

# MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY



## FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT

TOPIC

XENOPHOBIA ATTACKS AND AFRICA'S REGIONAL INTEGRATION. A CASE OF  
SOUTH AFRICA'S XENOPHOBIA ATTACKS FROM 2000 - 2015

BY

KUDZAI SAYA

R134582Z

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE IN PARTIAL  
FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF BACHELOR OF SCIENCE (HONOURS)  
DEGREE IN POLITICS AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT.

SUPERVISOR: MR CHIKEREMA

ZVISHAVANE, ZIMBABWE

2017

## **ABSTRACT**

The issue of xenophobia attacks in South Africa has become a problematic phenomenon in the African continent with the cases of Zambia and South Africa. This xenophobic tendency is based on prejudice and hatred directed towards foreign nationals specifically black Africans who are deemed by the native groups as persistent threats to their entitlements like employment security, accommodation, resource distribution and other various opportunities within the political, economic, socio-cultural and technological premises just to mention these few. As such, the purpose of this research work was to establish the background of the phenomenon of xenophobia and its related violence in the South African context, what ripple effects it brings about in various levels of the society and how it in turn affects the idea of Africa's regional integration in bi-lateral and multi-lateral state interaction platforms. It was also dwelt upon that regional integration is a feasible alternative to bring about the much needed development in a collective effort and outcome basis. Various schools of thought support this notion as they generally agree that African states are generally weak and vulnerable therefore they should achieve unity of purpose to ensure for collective development as well as establishing sovereignty and security from external intervention exercises by super powers in the international arena. Various conclusions have been reached from information gathered during the research as to the opinions, views and comments from respondents that were consulted and further recommendations were provided as to what more that can be done to mitigate the problem of xenophobic attacks which would consequently ensure for the successful realisation of the various efforts towards regional integration on the African continent.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to expressed my gratitude to all the various individuals and groups of people who have contributed towards the fruition of the research work as their contributions and cooperation goes a long way. Sincere appreciation is directed to my supervisor, Mr A. F Chikerema for his immense academic guidance which has resultantly rendered this research a success. The body of lecturers in their entirety in the Department of Politics and Public Management at Midlands State University are also appreciated for the extensive academic insights disseminated while the programme lasts.

Gratitude is also extended to all the respondents and interviewees who willingly provided the information which helped to shape this research work. My heart felt and deepest appreciation goes to my beloved parents, Mr and Mrs Saya, little sister Dee and also family especially aunty and uncle Kazembe and friends thats is Meme, Marve, Tarie, Effort and Tawanda (Chucks) for their support, morally, psychologically and even financially.

Most importantly, i humbly thank the Almighty God for his abundant blessings and unshaken protection in my life... For His plans are to prosper and not harm me, to give me hope and a brighter future.

## DEDICATION

To my mom and dad, friends and acquaintances.

<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS</b>	<b>PAGE</b>
Abstract .....	i
Acknowledgements .....	ii
Dedication .....	iii
Table of contents .....	iv
Abbreviations .....	vii
<b>CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Introduction .....	1
1.2 Background of the study .....	3
1.3 Statement of the problem .....	3
1.4 Research objectives .....	4
1.5 Research questions .....	4
1.6 Justification of the problem .....	4
1.7 Limitations .....	5
1.8 Delimitations .....	6
1.9 Organisation of the study .....	6
<b>CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW .....</b>	<b>8</b>
2.1 Introduction .....	8
2.2 An overview of xenophobia and related violence .....	8
2.3 Causes of the xenophobia attacks .....	9
2.4 The Effects of xenophobia .....	14

2.5	Theoretical framework .....	18
2.6	Summary .....	19
<b>CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY .....</b>		<b>21</b>
3.1	Introduction .....	21
3.2	Research design .....	21
3.3	Study population .....	22
3.4	Sample size .....	22
3.5	Sample selection .....	22
3.6	Methods of data collection .....	23
3.6.1	Indepth interviews .....	23
3.6.2	Documentary review .....	24
3.6.3	Testimonials .....	24
3.7	Data analysis .....	25
3.7.1	Thematic analysis .....	25
3.8	Ethical considerations .....	26
3.9	Summary .....	26
<b>CHAPTER 4: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS .....</b>		<b>28</b>
4.1	Introduction .....	28
4.2	Response rate .....	28
4.2.1	Questionnaires and interviews .....	28
4.3	Xenophobia and the bi-lateral relations between Zimbabwe and South Africa .....	29

4.4 Xenophobia and regionalism in Africa .....	32
4.5 Regionalism as a feasible alternative to collective development .....	36
4.6 Africa's regional integration and xenophobia attacks .....	40
4.7 Summary .....	43
<b>CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS .....</b>	<b>44</b>
5.1 Introduction .....	44
5.2 Summary .....	44
5.3 Conclusions .....	49
5.4 Recommendations .....	51
5.5 Summary .....	52
Bibliography .....	53
<b>Appendix .....</b>	<b>58</b>
Questionnaire guide .....	58

## **ABBREVIATIONS**

AFCON	African Cup of Nations
APRJ	Advocate for People's Rights and Justice
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CSVR	Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation
EAC	East African Community
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EPWP	Expanded Public Works Programme
EU	European Union
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NEPAD	New Partnerships for Africa's Development
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAIRR	South African Institute of Race Relations
SAMP	South African Migration Project
SAPS	South African Police Service
SASA	Somali Association of South Africa
S.I	Statutory Instrument 64 of 2016
TICAD	Tyoko International Conference on African Development



## **CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 Introduction**

The study which the researcher has undertaken elaborates on the issue of xenophobia attacks and the idea of Africa's regional integration with reference to the South African context from the year 2000 - 2015. For each comprehension of the research, this chapter will discuss the background of the study that is the record of the phenomenon of xenophobia from its conception up to its fruition into a full-fledged act of terror against foreigners. The statement of the problem defines the problem and help further identification of variables that have been investigated hence the magnitude of the problem under consideration is established. Under the research objectives and questions, the researcher illustrates on the intentions of the study as well as addressing the "so what" part of the investigation. Justification of the study has been dwelt upon that is showing the importance of pursuing, as well as the benefits of the study which is to fill an existing literature gap and as a contribution to help policy makers in reaching well informed conclusions. As expected, there are challenges which affected the study therefore these will be discussed as well as showing how the researcher overcame these while conducting the research. For manageability and some degree of control of the study, delimitations establish the scope and perimeters of the investigation. To conclude this chapter, the organisation of the study gives an outline of the investigation hence help the readers to navigate and peruse the work with ease.

### **1.2 Background of the study**

Harris (2002) has defined xenophobia as "the hatred and prejudice against outsiders or foreigners or the fear or contempt of that which is foreign or unknown, especially of strangers or foreign people" and this is supported by Laher (2009). Xenophobia attacks in South Africa are deemed by many as quite a new phenomenon and therefore its origins are subjective among authorities hence still shrewded in mystery. For some, like Mapolo (2012), the resentment towards foreigners started in 1910 and these were Indians as noted by Peberdy (2008) that, "the first group of people to fall victim to restraining immigration policies of the South African government was the Indians". As such, segregation laws including the likes of the Urban Areas Act of 1923 were enacted hence introducing residential segregation and people were discriminated based on their national origin, race, class and gender.

However, Giliomee (2003) noted that the attacks can be traced back to as far back as 1914 as he points out the stories of peasant Afrikaners who looted British owned shops therefore are indeed startling precursors of the country's contemporary attacks. Presumably, the attacks could have been based on the distribution of the national cake therefore the poor Afrikaners resorted to looting British owned shops as a means to express their discontentment in the manner in which resources were being distributed among various societal groups.

For Bridger (2015) the violent episodes are not necessarily sporadic but rather a representation of long-simmering anti-migrant sentiments which had been increasing in the country since the early 1990s. With the collapse of Apartheid, South African borders were opened to foreign migration as such many within the country ended up blaming the foreigners and not the whites or the government for democracy's failed promises embodying high unemployment and scarce resources. They had found new scapegoats for their dissatisfaction. In this case therefore, the episodes in May 2008 which claimed the lives of 62 foreigners and displaced thousands as well as those in April 2015 which were sparked by the remarks made by Goodwill Zwelithini, the king of Zulus, that all foreigners should pack their bags and go back to their countries are resultant of the scapegoating culture the natives have nurtured since then. Steinberg (2014) notes that "the native South Africans dusted off their freedom songs though the words were now different, instead of condemning Apartheid, they condemned foreigners for the jobs, houses and women they were stealing".

Regardless of periodisation, authorities concur on the basis of citizenship and identity as a major aspect of the xenophobic attacks. Kaysen (1996) is of the view that "xenophobia basically derives from the sense that non-citizens pose some sort of a threat to the recipients' identity or their individual rights and is also closely connected with the concepts of nationalism: the sense in each individual of membership in the political nation as an essential ingredient in his or her sense of identity". Ryan Brown comments on how South Africans of every colour were socialised to draw and follow boundaries around identity as racial divisions were forged into almost every element of their lives that is "from the hospital one was born in, to the jobs he could acquire, to the cemetery where he would be buried". As such, Apartheid did not end with these divisions rather it merely displaced them. For Steinberg (2014), "the similarities between the violent policing of citizenship during and after Apartheid are particularly stark". All this supports the

notion that the attacks are a demonstrative reaction that we belong here and you (foreigners) do not.

### **1.3 Statement of the Problem**

Unlike other problematic issues on the African continent which have prompted for an integrative approach as a means to solving them for example colonialism and apartheid in the late 20th century South Africa where neighbouring countries came together and pooled their resources to deal with the unwanted prevalent issues, xenophobic attacks have caused a disintegrative effect between states as most of them have demonstrated discontentment in the manner in which the crisis has been handled. Some African states have argued on how they collectively participated against the Apartheid system in a bid to emancipate South Africa from its colonial master. They also point out how their able-bodied labour force has been recruited into the country as supplementary workforce in the various needy sectors like mining and agriculture as well as manufacturing and processing sectors and yet those immigrants are now being deemed as unwelcome in the country of which most of them have established homes away from home and are now being chased away through violent and inhumane means. This is on the basis that they are responsible for the failed democratic promises that is unemployment, poverty and deprivation which Harris (2001) argue that they are mere scapegoats instead of placing the blame on the government and the whites. Therefore the purpose of this research work was to establish the implication of xenophobia itself on the idea of integration in the African region. Almost, if not, everytime the attacks break out in South Africa, the SADC memberstates inturn prefer to take a backseat as they expect the source area government to deal with the problem which is contrary to the past experience where they used to intervene and pool resources so as to collectively deliberate on feasible solutions to mitigate the prevalent crises. It is alleged that Botswana's President Sir Ian Khama mouthed off to Zimbabwe's President Comrade Robert Mugabe that if he solved his problems back home then there would not be need to drag everyone to summits to deal with the attacks in South Africa. Therefore the tendence of reluctance and inaction by the African countries to mitigate the xenophobic attacks is the borne of contention which the researcher intended to dwell on and establish the possibility of the attacks as a limitation to the much needed integrative approach in solving prevalent problems in the African region if it is to successfully do away with the ever-present disruptive forces it faces.

## **1.4 Research Objectives**

In the research work, the researcher seeks to achieve objectives which are as follows:

1. To establish why there is the ever-present need for regional integration, especially on the African continent.
2. To explore the effect of xenophobia as a societal problem issue.
3. To add to the already existing body of knowledge that is concerned with the issues under consideration for the benefit of other political science students and political scientists.
4. To establish how xenophobia affects the idea of integration in the African region, case of Zimbabwe and South Africa bilateral relations.
5. To proffer recommendations and possible measures that can be employed to mitigate xenophobia and other problem issues so as to achieve sound and smooth integration conditions in the region.

## **1.5 Research Questions**

1. Why is there such great need for regional integration among African memberstates?
2. What is xenophobia in the 21st century?
3. In essence, how does xenophobia as a new phenomenon in the 21st century affect the idea of Africa's regional integration?
4. Why is regional integration a feasible alternative towards the achievement of collective development in Africa?
5. What measures can be taken to minimise, if not prevent, the negative implications of the phenomenon on the present efforts to regional integration in Africa?

## **1.6 Justification of the problem**

Xenophobia on the African continent, especially in the SADC region is quite a new and recent phenomenon but with vast and unimaginable impacts in and around the source area. It is not a

mere end on its own but rather a means to other ends that pose as problematic societal issues like the refugee problem within South Africa itself as well as the rampant and ever-increasing gang-related atrocities and human rights violations. Nonetheless, in the light of this, very few authorities have dwelt on the part which establishes the relationship between xenophobia itself and the idea of regional integration that is the negative correlation of xenophobia on the African continent to collective development. There is mere mention of the relationship as most, if not all, authorities prefer to write about the phenomenon as an act against human rights while others like Bond *et al* (2010) circle around the reasons for the occurrence of the phenomenon. Therefore there is need to bridge the existing literature gap that is present over the issue of xenophobia.

