trusted by the residents of Lwandle. This includes the police. There have been attempts to resolve conflict in a non-violent manner. However, the extra-legal mechanisms employed by the taxi association have undermined community efforts to resolve its conflicts peacefully. Moreover, there are many service delivery protests which are sparked by a lack of housing in the area. Despite community members being encouraged to hold protests outside the area, property does get damaged during protests.

There does not seem to be xenophobic rhetoric within the community. Rather, the community appears to rise up against criminality and violence in the community regardless of whether the perpetrators are locals or foreign nationals. However, the understanding about what constitutes xenophobia is contested. Community members appear to disregard individual actions against foreign nationals as xenophobia. They also seem to think that perceptions of whether a foreign national is guilty or innocent contributes to whether or not actions are deemed xenophobic. Therefore, while the community is willing to stop acts of collective violence against foreign nationals, they do not seem to recognise and are blinded to small-scale xenophobia based on rumours and perceptions of wrongdoing. Community leadership, however, seems committed to stopping any possibility of xenophobia in the area. They believe that the community is cohesive.

Within this community, the leaders assume that everything is going well, but they cannot speak to how foreign nationals experience the community. The reasons for this are twofold: firstly, most foreign nationals running spaza shops are employed by the owners who live outside of the area, and secondly, community leaders communicate with owners of the spaza shops on issues mostly related to business. It was a major disadvantage for researchers not to be able to access foreign nationals in this community, particularly Ethiopians and Somalians. Those who are running spaza shops are hardly able to speak local languages and appear to be uncomfortable in speaking to outsiders/researchers without the consent of their bosses.

### **Community entry, dialogues, and local action plans**

In April 2019, following community protests over land, Lwandle was the site of attacks on foreign national-owned shops.<sup>7</sup> Following the research news and these reports, ALPS Resilience decided to enter Lwandle with caution. In May, the COM and community facilitator conducted informal tours of Lwandle, conducting informal community mapping exercises, speaking to several shop keepers and community

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<sup>7</sup> IOL, 30 April 2019, 'Somali shop owners flee for their lives amid xenophobic violence in the Cape'. Available at: <https://www.iol.co.za/capeargus/news/watch-somali-shop-owners-flee-for-their-lives-amid-xenophobic-violence-in-cape-22210377>



members. During this explorative engagement, it became clear that community partners and greater community knowledge was needed.

In this light, the team formed a connection to the Lwandle Migration Labour Museum. On 15<sup>th</sup> June, the Western Cape facilitation team attended a community panel discussion hosted by the Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum about migration and challenges that they are facing non-nationals. In this meeting, one member of the ALPS Resilience (Albert) was invited to be one of the panellists alongside Lesogo from the South African Human's Right Commission and Alex, a Community Activist and student at UCT studying Public Administration. This was an opportunity for the team to meet and engage other key stakeholders that work in the peacebuilding in Lwandle and other communities in the Western Cape. Some of the core issues raised in this meeting was the issue of Home Affairs service delivery to non-citizens. Going forward, it was suggested that we engage and bring Home Affairs and other key government departments such as Social Development and the City of Cape Town.

After initial community entry, it was decided by the Western Cape team to momentarily suspend work in Lwandle and focus on other sites in this quarter – namely, the continuation of activities in Zwelihle and Masiphumele; the exit of Imizamo Yethu; and the entry of Mbekweni.

#### 4.4.4. Mbekweni (Western Cape)

Mbekweni was the last site to be entered in the P2P process. After the exit from Imizamo Yethu, our P2P facilitator began to enter Mbekweni in June 2019. After stakeholder engagement, the dialogue series began; and in the timeline of the project, three dialogues were held, including the development of an action plan.

##### **Research Findings**

The research in Mbekweni uncovered a history of tension between community members from different backgrounds and origins. The community is divided in terms of those who were born in the Western Cape province, those born in the Eastern Cape, and those from elsewhere. As such, there have been many incidents of collective violence, especially between Western Cape 'borners' (those who were born in the area) and Eastern Cape migrants (those who were born in the rural areas of Eastern Cape). While, there are no major conflicts or tensions between foreign nationals and South Africans, tensions continue to exist between the 'borners' and Eastern Cape migrants, which may be typified as a category of xenophobia. It is alleged that the groups frequently compete over resources relating to service delivery, particularly housing. Somali shops are often looted during these service delivery protests. Those who were born in the Western Cape tend to claim more citizenship and have a sense of entitlement when it comes to services and opportunities. This group tends to think those who were born in the Eastern Cape are backward and look down on them. On the other hand, those who were born in the Eastern Cape view those who were born in the area as weak and lazy individuals. Consequently, these struggles create an ideological friction between these groups. This friction is exacerbated by 'borners', who are mostly backyarders, claiming that Eastern Cape migrants often stay in shacks and tend to receive more attention from government, especially RDP (Reconstruction and Development) houses. This often plays out in leadership structures when those who are from the Eastern Cape are elected in positions because they are the majority. Leadership structures are often crippled by factional battles between these groups.



The community has also been affected by xenophobic attacks where migrants from outside South Africa were targeted. These tensions still seem to be active, but more specifically between foreign nationals working in the farms and surrounding areas. These tensions have arisen around employment practices on farms in the area. Some farmers have allegedly been favouring the hiring of foreign nationals (especially Zimbabweans) over South Africans as foreign nationals are reportedly willing to work for lower wages than South Africans. Consequently, it was reported that South Africans have been evicted from housing on farms, resulting in unemployed persons settling in Mbekweni, which in turn has exacerbated tensions around access to housing. In short, the most commonly referred to xenophobic tensions appear to be aimed at foreign national farm workers who are perceived to be taking work opportunities away from South Africans. However, foreign-owned shops also seem to be targeted for looting whenever there is a protest. Since there are only a handful of shops that are owned by South Africans, and the community does experience frequent violent protests, this may be reported as xenophobic looting.

Currently, there appears to be a significant deficit in terms of trusted leadership and conflict resolution mechanisms in existence within Mbekweni. The community leadership in Mbekweni is considered inefficient and absent. Community members usually try to take care of community problems themselves. However, extra-legal groupings are said to be a challenge, and this makes it difficult for any structures to operate freely in the area. One such group is a structure that has allegedly used extra-legal mechanisms to control the community and who are perceived as corrupt and violent. Some residents refer to this group as a neighbourhood watch, but most refer to them as gangsters. This structure has allegedly blackmailed police officers and have reportedly intimidated residents that have stood up against them.

There is very little evidence of robust social cohesion in this community. Community leaders and police are generally mistrusted and perceived as corrupt and nepotistic. There also appears to be significant xenophobic sentiments in the community, including from Western Cape ‘borners’ against migrants from the Eastern Cape. The only thing that unites these two groups is when they both stand up against the foreign nationals who are considered as more problematic ‘outsiders’.

