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CULTURE OF VIOLENCE, A CONSEQUENCE OF LEADERSHIP CRISIS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. THE CASE OF XENOPHOBIC ACTIVITIES IN SOUTH AFRICA.

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DEDICATIONS

To my God, the all mighty, nothing of this sought could ever be possible without you. My love and Appreciation goes to Doctor M. and Mrs. T. Cotton for making my final year possible May the almighty continue to bless you. To Ntombiyothabo Ndlovu and the rest of my friends thank you a lot for the love and support. Finally, my sincere gratitude to my family for letting me reach this far.

To my late mother, this is the first one for the family.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ADBG- African Development Bank Group

ANC- African National Congress

APRM- African Peer Review Mechanism

DRC- Democratic Republic of Congo

FRELIMO- Front for Liberation of Mozambique

HRW- Human Right Watch

MPLA-People's Movement for Liberation of Angola

NATO- North Atlantic treaty organization

RAU- Research and Advocacy Unit

SADCC- Southern African Coordination Conference

SADC- Southern African Development Community

SAPS- South African Police Services

USA-United States of America

UN- United Nations

UNHCR- United Nations High Commission for Refugees

UNESCA- United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia

ABSTRACT

Violence in Southern Africa has become a culture where the end result of most conflicts affecting the region lead either to great suffering or destruction of infrastructure, ecosystems and human life. Southern Africa like the rest of the continent is facing a number of problems such as poor declining economy, political instability, poverty, gender based violence, ethnic and racial rivalry among other issues of concern. The existence of regional organizations like the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and African Union (AU) whose mandate is to integrate and develop the socio-economic and political space of the region has done little if not nothing other than being mere high profile talk shows. The post-independence reality is that violence among Africans in SADC is still rampant as it was during colonization given the xenophobic activities in Zambia and South Africa, with the latter dominating the stage. These xenophobic tendencies are said to be based prejudice and hatred towards selected black foreign nationals which as native groups accuse them of being persistent threats to their rightful entitlements like employment security and economic opportunities among other benefits. Also, given the denial state and misleading sentiments by some South African government personnel. Thus the purpose of this research was to establish poor political leadership as a reason to culture of violence in this context, poor governance by African states has led to xenophobic activities in South Africa. The research work also looked activities that point ills of leadership in different nations. Different schools of thought agree on the notion that Africa is facing challenges of governance which has direct impact to problems affecting the region. Data gathered allowed this work to arrive to conclusions and recommend possible solutions that can be employed to mitigate leadership and governance problems that will ensure successful and development of the SADC region and Africa as a whole.

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CHAPTER 1

PROPOSAL

[1.0] Introduction

The aim of this research is to show how Southern Africa suffers from leadership crisis. Using South Africa's Xenophobic activities as a case study the research shall establish a nexus between leadership and violence and how leadership as an independent variable affects violence. The African continent is languishing in poverty, diseases and violent conflicts. Southern African Development Community (SADC) in particular, is no stranger to all these problems. Racism, ethnicism, violence against women and children, political violence and hatred of migrants still shape the opinions of most people of the south. The recurrence of such conflicts most which have often turned to direct violence costing human life and causing displacement like Xenophobic activities in South Africa. Questions such as, is southern Africa bearing a culture of violence? And if so what is the cause or who is to be blamed as far as these problems are concerned? cannot be ignored. This research hypothesizes that the foundation of all African problems are less economic, religious, social than political. Political leadership of the SADC region is the problem. Since colonial times up to this day, Africa seems to be in a shortage of proper leadership.

Southern Africa is the Southernmost region of the African continent. It is defined by Geography and geopolitics. This research shall focus on Southern Africa as defined by geopolitics where nation states fall under the SADC community by regional influence. Currently SADC has a membership of 15 countries. The researcher shall use a number of cases from within some of these countries in order to make the argument and strengthen the case of xenophobic activities in South Africa.

[1.2] Background of the study

The Southern African Development Community (SADC) is an inter-governmental organization with a goal to further socio-economic cooperation and integration as well as political and security cooperation among 15 Southern African states of Angola, Botswana, Democratic Republic of Congo, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius Mozambique, Namibia,

Seychelles, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia Zimbabwe and Madagascar (currently suspended after the coup) and is headquartered in Gaborone, Botswana. It complements the role of the African Union. The Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, SADCC, the forerunner of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) was established in April 1980 by governments of the nine Southern African countries. The formation of SADC was the culmination of a long process of consultations by the leaders of Southern Africa with the broader objective of pursuing economic and social development in the region namely, Energy, Tourism, Environment and Land Management, Water, Mining, Employment and Labor, Culture, Information, Sports, Transport and Communications and to implement programs and projects at the national and regional level and to secure international understanding and support.

The Southern African Development Community region has experienced different forms of violence, and amongst the most notorious of these is Xenophobia in South Africa that has had over 5 extremely violent episodes. Leadership's direct and indirect effects in violent conflicts such as Xenophobia can be traced back to pre-independence times in Southern Africa. Hatred of foreigners and blaming them for a number of problems is not a discovery of the new millennia. This is not the problem to be blamed to South Africa alone but to the whole leadership of the SADC region. The Region in the post-Colonial Era is facing what can best be termed *leadership crisis*. This leadership crisis can be understood in what this research terms as the Colonial fundamental leadership error and the post-colonial leadership crisis.

[1.2.1] The colonial fundamental leadership error

For about a century, the whole Southern Development Community (SADC) was occupied by United Kingdom, Germany, Portugal, France and Belgium. Colonial governance was run and imposed by white Europeans upon Africans. Khan (2016) asserts that colonizers took much political and social power of traditional African rulers and failed to establish indefinite replacements for these authorities. This statement is supported by Martin et-al (1998) who notes that colonialism ultimately subjected Africans to a lot of western political and social cultures. They ruined pre-existing African kingdoms, divided up or combined too many ethnic groups and clans. During this time, segregation, discrimination, torture, killing and all kinds of dehumanizing behaviors was the order of ruling Africans that colonialists used. Africans were subjected to to direct imperial rule from whites, they did not participate in

politics of administration and were never groomed to be local administrators of this foreign kind of rule up to when time for self-governance arrived.