As such, as an addition to the already existing body of knowledge, the research also brings about recommendations and possible measures for policy makers and relevant state personnel to promote and perpetuate progressive relations among and between African memberstates in a bid to achieve successive regional integration as a remedy to African emancipation from the Western capitalists hence do away with dependence upon these exploitative forces that have, over the years, underdeveloped Africa as has been argued by Walter Rodney. The work is also intended to be beneficial to both students and authorities who would wish to follow in the same line of thought as preliminary research material.

### **1.7 Limitations**

Since the source area of the problem issue under consideration is slightly beyond the researcher's reach, the work relied more on documented sources of information related to the study as well as testimonials which were gathered through informal interviews from respondents with relevant experience and knowhow. This inturn allowed for bias and dishonest responses from respondents as the issue may be regarded as sensitive especially because of the subjection of human rights violations involved. Respondents' losses due to the xenophobic attacks influenced or inclined them to provide feedback that portray emotional instead of professional opinions. Also there was limitation or restricted access to information from respective government officials the researcher consulted especially in the light of risk of espionage and therefore statutory instruments like the Official Secrecy Act that obligate officials to safeguard such sources of information regarded as confidential posed as barriers to the investigation.

Nevertheless, the researcher overcame these challenges by using his personal experience and testimonial since he had the courtesy of residing in the source area, that is South Africa, during Work Related Learning Placement period. In terms of restrictions and limited access to information from relevant officials, the researcher explored a vast base of documented sources so as to bridge the gap in a bid to allow for a neutral and objective piece of work.

## **1.8 Delimitations**

The issues to do with xenophobia attacks as a societal problem are vast in dimension and degree therefore not easily captured and manageable in a single research the same way the issues of integration are difficult to synthesise all at once, therefore the scope of the research work was to establish what the phenomenon under consideration is, that is, defining xenophobia from its simplest sense and in turn determining how it poses as a barrier to the idea of Africa's regional integration. And whilst the issue of integration is widely subscribed to which results in many integration institutions around the globe, the African continent was the focus of the research work upon which even the sample and population were derived from within such premise.

## **1.9 Organisation of the study**

### **Chapter 1 Background of the study**

This chapter does serve as the introductory part of the research work.

### **Chapter 2: Literature Review**

In this chapter the related literature to the study will be revealed that is work which other authorities have covered concerning the phenomenon under consideration. Theoretical framework will also be inclusive in this chapter.

### **Chapter 3: Methodology**

In Chapter 3 the methodology of a study will be contained and that's covering the research design, sampling and methods of collecting data.

### **Chapter 4: Data Presentation and Analysis**

Chapter 4 is intended on the presentation and analysis of research findings.

## **Chapter 5: Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations**

In this fifth and final Chapter, all the work that has been done will be summarised and conclusions will be drawn hence recommendations will be prophered. The bibliography under Harvard standard is contained in this compartment as well.

## **CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.1 Introduction**

The purpose of this chapter is to make a survey of the available research processes and the acknowledgements that the researcher has come down to hence providing a comprehensive review of related literature about the problem especially for the reader. This was an opportunity utilised by the researcher to locate gaps in the already existing literature that this piece of work fills that is the limited work done concerned with the nexus between xenophobia, the violence and the idea of Africa's regional integration therefore containing historical overview of the phenomenon and other significant published research data that is definitions of the term xenophobia from different authorities, its causalities as well as the various effects of the phenomenon which are translated in political, economic and socio-cultural terms. At the same juncture, theoretical framework with relevant theories to the research work follows.

### **2.2 An overview of xenophobia and the related violence**

"Xenophobia, simply put, is the fear or hatred of foreigners or strangers, it is embodied in discriminatory attitudes and behaviours and often culminates in violence, abuses of all types and exhibitions of hatred" as according to Moge kwu (2005). For Harris (2002) xenophobia, "is the hatred and prejudice against outsiders or foreigners or the fear or contempt of that which is foreign or unknown, especially of strangers or foreign people". Therefore it is intense or irrational dislike, hatred or resentment, even fear of people from other countries. These are especially black Africans as submitted by Tshitereke (1999) that "xenophobia in South Africa is not restricted to fear and dislike, instead, it results in intense tension and even violence by South Africans towards African immigrants".

According to Bridger (2015) thus, the fear or hatred of foreigners, in South Africa, has a long history because over the past several centuries there were various influxes of migrants entering the country and vying for dominance. Innately, the phenomenon is characterised by a handful of characteristics which Ryan Brown highlight on how boundaries were drawn around identity and perpetuated through violent policing of citizenship during and after Apartheid. Kaysen (1996) mention that, "xenophobia is basically derived from the sense of identity or individual rights which is closely connected to the concept of nationalism, the sense in each and every individual



of membership in the political nation and therefore is an essential ingredient in their sense of identity.

Nyamnjoh (2006) derives the phenomenon from the apartheid years that, " with inspiration from the apartheid years, South Africans sometimes subject Makwerekweres to excesses of abuse, exploitation and dehumanising treatment on the basis that they have the wrong colour to invest in citizenship while Neocosmos (2006) is of the view that xenophobia is a problem of post coloniality, "one which is associated with the politics of the dominant groups in the period following independence". To Harris (2001) xenophobia has something to do with superiority but it is also part of a "scapegoating" process where unfulfilled expectations of the new democracy resulted in the foreigner coming to embody the failures of unemployment, poverty and deprivation.

However, from a different point of view, Solomon and Kosaka (2013) note that, while xenophobia has been described as something of a global phenomenon, closely associated with the process of globalisation, it has been noted that it is particularly prevalent in countries undergoing transition. As such, the country may be going through some sort of process relating to change and therefore at some point the violent outbursts or eruptions would come to pass.

### **2.3 Causes of the xenophobia attacks**

According to Harris (2001) the studies that have been done over the issue of xenophobia have attributed the hatred of foreigners to a number of causes and Moge kwu (2005) has mentioned them to include "the fear of loss of social status and identity, a threat perceived or real, to citizens' economic success, a way of reassuring the national self and its boundaries in times of national crises, a feeling of superiority and poor intercultural information". Nell (2009) in Choane *et al* (2011) have attributed the phenomenon to three factors that, "interactive factors related to the amount of exposure inhabitants have to strangers", "cultural factors which include identity and nationality" and, "material and economic factors related to employment opportunities and available resources". For the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), the crisis is a result of a series of government's policy failures which essentially contributed to the creation of the perfect storm of lawlessness, poverty and also unfulfilled expectations which erupted into violence.

### **Failure by the government to maintain rule of law**

Cronje (2008) noted that the authorities's repeated failures to bring under control the levels of violent crime contributed to such environment which saw a people who could resort to violence especially without fear of arrest or even successful prosecution. This therefore conditioned poor communities to violent behaviour. "The failure to protect communities from criminal elements and to remove those elements had allowed criminals to take full advantage of chaos and disorder to robe, rape and loot during the violent uprisings". Such instances may include the one that took place in September 1998 on a train between Johannesburg and Pretoria of a mob constituting unemployed South Africans who demonstrated openly and attacked a Mozambican and two other Senegalese asylum seekers selling sweets to passengers as their means of living. Worse off, the South African Police Service (SAPS) is either too corrupt or inefficient to respond to the incidents. Accounts by foreign shop owners especially Somali nationals are that even when they report crimes in action, they are furnished with excuses rather than rapid response as an attempt to apprehend perpetrators.

### **Corruption**

Corruption has become rampant in South Africa's various government departments that examples of Oilgate, Travelgate and Armsgate serve to create the exact impression that South Africa is corrupt to the highest levels of government as put across by Cronje (2008). Evidence of widespread corruption was uncovered by the media and a multitude of agencies. The cause of concern is on how the government has dismally failed to act with due diligence hence most corrupt officials get away with just a slap on the wrist. In some cases where the law may take its course, the criminals are carried into prison like conquering as was the case of Tony Yengeni by the ANC. Consequently, the loss of confidence in the state due to poor judgment and corruption policy failures may indeed have left the communities to take their anger out on the streets which they are very much good at. SAIRR concurs that this is a direct contribution to the xenophobic violence.

### **Slowing Economic growth**

The new millennium saw a profound rise in interference especially in the mining sector through empowerment policy, bureaucracy and affirmative action hence shuttering the sector in a period

it should have boomed. Cronje (2008) postulates that, " policy failures in electricity and telecommunication technology inturn further hampered the economic growth rate in South Africa and further compounded the failure to adopt an industrial policy aimed at facilitating growth off the commodity boom". Both food prices and inflation together with rising fuel costs, which at some point led commuter owners associations to deliberate on fares' increase, directly impacted on poor households which must have caused them to cut on some staples. Bond *et al* (2011) and Tshitereke (1999) confirm that, " xenophobia is ultimately the consequence of economic decay and uneven development due to structural adjustment and deindustrialisation" (Saleh, 2015).

### **Incompetent foreign policy**

This is particularly in the case of Zimbabwe thats a great deal of authorities blamed Thabo Mbeki's quiet diplomacy which directly provided a lifeline to the ailing Zanu Pf Regime hence keeping it in power longer than it would have otherwise have been the case. Cronje (2008) prefers to support then condemnation of violence and electoral fraud in Zimbabwe thats directly cutting the massive influx of foreign migrants who poured in soon after. It has also been coined that the move by Thabo Mbeki stands in direct contrast of the unanimous condemnation of the xenophobic violence as it created an impression that violence targeted at the Zimbabwean nationals was conditionally acceptable that is as long as it takes place in Zimbabwe. Put simply, ideology trumped pragmatism hence a failure South Africa now pays heavily.

### **Education**

Most authorities who subscribe to this point as a causal factor to the eruption actually regard this as the government's biggest failure and therefore carrying much of the blame for the shockingly high levels of unemployment thats making it a good example where failures of policy in one area inturn led or compounded those in another area. Cronje (2008) has pointed out that, "only 1% of black matriculants achieve a good HG maths pass". As such, the school education system output is far from adequate as a means to free households from state dependency or perhaps to acquire necessary skills to find employment in a labour market which is heavily regulated. For others, education as a direct contribution to the xenophobic attacks derive it from the Apartheid South Africa hence as an isolated nation from the rest of the world, the syllabi and learning curriculum

was heavily censored. The oppressive government had both hands on the decisions regarding students' learning materials so as to prevent any room for any exacerbated reasons against the regime. The results then are an isolated people who exhibit no trace of appreciation and acknowledgement as an African people, rather they portray themselves as superior over all other Bantu speaking people just as their colonial masters did. The denunciation of any relation with fellow Africans as indeed the reason they find it easy to attack and subject them to inhumane treatment hence resulting in the xenophobic attacks of the early nineties as well as those in the new millennium.

### **Unemployment**

Employment amongst South Africans, especially blacks, has become scarce therefore a contributing factor to the violence as according to Cronje (2008). He argues that almost 40% of natives in South Africa fail to get proper jobs and now with Social welfare reaching 25%, it was never going to suffice in meeting communities' expectations of a reasonably better life. The government in turn ignored the warnings of such unemployment levels which were ever-rising. Policy responses however, when they were set into motion only proved to be too little too late as conditions had plummeted. Case in point, the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP). For Cronje (2008), validly, one can question on how the government managed to take that long without adequate policy response.

### **Border control**

It has been argued by some like Cronje (2008) that the collapse of proper border control measures saw millions gaining entry into South Africa. In simpler terms, poor policy decisions by the government and other related incompetences directly contributed to the xenophobic outcome. It is if note that the police's very own heavy handed raids on immigrants further created the impression that they were mere targets and so they were treated likewise. To make matters worse, without adequate 'loci standi' illegal immigrants became easy targets for gang and mob violence. Nonetheless, the blame is shared with other relevant authorities that is the army and the police as the effort required complimentary role from these parties if the problem had a chance of apprehension. Regardless of making attempts to establish the guilt clause, the factor is just enough to fall among other agreed causalities of the attacks.

## **Service delivery**

Public service is defined as a "service which is provided by the government to people living within its jurisdiction, either directly through the public sector or by financing provision of services" (wikipedia). This was also at the heart of policy failure as Cronje (2008) is of the view that, "the state took it upon itself to provide services and jobs and thereby tied households to its ability to deliver". And when push came to shove, which it almost always does, where delivery seemed not to cut it public protest was the outcome. The people's outcries, if they had been addressed in time, could have averted the danger because people eventually lost faith in the government's willingness to address their queries. As a result, this proved as quite a tragic misjudgment as authorities argue for a different outcome if the government had responded timeously.

