XENOPHOBIA AND OUTSIDER EXCLUSION

Addressing Frail Social Cohesion in South Africa's Diverse Communities

Motherwell Case Study
October 2017
I. Executive Summary

Motherwell is a township near Port Elizabeth that was established in the early 1980s. The population composition of the area is ethnically and linguistically homogeneous, with almost all residents having isiXhosa as a first language. This linguistic and cultural homogeneity of residents, while enabling easy social interaction for the majority, is perceived to be a barrier for ‘outsiders’. The dominance of one group can facilitate the process of ‘othering’ of those who cannot speak isiXhosa fluently.

Most respondents perceived the exposure and participation of young people in drugs and alcohol abuse and violent crime as major challenges in Motherwell. This has been linked to the lack of recreational activities in the area for youth, and socio-economic conditions such as high unemployment. In addition, youth were viewed as perpetrators of organized collective violence, including xenophobic violence, and criminal activities targeting foreign owned shops. However, youth maintained that collective violence, especially xenophobic violence, is spontaneous and weakly organized.

While community structures for conflict resolution are in place and are positively perceived at least by locals, community members often resort to extra-legal means to mitigate community problems. The informal mechanism to manage shop openings by foreign nationals is one of a number of extra-legal mechanisms, which reflect a lack of municipal oversight around commercial and business premises. The presence of shebeens in residential areas also reveals a lack of formal regulation by the authorities.

The researchers found that the South African Police Service (SAPS), in Ikamvelihle in particular, is commonly perceived as ineffective in responding to criminal activities and investigations. This perception, as well as the history of mob-justice in the area dating back to apartheid years, may have contributed to community members taking the law into their own hands.

Although locals generally refer to foreign nationals who operate spaza shops as Somalis or Ethiopians, researchers found that Bangladeshis also run similar businesses in Motherwell. Bangladeshi shopkeepers perceived that their presence in Motherwell is not welcomed by Ethiopians and causes territorial squabbles. As a result, there are tensions between the above-mentioned groups in Motherwell and allegations of bribery to secure permission to open a spaza shop. The findings show that informal arrangements regarding opening of shops in the area consequently led to territorialisation of business opportunities and is a source of tension between groups of foreign nationals.
Lastly, the findings reveal that the incidences of xenophobic violence perpetrated by groups of locals in Motherwell seem to follow the same patterns and the same groups of people: local community members vs. “Somalis/Ethiopians”. In the previous two cases of xenophobic violence, the attacks and looting were caused by altercations involving a local and foreign national in the nearby township of Brighton. There was a strong sentiment that the attacks ‘had come from outside’, which indicates the attacks that took place in Motherwell are not fully owned by residents.

This report is divided into eight main sections. After introductory comments here, the report covers methodology in Section II. Section III provides a brief historical overview and background of the area and its main demographic/socioeconomic indicators. Section IV discusses the nature of social interactions among social and/or population groups and social relations in the community. Section V examines leadership structures and a discussion of existing conflict resolution mechanisms. Section VI offers a history of group violence and the ways in which foreign nationals living in the area are excluded from opportunities by some non-violent means. Section VII gives a description of the most recent incidences of xenophobic violence including instigators/perpetrators, targets/victims, the purpose of violence, as well as responses and interventions. Section VIII provides a summary of the main findings.

II. Methodology

This research report is based on qualitative fieldwork that was carried out in Motherwell. The report is part of the broader research project that examines collective violence and issues related to xenophobic attacks. The Motherwell area has experienced waves of xenophobic attacks in recent years, mostly started from the nearby townships.

Phase I of the fieldwork was conducted from 2 – 6 May 2016, and Phase II from the 31 January – 3 February 2017, and lasted for a total of nine days within the site. Most of the interviews were conducted in Motherwell and Ikamvelihle police stations, as well as in the local shopping centre and private homes at the participants’ convenience. Four trained researchers conducted 44 semi-structured interviews with a total of 59 participants including individual community members, community leaders, representatives of the local authority, and representatives of community-based organizations. The respondents were of various age groups from their early 20s to 65+. The researchers interviewed 40 males and 19 female (with the gender skew a result of a large group interview with Somali shopkeepers), with 45 South Africans and 14 foreign nationals. This report also draws on secondary data from background research, demographic and socio-economic statistics sourced from Statistics South Africa as well as site observations.
The interviews were conducted in isiXhosa and English, and 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 a focus group interview with a Somali group, as well as human and locational observations including informal conversations. Many respondents were purposely selected by our provincial partners, particularly those who are involved in community structures, while researchers also employed the snowballing technique during the fieldwork. Upon the advice of provincial partners, the researchers also chose to focus on certain areas (wards 56 and 57) different from preselected ones (58 and 59). This was decided on the basis of tension with regards to the list of candidates for local government in Ward 57, and breakdown of relations between Ikamvelihle community members and police.

The majority of respondents were happy to take part in the research and even welcomed the researchers to their private homes. In one instance, one of the respondents heard about the research when the researchers were at Ikamvelihle police station and asked to take part. On the other hand, foreign nationals, Somalis in this case, appeared suspicious and opted for a group interview. Although researchers were able to reach Bangladeshis when they revisited the site, the researchers could not access other foreign nationals such as Ethiopians, Zimbabweans, Nigerians and Ghanaians. Therefore, our analysis of foreign nationals’ views is limited to Somalis and Bangladeshis operating spaza shops in the area. There was also a limitation based on the request from the provincial partners to focus on the spread areas of Motherwell instead of areas that were thought of initially. As a result, the researchers were not able to have a concentrated research in specific areas and, to some extent, our research lacked sufficient depth.

In addition, the fieldwork was subject to a full ethics review by the University of Cape Town’s Research Ethics Committee. All interviews and discussions were voluntary and conducted in accordance with an ethically-approved protocol of informed consent. Additionally, all interviews and observations used in this report were confidential in nature, in accordance with this ethics approval. 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’. However, public representatives’ identity is public knowledge and therefore identifiable in this research.

This research focused on certain areas of Motherwell, namely Neighbourhood Units (NUs) 1, 2, 9, 10, and Ikamvelihle (which fall under wards 56 and 57). Parts of the findings presented in this report relate to Motherwell as a whole, while some sections focus on a specific area. The Ikamvelihle area is referred to specifically because of the recent incident of mob-justice, which left two people dead. Focusing on Motherwell broadly imposes a degree of artificiality, since some areas within Motherwell may have more or less incidences or different experiences of collective violence than the other. In addition, the boundaries, such
as municipal wards or neighbourhood units are blurry on the ground. This makes it difficult to focus our analysis on any specific geographic marker in Motherwell. Instead, problematic areas – areas where violence tends to occur – were identified during our fieldwork. In this regard, the Ikamvelihle area, which is part of municipal Ward 56 and municipal Ward 57, was viewed as problematic.

III. Background information

This section, based on desktop research and physical observations of the sites, presents the key statistical findings and contextual background of the broader Motherwell and of some specific sub-place areas. The contextual background includes a brief historical overview of the area as well as demographic and socioeconomic data. This section will also discuss social challenges that respondents identified, and key political structures. The information will be presented for Motherwell as a whole, followed by the identified sub-places (NU 1, 2, 9, 10 and Ikamvelihle).

a. Location

Motherwell is a sprawling and underdeveloped urban settlement located approximately 20 kilometres from the city centre of Port Elizabeth in the metropolitan area that constitutes Nelson Mandela Bay Metropolitan Municipality (NMBM). It has been in existence since the 1980s to accommodate mostly isiXhosa-speaking people from informal and illegal dwellings built on the flood plains in Soweto-on-Sea, and to cater for the influx of people into the urban area, but its formation was heavily rooted in apartheid logic and segregation. It was created as a result of the Group Areas Act of 1950 and amended provisions of Section 6A of the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act, which together formed the legal basis for residential segregation during apartheid. These acts reinforced the apartheid logic of racial segregation and separate development, which vividly marked the territorialisation of race as separate and distinct, and spawned ideas of racial and ethnic ‘othering’. Motherwell’s apartheid formation cannot be separated from residential patterns and spatial structures of today, which reflect much of the exclusionary legacies of apartheid. Geographically, it is clear that the area was built to be isolated from the city of Port Elizabeth, with Swartkop Valley

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2. Although the term ‘township’ has no formal definition, it is “commonly understood to refer to the underdeveloped, usually (but not only) urban, residential areas that during apartheid were reserved for non-whites (Africans, Coloureds and Indians) who lived near or worked in areas that were designated ‘white only’.”
   Li Pernegger and Susanna Godehert “Townships in the South African Geographic Landscape—Physical and Social Legacies and Challenges, (a keynote address about The ‘Training for Township Renewal Initiative’ (TTRI), Pretoria, 29 October 2007).
4. O’Malley, “Population Registration Act”
separating Motherwell and Port Elizabeth. This makes it nearly impossible to bridge the geographic divides between the neighbourhoods. The researchers observed that the area is still visibly isolated from Port Elizabeth city and other nearby townships such as New Brighton, KwaZakhele, Bethelsdorp and KwaNobuhle.

