AFRICA UNIVERSITY

(A United Methodist church-related Institution)

A STUDY OF ZIMBABWEANS' VIEWS ON THE 2015 XENOPHOBIC ATTACKS IN SOUTH AFRICA

BY

DAGOBERT MUSIWA GRAME MURERIWA

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF EXECUTIVE MASTER IN PEACE AND GOVERNANCE IN THE COLLEGE OF BUSSINESS, PEACE, LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE

2017

Abstract

This study interrogated Zimbabweans views on the 2015 South Africa xenophobic attacks, so as to understand its root causes, socio-economic determinants and effects. It was informed by the theory of violence, frustration aggression and human needs theories. Thus, it queries Ubuntu, the notion of peaceful co-existence key to human security and sustainable development. Xenophobia is a contentious issue, viewed as extreme hatred, behavioural prejudice and violence towards foreigners. Zimbabweans are increasingly becoming victims. The high influxes of Zimbabweans into South Africa is perceived by South Africans as scramble for scarce resources, thereby disturbing social order. Yet Zimbabweans migration significantly contributed to South Africa's broader socio-economic development. It is critical to highlight that xenophobic attacks are rife in countries undergoing political, social, legal and economic transformation and South Africa is a classic example. For instance, the apartheid era led to institutionalised racism that shape South Africa post-independence era stereotypes and allegations. As such, utilising a qualitative study, this research seeks to document Zimbabweans views of these attacks, based on their lived experiences. Qualitative techniques, literature review, focus group discussion and in-depth interviews were used to collect data. These techniques were appropriate as they enabled the researcher to collect rich data of experiences of participants. The research findings are organised according to major themes that emerged. This research's findings resonates with the assumption that competition for resources triggers xenophobic attacks in communities, due to displacement of anger and aggression. The South African Government promises made to citizen's pre and post-independence such as creating economic emancipation and equal opportunities for all remain unfulfilled and worsen frustration resulting in recurring displaced anger aggression on foreigners. Indeed, this entrenched culture of aggression and violence constitute violation of human rights and contradicts the notion of Ubuntu, which emphasise peace, tolerance and harmony. South Africans are perceived as violent and comments by political leaders and media reporting continue to instigate violence. Some fellow Zimbabweans especially those who have assimilated became xenophobia entrepreneurs who took advantage to attack and steal from own fellows. The xenophobic effects include loss of life, personal belongings, trauma affects self-esteem and perpetuates superiority and inferiority complexes. The study ends by providing recommendations to the Governments of Zimbabwe and South Africa to simplify permits application processes promote safe migration, train frontline staff such as the police, conduct comprehensive education campaigns, continuously train law enforcement agencies to promote reintegration to uphold Ubuntu for a Kwerekwere free society.

Key Words: Migration, Makwerekwere, *Buyekekhang*, Xenophobia, Racism, Ubuntu, Assimilation, Peaceful Co-existence.

Declaration

I declare that this dissertation is my original work except where sources have been cited and acknowledged. The work has never been submitted, nor will it never be submitted to another university for award of a degree.

_____   _____

Student's Full Name   Student Signature (Date)

_____   _____

Main Supervisor's Full Name   Main supervisor's Signature

Copyright

Acknowledgements

First, I wish to give thanks to my parents, wife, and two daughters, for their encouragement and moral support at home and keen interest in my studies. Second, I am forever grateful to my supervisor, Dr Pindai Sithole who tirelessly gave guidance in class and during compilation process of the entire research project. Third, I am grateful to all lectures for wisdom imparted and my classmates for the friendship, team spirit, encouragement and the desire to succeed and finally I express my gratitude to all the participants involved in the research study. I forever value your contribution to the achievement of this milestone in my life.

Dedication

This research is dedicated to my mother Edith Mureriwa, wife Prisca Mureriwa, my two daughters Chiyevo and Mudiwawashe. This work is also dedicated to the memory of my father, Mr. Martin Mureriwa, you left us fully equipped to navigate through life with respect and dignity.

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

ANC   African National Congress

AU   The African Union

COS   Centers of Safety

CSVR   Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation

EFF   Economic Freedom Fighters

FAT   Frustration Aggression Theory

FDG   Focus Group Discussions

GEAR   Growth Employment and Redistribution

IOM   International Organization of Migration

MDC-T   Movement for Democratic Change (Tsvangirai)

NEPAD   The New Partnership for Africa's Development

NGO   Non-Governmental Organization

OAU   The Organization of African Unity

SA   South Africa

SADC   South African Development Committee

SAHRC   South Africa Human Rights Commission

SAMP   Southern Africa Migration Project

SAPS   South Africa Police Services

SD   Sustainable Development

UN   United Nations

UNHCR   United Nations Higher Commissioner for Refugees

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of appendices

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the background to the study, research problem, aim, objectives, research questions, significance, assumptions, delimitation, limitations, and definition of key terms. Xenophobic attacks have been recurring in South Africa since its independence in 1994. The theoretical assumption is that xenophobia exists in South Africa, is recurring and increasing intensity. Various studies have sort views from South Africans with limited focus on those affected. It is not only affecting the legal or documented but also illegal or undocumented foreigners. Therefore, this study, seeks to explore views of Zimbabweans on the 2015 South Africa xenophobic attacks the main focus being to establish the causes, social economic determinants, effects and provide recommendations.

1.2 Background to the study

Peace and human security is important for development. Xenophobic attacks are a serious threat to peaceful co- existence, security and development. Xenophobia is the dislike, hatred or fear of foreigners. Notably, it is not just an attitude but an action that manifests itself in various forms such as social, economic and political (Duncan, 2012). Xenophobic attacks have been experienced worldwide, with attacks in countries such as Greece, Italy, China, Egypt and South Africa. Some Europe countries such as Germany have experienced hatred for foreigners in the form of racism or superiority or inferiority stereotypes.

This study comes on the background of recent developments in South Africa where xenophobic attacks against foreign nationals reached extreme conditions. Nationals mostly from southern African countries such as Zimbabwe, Malawi and Mozambique went under unbearable siege resulting in the death, destruction and injuries to the victims of the violent xenophobic attacks. Zimbabweans being most targeted due to high population numbers. The Zimbabwe economic meltdown and governance challenges are some of the push migration factors to South Africa. However, there is an information gap on the Zimbabweans views on the causes or triggers and effects of the attacks.

Since 1994 violence against foreign nationals by South Africans has been on the increase culminating in severe socio- economic effects, political tensions including destruction of property and loss of life according to the 2004 study published by the Southern Africa Migration Project (SAMP). Studies across member's states of the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) found South Africans expressing the highest anti-foreign sentiments, 21 % of South African in favour of a complete ban on entry by foreigners and 64 % in favour of strict limitation on numbers allowed.

 The 2004 study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR) of attitudes among police officers in Johannesburg area found that 87 % of respondents believed that most undocumented immigrants are involved in crime, despite there being no statistical evidence to substantiate these views. Violence targeted undocumented migrants to clean the townships of foreigners through campaigns known as "*Buyekekhang*" meaning go back home. These attacks targeted those living in black high density suburbs such as Alexandra or settlements in Gauteng province such as Khutsong and Coastal cities. The magnitude of the xenophobic attacks have been worsening reaching its peak in 2008 when 97 people lost their lives including 20 South Africans,

leaving many affected. Furthermore, in 2015, 7 people lost their live and an estimated 5000 people were displaced in a wave of violence against foreigners between March and May 2015, according to Neocosmos (2015).

Deteriorating social cohesion amongst communities increased hostility, suspicion and violence. Foreigners are blamed for South Africans relative deprivation challenges including crime, unemployment and access to basic social services. There were various efforts to mitigate and control attacks. The situation seemed contained. However, the attacks resurfaced in 2015. This has attracted global and regional attention in terms of safeguarding human security towards the quest for global and regional peaceful co-existence. Most available literature has sought the views of South Africans on these attacks and limited information is available from the perspectives of affected foreign nationals. This prompted the researcher to seek views of affected Zimbabweans who lived in South Africa, to understand their views, underlying triggers or causes and effects and required remedial action.

The study explores the Zimbabwean views on the 2015 xenophobic attacks in South Africa. The study coined a range of topics to answer research objectives:

- Respondents views about Xenophobia

- Reasons why respondents migrated to South Africa

- How respondents perceive South Africans

- Respondents views about the rise of xenophobia in South Africa

- Respondents views of the Home Affairs, the police and migration officials

- Respondents views on the media, leaders on xenophobia.

- Respondents views on socialisation and assimilation

- Other challenges or problems faced by Zimbabweans in South Africa.

- Respondents future plans

Section below firstly, clarify what is meant by xenophobia. Secondly, it provides critical review of what is known about the phenomena. Thirdly, it places Zimbabweans, the main subject within the broader context of migration in South Africa.

Migration and xenophobia has been rife in South Africa since independence in 1994. Xenophobia has increased in intensity prior to transition to democracy and thereafter. Xenophobia is an ancient and worldwide phenomenon. The word originates from the Greek word xénos, meaning 'the stranger' and 'the guest' and phóbos, meaning 'fear'. Hence xenophobia stands for 'fear of the stranger', but usually the term is taken to mean 'hatred of strangers (Smelser and Baltes, 2001). Xenophobia can be understood as *"an attitudinal orientation of hostility against non-natives in a given population"*(Boehnke, 2001).Xenophobia is a form of attitudinal and behavioral prejudice toward immigrants and those perceived as foreign. Tshiterereke (1991:1) argue that the subject fear and absolute dislike seem to have translated itself into intense tensions and violence by South Africans towards foreigners. Unlike other "phobias" that are prescribed as psychological conditions, xenophobia is a social condition that require a social explanation. It is a reality only about intense dislike rather than fear of strangers. The phenomena is fluid and change to suit time and place.

The Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary's (n.d.) defines xenophobia as the "fear and hatred of strangers or foreigners or of anything that is strange or foreign". However, more recent definitions of xenophobia suggest that the fear of foreigners and their

impact is linked with ethnocentrism, which is characterized by the attitude that one's own group or culture is superior to others (Merriam-Webster Online, n.d.). Reynolds and Vine (1987, p. 28) stated that xenophobia is a "psychological state of hostility or fear towards outsiders" Crowther (1995) emphasized that xenophobia focuses on individuals who come from other countries who become the focus of an intense dislike or fear by the recipient country. What is therefore emerging from the above definitions is the dislike, hatred or fear of foreigners.

In the South African context, a joint statement by civil society and the South African Human Rights Commission (South African Human Rights Commission 1998) defines xenophobia as the deep dislike of non-nationals by citizens of a recipient state. Harris (2002) contends that the definition does mask certain deficiencies when contextualized especially to the South African scenario. Harris (2002) therefore argues that the definition is limited and misleading, because xenophobia in South Africa is more than just an attitude but also an activity manifesting in violent practice that result in bodily harm and damage. Harris, further states that patterns of xenophobic hostility constitute a violation of the human rights of a targeted and identifiable group that undermines the very values upon which South African democracy is premised.

Duncan (2012) concurs with Harris when he points out that Xenophobia is not just an attitude but also implies an action or [activity] that manifests in various forms such as medical, cultural, and economic or political. The European Council decision of 28 November 2008 adopted the Framework Decision on combating certain forms and expressions of racism and xenophobia by means of criminal law. This implies a

European acknowledgement that Xenophobia is a phenomenon embedded within and across the 28 European member states.

Xenophobia is often associated with times of social, economic and political instability. Economic imbalance pulls individuals toward countries with prospects of higher earnings or sheer survival, whereas political, economic, and cultural tensions push many out toward new lands (Marsella and Ring, 2003). In turn, the migration of large groups of people across borders can result in the host community's reaction of feeling threatened by the newcomers whether because of perceptions of economic strain or of cultural dissimilarity (Esses et al., 2001).

The above assertion could be true with regards to the South African xenophobic attacks. South Africa is perceived to be a developed, economically stable and democratic country with good governance compared to other African states where most of the migrants come from such as Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Somalia. Therefore, it is no surprise that on the African continent, Xenophobia has largely been associated with developments in South Africa as early as 1994 a period which coincide with the new democratic dispensation in South Africa (Neocosmos, 2015).

Further Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco (1995) argued that negative views of immigrants emerge from fears of diminished economic resources, rapid demographic changes, and diminished political influence. Scholars from both Western Europe and the United States indicated that foreigners are often targeted as convenient scapegoats during difficult cultural and economic transitions. Fritzsche (1994) suggested that

prejudice against immigrants can offer an emotional outlet for fear when both the internal and external affairs of a country are unstable.

Most recently, in South Africa xenophobic attacks have developed into nationwide attacks on foreigners with significant attacks being reported in 2008 and 2015. Smaller and isolated attacks have also been documented; for instance, in 2009, more than 3,000 Zimbabweans were forcibly displaced from the farming areas in De Doorns in the Western Cape Province. While in 2012 the United Nations Higher Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) recorded 238 incidents in Johannesburg, Durban and Soweto resulting in the death of 120 deaths and 7,500 persons displaced (Valji, 2003, Crush, and Ramachandran 2014).

Harris (2002) documents attacks against foreigners did not begin in 1994 but that xenophobic violence has a long standing post-apartheid history. CoRMSA (2008) details the extensive damage inflicted on humans who died, were raped, wounded or displaced and their property was destroyed in 2008 (Desai, 2008). It is estimated that there are over three million Zimbabweans living in South Africa mainly as economic migrants. The Zimbabweans caught up in xenophobia attacks are blamed by South Africans for committing crimes, taking of jobs and snatching of their women whilst Nigerians are accused of drug trafficking (Neocosmos, 2015 and Challe 2014).

For the purpose of this study, the word "xenophobia" will be used to signify not only attitudes of dislike and fear but also violence against foreigners. Views are a general word, perception referring to whatever lies to open sight. It stresses individuality of outlook.

This study, therefore seeks to explore and document the views of Zimbabweans on the 2015 xenophobic attacks in South Africa to understand their views, root causes, socio-economic determinants and effects.

1.3 Statement of the problem

Although there is abundant literature on xenophobic attacks in South Africa particularly since 1994 when South Africa got its independence, very little has been documented about Zimbabweans views on the 2015 xenophobic attacks hence a knowledge gap. Therefore, this study seeks to explore experiences and views of Zimbabweans towards xenophobic attacks at. Zimbabweans living in South Africa were greatly targeted hence need to document their migration dynamics and lived experiences.