Cronje (2008) notes that, " the government relied on corrupt and incompetent local authorities to implement its policies" hence, " not enough was done to bring these authorities into line". The rampant and unattended ever-present corrupt dealing in the government housing projects ultimately led to a series of riots in South African townships with the likes of Alexandria, Khayelitsha, Masiphumelele, Grahamstown and others not mentioned. Such townships bear the burnt of scarce or dilapidated amenities, overcrowded schools, understaffed polices stations and clinics which rely on supplementary efforts from various well wishers on frequent basis since, on average, 30 - 40% of township population are infected with Tuberculosis and/or HIV. Davids (2012) in *The Times*, appreciates that the most common causes of protests in South Africa revolve around urban land and housing especially with regards to sanitation and water. Ndebele (2012) appreciated that, "widespread service delivery protests may soon take on an organisational character that will start off as discrete formations and then coalesce into a full-blown movement". Over 2 million people have resorted and taken to the streets since 2008 and commentators have established that "a large majority of South Africans feel that conventional mechanisms of engaging the government are failing and that alternatives are more effective" (Pillay, 2011).

Informal settlements are at the forefront as residents demand basic services and housing hence service delivery protests are more pronounced in and around those areas. Amongst other reasons under public service delivery protests are issues to do with segregated and unequal allocation of

rural and urban land (Davids, 2012), government corruption notably at the local level (Mjondolo, 2011), rampant crimes (Benjamin, 2011), unemployment and low wages (Waal, 2012) as well as police brutality (Lange, 2011). Patel (2013) Kitchin (2013) and Wet (2011) coin that the most crucial government blunder which has led to the resultant unrest and protests is the "authoritarian and topdown approaches of governance which is starved of public consultation. Government authorities have placed mandate upon themselves to come up with policies for the people instead of allowing for an accommodative partnership which is supposed to foster for the public as an active participant in policy making process that's 'policies with the people'. Subsequently, the poor and undermined resort to the streets as seen with movements like the Social Justice Coalition which mobilise various campaigns in a bid to air grievances and stimulate government response.

### **Race relations**

According to Laher (2009), "in South Africa, xenophobia appears to be racialised in that Black immigrants are the primary targeted victims" that's agreeing with Cronje (2008) that "Thabo Mbeki's tenure re-enforced differences and assigned values based on race which is no surprise therefore that racial conflict could be an end result of his government's numerous policy failures". He argues that white on black discrimination was over-emphasized which left black on black racism inadequately addressed. Warner and Finchilescu (2003) concur that, "Black immigrants from other African countries in particular are at a greater risk of being victimised than white immigrants from other continents or Africa". For Laher (2009) this negative belief and stereotyping where the foreigner is perceived as endangering natives' existence is indeed a notable contributing factor to xenophobic prejudice. Cronje (2008) is of the view that, indefinitely, Thabo Mbeki's race based policies and legislation undid much of the progress once accomplished by Mandela hence thwarting the possibility of a rainbow nation.

### **2.4 The effects of xenophobia**

The phenomenon of xenophobia and the violence it ushers-in has far-reaching consequences from the humble society level where the grassroots population will bear the burnt of all sorts of prevalent related problems, the national level where the entire state is subject to criticism and condemnation from neighbouring states, the regional level entails all the actions and responses

from other nations within the source area's regional proximity and the global level includes all the outcries from all parts of the world. The South African authorities themselves have expressed their fear of the repercussions that do come with the advent of xenophobia as mentioned by Presence (2015), "Radebe warns on the effects of xenophobia" as the minister in the Presidency Jeff Radebe briefed journalists on April, 17 that the impact of the attacks unleashed upon foreigners in the country has implications on the South African social, economic and relations with other African countries and the world at large. The Cabinet appealed to individuals, communities and organisations to join in the campaigns and fight against xenophobia and the violent eruptions as other African countries made huge contributions to the country's fight against Apartheid. Therefore at this juncture the implications of the phenomenon under consideration will be perused in political, economic and socio-cultural premises below.

### **Political**

Since the phenomenon has implications which are multi-faceted in nature, in political terms Crush and Pendleton (2004) declare that, "to allow citizens of one memberstate to think and act in xenophobic ways about citizens of another is ultimately and extremely destructive of regional cooperation and harmony". Amongst other prominent gospels preached on the African continent, those concerning regional cooperation and integration prevail over the rest since the essence is that African countries are politically weak and vulnerable therefore they should strive to achieve "unity of purpose" especially in security terms if they are to survive in the hostile and brutal world system. Henceforth we can appreciate the inception and perpetuation of a vast array of integrative platforms that is African Union (AU), Southern African Development Community - Troika (SADC-Troika), East African Community (EAC) just to mention these few. Just as North Atlantic Treaty Organisation is a security effort put up to fight terrorism so are like the former examples as they exist to mitigate certain specific prevalent African contingencies.

Nevertheless, xenophobic tendencies therefore pose as a limitation to the much needed integrative approach to problem solving. Authorities have noted quite a handful of occasions where the South African government have received responses of discontentment and dissatisfaction from other governments within the region and the world over. Chinese, Zimbabwean and Nigerian governments are part of the list as well as Somalia as noted when the Somali president Sheik Mohammed demanded action and response from his South African

counterpart Jacob Zuma after a graphic video of a Somali man being brutally stoned to death went viral. Various organisations have also expressed their loss of trust in the South African government to deal with the prevalent crisis hence rule of law has completely been overrun as the general public has established a rhetoric where they can freely take to the streets (toyi toyi) without any apparent persecution. Somali Association of South Africa (SASA) spokesperson Ismaeel Abdi Adan commented that the South African government has completely failed to arrest the crisis since everytime the violence erupts, nothing is ever done.

### **Economic**

In this platform, integration would be considered as a process in which barriers to the exchange of goods and services as well as capital and people are reduced or eliminated between memberstates. As an ongoing procession of stages, it usually begins with a preferential trade area and then graduate to a free trade geographical location to a customs union with common markets which end up with economic and political unions. Such examples are that of the European Union (EU) and COMESA as well as SADC, just to mention these few. However, xenophobia attacks have resulted in divergent economic efforts especially in the SADC region. The proposed intentions were to achieve free trade or customs union but instead, following a series of xenophobic eruptions in South Africa, the Zimbabwean government found it feasible to implement Statutory Instrument 64 of 2016 which bans South African imports. Possibly if there were sound underlying relations then maybe such barriers would not be put up amongst African neighbouring countries who actually depend on each other if development is to be realised.

On a local level, xenophobia does impact on the country's economics. The vandalism and looting of foreign-owned businesses could be a huge blow as noted by Pillay (2015) therefore there is great need to realise that immigrants are good for the development of any country as their vast numbers have potential to contribute to the economics of the day. Authorities appreciate the era of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland to have ushered in extensive development with a huge pool of manpower being received from the neighbouring Zambia and Malawi (the then Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland respectively).

Foreign-owned businesses also tend to create employment opportunities for the less and unskilled locals which is a considerable investment effort. In turn, the heinous and inhuman



attacks do lead, to some extent, to the instability of micro economy hence resulting in high prices on basic commodities as some elements of competition are obliterated. It also tends to scare away foreign investment from the country as is noted by Pillay (2015) that, "the Durban xenophobia gave many foreign investors pause, giving serious consideration to the stability". At one point, Protea Group founder and chair Otto Stehlik pointed out that, "South Africa was taking a knock, not just from a tourism or travel perspective but also from an economic perspective". The economy was not doing well already and the eruption of the xenophobic violence exacerbates the situation. Therefore this serves to provide illustration on the negative economic implications of xenophobia.

### **Socio-cultural**

Most African countries, at one level, have a common history, culture and tradition that transcends national borders and these include pre-colonial warfare, colonialism associated with subjugation of native blacks by invading white settlers and so on. Integration in the socio-cultural terms is an important form of developmental cooperation which facilitates interaction and exchange between different societies through communication and mutual understanding of diversity in the continent. We can appreciate the existing sporting platforms that are held at different levels as means to achieve coherent interaction and cooperation eg African Cup Of Nations (AFCON) for both sexual groups. Unfortunately, xenophobic attacks impede such coherent and perpetual relations as noted by Solomon and Kosaka (2013) that, "the manifestation of xenophobia undermines social cohesion, peaceful co-existence and good governance as well as constituting a violation of human rights". Discrimination and inhuman treatment of foreigners exhibit utter disrespect of human rights which entail fair treatment of one on the basis that they are human. All-Africa (2008), "the immediate outcome of violence following such humanitarian crises come with consequences such as shortage of shelter, food, medical care, and sanitation in cruelly constructed temporary accommodation, such as in police stations, churches and even petrol stations". Solomon and Kosaka (2013) argue that, "South Africa as a liberal democratic country fostering the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), the SADC and the AU, it is hardly in an ethical or economic position to close its boundaries" especially to immigrants, be it refugees, asylum seekers or even illegal 'undocumented' migrants.

Xenophobia has also affected cultural aspects as noted by Cele (2015) that, "the ongoing violent

xenophobic attacks across KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng have had unexpected casualties: big names in the South African music industry". Cassper Nyovest, Kelly Khumalo and Big Nuz had their international tours cancelled due to calls for a South African boycott. Notably, Elite Promotions based in the United Kingdom postponed Kelly Khumalo's tour in a statement, "we are postponing the Kelly Khumalo UK show until further notice in solidarity with the innocent victims of xenophobia in South Africa".

## **2.5 Theoretical framework**

Authorities including the likes of Anderson and Arsenates (1999) have determined the significance of theoretical framework as a means to reveal a problem and help with the best possible way to come up with solutions. As such, this study has been guided by three specific theories of international politics which are as follows that the realist, interdependence and integration theories. These are themes which have been developed by scholars in a bid to analyse the behaviour of actors in the international system due to the complexity of the manner in which the actors interact and interrelate.

For realists, international politics is deemed as struggle for power as states' survival in this brutal and unforgiving arena is dependent on it be it politically, militarily or economically even technologically especially given the dynamism of the contemporary world system. The proponents of this theory suggest the purpose of state craft as means to national survival in a hostile environment in which those who are powerful survive and those who are weak do not hence forming organisations through associations is indeed means of acquiring power. This power then is translated in status quo strategy where states strive to preserve and perpetuate particular power relations. It is also employed as an appeasement means where concessions are made to prolong coherence as is the case between south and north Korea even south and north Sudan or perhaps accommodatively where states advocate for peace at the expense of their power as it the case with the existence of European Union which is inclusive of Germany and France or SADC with Zimbabwe and Botswana.

In the light of interdependence theory, states in the international system are interrelated hence depending on each other. For them, something that happen to affect an actor will inturn affect the other actors. This may be one of the underlying reasons for the emergence of the phenomenon

known as International Political Economy in the 1970s in the light of the 1973 World Oil Crisis as well as the breakdown of the Brittonwoods Institutions. In the contemporary African context, we can establish that the prevalent armed conflicts especially in Somalia and the evident economic decline in Zimbabwe have resultantly contributed to the present refugee problem in South Africa hence the xenophobic violent episodes in the past two decades. Inturn, it is feasible to concur with the proponents of this particular theory that indeed states are interrelated especially those that are in the same region.

Last but not least, integration theory is concerned and therefore advocates for cooperation and integration of memberstates as a means to collective problem solving through pooling of resources. At the centre of the theory are the formation of international institutions as well as multilateralism. In this case therefore, with the popular notion that African countries are especially weak, the widespread encouragement of regionalism holds more water as African countries need each other to help deal with common problems of concern. This is translated well with the existing United Nations' unending developmental efforts as well as those of SADC and even the EAC as collective response is needed to deal with issues related to health and pandemic diseases, natural disasters, armed conflicts and refugee problem, just to mention these few, with continuously rampage the continent. Therefore cooperation and integration is undeniably inevitable as unity of purpose among memberstates alleviate present and prevalent societal problems across the region.

## **2.6 Summary**

In this chapter, the related literature to the study of how xenophobic attacks pose as a limitation to Africa's regional integration has been perused in detail. The various definitions of the phenomenon of xenophobia have been put across as according to various scholars concerned as well the causal factors that the series of policy blunders by the government namely in border control, maintenance of rule of law, corruption, handling of race relations as well as poor service delivery, just to cite only these few. Inturn, the implications of these government failures have been reiterated above which are translated into three distinct categories that's political, economic and then socio-cultural aspects. Lastly, the theoretical framework entails the propounded themes related to the study which have been propounded by scholars to ascertain the complexity of the behaviour exhibited by memberstates when interacting with others in the international system

thats provide insights as to how and why they behave and act in the manner they solemnly do.