According to the NMBM, the area in which Motherwell is located was planned during the 1970s, when the then Greater Algoa Bay Planning Authority indicated the need to develop a residential area for ‘black’ people north of the Swartkops River. The purpose of the development was to cater for squatter families due to be relocated from Zwide and Veeplaas, as well as ‘black’ people who were staying in a mixed area of Kleinskool. Kleinskool was an integrated area for ‘coloureds’ and ‘blacks’ which was declared a neighbourhood only for ‘coloureds’ in 1982 and made the ‘black’ residents ‘illegals’ in the homes where many were born and raised. The ruling pointed out that Kleinskool’s black residents belonged in a more distant black township at Motherwell. In 1975, it was formally declared that Motherwell residential area would be built, and a master plan was approved in 1981. The construction of the first development, Neighbourhood Unit 2, began in 1984. Since then, Motherwell has become the largest residential area for ‘black’ people in Port Elizabeth. Motherwell was a Local Authority on its own until 1994, when the township was incorporated into the Port Elizabeth ‘One City’.

Motherwell is divided into seven municipal wards (54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, and 23), and within the wards there are sub-place areas such as Ikamvelihle, Tjoksville, Cyril Ramaphosa Village, Steve Tshwete Village, as well as thirteen Neighbourhood Units (NUs) as shown in Figure 1, below (ward demarcations and numbers are in purple). Also included in the map are the sub-places, mentioned above, and the neighbourhood units (Motherwell 1, on the map, is known as ‘NU 1’). The researchers found during fieldwork that most residents navigate Motherwell by using the NUs and place names, which are often marked with signboards at road intersections.

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Ikamvelihle is a new area that was developed in 2005. The process to establish Ikamvelihle aimed to relocate residents from informal dwellings in NU8, Cyril Ramaphosa and others, to 3500 newly built low-cost houses at a cost of R80 million. The area is located on the east of Addo Road, and comprises of two sections (commonly called ‘Phase 1’ and ‘Phase 2’).

b. Demographics and socioeconomic conditions

This sub-section is divided into two parts. The first provides broader descriptive information about the demographic and socioeconomic conditions in Motherwell as a whole, and the second focuses on similar information but specifically looking at the sites of intervention around South African Police Services (SAPS) Motherwell and SAPS Ikamvelihle, namely NU 1, 2, 9, and 10.

i. Motherwell’s demographics and socioeconomic conditions

Motherwell’s population is linguistically and culturally homogeneous with people predominantly being isiXhosa speakers and originally from the rural Eastern Cape. It has small populations of foreign nationals, mainly Somalis and Ethiopians. According to 2011

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Census data, 93.1% of the residents speak isiXhosa as their mother tongue. In terms of migration, the data shows that nearly 99% of the population was born in South Africa. Out of the 99%, 95% were born in the Eastern Cape, confirming the dominance of Xhosa. Just 4% of the population are migrants coming from other South African provinces. Although some foreign nationals such as Zimbabweans have learnt the language, the prominence of isiXhosa makes integration between the majority and ‘outsiders’ difficult, and can facilitate the process of ‘othering’ of those who cannot speak the dominant language fluently.

Motherwell is composed of settlement type residential areas ranging from formal and built-up, to informal and sparsely shack-populated (see Figure 2, below). It is approximately 25km² in size (see Figure 1, above) and according to the 2011 Census, the area has a population of 140,351 people. Just over 27% of the population is under the age of 15 years and the highest proportion of the population is youth (between the ages of 16-35) at 37%.

More than 36,553 households (almost 94%) in the Motherwell area have access to a formal dwelling, while only 2123 (5%) of the population live in informal dwellings. Although most of the residential dwellings are formal, the researchers found that shacks are part of the landscape like in any other townships. These shack structures are built from scavenged pieces of wood, cardboard, corrugated iron and old bits of tin, and are sparsely located near Motherwell police station as well as in other areas. The density of the house structures is very low compared to other townships. Figure 2 below illustrates types of dwelling in Motherwell.

Figure 2: Residential area of Motherwell (formal and Informal dwellings)

The unemployment rate in the Motherwell is high at approximately 51.3% of the economically active population, reflecting significant poverty in this township and lack of employment opportunities. Youth have been mentioned as the most vulnerable group.

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11 Adrian Frith, Census 2011 Community Profile
12 Stats SA, Census 2011
affected by lack of employment opportunities. This is reflected in the household income levels, with 53% of Motherwell households earning less that R19,601 per annum. One of the causes of unemployment and low incomes may be the relatively low levels of educational attainment: only 22.7% of the population having matriculated and 4.7% have received further, tertiary education. Low household incomes are in some instances supplemented by informal work such as operating roadside stalls selling basic goods (see Figure 3).

Figure 3: Street vendor selling fruits and vegetables

ii. Neighbourhood Units 1, 2, 9, 10 and Ikamvelihle (Phases 1 and 2): demographics and socioeconomic conditions

Selected neighbourhood units/sub-places inform the sites of research. NUs are the means by which locals talk about and make sense of the space around them, and thus the means by which much of social life is bounded. The selected areas are part of municipal wards as described below (and outlined on the map in Figure 1). It is difficult to focus the level of analysis on the wards without touching on sub-places or vice-versa. Within the wards, the researchers covered certain sub-places, namely Ward 56 (NU1, Ikamvelihle and Ramaphosa Village), Ward 57 (NU9), Ward 55 (NU10 and Greater Tjok/Steve Tshwete), and Ward 23 (NU2). Table 1 below shows the population size and number of households in the selected areas.

Table 1: Population size and households by sub-place area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Households</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Area (km²)</th>
<th>Area includes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greater Tjok/Steve Tshwete</td>
<td>6437</td>
<td>21185</td>
<td>1.44</td>
<td>Motherwell SAPS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motherwell NU1/Ramaphosa</td>
<td>2688</td>
<td>10335</td>
<td>1.28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motherwell NU10</td>
<td>1524</td>
<td>5517</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motherwell NU2</td>
<td>2450</td>
<td>9341</td>
<td>1.43</td>
<td>Ikamvelihle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area</td>
<td>Population</td>
<td>Housing Units</td>
<td>SAPS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motherwell NU9</td>
<td>2434</td>
<td>9644</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Addo Road Phase 1</td>
<td>1652</td>
<td>5922</td>
<td>0.69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Addo Road Phase 2</td>
<td>2285</td>
<td>7138</td>
<td>1.08</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>19470</td>
<td>69082</td>
<td>7.97</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics South Africa, Census 2011

The areas under research covered an area of almost 8 km². Cumulatively, these areas have a total population of just over 69,000 (which is 49.2% of the Motherwell population), living in 19,470 households. While 99.3% of the population in these areas collectively is Black/African, 95% of this group are from other areas of the Eastern Cape. The data also shows that 93.7% of the population speaks isiXhosa as their home language, making it the dominant language, followed by English at 2.7%.13

The selected sub-place areas seem to be relatively better off than the rest of Motherwell with 3.7% of households comprised of informal dwellings (1.6% of backyarders and 2.1% shacks). Thus, collectively the sites show a much higher percentage of formal structures, which stood at 93.9%. On the other hand, 49.6% of the population have no monthly income while 36.6% have a monthly income of below R1,600. In most cases, poor households are characterized by a lack of wage income, as the data shows above, either as a result of unemployment or of low-paying employment. In addition, levels of education in the research sites are very low: approximately 63% of the total population have education levels below grade 11.

### c. Crime in Motherwell

The Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality 2015-2016 Integrated Development Plan Draft mentioned that the Motherwell cluster has the highest number of murder incidents reported in the Metro.14 The tables below present statistical information about crimes committed in Motherwell areas between 2006 and 2015.

Interestingly, Table 2 reveals that the murder rate in Motherwell decreased from 2006-2010, and thereafter has since fluctuated slightly. Data also shows that violent contact crimes, including assault with the intent to inflict grievous bodily harm, and robbery with aggravating circumstances, tend to be more common than common assault and robbery.

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13 Statistics South Africa, Census 2011
Table 2: Number of contact crimes registered in Motherwell SAPS

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Sexual Offences</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted murder</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault with the intent to inflict grievous bodily harm</td>
<td>615</td>
<td>554</td>
<td>428</td>
<td>413</td>
<td>406</td>
<td>424</td>
<td>388</td>
<td>385</td>
<td>408</td>
<td>397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common assault</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common robbery</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery with aggravating circumstances</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>342</td>
<td>336</td>
<td>454</td>
<td>437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Contact Crimes (Crimes Against The Person)</td>
<td>1677</td>
<td>1569</td>
<td>1198</td>
<td>1159</td>
<td>1129</td>
<td>1275</td>
<td>1259</td>
<td>1255</td>
<td>1456</td>
<td>1335</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The Ikamvelihle precinct is relatively small compared to the Motherwell policing precinct. As shown on the Table 3, the station registered a total of 5,871 contact crimes between 2006 and 2015. Like Motherwell, assault with the intent to inflict grievous bodily harm, and robbery with aggravating circumstances top the list, followed by common assault. The murder rate increased from eight in 2007 to 29 murders in 2008 and has fluctuated thereafter.