The study aimed to:

- Document the Zimbabwean views of the 2015 South African Xenophobic attacks so that appropriate action can be taken.

- Investigate the nature and scale of xenophobia directed towards Zimbabweans living in South Africa.

- Gain an understanding of the causes of xenophobia, and Effects of the xenophobic attacks.

1.4 Objectives of the study:

The research objectives were as follows:

1. To understand the views of Zimbabweans on xenophobic attacks in South Africa on Zimbabweans in 2015.

2. To examine the socio-economic determinants of xenophobic attacks in South Africa on Zimbabweans in 2015.

3. To identify the effects of the 2015 xenophobic attacks in South Africa on Zimbabweans.

4. To establish the response of the South African government in dealing with xenophobia.

1.5 Research questions

This study sought to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the views of Zimbabweans on the 2015 xenophobic attacks on Zimbabweans in South Africa?

2. What are the factors associated with the 2015 South Africa xenophobic attacks on Zimbabweans?

3. What are the effects of xenophobic attacks in South Africa on Zimbabweans in 2015?

4. What was the response of the South African government in dealing with xenophobia?

1.6 Assumptions / Hypothesis

Competition for resources often triggers xenophobic attacks in communities.

Affected participants voluntarily share their views and experiences on xenophobic attacks.

1.7 Significance of study

The research contributed to understanding or broaden knowledge on the study of xenophobia in relation to peace and security in the region. The research provided recommendations to policy makers and informs the South African and Zimbabwean Governments on strategies that can be used to reduce xenophobia, towards the promotion of peaceful co-existence, intergration, thus Ubuntu.

1.8 Delimitations of the Study

This study is located in the peace, conflict and development realm and focus on economic, social and political triggers of 2015 xenophobic in South Africa. The study will be delimited to three theoretical frameworks (frustration and aggression theory by Dollard (1969) the Basic Human Needs theory by John Burton (1999) as well as the theory of violence by Johan Galtung (1969). The study focus on Zimbabweans living in Johannesburg or Gauteng province, Alexandra Park who stayed in South Africa since 1994 or recent arrivals six months before the attacks. Alexandra Park abbreviated as Alex is a native township near affluent Sandton city. It has an estimated 20 000 informal dwelling or shacks. The area has a history of protests.

1.9 Limitations of the Study

The sample was selective as it draw respondents from South Africa Alexandra Park in Johannesburg as a 2015 affected areas but did not seek views of respondents from other affected provinces for comparisons. While this was beyond the scope of this study, this could have enriched the study. However, the research strength is that the respondents were highly knowledgeable on the subject and this enriched outcome.

1.10 Summary

This chapter provides background to xenophobia and illustrates the problem that has led to this dissertation. It also includes assumptions of the study, limitations and delimitations. Literature written about xenophobia is further discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

In any type of research, it is important to review what other authors have written about one's area of study to formulate emerging themes and broaden perspectives about the topic under study. This chapter focuses on definition of key terms, theories that seek to assist in understanding xenophobic attacks. Chapter summary is provided.

2.1.1 Xenophobia and Racism

This section compares xenophobia and racism. Xenophobia and racism appear to be the same though different. Racism takes place between people with different physical types. Some groups will regard themselves as superior to others. Racism can degenerate into hatred. Racism is a form of prejudice but not necessarily xenophobia. It came about as a means of legitimacy slavery, colonialism and segregation. It does not always operate at lower levels of inferiority and physical characteristics but the foreigners who suffer xenophobia sentiments are those regarded as inferior. They are usually detected by some physical characteristics. Xenophobia in the modern world takes a racist form but it cannot be equated to racism according to Harris (2002).

2.1.3 Xenophobia: An international Perspective

This section reveals trends and patterns of xenophobia. Racism is a common trend in Europe and America and it has received attention in societies undergoing transition, such as post-unification Germany. According to Swarz (200:2) who wrote about the widespread hostility and attacks on foreigners in East Germany. He posits foreigners have been given new impetus on discussions concerning whether this phenomenon is

exclusively a consequence of Germany reunification in 1990 or it roots back to Stalinist ruled East Germany. However, since there has been hostility to East Germans, this could be linked to German nationals or racisms.

According to Swarz, the causes of xenophobia in Germany Democratic Republic were attributed to the treatment and perception of strangers and socialist party adherence to nationalist world outlook. The socialist nation is thereby imagined as a society whose resources foreigners are to have no access. Prejudice followed against strangers as scapegoats to crime. South Africa scapegoats may be equated to arrests, detention of suspected immigrants.

Xenophobia is not restricted to countries only. According to Harris (2001:55), it is also experienced in transnational organisations such as those working for black refugee camps in Central Africa and white refugee camps in Balkans show great financial and material inequalities, which lead to some uncomfortable questions about the reasons for the inequalities.

2.1.4 Immigration and Xenophobia

Having discussed xenophobia in general, now the focus is on xenophobia in contemporary South Africa. It is important to distinguish the periods before and after transition to democracy. The following sub sections will then look at immigration to South Africa before and since 1994 respectively.

2.1.5 Immigration and Xenophobia Prior to 1994

This section looks at immigration to South Africa pre -1994. It mainly deals with the legal framework and economic participation of immigrants before South Africa's transition to democracy.

2.1.6 Categories of Foreigners

Below are various categories of immigrants residing in South Africa.

(a) Permanent Residents

The Aliens Control Amendment Act (1995:11) defines a permanent resident "a permit to immigrate to the republic with the intension to take up permanent residence".

(b) Temporary Permit

The Alien control Act (1995:13) recognizes six different permits: workers permit, work permit, study permit, visitors permit, business permit and medical permit.

(c) Refugee and Asylum

According to the refugee Act (1998) this is issued to refugees seeking settlement subject to Home Affairs assessment.

(d) Undocumented migrants

These are illegal migrants to be deported. They are prone to brutality by law enforcement agencies.

Conclusion.

In this chapter, it was argued that xenophobia is a social phenomenon, and therefore it needs a social explanation. It is about dislike of the stranger that culminates into violence. Xenophobia is exclusion of foreigners to assess state benefits.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

Sustainable Development (SD) is a function of quality and density of social relations or peaceful co-existence. Xenophobic attacks are a form of conflict in society which indicates weak or an erosion of social relations. In 1994 political promises were not fulfilled and citizens continue to be frustrated as outlined in diagram below:

Physiological insecurity

Frustrations lack of basic needs and power

Scapegoating prejudice, attitudes hate for the other aggressive action
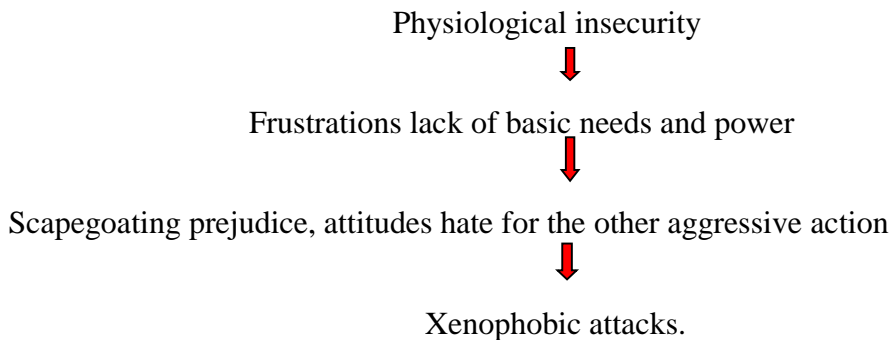
Xenophobic attacks.

Figure 2.1 conceptual framework explaining xenophobia attacks.

This study will be informed by three theories namely Galtung (1969) violence theory, Dollard (1969) frustration aggression theory and Burton (1999) human needs theory.

2.2.1 Galtung (1969) Theory of Violence

Galtung (1969) Theory of Violence posits that there are several different ways of classifying violence. The three main types of violence are: (1) personal or direct, (2) structural or indirect, and (3) cultural or symbolic.Galtung suggests that the three types of violence can be represented by the three corners of a *violence triangle*. The image below outline the three types are causally connected to each other.

```
                    Structural Violence
                           /\
                          /  \
                         /    \
                        /      \
                       /        \
                      /          \
                     /            \
                    /              \
                   /                \
                  /                  \
 Cultural Violence /_____\ Direct Violence
```
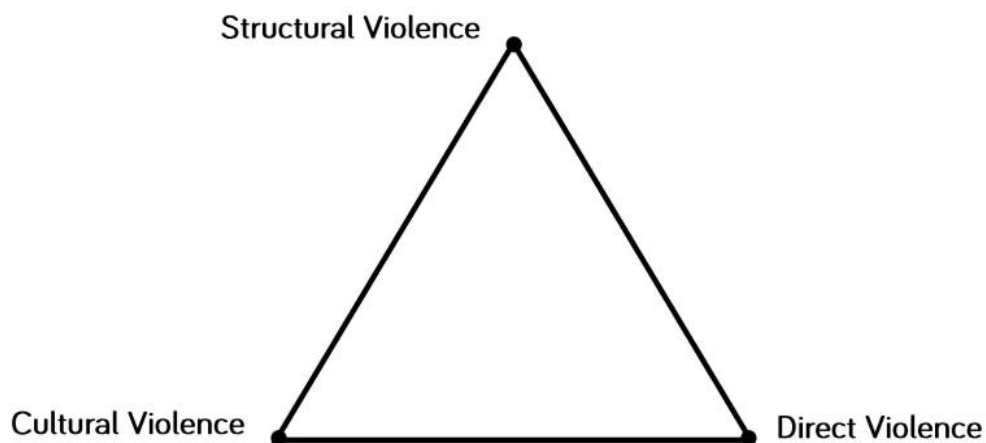
Figure 2.2 Galtung violence triangle

Among the three types of violence represented in the above diagram, the most obvious type is direct or personal. This includes everything from xenophobic attacks, threats and psychological abuse to rape, murder, war, and genocide belong to this category. It is called *personal* violence because the perpetrators are human beings.

The second type, structural violence, is much less obvious, though it can be as deadly, or deadlier, than direct violence. Typically, no particular person or persons can be held directly responsible as the cause behind structural violence. Here, violence is an integral part of the very structure of human organizations — social, political, and economic.Structural violence is usually invisible — not because it is rare or concealed, but because it is so ordinary and unremarkable that it tends not to stand out. Such violence fails to catch our attention to the extent that we accept its presence as a

16

"normal" and even "natural" part of how we see the world. Galtung explains the distinction as follows:

Violence with a clear subject-object relation is manifest because it is visible as *action*. Violence without this relation is structural, built into structure. Thus, when one husband beats his wife there is a clear case of personal violence, but when one million husbands keep one million wives in ignorance there is structural violence. Correspondingly, in a society where life expectancy is twice as high in the upper as in the lower classes, violence is exercised even if there are no concrete actors one can point to directly attacking others, as when one person kills another. (Galtung, 1969, p. 171).

Even though structural violence has real victims, it has no real perpetrators. Since there are no real perpetrators, the question of *intention* does not arise. To identify structural violence, it is imperative to focus on *consequences* rather than intentions. Galtung points out that Western legal and ethical systems have been preoccupied with intentional harm because of their concern with punishing (or holding accountable) the guilty party. This concern is appropriate for direct violence, but quite irrelevant for structural violence. There is preoccupation with holding accountable the perpetrators of violence and allows the other, more pervasive violence to go unnoticed. According to Galtung this connection is important because it brings into focus a bias present in so much thinking about violence, peace, and related concepts: ethical systems directed against *intended* violence will easily fail to capture structural violence in their nets (Galtung, 1969, p. 172).

The third aspect of violence is the cultural violence. This occurs in the arena of culture, in the realm of beliefs, attitudes, and symbols. It would be erroneous to say that culture is the root cause of violence, since the causal influence runs bilaterally among the three

corners of the violence triangle. Violence, whether direct or structural, is a human phenomenon. Violence creates physical or existential problem as well as the problem of meaning. Cultural violence in any given culture can come from variety of directions most significantly from religion, ideology, and cosmology, but also from the arts and sciences. This theory has direct relevance to the South African xenophobic attacks and confirms the scholarly work of Valji, (2003), Crush, and Ramachandran (2014), Neocosmos, (2015) and Desa (2008) who agree that violence can manifest itself in the form of both hard and soft forms such as murders, burning down of structures; torture, intimidations, arrest and detentions, respectively.

The relevance of Galtung's Theory of Violence to this study is to show that violence can be classified into three categories which are clearly identifiable. However, the violence identified in this study as xenophobic attack is predominantly directly related to direct violence where physical harm is inflicted on human beings by other human beings. In this study it is the South African Blacks inflicting recurring physical violence on other black Africans identified in this study as immigrants and as a result most South Africans are viewed as naturally violent.

2.2.3 Dollard (1969) Frustration Aggression theory

Dollard (1969) Frustration Aggression (FAT) theory posit that frustration accumulates in human beings when they fail to achieve their goals. Excessive level of frustration is accumulated when an organism is blocked in pursuit of a goal. According to FAT, Human beings are goal oriented organisms, which naturally become aggravated when they are prevented from achieving what they desire. The goal of aggression is to defend one-self or to inflict harm on the source of the frustration. The empirical emphasis

being on the instigators of the aggression reaction such as goal blocking heightened anger, threat, crowding and frustrated expectations. FAT suggest that external stimuli induces frustration which precipitates expectations. If aggression cannot be expressed against the real source of the frustration, displaced hostilities can become targets to substitute the object. Ho-won Jeong (2002) suggest that in some cases, antagonistic behaviour may be reduced by finding alternative means of releasing the frustration.

The 2015 xenophobic attacks in South Africa are a classic example of grassroots population being frustrated because of lack of employment opportunities for the local population who see immigrants as grabbing their jobs. The assumption is that since the grassroots population is frustrated due to the failure by the South African Government to provide jobs and improve their social and economic well-being, the restless population has found alternative means to vent their frustrations and anger through aggressive behaviour over foreigners close to areas they live. The scapegoat hypothesis explains xenophobia as the result of a widespread belief that non-nationals are responsible for relative deprivation. The second explanation is the isolation hypothesis which views xenophobia as a consequence of South Africa's history of apartheid or institutionalised racism prior to the 1994 elections (Valji, 2003).