## **CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY**

### **3.1 Introduction**

Research methodology is, "a way to systematically solve the research problem" as defined by Kothari (2004). It can also be understood as the science of how, scientifically, the research is done. It involves the study of the manifold of steps that one adopts in studying their research problem as well as the logic in support of it. In other words, research methodology not only entail research methods but does include the logic behind the processes used in the context of the research study as well as explaining the reasons why a particular method and not the other ones is being used to facilitate for the possibility of evaluation by others or the researcher himself (Kothari, 2004). Therefore the veracity of this specific chapter is to give an account of the research design and methods that were exploited as means of collecting data hence documentary review, interviews and testimonials were the basis to capture the necessary and relevant data for this study. The researcher will peruse on the thematic analysis as this constitute the parade of data analysis tools. The specific or target population relevant to this study will be precisely determined under the sample selection phase and further the researcher will dwell on the ethical considerations that guide the study that ensuring no harm will come to the actual participants whose information shape this piece of work. After all this has been said and done, a condensed presentation of the information in this specific part of the study will be given such that this will be the summary that bind back the chapter.

### **3.2 Research design**

The research design as according to Kothari (2004) is, "the decisions regarding what, where, when, how much and by what means concerning an enquiry on the research study" therefore, "it is a conceptual structure within which research is conducted thus constituting the blueprint for the collection, measurement and analysis of data". For Selltiz *et al* (1959) it is, "the arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose with the economy in procedure". Therefore, the study utilised qualitative research methods which are most suitable as these allow for a detailed investigation hence providing a bigger picture of the phenomenon under consideration as highlighted by Nicholls (2009). The basis of choice made by the researcher to utilise qualitative research is because it is

concerned on the quality and kind of results and it outweighs those of quantitative research since the study revolves around phenomena which can not be easily quantified but rather expressed in opinionated arguments and conclusions. The particular respondents were selected on criteria of their awareness and appreciation of xenophobia and its intricacy as this is the essence of this study itself.

### 3.3 Study Population

The study is concerned with the investigation of the phenomenon of xenophobic violence in the South African context hence the population size constitute that of Port Elizabeth (Algoa Bay's City in the Eastern Cape Province) which is 312 392 as of the 2011 Census as well as the representatives of the various interest groups and intergovernmental departments.

### 3.4 Sample Size

**Table I**

<b>Stakeholder</b>	<b>Level of involvement</b>	<b>Number of chosen participants</b>
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Government department	2
Embassy of South Africa	Government department	2
Informants	Port Elizabeth Residents	20
<b>Total</b>		24

### 3.5 Sample Selection

A sample has been defined by Webster (1985) as, "a finite part of a statistical population whose properties are studied to gain information about the whole". Mugo (2002) defines it in respect to people as, "a set of respondents selected from a larger population for the purpose of a survey". For Field (2005), it is a smaller collection of units obtained from and used to determine the truths about the larger population. Sample selection therefore, to Kothari (2004) is, "a definite plan for obtaining a sample from a given population" and this is also known as sample survey.

At this juncture therefore, the researcher implemented a systematic sampling technique as it is purposive and more related to the study. This is so because, out of the available and accessible population, not everyone has the relevantly related information therefore the sample or respondents were selected on the basis that they had the appropriate and intimate knowhow over the issues which were investigated in the research. Systematic sampling is also less costly which serves on the already limited resources as it places focus on a specific criteria instead of random phenomena. Further convenience sampling was employed as it is the process of including whoever that happens to be available at the time of inquiry as derived from Kumar (2014).

### **3.6 Methods of data collection**

Data collection is a process of measuring information on targeted variables in an established systematic fashion which will enable one to answer an accurate question and evaluate outcomes as defined by James (2014). Data which can be collected can either be primary which is regarded as fresh and therefore never been recorded before or secondary data which have already been collected by someone else hence passed through statistical processes or reviews. Therefore the study used both that the former is gathered through testimonials and interviews whilst the latter, through documentary review of journals, books be it in soft or hard copy, theses, articles and reports just to mention but these few. Since they have a complimentary role, the researcher synthesized both so as to come up with an objective piece of work.

#### **3.6.1 In-depth Interviews**

The interview method, for Kothari (2004), "involves presentation of oral-verbal stimuli and reply in terms of oral-verbal responses". This is either through personal interview, which entails a face to face interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee, or telephone interview that contacting respondents through telephones. However, with contemporary technological advancement, interviews can also be administered through internet services hence the use of electronic mail platforms, social media as well as video conferencing applications. Nevertheless, the researcher utilised personal interviews to gather data relevant to the study. Face to face dialogues were stimulated between the researcher and various personnel in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Proper procedural formalities were completed by the researcher before permission over data collection in the government department was granted. Merits to the

researcher which came with the method do include tapping extensive information hence greater depth was obtained and also there was room to collect supplementary information through follow up questions as the proceedings flow like natural dialogues. On the other hand, some information was regarded as sensitive therefore was withheld by the respondents as the issues concerned have political connotation that this came as demerits to the researcher. Regardless, the method proved useful towards the study as the gathered information helped a great deal in shaping the work.

### **3. 6. 2 Documentary review**

According to Payne and Payne (2004) the documentary review method is, "the technique used to categorise, investigate, interpret and identify the limitations of physical sources, most commonly written documents whether in the private or public domain" while Bailey (1994) defines it as "the analysis of documents that contain information about the phenomenon one wishes to investigate". In this research, various texts in both soft and hard copy were consulted that journals, theses, government gazettes, articles and books, just to cite these few. And extensive information base over the phenomenon under investigation was gathered from these sources that constituting the merits of the method. Also documentary review method is less costly in timeous and financial terms due to ease of access hence appreciating its utility towards the research. However, amongst the drawbacks of the method are issues to do with suitability, reliability and adequacy of the provided data. Especially with the use of internet sources, all the available and related information to the study will be presented and consequently a heavier workload while interpreting and translating.

### **3. 6. 3 Testimonials**

White has defined a testimonial as simply a statement given by one over someone or something and usually in a supportive manner. Although this method of collecting data is more common in marketing and other business related affairs as well as in legal affairs, in social science research it is imperative to bear in mind that testimonials are deeply rooted in opinions more often rather than facts. As such, in this study they were useful in the provision of supplementary data which supports stronger data and evidence. As much as the method is least likely to capture empirical evidence, there is great need to capture opinionated views from various groups of people which is facilitated by testimonials hence the researcher can establish and reach well informed



conclusions.

The method also allowed the researcher to collect information from respondents as their opinions were based rationally on their own perceptions and that is helpful in the formation of an understanding of other sources of information relevant to the prevailing study (Hultzman). However, it can be established that testimonials are not conclusive as they are sometimes based on hearsay which is not admissible as respondents may give accounts of events that they hear or came across. There is also possibility of emotional bias that respondents who may have intimate experience of certain accounts may be inclined to alter their narration in a bid to paint an image they intend hence affecting the conclusions reached in the investigation.

### **3. 7 Data analysis**

The wiktionary defines data analysis as, "a process of inspecting, cleaning, transforming and modelling data with the intention of discovering useful information, suggesting conclusions and supporting decision making". For Judd and McClelland (1989) this is, "a process of obtaining raw data and converting it into information useful for decision making by users". Therefore it is simply an ongoing activity involving the collection of data then organise it by selecting the relevant from the irrelevant so as to appreciate information useful to the task at hand until it lasts especially for decision making through opinionated arguments and educated, as well as, objective conclusions. As such in this specific study, thematic analysis has been utilised as it involves the processing of random data and presenting it in organised and well defined themes. Data that is analysed was obtained through documentary review, testimonials and interviews as reiterated above, relating to the task at hand which is about the phenomenon of xenophobia attacks as a limitation to the idea of Africa's regional integration in the South African context. This is done by the researcher so as to come up with educated arguments and conclusions over the phenomenon under investigation.

#### **3. 7. 1 Thematic analysis**

Braun and Clarke (2006) postulate that it focuses on the examination and recording of themes within data. Thematic strings are therefore patterns of similar data relating to the phenomenon under survey and in this case the xenophobic attacks in South Africa. As a complimentary technique, this method of data collection was utilised by the researcher as a means to establish

the already existing and related work to the study hence derive the literature gap requiring further investigation. These themes are the criteria used for manageability of the study as the phenomenon being investigated is quite extensive in nature from its derived meaning as according to various authorities, its causes and effects as well as ways to mitigate it as it is regarded as a societal problem consequently supposed to be done away with.

### **3. 8 Ethical considerations**

Allen (1990) defines ethics as, "the behaviours we accept and will accept from one another as it provides for a basic social need" while others point out that, when conducting research, it is the things that are considered as good or bad hence Kumar (1990) denotes ethical considerations with regards to the rights and privileges of people. Therefore these are a set of codes of conduct in research to ensure that no harm comes to the participants or respondents the researcher may intend to seek information from while the investigation lasts. Therefore, necessary formalities were completed in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs before any information was collected. As guarantee of anonymity and confidentiality accorded to respondents, no names have and will be mentioned during the course of the investigation and all the interviews conducted were held privately. Most importantly, the researcher appreciates and acknowledges work produced by other authorities that to guard against plagiarism and distortion of existing body of literature.

### **3. 9 Summary**

In this third chapter, a parade of methodologies and research techniques employed by the researcher while the study lasts has been presented. Among other issues, the sample which has been selected has been identified while the methods implemented while collecting data do include documentary review, testimonials and the interview method that is the investigation of already existing body of related literature, written and verbal accounts over first and second hand experiences and dialogues held with respondents respectively. Data analysis through thematic analysis is appreciated as means utilised in shaping the study by reaching opinionated, educated and objective arguments and conclusions. These process was useful and has a positive effect on the study as it is concerned with the process of breaking down information and translating it into synthesised presentations be it through themes, headings and paragraphs hence the researcher used the method for a better outcome. Lastly, ethical consideration which entails a set of codes of

conduct between the researcher and the respondents have been mentioned as these are especially important to ensure for the safety and well being of the participants who helped with information that shape this work itself.

## **CHAPTER 4: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS**

### **4.1 Introduction**

The purpose of this chapter is to present and analyse all the data that the researcher has gathered during the research that is the findings. These take the form of the interviews, testimonials as well as the literature sources like documented articles, theses and journals, just to mention these few, be it in soft or hard copy, that the researcher came across. This specific piece of work is concerned with the phenomenon of xenophobia, the related violence and how it affects the idea of Africa's regional integration with the case of South Africa from year 2000 - 2015. Therefore further provision of strategies will be put across so as to come up with mitigatory measures to deal with xenophobia hence collective development can be facilitated and achieved through the alternative of regional interaction. Extensive use of quotations and paraphrasing will be associated in a bid to support all the generalisations that the researcher reached during the course of the investigation. Most importantly, the veracity of this chapter is to address and satisfy the objectives of the study which have been alluded to in the before chapters, that is, in chapter 1.

### **4.2 Response Rate**

#### **4.2.1 Questionnaires and Interviews**

The researcher dispensed 20 questionnaires to the intended respondents but only 15 out of the total responded to the set of questions. The questionnaires were dispensed to specifically intended respondents who had knowledge and experience to the phenomenon under consideration that is xenophobia and the related violence therefore they were selective in nature so as to allow for the collection and gathering of relevant and reliable data towards this specific research work. In other words, the criteria for choosing respondents was based on the knowledgeable and representability to the sample population selected by the researcher during the investigation. Furthermore, in a bid to compensate for the 5 questionnaires not responded to, the researcher held interviews in relevant government departments that complimenting the data gathered from the questionnaires. The government offices that were consulted were the Zimbabwean Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the South African Embassy in Zimbabwe. These contributed with well versed information that was practical and useful in shaping the research hence a representative and objective conclusion was reached. The two relevant government

departments contributed with insights of their representing government's opinions and positions in the light of xenophobia and how it impacted on the intended regional integration for collective development on the African continent. The following table illustrates the representability of the respondents with regards to the questionnaires that were dispensed as well as the interviews that were held.

**Table II**

<b>Data Collection Tool</b>	<b>Intended Response</b>	<b>Actual Response</b>	<b>Response Rate (%)</b>
Questionnaires	20	15	75%
Interviews	4	2	50%

#### **4.3 Xenophobia and the bi-lateral relations between Zimbabwe and South Africa**

From the questionnaires dispensed, 75% of the respondents displayed familiarity with the term xenophobia in response to the question asked with regards to the phenomenon. Respondent A (South African) mentioned that xenophobia is hatred against foreign nationals in South Africa and this tallies with Respondent B's response (Zimbabwean) that it is prejudiced feelings towards all those that are regarded as foreigners. For the South African Embassy representative, interviewee Y defined the term xenophobia as the strong antipathy or dislike of strangers to South Africans and these include Zimbabweans, Somalis, Nigerians, Tanzanians, Zambians and Ethiopians, to mention just a few.