Table 3: Number of contact crimes registered in Ikamvelihle SAPS

<table>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Sexual Offences</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted murder</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault with the intent to inflict grievous bodily harm</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common assault</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common robbery</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery with aggravating circumstances</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Contact Crimes (Crimes Against The Person)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>870</td>
<td>779</td>
<td>748</td>
<td>711</td>
<td>601</td>
<td>603</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>638</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Property-related crimes in Motherwell, which includes burglary at residential or non-residential premises, theft of motor vehicles and stock theft, show a fluctuating trend on all categories over a ten-year period. However, reported burglary at residential premises between 2006 and 2015 stood at 3,670, accounting for two-thirds of property-related crimes. Ikamvelihle area has also experienced fluctuating property crime from 2006-2015. Like Motherwell, burglary at residential premises tops the list with 1,300 registered cases.

d. Locational observations

Most foreign nationals operating businesses in the area are either Somali or Ethiopian (collectively called ‘Somalis’ by the locals). There are also some Bangladeshis, Pakistanis, Nigerians, Ghanaians and Zimbabweans. During observations and interviews with the
community policing forums (CPF), the researchers found that the majority of spaza and convenience shops in Motherwell are run by Somalis and Ethiopians, while barbershops/salons, tyre services and vehicle exhaust repairs are operated by Ghanaians, Zimbabweans and Nigerians. On the other hand, there are some South African-run food places and fruit/vegetable stalls in the mall, and it is South Africans who tend to run the shebeens. Some of the foreign nationals who run small businesses live in the community and some of them, particularly those from the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region, are also married to locals.

Although there are a number of foreign national-owned shops in Motherwell, they are not clustered as many respondents mentioned. While many respondents think shops in the area are clustered, physical observations showed that shops, which tend to be foreign-owned, are spread out. In some cases, one could drive for about five minutes without seeing any shops. CPF members from Ikamvelihle and Motherwell police stations stated that their structures ensure shops are not opened close to one another. They require shops to be at least 500 meters apart. The clustering of shops has nonetheless been blamed for tensions within foreign nationals and crimes in residential areas.

Researchers observed a number of foreign national-owned shops that appeared to have been positioned close to Motherwell police station, perhaps for safety reasons or because the station and Magistrate’s Court provide regular passing trade. The names of the foreign-owned shops are in isiXhosa such as Zama-Zama, Madiba, and Fundiswa (as pictured in Figure 4, below). A CPF member in Motherwell Police Station also told us that they deliberatively encouraged foreign nationals to name their shops in this manner so that they can be neutral and easily identifiable by the police. One of the Somali respondents alluded that many of their shops have South African names, but mentioned some of the names were given by police or they give the owner of a shop a nickname as stated below:

“If you have a Somali name for a shop, the police find a South African nickname for you and/or your shop. My name is ‘Ali,’ but this has been changed ‘Ace’ by the police.”

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15 Interview with Community Policing Forum, Motherwell SAPS, May 2016.
16 Interview with Community Policing Forum, Motherwell SAPS, May 2016.
17 Interview with Community Policing Forum, Motherwell SAPS, May 2016.
18 Interview with foreign national shop owners, Motherwell SAPS, May 2016.
The shops are painted in bright colours (as pictured in Figure 5, below) and have security barriers surrounding the counter. During the research process the researchers could not establish whether the shops were painted this way to make it easier for police to recognize them or for their own advertising purposes.

Motherwell (shopping) Centre (marked on Figure 1) is populated by national chain establishments such as Shoprite. In Motherwell as a whole, other than foreign-owned and local shops, shebeens are visible in large numbers in the area, confirming what respondents have alluded to that they are in every corner of the area. While some look like formal establishments, others are operated from garages.

There are two police stations (marked on Figure 1) that are positioned in residential areas approximately four kilometres apart. SAPS Motherwell is positioned in Steve Tshwete village in the middle of residential area, not far away from the taxi rank and Motherwell Shopping Centre. SAPS Ikamvelihle is adjacent to Ramaphosa village at the edge of residential area and in close proximity to the main road, which separates Ikamvelihle and NU2. Although the police station is called Ikamvelihle, it is located in NU2. Ikamvelihle police station was originally a satellite station while Motherwell police station is a new station, erected to handle the growing community. It is an Integrated Justice System (IJS) police station, with a
Magistrate’s Court located on the same property. To go to court, prisoners enter through an underground tunnel between the police station and the courthouse. SAPS Motherwell is responsible for servicing six sectors.\textsuperscript{19} SAPS Ikamvelihle has four sectors: Phase I, Phase 2, Ramaphosa and NU2.

\textit{Figure 6: SAPS Inkamvelihle (top) and SAPS Motherwell (below)}

There are many schools in the area; in Ward 58 and 59 alone there are ten schools. In some cases, the primary and high schools are positioned next to each other. There is one school that shares a fence with Ikamvelihle Police Station. In Ikamvelihle itself, however, in Phase 1 and 2 there is no school and only one clinic. Additionally, there are five clinics and a community health centre and couple of churches around Motherwell. Across Motherwell, there is also a lack of public recreational and sporting facilities, which limits social interaction. The only visible structures dedicated for recreational and sporting activities are Raymond Mhlaba Sports Centre Gym and Motherwell Stadium located in NU2. There are only two soccer grounds for the whole area (one of which is pictured in Figure 8).

The newspaper article below shows children picketing for recreational activities in the area.

In front of some foreign national shops researchers observed young people or youth interacting among themselves or customers, and sometimes with the shopkeepers. In one of the shops in Ikamvelihle local young males were found sitting outside with the Somali shopkeeper, who refused to take part in the research but engaged informally. On the other hand, people who were operating within the vicinity of the mall were all South African isiXhosa-speaking people mostly interacting with taxi operators and customers. In residential areas the researchers noticed a lot of shebeens and were informed that there are all run by South Africans. The researchers hardly saw people interacting outside shebeens, probably because the research was conducted during the working week. While competition among shop owners is perceived as a source of tension between locals and foreign nationals in particular, there seems to be no competition as groups are engaged in different business activities.

e. General opportunities and challenges in Motherwell
Unemployment, as well as alcohol and substance abuse, were reported by our respondents as major concerns and the source of social and economic problems in Motherwell. Almost all respondents cited unemployment as an issue, particularly among the youth. According to respondents, these issues are believed to fuel crime and other social ills.

The presence of shebeens and/or taverns and spaza shops, some operating in the garages in residential areas, is clear evidence of ineffective monitoring by police and other law enforcement agencies. Councillors and municipal officials are not involved when one wants to establish a business in the area. One of the councillors explained:

“The only business area is Motherwell Shopping complex, but the municipality does not put pressure on a person who is running a business in his/her home, and I think the reason for that is because people are unemployed”

It was unclear if shebeens need a zoning certificate to operate, but there is a dedicated police section mandated to deal with the issue. The effectiveness of police monitoring is visibly weak judging by the number of shebeens in residential areas. Substance abuse by the youth was of particular concern:

“Youth are on drugs and lose their minds when they are under influence. At schools, I am a School Governing Body (SGP) member there, children as young as 13 years old are on drugs. And there are outcomes after they used the drugs.”

Despite the business community centre where community members in search of opportunities can make photocopies and CVs as well as receive business advice at no cost, unemployment, especially of the youth, was pointed out as a great concern. However what was striking about Motherwell was the lack of activity within it. While Motherwell is perhaps more spacious than most South African townships, there did not seem to be many people in and around the streets during the day, apart from during peak hours when residents who are employed leave for or return from work, and school children go to and from school. The lack of small, informal meeting places such as tshisa nyamas (barbecue places), parks, or other areas to congregate, must affect social interactions in Motherwell.

Communities are disgruntled by the justice system and police responses to reported crimes. Complaints from the respondents are that police sometimes drag their feet in responding to and investigating a reported crime, resulting in suspects not facing the criminal justice system to account for their alleged crimes. This also relates to issues of bail.

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20 Interview with the Ward Councillor, Ward 23 Motherwell NU2, February 2017
21 Interview with Community Policing Forum, Ikamvelihle SAPS, May 2016
22 Interview with Visible Policing member, Ikamvelihle SAPS, May 2016
23 Interview with a community member, Ikamvelihle SAPS, May 2016
or parole where community members feel aggrieved when the accused is set free shortly after an arrest. As a result, this has led to instances of vigilantism or mob-justice. A CPF member describes a case from April 2016:

“In this area (Ikamvelihle) people believe in mob-justice... Even last two weeks we were burying someone who was burnt by the community. We heard from the community that community members burned two people in this area. The problem is that community members do not trust police; they say police are very slow. So they take law into their own hands, they burn suspects.”

It is clear from the respondents that there is community distrust of formal institutions such as the police and other forms of law enforcement.

f. Political structures in broader Motherwell areas

Motherwell has historically been and remains a politicised area, at least since its establishment in the 1980s. Politically, while United Democratic Movement (UDM), Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), Congress of the People (COPE), and the Democratic Alliance (DA) are present in the area, the African National Congress (ANC) is the major party. Motherwell has always been an ANC stronghold, and there has not been much room for political opposition to manoeuvre, but this may be changing due to the growing presence of other parties such as EFF.

However, since early 2014 the presence of EFF in particular, has increased political competition in the area. The 2014 national elections results, as shown in Table 4, revealed that the ANC won with a comfortable majority winning 82.8% of the total votes in Motherwell, followed by the EFF, which came second with 9%. For the past local government election in 2011, the ANC won 8 out of 13 Wards in Motherwell, but in 2016 it has become a contested space for the ANC, DA and EFF.

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24 Interview with a Community Policing Forum, Ikamvelihle SAPS, May 2016.
25 Internal communication with provincial partners, email message to Azwihangwisi Netshikulwe, 26 April 2016.
Table 4: Number of votes by Municipal Ward per political party in the 2014 National Elections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ward</th>
<th>ANC</th>
<th>DA</th>
<th>EFF</th>
<th>COPE</th>
<th>UDM</th>
<th>Total Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>214</td>
<td>656</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>110</td>
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<td>1643</td>
<td>4720</td>
<td>1429</td>
<td>1225</td>
<td>52310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total %</td>
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<td>3.1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Table 5, below, shows, the ANC remained dominant in the 2016 local government election, but the EFF and DA have both made inroads in the area. The results show that ANC secured 79.3% of the votes while EFF and DA received 11.8% and 5.3% respectively. Thus, the EFF made inroads into the ANC’s traditional strongholds and represents a more significant threat in the 2019 national election. However, it must be noted that the turnout was low for this election compared to 2014 national elections.