Furthermore, South Africa, because of years of economic prosperity the country became an employment hub for most nationalities from across Africa, including Zimbabwe. This led to competition for scarce resources and services resulting in displaced aggression on foreigners. According to Crush, and Ramachandran, (2014) points out that the relative deprivation argument, suggesting that the relationship between violence and the economic circumstances of poor people is not that their poverty compelled them to viciously target others, but the "sense of unfairness

engendered by inequality, of being discriminated against" produced fierce antipathy towards those seen, accurately or inaccurately, to enjoy more than them.

However, such influx of immigrant to South Africa allegedly deprived South Africans from business opportunities, employment, resources such as land, clean water, and accommodation among other human basic needs and services (Valji, 2003, Crush, and Ramachandran (2014). Furthermore, the economic policies of South Africa (Growth, Employment, and Redistribution (GEAR) have led to a reduction in the inequalities in public services "income inequality has increased, and poverty levels have remained stagnant… [Leaving] deeply entrenched inherited inequalities, in particular across race [unresolved]" (Bhoratet al., 2013).

Furthermore, Marais (2001, p. 158) cited in Martin and Gelderblom (2009) points out that, by 1996, it was already clear that the economic growth did not necessarily reduce unemployment. 'Jobless growth' was becoming as prevalent in South Africa as elsewhere in the global capitalist system. However, critiques of the Frustration Aggression theory point out that the extent to which frustration causes aggression is not certain (Glossop, 1993). The debate is centred on the notion that human behaviour is affected by the social environment and that frustrated feelings can be controlled through adaptive mechanisms and people can be educated to behave differently under conditions of frustrations such as going through conflict transformation and anger management.

The relevance of the Frustration Aggression Theory in this study provides the imperative need by governments to understand the triggers that set xenophobia ablaze especially when citizens are constantly frustrated in achieving their intended objectives of success. South Africa is a classic example of unfulfilled promises since

independence in 1994. The frustrations continue to bottle up and vented on foreigners as scapegoats. Therefore, the theory is a reminder that continued frustrations experienced by citizens has the probability of an eruption of violent behaviour which xenophobia epitomises in this study.

2.2.4 The Human Needs theory

The human needs theory was first developed by Abraham Maslow (1908-1970) and John Burton (1915-2010). The two theorists posit that basic human needs go beyond the conventional needs such as food, shelter and clothing. They include physical and psychological elements for human growth and development. These include self-esteem, the need to know understand and explore, aesthetic needs which entail the need for symmetry, order and beauty, self-actualization which the need to find self-fulfilment and realize one's potential and transcendence which is the need to connect to something beyond the ego or to help others find self-fulfilment. This theory is relevant in unpacking the xenophobic attacks of 2015 against Zimbabweans in South Africa.

Furthermore, the xenophobic attacks can be assumed to be of the need of local South Africans to self-actualize after the demise of the apartheid regime. The hopes and aspirations have not yet been realised after many years of self-rule. The equal distribution of resources and a rise in the standard of living have not yet materialised for the average South Africans. Inequalities continue to increase in the new South Africa. The xenophobic attack discourse is located in the need for the fulfilment of human needs which is still a mirage from most South Africans. South Africa still strive to fulfil deep-seated needs at the grassroots level. The expected freedom did not bring

along with it the capacity to exercise choice in all aspects of life and the need for a fair allocation of resources among all members of a community.

The Human Needs Theory is relevant in this study as to assist in identifying the root causes of violence when basic human needs are not met on a daily basis. Human basic needs cannot be postponed but require urgent attention if violent conflict and confrontations are to be avoided in society. Therefore the equitable redistribution of national resources has to be carefully planned to pacify the various expectations and needs of society. Therefore competition of scarce resources between immigrants and poor national's leads to hostility weakens social cohesion, xenophobic attacks or violence. This in turn affects sustainable development.

2.3 Relevance of Theoretical Framework to study

The three theories are interconnected in that they focus on negative behaviour which instigates fear, violence, feelings of frustrations and aggression and excessive competition for human basic needs or social services. The theories help to unpack the views, feelings and attitudes and behaviour of local South Africans towards Zimbabwean immigrants. Violence is the expressed end product when actors feel frustrated or blocked to achieve intended goals to prosperity or the perception that immigrants are benefitting more than the locals or the perception that immigrants are grabbing opportunities which should be theirs. The three theories bring to the fore the elements of stiff competition between the locals and immigrants to access scarce resources, jobs or social services which in turn lead to xenophobic attacks. Therefore, physiological insecurity leads to frustration due to competition for resources, lack of basic needs and power, scapegoating prejudice and attitude of severe hatred resulting in xenophobic attacks.

It is therefore difficult to individually disaggregate triggers of xenophobia attacks according to a specific year. The causes listed in the above table are strong enough to trigger xenophobic violence at any given time in South Africa. The list elaborated by the literature surveyed represents bottled up feelings and emotions of South African which trigger an eruption of xenophobic violence at any given. The use of the army to restore peace does not mean the resolution of long standing grievances of South Africans against foreign nationals especially against black Africa. This according to Neocosmos (2015) is due to perpetual frustrations, due to completion for scarce resources. What is clear from the various literatures above that there is no common ground or common position among scholars as to pin point the single most trigger of xenophobia attacks against Zimbabweans in South Africa. The possibility is that xenophobic attacks are caused by socio-economic, factors. The provided literature is testimony of the raging debate among scholars within South Africa other causes of xenophobic include attacks perpetrated by the state, the police, the immigration department, the media, and the politicians feed into the discourse of the causes of xenophobia.

However, the first xenophobic attacks in South Africa occurred soon after the first democratic elections in 1994; contrary to expectations that xenophobia begun in 2008 (Desai, 2008). Despite the continued rise in xenophobic attacks and sentiments by Zimbabweans the most documented cases were between 2008 and 2015. Moreover, the 2008 xenophobia resulted in 1384 people arrested, and more than five hundred shops looted and gutted respectively (Desai, 2008).

Adjai and Lazaridis, (2013) postulate that post-apartheid South Africa was built on a culture of inclusiveness, tolerance and human rights, embodied in its 1996 Constitution. However, South African citizens exhibit high levels of xenophobia

towards fellow Zimbabweans citizens, subjecting them to different forms of prejudice and discrimination. Furthermore, Gottstein (1996) theorizes that the, solution to curb xenophobia in South Africans is the need to remove enemy images which have their origins in various real and perceived conflicts of interest, racial prejudices, traditional antagonisms between competing tribes or groups which also includes religious differences. Solomon and Kosaka (2013) identify four different dimensions which undermine social cohesion, peaceful co-existence, and good governance, and constitute a violation of human rights due to xenophobic violence. On the other hand, the concept of xenophobia has its roots in both the context and history of both Africa and Europe according to existing literature and is a worldwide phenomenon.

2.3.1 Nexus between access to Resources and Xenophobia

There are different forms of social conflict such as xenophobia, strikes or riots. Xenophobic attacks can be defined as "intense tension and violence by nationals towards migrants" (Harries, 2002, p.170). While a lot has been written on xenophobia or social violence there has been little attention in assessing the economic triggers of xenophobia. Among the major causes of xenophobia is the denial to access resources by black South Africans. Competition for resources affect co-existence, hostility, tension and violence emerge (Neocosmos, 2006).

2.3.2 Perpetrators or Xenophobes

The nature of xenophobia in South Africa has two remarkable characteristics. Firstly, although various studies, such as Cruch (2008), have confirmed that South Africans from all races are xenophobic towards foreigners, violence is largely perpetuated by South Africans blacks against black Africans (Fine and Bird, 2006) cited in (Calle, 2014) argue that although white South Africans might well have higher levels of anti-

foreign sentiments, they tend not to act upon them, as they had little interaction with the migrants concerned. However, black South Africans have greater contact with migrants, thus providing more opportunities to act on anti-foreign xenophobic feelings (Mnyaka, 2003, Calle, 2014). The second characteristic is that South Africans xenophobia is almost exclusively directed towards other Africans, who are often called *Amakwerekwere* which means a person who speaks an unintelligible language. This study reviewed four main clusters. The first cluster examined the concept of xenophobia and its contributing factors. The second cluster focused on how xenophobia has affected global and regional peace and security. The third cluster of literature explored the influence of governance and leadership on xenophobia. The literature review concluded by introducing the role of media in this study. This framework will explore or bring together the key concepts such as *Ubuntu* and co-existence (Mnyaka, 2003, Calle, 2014). Most of the perpetrators were youths claiming to be ANC or linked to other political parties. Furthermore, many of the victims of the attacks were Nigerians, Zimbabweans Somalis and other fellow South Africans according to Neocosmos (2015).

2.3.3 Xenophobia Victims

Xenophobia exclusively directed towards other Africans "*Amakwerekwere*".

Undocumented migrants viewed as source of all problems and deprivation.

Foreigners living in townships were the most targeted as well as vulnerable groups such as women, youths, the disabled are among most affected groups despite having inclusive policy and legislative frameworks of co-existence.

2.3.4 Policy and legislation framework in South Africa for peaceful co-existence

South Africa has policy and legislation framework for peaceful coexistence. The origins date back to the apartheid regime agreement with the UNHCR in 1993. After 1994, South Africa became a signatory to the United Nations 1951 Convention on the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol as well as the 1969 OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa. South Africa passed its Refugees Act 1998 (Act No. 130. It was amended in 2008 by the Refugees Amendment Act (Act No 33) which made procedural changes to the refugee determination procedures and aligned the process more closely with international instruments. South Africa is a signatory to the AU charter and the SADC protocols binding it to regional and international protocols. Increasing effort has been put into policing South Africa's borders and its heartland, and so into finding and repatriating undocumented migrants.

The focus of these efforts has been other black Africans, for regional migrants this is in part a function of geography. South Africa shares 7,000 kilometers of land borders with Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Swaziland and Lesotho. The Zimbabwean and Mozambican borders are protected by 220 kilometers of potentially lethal electric fence which runs intermittently along the border. Erected in 1986 against incursions by members of South African liberation movements, the fence has been set at "non-lethal mode" since 1993, but is set to administer an electric shock (Desai 2008). Despite the existence of such measures South Africa received widespread criticism from various spheres of life.

2.3.5 Critique of policy and legislation capacity in handling xenophobic attacks

The United Nations Refugee Agency (2015) criticised the South African Government for poorly handling the xenophobic attack outbreak. This criticism is indicative of a weak policy and legislation framework to combat xenophobic outbreaks. The UN Human Rights Commissioner Office encouraged the South African Government to accelerate enactment of legislation against hate crimes. The South African Government was also encouraged to hold accountable all those responsible for acts of violence and violations of human rights. Further the government was encouraged to formulate future policy responses to the situation of migrants that conform to international standards. This is a clear indication of the weaknesses inherent in the South African Constitution. The encouragement to accelerate legislation enactment against human rights excesses speaks of the need to close gaps and loopholes in the current constitution. It could also be an indicator that the necessary legislation in not yet in place to fight xenophobia violence against foreigners.

The UN Office notes that such violence date back as far as 2008, in communities that are poor, marginalized and in situations of vulnerability. The South African President Jacob Zuma responded by saying on 16 April that "refugees and asylum-seekers would be accorded support in line with international law and protocols, with the support of the UNHCR," It is also critical to examine some of the measures that the South African government deploy during periods when there are no xenophobic attacks. These measures have been inherited from the apartheid era institutionalised racism and constitute a form of harassment on foreigners. Africans from the rest of the continent are subject to stop and search operations run by the South African Police Services (SAPS) sometimes in conjunction with the army. These are sometimes anti-crime operations but used more to locate undocumented migrants. These strategies are

codenamed "Operation Passport." Through this process irregular migrants are identified by a range of superficial physical features such as: skin-colour (Africans from further north are held to be darker than South Africans); Tuberculosis B vaccination marks (many other African countries vaccinate children on their forearm whereas South Africans are usually vaccinated on their upper arm) and by traditional scarification marks, accent, language ability and dress which has been harnessed by politicians, traditional leaders and the media to fuel xenophobic tendencies within the south African community.

2.3.6 Media and xenophobia in South Africa

In South Africa, conventional media purveyed white apartheid racism by disempowering and dehumanising the black population. Although disempowerment and dehumanisation of black South Africans through media ended in the early 1990s this has not necessarily "made the newspapers more representative of South African society" (Mnyaka, 2003).

> There continue to be claims and counterclaims of "racism in the media" and the "racialized and stereotypical portrayal of blacks" (Berger 2001; Glaser 2000; Pityana 2000; Neocosmos 2006, 2008), which is indicative of how much bridge-building remains to be done (Mnyaka, 2003).

According to Valji (2003) Crush and Ramachandran (2014) several impacts of the attacks on foreigners in South Africa have been documented, these include:

1. Widespread destruction and mass looting of the properties and businesses of black migrants and refugees (this was documented specifically in 1994, 1998 and 2015);

2. Attacks to individuals and families with most victims being killed or injured through repeated stabbing/knifing, burning using petrol or used tires (often called "necklaces");

3. Mass displacement of men, women and children who often find refuge in temporary camps (Centres of Safety- CoS) and further repatriated to their home countries through assistance from their embassies that face the same socio-economic inequalities that exist in their countries and tend to return back to South Africa given the opportunity and chance.

2.3.7 Socio- economic inequalities

The Black South Africans are severely affected as a result of inequality and discrimination in the allocation of wealth, which have been cited as key causes of xenophobia. Valji, (2003), Crush and Ramachandran, (2014), Calle, (2014) states that the liberal nature of South African foreign policy relegated was to gain admittance to international organisations such as the United Nations. As a result the forms of xenophobic violence are as a result of frustration among the black poor South African who have not really benefited from country's resources such as land, water, accommodation, employment among other factors. This is worse when considering the years that South Africa spent under the apartheid regime and denied access to resources (Valji, 2003, Crush and Ramachandran, 2014, Calle, 2014).

> Apartheid policies treated African immigrants as unacceptable foreigners who posed a threat. Secondly, as a post-apartheid phenomenon associated with post-1994 influx of foreigners coming mainly from the neighbouring countries (Mohamed, 2011).

Another factor which contributes to the socio-economic paradigm is the high rates of unemployment and fierce competition between foreigners and South Africans over employment, who in the process have directed their anger towards foreigners. The

perceived assessment of the socio-economic position of South Africans in comparison to that of Zimbabweans in general is considered to be a driver of xenophobia.