For starters, it makes sense to note that the white colonialists failed Africa in terms of power transitions and preparing Africans to take over their exotic governance style as they were not and still remaining not ready to let go, non among black Africans was educated on democratic leadership, freedoms and liberties that the West echoes and International organizations demand today. If democracy is the correct tool of governance then, it is correct to say freedom came at a time when Africa had few or no leaders at all. This is better explained by the unfolding events of the post-colonial era where ethnicism, reverse racism, political violence and xenophobia have plunged the Southern part of the continent. Also the the colonial masters can fairly be blamed for sowing the 'divide and rule' policy who's flowers blossomed in Southern Africa soon after independence and have been hard to kill. Latasinha (2012) postulates that, this policy by colonial masters taught present day politicians how to use these systems to pacify the masses and prolong their hold on political authority longer if possible for ever as evident by how the Zimbabwean former president, Robert Mugabe managed to stay in power for almost 37 years using the very same tools. Racism and violence towards foreigners started during the apartheid government in South Africa and have prominently dominated the post-colonial Era in many occasions, Johnson (2016). Poverty, poor health systems, poor education systems and high levels of social inequality started existing during colonialism. Thus the Colonial leaders did more than just abuse their power over blacks, they further sown seeds who's off springs sprouted when they were gone and their contribution to the foundation of leadership crisis that Africa faces cannot be ignored.

[1.2.2] The Post-Colonial Leadership Crisis

Even if colonial economy invisibly continues, leadership concerns rock top priority in Africa, not all can be blamed on former Southern African colonial masters. African leadership has succeeded in nothing but romanticize than act upon African dependency. Odinga (2018) argues that African leaders have been misleading their subjects by over playing the blame game, fluently explaining away every leadership failure by pointing the the evils of the colonial legacy especially the western imperialistic hegemony. In as much as that is neither advisable nor helpful to ignore external factors leading to the problems facing the continent

today, it is rather a pity to ignore internal factors that have derailed development in post-independence Africa leading to hunger and starvation, continued ethnic and tribal hung ups, high unemployment rates, poor health systems, corruption and all forms of violence just to name a few.

Nkwame Nkrumah's vision of Africa was grandiose but the sad reality is that of poor leadership. The problems are not really of an economic demise, lack of opportunities or resources rather, Odinga (2018) echoes that it is due to the continent's affliction to dishonest leadership without demeaning the efforts of a few exceptional leaders. According to the Gazette (2018), corruption in Zimbabwe has become so endemic such that it is viewed as a normal way of life. The Global Barometer (2013), accounts that over 60% of Zimbabweans who accessed public services paid bribes to access the services. On the other hand, the country has been ravaged by political violence. In 2008 torture, rape, verbal and physical violence became the order of the day being perpetrated by former war veterans, soldiers and the police. RAU (2011). Thus corruption and political violence is failure by the government to be honest and save as public servants rather than making the people their servants. These have given birth to more problems that have seen most people leaving the country with most going to neighboring South Africa in search for better surviving conditions.

[1.2.3] Xenophobic tendencies in South Africa

Hate and fear of foreigners leading to violent confrontations as they are blamed for being a genesis of problems facing the citizens, has for the past two decades, become a culture of many South Africans. Regardless of the support given by the international community to fight Apartheid in south Africa. The fact that this exclusion and discrimination impacts on South African citizens also, simply because 'foreign' status is declared on the basis of the crudest of racist stereotypes, suggests that the issue is not only one applicable to 'foreigners' as defined by legal discourse (*Mail and Guardian*, 3-9 March 2000). Foreigners have often been termed illegal as a way of de-humanising them. The hate of other nationalities while leaving aside others like Nigerians and white foreigners seems to be bringing in a sense of apartheidism than xenophobic tendencies, the use of 'illegal' is de-humanising the same way the Apartheid era used to de-humanise blacks as human like but not human as P.W Bother put it in his speech in 1985.

This discriminatory treatment is time and again justified on the basis of the economic and

social crises facing South Africa where around half of the population is said to live in poverty. This has been said to have resulted in the deepening social exclusion of and violence towards 'foreigners'. As under apartheid, 'foreignness' is apparently recognisable by physical characteristics, and the police force in particular is notorious for exercising its power so as to extort funds from the politically vulnerable and powerless 'foreigners'. Human Rights Watch (1998) noted that, "South Africa's public culture has become increasingly xenophobic, and politicians often make inflammatory statements that the 'deluge' of migrants is responsible for the current crime wave, rising unemployment, or even the spread of diseases. As the un-founded perception that migrants are responsible for a variety of social ills grows, migrants have increasingly become the targets of abuse at the hands of the police, the army, and the Department of Home Affairs" (HRW 1998:4). Thus, denial by government seems to by far have motived the increasing xenophobic tendencies. This is leadership failure at its highest level.

In 2011, foreigners made up 2.8% of the Population including those with citizenships and Visas, Mid-year population estimates (2014). The question is how does such a small population influence totally the socio-economic trends a country as big as South Africa? The migrants themselves are not saints but it is hard to imagine how such a small fraction could destroy such a huge African economic giant. According to a 1998 Human Rights Watch report, immigrants from Malawi, Zimbabwe and Mozambique living in the Alexandra township were "physically assaulted over a period of several weeks in January 1995, as armed gangs identified suspected undocumented migrants and marched them to the police station in an attempt to 'clean' the township of foreigners. In September 1998 a Mozambican and two Senegalese were thrown out of a train. The assault was carried out by a group returning from a rally that blamed foreigners for unemployment, crime and spreading AIDS. In 2000 seven foreigners were killed on the Cape Flats over a five-week period in what police described as xenophobic murders possibly motivated by the fear that outsiders would claim property belonging to locals. In October 2001 residents of the Zandspruit informal settlement gave Zimbabweans 10 days to leave the area. Thus xenophobia or violence against 'illegal' foreigners are day by day becoming a culture of the South African Community

[1.3] Problem Statement

The culture of violence is a visible aspect in region of SADC, it is no secret that South

Africans have over the post-colonial era developed a culture of violence towards foreign nationals. However, the problem is that this is viewed only as a South African problem or the problem of the government of South Africa. In as much as or with a lot of evidence it can be proved how the South African government has directly or indirectly misled its people into believing that foreigners are thieves, disease vectors, job stealers, drug loads and traffickers and poverty breeders, it will completely be a sign of stupidity to blame South Africans alone. The argument that this research is posing is that, this is a Southern African problem not just South African illness. The culture of violence surfacing in South Africa is a result of Poor leadership of governance in the post-Colonial era. The SADC region does not suffer from economic turmoil, over population, shortage of money or corruption rather it suffers from shortage of proper leadership, what this research describes as leadership crisis. What appears to be problems facing the Southern part of the continent today is actually symptoms of what lack good governance breeds. Most schools of thought have been quick to point at xenophobia as a result of failed economic and social integration, citing that firstly, competition for resources, social exclusion, poverty, relative deprivation, frustration with government, mobilization, and symbolic threat, Dobson (2010).