### **Community entry, dialogues, and local action plans**

Preparations for entering Mbekweni commenced in June, starting with the identification of key stakeholders via online searches, email communication, and telephone calls to possible contact persons. Organisations and community-based structures identified through this initial exercise, included the following: Siphamandla Community Organization; Mbekweni Community Health Organization; South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO); Nonqubela Senior Service Centre; Lukhanyo Youth Development Organisation; and Mbekweni Youth Forum.

On 14<sup>th</sup> June, the ALPS Resilience Community Outreach Manager and the site facilitator met with a member of SANCO and about five (5) community leaders to introduce the P2P project and to learn about the social dynamics and challenges in Mbekweni. Through the discussions, it became apparent that local community members view non-nationals as the “cause of the problems in Mbekweni”. Non-nationals are generally perceived as being responsible for drugs, and other criminal activities, such as rape and robberies, and are said to isolate themselves from the rest of the community. Representations also acknowledged that some locals take advantage of the presence of non-nationals by charging them high rentals for accommodation or business premises, and that there are reports of local collecting ‘protection fees’ from



non-national business owners. The SANCO representative and those present welcomed the P2P initiative and promised to attend future meetings.

After the stakeholder meeting of the 14<sup>th</sup> of June 2019, the site facilitator and ALPS Resilience's Community Outreach Manager visited the offices of Mbekweni Youth Centre. The centre caters for the interest of the youth in Mbekweni and has the potential to be a key stakeholder in the community. The team held a fruitful meeting with the centre manager, Mr Sewyn Petersen who assisted the team by linking the team to other stakeholders based in the local community health centre. Engagements are still ongoing.

Still on the same day of the 14<sup>th</sup> of June, the team concluded the day by visiting a local shop run by four (4) Somali nationals. The shop trades in clothing and household good such as luggage bags and food stuffs. The team briefly engaged with the shopkeepers and exchange contact details. The primary concern that the Somali shopkeepers raised to the team was the issue of rent-seeking by unscrupulous local leaders who are citizens. It appears that there is a vehicle that drives around the community from shop to shop collecting "protection" money from all the shops run by foreign nationals. Given the current dynamics in Mbekweni, the P2P dialogue series is highly needed in the community.

In July, engagements continued, including a meeting with local NGO representatives from Qolothani, SANCO, the councillor, and the Drakenstein municipal offices. Through these meetings, it became clear that leaders and residents identified the need for this type of project in Mbekweni, as well as the need for it to be politically neutral, include all, and be inclusive of foreign nationals. As a result, the P2P facilitator set up multiple formal and informal meetings with non-nationals, including Mozambicans, Ugandans, Zimbabweans, and Somalis. After multiple engagements, a meeting was set up with eight Somali (male) shopkeepers, in which the group aired their concerns about living in Mbekweni. They identified that xenophobia was not a major issue, but that the community was much more affected by the high levels of drug (Tik and dagga) use, often leading to robberies. Furthermore, and central to the ongoing support and growing success of the P2P project in Mbekweni, the involvement and support of the ward councillor has been central.

After extensive community engagement from June to August, the first community multi-stakeholder engagement took place on 6<sup>th</sup> September 2019. The majority of the participants were OmaGogo (grannies) with high amounts of community knowledge. The engagement asked the participants about the burning issues regarding foreign nationals; central in their concern was that foreign nationals were criminals, blaming the demise of Mbekweni on the arrival of foreign nationals. While foreign nationals had been extensively engaged, none came to the meeting, and it was felt by all that foreign nationals should be included in the process.





*The multi-stakeholder community entry meeting, Mbekweni, 6 September 2019*

The local dialogue process began in Q5, with dialogues one (11<sup>th</sup> October), two and three (6<sup>th</sup> November) taking place. Dialogue one focused on unpacking conflict using the conflict web activity – defining and exploring latent, surface and open conflict issues in Mbekweni – and the historical timeline methodology to create a timeline of the community’s conflict and xenophobic history. The programme for dialogues two and three were condensed into a one-day activity, and covered problem identification, problem solutions, and developing joint action plans. *For more on Mbekweni’s local dialogues, please refer to the local dialogue report and local action plan.*



*Participants during a dialogue activity, Mbekweni, 11 October 2019*

#### **4.4.5. Zwelihle (Western Cape)**

##### **Research Findings**

Zwelihle experienced a series of violent protests in 2018 relating to housing and access to land. Spaza shops, including those owned by foreign nationals, were looted during some of these protests. Foreign nationals and their properties were attacked and displaced because some of them decided to go to work and were accused of not supporting the protesters in their attempt to occupy a piece of empty land.



Respondents claimed that attacks on foreign nationals do not occur because they are hated or seen as ‘other’, but rather because certain foreign nationals were not part of the collective and did not support the protests. The looting was also considered by all, including foreign nationals, to be criminally motivated, since South African shops were also looted. However, some of the respondents complained that employers, especially in the hospitality industry, prefer to hire foreign nationals from Malawi and Zimbabwe. This has been a cause of concern and may destabilise relations between groups.

The protests over land also saw the emergence of Zwelihle Renewal, which has become a key power broker within the community. During researchers’ conversations with community members and some members of Zwelihle Renewal, this group appears to be unbiased in the way they deal with the community. However, due to political allegiances they are not trusted by all within the area. While the findings reveal that residents approach them to solve problems and keep the peace, they are viewed by some as being opportunistic. Although the group are entrusted with a conflict resolution mandate by some members in the community, such conflicts are often not solved in a peaceful manner. There is no communication from elected officials and so the community is looking towards radical groups to communicate on their behalf. Zwelihle appears to have devolved into an autocratic community led by unelected, yet representative, leaders. This has happened because community-based organisations are active but not functional; while NGOs are considered powerless. When researchers left the area the dynamics within the community were still volatile and there have been tensions between various groups of spaza shop owners as discussed below.

It was also established that there are very few problems between the foreign nationals and the community. The tensions are more between South African and Ethiopian shopkeepers regarding the opening of new shops in the area. The land occupation in the area has expanded and presented opportunities for opening spaza shops for both locals and foreign nationals. However, local entrepreneurs and Somali shopkeepers claimed that there are too many Ethiopians and that they should not be allowed to open new shops. They agreed that opportunities should be given to South Africans and Somalis who have fewer shops in the area. During the fieldwork, tensions between Ethiopians and Somalis/locals were high because one of the Ethiopians opened a shop without following the rules. Ethiopians were also accused of buying *pangas* (machetes) from the nearby hardware store in order to defend themselves should they be provoked or attacked.

### **Community entry, dialogues, and local action plans**

On 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> March 2019, the ALPS Resilience Community Outreach Manager visited Zwelihle to obtain an understanding of the situation and the key issues and to meet with key stakeholders. He met with local and non-national shop owners, Zwelihle business forum representatives, Zwelihle Renewal members, Land Party activists, community members, district municipality representatives, youth groups, the neighbourhood watch, the community policing forum, and a pastor who is said to be influential in the community. The purpose of these various stakeholder engagements was to obtain a better understanding of the community landscape and key issues, and to start the process of relationship-building with key persons and community-based structures in the area. He was also invited to attend the Manifesto launch of the Land Party.