2.3.7 Socio-political inequalities

In the South Africa context, xenophobia is equated to the socio- economic, legal, political sphere in which South Africa went through from 1948 when apartheid was institutionalised in the various structures of the apartheid government (Valji, 2003, Crush, and Ramachandran, 2014, Calle, 2014)

The socio-political factor focuses on the creation of and institutionalisation of "others". The construction of a new, non-racial South African national identity after apartheid inevitably created this opposition: "others", who are defined as "non –South African". These "others" are those foreign Africans living in South Africa (Valji,2003, Crush, and Ramachandran, 2014,Calle 2014,).The rhetoric of authorities, immigration officials, media, and the public in general suggests that black migrants are collectively unwelcome. According to (Calle 2014) South Africans have celebrated the use of "comrades" who have been used to drive away foreigners.

As a result of years of exclusion through sanctions South Africans were denied the opportunity to racially mingle with other races. The segregatory institutionalisation of policies in various sectors in South Africa also denied the black community the opportunity for self-emancipation and hence excluded from the economic ladder enjoyed by the minority whites.

> Sociologist Neocosmos (2006) linked the outbreak of violence to a widespread xenophobic feeling among South Africans, sentiment widely fed by the South African elite who wants to protect its interests and wealth by pointing a finger at the other.

According to Valji, (2003), Crush, and Ramachandran (2014) and Calle (2014), the maintenance of the apartheid laws resulted laws resulted in South Africa not tolerating any foreigners who had entered the country for better living and employment opportunities as South Africans feared this was a threat to their own personal identities. In addition, this crisis between foreigners and South Africa was celebrated by the media which also denigrated the black migrants. As a consequence the first xenophobic attacks erupted in 1990s, 2008, 2013 and 2015 resulting in the death, destruction of property and displacement of thousands of immigrants. Furthermore, the most targeted were Nigerians, Zimbabweans, Somalis and Mozambicans who have often been accused of criminal activities in South Africa. The xenophobic attacks of foreigners defeat the whole concept of *Ubuntu*, social cohesion and peaceful co-existence which form the bases of the socio-cultural tenets of *Ubuntu*.

2.3.8 Socio-cultural factors

In Heart of Darkness, the darker character is less qualified for citizenship (Jamison2010). In addition, "The best qualified black" is seen "as worse than the worst white", thereby justifying black dehumanisation and inhumane treatment. Even in post-apartheid South Africa, salvation for blacks seems linked to how successfully they "try for white", "play white", or "pass for white", in the manner of the coloureds under apartheid. Lightening one's darkness with chemicals and philosophical enrichment might help in aspirations for "honorary whiteness". (Jamison, 2010), points out that, but it cannot guarantee against mistakes by fussy policemen and authorities with a nose for appearances. Such an endeavour to appear white defeats the whole concept of *Ubuntu*.

2.3.9 Concept of *Ubuntu*

Ubuntu is an African word which defines the universal concept of the potential of being human, to value the good of the community above self-interest. In addition, the concept strives to help people in the spirit of service, to show respect to others and to be honest and trustworthy (Mnyaka, 2003, Calle, 2014, Chaplin n.d). Furthermore, it regards humanity as an integral part of the eco-system that lead to a communal responsibility to sustain life and to share natural resources on a principle of equity among and between generations. *Ubuntu* is far too all, is compassionate, and is a collective respect for human dignity (Mnyaka, 2003, Calle, 2014, Chaplin n,d).The spirit of *Ubuntu* embodied and expressed in Xhosa, one of the South African's eleven official languages, as follows *Umntu ngumntu ngabanye abantu* understood in English as *"People are people throughout her people"* and *"I am human because I belong to the human community and I view and treat others accordingly".* In Zulu, another official language in South Africa, the word *Ubuntu* embodies a distinctive worldview of the human community and the identities, values, rights and responsibilities of its members. It is about "we" not "me." (Mnyaka, 2003, Calle, 2014).

2.4 Summary

The chapter provided an analysis of theories, identified thematic clusters that broadened understanding of xenophobia, causes, socio-economic and effects. The following chapter outline research methodology, study area or delimitation, design methods and procedures

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will outline the research methodology used in this study. It involves the research design, data collection methods, sampling, research instruments, methods of data collection presentation and analysis. The selection of the research subjects and methods used in data gathering are therefore explained in this chapter. This study was anchored firstly, on a commitment to document Zimbabwean views, and experiences of xenophobia in South Africa so that appropriate measures can be taken to ameliorate their situation. Secondly, the intention was to explore the nature and scale of xenophobia directed to Zimbabweans. Thirdly, gain some understanding of perceived causes of xenophobia in South Africa. Fourthly, document the challenges faced by Zimbabweans in South Africa. This research is predominantly qualitative in nature. Creswell (2008) provides qualitative data collection methods such as interviews which are split into individual and focus groups, in-depth interviews and literature review. Johannesburg, Alexandra Park was chosen as the main focus of the study due to vast numbers of economically active migrant Zimbabweans and recurrent attacks.

The researcher reviewed literature conducted in depth interviews, and Focus group discussions to obtain critical views and perceptions from respondents on the subject of xenophobia. The methodology was chosen because of its rich ability to capture the views and experiences against xenophobic attacks as outlined in below summary table.

Table 3.1 Data collection

Data Collection Method	Research Participant	Target Group	Comment
In-depth Interviews (face –face / telephone)	Key informants	-Zimbabwe Immigration Department -Zimbabwe Embassy in South Africa -Zimbabwe Exiles Forum -South Africa Home Affairs - Representatives from political parties.	5 Representative from each organisation was selected due to their knowledge on subject matter.
Structured Interviews	Zimbabweans based in Johannesburg	35 Zimbabweans resident in Johannesburg. Survivors/ Repatriated/Family Members	Snowball. 20 selected from IOM or Exiles Forum databases. Telephone/what's up/Skype. Random selection.
Focus Group Discussions	Zimbabweans based in Johannesburg	Men, women, Youths (18-50 age groups)	3 Focus Groups Discussions 10 –15 in each category. Meetings were facilitated by Research Assistant based in South Africa, Alexandra Park.
Literature	Published Literature	Published Literature	Newspapers, books, journals, Google Pus and Reports.

3.2 Research design

The research is grounded in qualitative approaches. Babbie (2007: 298) states that common qualitative research designs include case study, ethnography and grounded theory study. The method is a flexible technique that is used to gain insights into the underlying issues surrounding a research problem by gathering non-statistical feedback and opinions rooted in people's feelings, attitudes, motivations, values, and views, often from small samples, the data is normally called "soft data" (Singleton *et al.,* 1993: 91). In-depth interviews were used to collect data from key informants. Focus Groups discussions allowed respondents to freely elaborate on the topic. This also provided the researcher an opportunity to probe for further rich insights such as direct quotations or to clarify issues to enrich study. The following sections will provide the population that was investigated, sampling methods, data collection, data analysis and strengths and limitations.

3.3 Population and Sampling

Trochim (2001) points out that a study population can be defined in two ways. Trochim makes a distinction between theoretical population and accessible population. On the one hand Trochim points out that the theoretical population is the one to which the researcher wants to generalize while on the other hand, the accessible population refers to the individuals to whom the researcher has access. The target population are Zimbabweans living in South Africa, Alex Park. For this study, women, men and youths were interviewed to provide enriching views on the xenophobia attacks. I interviewed, Zimbabweans who have lived in South Africa since 1994 and the new arrivals who have been living in South Africa for six months or less. The population of 80 participants was drawn from this group was drawn from economically active ages 18 -55 years were interviewed in focus groups. The age and gender mix to allow

a broad and balanced capture of views and perceptions. These include economically active population groups who visit South Africa for various reasons. The accessible population was made up of adult men, women and the youths available for the focus group discussions. The populations sample for research participants in the in-depth interviews was 5 senior officials or representatives selected from relevant organizations with knowledge on the subject matter. The research population sub sets were as listed below:

- Zimbabweans living in South Africa , Alexandra Park since 1994 and new arrivals less than six months. These i identified 55 Zimbabweans living in South Africa affected by the attacks. These were identified through the Zimbabwean Embassy in South Africa and the International Organisation for Migration migrant's databases

- 5 Key informants knowledgeable about xenophobia were interviewed. Zimbabwe immigration department, Zimbabwe Embassy in South Africa, Zimbabwe Exiles Forum an agency responsible for offering legal and related support to immigrants and South African Home affairs and Political party representatives.

- 3 Focus groups were held with men, women and youths resident in South Africa. I managed to get support from the South Africa based research assistant to organise three focus groups for men, women and youths consisting of 10-15 members each.

The researcher used both probability and non-probability sampling techniques as outlined below:

a) Sampling for key informants

Purposive sampling was used for key informants and cross border traders who participated in focus group discussions. Snowball sampling was used to interview cross border drivers in this study. It is an informant selection tool, widely used in

qualitative research methodology. The purposive sampling technique is a deliberate selection of an informant who is well placed to provide the relevant and useful information. This was used to select 10 key informants selected from above listed agencies. Convenience sampling was also used as those found present at their respective offices were interviewed. According to Du Plooy (2002, p.100) sampling involves a rigorous procedure when selecting units of analysis from a larger population. The researcher used purposive sampling to select respondents from the desired population. Hsia (1988, p. 132) cited in Du Plooy (2002) says such a chosen sample provide the critical information the researcher needs. Bernard (2002) further qualifies the use of this technique when he points out that it is dependent on the type of data the researcher intends to gather. In addition, Bernard goes further to assert that the researcher purposefully identifies the informants because of their knowledge or experience.

In this study, at the beginning, i tried to get hold of respondents by simply using relatives in South Africa to share emails, phone numbers or what's up and skype addresses. This was not easy hence had to identify a Zimbabwean research assistant based in South Africa to assist and reduce suspicion. We then contacted the Zimbabwe South African Embassy and International Organisation for Migration and the Zimbabwe Exiles Forum and was given a list of names, contacts, telephone or what's up numbers, emails and skype addresses. The prospective candidates we send them the key questions. Very few replied due to the nature of their schedules and some required further guidance. The research assistant based in South Africa assisted with further follow up and this yield favourable results.

The non-probability sampling was the most suitable for the research. I used availability sampling. The study was conducted in South Africa with help of a research

assistant who supported data collection. The interviews took different times, dates and places. The place or method used was also determined by respondents. Most interviews lasted at least 25 minutes with very few lasting 30 to 40 minutes. The few who had been in the country for longer obviously had more to say than those who had been in country for six or less months. There were three main sources of data for this research. Firstly, existing literature and analysis of data sets concerning xenophobia. Secondly, qualitative data collected from in-depth interviews. I used a semi structured interview to ask the researcher about specific topics. During the interview the researcher moderated the interview through a series of question to answer set objectives.

3.4 Data collection instruments

The researcher used triangulation methods to collect data. While this enriched data, it also enhanced the validation process. Data collection was the responsibility of the researcher supported by the research assistant. All interviews were conducted in English and improved formulation was sought where required to get insights. Facial expressions were registered on sport and voice was recorded using voice recorder. The following data collection methods were used: literature review, analysis guide, Focus Group Discussions guide, and in- depth Interview guide. Below is further explanation the respective data collection methods.

3.5 Data Collection Procedure

Literature review is the analysis of existing documents that can reveal important information about human behaviour. The purpose assisted to identify the most appropriate literature that adequately unpacks the phenomena of xenophobia. The researcher conducted desk review of the numerous literatures published on xenophobia

from various perspectives of the Eurocentric to afro-centric worldviews. The researcher also used on line resources library resources published articles from the web and Google plus research to search for relevant literature to enriched study through identifying themes, patterns or trends used for analysis and triangulation.

a) Rationale for using Literature Review

Literature review provided useful insights to deduct or induct. It also establish the extent to which the subject of xenophobia has been academically scrutinised to identify gaps and generate new knowledge. This entailed consulting a wide range of available literature published on xenophobia in various research and published formats.

b) In-depth interviews

In-depth interviewing is a qualitative research technique that involves conducting intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents to explore their perspectives on a particular idea, program, or situation. For example, survivors were asked about their lived experiences to document their experiences, attitudes, fears, emotions and thoughts negative or positive.

c) Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)

Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) are carefully planned discussion with 10-15 participants designed to obtain perceptions and opinions in a defined area of interest in a non-threatening environment (Krueger, 1988). The Focus group discussion guide was used to collect data about content and process, personal attributes such as attitudes, feelings, emotions, fears, opinions, and perceptions about the central issue which in this study is xenophobia.

d) Rationale of using FDGs

Focus Group discussions were useful for the researcher because of the need for detailed information about a research participant's thoughts and behaviors or want to explore new issues in depth. Interviews are often used to provide context to other data for triangulation and validation. Content analysis was used in the study because it offers background research that enriched the study. In addition focus discussions offers views, opinions and provides some lived experiences and the opportunities for probing further research questions which the researcher might have included in the main research questions.

3.6 Analysis and Organisation of Data

The researcher used inductive approach for interpretation of data gathered through in-depth questionnaires and focus group discussion. The researcher analysed the data collected by means of inductive abstraction and generalisation, from the field through content analysis, theme categorization and text interpretation through the help of manual coding, tallying and analysis. Statements about central themes were placed together. After fieldwork, initiatives were analysed and data put together. The information from the field was grouped into categories, formatting the information into a story or picture and report writing.

3.7 Ethical Considerations

Table 3.2 Ethical considerations

Ethics	Strategy
Confidentiality	Informed consent and uphold confidentiality. All respondents were treated with confidentiality and researcher was sensitive to wording of participants views.
Voluntarism	Volunteer to participate, give information or withdraw during interviews at any stage.
Do No Harm	Harm can be physical or psychological form of stress or anxiety or invasion of privacy. The researcher shall not harm participants or bubject them to stressful conditions.

3.8 Summary

The chapter outlined the research design, sampling size used, methods of collecting data and the instruments to be used in gathering the intended information. In the next chapter, the researcher discussed the research findings from the collected data.

CHAPTER 4: DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND NTERPRETATION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The focus of this chapter is the analysis and presentation of the study results obtained through data collection tools discussed in the previous chapter. The data is presented in the form of tables and figures. Each mode of presentation used is followed by an explanation to provide meaning to the findings presented. The views of diverse experts and affected individuals on the subject of xenophobic attacks in South Africa were obtained through focus group discussions; in-depth interviews and documents analysis. As outlined in Chapter One, the study sought to get views from the Zimbabweans with regard to the 2015 xenophobic attacks in South Africa. The study respondents were sampled from Zimbabwean based in South Africa, Alex Park since 1994 or those with six months staying in South Africa. In addition, this also included representatives drawn from key informants. This chapter will outline the reasons for migrating to South Africa, origins of xenophobia, views about xenophobia and attitudes towards immigration officers and the police. It is important to understand participant's demographics.