These definitions tally with the views of scholars like Harris (2002) that xenophobia is, "the hatred and prejudice against outsiders or foreigners or the fear or contempt of that which is foreign or unknown, especially of strangers or foreign people" which is supported by Laher (2009). Therefore the researcher derived that the phenomenon under consideration can be put simply as the distaste, hostility, enmity or unfriendly disposition of migrants from other African countries, be it neighbouring or distant, as these groups of people are thought to be undermining the position of the locals who believe they are taking the entitlements in the form of employment opportunities, women and accommodation, only to mention these few as the list goes on and on.

This understanding corresponds with the views of Respondents A and B as well the position of interviewee Y and authorities like Harris (2002) and Laher (2009).

Interviewee X (Zimbabwean) believed the origins of xenophobia to have something to do with the Apartheid as asserted that xenophobia should have been influenced by the white government during Apartheid through their separation and discriminatory legislations which separated different groups of people because of their race that's white only places and blacks only areas. These groups were not allowed to mix or reside together except on specific conditionalities which were strictly monitored. This is affirmed by Interviewee Y (South African) who points out that indeed Apartheid carries some blame to the present xenophobic situation as it drew boundaries on racial lines. Unfortunately the end of the Apartheid era did not erase the divisions but rather these were merely displaced and perpetuated to this day. This is in agreement with the position of one Ryan Brown who comments that, "for decades, South Africans of every colour were taught to draw boundaries around identity... from the hospital one was born in, to the jobs he could acquire, to the cemetery where he could be buried".

Steinberg (2014) points out that, "perversely, xenophobia is a product of citizenship, the claiming of new birthright. Finally, we belong here and that means that you do not". Similarly, Nyamnjoh (2006) derives the problem of xenophobia from the Apartheid years that is, "with inspiration from the apartheid years, South Africans sometimes subject Makwerekweres to excesses of abuse, exploitation and dehumanising treatment on the basis that they have the wrong colour to invest in citizenship" (Steinberg, 2014). However, Bridger (2015) traces the problem only to as far back as 1994 that's "these attacks represent long simmering anti-migrant sentiments that have been increasing in the country" while Giliomee(2003) traces xenophobia to as far back as 1914 from stories of poor Afrikaners who looted shops owned by British nationals and that's "these may serve as startling precursors to the country's most recent attacks". It can therefore be derived from these views that the phenomenon of xenophobia may have its precursors in the Apartheid era where discrimination and segregation was demarcated between groups of people on racial basis and consequently the society did not grow out of this ideology after the fall of Apartheid, rather they perpetuated them into the twentieth century as pronounced through the inter-racial prejudice and violence.

Therefore this phenomenon of xenophobia and its related violence has effects on the relations

South Africa has with other countries but in this study, those with Zimbabwe are under consideration. Interviewee Y admitted that xenophobia has affected the relations that exist between South Africa and Zimbabwe and these are hugely negative. This tallies with Interviewee X position that indeed the bi-lateral relations are being compromised everytime the xenophobic attacks erupt in South Africa hence both governments will be under immense pressure to mitigate the crisis. The researcher deduced that both governments would be working round the clock to deal with the aftermath of the phenomenon that the South African government would be receiving pressure from the Zimbabwean counterparts to establish rule of law and take control of the situation hence forced to exploit unintended resources to deal establish shelter, medication and security for displaced migrants. Some even seek compensation for lost or destroyed property and belongings which the South African government has to address. In turn, the Zimbabwean government will be advised to deal with its shortcomings which act as push factors that exacerbate the refugee problem on the other side. Both parties find each other at lock horns as blame is thrown on either sides to deal try and mitigate the crisis of xenophobia.

From the responses gathered from questionnaires, respondent F (Zimbabwean) noted that xenophobia does cause some sort of tension between the two countries as realised in the light of Statutory Instrument 64 of 2016 in Zimbabwe which gazetted new import regulations that banning South African goods from entering into Zimbabwe. This is taken as Zimbabwean government's response to the South African xenophobia crisis. Respondent C (Zimbabwean) mentioned that in response to the new import regulations, consequently, the South African border personnel harass Zimbabwean migrants and even confiscate their goods regardless of having an intention to sell or for personal use. However Interviewee X was of the view that as much as there is tension in the bi-lateral relations, the Statutory Instrument (SI) was not a response to the xenophobic crisis but rather a step by the Zimbabwean government to revive and support its local manufacturing industry that by buying locally produced goods, consumers help keep producing companies open and the employed in them employed. Crush and Pendleton (2004) noted that, "to allow citizens of one memberstate to think and act in xenophobic ways about the citizens of another is ultimately and extremely destructive of regional cooperation and harmony" and this tallies with responses from Respondent F and C and the view of Interviewee Y.

Furthermore, xenophobia has a negative effect on the socio-cultural aspects of the bi-lateral relations as mentioned by Respondent D (Somali) that the community turns to become living hell for foreigners when the mobs are out on a rampage, all the coherence that formerly existed is thrown out the window and the people who leave close to you seize to become your neighbours as even they can not help, in fact they may be the ones to sell you out. Respondent E (Somali), affirmed this view that when everything is ok everyone around you is accommodative and friendly enough that you do not feel out of place or away from home, for you will be home right where you are but as soon as they start to burn and destroy properties as well as looting Somali shops everything takes a down turn. You can not even go out to buy groceries because you will fear for your life and that of your family and friends.

Interviewee Y confirmed this as pointed out that the locations where attacks and looting take place become chaotic and very little is done in time as authorities and law enforcement officers dispatched only get there after the did would have already been done. Morris (1998) corresponds with the above views as noted that, "our fellow Africans make our lives living hell" in the article about the lives of Nigerians and Congolese who live in the suburbs of Johannesburg. Again, Solomon and Kosaka (2013) take a similar stance as they postulate that, "the manifestation of xenophobia undermines social cohesion, peaceful co-existence and good governance as well as constituting a violation of human rights". Cele (2015) commented on how xenophobia affected the South African music industry as prominent artists had their show cancelled in other country amidst the xenophobic attacks, namely Big Nuz and Cassper Nyovest who had shows scheduled in Zimbabwe. Kelly Khumalo also had her tour cancelled in United Kingdom as Elite Promotions pulled the plug noting solidarity with the innocent victims of the South African xenophobic attacks. The researcher established therefore that xenophobia does have an impact on the bi-lateral relations and these compromise the cordial and accommodative co-existence both parties would intend to perpetuate across their boundaries.

#### **4.4 Xenophobia and Regionalism in Africa**

Interviewee X understands that the term regionalism is as the coming together of different entities to achieve some sort of unity or loyalty amongst each other, possibly within a geographically accessible proximity to each other. For Interviewee Y it basically denotes to the activity of countries or states reaching cordially binding terms that may relate to political,



economic, technological or even military premises. The Wikipedia has it that, "in international relations, regionalism is the expression of a common sense of identity and purpose combined with the creation and implementation of institutions that express a particular identity and shape collective action within a geographical region" and this is supported by Nye (1968) who defined regionalism as, "the formation of interstate associations or groupings on the basis of regions". This tallies with Merriam Webster dictionary which has it that regionalism is the, "development of a political or social system based on one or more such areas" while Scott coins that it is, "an approach to the study of behaviour that emphasises the geographical region as the unit of analysis, stressing the relation between human beings and their immediate physical environment. Economic, social and cultural organisations are analysed in terms of their interrelationships and functions within the geographical region".

For Obulapathi and Ramanjaneyulu (2016) regionalism can be established at national level that refers to, "a process in which sub-state actors become increasingly powerful, power devolves from central level to regional governments" and at international level it refers to, "transnational cooperation to meet a common goal or resolve a shared problem or it refers to a group of countries such as Western-Europe or South-east Asia, linked by geography, history or economic features". This corresponds with the position of Dimcock who defines regionalism as, "a clustering of environmental, economic, social and governmental factors to such an extent that a distinct consciousness of separate identity within the whole, a need for autonomous planning, a manifestation of cultural peculiarities and a desire for administrative freedom are recognised and actually put into effect". As such the researcher established that regionalism is when separate entities agree to come together for the benefit of deliberating on decisions that are beneficial to all the whole rather hence achieve collective development especially for the less developed entities.

The benefits of regionalism are varied in extent and the Western global perspective supports the idea that African countries are especially weak and poor hence for them to survive in the international system, they have to establish unity of purpose and achieve development. In an interview, interviewee Y appreciated the need for regional integration on the African continent as this affords memberstates security in political, economic and even technological and military lines. Such an example of already established integrative efforts is that of the Southern African

Development Community which comprises of 15 memberstates as well as the African Union where most, if not all, African countries are members.

Politically organisations like SADC and AU advocate for the concerns of their memberstates as they can not achieve much on individual basis and the idea is that there is strength in numbers through unity which tallies with Respondent G's view (Zimbabwean) that most colonised African countries attained their independence from colonial masters through liberation struggles which were backed by other neighbouring countries as is the case with Zimbabwe who sort help from Mozambique and Zambia. Interviewee X applauds the role played by pan- and African nationalists who educated and inspired mass across the continent to attain independence as this was the key to self determination.

Economically, Respondent I (Nigerian) has it that if African countries are to survive in international markets then there is need to establish cooperation in economic terms like the European Union which brought about shared development to its memberstates while Respondent H (South African) confirmed that the SADC region could achieve similar outcome but however conflicts undermine the efforts towards such a goal thats its pretty far-fetched to think about the region becoming a free trade zone in the light of opposing individual legislations like the Statutory Instrument 64 of 2016 hence more is still to be done we are ever going to get there. In support of this is Interviewee X who points out that none of the SADC memberstates have the economic muscle to push for such a move and latter alone perpetuate the Union since they are all tired up with ever-present hardships from within. Therefore the idea is still a pie in the sky, all can see but none can grasp it. However, the researcher argued that as much as the destination of regional integration is feasible and very much achievable, the journey is the one that none of the memberstates can endure and survive for they lack the required capabilities to be compatible for the impending effects that would follow.

On military terms, Respondent J (Tanzanian) and O (Zimbabwean) applauded the SADC Troika as a security body that has been established to serve the purpose of preventing and resolution of intra and interstates conflicts especially armed. Interviewee Y describes that the organ constitutes 3 states that South Africa, Tanzania and Mozambique and these have well defined operational structures that are intended to safeguard peace relations and objectives in protocol of defense and conflict resolution have been developed as a strategic inductive plan. However, Interviewee X

noted that since the organ's inception, it has been defiled by a number of disputes amongst its members as some feel that its costly and also infrastructural underdevelopment as in the case of Mozambique and xenophobia in South Africa.

Interviewee Y pointed out that the organ, like all other integrative efforts, is met with a manifold of drawbacks which negatively affect its perpetuation and these include incompatible political and economic systems of memberstates like economic strife in Zimbabwe, western dependence as is the case with Malawi whose budget (about 90%) is from external sources and western funded and slow economic growth in most memberstates. Respondent K (Zimbabwean) affirms that debt and lack of financial and technological resources make it difficult for the associations and organisations to run their operations, let alone survive. For Respondent N (South African) lack of grassroots support, poor institutional growth and multiple memberships of memberstates in integrative organisation make it merely possible to reach purposive courses of action and unity of purpose due to conflict of interest for example when South Africa attacked Namibia for the World Bank. The researcher appreciated that resentment and dislike sentiments between states resulting in factionalism pose as barriers to the survival of such organisations as is the case between Zimbabwe and Botswana as well as South Africa and Namibia.

Other challenges to the idea of regional integration as pointed out by Respondent M (South African) are that the move towards integration allows for interference of memberstates in the internal affairs of another compromises independence and sovereignty which then promotes resentment amongst memberstates while Respondent L (South African) mentioned that a memberstate's domestic policy may be negatively affected due to obligation and pressure to cope with the principles, values and protocols that come with the new arrangement and also the membership fees and contribution that come as a responsibility to every memberstate is a burden that may be costly to bear as is the case in the DRC crisis of 1998 which depleted Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe's resources that could have been utilised in other lagging sectors of the country hence the resultant rapid economic decline. As such it has been deduced that as much as regional integration is an attractive alternative towards the achievement of shared development amongst African countries, the arrangement in turn has more costs to memberstates who have been established to be poor and already weak hence more harm is done before any consolation is achieved. Therefore integration still leaves a lot to be desired and this tallies with the position on

Interviewee X that integration is far from being the solution to solving African problems as such collective security is more of a theoretical alternative than it is a practical course of action intended to bring about the much needed rejuvenation of already lagging or declined economies across the continent . At this juncture, it holds more water to point out that other alternatives should be devised if African countries are ever going to achieve development and growth in all spheres of national affairs.