If immigrants left their nations to go to South Africa and compete with the local people for resources, then one cannot be hesitant to ask 'what happened to resources in their own countries?'. If foreigners continue going to South Africa illegally and legally regardless of deportation and ill treatment, to go and add on poverty and over population in another country, then let it be asked 'what happened to the space and social setups of their home countries?' If it is for economic opportunities then, where did opportunities from their native countries go to? According to the MIA's Mineral Book (2005) Africa has the largest mineral industry and is the second largest continent. For many African countries, mineral exploration and production constitute significant parts of their economies and remain keys to economic growth. Africa is richly endowed with mineral reserves and ranks first or second in quantity of world reserves. The point here is that every country has a fair share of its land and mineral resources yet most Africans still migrate abroad or to neighbouring states because their home nations are either or ravaged by wars, poor economies, diseases and lack of opportunities.

The 2011 census reported that more than 75% of foreign-born (international) migrants living in South Africa came from the African continent. African migrants from SADC countries

contributed the vast majority of this, making up 68% of total international migrants. Immigrants from African countries outside of the SADC region made up just 7,3% of all international migrants. 2016 Community Survey show that Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Lesotho, Malawi, Swaziland and Namibia were among the top 10 "sending countries" together with Democratic Republic of Congo, Nigeria and India. The problems facing these countries in the SADC region have led to people running to South Africa in quest for greener pastures. Their governments have failed to provide satisfactory services. Over population and resource competition can then be seen as a breeding ground for these conflict but the root of all these problems is rooted to leadership crisis that the region is facing. In short the culture of violence has to be argued as SADC or African problem. The feeling in this is that the SADC region leadership lacks accountability, responsibility and faithfulness upon its people and the reaction from this fatigue has been misdirected to what locals of a certain country term 'illegal or foreign' than their failing governments.

[1.4] Aims of The Research

The main aim of this research is to prove that SADC region has a serious leadership crisis which is directly and indirectly resulting to the culture of violence in the region.

[1.5] Research Objectives

- ❖ Establish violence as a phenomenon that has become or a culture in SADC region.
- ❖ To explore deeply the factors leading to emergence of xenophobic behaviour in South Africa.
- ❖ Evaluate factors of governance used by SADC countries.
- ❖ Investigate if other SADC members do not have direct and indirect impact on violence that has been affecting foreigners in South Africa, and establish if they are responsible or not.
- ❖ Enact the connection between leadership and violence in the SADC region and correlate the two.
- ❖ To proffer recommendations and possible measures that can be employed to mitigate xenophobia and other problem issue so as to achieve sound and smooth integration conditions in the region.

[1.6] Research Questions

1) Does SADC countries suffer from poor governance systems that cause citizens to migrate to other countries.
2) Who is to blame for xenophobic activities in South Africa?
3) Is there correlation between leadership and violence?

[1.7] The Significance of the Study

This research is targeting the academic community, policy makers along with local and regional leadership of the SADC region. It seeks to bridge the gap by innovating a new direction to the already existing literature. It is an attempt to find the correct approach to the problems facing the continent of Africa and the Southern region of the continent. Thus the discoveries will help in forming a proper foundation for sustainable peace building and integration of people of the South by tackling the problem than treating the symptoms.

[1.8] Theoretical Framework

Poverty, hunger, joblessness and unimproved standards of leaving are some of those reasons why people of Southern Africa are becoming slowly tolerant to each other. But the question is why? For Claassen (2017), reasons are just rooted around resource competition, poverty, relative deprivation, frustration with the government and symbolic threat. Using the most renowned theory of intergroup conflict, Claassen argues that tensions and violence are a function of intergroup competition over scarce resources, with competition and conflict increasing when economic conditions deteriorate. Furthermore, Claassen, argues that Poverty is usually linked to outgroup aggression using the mechanism of scapegoating. This mechanism holds that poverty produces frustration, and consequently aggression, with aggression then displaced onto some innocent but weak third party. Maybe this can explain why the most active participants are from very poor townships of South Africa.

Some studies emphasize the insufficient provision of government services, or "service delivery," while others underline the perceived disinterest of government and the resulting lack of voice experienced by many communities Human Sciences Research Council, 2008; Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, 2008; Morris, 1998). In both cases, a frustration-aggression or scapegoating mechanism is again implicated. It may be accurate to

notice poor service delivery by government as a determinant of violence in a society but if towards immigrants alone, selected ones for that matter, then it becomes hard to understand how and why foreigners are targets of this un pleasant behaviour.

To provide an understanding in the nature of xenophobia, Hagensen asserts that manifestations and features of xenophobia exist in terms of attitudes and behaviour which can be divide in three groups which are socio-cultural, structural and institutional explanations. On Social cultural explanations Hagensen explains using the theory of social identity. "The aspects of an individual's self- image that derive from the social categories to which he perceives himself belonging" (Tajfel & Turner 1979: 40). Two common assumptions in the theory are that individuals strive to maintain or enhance their self-esteem, and that social groups and membership of these groups are associated with negative and positive feelings. One way of doing that is nationalism which on the other hand can reject other out-groups. South Africa suffers from that. The relationship between social identity and nationalism can therefore be explored as an explanation of the source of xenophobia. On the other hand, Mummendey, Klink & Brown (2001) argue that nationalism is, consequently inherently linked to out-group derogation Though nationalism has been a building block in post-apartheid times when the 'rainbow nation' was beginning its consolidation, it can be seen as contributing to in-group thinking, in that it nurtures the view that one's own nation is superior to other nations and therefore it should be dominant.