On 27<sup>th</sup> March 2019, ALPS Resilience hosted its first community stakeholder meeting to launch the P2P Dialogues project in Zwelihle. In attendance were participants from ten (10) organisation that work in community development in Zwelihle, including a representative of the US Embassy, the ALPS Director and Deputy Director, the Overberg District Deputy Mayor, Chairperson of the Zwelihle Pastor Forum, members of the Land Party, members of Zwelihle Renewal, local shop owners, Somali and Ethiopian shop-owners, and representatives of non-government organisations, including Overstrand Unite, and the Youth Café. Following an introduction to ALPS Resilience, and a brief community mapping exercise, discussions turned to the current social cohesion and integration challenges between non-nationals and locals in Zwelihle. The meeting highlighted the following:

- *Business permits:* In terms of the local municipality structure, business licenses are issued by the Local Economic Development (LED) department in accordance with clearly defined legal requirements and criteria, Participants reported that due to the delays in issuing business licenses, many non-nationals and some local spaza shop owners do not have legal permits to operate shops in the area. The lack of legal permits render non-national business owners vulnerable to arrest by law enforcement agencies, resulting in them being charged for not having business licenses or on spurious claims that they sell expired goods. Non-nationals are reportedly expected to pay a fee/bribes to be released from police custody,
- *Zwelihle Business Forum:* The forum is comprised of Somali, Ethiopian, Bangladeshi and South African business owners, and was set-up to establish ethics, guidelines and opportunities for business operations in Zwelihle. However, broader migrant community, such as Malawians, Tanzanians, Zimbabweans, and Mozambicans, are still to be incorporated in the forum. One of the objectives of the business forum is to ensure that processes, such as the securing of business licenses, training and financial opportunities, are advocated for and accessed by business owners. However, local shop owners feel non-national shop owners “want to kill local shops”, because they open many spaza shops and supermarkets, and sell their goods at cheaper prices. Local shop owners feel that this creates unfair competition and want non-national shop owners to share their business model and strategies and exchange ideas on how to grow their businesses together. There is also a need for business training and funding to support businesses.
- *Lack of employment opportunities:* During recent community protests, the community was shut down and no-one was expected to go to work. As a result, however, white businesses fired local employees and hired non-nationals instead. Furthermore, there are many unskilled and unemployed youth but ward allocation funds to develop the community are apparently not used to this end. As a result, there are no opportunities for the youth, who then engage in criminal activity, often targeting the properties and businesses of non-nationals.
- *Perceptions of xenophobia:* One the stakeholder mentioned that there is misinformation of what is perceived as xenophobia, rumours affect relationships between foreign nationals and nationals. A lack of communication between the two parties can also be a contributory factor, for example, only four non-nationalities are represented in the stakeholder meeting, and it has to be asked where the other non-nationals are.
- *Existing problem-solving mechanisms:* Participants felt that like any other community, Zwelihle has its challenges and problems. However, they felt that with structures such as Zwelihle Renewal, the business forum, the pastors’ forum, and the youth café who were among the peacemakers during the looting in 2018, the community has demonstrated their ability and willingness to collectively



solve their own problems, together as non-nationals and nationals. There is a strong sense of community leadership and working relationship between non-nationals and local community members.

Going forward, it was agreed to explore the following:

- Meeting with municipality to sort out business permits & business zoning.
- Business and skills training opportunities.
- Meeting with the Department of Home Affairs and Immigration in Hermanus
- More stakeholder engagement for connection and communication to “find each other”.

From 24<sup>th</sup> to 27<sup>th</sup> April, the ALPS facilitator visited Zwelihle to follow up on meetings and activities agreed to with stakeholders in the previous quarter. The purpose of the visit was to deliver the report of the Stakeholders Meeting, held on 27<sup>th</sup> March, to relevant stakeholders, and to finalise arrangements for the hosting of the first community dialogue.

The first community dialogue was held at the Community Centre on 26<sup>th</sup> April. The dialogue was attended by representatives from the following organization together with representatives from the Overstrand Municipality’s Local Economic Development Department: Zwelihle Pastor Forum Leader; Land Party Representatives; Local shop owners; Somalia shop owners; Ethiopians shop owners; Overstrand Unite Representatives; Community Police Forum Member; and Community members. The purpose of the community dialogue was to obtain a better understanding and address the social tensions and points of conflict in Zwelihle, in order to strengthen leadership capacities in existing community-based structures. Following the welcome and introduction of participants and the ALPS Resilience facilitation team, and the setting of ground rules, the dialogue participants were asked to identify the main causes and types of conflict in their community, using the conflict mapping and iceberg exercises. Like other sites currently on the P2P Dialogue series, local participants raised a number of issues about xenophobic tensions in the community – largely stereotypical views of non-nationals. The non-nationals that participated in the dialogue spoke of the fear they live in since the xenophobic violence that took place in the community in 2018.

The key issue that was raised in this dialogue by most stakeholders participating in the dialogue was the issue of local government service delivery. Participants in the dialogue raised a number of issues with regards to the Overstrand Municipality’s issuing of trading licenses to spaza shops. It seems that the municipality has been issuing trading licenses to mostly non-nationals in the community at the expense of locals. A representative from the Local Economic Development department of the municipality was also present in the dialogue and was able to give a brief response to the allegations levelled against the municipality.

Following the productive and successful first dialogue in Zwelihle, a second dialogue was conducted on 16<sup>th</sup> May 2019. However, this dialogue representative a sharp shift from previous P2P engagements. No non-nationals were in attendance; and the platform was overtaken by the Overstrand Liquor Forum, who made strong claims against non-nationals and who dominated the space. Their heavy presence in the dialogue was intimidating to other participants, and the dialogue ended without meeting its objectives.





*The second community dialogue in Zwelihle, 16 May 2019*

Given the experience of the second dialogue in Zwelihle, it was decided to re-enter Zwelihle from 5<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> June and to conduct stakeholder meetings. The P2P team met with a number of stakeholders, including: the Overstrand Municipality (including the Mayor, and the Departments of Planning and Infrastructures, and Local Economic Development (LED)); Overstrand Business Forum; representatives of local businesses; Overstrand Liquor Forum; Somali business owners; leadership of Somali women; Burundian business owners; leaders of the RDP Centre; a former ward councillor; and Ethiopian leadership. The purpose of this visit was to follow up on activities agreed to during the community dialogue of 26<sup>th</sup> April, and to understand the reasons for the reported boycott by the Overstrand Business Forum and the non-national business owners of the second community dialogue. Furthermore, these meeting sought to organize another dialogue in Zwelihle set for July 2019.