4.2 Data Presentation and Analysis

4.2.1 Profile of Research Participants

Table 4.1 shows the organizations and residents who participated in the data collection through interviews and the total research participants interviewed, their gender and the positions held in the organizations.

Table 4.1 Gender of respondents

n = 80

Research Instrument	Male	Female	Total
Interviews	11	17	28
Discussions	10	42	52
Total	**21**	**59**	**80**

As indicated in Table 4.1, out of the eighty (80) study participants, it can be deduced that 26.25%) were male while 59 (73.75%) were female which indicated that more women economically active resident in South Africa. On the other hand, about 25% were male this is because men tend to engage in informal employment in the areas of domicile in the periphery of the country working for mines or in farms since majority are undocumented.

Table 4.2 Age of respondents

Age of respondents	Number of respondents (n=80)	Percentage
19-23 years	1	1.25
24-28 years	17	21.5
29-33 years	24	30.0
34-38 years	18	22.5
39-43 years	20	25.0
Total	**80**	**100%**

According to the table 4.2 above more participants were in the age groups 24 to 28 and 39 to 43 the reason could be that these are the most economically active groups including the 34 to 38 though represented by a lower percentage of 22,5.

Table 4.3 Educational levels of Participants

Level of Educational	n=80	Percentage
O Level	11	13.75
A level	10	12.5
Diploma	14	17.5
Undergraduate	37	46.25
Masters	5	6.25
PhD	3	3.75

According to the table 4.3 above the most affected due to unemployment are those who tend to seek formal employment in South Africa are university graduate who have graduated en mass from many universities in Zimbabwe and could not enter into formal employment due to the closure of companies and a non-performing economy coupled with political instability. This is also in support of those who hold diplomas who might constitute nurses and teachers among other professions. According to Addison, and Laakso, (2003) nearly 30 000 and 40 000 nurses and teachers respectively left the country during the economic meltdown in 2008 with inflation pegged at 500 000 000% in 2008 (Soko, &Balchin, 2009, Smith-Hohn 2009) whilst Yarisayi (2009; p13) pointed inflation at 79, 600,000,000% in 2009 an increase of about 24,7hrs each day economy. Furthermore, those with secondary education such as 'O' level and 'A' level have found it difficult to find formal employment in South Africa though they have managed to enter into South Africa.

4.2.2 Participants' understanding of Xenophobia

Most significantly, study findings show that xenophobia phenomena is well understood among the participants as they associate it with the fear of foreigners, negative attitudes and discriminatory practices directed towards foreigners in South Africa. The underlying causes or determinants are social, political and economic. In

addition, participants noted that there are various perpetrators are diverse with some being viewed as xenophobia entrepreneurs, due to benefits derived from the attacks. Some participants noted xenophobic attacks is Afro-phobia common in African countries as it portrayed afrocentric approach as opposed to Eurocentric common in Europeans and Western countries such as America and Canada dimensions according to (Lovegrove 2014,Kang'ethe, and Duma, 2014).Therefore, other non-African national were caught up was by mistake.

While xenophobia is a global phenomenon closely associated with globalization, it is particularly prevalent in countries undergoing political, social and economic transformation and South Africa is a classic example Hussein, and Hitomi (2015). Neocosmos (2006) points out that, xenophobia is a post-colonial problem and the politics of the dominant groups, where feelings of superiority and scapegoat shaped the perceptions of the dominant groups during the post-colonial period and in post-apartheid South Africa (Harris, 2001).Black foreigners were targeted due to their proximity to violent suburbs, according to the way they talk, language barrier or dress codes. Respondents narrated how they were identified and attacked, some recall South Africans shouting "they walk, dress, and speak like a Zimbabwean" Culbertson (2006).

Table 4.3 Emerging themes on attacks

Research objectives		Data Source where theme Emerged(n=80)				
Themes on the 2015 Xenophobic Attacks in South Africa		Politicians Parties **n = 29**		Zimbabwe Embassy staff **n = 11**	Zimbabwean men, women and youths **n = 21**	Zimbabwean Survivors of the 2015 xenophobic attacks in South Africa **n=19**
1	Anti-foreign structured violence Africans fighting another African"	1	1	4	3	1
2	Failure to understand, foster or embrace "Ubuntu". Abuse of governance.	3	1	1	1	3
3	Leader's utterances shape society's behaviour or actions. Fuelled by media.	1	1	1	1	1
4	South Africa is viewed as heaven on earth fully of opportunities.			1	5	3
5	Zimbabweans boast being highly educated and skilled.	2	2	1	2	1
6	Zimbabweans view South Africa as big brother	1	1		1	
7	Leader's utterances shape society's behaviour or actions. Fuelled by media.	1	3	3	1	2
8	South Africa is viewed as heaven on earth fully of opportunities.	2	1	1	1	5
9	Zimbabweans boast being highly educated and skilled.	2	3		4	1
10	Zimbabweans view South Africa as big brother	1	1		1	3
	Total	**14**	**15**	**11**	**21**	**19**

4.3 Discussion and Interpretation

4.3.1 The respondent's views of South Africans.

These observations and suggestions are at variance with existing literature as Whitaker (2005) points out on attitudes shift of less sympathy of South Africans towards migrants arriving from SADC. There now prevails little comradeship with their former allies as noted by the head of the Human Rights Commission, Jody Kollapen, that "There is an increasing feeling that while South Africans appreciate what Zimbabwe and other countries had done during liberation struggle, South Africans cannot remain eternally obliged hence intolerant" (Independent Online 2007a). It is shocking to note that most respondents felt disseminated against especially by local black South Africans. One respondent echoed "it's better if you naturalise or assimilate through dress, marriage, change way you walk or speak fluent indigenous languages". Another respondent noted "I almost got stabbed in a taxi after asking for change in English". Majority respondents noted that South Africans are jealousy" They say we take their jobs, women and put pressure on their social amenities and bring diseases". The use of derogatory words such as "Makwerekwere" are also rife towards these periods.

Zimbabweans view South Africans as close minded and post-apartheid interrogation. One respondent noted "they are full of apartheid in their heads, the Sotho are better than the war like Zulu". Majority respondents noted they are attacked towards pay days so that we leave our hard earned cash pay and property.

Furthermore, these perceptions are further endorsed by the media which insinuate that the current wave of migrants is responsible for crime and perceived economic disadvantages that they bring. Moreover, they are now considered as undeserving of South African citizenship because they originate from a 'failed state'. It is clear that

while respondent would like to see a robust regional body acting effectively to descale xenophobia the feelings and mood within the South Africans is altogether different. South Africa provided support against the attacks such as: lead SA# No to Xenophobia on twitter and Khaya Dlaya and Shaka Sisulu Durban March. In addition, support was given by organizations such as Gift of the Gives Foundation and churches such as Methodists working tirelessly to provide food, shelter to those affected by xenophobic attacks. South Africa established a face book platform called "unite against xenophobia" for commenting in solidarity. Respondents noted this was a good initiative, but South Africa need to do more towards Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela's "dream of an Africa which is at peace with itself". However, respondents noted it's very easy to be targeted if you reside in townships Hillbrow, Alexandra among other townships and run a business such as a spaza shops. Respondents noted the treatment we received was cultural shock and backlash. The above resonates with available literature

Respective countries established inter-ministerial responses that supported repartition. However, interviewed respondents noted that response by respected government was reactionary and targeted short –term interventions instead of focusing on economic or support livelihoods. According to IOM records majority of Zimbabweans repatriated have since gone back to South Africa. Therefore, further attacks are inevitable.

4.3.2 Respondents' views about Origins of Xenophobia.

South Africa is a country in transition to democracy and according to most respondent's apartheid manifestation are still predominant and not exposed to the world to embrace co -existence. The political dimension is aptly captured when Shishana (2008) argues that "South Africans are not exposed and require intergration".

At the national level, the research findings from the respondents point to a number of deficiencies of the responses of the South African government, its political leadership and its law enforcement agencies which respondents termed "quiet and soft diplomacy" to reign recurring xenophobic attacks. The respondents cited a case where Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, March 2015 became the leading vocal voice against immigrants in South Africa urging them to go back to their countries (Bayekela), "exclusive citizenship that excludes others" and "South Africa exceptionalism superiority in relation to other nationals". The Zulu King usurped the constitutional mandate and responsibility of President Zuma of South Africa.

Moreover, this is also viewed to some extent as Inkhata capitalization of violence in Durban through "ethnical Zulu element" Interestingly; the respondent observations are confirmed in existing literature culture of violence according to Gaultung. For instance, the lack of decisive containment of xenophobia in South Africa is acknowledged in existing scholarly work. For instance, Solomon and Kosaka (2013) theorize that unchecked xenophobia undermines good governance in the new South African independence. This implies that containment role expected of the Government and political authority to exercise its constitutional responsibility to maintain law, order and peace in South Africa was not fully exercised. Habib (1996) posits that xenophobia undermines concepts such as the rainbow nation a term which Archbishop Desmond Tutu and former first South African president coined denoting a multiracial unity in South Africa.

Furthermore, Mogekwu (2005) points out that President Thambo Mbeki urged South Africans in 2001, Africa Day celebration, to be vigilant against racism and xenophobia, as it had the negative effects to capacity to undermine South Africa's young democracy. President Mbeki blamed the high levels of xenophobia due to lack

of sufficient knowledge about the continent of Africa and also blamed international isolation and the focus on Europe during apartheid and the mass media failing to report on the continent in a balanced way. The president suggested improved teaching about Africa in schools and institutions of higher learning in both history and geography inclusive of subjects such as culture, language and current political and socio-economic activity. However, he also received wide spread criticism for denial of xenophobia existence in South despite it being entrenched according to Neocosmos (2006). Respondents argued those who attacked them were predominantly Zulu youths linked to political parties. However, majority of respondents noted some xenophobe's entrepreneurs including Zimbabweans attacked and robbed their own fellows.

4.3.3 Reasons for Zimbabweans' migration to South Africa

According to Misago (2009) andCrush and Ramachandran (2014), foreigners migrate to South Africa due to unfulfilled expectations in their home countries. This concurs with Abraham Maslow (1908-1970) and John Burton (1915-2010) who points out that every human being thrives to meet basic human needs and self-actualize. The inability of African governments to create jobs or equal opportunities for all induces migratory movements to South Africa GEAR 2009. It is perceived as Africa's economic or industrial hub or heaven according to Zimbabwe president Robert Gabriel Mugabe. Respondents noted economic and deteriorating governance as major push factors. Zimbabweans arrive in South Africa in search of a "greener pastures" due to poverty, economic and political instability especially Zimbabwe. The study findings reveal a number of reasons why Zimbabweans are motivated to leave their native country. According to the study some of the key social, political and economic migration push factors outlined by participants were prosperity the desire for quality life, better education, health, employment and investment prospects as well as political issues

especially escaping conflicts and family re-unification. In addition, the study indicated that some of the push factors were natural causes such as fleeing natural disasters and government deterioration, a change in the environment. The study also noted that the movement of Zimbabweans were as a result of rampant human rights abuses, political persecution, unemployment and deterioration in the economy, seeking a better life. Below were key emerging themes on migration to South Africa:

4.3.4 Proximity

One respondent note "I came here because it is closer to Zimbabwe, hence nearest place to get better quality of life"

4.3.5 Medical Reasons

Medical tourism was sighted as a reason for being in South Africa. The health infrastructure in Zimbabwe has collapsed "with my chronic condition, I am better off being here for access to treatment care and support than to die".

4.3.6 Multi Culturalism

South Africa is a rainbow country. One respondent noted "I always wanted to come to South Africa. This country is multi-racial, that's why I migrated"

The reasons for being for migrating in South Africa were diverse. Below provides respondents views on understanding xenophobia as a concept.

4.3.7 Economic Dimensions

There were some respondents who were primarily for employment "Here the employment prospects and returns are good". However, Landau (2004) argues that South Africa is a victim of its own success as it offers the promise of freedom and prosperity which resonates well across borders hence attracting migrants from less privileged countries like Zimbabwe among others. Therefore, migration is seen through the lens of South Africa's emergence as a well governed state and emerging economic powerhouse. Therefore, there exists an expectation that South Africa should share its prosperity with its African counterparts. Respondents noted that despite the economic strides most South Africans misunderstand and abuse democracy and human rights and resort to violent protests using "*toitoi approach*" to resolve every challenge. This concurs with Gautung's culture of violence. However, most remarkably Neocosmos, (2006) notices that xenophobia in South Africa has racial overtones as it is directed towards black migrants as opposed to Europeans who are practically welcomed with open arms. Contrary, other African nationals including Zimbabwe contributes significantly to South Africa's economic growth though this narrative is not portrayed well or documented. Most scholars argue that xenophobia is inevitable in countries undergoing economic, political and social transformation. South Africa is a classic example.
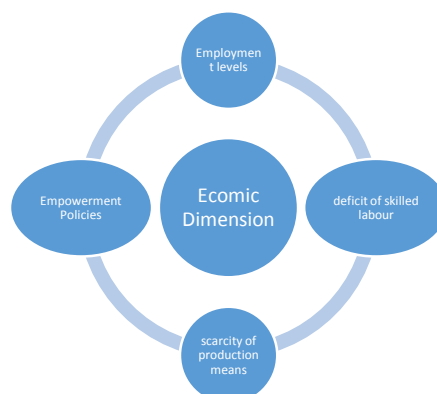
Figure 4.2 Economic Dimension

Fig 4.2 above outlines respondents' economic dimension subsets considered as triggers of xenophobia attacks. Theses subsets as in the political, social and legal dimensions are major influencers and contributors of xenophobia spikes. Therefore, they are not to be read and understood in isolation but in the broader mix of unpacking causes of xenophobia. The economic dimension capture subsets of unemployment prevailing in South Africa, the deficit of skilled labour force and skills versus cheap foreign labour, the problems of access to means of production and the extent of economic emancipation policies for the Black South Africans. Interviewed survivors noted they were attacked as they accepted any available low paying job offers due to lack of bargaining power. This upsets locals and fuel tensions. Moreover, the South African economy is still predominantly owned by white minority, while it is difficult to target whites due to proximity foreigners are an easy target as they live in the same black townships such as Alex. Landau (2004) points out that South Africa is a victim of its perceived good governance and economic success which largely attracts migrants in search of a better life. This analysis however presents a dichotomy for South Africa. One the one hand migrants perceive South Africa as an economic hub and political success. The coalition with other strong economies under the Brazil, Russia, India, China, SA consortium (BRICS) makes it a booming business hub. However, respondents viewed this as a source of challenges as these are third hand, pro-apartheid agents fuelling xenophobia. On the other hand, the situation on the ground from official statistics show that South Africa unemployment rate stands at 26 % and 37% when longer –term job seekers are included. Most recently, the South African rand continue to weaken against other global currencies.