Table 5: Number of votes by Municipal Ward per political party in the 2016 Local Government Elections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ward</th>
<th>ANC</th>
<th>DA</th>
<th>EFF</th>
<th>COPE</th>
<th>UDM</th>
<th>Total Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>245</td>
<td>663</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>6733</td>
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<td>196</td>
<td>635</td>
<td>54</td>
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<td>192</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>4187</td>
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<tr>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>393</td>
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<td>52</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>5951</td>
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<td>3846</td>
<td>443</td>
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<td>88</td>
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<td>359</td>
<td>633</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>147</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2051</td>
<td>4545</td>
<td>544</td>
<td>826</td>
<td>38433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total %</td>
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<td>5.3</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the run up to the 2016 local government elections, there was infighting within the ANC, and there were some protests where community members aligned to South African Civic Organisation (SANCO) were unhappy about the candidate list and nomination of the councillors.26 Most of the conflict stems from local political aspirations combined with a very groundswell of negative sentiment towards the ANC in general relating to service delivery, awarding of tenders and selection of leadership. The ANC in Motherwell relies on local leadership to keep people together and, where local leaders build their own power base but are not rewarded, this sparks conflict. The researchers heard that there are pockets of community groups (the infantry of the ANC) who strongly feel that their leaders have not been taken seriously. There is a feeling that the ANC imposes candidates on

26 Internal communication with provincial partners, email message to Azwihangwisi Netshikulwe, 26 April 2016.
communities from outside and that they are never consulted correctly. This is then taken up by local leaders who use it against their party to further their aspirations.27

IV. Social interactions and collective efficacy

Participants were asked about the extent to which individuals or community members trust one another and are willing to intervene if they see anti-social or criminal acts occurring in their area. Several community members and CPF members said they communicate very well with one another, and people get together to deal with issues affecting them, especially on the street level. For example, if there is a criminal activity taking place in the street or shop, whether towards a local or foreign national, community members said they get together to prevent such activity. This was corroborated by one of the foreign nationals:

“Whoever comes up with crime, even the criminals, the community members can go to the house and say you cannot do that, you cannot rob this guy. And even sometimes when they see people coming from outside the area, [the community] mobilize themselves and say ‘go back’. They chase them.”28

South African respondents also refer to the recent xenophobic attacks in the area, where community members stood in their streets to prevent attacks on Somali shops.

Still, some foreign nationals feel unsafe to operate business in the area because of competition among themselves, particularly between Bangladeshis, Somalis and Ethiopians. While foreign nationals do in-fight, they reject the perceptions that foreign nationals orchestrate robberies among themselves:

“As you know in business there is always conflict...like when someone is trying to open a shop next to you, or otherwise he sells a shop to you and open another one next to you again...that is the problem...but this thing of sending robbers they will never do it...if they want to fight they can do it on the street. They will never send a robber to you...but always they like fighting among themselves. Somalis and Ethiopians.”29

Locals and foreign nationals generally believe that the community is ‘good’, and both think that the main problem is criminality among the youth, which breaks trust between local community members and foreign nationals. A major hindrance to social interaction among locals and foreign nationals seems to involve cultural barriers as well as foreign nationals’

27 Internal communication with provincial partners, email message to Azwihangwisi Netshikulwe, 26 April 2016.
28 Interview with a Bangladeshi shopkeeper, Korsten, February 2017
29 Interview with a Somali shopkeeper, Ikamvelihle SAPS, February 2017
distrust of community members because of the criminal acts and violence towards them. They reported that they are not able to open bank accounts, and so hold large sums of cash, which makes them a target from local criminals. This is well captured by the quote below:

“The cash makes us a target. “They call us ATMs”. When we walk or take a taxi, people just assume we have cash, so they rob us. The driver of the taxi will call the thugs to say we are on board, and then they rob us. In the whole of Motherwell, you won’t find a Somali who uses public transport. If we go out of the shop, we have to call a Somali friend with a car. Community people will follow you. Our movements are known and we get attacked numerous times.”

Similarly, foreign nationals believe that locals take out frustration on them during protests or strikes in general:

“Whenever people have complaints about service delivery, they first attack the foreigners before going to the community. We are easy targets, and they take all their frustrations out on us. When they strike for service delivery, the government doesn’t sort them out, but they know the media will report xenophobia attacks. It’s a way of getting the government to come to them.”

In addition, some of the foreign nationals who run small businesses live in the community while others stay in nearby Uitenhage and Korsten. Some of those who live in Motherwell are reported to have a permanent house because they are married to South Africans. While the veracity of these claims could not be confirmed, some of the respondents did refer to intermarriages between locals and foreign nationals.

Given the fact that Somalis’ businesses are fairly dispersed within the community and only some shopkeepers live in these communities, social interaction is limited. With Somalis being a culturally, linguistically, and religiously homogeneous people, who do not drink alcohol, their presence in a South African township with predominantly isiXhosa speakers from the Eastern Cape is likely to make them ‘stick out’.

Although some foreign nationals have learnt isiXhosa, it is only sufficient for business transactions. While business transactions create some space for interaction, it is minimal for meaningful social interaction. Locals mostly speak isiXhosa or English and, as a result of different cultural backgrounds, locals expressed that foreign nationals generally feel

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30 Interview with Somali shopkeepers, Motherwell SAPS, May 2016.
31 Interview with Somali shopkeepers, Motherwell SAPS, May 2016
unwelcomed and are not socialised with much.\textsuperscript{33} Locals also think this is because of the language issue or because some people call them with the demeaning terms used to label foreign nationals such as ‘\textit{amakwerekwere}’, a derogatory term meant to intimidate. They also often use the term ‘my friend’ (which Somalis/foreign nationals used when they came) in a more sinister way, often to extract something from the shopkeepers with no payment, as will be discussed below. When children and young people call Somalis ‘my friend’ they also see it as a sign of disrespect, because those children do not behave the same way towards their elders.

By contrast, Somalis and Ethiopians co-exist well with coloured communities, despite robberies of their shops. The majority of Somalis/Ethiopians resides in Korsten where they rent apartments and come together.\textsuperscript{34} Unlike in Motherwell, authorities including councillors sometimes sit down with them to hear their concerns. As one respondent said:

\textit{“Majority of us are located in Korsten. That is our area where we rent and all of us come together. If you stay there, there is nothing problematic. It is only when you come to the locations where we experience problems.”}\textsuperscript{35}

During attacks in Motherwell, Somalis and Ethiopians took refuge in Korsten.\textsuperscript{36}

In Motherwell, there were regular complaints from community members about the lack of recreational activities or group activities that may promote social efficacy and interactions among community members, as well as between foreign nationals and locals:

\textit{“No recreational activities. People have to find ways to entertain themselves. There are no support structures. Even here in Phase 2 there are no swings for people or even a park to relax or play basketball. There is nothing in this area.”}\textsuperscript{37}

In general, the researchers found that there is very low participation of foreign nationals in the community meetings unless it is an issue that directly affects them.\textsuperscript{38} However, one of the CPF members from Ikamvelihle mentioned that a Somali was elected as a sector forum member when they had a public meeting:

\textit{“Another day we had a public meeting at NU4a, it was the first time I saw them. They attended the meeting, the Somalis in that area, and when we were}

\textsuperscript{33} Interview with Traditional Initiation member, Motherwell, May 2016
\textsuperscript{34} Korsten is a suburb of Port Elizabeth, just two kilometres from the centre of the city. It is a predominantly Coloured neighbourhood, who comprise 78% of the population (Census 2011).
\textsuperscript{35} Interview with a Somali shopkeeper, Ikamvelihle SAPS, February 2017
\textsuperscript{36} Interview with Community Policing Forum member, Motherwell SAPS, May 2016.
\textsuperscript{37} Interview with a community member, Ikamvelihle Phase 2, May 2016.
\textsuperscript{38} Interview with Somali shopkeepers, Motherwell SAPS, May 2016.
electing a sector crime forum, the community elected one of them as the sector forum member in that area. We are working like... we are family with them.”

However, this narrative of Somali involvement and inclusion in Motherwell appears to be the exception rather than the norm. In matters involving the community meetings, foreign nationals prefer to send their representative to speak on their behalf. This may be attributed to language barriers that made the meetings uncomfortable to attend.

V. Leadership and conflict resolution

a. Community leadership structures

In Motherwell, there are various community structures, including the CPFs, street committees, sector forums, neighbourhood watches, traditional initiation, ward committees and civic organisations such as SANCO. These community structures play a significant role in promoting social cohesion and uniting (or disuniting) society. In this section, the role of street committees, SANCO, and CPFs will be the focus of discussion, because they represent the most significant and prominent social organisations. Street committees, SANCO and CPFs have overlapping roles and functions. Their roles tend to coincide around issues of community conflict, and around crime and safety.

Street committees are generally made up of street or area representatives, elected within a particular community, who voluntarily serve the community within which they operate and reside.40 Street Committees’ role in Motherwell is to address daily issues such as quarrels between neighbours, as well as issues related to service delivery such as bin collections on the street level. SANCO intersects heavily with street committees, with members being groomed from street committees. As one councillor put it:

“When we are talking about SANCO, the street committees belong to the SANCO...Yes [it] is SANCO that is electing those street committees. Street committees report to SANCO.”