The key issues raised in the respective meetings are as follows:

- *Trading permits:* LED reported that it has been registering complaints from both local and non-national business owners about delays in the issuing of Informal Trading Permits. However, the by-laws that govern informal trading in Overstrand Municipality were dissolved and are currently being rewritten. There is presently a public consultation process in place to receive public submissions and opinions, which will inform an informal trading policy.
- *Business forum:* LED indicated their preference for the establishment of a single business forum (the Overstrand Business Organisation) to serve as a business umbrella, overseeing all informal trading issues in Overstrand.
- *Concerns from local businesses:* There is a perception among local business owners that non-national businesses have an unfair advantage because they reportedly pay bribes to municipal officials, for example, to be issued with licences to sell electricity from their shops.
- Ethiopian business owners reportedly continue to open new shops, disregarding an agreement reached last year to implement a ‘quota’ system in order to decrease the number of foreign owned businesses in Zwelihle.
- It is alleged that in the run-up to the May 2019 national and provincial elections about R100 000 was collected by the Land Party – linked to Zwelihle Renewal – from non-national business owners in the Zwelihle, Mount Pleasant and Hawston areas in exchange for protection against attacks on

their business. Presently, non-national business owners are reportedly required to pay a monthly fee to the Land Party, fuelling perceptions that they are behind the reported extortion activities.

- The Overstrand Business Forum (whose membership is predominantly construction contractors) claims to represent the interests of all business owners in Zwelihle/Mount Pleasant and surrounding areas. However, non-national business owners were reportedly intentionally excluded, and local business owners engaged in different enterprises (such as liquor trading, tuck shops, taxi/transport industry) reportedly do not feel represented by the forum and are now lobbying for the establishment of a ‘neutral business forum’.
- *Concerns from non-nationals:* The main concern is the practice by Overstrand municipal law enforcement officials to impose fines of R1500 on non-national owned businesses for not having informal trading permits, despite the delays in LED to issue such permits. Law enforcement officials are reportedly also more likely to extract bribes than to accept payment for the ‘legal fines’ from the businesses concerned.
- *Meeting with the Mayor:* The Mayor welcomed the P2P project activities in Zwelihle. He acknowledged that there may be several issues and dynamics that hamper the smooth implementation of the project, which he attributed to the presence of ‘negative forces’, such as the Land Party and Zwelihle Renewal. The mayor is not the only stakeholder that shares a negative view of the Land Party and Zwelihle Renewal. A number of other stakeholders share this sentiment. This means that there is considerable mistrust amongst stakeholders in the community. The Mayor committed to looking into reports of the arbitrary impositions of fines and alleged bribery by municipal law enforcement officials and to those responsible accountable.

After these engagements in June, the P2P process gained traction and support in the community. The dialogue process was able to continue, as well as the development and implementation of a local action plan. The local action plan involves the creation of an informal business forum, comprises of multiple stakeholders. After xenophobic attacks in 2018, the inclusion of foreign nationals into the dialogue and action planning spaces has been remarkable; and multiple nationalities – Somalis, Burundians and Ethiopians – have become strongly engaged. Given the challenges elsewhere in the country in terms of including foreign nationals in the space, their extensive and active participation in Zwelihle is a real achievement within the project. This has been achieved through pre-existing networks between our facilitator (also a refugee) and Zwelihle foreign nationals, and extensive engagement and meetings, concentrated in July with all foreign national groups, including an extensive mapping of all shops in Zwelihle, including those owned by Somalis, Ethiopians, Bangladeshis, and South Africans.





*Engagement with Somali women and their families, Zwelihle, July 2019*



*Massay, an Ethiopian shopkeeper, outside his shop in Zwelihle, during the shop mapping, July 2019*

In addition to strong engagement with all foreign national groups, the P2P team has developed significant relationships with representatives from across the Overstrand municipality, the SAPS, community political structures (including the ANC and the Land Party), business forums, ward councillors, Zwelihle Renewal, schools, NGOs, and other community structures. In the past and present, there have been and remain tensions between these structures: particularly between the municipality, councillors and ANC on the one side, and the Land Party and Zwelihle Renewal on the other. As such, ALPS Resilience has had to make clear that its role and value is in remaining neutral and inclusive; and this approach has worked well, with active participation across community structures in Zwelihle.

In August and September (one each month), a community dialogue and action plan – a Zwelihle informal trade stakeholder meeting – took place. The two processes are intertwined – with the dialogues providing more open space for general conversations and airing of views and feelings; and the stakeholder meetings being more practically oriented and aiming to form an association. The action plan – the decision to form an inclusive business forum for informal traders in Zwelihle – came about as a result of the community dialogue held on 25<sup>th</sup> September, which focused on joint decision making and problem solving.

On 5<sup>th</sup> August and 17<sup>th</sup> September, as part of the community action plan, there were Zwelihle informal trader stakeholder meetings. Central among the discussion points and aims of the meetings is to resolve the perpetual conflict between informal traders, particularly the conflicts between South African and foreign national traders.

In Q5, Zwelihle has had stakeholder engagement (15<sup>th</sup> October), dialogue five (23<sup>rd</sup> October), and dialogue six (13<sup>th</sup> November). The result of the dialogue and stakeholder engagement processes has been the inception of the Zwelihle Informal Trading Council (ZITC), and realisation of the Zwelihle action plan. The inception of a new community body – that is inclusive of foreign nationals and South Africans, and which is supported by key stakeholders – is a huge achievement of the P2P project.

After extensive engagement with all parties in stakeholder meetings and community dialogues, facilitated by P2P on a monthly basis in August, September and October, consensus was reached that an informal businesses association would be the most efficient community institution to deal effectively with all critical issues and concerns that were identified to be the main causes of conflict between Zwelihle informal traders, in particular, non-nationals and their hosts in the community at large. The key issues and concerns raised were:

- Shops Closing Times: advised to close at 20:00 pm but foreign national-owned shops choose to operate until late.
- Lack of cooperation and support from foreign nationals in the community.
- The need to form a Business Forum for Informal Traders in Zwelihle.
- The need to regulate setting up of Spaza/Tuck-shops by Street in Zwelihle.
- Compliance with Informal Trading Licensing in Zwelihle.

In the stakeholder meeting on 15<sup>th</sup> October, participants engaged in defining and formalizing the conceptual framework of the planned Zwelihle informal business forum; and mandated a “Social Cohesion Task Team”. Similarly, dialogue five on 23<sup>rd</sup> October aimed to confirm the provisional composition of the forum managing board (offices) and the proposed office bearers (nationalities); and finalize the composition of the M&E Task Team that would support the ZITC (including non-citizen nationalities; various municipal departments; and Zwelihle stakeholders). From the dialogue, the ZITC was formally conceptualized; its mandate defined; the mandate of six members/delegates from the ZITC who were to sit (but not serve) on the board of the already existing Overstrand Business Forum were decided; the M&E Task Team was established; and the role of the M&E Task Team as a voluntary, multidisciplinary and advisory body was defined and agreed upon. Finally, dialogue six (13<sup>th</sup> November) resulted in the formal institution of the Zwelihle Informal Trading Council. *For more on the structures in the ZITC and the community dialogues, please refer to the Zwelihle action plan and local dialogues report.*





*Participants at the inception of the Zwelible Information Trading Council, Zwelible, 13 November 2019*

#### **4.4.6. Bellville South (Western Cape)**

The research found that Bellville South had multiple pre-existing channels for community conflict resolution. As such, it was decided that the P2P intervention was not necessary in Bellville South, and should instead focus on other sites.