Another Social think tank, Crush (2014), brings into the picture 3 theories that help to understand xenophobic Violence. The school of thought accounts that the series of of xenophobic violence can better be understood through Xenophobic denialism, xenophobic minimalism and xenophobic realism. Xenophobic denialists crush away the fact that xenophobia plays any role in South Africa's violent activities towards foreigners, by stating that the events that have occurred are just nothing but criminal activities by individuals which is the position which the South African government has been taking since the beginning of these violent activities. Crush, further explains Minimalism by stating that minimalists take a Marxists approach and always try to find a materialist explanation to justify violence. One strand of minimalism sees the violence as a signifier of a broader, deepening social crisis in South Africa tied to intense competition for scarce resources such as jobs, shelter and services. The realists suggest, by contrast, that xenophobia is a pervasive phenomenon throughout South African society and that there is a predisposition to resort to violence on the

part of a considerable number of South Africans.

In as much as these schools of thought are respectively correct, this research feels that there is a gap as far as identifying the real problem as far xenophobic violence is concerned. The feeling is that while poverty, competition for resources, unsatisfactory with the government services among other issues that cause violence and hate towards foreigners, the real causes of the problem is not addressed which is why there is a possibility of a more sophisticated xenophobic episode in future. This research is of strong argument that leadership crisis is the cause and the previously listed are just symptoms of how SADC region lacks good governance what in this case is termed 'leadership crisis. Poor service delivery, in accountability, lack of transparency, and poor governing systems have led to most people leaving their nations in search for a better life, leading them to land in South Africa a state which is also suffering from its own problems. This has led the South African government to have an excuse on why it is failing while ignoring its poor governing strategies. The SADC region suffers from lack of good governance, in this case talk of Empowerment of the civil society, Decentralization, Leadership building and public administration, proper Parliamentary systems and Institutions and human rights. As far as tackling the issues of xenophobia, this research feels that is where there is a gap. Xenophobia is a SADC symptom caused by the disease of leadership crisis. African Development Bank Group in December (2017) argued that, what undermines African economic activities is poor governance. Poor governance contributes to poor elections, which, among other things, produce the domino effect of undermining institutions, justice and equality of opportunity in Africa. Despite the economic progress made in recent years, governance poses a serious problem in Africa ADBG (2017).

While South Africa may be viewed as the face of xenophobia by the world, Haqqi (2017) assures the academic community and readers that Europe also harbours 10 of the most xenophobic countries in world history. In November 2015, France a country known so little about violence carried attacks on immigrants from Syria killing over 130 foreign nationals. Sexual attacks carried out by foreigners on New Year's Eve in Germany intensified the relationships between locals and foreigners in that country. Ever since the sexual assaults that took place, the anti-immigrant movement has gained significant momentum and Vice Chancellor Angela Merkel, who has been in favour of accepting immigrants, has had to face extreme criticism for her policies in this regard. In a survey carried in Austria, 22.8% locals

responded as hating foreigners. The neo-Nazi ideology is highly xenophobic in its essence and hate crimes take a high toll every year. Russia, a member of the security council in United Nations is in position 5 of the most xenophobic nations in Europe. Xenophobic sentiments are expressed openly in the country. Thus xenophobia is perhaps a fast growing problem of the world not just Africa alone.

[1.9] Methodology

This research is going to use qualitative approach in conducting the study for data collection and analysis on proving whether leadership crisis in SADC is the primary reason why SADC

Countries are or have developed the culture of violence and intolerance towards each other. The strategies will examine possible solutions that policy makers and governments can adopt in order to uproot the culture of violence that is growing in the region. Patton (1990) accounts that qualitative research allows the research to generate detailed and valid information which results to in-depth understanding on the given subject matter. Data analysis will also breath room for acknowledgement of limitations of the research.

[1.9.1] Instruments of gathering Data

This research will use two data collection instruments which are Desktop reviews and informant interviews. This approach will allow multiple data collection methods which are meant to build wider pool of information.

[1.9.2] In-depth Interviews

The researcher is going to use in-depth interviews to get an insight in the people's understanding on why South Africa is xenophobic and who is to blame as far as foreign treatment is concerned in South Africa. The interviews will be conducted with subjects that have experienced the treatment and have been returned back home, a number of University Academies who have studied the area of concern and a number of those that have partook in violence towards immigrants in South Africa. Such interviews will allow the research to get first-hand information and different sides about the the subject in question.

[1.9.3] Desktop Research

The research will also do desktop researching where secondary data will be used this includes

journals, books, internet and video documentaries on Xenophobia and leadership in Africa. This method will also provide access to reports from different embassies in the SADC region.

[1.9.4] Sampling

Purposive Sampling technique will be applied by the the researcher. Oliver 2005 notes that purposive sampling is a form of non-probability in which decisions regarding the persons to be included in the sample are taken by a researcher, based upon a multiplicity of criteria which may include specialist knowledge of the research issue or capacity or willingness to take part to the research

[1.10] Limitations

The geography of the study, the cost and subjects to study will be a challenge to the researcher. Politically SADC has fifteen countries which the researcher may not be able to go and assess. Hence the researcher will rely heavily on secondary sources of information. Also the economic situation in the home country of the researcher is of greater challenge and that may affect the researcher and the research.

[1.11] Delimitations

The delimiting factors are that the researcher shall not go to red zone areas where violence has been known to be prominent in order to assure security. The sample size will also be made small to avoid encountering un controllable numbers of subjects.

[1.12] Conclusion

The researcher is of strong belief that every situation in Africa starts with leadership. Thus this research will provide nexus whether leadership is linked to violence or not. If so, provide answers how xenophobia in South Africa is a SADC problem not just South Africa. Such a subject is of paramount importance as the work will benefit the academic Institutions, governments and the policy formulators in the SADC board. The work is meant to search and provide possible solutions and go a step further and make recommendations

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

[2.0] Introduction

This chapter establishes the bases of this research by looking at what other schools of thought have discovered and established pertaining studies of violence, its recurrence which has now become a norm in Africa. It is chiefly important as it provides ground for analysis on similarities and strength of ideas brought by different thinkers. This allows this research to identify weaknesses and the gap which it seeks to fill, by accounting how violence is now a culture in the SADC region, why it is attributed to poor leadership and how Xenophobia is at all a collective problem not only for South Africa alone.