#### **4.5 Regional integration as a feasible alternative to collective development**

Collective development has been defined by Respondent C (Zimbabwean) as the growth that is realised in all individuals as a whole or group as a result of deliberated and agreed common set of actions and policies be it in political, economic, socio-cultural, military or even technological and infrastructural aspects and this corresponds with the view of Respondent H (South African) who explained that the basis is anchored on the outcomes affecting all the participants as a group rather than in their singular positions. Therefore the researcher deduced that collective development involves the action of transformation or increase in the characteristics of a groups' intricacies or multi-faceted aspects or at least the growth is realised in the majority rather than minority of the association. This is as a result of simultaneous or commonly agreed activities or purposive courses of actions intended to achieve specific outcome in a particular context be it in problem solving or proactive sense. At this juncture, the question at hand was; is the idea of regionalism an outcome that can be achievable or done in practice as a means to attain shared development among members in a group, aggregate or association?

From the data gathered during the investigation, the majority of respondents affirmed that it is indeed possible hence Respondent A (South African) pointed out that there are varied cases which illustrate that the alternative does help to facilitate for the intended outcome if implemented according to particular protocols and guidelines that act as a road map towards the established goals. In political terms examples to note are the United Nations at global level, the African Union at continental level and SADC at the regional level. This tally with the position of Respondent E (Somali) that the political reason for regional integration is to afford member states to deliberate on common interests and establish policies that are beneficial for all and this is especially crucial in Africa as many schools of thought subscribe to the notion that most of these countries are not strong and influential enough therefore they should unite together for a

more pronounced stance that the phrase, "united we stand, divided we fall". It is general applauded that political integration has institutional and normative aspects that the former implies strengthening political systems, expansion in their scope and enhanced capacity in decision making and the latter refers to the creation of super institutions which share the same norms and values.

Integration helps memberstates to be powerful and comparatively influential in the world system as this is merely possible on individual basis given the existence of super powers like United States of America, Britain and France as well as non governmental organisations which are also always vying for dominance like the Brittonwoods institutions. Therefore, through integrative approaches, memberstates have a fighting chance from being run over by these big entities hence they can take a common stance in decision making processes which affords them to be active participants rather than passive recipients in arenas where courses of actions are negotiated and agreed upon that affect their self interests. For Respondent B (Zimbabwean), by integrating and moving as a combined force, African countries can insure for their political security and survival as this is the sole motive for interaction in the world system that is to survive. The researcher appreciated the formerly in Southern Africa, during the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, memberstates managed to defend their interests even against British influence when need arose. Collectively, the memberstates had political muscle and influence in decision making and they managed to secure their position and survive in the brutal international arena where all activities are motivated by self interests and maximum possible gain. As such, present African memberstates can ensure for their survival in a similar fashion that is through regional integration hence political integration intends that the impact of collective politics is large enough to influence decisions that are favourable or at least come up with decisions on problems, collectively.

In economic terms, integration may result in the elimination of barriers to the exchange of capital, goods, services and people and usually it begins with a preferential trade area which graduate to a free trade zone then a customs union with common markets and ends up with an economic union. This was the case in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and in the contemporary context such is the case in the European Union and even COMESA constituting 19 memberstates in the preferential trade area. Therefore African countries can benefit from such arrangements as

a means to pool resources and achieve collective development as economies provide life lines to ailing ones that strong to weak respectively. Interviewee Y appreciated the use of common currencies in such customs unions that memberstates establish standards enforced across borders and standards of living are optimum. During the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, all memberstates pooled their resource towards achieving collective development that Zambia provided copper, Malawi provided the labour pool and Zimbabwe was the bread basket abundant with agricultural produce.

Again, memberstates can integrate so as to protect their economic interests as was the case of the ASEAN around 1970s who deliberated on the Arab Oil embargo and came up with a common course of action which led to the 1973 World Oil crisis. Similarly, African countries can benefit from economic integration hence they can collectively establish common economic interests and move towards a more accommodative alliance basis which protects the such interests for all. However 21st century Africa worse than before is devastated with conflicts from every corner which compromises the possibility of many integrative arrangements. States at any point in time are either at lock horns with one another due to sour relations as is the case between Zimbabwe and Botswana, or they are bombarded by conflicts from within as is the case in Nigeria between muslims and christians or the case of Sudan which resultantly led to the formation of north and south Sudan.

Militarily, Respondent M (South African) noted that African countries can not defend themselves especially because they are weak and vulnerable therefore there is great need for them to unite and belong to a regional group or association so as to increase their security. The discourse behind regional integration assumes that countries with similar problems do inturn benefit from interdependence as this creates a situation of mutual understanding and consequently collective development. Contemporary international politics show that power is either expressed through soft means that in negotiations or through hard means that war but most, if not all, negotiations are threatened with the use of force to succumb to the terms of the powerful party. Interviewee X argued that if African countries do not integrate on military basis then they are rendered as weak and will always be vulnerable to the influence of more powerful states and organisations in the international arena.

Respondent G (Zimbabwean) noted how the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO)

overran Libya and toppled the Gaddafi regime while all the other states took an audience seat and watched in limbo as they could do nothing even if they so wished to render assistance to Libya. Even the United Nations Security Council, which is considered to be one of the most powerful organisations in the world, was helpless amidst the event. Inturn integration is much needed for collective security of weak African countries. In Southern Africa, the SADC Troika as the military arm in the region is meant to serve and protect its memberstates as it has the mandate to assist in conflict resolution as well as to operationalise objectives of the protocol in defense however little was done to mitigate the political crisis in Lesotho after the brutal killing of one Brigadier Manao in the year 2016. It it also failing to act on the Mozambican crisis where rebel forces rampage the country's outskirts and committing and violating countless acts against human rights.

In the socio-cultural aspect, African countries have common history, traditions and culture that extends and transcends national boundaries and this includes colonialism, pre-colonial warfare and subjugation of indigenous blacks people by the white colonial regimes. The SADC region recognised this common history through the Socio-cultural framework of integration that was meant to facilitate the people's involvement. Interviewee Y appreciated that integration through the socio-cultural sector is indeed a form and effort towards development cooperation where different societies interact and cooperate as people from different cultures are afforded the chance to communicate based on mutual understanding as well as respect the diversity and differences of they society.

Such intentions are expressed and seen through sporting competition in various disciplines for example the COSAFA Castle Cup tournament in the Southern African region and on the continental level there is the African Cup Of Nations (AFCON) where football teams represent their countries of origin. This was affirmed by Respondent D (Somali) who argued that such an integrative effort based on the socio-cultural sector is quite a success story as the competition have been in place for over decades and they facilitate for renewed communication and interaction of multitudes of cultural bases from the participant teams to the support base across the continent. This tallies with the position of Respondent K (Zimbabwean) who applauded the idea that sporting activities especially football brings people of various traditions and cultural backgrounds together from across the continent. Therefore the researcher deduced that indeed

regional integration is a feasible alternative to achieve collective development on the African continent as already established efforts towards the goal are perpetuated hence proving to be useful in moving the whole continent a step closer to the intended position.

#### **4.6 Africa's regional integration and xenophobia attacks**

##### **Political**

Respondent F (Zimbabwean) was of the view that political issues do play a major part in affecting the integration hence constituting the list of challenges to Africa's regional integration. These include incompatible and unjust internal political structures and systems as they tend to undermine public position in decision making processes that affect their livelihood. This tallies with the position of Respondent K (Zimbabwean) that African political systems tend to suffocate democratic value as their leaders are, almost always, on a quest to consolidate and maintain power for themselves. Respondent D (Somali) mentioned that Zanu PF uses various means to maintain its power especially during the 2013 elections and authorities commonly name these as "electoral shenanigans" that confident tricks used to alter electoral outcomes. Therefore such actions consequently allow the international community to question the legitimacy of the existing regimes hence compromising the relations among the governing bodies. Interviewee Y argued that Botswana is reluctant to establish any meaningful progress with the Zanu PF government in Zimbabwe because they are deemed as illegitimate power. This therefore proves to be a considerable challenge towards the achievement of regional integration in Africa.

Another challenge to Africa's regional integration is that of fear among African leaders of loss of their political power due to shift from unilateralism to multilateralism as they would then submit to the central governing body residing over the integrated group. Interviewee X noted that integration attempts in Africa over the years have failed in a number of occasions as the prominent questions raised were concerned with the terms and conditionalities that would come with submission to a central body that what would happen to the power and privileges of memberstates leaders if they were to submit to a supreme authority residing the integrated organisations. Some leaders exhibit resentment towards each other which causes them to question the feasibility of multilateralism. Respondent B (Zimbabwean) established that relations between South Africa and Namibia hang on a thread due to sour past experience that when the



former attacked the latter for the World Bank. This tallies with the view of Respondent K (Zimbabwean) that, consequently, such resentment among leaders pose as a limitation to Africa's regional integration.

Incompatible or conflicting political interests among African memberstates is another challenge to integration as proposed by Interviewee Y and this tallies with the notion brought forward by Respondent M (South African) that since interaction and interplay in the international system is guided by self interests, resultantly therefore, similar or agreeing interests are pull factors towards mutual interdependence as such the reverse is true that opposing interests act as push factors against integration. The researcher established that memberstates which are perceived to have common intentions or problems are more compliant and amenable to integrative approaches while those that perceive very little, if any, benefit from collectivism are reluctant to such arrangements.

### **Economic**

Economic factors also play a role in the interaction and interplay of memberstates henceforth these can be translated to become challenges to integration if they are not cordial. Respondent J (Tanzanian) expressed that incompatible economic systems limit the possibility of integration on the African continent and the tallies with Eyong and Foy (2006) view that market failure and unfavorable terms of trade are experienced in African countries and these are impediment to improvements. Respondent O (Zimbabwean) mentioned that African countries lose billions of dollars annually due to market failure as well as dubious trade barriers which are placed on their exports while Eyong and Foy (2006) further correspond to this argument that, "African raw materials are exported at very low prices coupled with trade barriers , but finished goods from industrialised countries are imported at exorbitant prices". Inturn memberstates bear the burnt of exploitation which negatively reduce their economic capability to ensure for regional integration.

Heavy debt burdens which perpetuate Western dependence is rampant in African countries which resultantly limit their sovereignty to resolute on integration. Most, if not all, African countries have huge pending debts especially given the fact that they are incapable of repaying and let alone keep borrowing as there is great need to fund projects at home. Respondent G (Zimbabwean) expressed that Western countries' aid comes with conditionalities which end up

gaining them some sort of influence in the recipients' domestic and foreign affairs as such African governments tend to exchange their autonomy for financial assistance which is costly in the long run. This tallies with interviewee X argument that Western countries fund African countries only to gain control over them. Therefore these aid recipients become dependent on the packages they receive hence limiting their flexibility in decision making as they are compelled to consult their funders. Such a case is that of Malawi who rely on foreign funding that about 90% of their annual budget is from foreign stakeholders and it is alleged that their recent legislation on gay rights was from foreign influence. In the end, such situations result in African countries' loss of flexibility in decision making processes that affect them and sovereignty and self determination is undermined which consequently limit the possibility of successful regional integration.

More so, possibility of uneven distribution of integration benefits also render African countries reluctant to move towards integration that challenging the intention of regional integration itself. In theory, regional integration is believed to be a feasible means to achieve collective development but Respondent M (South African) argued that in practice the benefits will not always be fairly and evenly distributed as is the case during the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland where all the active members pooled their resources towards common intentions but in practice, Southern Rhodesia (present day Zimbabwe) benefited more on the claim of the housing of the organisation's headquarters and this led to the subsequent dissolution of the arrangement. The researcher inferred that the ever present possibility of the tendency to unfairly distributing the integration cake will act as a repellent to memberstates' intention on moving towards an integrative approach in their quest to economic break through.

### **Socio-cultural**

Most African countries, at any point in time, always have to deal with internal conflicts which are prevalent as a result of various reasons. For Respondent B (Zimbabwean), conflicts in Africa are increasingly becoming quite and internal phenomenon rather than an interstate crisis and these come in the form of civil wars and ethnic strife. Formerly, states found themselves at lock horns with each other but the last decade has shown an alarming increase in internal eruptions due to a number of issues be it resource allocation, illegitimate governing body or ethnicity, just to mention these few. Interviewee X pointed out the Sudan crisis which led to the formation of

north and south Sudan and is based on resource allocation while Respondent N (South African) isolated the Nigerian crisis between Muslims and Christians hence leading to quite a number of occasions where the former groups have attacked the latter groups in a bid to vie for social dominance.

The South African xenophobia crisis also adds on the list as local groups are violently protesting against foreign groups. Over the past two decades, the eruptions have prompted for attention from various interest groups as memberstates seek to protect their affected peoples like what happened when the Somali President demanded prompt action from the South African government after the brutal killing of a Somali national in Johannesburg. This has been argued by Interviewee X to be as a result of lack of grassroots support as local groups are failing to accommodate foreign migrants due to long simmering anti-migrants sentiments. This tallies with Respondent I's argument that this is clear exhibition of eroded traditional knowledge system as the attacks are being focused on other African who actually share a history with them.