##### **Research Findings**

Bellville South is considered a relatively ‘safe haven’ for foreign nationals, particularly Somalis, as it reportedly does not have a history of xenophobia or xenophobic violence. Despite major challenges of securing formal interviews with Somali residents, comments by the respondents in this research suggests that there is considerable social cohesion in this area. In addition, the research findings also showed that conflict resolution mechanisms have been successfully employed by a variety of community leaders and organisations to manage tensions. Key stakeholders in this regard are the ward councillor, the Imam, and the Bellville South Community Policing Forum (CPF).

Observations reveal there is evidence of significant social cohesion in Bellville South. A possible contributing factor is that people living in predominantly Coloured areas, where religious involvement is emphasised, tended to be more accepting of foreign nationals because they do not necessarily see them as ‘other’ or ‘different’. Coloured people are descended from different races and nationalities and therefore may recognise a bit of themselves in every race or nationality. So much so that in the Western Cape, everyone who is not White or Black African is often thought of as ‘Coloured’. This is especially true of Muslim foreign nationals, because of the familiarity with Muslim culture even amongst Christian Coloured people.

This often leads to a blanket acceptance of everyone in their communities. When asked why there is little violence in the community, most respondents claimed that it was: “the Coloured culture”; “the Coloured upbringing”; or that “Coloured people are simply not violent”. While this is not necessarily true, it is highly unlikely that violence in Coloured communities will be based on contrasting identities, and especially not national identities. In urban Coloured communities, much of the population understands or is aware of Muslim culture, which contributes to the acceptance of Muslim foreign nationals, particularly Somalis.

There is no singular Coloured identity that dictates collective action, collective spaces, or collective behaviour. Therefore, there is no strong attachment to or ownership of the surrounding spaces, which means that they do not often claim that others should not invade those spaces.

Another contributing factor to the good relations is that the area is a predominantly residential area and that there are few people who choose to run businesses in the space. Therefore, there is less business competition leading to tensions between locals and foreign nationals or between foreign nationals themselves. Most of the foreign nationals living in Bellville South own shops in the Bellville CBD and thus are not seen to be ‘taking’ any opportunities from local residents. The area also appears to be quite affluent, with many residents finding job opportunities, finding it easier to travel to work outside Bellville due to it being a transport hub, and finding many opportunities for self-improvement due to the proximity of tertiary institutions such as Northlink College, the Cape Peninsular University of Technology (CPUT) and the University of the Western Cape (UWC). However, differences in cultural practices and beliefs have nonetheless contributed to tensions at times, and foreign nationals do not feel entirely at home in the area. For example, a Somali female respondent explained that she would never expect her neighbours to help her, not because she was Somali, but because “nobody helps anybody here”.<sup>8</sup>

There are strong, trusted and effective community leaders in Bellville South. The councillor seems to be trusted by most community members and has been frequently approached by residents from various backgrounds, including foreign nationals, to facilitate the resolution of certain issues affecting the community. The CPF and sector forums appear to enjoy high levels of trust amongst community members as well, despite some accusations of being exclusionary. On the other hand, the presence of the mosque appears to be extremely helpful with regards to conflict resolution. The Imam is the key person for community leaders to approach with regards to issues around foreign nationals, especially Somalis; while the Imam is also the point of contact for Somalis to approach for problem-solving. The Muslim identity appears to be a strong unifying factor, allowing Muslim foreign nationals to be seen as part of the Muslim community. Indeed, nationality does not seem to be an impediment to the Muslim identity in Bellville South.

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<sup>8</sup> Interview with Somali national, Bellville South, 21 January 2019.



# 5. Challenges

## 5.1. Xenophobic attacks and other events

National and provincial level events, as well as local events, have affected project progression across the project. The national election in May 2019 led sites to be highly politicised during that time, which complicated community entry in many sites. Ramadan (May-June 2019) also affected the ability of Muslim participants to take part in project activities and engage in stakeholder meetings. By far the greatest challenge to the project were localised, provincial and national xenophobic attacks.

In the run-up to the national elections in May this year, and at a time when South Africa's newly launched National Action Plan to Combat Racism, Xenophobia and Intolerances was kick-started, xenophobic attacks against non-nationals are once again news headlines. In March, xenophobic violence erupted across several townships in KwaZulu Natal, causing the forced displacement of hundreds of Malawians and other non-nationals. The attacks soon spread to Limpopo and other parts of the country. Through the Department of International Affairs and Cooperation, the government hastily called a meeting of African diplomats in the country, claiming that the violence was not xenophobic but was instead instigated by criminal elements. Despite such public utterings, politicians, linked to the ruling party, continue to lay every social ill – from poverty to lack of jobs to overcrowding of the public health system – at the door of non-nationals. To mitigate these risks, and mindful of our commitment to meet the project objectives, ALPS Resilience adopted a more flexible approach for the implementation of community dialogues. Going into the third quarter, our plan was to initiate community entry and engage stakeholders in the selected sites that are relatively unaffected by community violence. As the elections approach, and in the immediate post-election period, our approach to the community dialogues was constantly reviewed to ensure that we meet our objectives and maintained the principle of 'no harm' in respect of staff, local facilitators, and project beneficiaries alike.

Once more, and on a larger scale, attacks broke out in Gauteng, the Eastern Cape, and KwaZulu Natal in August-September 2019. ALPS temporarily halted P2P project activities due to violence that was targeted at foreign nationals in Gauteng and KwaZulu Natal. Violence in the Gauteng province affected activities in the People to People Dialogues (P2P) project with Mayfair and Katlehong being suspended. Activities in other provinces were continued – with increased security planning – as they were not directly affected by the violence. Foreign nationals in all provinces expressed concerns for their safety and security, belonging and inclusion in South Africa. The violence was initially concentrated in Gauteng and independently there were issues in KwaZulu Natal and the Eastern Cape. Through staff reports from throughout the country ALPS was aware that through social media and community-level messaging negative and hostile messages were being sent to foreign nationals. ALPS teams worked to address these issues in the communities we work, to prevent violence and building community cohesion.

Gauteng:



Widespread looting began in Gauteng with police raids early in August, in Johannesburg CBD, targeting shops thought to be selling counterfeit goods. SABC News reported that counterfeit clothing and footwear were confiscated during the raids.<sup>9</sup> The raids resulted in 15 individuals being arrested for “various offenses” and the confiscation of R10 million worth of goods.<sup>10</sup> The Gauteng SAPS spokesperson, Captain Mavela Masondo, that some of those arrested were charged immigration violations.<sup>11</sup> The claims made by Captain Masondo have been disputed with some of the immigrants who were arrested stating that they had shown police valid papers.<sup>12</sup> Those who were arrested were sent to Lindela Repatriation Centre to await verification of the documents or to be deported. Claims were made by some of those arrested that their documents were confiscated illegally by police and no attempt was made at verification of their documents.<sup>13</sup>

The acts of policemen in the CBD lead to widespread looting in of foreign owned shops throughout the province. The spread in looting and violence began with a planned shutdown of Pretoria and Johannesburg. The shutdown was in protest on several issues, but central to the protests was the removal foreigners from South Africa. These were initially planned for 1-2 September. Widescale looting of foreign-owned shops has been ongoing since Sunday (1 September) and continues.