In this way, even street committees in Motherwell are politically associated with the ANC. While the role of these structures appears to be hierarchical, the boundary between street committees and SANCO is blurry. When facing a challenge, a community member can approach either one of them.

39 Interview with a Community Policing Forum member, Ikamvelihle SAPS, May 2016
41 Interview with the Ward Councilor, Ward 23, Motherwell NU2, February 2017
SANCO was launched in March 1992 in Motherwell, and has always been a major role-player in the area. However, its role is obscure and difficult to define, mainly because of its role both in the communities and political structures of the ANC. Since its inception, SANCO has generally managed to build strong political support for the ANC structures in Motherwell, but the relationship between the two is often blurry. Despite denials from SANCO representatives and ANC nominated councillors during the interviews, the researchers found that SANCO’s relationship with the ANC is problematic for community members who belong to different political parties than the ANC. This does not explicitly play out on the street/community level but on the buffer zone where branch/executive members have to be elected. During the second round of the interviews a former ANC councillor stated that while SANCO existed it was not visible because some community members did not recognize SANCO as a structure due to its relationship with the ANC:

“SANCO was there in the community but it was never visible because the community did not recognize SANCO structure in that time...because SANCO is being under the umbrella of the ANC. As you see as a community we do not belong to one organization but to different organizations... The same people who were serving in the structures of the ANC were also SANCO members.”

SANCO was experiencing some problems in Motherwell with old political stalwarts who were still involved in SANCO and are marginalised by the current SANCO leadership. Some SANCO members feel they are deliberately side-lined and kept in the dark as to when and where the Branch General Meetings (BGMs) and the screening committee meetings happens. During fieldwork the researchers have been informed there seems to have been a power struggle in Motherwell within the ANC concerning the new councillor for Ward 57. This has been due to factionalism between ANC members and organisational dysfunctionality on the ground. The strength of the ANC had always been in its ability to harness local power through grassroots leadership including that of SANCO.

While SANCO leadership structure maintains that their relationship with the residents is working, they were hardly mentioned by the community members during the interviews. As confirmed by one of the councillors, community members do not understand the role of

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42 Interview with former Ward 56 Councillor, Motherwell NU2, February 2017.
43 Internal communication with provincial partners, email message to Azwihangwisi Netshikulwe, 26 April 2016.
44 Informal conversation with a community member, Motherwell, May 2016
45 Interview with the Project for Conflict Resolution and Development (PCRD) members, Port Elizabeth, May 2016
46 Internal communication with provincial partners, email message to Azwihangwisi Netshikulwe, 26 April 2016.
SANCO together with the councillor in the community, and believe that SANCO is an organizational structure that does not represent the community.47

Another leadership structure is the CPFs, who work hand-in-hand with the police and community members to deal with crime in their communities. Of all the community safety structures, they are the most politically neutral, in that they are not associated with a political party. However, CPF members do put themselves in a potentially political position: they have to act as a mediator between the police and the community. In a place where the community has traditionally been, and remains, suspicious of the police, this is a difficult line for CPF members to tread.

While all CPF representatives reported to work on a fulltime yet voluntary basis, with no pay and little contribution towards their costs, both CPFs seemed to have positive relationships with their community, and local community members identified them as a structure they go to for safety-related issues.48 Community members reported that if there is an issue which needs police attention they call the CPF members first, rather than the police, because the police respond immediately when a CPF member calls asking for a SAPS vehicle, but may take a long time to respond to the ordinary community members.49 However, CPFs call police at their own expense without receiving necessary resources from the SAPS and that has been one of their complaints.

The CPFs in Ikamvelihle seem to have been working actively within their communities, liaising between the community and the police in an attempt to generate adequate policing responses to their local safety needs. However, the relationship between CPFs and residents in the area has been compromised and remain complicated because of the police inefficiency and the alleged leaking of information to suspected criminals. Although the CPFs are still trusted by the community, this might change soon as the community members are starting to view CPF members as spies.50

b. Nature of relationship between residents and foreign nationals

The researchers interviewed a large group of Somali shopkeepers and a few individual foreign nationals who operate across Motherwell, many of whom live in Motherwell. The group clearly feels isolated from the broader community including the police. They shared stories of regular and daily issues, which often centred on contention regarding change for items bought, returns of items, and petty robberies. From these smaller issues, to larger ones with explicit threats of violence, looting and shootings, the shopkeepers said they did

47 Interview with former Ward 56 Councillor, Motherwell NU2, February 2017.
48 Interview with Community Policing Forum member, Motherwell SAPS, May 2016
49 Interview with Ward Committee member, Ikamvelihle Phase 1, May 2016
50 Interview with Community Policing Forum member, Ikamvelihle SAPS, May 2016
not receive the support of the community or, often, the police. In fact, they implicated the police in the robberies and lootings of their shops:

“In other areas, police will just ask you silly questions. They randomly ask for documentation. If they see you with a cellphone, they ask for the receipt of that cellphone; if you can’t produce it, they take the phone. If you say anything, police throw the gun magazine to you and say they found you with it. Those that protect us are not protecting us...”

“I’m going to save your life and not the shop”. You are expected to jump into a police bakkie and leave all your stuff there. SAPS might even take a drink for themselves; sometimes the police loot the shop.

“Police will take statements and nobody investigates or follows it up. Sometimes SAPS may know the suspect but no arrests are made.”

When asked if there is someone or an organization they trust besides the police, Somalis mentioned that the community do not care about the foreign nationals and only want money from them. The quotes below captured their views:

“No South Africans care about Somalis and they do not intervene if something happens. If you go to individuals, they ask us for money to solve the problem. They take the money, but don’t solve the problem. If we go to the police about those people, they say ‘why didn’t you go to the community?’

“Police were called and came after an hour. They said ‘take cover’ but left people taking my stock.”

Foreign nationals also mentioned that while there are good relations between themselves and community leadership structure members, such as with street committees or CPF members, sometimes they demand money if they are called to assist:

“Some of the community structures such as street committees are always there when there is a problem. When they come there some of them will say, ‘no mtshana, we cannot sort out that problem, you must give something’... They are not there to do something unless they get something from you.”

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51 Interview with Somali shopkeepers, Motherwell SAPS, May 2016
52 Interview with Somali shopkeepers, Motherwell SAPS, May 2016
53 Interview with Somali shopkeepers, Motherwell SAPS, May 2016
54 Interview with Somali shopkeepers, Motherwell SAPS, May 2016
55 Interview with a Bangladeshi shopkeepers, Korsten, February 2017
56 Interview with a Somali shopkeeper, Ikamvelihle SAPS, February 2017
In general, the shopkeepers said they felt like the arena onto which community frustrations would be placed. This varied from personal, home issues to service delivery protests. The Somali shopkeepers, echoing some South African interviewees, also said that crime around them was often organised and coordinated by some local shop owners. Whenever there is an incident that involves one of them with a community member, the community members blame the foreign national regardless of the facts:

“*It doesn’t matter who is wrong, they blame “my friend”... Any mistake made will be rectified on us. Any mistake they make, we must pay.*”\(^\text{57}\)

Local community members generally feel they have good relations with foreign nationals. However, from the foreign nationals’ responses it appears that levels of social integration between themselves and South Africans remains very low and efforts still need to be made to strengthen reintegration. One of the foreign nationals stated:

“*We do not have any relationship with community members because we do not understand each other, which is very difficult. But that is changing now. They are starting to understand us. They moved away from collectively calling us “Kwerekwere” or “my friend”, now they call you a Somali, Zimbabwean or Ghanaians etc.*”\(^\text{58}\)

c. Nature of relationship among community leadership structures

While reliant on the CPFs, the SAPS’s relations with the CPFs varied between the two police stations in the area. For Motherwell SAPS, the relations appeared to be generally positive. As stated above, this may also be a reflection of SAPS Motherwell being part of an Integrated Justice System, with a Magistrate’s Court being in very close proximity to the police station. The station is also much larger, newer, and better equipped than many other SAPS stations, with a larger Victim Support Centre, Crime Prevention Unit (CPU), and a much more welcoming Community Service Centre (CSC).

By contrast, SAPS Ikamvelihle has fewer resources, with no CPU, and shortages of personnel and resources. In SAPS Ikamvelihle, the relationship between the SAPS and CPF appears to have broken down. Police officers and CPF members alike attested to this, with a collapse in communication between the then station commander and CPF members. A SAPS member commented on these issues:

\(^{57}\) Interview with Somali shopkeepers, Motherwell SAPS, May 2016
\(^{58}\) Interview with a Somali shopkeeper, Ikamvelihle SAPS, February 2017.
“That’s why the CPF is very important to work with. Eh…one of the mistakes you can make as a station commander… is when you go to the community but you don’t take CPF members with you. I think that’s where the communication comes in, because… then you will discuss things with the community and they approach the CPF about it.”

The breakdown of relations between SAPS and the Ikamvelihle CPF appears to be reflective of the collapse in relations between CPF members and the station commander. The station commander mentioned that the relations are generally good but there are some people who do not understand the voluntary nature of their service. During the researchers’ second phase of interviews, the relations seemed to be slowly becoming normalised since the deployment of the new station commander, but the challenge of inadequate policing resources remained. CPF members also had issues with police whom they accused of jeopardizing their relationship with community members. While the researchers were in the area, community members’ frustrations at policing and the police were high.