[2.1] Defining violence

Violence is generally the use of physical force so as to injure, abuse, damage or destroy, Merriam- Webster Dictionary (2018). WHO (2002)defines violence as "the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, which either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation," . An Oxford dictionary defines violence as Behavior involving physical force intended to hurt, damage, or kill someone or something, the unlawful exercise of physical force or intimidation by the exhibition of such force and Strength of emotion or of a destructive natural force. All definitions showcase violence with various synonyms such as brutality, roughness, ferocity, savagery, cruelty, sadism barbarity inhumanity and ruthlessness.

Conflicts in Southern Africa have taken all forms of violence. People of the south are no stranger to toucher, killing, kidnapping, sexually abuse among other sorts of violence. Such

violence takes different shapes from intrapersonal to interpersonal, from intragroup to intergroup. Violence does not merely exist because structures and actors exist to carry out violence, its physically absence does not mean it does not exist the same absence of direct violence (negative peace) does not mean there is no structural violence (positive peace). This then demands one to use the definition provided by Johan Galtung (1969) that "violence is present when human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realizations are below their potential realization" Galtung (1969: 168). According to Galtung personal and direct violence are often built into the social structures, it is much better to look into a bigger picture revealed by by structural violence as this would reveal the causes and effects of violence and conditions of peace. Thus violence is more than just direct clash of individuals or groups directly rather what turns into violent clashes or wars is just a symptom of a bigger problem existing within the structures of a societies.

Figure 1
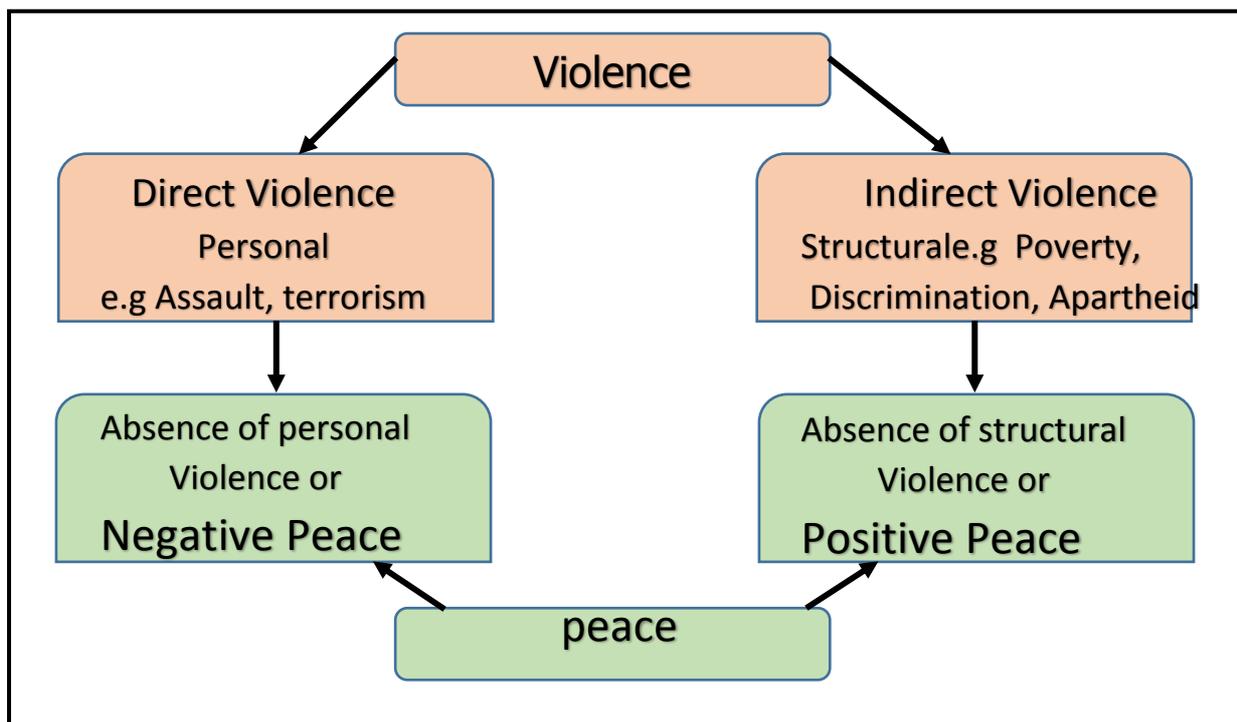
The expanded concept of peace and Violence. Galtung (1969)

Figure1 explains that structural violence is a by-product of violence in the structure of society, rather than the actor generated personal and direct violence.

[2.2] Developing Violence as a Culture

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In general, culture means a pattern social behavior and norms found in a society. This means that the behavior of such a society is a pattern that happens over and over again in a similar way. Such is violence in Southern Africa in the post- colonial era. It is a hybrid of colonization and liberal nationalism that Africans adopted during struggle for independence. Dirlik (2002) accounts that the kind of nationalism that was adopted by Africans during colonization entailed resistances, encounters of various kinds including oppression, exploitation, and forceful conversion. After colonization the same activities are still encountered in the SADC region. The process of nationing history and historicizing the nation as Bennet (1995) links it, in Zimbabwe was followed by violent encounters such as Gukurahundi, Chimurenga 3rd, Political violence among others in an attempt to create what Kriger (2003) terms a 'party-nation'.

Power struggles and the need to control resources in DRC in 1999 have led to continuous ethnic clashes, terrorism and militia clashes that have killed millions and displaced thousands, most of whom are women and children. Most of these displaced persons have fled to neighboring Zambia and because they are vulnerable, women and children have met brutality in form of gender based violence, child labor, kidnapping and loot of property. In 2017 UNHCR accounted that due to poor roads and long distances, it is hard to monitor the treatment of foreigners in Zambia and this means that, it is possible that large numbers of migrants are violated if not having their lives taken from them.