Areas affected include:

- Johannesburg CBD, including Hillbrow, Turffontein, Jeppestown<sup>14</sup>, Malvern, Brixton and Mayfair, where large numbers of shops have been looted.
- Johannesburg central: Germiston, Tembisa<sup>15</sup>, Kempton Park.
- Near Alberton, Katlehong<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> SABC News. August 2019. Police Raid several Joburg CBD stores. Available: <http://www.sabcnews.com/sabcnews/police-raid-several-joburg-cbd-stores/>

<sup>10</sup> TimesLive. September 2019. Police confiscate R10m in counterfeit goods, arrest 15 in Fordsburg raid. Available: <https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2019-09-11-police-confiscate-r10m-in-counterfeit-goods-arrest-15-in-fordsburg-raid/>

<sup>11</sup> TimesLive. September 2019. Police confiscate R10m in counterfeit goods, arrest 15 in Fordsburg raid. Available: <https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2019-09-11-police-confiscate-r10m-in-counterfeit-goods-arrest-15-in-fordsburg-raid/>

<sup>12</sup> Zoë Postman. August 2019. GroundUp. Immigrants arrested in JHB raids say they showed police valid papers. Available: <https://www.groundup.org.za/article/immigrants-arrested-jhb-raids-say-they-showed-police-valid-papers/>

<sup>13</sup> Zoë Postman. August 2019. GroundUp. Immigrants arrested in JHB raids say they showed police valid papers. Available: <https://www.groundup.org.za/article/immigrants-arrested-jhb-raids-say-they-showed-police-valid-papers/>

<sup>14</sup> Daily Maverick. Several areas around Johannesburg remained on lockdown on Monday following violent unrest which started in Jeppestown on Sunday. Foreign nationals became the target of attacks which saw people beaten, shops looted, and properly set alight. Available: <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2019-09-02-joburg-traders-and-random-people-terrorised-and-beaten-by-weapon-wielding-looters-amid-a-lame-police-response/>

<sup>15</sup> Sowetan Live. Septmeber 2019. Foreign-owned shops looted in Tembisa. <https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/south-africa/2019-09-02-foreign-owned-shops-looted-in-tembisa/>

<sup>16</sup> ENCA. September 2019. Overnight looting continues in parts of Guateng. Available: <https://www.enca.com/news/overnight-looting-continues-parts-guateng>



- Alexandra; Soweto, including Florida, to the north, where footage is circulating of an Africa man being stoned.
- Pretoria West<sup>17</sup>, near Marabastad, where – amid protests by the taxi association – some shacks were burned.
- Springs where one person was killed<sup>18</sup> and eMalahleni (Witbank) in Mpumalanga

During the lootings over 200 people were arrested and at least 5 people were killed in violence, but reporting on this figure remains scarce.<sup>19</sup> The violence was blamed on criminality rather than xenophobia which is common rhetoric from government officials.<sup>20</sup>

### KwaZulu Natal and the Eastern Cape

The outbreak of violence in Johannesburg and surrounding areas in Gauteng spread to KwaZulu Natal and the Eastern Cape. The violence targeted two shops in Durban where arsonists attempted to burn shops while the owners were inside.<sup>21</sup> The incidents took place in KwaDabeka near Pinetown and in Newlands West just north of Durban. There were reports that foreign nationals who owned businesses paid protection money to South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco).<sup>22</sup> In the Richards Bay area protests began in a service delivery protest but there have been conflicting reports regarding the motives behind the protests, there have been claims that the protests are targeting foreign nationals for ‘drug dealing’.<sup>23</sup>

The violence in the Eastern Cape has gone unreported in the press, while ALPS staff on the ground have reported to Headquarters on violence against foreign nationals.

### Freight Industry Strikes

Antiforeigner sentiments have spilled into the freight industry with strikes relating to the employment of foreign truck drivers. This has resulted in 200 deaths since March 2018, concentrated in Gauteng and KwaZulu Natal. A protest began on Sunday (1 September), concentrating around Richard’s Bay (where

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<sup>17</sup> Ditaba Tsotetsi. SABC News. September 2019. 17 arrested following the looting of foreign-owned shops in Pretoria. Available: <http://www.sabcnews.com/sabcnews/17-arrested-following-the-looting-of-foreign-own-shops-in-pretoria/>

<sup>18</sup> Kimnerly Muatandiro. News 24. SA man shot dead in Springs during looting of foreign-owned shop. Available: <https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/sa-man-shot-dead-in-springs-during-looting-of-foreign-owned-shop-20190905>

<sup>19</sup> Aljazeera. Five killed in attacks on foreigners in South Africa. Available: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/09/south-africa-scores-held-looting-anti-foreigner-protests-190903064029232.html>

<sup>20</sup> BBC. Dozens arrested in South Africa as looting rocks Johannesburg. Available: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-49550429>

<sup>21</sup> Siboniso Mngadi & Kwandohhule Njoli. September 2019. Foreign owned shops under threat in Durban. Available: <https://www.iol.co.za/sunday-tribune/news/foreign-owned-shops-under-threat-in-durban-16843762>

<sup>22</sup> Yamkela Ntshongwana & Ground Up. April 2019. Foreign shop owners in Eastern Cape pay Sanco, business forum ‘protection money’. Available: <https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2019-04-12-foreign-shop-owners-in-eastern-cape-pay-sanco-business-forum-protection-money/>

<sup>23</sup> Tom Head. August 2019. Richards Bay descends into anarchy as violent protesters run riot. Available: <https://www.thesouthafrican.com/videos/richards-bay-protests-why-latest-traffic-21-august-video/>



foreign nationals have been targeted over the last few months). At least 20 people have been arrested.<sup>24</sup> There are also reports of protests along the eSwatini-South Africa border post (Oshoek), with South Africa truck drivers blocking the way; as well as reports of planned blocks by Zimbabwean Cross Border Transport Association at the South Africa-Zimbabwe borders.<sup>25</sup>

### International Responses

The attacks were widely covered in international press, including BBC, Al Jazeera, and the Washington Post. The Nigerian High Commission issued a strong statement and sent a special envoy to South Africa. Following protests in Nigeria – led by the Students’ Association – over the last few months about violence against Nigerians in South Africa. Further, Zambia cancelled their friendly football match with Bafana Bafana.