On the other hand, the CPFs seem to have good relations with the councillor’s office and it was mentioned that some of the CPF members were deployed from the office of the councillor. The councillor’s office liaised with the CPF office in order to communicate with the station commander or community meetings. However, the office of the councillor had no direct relationship with the Street Committees and liaison with Ward Committees for street level issues.

Lastly, there are also community business forums, one representing locals and the other for foreign nationals. Although business competition was mentioned as a source of conflict to some extent, the relationship between these two structures is non-existent. One would think they could play a pivotal role to bridge the gap between locals and foreign nationals who are operating businesses in the area.

d. Existing conflict resolution mechanisms and perceptions of their effectiveness

For smaller squabbles in the community, people tend to go to their street committees or area committees. Their resolution mechanism takes the form of a type of ‘kangaroo court’, where committee members are the arbitrators. Street/Area committees offer informal tribunals existing outside the formal legal structures. Next up the ladder and for more serious incidents are the CPFs. The CPFs in Motherwell police station highlighted the effective formal interaction between themselves and other criminal justice agencies such as

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59 Interview with SAPS member, Ikamvelihle, May 2016  
60 Interview with SAPS member, Ikamvelihle, May 2016  
61 Interview with former Ward 56 Councillor, Motherwell NU2, February 2017.
the courts, as well as government departments concerned with welfare, education and local
government. Elders may also be brought in when there are domestic feuds.

SANCO is the last point of call before the matter can be taken to the police, but it can also
be involved at initial stages, or even contacted first before other structures. If the issue
relates to murder or rape, the researchers were told it is immediately reported to the SAPS.
SANCO representatives suggested that they are used by community members to mediate
conflicts more than the CPFs. For example, if communities have approached the Street/Area
Committee to solve problems on a communal level, and this proves difficult to resolve, they
then use SANCO. In addition, SANCO deals with issues related to theft, and if needs be
they can approach the perpetrator to confiscate the stolen item without involving the
police:

“We go straight to the person who did that thing to you, we take the stuff. Then
we asked you straight. We try to ask you, we don’t beat you. And then these
people will tell you it’s who and who... And then we go to the person who bought
the stuff. Even the community know that you must not buy the stolen thing. And
then we take the stuff. Then we say we can even take you to jail, because you
can’t buy the stolen thing...”

This approach is similar to the now defunct Amadlozi informal community crime watch,
which used to operate in Motherwell and other townships around Port Elizabeth. However,
Amadlozi was viewed as a vigilante group that ended up committing crime under the
pretext of fighting it. SANCO representatives also mentioned that they deal with
challenges related to Somali shops to make sure that the community do not attack their
shops:

“Because we all got the challenge with the Somalians. We deal with the Somali
shops. We also put an eye. We made them public meetings with the community to
tell them that, ‘you mustn’t touch the Somali shops.’ If the Somali shop do
something wrong to somebody else, your child or whatever, come to report to us so
that we can intervene as the Branch Executive Committee. You must not do things on
your own. We are the structure that is dealing with the community.”

If the matter requires police intervention, SANCO can directly liaise with CPFs or police. As
mentioned above, involvement of each structure, particularly the SAPS, depends on the
seriousness of the matter.

62 Interview with SANCO member, Motherwell SAPS, May 2016
63 Interview with SANCO member, Motherwell SAPS, May 2016
https://www.issafrica.org/pubs/Monographs/No103/Chap6.pdf
65 Interview with SANCO member, Motherwell SAPS, May 2016.
However, the prominence of SANCO was contradicted by the councillors, and SANCO was hardly mentioned by community members. On the other hand, many CPF members also appeared to be affiliated with SANCO. This was confirmed by one of the councillors who mentioned that the secretary of SANCO was deployed by her office to CPF at Ikamvelihle SAPS. In this way, interactions and conflict resolution mechanisms are probably fluid between SANCO, the CPF and other community structures.

VI. History of group violence and exclusion

a. Ethnic/political violence and/or tensions

Community members recounted vigilante violence in relation to ‘known criminals’, and xenophobic violence most often when asked about community violence. Interestingly, the police reported fairly regular service delivery protests in the area (which were seen as a disturbance to them, detracting from their core patrol work), but community members did not feature service delivery protests much in their responses.

When noting incidences of mob-justice or vigilantism, a recent incident (April 2016) was repeatedly referenced, which took place across the road from the SAPS Ikamvelihle station. This reflects a longer history of collective violence in Motherwell, where there is a pattern of vigilante violence. There have been some incidences of mob justice in Motherwell dating back to the establishment of the area in 1980s, and which have carried on in post-apartheid South Africa. The examples below demonstrate the history of informal justice in the area:

- In 1985, Motherwell police discovered the charred body of a young black female under a pile of burning tyres – the usual punishment imposed against suspected police informers.

- The Truth and Reconciliation Commission found that on 2 April 1986, “Mr Michael Mteto Ntozakhe [EC0567/96UIT] and his colleagues were stopped by a group of youths while on their way home to the SAPS camp in Motherwell. The youths covered them with plastic bags, paper and sticks, poured petrol over them and set them alight.”

66 Interview with former Ward 56 Councillor, Motherwell NU2, February 2017.
• In February 1999, two people were killed and five assaulted by armed vigilantes, in retaliation for the murder of a 17-year-old. People who were involved are members of the community structures such as street committees and anti-crime people.69
• On 5 June 2007, a man was rescued by police after a group of nearly 200 Motherwell residents beat him up for allegedly killing a 17-year-old.70
• In 2009, six men were arrested for allegedly kidnapping and beating a man to death in a case of mob justice in Motherwell, after a group of residents suspected him of breaking into a house.71

During the third week of April 2016, just two weeks before researchers entered the site there was a double ‘necklacing’ of two suspected murder accomplices in Ikamvelihle. As recounted by a police officer, the incident followed stabbing of a community member on Sunday 17 April. He had asked some men who were playing music in the house to lower the volume so that he could sleep, and had been stabbed as a result. The stabbing sparked a protest on that day by residents who wanted the police to release the two arrested suspects to the community so they could mete out their own justice. The police account revealed that SAPS members went to the area on Sunday and halted plans of mob-justice. On the morning of Wednesday 20 April, a community member found two badly burned bodies of two men who were suspected of taking part in the stabbing.

Many interviewees saw the vigilante violence as a manifestation of frustrations towards the police and the justice system. Vigilante violence is often linked to a perceived failure in policing, which may be due to experiences of police inefficiency, corruption and suspected complicity with criminals.72 While the exact motives of the small number of people who perpetrated the violence are unknown (some suggesting they were seen as murderers too, and one person suggesting it was actually perpetrated by the family of the arrested murder suspect, because the accomplices had implicated him in the murder),73 the response of the community has been one of frustration and anger directed firmly at the police. While the researchers were there in May 2016, tensions remained high, with community members saying they were going to ‘close down’ SAPS Ikamvelihle, because it was of no use to them. Community members showed their dissatisfaction by not attending an evening meeting arranged by the SAPS, which included representatives from the municipality. While some

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72 Bronwyn Harris, “‘As for Violent Crime...”
73 Interview with Ikamvelihle SAPS member, Ikamvelihle, May 2016.
respondents interviewed did not agree with the violence used, all agreed that the violence was enacted because of inefficiencies with the police.

In addition, in Ward 56, which includes Ikamvelihle, there was some simmering tension because the councillor was considered to be unavailable when community members want to consult with him. The councillor’s office in Ikamvelihle was partially burned by angry protesters on the 4 October 2015. It was alleged the councillor does not follow up on community complaints and needs. According to a Ward Committee member residing Ikamvelihle, this was after residents complained for months about the long overdue RDP rectification project that was promised to fix damaged houses.\(^{74}\) The office was still not yet repaired when the researchers were there in 2016. However, the former councillor maintained that there was some misunderstanding between her office and community members of Ikamvelihle regarding the issues related to the Integrated Development Plan:

> “You see the community members do not go to attend those [Integrated Development Plan] meetings, and those meeting are for the community where they can state what they want in their area. They did not go to that meeting and had their parallel meeting on the side... and the bus was organized so that the community can go there.”\(^{75}\)

It seems that the development project, which saw the building of new RDP house at Ramaphosa area, divided Ikamvelihle community as they started to compare their old houses (from 2002) and the newly built ones (from 2008). The previous councillor promised to rebuild the old houses but never did until his term ended. The community members started to demand their promised houses from the new councillor, and that had resulted in violent service delivery protests in Ikamvelihle in 2015.

b. Non-violent forms of exclusions

Foreign nationals in Motherwell are not only excluded from meetings and other community gatherings, but also in terms of business opportunities. In 2009, the Motherwell local community and the Somali informal traders made an agreement to open no new Somali shops in the area.\(^{76}\) In Ikamvelihle area there was an agreement between the councillor and the SAPS, CPF and the station commander that only 50 shops were allowed in the area in order to prevent conflicts among business people.\(^{77}\) However, the community leaders later

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\(^{74}\) Interview with Ward Committee member, Ikamvelihle, May 2016

\(^{75}\) Interview with former Ward 56 Councillor, Motherwell NU2, February 2017.


\(^{77}\) Interview with former Ward 56 Councillor, Motherwell NU2, February 2017.
relaxed the agreement, and many other shops have since opened, in part because the community members complained that their children could not go to the shops located far from their houses due to high crime.