The legacy of Apartheid among South Africans, which entails dehumanizing treatment, torture, looting, gun culture, sexual violence and destroying building structures, still lives. The post-Apartheid times have and are still experiencing similar activities today. The *culture* of rape and other acts of violence. In many court cases where people are found guilty of rape, murder and other acts of violence, it is reported that they "showed no remorse". The policy of apartheid deliberately set out to destroy family life in the name of an ideology. Generations of children grew up fatherless and often motherless as well. And, as was pointed out in studies such as Bowlby's *Child care and the growth of love*, children deprived of parental love in infancy find it much more difficult to form loving relationships with other people as they grow up. And when they grow up and treat others badly, they "show no remorse". It is unfortunate that foreigners in South Africa have had to experience treatment of no remorse and all forms of human rights violations at the hands of their angry African brothers and sisters. Thus the provided examples are an explanation of the cyclical

nature of different forms of violence in the SADC region, that have created some form of a continuous ever growing pattern. This is what this research describes as a culture of violence.

Marx, for example, who describes human history as a history of the expropriation of producers from their means of production, suggests that human history is written in the annals of mankind in letters of blood and fire. Similar observations in the liberal tradition are not rare. Kant (1790), for example, suggests that the domination of evil in the world is as old as history. Violence in Southern Africa has taken all forms of physical, psychological and emotional destruction and has been directed against natural resources, animals and human beings. In human relations, it has occurred in all spheres of social life, in everyday life in interpersonal relations, in family life, in schools, at universities, in industrial relations between social classes and in international relations. It has had a range of motivations from psychological to cultural, political and economic.

[2.3] Political violence in the SADC region

Political violence in Southern Africa has always been a cause for concern in the post-colonial era. According to Zimbabwe Human Rights Forum (2017), very little efforts or headways have been made to address this historical problem. Because violence has deep roots in our society, it requires "a holistic and concerted approach to address it. SADC countries of key concern in 2015 were Angola, the Democratic Republic of Congo, South Africa, Swaziland, and Zimbabwe, (HRW 2015). In Angola the government under Josè Eduardo dos Santos passed very restrictive laws that governed the registration of Non-governmental organizations and cumbersome registration requirements and restrictions for funding. As is that being not bad enough, Security forces cracked down on independent media, human rights activists, and other critics with criminal defamation lawsuits, arbitrary arrests, unfair trials, intimidation, harassment, and surveillance. In June 2015, police arrested 15 activists who had gathered to read and discuss books on peaceful resistance. In Huambo province in April, police killed a number of followers of a religious sect during an operation to arrest the group's leader.

In DRC, the use of CIOs to clamp down activists and political opponents is the order Joseph Kabila's government. In December 2016, security forces short at peaceful demonstrators killing some and jailed activists, opposition party leaders and shut down independent media houses that were publishing information against Kabila's government. In the country's east, the security situation remained volatile. Numerous armed groups carried out deadly attacks

on civilians, while government security forces also committed serious abuses. Thus political violence is the order of the day, aspects of human rights, liberties and freedom of expressions are nothing but just a pie in the air.

In South Africa, one of the serious government failures has been to prevent the the attacks of refugees, asylum seekers, migrants and looting of their properties. The government has never accepted that such actions are motivated by xenophobia. The report of the Farlam Commission of Inquiry into the deaths of 44 people, including the police killing of 34 miners in 2012, was finally published, but some expressed disappointment with the findings. President Jacob Zuma continued to face criticism over his handling of a 2014 report by the public protector about the president's alleged misuse of state funds for a security upgrade to his private residence. In June 2015, South African authorities violated a domestic court order and its international obligations as a member of the International Criminal Court when it permitted President Omar al-Bashir of Sudan to leave the country without arrest. Bashir, who faces charges of genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity in connection with the conflict in Darfur, was in South Africa for an African Union Summit.

Respect for human rights and the rule of law declined in the Kingdom of Swaziland, ruled by an absolute monarch, King Mswati III, since 1986. Political parties are banned, judicial independence is severely compromised, and repressive laws are used to target critics of the government and the king. As in previous years, Swazi authorities severely restricted civil and political rights. In March 2015, police beat leaders of the Trade Union Congress of Swaziland (TUCOSWA) and the Swaziland National Association of Teachers (SNAT) and prevented them from holding a meeting, ostensibly because the discussions would have included calls for multiparty democracy. The Suppression of Terrorism Act, the Sedition and Subversive Activities Act of 1938, and other similarly draconian legislation provided sweeping powers to the security services to halt meetings and protests and to curb criticism of the government, even though such rights are protected under Swaziland's 2005 constitution. In September 2015, eight human rights defenders challenged the constitutionality of these security laws in the High Court of Swaziland.

President Robert Mugabe consolidated his grip on power and implemented no meaningful human rights reforms in 2015. In December 2014, Mugabe fired the reformist vice-president, Joyce Mujuru, accusing her of disloyalty, and replaced her with co-vice presidents implicated

in serious past rights abuses, Emmerson Mnangagwa and Phelekezela Mphoko. The police and state security agents harassed, threatened, and arbitrarily arrested people who criticized Mugabe or his government, including rights defenders, activists, government opponents, and street vendors. No progress was being made towards justice for past human rights abuses and political violence. Authorities mock and violate the rights of LGBT people, though the government allowed formal gatherings of LGBT activists as part of the International Conference on AIDS and sexually transmitted infections (STIs) in Africa (ICASA), held in Harare in early December. "Human rights are not merely aspirational but oblige all governments to uphold them to protect the freedoms and meet the needs of all the people. Thus without much more argument political violence is very prominent in SADC countries. This shows how improper and lacking SADC leadership is. The same repression measures that colonial masters used to apply in order to keep Black Africans under their rule are still being applied today which explains how indifferent and similar the current leaders comparing them with former colonial masters.