## 5.2. Research Constraints: Methodological & access-related

**Politicization:** In areas where there were upcoming elections and/or contestation between groups, the researchers were often suspected by respondents as being spies or members of opposing political parties. For example, in Zwelihle, one of the researchers was wearing a blue t-shirt on the day of fieldwork. Some residents were suspicious and mentioned that they did not trust strangers wearing the colours of the Democratic Alliance (DA). The assumption was that researchers could be spies sent by their opponents (presumably the DA) to spy on them. Some respondents also questioned the timing of the research as the research took place shortly before the 2019 national elections. KwaZulu-Natal areas and Zwelihle were similar in terms of being highly politicized spaces, not just for locals but also for foreign nationals. Hence, many respondents appeared guarded during the interview process. In KwaZulu-Natal, for example, political assassinations are a regular occurrence, and as a result, many local councillors have armed bodyguards accompanying them. This made it difficult for the research team to set up meetings with politicians and councillors.

**Time and contacts/networks:** Within the researcher sites, one ideally needed months to build relationships and trust with residents. Site visits of only two to three days ensured that many of those respondents gained through the snowball technique were unavailable. For example, in Imizamo Yethu, one respondent wanted us to give her two months to get everyone together, and start a WhatsApp group, claiming “researchers can’t just come in there and expect people to be available”.

**Community dynamics:** It was often difficult to understand the dynamics of the various communities

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<sup>24</sup> Tom Head. August 2019. Richards Bay descends into anarchy as violent protesters run riot. Available: <https://www.thesouthafrican.com/videos/richards-bay-protests-why-latest-traffic-21-august-video/>

<sup>25</sup> Mel Frykberg. September 2019. Zimbabwe threatens to stop cross-border traffic with SA if xenophobic attacks continue. Available: <https://www.iol.co.za/business-report/economy/zimbabwe-threatens-to-stop-cross-border-traffic-with-sa-if-xenophobic-attacks-continue-31706866>



and ask relevant questions if one has not had sufficient time to undertake extensive background field research relating each community. As pointed out earlier in this report, desktop and media reports can often be misleading. Some of the respondents claimed that the researchers did not really know what was happening in the community. Examples of some of the comments were as follows: “Did you just learn this in the media?” “Do you know the real story?” “Did you even do research?” Often, researchers initially approached the inappropriate/irrelevant community representatives who did not possess the relevant authority.

**Over-researched areas:** Many of the communities appeared to have been over-researched (by other research groups) and claimed to have never experienced any benefits of the research findings. Researchers were often viewed as people who just visited the area to mine the community for information for their own purposes without providing feedback to the community.

**Somali-focus:** Cultural and other differences make it very difficult for non-Somali researchers to access potential Somali respondents, and the lack of facilitation from SASA made this very difficult for the research team.

**Budget constraints:** The limited research budget and the available time was limited, resulting in only two researchers being allocated to most sites. This is an aspect that will need to be revisited for future programming.

### 5.3. Other Challenges

A key challenge in all dialogue sites has been securing the participation of non-nationals in stakeholder meetings and community dialogues. This has meant that the facilitation teams had to devote considerable time in attempts to establish contacts with non-nationals and build sufficient trust in order to secure their participation in the P2P project activities. In the Eastern Cape, where this strategy seems to have yielded some success, it is still reported that planned stakeholder engagements and dialogues had to be postponed on more than one occasion in order to secure reasonable participation of non-nationals. In Katlehong (Gauteng) and KwaZulu Natal, due to the low attendance of non-nationals in stakeholder meetings, and the reported tensions between locals and non-nationals, the facilitation teams decided to host separate meetings and dialogues for the two groups. While there is merit in this approach, the concern is if a joint dialogue within the remaining project period will afford locals and non-nationals (and the facilitation teams) sufficient time to build trust and enable them to develop and implement a sustainable joint action plan.

A second important challenge relates to the perceived power and influence of gatekeepers in communities. As illustrated in Imizamo Yethu, key stakeholders or organisations that arrogate themselves a gatekeeping role, have the potential to frustrate and even thwart the efforts of external actors, such as ALPS, to implement initiatives aimed at building cohesive and development-focused communities. To this, ALPS closely monitored the situation in Zwelihle, where it is reported that some stakeholders organised a boycott of a P2P community dialogue. This required more frequent site visits and more focused engagements with concerned stakeholders to defuse tensions and divisions as they arise.



Lastly, the short timeframe of the project has meant that, in some sites, local action plans have been developed but there has not been sufficient time to implement these plans. ALPS is working to find more funding in order to continue to support these activities and community processes



# 6. Lessons Learned & Project Innovations

ALPS Resilience completed this project on time and on budget. There are several achievements and lessons learnt. The project has been extremely successful with communities organizing themselves to hold dialogues not only around xenophobia but other communities' issues.

There were a number of challenges that were identified during the project. The ALPS Programme Director commenced direct supervision of the project in September and added two additional full-time staff to support ensuring the project progressed in a disciplined and focused manner. A more seasoned field management team in the beginning of the project would have strengthened the project and a tighter internal reporting structure would have served the project better.

The use of local organisations served the project well on one hand, but also reduced the direct control ALPS Resilience had in the field. In addition, working multiple provinces brings its own challenges it may have been useful for ALPS Resilience to have an office in KZN and Gauteng to ensure the smooth operation of project activities.

ALPS Resilience has received useful feedback from both beneficiaries and other project staff which will enhance the continuation of the project. Despite the discontinuation of funding, ALPS Resilience intends to continue project activities in the new year (2020) by looking for external funding from other donors. ALPS Resilience has chosen to continue site activities in Gauteng and the Western Cape where ALPS Resilience has permanent presence.

## 6.1. Research Lessons Identified and Solutions Pursued

During the research process a number of key positive lessons were identified and important solutions pursued in relation to the constraints encountered.

**Community access through existing networks:** Researchers were able to link up with non-governmental and community organizations who were already working with foreign nationals in some of the targeted areas, and many of these organizations were able to provide researchers with access to some relevant respondents. This approach was particularly useful in the Western Cape, Gauteng and the Eastern Cape through the aid of ALPS Resilience, the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR) and the Eastern Cape Refugee Centre (ECRC), respectively. KwaZulu-Natal was a province where researchers had few connections, and where it was extremely difficult to gain the trust of the community. In some areas, researchers were able to gain access to relevant respondents through previously existing personal networks.



**Making use of existing foreign national networks:** In sites that where there were relatively significant populations of foreign nationals (especially Somalis), researchers were able to use connections from previously researched sites to make contact with relevant foreign nationals in some of the other research sites. For example, a Somali contact in Mayfair assisted the research teams in making contact with foreign national respondents in Atteridgeville.

**The role of the police:** Although the police were often not trusted by foreign national residents in many of the targeted areas, in the KwaZulu-Natal targeted areas, the research team found the local police to have been being particularly helpful in identifying potential respondents and making the necessary introductions. The police also had a well-informed understanding of the relevant community dynamics in these areas.

**Use of foreign national facilitators:** In some areas the research teams were assisted by Somali facilitators/interpreters. In such cases it appeared that respondents were less suspicious of the research team and were more open in their responses during the interview process.