Furthermore, the available data reveals yawning inequality; sclerotic social service

delivery is seen in a wider context for xenophobia. In contrast, international migrants account for 4% of the overall South African working population. Therefore, the competition for scarce resources induces relative deprivation. The poor black South Africans to view Zimbabweans and other migrants as rivals for jobs, houses, and the amenities and pressure on scarce public goods or social services. Respondents noted serious direct competition in the periphery of the economy where foreigners own "spaza shops" tuck-shops, or in squatter settlements they upgrade their structures according to South African Ambassador to Zimbabwe. In addition, women envy those with economic potential. South Africa Small to Medium Business Development Minister Lindiwe Zulu said foreigners cannot co-exist with national unless they share business secrets. While, comments received wide spread criticism participants noted this worsened upsurge and immigrants shops looting. Furthermore, the dynamics, and perceptions on xenophobia were that foreign businesses were successful than those owned by South African citizens. Vanya Gastrow, a researcher for Africa centre for Migration in Johannesburg published a case on the economics of small trade in SA entitled "somalinomics" outlined Somali trade being set on low mark up, high turnover, locate business in high traffic pedestrian way, open early, close late and have a wider range. This concurs with views of respondents that foreigners are coming from fragile states or economies and are resilient and more hardworking. The focus is to get extra income to reinvest back home as a safety –net.

Most key informants, however disagreed with assertion that migrants cause unemployment but instead argued that migrants contributed to the South African economy through productive means such as renting shops to do business and create creators jobs for locals and also pay value added tax. However, some of the migrants from Zimbabwe practice unsafe migration such as border jumping and are

undocumented hence evade tax. Those repatriated noted since they did not hold valid work permits, they opted to work in the economy periphery where risk of being rounded up and deported is minimal. The respondents further revealed that foreigners engaged in businesses employ more local South Africans in comparison to South African who own businesses. The research findings inform that Zimbabwean migrants are better placed due to sound education quality and high literacy levels to compete in the job market than local South Africans. Moreover, Zimbabweans are resilient and coming from underperforming economy hence not selective. Most undocumented foreigners are employed in the informal sector and in precarious employment environments which local South Africans detest to work in due to low income levels and pathetic working conditions associated with those jobs.

According to the Zimbabwean consulate representative, it is not about stealing jobs-but deep economic inequality and the government failure to implement populist policies that create jobs, grow the economy and provide required social services. It's about dire socio-economic circumstances for majority of South Africa. However, this view is however contradicted with available scholarly work. Moreover, the views of the research respondents are in sharp contrast to crush (2008) who notes that the perception amongst all South Africans that migrants steal jobs rose from 56% in 1999 to 62% in 2006. This observation coincided with the increase in unemployment in South Africa. Tshitereke (1999) suggests that in the post-apartheid era, people's expectations were heightened but discontent and indignation dramatically increased on the realization that delivery of expected outcomes would take a long time to materialize. This became the perfect breeding ground for xenophobia and its entrenchment. Terrif (1999) buttress the preceding when he says "these internal socio-economic challenges heighten the perception that migrants place an immense burden

on already scarce resources". Terrif further asserts that it confirms international studies that reveal that migration poses substantial economic costs and strains to infrastructures in housing, education, transportation and on welfare providing institutions.
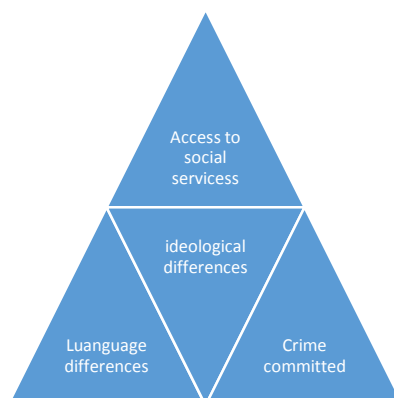

Figure4.3 Social Dimensions

The above Figure 4.3 projects the subsets at play considered emotional causes of xenophobia in South Africa.

Current literature documents that violence perpetrated against foreign migrants, and particularly Africans, can be traced back as early as 1994. A 1998 national public opinion survey conducted by the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) using a sample of 3,200 found that the majority of South Africans are indeed xenophobic and that opposition to migration and foreign citizens is widespread. The public opinion results show that 25% of South Africans want a total ban on immigration and 45% support strict limitations on the numbers of immigrants allowed (Neocosmos, 2005: 114). The study confirmed show that there are large percentages of respondents who believe that the social factors contribute to xenophobia violence. The social factors are diagrammatically presented in the triangle above. It is instructive to note that 54 % of respondents were against non-African citizens accessing facilities such as houses

(54%) and 61% felt that immigrants put additional strains on the economy. In addition, 65% of black participants said they would be 'likely' or very 'likely' to 'take action' to prevent people from other countries operating a business in their area (Crush, 2000: 125). This concurs with Economic Freedom Fighters opposition leader's Julias Malema attack in cabinet on President Jacob Zuma that South African leadership has failed as they continued to socialize the nation to resolve issues through violence. The same views are supported by interviewed Zimbabweans. There are however some of the triggers of xenophobia which have been levelled against migrants in South Africa which according to the study are; taking of jobs, commodities and housing, responsible the rise of crime, benefits on an equal footing with the locals, taking of South African women, and businesses success perception of foreigners against local.

The above clearly outline below key casual themes:

- Failure of South Africa Government to meet post-apartheid expectations with regard to economic conditions and service delivery.

- Completion in the informal business which the locals call unfair trade.

- Media portrayal of foreigners which reinforce prejudice. Respondents noted the influx of foreigners into South Africa is depicted as "waves", "hordes" or "job stealers" that causing violence.

- Perceived tolerance by state perceived as violence is tolerated.

- South Africa's apartheid legacy. Respondents interviewed noted that this created identity loss, radicalized complexes, poor integration and promoted culture of violence.

4.3.8 The Social Effects Dimension

The study found out that some of the effects of xenophobic attacks against

Zimbabweans include the following; loss of property and personal belongings to looters, women were raped, being beaten, stabbed and injured, torcher and trauma, separated with loved ones, reduced confidence and self-esteem and medical complications. In addition, the xenophobic attacks had regressive effects on different sectors with economy being severely affected. According to the NEPAD business Foundation, this affected South Africa to take a lead in Africa's socio-economic integration through potential increased trade. It stifled growth of local companies' efforts to expand into other African countries. It affected business disruptions. The Minister of Finance, Pravin Ghordon anticipate a steady employment gain of some 2 % a year, with government committed to create 5 million jobs through sizeable injections into job creation programs and initiatives in line with regional intergration. The attacks on foreign small business operators predominantly operating in high density suburbs impacted significantly on these targets. The likelihood of other African countries nationals boycotting South African businesses and retailers that have set up operations in their country is high. The Zimbabwe South African Embassy representatives noted South Africans are welcome in other African countries yet the same courtesy is not reciprocated but backlash of aggressive violence and looting. Below summary of respondents views on understanding of xenophobia as a concept.

4.3.9 Respondents views about Role of Media

Majority respondents noted media fuelled xenophobia as journalists exaggerated all small incidents involving foreigners. Media exacerbate that foreigners are taking jobs, women and not contributing to economic development. Respondents noted it's all about lack of education and limited appreciation of human rights. One respondent noted "migrants are in categories some are documented and others not documented. Those documented work at the core and those undocumented at the periphery". Media

and leaders shape perceptions hence need for awareness drive.

4.3.10 Police immigration attitudes towards immigrants

Respondents noted they are increasingly intolerant since apartheid era. Most respondents argued that "there is no difference between the police and ordinary people, we are being beaten by fellow South Africans while the police watch with no law enforcement". Furthermore, immigration police are viewed as corrupt "They always ask for passports and sometime we move with photocopies as these are not easy to replace if lost". Respondents noted that they have witnessed traumatic shooting or killing and perpetrators even if arrested the next day they are granted a ZAR 250 bail.

4.3.11 South African Socialisation and Assimilation

Very few respondents indicated they have a South African friend. They prefer to socialise with non-South Africans. Respondents noted "even if you marry this end, if you have a good job, once you acquire a house and vehicle. Thereafter, the wife will kill you to enjoy sole benefits". It is therefore, better to socialise with a limited few you can trust. Most respondents noted Zimbabweans are easy to target as they compete among themselves instead of living as a close community.

4.3.12 Permit Application, Duration and Attitudes of Home Affairs Officials

Majority respondents noted that application forms are not friendly, the process is complex and cumbersome hence need to simplify these to promote safe migration. Respondents noted it's difficult to process documents from South Africa. Some of the Home Affairs staff behaviour is unprofessional. One respondent noted "You inquire and someone looks at you irritated and give you wrong information".

4.3.15 Other Challenges

(a) Securing Accommodation

Respondents noted it is difficult to secure accommodation due to language barriers.

(b) Crime

Respondents noted that crime is rife and they scapegoats. One respondent noted "I used a metered taxi whenever i travel and pay more as i perceive these to be safe". Another respondent noted he frequently changed houses and always loose furniture towards a quest to secure a safe place. However, the magnitude of crime varies from location among other variables.

(c) Financial Problems

Respondents highlighted their shops are looted, they work in the periphery if undocumented and cannot bargain for good salary packs. They lose furniture and personal belongings during xenophobic attacks.

(d) Respondents Future Plans

Most respondents noted they were in South Africa as economic immigrants and their wish is to get resources and return to Zimbabwe once the environment is conducive. Most respondents were unwilling to stay, though they indicated if deported they will still explore to return.

4.3.15 Effects of the 2015 Xenophobic Attacks

Xenophobia attacks in South Africa post-independence have been recurring and

reached its peak in 2008 and 2015 respectively. Further, attacks remain inevitable. The April 2015 upsurge affected the whole country. It started in Durban and spread to Johannesburg (Gauteng province) with King Goodwill Zwelithin being accused of worsening the attacks by remarks Buyekela meaning "go back to your countries". Local shops were looted and foreign nationals were attacked, hundreds sought refuge at various police stations. Thus prompting other countries to repatriate their nationals, Malawi taking lead and others following suit. Over 300 people were arrested and 7 foreign victims from Ethiopia, Mozambique, Bangladesh and a Zimbabwean. On 23 April, 2015 thousands marched in solidarity against xenophobia and demanded social cohesion as "We are all Africans". In October, 2015 in Grahamstone (Eastern Cape), 500 people were displaced and over 300 shops were looted. According to the South African Ambassador over 3.5 documented Zimbabweans resides in South Africa. Zimbabwe Consul General notes the South Africa borders remain porous and a lot Zimbabweans "undocumented" enter through unsafe migration practices. These work mostly in the periphery of the economy "informal sector" and reside on farms, informal settlements or high density areas. South African Ambassador to Zimbabwe designate notes over 400 Zimbabweans lodge permits applications for processing daily to explore various opportunities. Below map show the 2015 xenophobic violence hot spots. Durban was the epicentre and upsurge spread to Gauteng province areas such as Alex according to the map below.
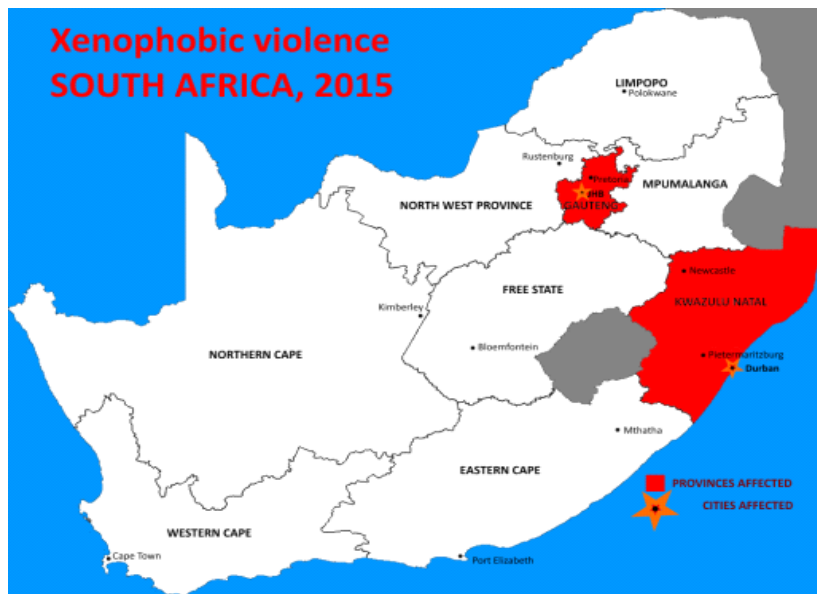
Figure 4.7 Map of areas affected by xenophobia in South Africa

Interviewed survivors noted that Durban was a hot spot due to traditional leadership domination as modern governance from government structures is limited. Therefore, violence machinery is structural as noted by Gauteng (1969). Respondents noted the nature of violence was targeted and discriminatory. It targeted poor areas mostly urban where level of skills is low. However, some foreigners made an effort to blend with South Africa society hence these neighbourhoods such as Soweto or Hilbrow were not targeted. Respondents noted other Zimbabweans entered into marriages of convenience to curb attacks. However, other emerging views suggested South African women like Zimbabwean man because they are industrious and provide for the family. Contrary in some instances the violence was premeditated and opportunistic. Political parties such as ANC, Inkata Freedom parties viewed by respondents as behind attacks. The instruments used included machetes, axes and stones clearly demonstrating Galtung's personal, cultural or structural violence. Gauteng province is dominated by Sesotho, SeTswna, IsiZulu any other foreign accent lead to being targeted according to participants. Furthermore; they noted the spikes spread to Gauteng the economic

62

hub where majority economic migrants reside. Participants outlined various migration push factors to South Africa.