Again in 2009, the Ikamvelihle CPF introduced a model where community members have to decide whether they allow a foreign national to open a shop in their street or not. While in other areas like Cape Town police and non-governmental organisations have sought to ease the frustration of South African shopkeepers by enforcing agreements to prohibit the opening of new foreign national shops,78 in Motherwell the researchers found that CPF members claimed it was done to limit the competition among foreign nationals themselves. Foreign shop owners must go to the CPF and request a community meeting to open a shop. The CPF explains:

“At this office most of the time when they [foreign nationals] go and get a place to rent, we advise them to come to us first to check, because we have a policy, that is not written... He/she [is] supposed to organise all the people that are staying in that street to have a meeting to inform them that a foreign national person want to open a shop here. And if those community members say ‘yes’, then they will start to do their own agreement, written down, and they are supposed to come with that agreement and the list of the people that they say, ‘we accept this shop’, and their contact numbers, so that we need to post the police to visit. And if those people they accept they will defend even if there is something that is happening.”79

In other words, the community meets and decides on whether or not they need a new shop. However, the same process does not apply to South African shopkeepers. The CPF claimed that this mechanism was put in place to protect foreign nationals. According to the CPF structure, these agreements serve to strengthen ties within communities and reduce opportunities for violence against foreign nationals, as well as promoting solidarity amongst community members to stand up when issues such as crime to the shops occurs.

The logic is that people must decide upon and be in support of a new shop in their area, which means it will be protected. The CPF further claimed this would prevent in-fighting between ‘Somalis/Ethiopians’. During our research, a Somali shopkeeper stated that they have formed a committee (foreign national committee) in each area to make sure that right procedures can be followed when one of them wants to open a shop. This was also confirmed by a Bangladeshi shopkeeper, who mentioned that in 2010 an agreement not to


79 Interview with a Community Policing Forum member, Motherwell SAPS
open a new shop was reached with South Africans, Somalis, Ethiopians and Bangladeshis.80 However, the researchers could not establish whether foreign nationals genuinely understand the agreements, or sign them out of fear of losing the opportunity to open a shop in the area.

This informal mechanism to manage shop openings reflects a lack of municipal oversight around commercial/business premises. It shows that traders operating shops and shebeens mainly from private homes are not properly regulated and do not need to contend with municipal zoning requirements and procedures. This is clear from the number of shebeens and shops that are operating out of people’s homes and near schools. Some form of regulation is required, and this extra-legal form has been created by some community structures. It is clear that the police and community more broadly goes along with it, as well as the foreign nationals, because it is the only form of regulation in an otherwise unregulated area. It also reflects a change in police behaviour: it was reported to us by a police officer that the SAPS used to go in and forcefully close down ‘unwanted’ shops. After the Somalis ‘got lawyers’ they have not been able to do this:

“We as the police, we can’t tell them not to open the shops. It is not in our mandate to do that. They got lawyers also now... In the past we just close them like that, using our own ways of closing them. But now you can’t because they got lawyers and you can’t put your work on the line for that... So we must try to work from the municipality.”81

However, one of the foreign national respondents contradicted the above:

“The problem is some of the police are using force now. They do not listen to anyone. You put your container there, and they get something from those guys [who oppose the opening]. Later you will never see it [the container].”82

The findings suggest that the lack of formal structures around the opening of spaza shops, as well as the lack of safety of foreign shopkeepers, has led to the creation of an extra-legal and informal community system that attempts to mitigate community problems. Consequently, these agreements are applied in a discriminatory manner, and stifle free competition in the area. Findings from a different but related study in Cape Town reveals that prohibiting new Somali shops in townships deprive Somali refugees and asylum seekers

80 Interview with a Bangladeshi shopkeeper, Korsten, February 2017
81 Interview with Visible Policing, Ikamvelihle SAPS, May 2016
82 Interview with a Bangladeshi shopkeeper, Korsten, February 2017
of business opportunities, while South Africans who receive income from Somali businesses (such as landlords) also lose out on income opportunities.  

While other community members were concerned with the safety of their children, others were worried about the loss of income when they are denied an opportunity to rent out their properties for a shop business. In addition, once the landlord shows some interest, and other community members refuse to permit the opening of the shop, it can lead to tension. Furthermore, it has been claimed that some leaders accept bribes for a shop to open, which in turn leaves the community with simmering tensions and confusion. One foreign national respondent explains:

“In each and every nation have agreed to form committees... now there is a problem. The police and CPFs they behave as if they are sorting out the problem, but they are getting bribes from the ones who want to open the shop...even the community now does not understand what is going on...”

Although foreign nationals agreed to these arrangements, unintended consequences of territorialisation of business opportunities by those who establish spaza shops earlier has resulted in tensions among themselves in the area. Ethiopians have been preventing Bangladeshis from opening shops, while street committees and police are not enforcing agreements as agreed. As one Bangladeshi claimed:

“They (Ethiopians) are very rude and we (Bangladeshis) we are not rude. If I open a shop not next to Somalian or Ethiopian, very far from them, they can come and say why. They stopped me last month. My shop is very far from them but they said you cannot open shops here.”

The councillor also revealed that there is some conflict between foreign nationals due to shop openings, but distances himself from such tensions, because his mandate is service delivery in the area.

VII. Profile of recent anti-outsider violence

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84 Interview with former Ward 56 Councillor, Motherwell NU2, February 2017.
85 Interview with a Somali shopkeeper, Ikamvelihle, February 2017
86 Interview with a Bangladeshi shopkeeper, Korsten, February 2017
87 Interview with the councillor, Ward 23, Motherwell NU2, February 2017
This section discusses recent anti-outsider violence in Motherwell and is divided into five sub-sections, namely: incidences of xenophobic violence; instigators and perpetrators; targets and victims; purpose of violence; and responses and interventions.

**a. Incidences of xenophobic violence**

Motherwell experienced xenophobic attacks in 2001, 2007, 2011 and 2013, all involving foreign – predominantly Somali – shops. In 2001, the Director of the South African Somali Association (SASA), Ahmed Dawlo stated that a week after the World Conference Against Racism and Xenophobia in Durban, 120 Somali-owned shops were looted in Motherwell, Port Elizabeth. However, there is no available evidence to explain what triggered such violence, or who the perpetrators were.

In early 2007, it was reported that violence triggered by the accidental shooting of a young South African man by a Somali shop owner resulted in the looting of over one-hundred Somali owned shops in a 24 hour period. According to the South African Migration Project (SAMP), the problem was triggered when a group of locals reportedly attempted to rob a Somali-owned shop in Shukushukuma in NU11 in which a 15-year-old local boy was struck by a stray bullet after the shop owner had retaliated against the robbers. As a result, the local residents of NU11 decided to take the law into their own hands, setting alight and looting Somali-owned shops.

Crush and Chikanda also reported that in mid-2011, 52 shops were plundered and three burnt down in Motherwell. Although the authors refer to collective violence and xenophobia, it is not clear whether this particular incident was xenophobic and they did not mention who the perpetrators were.

Before the incident in Motherwell in March 2011, Somalis blamed local businessmen for prompting an attack after some South African shopkeepers argued they were being undercut and were alarmed at the competition. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) found that local authorities in Motherwell supported and enforced illegal

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practices in which the number of Somali-owned shops was capped at eight, and the police and local authorities check on a daily basis that no additional shop has been opened by a non-national.93

Lastly, in September 2013, it was reported that a Somali shop-owner in New Brighton allegedly shot and killed a 19-year-old during an argument about airtime, which sparked rioting and looting of foreign nationals’ shops in the area. Violent attacks on foreign nationals started in New Brighton area and spread to other townships, including Motherwell. During this incident, about 150 shops were looted in Port Elizabeth’s townships and 70 people were arrested.94 For those who were arrested the researchers could not find evidence about judicial outcomes for cases arising from the violence. It appears there has been limited attainment of justice for victims of the attacks and this has in turn allowed for significant levels of impunity for perpetrators.

The 2013 violence in Motherwell first targeted shops owned by foreign nationals, largely from Somalia and Ethiopia, who owned grocery shops and spread against all African foreigners who were most visible in the area. The event was recounted by a Somali respondent:

“There was one instance in New Brighton where robbers came to a certain business. During the crossfire, the robbers accidentally shot at their own accomplice and he died. When the robbers saw he had died, they changed their story. When the media arrived they said ‘my friend’ [the Somali shopkeeper] had killed him... There are some opportunistic young criminals.”95

According to the CPF, foreign nationals seeking refuge were accommodated at the Motherwell police station in 2013. However, a news report suggests that foreign nationals seeking refuge at the Motherwell police station were turned away after being attacked and losing businesses. Police claimed they were unable to guarantee the foreign nationals’ safety.96 In interviews, some foreign nationals felt the police had not done enough to protect their shops and prevent looting.97 Local police stations failed to call in

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95 Interview with Somali shopkeepers, Motherwell SAPS, May 2016
97 Interview with Somali shopkeepers, Motherwell SAPS, May 2016
reinforcements to stop the violence from spreading and attended the crimes scenes after delays of an hour or more.