In the first quarter, as part of the research process, ALPS made the below-listed adaptations to project components, based on insights and learning gained during project implementation:

- Once ALPS Resilience was informed by the research team of the difficulties it was having in terms of building trust and securing interviews with foreign nationals, ALPS Resilience reached out to partners in the Eastern Cape who will directly assist the SaVI team with setting up interviews with refugee and migrant groups. We will apply the same in Gauteng and KZN.
- As outlined, in initial meetings, USAID and ALPS Resilience discussed the prospects for the implementation of dialogues in all 15 selected sites. It was agreed upon that, only after the research phase, could the viability of community dialogues and local action plans be assessed. As such, the design of the program was adjusted, with the requirement of 10-15 sites for dialogues. This important adaptation and design learning means (i) we will more strongly comply with the do no harm principle, and (ii) have a higher chance of success in selected communities. Also tied into this learning was the direct connection of the research to the intervention phase, with the researchers developing the scorecard and providing analysis on the viability of the dialogues project.
- In complement to the AMEP, ALPS Resilience produced an internal Project Monitoring and Evaluation Plan (PMEP) to guide its measurement of progress and results in the implementation of the P2P Project, as well as to provide a framework by which to incorporate feedback and make continuous project improvements. The PMEP aligns with the AMEP developed to assist USAID in its monitoring of the P2P Project. In the course of developing the PMEP, we realized that we had not included the research outputs and activities in the design of the AMEP submitted to USAID. We have since corrected the omission, maintaining the original Development Result and Intermediate Result, and making changes only in the articulation of the Sub-Intermediate Results.



## 6.2. Community dialogue lessons learned

- **Including local government:** The communities we are conducting our work are vulnerable communities. As such, most conflicts in general stem from the competition for resources. Furthermore, conflicts are compounded by the lack of proper communication channels amongst community leadership structures. The lack of proper communication channels in these communities further deepens community mistrust. The poor community communication channels, competition for resources and deep levels of mistrust exacerbate xenophobic tensions in these communities. One of the key community leadership structures that can play a greater positive role in peacebuilding in the different sites is local government. As noted from stakeholder views from the different sites, local government's role in peacebuilding is often misunderstood and that creates another avenue for conflict. Often, xenophobic attacks in these communities usually start when service delivery protest occur. This means that there is a relationality between poor service delivery, poor lines of communication, inequality and xenophobic tensions. As such, ALPS Resilience has learned the importance of – as far as possible – including local government representatives in dialogues processes.
- **Community entry:** Relatedly, through our processes of community entry over the last quarter, it has become clear that community entry activities must occur not only at the beginning of community activities, but must be a continual activity throughout the project. This will help to ensure key stakeholder, gatekeeper and community buy-in. We have experienced strong gatekeeping in several communities, with the need to balance being respectful of community processes and structures, not being co-opted by one group, and attempting to implement the project.
- **Value of engaging with South Africans in dialogues:** As mentioned in the challenges section, gaining active participation from foreign nationals has been difficult in some communities. In Katlehong, the fact that foreign national business owners were displaced in 2018 and had not returned (with their shops being taken over by South Africans, as discovered by the researchers and affirmed by our facilitators), a decision had to be made about whether to continue with activities in Katlehong. During this process, ALPS Resilience learned that it is possible to work on social cohesion between foreign nationals and South Africans if the 'host' community shows a willingness to meaningfully engage on the topics of xenophobia and integration. The eagerness of the Katlehong participants to work on issues that cause tensions with foreign nationals, and to develop action plans to engage them and improve social cohesion, informed our decision to remain in Katlehong. Through the dialogue process, South African (and a few non-South African) participants have grappled with issues that cause xenophobia in their community, which has led to meaningful breakthroughs and changing of attitudes. With the discernible change in mindset, the Katlehong dialogue participants are working to include foreign nationals for the local action plan, to be developed and enacted from the fourth quarter. The situation across the KZN INK sites was similar, in terms of challenges, lessons learned, and benefits.
- **Small group work and careful dialogue design:** Related to our experience of the hijacking of the dialogue space in Zwelihle, ALPS has been careful to design a community dialogue model that emphasises participation of all. In this light, ALPS has adapted the community capacity enhancement (CCE) model for the dialogue series, and has designed activities that focus on small group, constructive work that feeds into the overall aims of the dialogue series. Similarly, so as our experienced team of facilitators can base their specific dialogue design on the local context facing them in each site, we have presented the facilitation dialogue guide in a flexible way, whereby



facilitators can pick from a number of activities. While we have designed four dialogues, we acknowledge that there may be a need for more dialogues, be it because dialogues are held in parallel with South African and non-national groups, or because the community needs more time to complete an integral dialogue process. So far, these design elements have been received well by the facilitation team, and are working positively in communities.

- **Limits of and the importance of the background research:** On the limits, it was clear that the research team could not gain a strong understanding of the situation and dynamics in KZN, making them unable to form clear recommendations and conclusions for community entry. As such, ALPS Resilience decided to enter all INK communities in order to ascertain which would be appropriate for community entry. Second, the research showed its powerful and useful nature in the case of Imizamo Yethu. The research indicating clear and highly problematic gatekeeping by iSolezwe street patrollers, forming the conclusion that community entry there would be very difficult. Despite this, the Western Cape facilitation team decided to enter the site, given the previous experience in the site of one of our facilitators. However, the researcher's analysis was proven to be accurate, and community entry was near impossible, given the impediments from iSolezwe and other stakeholders. Still, ALPS Resilience considers this process and important project learning, not only in terms of initial decisions on community entry, but also in terms of decisions and processes around community exits. In the end, ALPS Resilience made the decision to exit Imizamo Yethu before any harm had been done in the community, and communicated our exit clear to community stakeholders, thus following proper and respectful community processes.
- **Number of dialogues:** With regards to the local dialogues themselves, we learned that four was often insufficient in each community, with the need for additional dialogues and/or planning sessions in order to reach the community action plan. This was, to a large degree, anticipated, with the dialogue design being sufficiently flexible to allow for different paces of progress; the use of one or more exercises in each dialogue theme; and time allowance for more local dialogues.
- **Safety and security protocols:** During the time of the widespread xenophobic violence and tensions in South Africa over the quarter, ALPS Resilience staff became concerned for the security of P2P facilitators and participants. While security procedures and protocols were in place, we developed these further during and after the xenophobic attacks. These were successful in keeping our facilitators and participants safe.

## 7. Conclusion

This project has made a positive contribution to South African society and specifically the communities in which project activities occurred. The knowledge generated through the research phase of this project is insightful and useful to civil society and other stakeholders. ALPS would like to thank USAID for the financial support ALPS needed to conduct the research. This project has not only helped foreign nationals but South African's as well to address xenophobia and the importance of community cohesion. This project has significantly enhanced the capacity of ALPS Resilience and developed our skills across multiple areas of project management. ALPS would like to thank USAID for their support in our organisational development through their subject matter experts which have supported us throughout this project.