#### **4.7 Summary**

Chapter 4 was concerned with the presentation of data as well as analysis so as to come up with well distinguished themes. As the study was focused on the issue of xenophobia and Africa's regional integration, this chapter in turn addressed the research objectives that were established in the first chapter as well as answering the questions of this specific piece of work. The questionnaires dispensed, interviews carried out and relevantly related literature which the researcher came across constitute the findings which have been reviewed and then presented. The views, opinions and arguments brought forwards by various respondents facilitated the shaping of the research and afforded the researcher to reach objective and representative as well as well informed conclusions. The response rate has also been dwelt upon by the researcher in a bid to establish the research's representability.

## **CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **5.1 Introduction**

In this fifth and final chapter, the summary of the findings that have been presented and analysed in the before chapter will be dwelt upon by the researcher and the conclusions relating to all the issues and content of this piece of work will be established that xenophobia and its related violence eruptions in South Africa and the idea of Africa's regional integration. The nexus of the two will also be presented that how the former affects the latter and the reverse is also true. Conclusions are in terms of positions reached after the research lasts hence these have been shaped by the findings gathered from respondents, interviewees as well as all the other literature that the researcher came across and consulted in a bid to shape this research work itself. This chapter also allows for the researcher to bring about the recommendations that may be useful for future use be it to authorities or students who would wish to follow in the same field of research as well as policy makers and other relevant organisations towards a more favourable and intended outcome with regards to the phenomena that was under consideration.

### **5.2 SUMMARY**

The initial chapter was concerned with the background of the study which discussed issues to do with xenophobia as a phenomenon, how it came to be in the South African context and what it entails that its definitions, causes and effects. The statement of the problem established the nature of xenophobia as a cause of concern which requires address from various levels of authorities and interest groups hence justifying the need of the research work itself. Research objectives and questions provide the specific areas the research work will seek to address and achieve. Justification of the problem is about the reasons that the researcher had for carrying out the research work that was at hand. Under limitations, the researcher pointed out the expected challenges to be faced during the research work and how these were going to be overcome whilst delimitations established the premises concerned with the study, issues that were pertinent that guiding the extent of the work itself. By providing the organisation of the research, there is clarification of the contents of the chapters that were to follow that where to find what information for easy navigation for the reader.

In chapter 2, the researcher acknowledged all the relevant authorities who dwelt on the issues at

hand. This covers work that has already been published concerning the overview of xenophobia and Africa's regional integration, the causes of the attacks in South Africa and their effects that outlining the consequences or ripple effect of the xenophobic attacks at various levels be it in political, economic or socio-cultural aspects. The theoretical framework has the relevant theories propounded by authorities towards the present research work. In chapter 3, the methodology which entails the systematic manner in which one may solve the research problem at hand (Kothari, 2004). It was also concerned with the research design, study population, sample size and its selection, methods of data collection that the in-depth interviews, documentary review and testimonials, data analysis and the ethical considerations to be upheld by the researcher.

Chapter 4 dwelt on the presentation and analysis of the research findings as follows: xenophobia is a phenomenon prevalent in various countries around the globe to include Germany and Australia and in the African context, South Africa and Zambia is where the crisis is present. Nevertheless this specific research work was only considering the South African situation and authorities who have written about this crisis have done extensive work in defining the term that a vast array of definitions are present. All in all, xenophobia can be deduced to be the hatred or prejudice, resentment, contempt or even fear of that which is unknown or in this case, foreigners. These groups of migrants are perceived to be a threat to the entitlements of locals which is inclusive of benefits relating to employment, housing and accommodation as well as all other political, economic and socio-cultural opportunities.

This resentment has been noted by other to have had a long simmering history as it did not just happen over night but actually transcended for decades until eventually the situation become eruptive in the South African context. Authorities trace this to as far back as 1914 with the stories of poor Afrikaners looting shops owned by British minority groups hence these are the precursors of the anti-migrant sentiments. However some established that the crisis may have been born around 1994 after the fall of the Apartheid white regime and locals resorted to blaming foreigners for all the failed democratic promises of unemployment and scarce resources but however others, blaming foreigners as embodying poverty, unemployment and deprivation is merely a scapegoating process instead of questioning the government and the whites.

The phenomenon in the South African context is as a result of a multifarious of causal factors which precipitated its occurrence and these have been noted by scholars to include the failure by

the government to maintain rule of law that authorities have dismally failed to bring under control the high prevalence of violent crimes and this has contributed to the environment of people who could resort to violence, vandalism and looting as a remedy to express their dissatisfaction in the government's failures in various levels of livelihood. The South African Police Service (SAPS) is noted to be either too corrupt or ineffective and inefficient to respond to the task of dealing with rampant crimes that are drowning most of the country's metropolitans.

Corruption has also been attributed to the causes of xenophobia that it is prevalent in the country's various levels of government with examples of Oilgate, Travelgate and Armsgate. Some blame the government's inaction in situations where fraudulent practices are exposed by the media and other agencies as is the case of Tony Yengeni who got off with just a slap on the wrist. These cases illustrate how perpetrators are carried to prison like conquering heroes yet they are embezzling tax payers' money. As such this loss of confidence in the government has led the grassroots populations to take the law into their own hands in a bid to air out their dissatisfaction and resentment in the government which consequently resulted in the multiple violent attacks towards foreigners in the last decade.

Slowing economic growth and incompetent foreign policies has also amounted to the xenophobic attacks as noted by authorities. It has been established that the new millennium has seen a profound rise in interference in various sectors like mining due to empowerment policies, affirmative action as well as bureaucracy therefore impeding the growth which was supposed to be seen in these sectors. In turn, inflation has been causing the rise in food prices and other commodities like fuel and these have a direct impact on poor households who eventually resort to taking to the streets as a means to express their strife. Therefore, economic decay and uneven development consequently causes xenophobia and xenophobic related tendencies. Foreign policy blunders have been attributed to the case of Thabo Mbeki's quiet diplomacy which provided a lifeline to the ailing Zanu Pf government. By so doing, the Zimbabwean situation posed a great deal of push factors which caused a considerable percentage of able-bodied population to migrate to South Africa and other foreign destinations in search of greener pastures. This precipitated the refugee problem in the country hence now paying heavily due to resultant implications which are inclusive of xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals.

Unemployment also led to the crisis as this has become rampant among South Africans,

especially blacks, who fail to secure proper employment and statistics show that this is about 40% of the native population. Policy responses therefore are only proving to little to late such as the Expanded Public Works Programme as levels of unemployment are ever-increasing due to economic strife across the country.

Poor service delivery in the country has been a problem over the past few years. Scholars noted that the government's reliance on corrupt and incompetent authorities and departments to implement its policies which consequently failed and therefore led to riots by civilians as they are suffering the burnt of dilapidated amenities, overcrowded schools and understaffed policing stations and medical institutions. Service delivery related protests have rose in the last decade as estimates illustrate that about 2 million people have resorted to taking to the streets as a means to express the grievances in the government failures. Border control measures by the government have allowed millions of migrants to gain entry into South Africa and these have impacted negatively on the already stressed resource base hence causing xenophobic tendencies among dissatisfied native populations.

More so, poor education dispensation mechanisms have also contributed to a xenophobic outcome. It has been established that education system output is far from sufficient to free households from state dependence as it is noted that about 1% of black students who reach Matric achieve a good HG maths pass mark. As a result, they fail to secure proper employment and therefore depend on government assistance which, consequently, does not suffice to establish a decent standard of living.

Race relations which have been compromised along the way culminated in xenophobia in South Africa. It has been argued that Thabo Mbeki's government over-emphasised white on black racial prejudice which left black on black discrimination inadequately addressed. Adversely, the race based policies and legislation reversed much of Mandela's accomplished progress which resultantly saw an alarming increase in xenophobic sentiments towards foreign people, especially black.

However, the researcher also dwelt on how the before discussed phenomenon of xenophobia has impacted on the bi-lateral relations between South Africa and Zimbabwe and it was established that indeed they have been compromised to some part with the prevalent crisis since it can be

appreciated that, politically, both the countries are at lock horns hence blaming each other for the crisis. The former blames the Zimbabwean government for its domestic blunders of economic decline and strife which have in turn become push factors to a considerable number of able-bodied population to out-migrate in search of greener pastures that leading to the resultant resentment and anti-migrant sentiments towards foreign nationals as they are perceived to be worsening the competition on the resources and opportunities which are already in short supply. The high influx of migrants into South Africa has also culminated in the refugee problem which exerts more pressure on the South African government to source resources from other needy areas so as to mitigate the problem.

On the other hand, the latter places blame on the South African government for its weak enforcement of rule of law which has consequently failed to prevent the agitated society from expressing violent sentiments towards foreigners based within. It has also been noted that the South African government fails to address black on black resentment hence precipitating the xenophobic outcome and worse off, very little is done to arrest the situation as these have erupted a couple of times in the last decade or so. Xenophobia has also subjected foreigners to numeral abuses of their human rights as these groups of people are brutally assaulted in many occasions and very little, if anything, is done to solve such issues that the Zimbabwean government loses trust in the South African government to provide for security for its nationals within its borders.

Nevertheless, both the countries have collectively come up with means to minimise the extent of the effects of xenophobia by pooling resources and expertise towards the solving of the crisis. It can also be applauded that the South African government has initiated anti-xenophobia campaigns across the countries to educate the native population on the benefits that come with accommodating foreigners that it promotes coherent intercultural relations and so on. The campaigns also express the shortfalls that come with anti-migrant sentiments that South African companies on foreign lands are threatened with the occurrence and also of importance to note is how the local industries are affected for example the entertainment industry when a number of local entertainers had their international arrangements cancelled or postponed due to protests against xenophobia in other countries as was the case of musicians with the likes of Bug Nuz, Cassper Nyovest and Kelly Khumalo who had their shows and tours cancelled in other countries



on the claims of solidarity with innocent xenophobia victims.

The nexus between xenophobia and the idea of regionalism was also discussed and it was established that the crisis do indeed call for collective action if it is to be done away with. African countries should pool resources towards the campaigns and fight against xenophobia in South Africa. The basis of establishing a united front is that when united, African countries can overcome their problems together since Western global perspective has it that these are generally weak and poor hence they are in dire need of combined efforts towards problem solving. It can also be appreciated that this intention is already in motion as there are various collective groups on the African continent meant to achieve collective action and such include the African Union, Southern African Development Community, East African Community and the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa, just to mention these few. These form a united front in terms of political, economic, socio-cultural and military platforms to facilitate for collective development across the continent hence supporting the notion of regionalism as a feasible alternative towards collective development.

However, it is not without difficult as this movement is met with challenges in various aspects. Politically, the effort is compromised with incompatible and unjust systems as well as incompatible self interests that guide every country's interactions in the international arena. Economically, incompatible economic systems and heavy debt burden which has perpetuated western dependence due to continuous borrowing and reliance on foreign funding also proves to be an obstacle to regionalism. Socio-cultural aspects are with regards to prevalent internal conflicts, civil wars, ethnic strife and poverty across the continent further exacerbated by pandemic diseases and other societal problems which exhaust the already exploited few resources. All these criteria render regional integration to be quite a difficult task to overcome on the African continent.

### **5.3 CONCLUSIONS**

The researcher concluded that indeed xenophobia and the related violence that comes with it is a societal problem that still haunts the African community. This crisis is as a result of anti-migrant sentiments expressed by native black South Africans who perceive foreigners to be threats to their entitlements which include opportunities in political, economic and socio-cultural platforms

and therefore they should be displaced so as to secure their social status, identity and individual rights.

It was also concluded that xenophobia is a prevalent phenomenon which is threatening the coherent relations between Africans especially those in the SADC region. It is undermining the intended social cohesion and peaceful co-existence through violations of human rights that consequently impeding good governance. Therefore, there is great need to do away with this societal problem if cordial relations are to be perpetuated as worst case scenario will be the ultimate and extreme devastation of regional harmony and cooperation.

Furthermore, another conclusion reached was that Africa's regional integration denotes the move from unilateralism by memberstates to a multilateralism basis where deliberations are made over needy issues and collective actions are established towards shared development. Memberstates pool resources and expertise with the intentions of spreading favourable outcomes across the continent. The perspective is based on the ideas that African countries are politically and economically therefore there is need for them to form united fronts if they are to ensure for their survival in the brutal international arena that's 'united we stand, divided we fall'.

Again, it was concluded that regional integration is a feasible alternative towards the achievement of collective development on the African continent. Since memberstates are individually weak and vulnerable, they have a fighting chance only if they attain unity of purpose amongst each other and move as a single entity towards common intentions. This is validated by several notable successes achieved by collective arrangements across the continent with the likes of the African Union, East African Community, Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa as well as Southern African Development Community, to mention just these few. These organisations have and are still managing to achieve successes in political, economic and socio-cultural as well as military platforms. Memberstates are receiving development funds to set in motion various development projects and needy communities are receiving food and medical aid to ease the burden of poverty, civil wars, ethnic strife and pandemic diseases that constantly devastate African societies.