It is important to note that the incidences of xenophobic violence in Motherwell seem to follow the same patterns, and the same group of people (community members vs. Somalis) are involved. A common feature was that the attacks appeared to have occurred spontaneously with little or no warning. In two cases, the attacks and looting were caused by altercations, which involved a local and foreign national. As a result, Somali foreign nationals were attacked and their shops looted. As discussed below there was a very strong sentiment that the attacks ‘had come from outside’ with there being no acknowledgement that such attacks may have been perpetrated by community members.

b. Instigators and perpetrators

While it is difficult to establish objectively, according to some respondents the violence against foreign nationals involves young Xhosa men as perpetrators and local business owners as instigators. One of the shopkeepers stated:

“When xenophobic violence started in New Brighton, I was assured by the locals during that day nothing with happen, but people came during the night. And the perpetrators were those young people who smoke dagga outside the shop and people who live in the area.”

Local community members suggested that the young perpetrators were funded by some nameless people, but these could not be verified during the research process. Some local community and CPF members as well as foreign nationals mentioned that local South African business leaders were the ringleaders, citing ‘jealousy’ as the motivation. This was also alluded to during a group interview with foreign national shop owners and SANCO members:

“It was the criminals that started it, but the community followed up on it. But the local business people are actually behind it. Looters were brought from Kwazakele in minibuses. They point guns and the community sees this and takes over. But someone must be sponsoring those looters... That’s why I say it is the criminal who do that thing. They take advantage of what is happening.”

A member of the CPF also affirmed the above comment:

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98 Interview with a Bangladeshi shopkeeper, Korsten, February 2017
99 Interview with SANCO member, Motherwell SAPS, May 2016
“...there was a xenophobic violence in this area. The reason is because locals [are] jealous because foreign nationals are business-minded, and the locals are not business-minded. And locals are so rude and foreign nationals are not rude. And locals complain for everything that foreign nationals do not pay tax, they do not do this and that. So they create sort of the gangsters to burn their houses and their shops. And to stop that we organized a meeting and we talked to those foreign nationals and the locals but the locals are so stubborn.”

A SANCO member also suggested that local business people use young men to perpetrate crimes against foreign national because they are taking them out of business:

“At first we had problems with Somalians especially from local business people. Local business people say Somalis are taking their business whereas they do not know how to run the business... We also found that these young ones were being used... then we decided to intervene.”

However, when researchers asked young males how they get involved, they mentioned that looting of shops and violence against foreign nationals was not premeditated and organised, but it is something that happened spontaneously. They argue that lack of employment opportunities has left many young males hopeless, engaged in drugs and waiting for any opportunistic event so that they can feed their habit. They painted a picture of poverty in the area, which makes foreign nationals vulnerable, because they are doing well. On the other hand, there seems to be youth structures that directly deal with young males and violence in the areas. One of the youth mentioned:

“Youth are lazy and we do not care about what happens in the community. We just deal with what is happening in our world, not looking around and other people...it’s just you and yourself and that’s it.”

In light of the above statements, different narrative accounts existed in the communities when it came to the identity of the instigators and perpetrators of violence against foreign nationals. While the Community Policing Forum cited jealousy and greed from the local business owners, others blamed infighting among foreign nationals themselves. In brief, most respondents perceived local business owners as instigators while in some cases they strongly believe criminals, aided and abetted by locals and particularly the youth, loot and pillage foreign businesses. While local business people are perceived to be using local young

100 Interview with Community Policing Forum member, Motherwell SAPS, May 2016
101 Interview with SANCO member, Motherwell SAPS, May 2016.
102 Interview with a young male, Ikamvelihile SAPS, February 2017.
103 Interview with a young female, Ramaphosa Settlement, February 2017
men to carry out violence, the existing evidence shows that such violence did not start in Motherwell, but spontaneously spilled over from other areas.

c. Responses and interventions

After the 2013 xenophobic violence, community structures such as the CPF and Street Committees organized a meeting with community members to reintegrate foreign nationals into the community. During the attacks, foreign nationals went to Korsten fearing for their lives. The community followed them and tried to apologize, asking them to go back to the community, while CPFs organised a solidarity march to support foreign nationals and denounce violence in the area. However, from the locals’ comments it was clear that this was done because community members were starting to struggle to get their day-to-day items when shops were not operating:

“The reason is that they are helping the community members. The food that foreign nationals are selling is very cheap. Like for instance, you buy a loaf of brown bread which is ten rands, they will sell it for nine rands. There is a rand difference, you see. Sometime those who are pensioners, they go to them during the months because they are not getting their pension. They give them food on credit. You come and pay when you get the money...”

Once more, it appears that levels of social integration between foreign nationals and South Africans remains very low. Foreign nationals say they are not invited and do not attend community meetings. The inability of the community structures to include foreign national residents in their various meetings is a clear sign of lack of integration and ineffective responses. When foreign nationals were asked about their relationship with community structure, one said:

“No. There is no relation with these bodies. There is no way we can even identify who is part of the leadership. It is to our benefit if people come to offer help, but no one does. It is to our benefit to be part of these communities. We might even know some of the people individually, but the community only solves its own problems.”

Shortly after the outbreak of xenophobic violence in February 2007, and in May 2008, there have been various responses from the government, media, non-profit organisations and academic circles. The 2007 xenophobic attacks in Motherwell triggered three responses from different stakeholders. Firstly, in June 2007, after the violence following the accidental shooting of a young South African man by a Somali, the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC), in partnership with United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), organized a World Refugee Day in

104 Interview with SAPS member, Ikamvelihle, May 2016
105 Interview with Somali shopkeepers, Motherwell SAPS, May 2016
Motherwell entitled “Promoting Tolerance and Acceptance through Diversity.” The event was held in Port Elizabeth at NU1 stadium in Motherwell. In another instance, after one attack on a Somali store in 2007, ward councillors called a community meeting and the attendees reprimanded local residents. Lastly, a CPF officer in the area reported that police had introduced several measures aimed at protecting Somali businesses. He stated, “The police patrol Somali business areas at all hours, and after each patrol, the shop owner and the police both sign a confirmation of patrol booklet.” These three interventions could be the reason for less xenophobic violence during the widespread violence in 2008.

Secondly, the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU) in 2008 embarked on a campaign to encourage acceptance and tolerance of foreign nationals in an attempt to eradicate xenophobia from its campuses. However, it is clear that the intervention was not directed at the population of Motherwell or NMBM in general, but to students on campus.

Thirdly, in September 2008 the Nelson Mandela Foundation Dialogue Programme, an NGO, launched a two-year pilot programme in various communities across South Africa in an attempt to address the xenophobic violence that had broken out in May that year. The objective of the programme was to understand the root causes of the xenophobic violence and to develop grassroots responses to social conflict to prevent another outbreak of xenophobic violence. Amongst other findings, socio-cultural issues, which relate to the concept of ‘othering,’ were considered prominent. Where insider/outsider sentiments are pervasive in communities, with language playing a role to determine who is accepted and who is ostracised, the risk of xenophobic violence is greater. Shortly after the conclusion of the programme in 2011, xenophobic attacks occurred in Motherwell and other sites that were part of the dialogue.

Finally, on 28 May 2011, the CPF in Motherwell organized a meeting with locals to show support for Somali traders. This happened after the violence that targeted foreign nationals in 2011. The violence was largely blamed on local traders, common criminal elements, and looters suspected to have been paid by local store owners.
In brief, the evidence above suggests that many of the responses have been ‘outside’ interventions, thus they have been mediated processes by outside bodies. Consequently, they have had limited success, as was shown by the outbreak of xenophobic violence in 2013 after the outside bodies exited. The only interventions from within have been the extra-legal attempt to limit the number of shop openings, and the community meeting that was called by the CPF and SAPS member after the 2013 xenophobic violence. This may have limited violence in some areas, but it has not led to deeper community connections. While local community members and foreign nationals regarded their relationship as generally good, community structures are disconnected from the foreign nationals.

VIII. Summary of key issues

While there is a tendency to link the xenophobic violence with service delivery, the findings in Motherwell paint a different picture. There was a very strong sentiment that the attacks ‘had come from outside’, which indicates the Motherwell residents have not taken responsibility for these attacks. The unemployment rate is high among youth, who are blamed for the attacks in the area. This is not to say that unemployment or any other socio-economic conditions are directly linked to violence against immigrants. However, high rates of unemployment and lack of recreational activities may have partly contributed to violent activities amongst youth. In addition, criminal activities and local business owners are suspected to be behind attacks on foreign nationals.

Social relations between locals and foreign nationals are generally perceived to be good by both groups, but remain weak and mostly occur on a business level. Social cohesiveness between the two groups is weak partly because of a lack of opportunities for positive encounters between groups in public spaces, like mingling in public transportation, or around recreational activities. In addition, foreign nationals remain suspicious of locals.
On the other hand, there seem to be tensions among foreign national groups with regards to business opportunities in the area. This could be an unintended consequence of informal arrangements initiated by community members, leadership and foreign nationals in the area.

While there are community structures that seem to function well in the area, the findings further suggest that the lack of formal structures, such as municipal oversight around commercial/business premises including the opening of spaza shops, as well as the lack of safety of foreign shopkeepers, has led to the creation of extra-legal activities that attempt to mitigate community problems. These measures do not only exclude foreign nationals from business opportunities, but they can also result in tensions amongst community members themselves, and thus limit social cohesion.

Lastly, Motherwell has a history of collective violence, which includes mob-justice and vigilantism. This history as well as the lack of effective policing in Ikamvelihle area may have led to some community members taking the law into their own hands and meting out mob-justice to alleged criminals. In addition to this problem, Ikamvelihle police station is under-resourced both in terms of human and asset resources as compared to the Motherwell station. Consequently, even if the police have the genuine will to act, their ability to do so is limited.
Freedom House is a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization that supports democratic change, monitors freedom, and advocates for democracy and human rights.