4.3.15 The South African Government view on the xenophobic attacks

On the one hand current literature shows that The South African Government has to some extent addressed the scourge of dilemma of xenophobic violence in the aftermath of the disintegration of Apartheid. Archbishop Desmond Tutu coined the term "rainbow nation", a metaphor denoting unity in South Africa based on its multicultural make-up (Habib, 1996). For instance a survey carried out by the Centre for Policy Studies which found that: 70.9% of blacks, 74.6% of coloureds, 71.5% of Asians and 68.4% of whites identified themselves as *proudly* South African; and 72.5% of blacks, 69.8% of coloureds, 77.4% of Asians and 67% of whites identified themselves as being part of the rainbow nation (Kornegay, 2005). The post-apartheid government had succeeded in creating solidarity in a fractured society. Sadly, only 28.4% of black South Africans identified themselves as African (Gibson, 2006). Doubts still prevail on the ability of black South Africans to fully embrace the spirit of *Ubuntu. Unbuntu* is concept of togetherness- which extends to and includes all humans irrespective of race, national origin or ethnicity. Sadly, instead of being all-inclusive, *Ubuntu* is being extended only to South African citizens and excludes foreigners who originate from the African continent thus undermining Africa renaissance championed by former South African President Thambo Mbeki and Nigeria former President Obasanjo.

On the other hand research findings show that respondents feel the South African Government is not preventative but reactive in dealing with xenophobic attacks. Respondents noted that while Zimbabweans embrace peaceful co-existence, South Africans fail to embrace this due to lack of understanding and self-imposed superiority

complex. The feeling is that the South African government applies and enforces the law selectively, foreigners were beaten in front of the law enforcement agencies and political leaders and personalities of influence make inflammatory statements which worsens xenophobic violence. While the South Africa Ambassador to Zimbabwe defended that police could not be everywhere they lacked capacity to enforce the rule of law. However, this view was disputed by the Zimbabwean police respondents who slammed the selective approach and failure by South African government to manage humanitarian disasters, enforce rule of law and properly categorize these serious crimes against humanity. Currently, the crimes are classified as trivial "one can kill someone in the morning and in the afternoon they are given a Rand 200 bail". The research findings provide for remedies that the South African government can implement to deescalate the rise of xenophobic attacks in South Africa.

4.4 Summary

This chapter has provided presentation, analysis and interpretation of findings. It outlined the causes, effects and proffers some solutions. Conclusions and recommendations in the next chapter have been derived from the above analysis in this chapter.

CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on giving conclusions and recommendations on the whole research. The chapter looks at the study as a whole not the individual chapters. The researcher starts by outlining the conclusions and recommendations from the research findings based on the results gathered as per research objectives. The researcher propose recommendations that seek to reduce xenophobia.

5.2 Discussion

The study was based on an investigation into the views of Zimbabweans on the 2015 xenophobic attacks in South Africa. In addition, the study was premised on the following objectives; to find out the views of Zimbabweans on xenophobic attacks, the socio-economic determinants of xenophobia, the effects of the 2015 xenophobic attacks on Zimbabweans and the response by the South African government in dealing with xenophobia. Furthermore, the study was driven by the theory of violence, frustration aggression and human needs theories. In addition, the study investigated the peaceful co-existence or Ubuntu as fundamental to human security and sustainable development. Xenophobia is viewed as extreme hatred behavioural prejudice and violence towards migrants. The high influxes of Zimbabweans into South Africa led to scramble for scarce resources and the phenomenon is rife in countries undergoing political, social, legal and economic transformation and South Africa was a classic example in this study. Furthermore, the apartheid era lead to the institutionalisation of racism that shaped post-independence South Africa driven by stereotypes and allegations. The methods of data collection included qualitative techniques of content analysis, focus group discussion and in-depth interventions. These techniques were

appropriate as they enabled the researcher to collect data rich with the experiences and observations of participants. A major theme observed in the study alluded in chapter 4 was that the media and leaders contributed some inflammatory statements and triggered xenophobic attacks. However, the study indicated that xenophobia was triggered by the competition for resources which led to frustration and aggression targeted at Zimbabweans and other nationalities in general. Some Zimbabwean and South Africans criminals took advantage of xenophobic attacks and attacked fellow Zimbabweans and robbed them. Additionally, xenophobia is viewed as morally wrong, inhuman, selfish, racist, ethnocentric, discriminatory and often violent and affects human security and sustainable development is the change that improves the standards of living of citizens.

5.3 Conclusions

The study revealed that Zimbabweans expressed that xenophobic attacks manifested in various forms. The 2015 attacks are a result of frustration caused mostly by increased immigration of Zimbabwean nationals to South Africa. This resulted in competition for limited resources, employment and labour practices that favour foreigners, service delivery failures, contractor and labour legislation that contain gaps that farmers and contractors can exploit, poverty, role of media and inflammatory comments that worsened attacks. However, the study noted that other issues such as Nkandla looting, worsening unemployment, rampant cases of crime were catalytic triggers. All these factors contributed to dissatisfaction and frustration that was targeted at foreigners. In addition, the conclusion revealed that the impacts of the 2015 attacks had effects to both the Zimbabwean and South African government economies. The attacks were given global coverage and send a clear message about the weak governance and economic meltdown Zimbabwe, this being the major push factor to

South Africa. South Africa is viewed by Zimbabweans as a good governance and democracy model or as put by President Robert Mugabe; it is viewed by Zimbabweans as heaven on earth. Therefore, foreigners prefer to invest in South Africa. However, most of the foreign businesses operate in the periphery of the economy where in dense populated areas closer to markets and booming markets. These foreign businesses in the high density areas perform better than those owned by foreigners sparking competition hatred and attacks. In addition, other Zimbabwean nationals especially those who had naturalized or could speak South African languages took advantages of the attacks to target fellow Zimbabweans to loot or settle scours. Moreover, some were accused of engaging in criminal activities which were viewed as xenophobic "entrepreneurs". Additionally, the study points to the fact that that laws and enforcement agencies require further strengthening. In addition, the study pointed out that Zimbabwean small businesses are booming and this trigger violence. Below is a proposed multispectral model to inform interventions.

5.4 Implications

The implications of the study are to come up with regional frameworks related to migration, labour laws of immigrants, and the professional conduct by South African politicians, traditional leaders, members of the police as well as the defence forces. On the other hand, for the African Union to craft anti-xenophobic policy instruments and strengthen the African Renaissance advocated by the former South African President Thabo Mbeki as well as to spearhead the concept of *Ubuntu* across the continent. There is need to change both domestic and international foreign policy frameworks and promotes international engagements economically, politically and socially for regional development.

The problem statement states that although there is abundance literature on xenophobic attacks in South Africa, little had been documented about Zimbabwean views. The research findings therefore adequately determined the statement of the problem as enough evidence was documented and critical information presented in this study. Furthermore, the study managed to substantially reduce the knowledge gap on Zimbabweans views on the 2015 xenophobic attacks. The Zimbabwean views, causes, socio-economic determinants of the 2015 xenophobic attacks are now known.

5.5 Recommendations

- Below recommendations are key recommendations to specific groups.

5.5.1 Recommendations to Zimbabweans and the government of Zimbabwe

a) Zimbabwean nationals need to remain peaceful and not retaliate towards the quest for promoting, peaceful co-existence.

b) Zimbabwean government must resolve economic, social and political issues that affect Zimbabweans in Zimbabwe. This includes resolving protracted governance challenges, high unemployment and revitalize or formalize the economy to increase employment.

c) The government must consider putting in place new migration laws that protect nationals and put controls at border posts including promoting safe migration.

d) The Zimbabwean government should consider long term interventions for the affected rather than reactionary unsuitable measures that do not address sustainable livelihoods.

5.5.2 Recommendations to the South African Government

a) Establish a commission of inquiry; call the affected to submit evidence to claim reparations or compensation for lost, stolen or destroyed property.

b) Put in place trauma management programs that address effects of xenophobia

c) Simplify migration application procedures that promote safe migration.

d) Strengthen the capacity of frontline government workers such as the police, home affairs to enforce rule of law and protect foreigners. Consider dealing with overzealous and cruel armed forces, improve policing and customer care.

e) Consider putting in place clear standards for army and the police. The culture needs to be tackled through promotion of human rights, enforcement, public awareness, strengthening migrations laws, border controls and recognize xenophobia as a hate crime.

f) Government to consider investing more in service delivery and promote equitable distribution especially in hot spot such as Eastern Cape, Gauteng, Kwazulu Natal, Limpopo, North and Western cape provinces.

g) Design and implement programs that seek to integrate foreigners with citizens.

h) Consider training for media and political leaders to issue responsible statements that promote co –existence.

5.6 Suggested areas for areas further research

(a) Comparative analysis on migration policies and protection Laws of Zimbabwe and South Africa

(b) Examine the capacity of law enforcement agencies in dealing with Xenophobic attacks

(c) An investigation of why Zimbabwean owned small businesses thrive in South Africa or if indeed they thrive.

References

Adai C (2010). *He Halo Slips? Xenophobia and Its Consequences in the New South Africa.* University of Leicester, Department of Politics and International Relations.

Adler & U. P. Gielen (eds.), *Migration: Immigration and emigration in International perspective* (pp. 3-22). Westport CT: Praeger.

Babbie, E. (2007). *The Practice of Social Research.* USA: Thompson Learning Inc.

Bellville Du Plooy (2002). *Communication Research: Techniques, Methods and Applications*, Juta &Co, South Africa.

Bernard, H.R. 2002. *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and quantitative methods. 3rd* edition. Alta Mira Press, Walnut Creek, California.

bin/dictionary

Boehnke, Klaude (2001) *NGO Working Group on Migration and Xenophobia for the World Conference (in International Migration, Racism, Discrimination and Xenophobia,* A publication jointly produced by ILO, IOM, OHCHR, in consultation with UNHCR, United States of America.

Bond, P and Ngwane, T (2010).*Xenophobia and Civil Society*: *Why did it Happen? Research for Atlantic Philanthropies.*

Calle, E (2014). *Focusing on Xenophobia as Potential Phenomenon of Conflict in South Africa: Identifying triggers to prevent violence against immigrants.* Tenth Biennial Graduate Student Conference, The New Generation of Ideas, UMass Boston Conflict Studies and Global Governance.

Candles and Bangura (2007).*Peace Research for Africa: Critical Essays on Methodology*, University for Peace. Costa Rica.

Chaplin, K (n.d). *The Ubuntu Spirit in African Communities*,

CoRMSA (2008). *Protecting Refugees, Asylum and Immigrants in South Africa*, Newsletter, 18 June, p.28.

Creswell, J.W (2007), *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design Choosing Among Five Approaches,* Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, London, and New Delhi.

Crowther, J. (ed.) (1995). *Oxford advanced learners dictionary of current English: International new students* (5th ed.). London: Oxford University Press.

Crush, J and Ramachandran, S (2014). *Xenophobic violence in South Africa: denialism, minimalism, realism migration* policy series no. 66, Bronwen Dachs Müller, Cape Town, South Africa.

Crush, J. (2008). *The Perfect Storm: The Realities of Xenophobia in Contemporary South Africa. Migration Policy Series*, *50*, 1-67.

Culbertson, P.E (2006). Xenophobia: *The Consequences of Being a Zimbabwean in South Africa, The American University in Cairo School of Public Affairs, Centre for Migration and Refugee Studies, Unpublished Dissertation*, Whitworth University.

Duffield, V. (2009). *Exploring the discursive nuances of the South African xenophobic. experience: exclusionary tactics and tensions.* Unpublished Masters Dissertation, University of Cape Town,

Duncan, N. (2012). *Reaping the whirlwind: Xenophobic violence in South Africa.* Global Journal of Community Psychology Practice, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg South Africa.

Esses, V. M., Dovidio, J. F., Jackson, L. M., & Armstrong, T. L. (2001). *The immigration dilemma: The role of perceived group competition, ethnic prejudice, and national Identity. Journal of Social Issues*, *57*, 389-412.

European Commission (2014). *Report from the commission to the European parliament and the council on the implementation of Council Framework Decision 2008/913/JHA on combating certain forms and expressions of racism and xenophobia by means of criminal law*{SWD(2014) 27 final}.

Farnen, R.F (ed.), *Nationalism, ethnicity, and identity: Cross national and comparative perspectives* (pp. 277-284). Edison, NJ: Transaction.

Fritzsche, K. (1994). *Conditions for xenophobia in eastern Germany (formerly the GDR).*

Gay L.R (1996). *Educational Research; Competencies for Analysis and Application* 3rd Edition Prentice-Hall, Inc USA.

Gibson, J. (2006). *Overcoming Apartheid: Can Truth Reconcile a Divided Nation?* New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation. Gottstein, K. *'Violent and Peaceful Settlements of Ethnic Conflicts: Some Theses on the Determinants'* in Bekker and Carlton (eds.) *Racism, Xenophobia and Ethnic Conflict*, Durban: Indicator Press.

Gouden V (2009). *Disruptive colonial boundaries and attempts to resolve land/ boundary disputes in the grasslands of Bameda, Cameroon* African Journal on Conflict Resolution Volume 9, Number 3.

Habib, A. (1996). *Myth of the Rainbow Nation: Prospects for Consolidation of Democracy in South Africa. African Security Review, 5*(6).

Hanekom, B. and Webster, L. (2009-2010). *The role of South Africa's government in the, xenophobic violence of May 2008.* University of Pennsylvania Journal of Law and Social Change (13): 91-117.

Harris, B (2001). *A Foreign Experience: Violence, Crime and xenophobia during South Africa's transition.* Violence and Transition Series, Vol 5.

Harris, B. (2001) *'A Foreign Experience: Violence, crime and xenophobia during South Africa's transition', CSVR.*

Hicks, T.F. (1999). *The Constitution, Aliens Control Act, and Xenophobia: The Struggle to Protect South Africa's Pariah-the Undocumented Immigrants,* Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies 7(1): 392-417.

HRW (2008). *Violence and Xenophobia in South Africa: Developing Consensus, Moving to Action.* Human Sciences Research Council, South Africa.

Hsia, H.J. (1988). *Mass Communications research methods: step by step approach.* Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum, USA.

http:www.Politicsweb.co.za/politicsweb/view/politicsweb/en/page71619=310225&sn=Details &pid=71619*(Accessed: 22 April 2015).*

Human Rights First (2011) *Combating Xenophobia Violence, A Framework for Action*, New York Washington DC.