[2.4] Gender Based Violence

The status of gender inequalities in Southern Africa is closely linked to the political context within each SADC state. The reality is that patriarchy and democracy are still comfortable bedfellows. According to Linsey 2007, sex is the biological difference between men and women while gender is the social construction of sexes considering race, politics, social, economic, culture and traditional background. These cultures and traditions vary from place to place and from culture to culture. These cultures that are learned change with time within and between cultures. (Linsey 2007, P; 97). Patriarchy is not an ideological construct. It is a violent system as experienced vividly in the mind boggling number of women and children who are raped in Southern African states. It is a system that entrenches economic inequality, feminization of poverty continues, particularly in rural areas, working class communities and among the unemployed. With regard to women's rights, despite numerous commitments to gender equality in Southern Africa, women remain under-represented in all areas of decision-making and constitute the majority of the poor, the voiceless and the dispossessed. Under the customary law that continues to govern the daily lives of most women contrary to the provisions of modern laws, women remain minors all their lives, unable to own or inherit property.

Women also lack a voice in the affairs that affect their lives. The Gender and Media Baseline Study (GMBS) conducted by GL and the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) in 2003 showed that women comprise a mere 17% of news sources in the region and are portrayed in a limited range of roles, most often as sexual objects or victims of violence. Despite commitments to freedom of expression, women's views and voices are systematically excluded from debates and decisions that affect their lives. As GL's 2004 study, *"Ringing up the Changes: Gender and Politics in Southern Africa"* shows, this exclusion undermines accountability, transparency, responsiveness and good governance. According to Koffi Annan (2010), Gender equality is both a fundamental right as well as a pre-requisite for more effective governance. Citizen participation through demanding accountability from governments is also a cornerstone of democracy yet, in societies gender equality has breed sexual, physical and emotional violence. During violent episodes of xenophobia in South Africa women and children have been raped touched and even trafficked. Little efforts to address these problems have been taken by the states in SADC.

[2.3] Leadership and Governance as a crisis in SADC region.

In his inauguration, President Regan expressed these simple words: "Government is not the solution to our problems; government is the problem.". This quote has undeniably been manifested in Southern African States where governments have caused more trouble for citizens than they could cause for themselves. The post-colonial era has seen little or nothing that governments have to offer except disappointments. In the words of Khan (2006), "Governance has increasingly become a major instrument for the successful growth performance and development purposes in the world. In Africa governance has been a concern since 1960s when some African countries got their independence" (khan 2006). Makolo and Resta (2005) strengthen the statement by noting that. poor governance in form of corruption, political instability and inactive rule of laws and institutions has given birth to African problems. These sentiments make real sense as naturally, the head determines the direction the rest of the body goes, poor eye sight may lead to unexpected problems. If governments are a problem, then it means leaders and policy makers who are part of the structures are the real problem and will either lead people astray or nowhere.

While the post-colonial era has had so much failure due to poor governance and leadership in the SADC region, it is also of paramount importance to note how the colonial era itself

affected the socio-political and economic legacy in the region. Africa had its unique democratic culture in the pre-colonial era which later dismantled through the influence of slavery, colonialism, and neo colonialism (ibid: 3). Wyk (2007:3) interestingly noted that the "contemporary state in Africa is a remnant of a colonially imposed system". African states adopted the colonialists' centralized state system which produced ethnic and authoritarian based political culture. This taught Africans to separate and hate each other. One cannot ignore the impact of the apartheid system which was a policy of white supremacists who dehumanized black skin as human like but not human. It was a situation which privileged the minority Afrikaners while serving unprivileged majority Bantus. "The colonial state in Africa was an authoritarian bureaucratic apparatus of control and not intended to be a school of democracy"(Copson, 2001:12). This shows the fact that state was used as an instrument of exploitation throughout the colonial era. Hence, what African states inherited from their colonizers is their undemocratic and authoritarian rule. Since the very purpose of Europeans was to exploit the resources of Africa, they employed undemocratic system of administration which is something forcefully imposed from the above.

The colonial experience of post-independence African leaders greatly impacted their way of administration, which was highly autocratic. Brutality of the colonialists' system of administration was inculcated in the mind of anti-colonial leaders of the time which later became leaders of the independent African states. Moreover, the notion of ethnicity left behind by the colonial powers has posed adverse impact on the overall political system of African states. Ethnic division which was multiplied by colonial system left persistent rivalry and conflict in the continent and thereby resulted in exclusion and marginalization in African political societies (Alemazung, 2010:79). What today is termed as African problems is actually a harvest of seeds planted by colonization in the SADC region and Africa at large. Talk of ethnic massacres and political violence in Zimbabwe, civil unrests and power struggles in Mozambique, a 4-decade civil war in Angola and xenophobia in South Africa, all these are fruits of colonization which post-independence leaders have been dismally failing to solve and such cannot be attributed as one nation problem rather collective responsibility may bring possibilities to tackle the issues.

Most countries in the SADC region as Cawthra (2008) puts it, have shifted from Apartheid system, Authoritarian rule, and on party rule, with the exceptions of Swaziland to multiparty

parliamentary democracy. Centre of conflict Resolution (2007) also states that Democracy has thus been the most common trend of governance in the post-Apartheid? Cold war era. Adejumboi (2000), views democracy and democratization as a processes through which institutional structures relating to the construction of a democratic polity is established e.g. parliament, impartial judiciary, electoral institutions and police. "Democratization involves the creation and expansion of the political space for multiple actors to interact, negotiate, compete, and seek self-realization, within set and permissible rules" (Adejumboi, 2000: 29). The processes of democratization may sound well outlined on paper yet the implementation of the processes in the SADC region say completely different stories. At the expense of liberal democracy, ruling parties like the ANC, ZANU PF, FRELIMO and MPLA have been in accused of influencing votes and using undemocratic means to influence voters into keeping them in power.

Democracy means the rule of people. If a government is referred to as democratic it means that it is a government of people, for the people by the people. Yet Winston Churchill refereed to democracy as the 'worst form of government except for all others'. If his statement is to be accepted, then one should be able to ask 'What is wrong with democracy?' Firstly, democracy is not compatible with capitalism an economic ideology which dominates the world today. Capitalism and democracy play sub-zero games with each other because while democracy aims to to bring political equality in participation and access, capitalism brings high inequality. Those in charge of the economy can use it to gain more political control at the expense of those with no access or vis versa. The ANC government under Mbeki and Zuma in South Africa was accused several times to be run by capitalists who were thieves and did not care about the lives of ordinary citizenry. Their power in economics makes them somehow become the majority minority people and ordinary citizens become majority minority as far as governance is concerned. As the political scientist Robert Dahl observed: "How to decide who legitimately makes up 'the people'…is a problem almost totally neglected by all the great political philosophers who write about democracy." Where democracy and capitalism are mixed some citizens are more equal than others.