The researcher also concluded that regional integration efforts are constantly being met with heavy challenges hence limiting and undermining the successes of the arrangements. Politically,

incompatible and unjust systems as well as poor institutional growth are proving to be difficult problems to do away with in most memberstates as there is lack of unity of purpose due to perpetuated dependence on Western and other external forces. Economically, market failure, heavy debts burden, unfavorable trade terms and slow economic growth encompass incompatible economic systems which undermine regional integration efforts. Militarily, inadequate resources to sustain arms and policing bodies and multiple memberships result in conflicting interests. Socio-cultural problems include rampant civil wars, pandemic diseases, ethnic strife and high mortality present more difficulties which hinder efforts towards regional integration that intends to foster collective development. Therefore more is still to be done if this favourable and beneficial intention is to be achieved across the continent.

#### **5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS**

The researcher recommended that there should be increased emphasis on the importance and benefits of integrative or multilateralism rather than disintegrative approaches to problem solving. Since African countries are individually weak, they should pool their scarce resources towards common purposive actions for far-reaching outcomes hence collectively, they ensure for shared survival.

It was also recommended that African memberstates should strive to make their individual economies more competitive hence creating more jobs for their labour pools. Since the problem of xenophobia in South Africa is precipitated by competition with foreigners over opportunities, other countries can make efforts to revive their economies which will in turn reduce the push factors that exacerbate the issue of outmigration to neighbouring countries henceforth arresting refugee problems on seemingly competitive African economies.

More so, as a 'rainbow nation', South Africa should emphasise to its native xenophobic societies on the vast array of benefits that come with manpower availability and diversity hence reflect on the different ethnic groups' utility to nation building and goals realisation that efforts like the Expanded Public Works Programme may be more effective and successful in the future as an employment creation mechanism. This may in turn reduce household dependence on government grants and loans which is increasing pressure on the resources which are increasingly in short supply.

There is also great need for the South African government to address and restructure the education system to accommodate issues related to Pan and African nationalism which awakens the native populations' perspectives on African solidarity. This also conscientise on the role played by other African memberstates in the fight against Apartheid hence black on black prejudice can be adequately addressed so as to do away with xenophobic sentiments against black migrants as this is rather an outcome from discriminatory policy implemented during Apartheid South Africa.

It was recommended that other African countries should take a position as active participants in the anti-xenophobia campaigns within national, regional, continental as well as international premises to arrest the xenophobic sentiments before they are born in local communities. It is less useful to be passive recipients who would only look up to the South African government to individually deal with the problem as it is as a result of blunders in other states like economic decline that's becoming push factors to migrants out in search of greener pastures. Therefore if collective response to problem solving is to be established, there should not be conditionalities but rather all states mutually moving as a united front towards common goals.

## **5.5 SUMMARY**

This chapter was concerned with the summary of the research work in its entirety. This constitutes the contents in the before chapters and what they discussed that chapter 1 has the background of the research work, chapter 2 has the related and relevant literatures that the researcher came across, chapter 3 being about the researcher methodologies and chapter 4 presented and analysed the research findings that the data amassed for the benefit of the research as a whole which are the responses, opinions and views of respondents contacted during the investigation.

## **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

- Benjamin, C. (2011). Dismay over service delivery growing, survey shows. Business Day. 13 May. Accessed on 21-03-17
- Bridge, E. (2015). Xenophobia in South Africa: "Historical Legacies of Exclusion and Violence". CIGH Exeter. Accessed on 14-10-2016
- Bond, P. Ngwane, T. and Amisi, B. (2010). Xenophobia and Civil Society: "Why did it happen"? Centre for Civil Society. University of Kwa-Zulu Natal. Accessed on 06-10-2016
- Bond, P. Amisi, B. Cele, N. and Ngwane, T. (2011). Xenophobia and Civil Society. Politikon 38, 1: 59-83
- Cele, S. (2015). Xenophobia: Curtain comes down on local musicians' global stage. City Press. 16 April. Accessed on 21-03-17
- Choane, M. *et al.* (2011). An Analysis of the Causes, Effects and Ramifications of Xenophobia in South Africa. Insight on Africa 3(2): 129-142. Accessed on 23-03-2017
- Cronje, F. (2008). Xenophobia; Nine causes of the current crisis. SAIRR. 20 May. Accessed on 14-10-16
- Crush, J. and Pendleton, W. (2004). Regionalising Xenophobia? "Citizen attitudes to immigration and refugee policy in Southern Africa. Canada: SAMP
- Davids, N. (2012). Service delivery protests getting uglier - report. The Time, 11 October. Accessed on 23-03-17
- Duignan, P. (2008). Methods and Analysis Techniques for Information Collection. <http://knol.google.com/k/paul-duignan-phd>. Accessed on 14-10-2016
- Essa, A. (2013). Somalia demands action over brutal killing. Al JAZEERA. 3 June. Accessed on 23-03-17
- Ethier, W. J. (1998). The International Commercial System. Essays in International Commercial System. Princeton University 210; 1-32. Accessed on 07-04-17

Eyong, C. T. and Foy, I. I. (2006). Towards Alternative Strategies for Sustainable Development in Africa. *International Journal for Sustainable Development Plan*. Vol 1(2); 133-156. Accessed on 08-04-17

Giliomee, H. (2003). *The Afrikaners: "Biography of a people"*. University of Virginia Press, Charlottesville

Haas, E. B. (1970). "The Study of Regional Integration". *International Organisation*. Cambridge University Press 24(4); 607-646. Accessed on 07-04-17

Handmaker, P. and Parsley, J. (2001). Migration, Refugees and Racism in South Africa. *Canada's Journal on Refugees*, vol 20(1). Accessed on 14-10-17

Harris, B. (2001). *A Foreign Experience: " Violence, crimes and xenophobia during South Africa's transition*. CSV. Accessed on 14-10-2016

Harris, B. (2002). Xenophobia: "A new pathology for a new South Africa?" In D, Hook and G, Eagle (eds). *Psychopathology and Social Prejudice*. UCT Press. Cape Town.

Hultzman, R.

Jara, M. and Peberdy, S. (2010). *Taking Control: Civil Society Responses to the Violence of May 2008*. Research for Atlantic Philanthropies. Accessed on 14-10-16

Judd, C. and McClelland, G. (1989). *Data Analysis*. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. Accessed 14-10-2016

Kaysen, C. (1996). Are Nations Natural Economic Units? In Bekker and Carlton (eds). *Racism, Xenophobia and Ethnic Conflict*. Indicator Press. Durban

Kitchin, F. (2013). Cities need to plan with the poor, not for the poor. *SACISIS*, 6 February. Accessed on 21-03-17

Kothari, C, R. (2004). *Research Methodology: "Methods and Techniques"*. New Age International Publishers. New Delhi

Laher, H. (2009). *Explaining xenophobia violence*. UNISA. Accessed on 14-10-2016

Lange, de. D. (2011). Ficksburg killing sparks riot. Pretoria News. 15 April. Accessed on 21-03-17

Dimcock, M. E.

Mjondolo, A. (2007). March on the Sydenham Police Station: Press Release And Memorandum. 21-03-17

Mogekwu, M. (2005). African Union: Xenophobia as a poor intercultural information. *Ecquid Novi* 26(1):5-20. Accessed on 14-10-2016

Morris, A. (1998). Our Fellow Africans Make Our Lives Hell: "The lives of Congolese and Nigerians living in Johannesburg". *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21:6, H25. Accessed on 14-10-2016

Ndebele, N. S. (2012). Liberation betrayed by bloodshed. City Press. 26 August. Accessed on 21-03-2017

Nell, I. A. (2009). The tears of xenophobia: preaching and violence from a South African perspective, *Practical Theology in South Africa* 24(2): 229-247. Accessed on 23-03-17

Neocosmos, M. (2006). From 'Foreign Native' to 'Native Foreigners'. Dakar. CODESRIA. Accessed on 06-10-2016

Nicholls, D. (2009). Qualitative Research: Methodologies. *International Journal of Therapy and Rehabilitation*, vol 16;11. Accessed on 06-10-2016

Nyamnjoh, F. B. (2006). *Insiders and Outsiders. Citizenship and Xenophobia in Contemporary Southern Africa*. Zed Books Ltd. London

Nye, J. (1968). *International Regionalism: Readings*. Little, Brown and Company. Boston

Obulapathi, M. and Ramanjaneyulu, C. (2016). Regionalism in India: Its different dimensions, meanings and suggestive measures. *International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research and Development* 3(8); 116-120. Accessed on 07-04-17

Patel, K. (2013). Zamdela: A failure of the public consultation process. *The Daily Maverick*. 31

January. Accessed on 21-03-17

Peberdy, S. (2008). *Selecting immigrants: National identity and South Africa's immigration policies, 1910-2008*. Johannesburg, South Africa. Wits University Press

Pillay, D. (2015). Xenophobia impacts country's economy. *Herald Live*. 22 April. Accessed on 21-03-17

Pillay, U. (2011). Delivery protests National problem requires local, tailor-made solutions. *Business Day*, 1 April. Accessed on 21-03-17

Presence, C. (2015). Radebe warns on effects of xenophobia. *Business Report*. 17 April. Accessed on 23-03-17

Preusse, H. G. (2004). "Developmental Regionalism". *The New American Regionalism*. Edward Elgar Publishing

Regionalism. (n.d). Retrieved April 7, 2017, from <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/regionalism>

Scott, W. P.

Selltiz, C. Marie, J. Morton, D and Cook, S. W. (1959). *Research Methods in Social Relations*, rev.ed. Holt, Rinehart and Winston inc, New York

Steinberg, J. (2014). *A Man Of Good Hope*. Jonathan Ball: Johannesburg

Solomon, H. and Kosaka, H. (2013). Xenophobia in South Africa: "Reflections, Narratives and Recommendations". *Southern African Peace and Security Studies* 2(2). Accessed on 06-10-2016

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

Waal, de. M. (2012). Western Cape's grapes of wrath. *The Daily Maverick*. 8 November. Accessed on 21-03-17

Webster, M. (1985). *Webster's Ninth Collegiate dictionary*. Accessed on 14-10-2016

Wet, de. P. (2011). Tembisa protests and the shadow of things to come. *The Daily Maverick*. 21



September. Accessed on 21-03-17

## APPENDIX

### QUESTIONNAIRE/INTERVIEW GUIDE

#### **INTERVIEW GUIDE TO THE PERSONNEL IN THE RELEVANT MINISTRIES ON THE TOPIC OF XENOPHOBIC ATTACKS AND AFRICA'S REGIONAL INTEGRATION: CASE OF SOUTH AFRICA'S XENOPHOBIC ATTACKS FROM YEAR 2000 - 2015.**

In this section emphasis is placed on the views and comments of the various personnel in the relevant visited ministries on xenophobic attacks and Africa's regional integration with the case of South Africa's xenophobic attacks from the year 2000 - 2015. Thank you for the time and opportunity and your opinion will be used for academic purposes hence will be strictly confidential and private thus anonymity is guaranteed. The study appreciates your input.

Kindly introduce yourself for the record.

1. Xenophobia as a phenomenon widely known globally regardless of it being a frequent and more pronounced occurrence in African countries like Zambia and South Africa, what is your understanding with regards to the terms xenophobia and xenophobic attacks?
2. Xenophobic attacks as quiet a new phenomenon on the African context is not adequately understood. What are the causes of the phenomenon in question from what has been gathered by the ministry?
3. African countries are making moves towards integration as a means to achieve development in all countries on the continent. In your own opinion, does the South African xenophobic attacks pose as a drawback to such efforts in the region?
4. For enlightenment, in your experience what are the effects of the attacks on efforts towards Africa's regional integration?
5. In a considerable number of occasions African countries collectively make efforts to help and mitigate the specific prevalent crisis through resources and expertise. Therefore what are the notable efforts that have been made by other African countries to help do away with the problem of xenophobic attacks in the South African situation to foster for the success of regional integration?

6. To what extent are these purposive courses of action successful in doing away with the prevalent problem in the South African context?
7. Regionalism has helped to attain collective development across the world as is the case of the European Union (E.U) as well as the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and others not mentioned. To what extent is African regional integration a feasible and attainable outcome as a means to regional development?
8. In the light of all the relevant inter-governmental ministries and civil societies conceived to deal with xenophobia and its related consequences, to what extent are these movements prosperous towards their objectives?
9. In your experience, what are the limitations being faced by the various focus groups in their bid to mitigate and solve the problem of xenophobia?
10. In your opinion, what more can be done to solve xenophobic attacks in South Africa so as to promote and perpetuate Africa's regional integration?