Hungwe, C. (2012). *The migration experience and multiple identities of Zimbabwean.* Hussein, S and Hitomi K (2015). *Xenophobia in South Africa: Reflections, Narratives and Recommendations,* Southern African Peace and Security Studies, Vol2 Number 2. Isike, C. and Isike, E. (2012). A socio-cultural analysis of African immigration to South Africa. Alternation 19(1): 93-116.Harris, B (2002) *.Xenophobia: A new pathology for new South Africa?* University of Cape Town Press, South Africa.

Jamison. D.F (2010).*Exploring the Relationship Between African-Centered Psychology and Fanonian Psychology.* Savannah State University, Africana Studies Program, USA.

Kang'ethe, S. M.and Duma,V (2014).*Using Eurocentric and Afro Centric Lenses to Examine, Explain and Understand the South Africans' Attitudes towards "Diversity and Foreignness" of Immigrants Residing in South Africa*, Journal of Social Sciences, 41(2): 135-141.

Kaysmov S (2001). *Disputes Over Water Resources: A History of Conflict and Cooperation in Drainage Basins Peace and Conflict Studies*, Journal of Peace Studies; Volume 18, Number 2.

Keyton J (2001). *Communication Research.* McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc. United States.

Koenane, M.L.J. (2013). *Xenophobic attacks in South Africa: an ethical response – Have we lost the underlying spirit of ubuntu?* International Journal of Science Commerce and   Humanities 1(6): 106-111.

Kollapan, J. (1999, October 7). *Xenophobia in South Africa: the Challenge to Forced Migration.* [Unpublished Seminar Paper, Graduate School]. Johannesburg, South Africa: University of Witwatersrand.

Konanani, R.H. and Odeku, K.O. (2013). *Vicious attacks on foreign nationals in South Africa: An entrenched cultural impunity.* Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences 4(13): 801-807. , N.C. (1998). *Cross-border trade: strategy for climbing out of poverty in Masvingo, Zimbabwe.* Zambezia (1998) XXV (I), 29-58. University for Peace; Switzerland ISBN 978-9977-925-51-6.

Kornegay, F. (2005). *Race and Ethnic Barometer: A Narrative Analysis of Findings from the Centre of Policy Studies Social Identity Survey*, Research Report 106, *Centre for Policy Studies.*

Kristeva, J. (1991). *Strangers to Ourselves*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Landau (2004). *'The Laws of (In) Hospitality: Black Africans in South Africa'*, *Forced Migration Working Paper Series* No.8, University of the Witwatersrand.

Lovegrove, K.S (2014).*The Construction of Identity in a Mozambican Community: Reflections on Xenophobia in South Africa.Unpublished Dissertation*, University of South Africa.

Marsella, A. J., & Ring, E. (2003). *Human migration and immigration: An overview*. In L. L.

Merriam-Webster. *Dictionary*. Online (July 15, 2002) at http://www. m-w.com/cgi-migrants in South Africa. Online Journal of Social Sciences Research 1(5): 132-138

Misago,J.P (2009). *Xenophobic violence in South Africa: Reflections on causal factors and implications,* Centre for policy Studies, Volume 10 Number 3, University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa.

Mnyaka, M.M.N (2003). *Xenophobia as a Response To Foreigners In Post-Apartheid South Africa and Post-Exilic Israel: A Comparative Critique In The Light Of The Gospel And Ubuntu Ethical Principles*, University Of South Africa.

Mogekwu, M. (2005) *'African Union: Xenophobia as poor intercultural information'*, *Ecquid Novi* 26(1): 5-20.

Mohamed, O.A (2011) *Xenophobia and Media: An Exploratory Study On The Public Perception Of The Nelson Mandela Bay Community*, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University.

Muvumba, A N (2009) *Natural Resources, the Environment and Conflict*, African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD) Durban; South Africa.

Neocosmos, M. (2006) *From 'Foreign Natives' to 'Native Foreigners'*, Dakar: CODESRIA.

Onwuegbuzie, A.J and Turner, L.A, (2007) Toward a Definition of Mixed Methods Research Volume 1 Number 2, Sage Publications.

Razia W etal (2011). *A Regional Approach to Peacebuilding-The Mano River Region 1 Man of River Regional Policy and Practice Brief, African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes* (ACCORD) Durban: South Africa.

Ritchie, J and Lewis, J (200). *Qualitative Research Practice, A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers,* London, SAGE, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi.

Singleton Jr. R.A.; Straits, B.C. and Straits, M.M. (1993). *Approaches to Social Research*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Swarz, P (2000) 'Is Xenophobia a legacy of Stalinist-Ruled East Germany' Published by: International Committee of Forth International (ICFI) Downloaded From http://www.org/articles/2000 Sep 13/germ-html

Smelser, N. J. and Baltes, P. B. (eds.) 2001. *International Encyclopaedia of the Social and Behavioural Sciences*. Elsevier. Oxford Science Ltd.

Solomon, H. (2001). *Contemplating the Impact of Illegal immigration in the Republic of South Africa*. Journal of Contemporary History*, 26*(1), 1-29.

Somalinomics: *A case Study of Somali informal trade in Western Cape*, academia. *Accessed 24 June 2014.*

South African Human Rights Commission (1998). *Braamfontein Statement on Xenophobia. Johannesburg.*

Suarez-Orozco, C., & Suarez-Orozco, M. (1995). Transformations: *Immigration, family life, and achievement motivation among Latino adolescents*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.

Terrif, T. (1999). *Security Studies Today*. Cambridge, England: Polity Press.

Trochim, William. (2001). *The research Methods Knowledge*. Cengage, Atomic Dog Publishers.

Tshitereke, C. (1999). *Xenophobia and relative deprivation. Crossings*, *3*(2), 4-5.

Valji, N (2003) *Creating the Nation: The Rise of Violent Xenophobia in the New South Africa.* Unpublished Master's Thesis, York University, USA.

Whitaker, B. (2005) '*Citizens and Foreigners: Democratisation and the Politics of Exclusion in Africa'*, African Studies Review 48 (1): 109-126.

Yin, R.K (2011).*Qualitative Research from Start to Finish,* the Guilford Press, United States of America.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: Informed Consent Guide

INFORMED CONSENT GUIDE

Identification

My name is Dagobert Mureriwa I am a final year master's degree student in (Peace and Governance) from Africa University based in Mutare.

Undertaking a study titled **A STUDY OF ZIMBABWEANS VIEWS ON THE 2015 XENOPHOBIC ATTACKS IN SOUTH AFRICA**

I am kindly asking you to participate in this study by answering interview questions I have prepared for data collection.

What you should know about the study:

Please note this study is for academic purpose only and your organisation was selected was selected since it worked with the affected groups. In addition, staff in your agency are knowledgeable on the subject and can contribute useful insights.

Purpose of the study:

Document the experiences and views of Zimbabweans concerning the 2015 xenophobic attacks in South Africa on Zimbabweans.

Procedures and duration

If you decide to participate, the researcher would be grateful to make an appointment and conduct the interview at your work place during working hours. It is expected that the interview will take about forty minutes to one hour.

Risks and discomforts

The researcher foresees no risks associated in participating in this research as it is purely an academic endeavour intended to contribute to the academic discourse. The researcher does not foresee problems arising for the participant in terms of legal, health, economic or psychological stress.

Benefits and/or compensation

As a participant you will benefit from the research as well as your Organisation, gaining a better understanding of xenophobia attacks in South Africa. Participants will receive no money for being part of the research exercises. The benefits are expected to accrue to the through better policies.

Confidentiality

The researcher promises that any information that is obtained in the study that can be identified with the participant will not be disclosed without their permission. Names and any other identification will not be asked for in the questionnaires.

Voluntary participation

Participation in this study is voluntary. If you decide not to participate in this study, your decision will not affect our future relationship with your organisation. However, if you chose to participate, you also are free to withdraw your consent and to discontinue participation without penalty.

Offer to answer questions

Before you sign this form, please ask any questions on any aspect of this study that is unclear to you. You may take as much time as necessary to think it over.

Authorisation

If you have decided to participate in this study, please sign this form in the space provide below as an indication that you have read and understood the information provided above and have agreed to participate.

---   -------------------------------

Name of Research Participant (please print)   Date

Signature of Research Participant or legally authorised representative

If you have any questions concerning this study or consent form beyond those answered by the researcher including questions about the research, your rights as a research participant, or if you feel that you have been treated unfairly and would like to talk to someone other than the researcher, please feel free to contact the Africa University Research Ethics Committee on telephone (020) 60075 or 60026 extension 1156 email aurec@africau.edu

Name of Researcher: Dagobert. Mureriwa

APPENDIX 2: Literature Review Framework

Literature Review Framework	Intended Outputs

Review of Journals articles	Obtain ahistorical patterns and themes
Review of Think Tank publications	Receive established wisdom on xenophobia
Review internet sources, PDF files	Establish a wide base of wisdom from various academic sources.
Review of South African Constitution, protocols on migration	Get understanding on how the South African Constitution combat xenophobia, understand what international and regional bodies approach to xenophobia
Review Euro centric literature and Afro centric literature xenophobia	Obtain how the European have dealt with the ever emerging issues of xenophobia in Europe
Examine literature on previous outbreaks of xenophobia, case studies of other countries	Extract established wisdom on how previous case have been controlled
Review legislation and policies on migration	To understand challenges faced.
Asses report of UN agencies, IOM, Government Documents	Understand dynamics of migration and xenophobia

APPENDIX 3: Focus Group Discussion

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

Profile of the Respondent:

Age:

……………………………………………………………………………….

Gender:

……………………………………………………………………………….

Name of organization

…………………………………………………………………………………………

…...

Position/Rank/ Status:

…………………………………………………………………………………………

……

Years in Service:

…………………………………………………………………………………………

……

APPENDIX 4: Focus group discussion Guide

1. Have you heard of xenophobic attacks in South Africa? Please give an account

2. What is your understanding of xenophobia?
3. Do you think the fear of foreigners exists in Zimbabwe?
4. What do you think were the causes or triggers of the 2015 xenophobic attacks in South Africa?
5. Who were the perpetrators of the 2015 xenophobic attacks in South Africa?
6. What are your views regarding the 2015 xenophobia attacks against foreigners and Zimbabweans in South Africa?
7. What do you think are the consequences and implications of xenophobic attacks on Zimbabweans? 7b. What were the social, economic impacts of Xenophobic attacks.
8. What are the consequences if xenophobia is unchecked?
9. What are your feelings towards perpetrators of the 2015 xenophobia attacks in South Africa?
10. How can co-existence and Ubuntu be promoted among different nationalities?
11. What do you think the South African Government can do to reduce xenophobic attacks?
12. Do you think the Zimbabwean Government response was effective? Yes/NO. If No what can be done to strengthen response?

APEPENDIX 5: In depth interview guide

1a. I am very grateful for your willingness to participate in the xenophobic study. May I know your name and your position in this organization?
1b. How long have you been with your organization?
2. In your view what is your understanding of xenophobia
3. What do you think causes xenophobic attacks? 3a. Who were the perpetrators? 3b. What were the most affected groups? Please explain.
4. Why where African foreign nationals among them Zimbabweans, targeted the most in the South African Xenophobic attacks? 4b. Why were other non-African foreigners not the targets of the xenophobic attacks?
5. Do you think the South African Government is doing enough to promote Ubuntu and peaceful co-existence with foreigners?
6. Have you been directly affected by xenophobic attacks? If so would you give an account
7. Do know of any Zimbabwean who has been affected by xenophobia? If so what have been their accounts?
8. How can South Africa Government do to reduce hatred against foreigners in their country?

Appendix 6: Research Authorisation

AFRICA UNIVERSITY
RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (AUREC)

INVESTING IN AFRICA'S FUTURE

P.O. BOX 1320, MUTARE, ZIMBABWE ● OFF NYANGA ROAD, OLD MUTARE ● TEL: (+263-20) 60075/60026/61611 ● E-MAIL: aurec@africau.edu ● WEBSITE: www.africau.edu

Ref: AU390/15

January 5, 2016

Dagobert Mureriwa
Institute of Peace Leadership and Governance
Africa University
Mutare

Re: A study of Zimbabweans views on te 2015 xenophobic attacks in South Africa

Thank you for the above titled proposal that you submitted to the Africa University Research Ethics Committee for review. Please be advised that AUREC has reviewed and **approved** your application to conduct the above research. However it is important that you address the comments below before implementing your research study:

1. Provide informed consent form.
2. Translate data collection tools into local language.

The approval is based on the following.

    a) Research proposal
    b) Questionnaires
    c) Informed consent form

- **APPROVAL NUMBER**   AU390/15
  This number should be used on all correspondences, consent forms, and appropriate documents
- **APPROVAL DATE**   January 5, 2016
- **EXPIRATION DATE**   January 4, 2017
- **TYPE OF MEETING**   Expedited

After the expiration date this research may only continue upon renewal. For purposes of renewal, a progress report on a standard AUREC form should be submitted a month before expiration date.

- **SERIOUS ADVERSE EVENTS** All serious problems having to do with subject safety must be reported to AUREC within 3 working days on standard AUREC form.
- **MODIFICATIONS** Prior AUREC approval is required before implementing any changes in the proposal (including changes in the consent documents)
- **TERMINATION OF STUDY** Upon termination of the study a report has to be submitted to AUREC using standard form obtained from.

NB: After addressing these comments you should resubmit the proposal to AUREC together with your supervisor's approval for further review and approval.

Yours Faithfully

MITI G. P. AUREC Programmes Officer-
FOR CHAIRPERSON, AFRICA UNIVERSITY RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

AFRICA UNIVERSITY
RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (AUREC)

0 5 JAN 2016

APPROVED
P.O. BOX 1320, MUTARE, ZIMBABWE
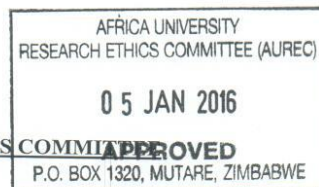
APPENDIX 7: Supervisor Student confirmation letter

79 Deacon Drive,

Borrowdale, Harare

12 November 2015

LETTER OF CONFIRMATION FOR DAGOBERT MURERIWA (Student Reg. No. 130485)

Dear Mrs E. Bere

This is a confirmation that I went through **Dagobert Mureriwa's dissertation** proposal entitled *A study of Zimbabweans' Views on the 2015 Xenophobic Attacks in South Africa*. I certify that the proposal is ready to undergo the review process as required by Africa University.

Sincerely,

Dr.Pindai Sithole