Secondly problem about democracy as far as governance is concerned is the tyranny of the majority. The belief that the majority is always right as the current president of Zimbabwe Emmerson Mnangagwa always says "the voice of people is the voice of God", is an over statement. History often teaches how most nations have anointed wrong leaders in the name of democracy. It is democracy that lifted Adolf Hitler to power when in reality he was a sick

psychopath. South Africa's Jacob Zuma was elected through the ballot box yet later on the South Africans cried foul including his servant Julius Malema who once told the world on SABC 1 that he will "kill for Zuma and Die for Zuma". Thus democracy has loopholes that still create problems for most Southern African countries.

While most academic scholars, policy formulators, the civil society and the international institutions may recommend, try to impose and enforce the adoption of different forms of democracy as tool of governance in Africa and the whole world, democracy is not the solution for problems facing the region. Firstly, democracy has flaws. It is a one size fit all jacket that was formulated in Europe and USA using socio-economic and political dynamics of that particular continent yet the geography location and African dynamics are by far different. Africans have had their own tools of governance that colonizers came and tried to over shadow. Up today, the SADC region still have traditional leaders such as Kings, chiefs and village heads who hold eternal power and are not contested. This clashes directly with democracy which rests its main thrust to selection of leadership by people. The other flaw is that democracy is more into quantity selection than quality selection for example the coming in of Jacob Zuma as the president of South Africa had nothing to do with his ability to run the office rather it was by the popular vote and later on, an outcry from other members of the government about his leadership abilities to an extent that in 2018 just before his term expired he was forced to resign. Thus the fact that a leader is selected by the majority voters does not make them good leaders with proper abilities to run a government.

Leadership and governance go hand and glove, but the question is what qualities should good leaders have in order to distinguish them from their followers. In most cases situational factors and skill level are often looked a. However, Wagner (2008) goes beyond and talks about 8 major theories. The first of those is the great man theory, which posits that the capacity for leadership is inherent – that great leaders are born, not made. This kind of leadership often portrays great leaders as heroic, mythic, and destined to rise to leadership when needed. One cannot defy the greatness of Nelson Mandela, Joshua Nkomo, Samora Machel and Kenneth Kaunda as they have been portrayed in different heroic ways by the current governments and the media. A blog by Sunil Daman in 2016 stated

"Nelson Mandela is one of the heroes of the modern age. An icon of freedom and the epitome of forgiveness and statesmanship, he is a larger then a life figure in today's world." Sunil Daman (2016)

The idea of the Great Man also strayed into the mythic domain, with notions that in times of need, a Great Man would arise, almost by magic. In his description "the hero and divinity", father of 'the great man theory; Carlyle (1840) argued that The history of the world is but the biography of great men", reflecting his belief that heroes shape history through both their personal attributes and divine inspiration, while this theory explains greatly about leaders in History and today, it however lacks gender sensitiveness. The idea of 'great man' is chauvinistic and side-lining women. How does one use the theory in praising great female leaders who have done equally great as men? Women such as the late Winnie Madikizela Mandela, Queen Nzinga of Angola, Mariam 'mama Africa' Makheba and Lady Ruth Khama just to name a few. The first stage of good leadership is by accepting females as equals and important in SADC society. If the SADC society has not employed that path, then it is without doubt that the so called "great men" failed and left wrong legacy in which we still see women being side-lined in all spheres of society except as child bearers. In his book 'Society must be defended', written in 1976, Michel Foucault speaks about historical revisionism, in which female victors of history should also be equally represented. Thus leadership that is gender sensitive may bear better future results.

Furthermore, the idea of greater men magically showing up to solve problems and the feeling that one leader inherited leadership is nothing but just a problem stir. When Robert Mugabe consolidated power for almost 38 years, in various interviews he would highlight that God is the one who will decide for him to leave thus making himself a divine messenger meant to rule his people till his death. In this sense the theory does not qualify in the democratic world where leaders get to govern through elections and terms in office. Inheritance is for a life time and leaders with such a mentality would want to rule till death just like African Chiefs and headmen of the traditional. Their power is inherited and lives within their family clan for eternity maybe. There is also a tendency by liberation struggle political parties in Southern Africa to romanticize that they led their people to independence hence they deserve to inherit the power and continue to rule at all cost even if it is against constitutions.

[2.4] Xenophobic tendencies in South Africa

Demonstrators march against the wave of xenophobic attacks in Khayelitsha township, South SOURCE: Africa May 2008 (Accord 2011)

Violence towards foreigners specifically those who are black, has become a regular feature of South African life. South Africa has been xenophobic even during the apartheid era in which white supremacists saw themselves as the rightful owners and rulers of land. This is the period Crash determines as the "Apartheid vertigo". The most crucial point here is that most of these events occur in a silent manner from the eyes and ears of the media. Some studies have given parallel connections to the actions of the police towards immigrants. Thus according to the study, the public not only does approve the actions of the police but also seeks to imitate them Police sweeps are seen by government as a perfectly legitimate tactic to rid the country of "illegal foreigners" (in the language of the Immigration Act). However, it can be less sanguine about egregious cases of police brutality when they come to wider public attention. For example, in 1998, six white officers of the South African Police Services (SAPS) East Rand Dog Unit set attack dogs on three Mozambican migrants who were badly mauled and then physically and verbally abused. The video was recorded and kept for police training and later was seen internationally.

In 2013, 8 black members of the SAPS arrested a 27-year-old Mozambican Taxi driver and cuffed him in the back of a police van and dragged him through the streets while the crowed was watching. The incident was taken by the government structures as an act of rogue

individuals. Even if the government could not accept these as xenophobic behaviours. The violent activities that swept the country in 2008 and 2015 were a replica of the earlier behaviour. Foreigners were beaten adapted and publicly executed in the public through what has been termed necklacing. While the government denies all the xenophobic tendencies by citizens and its structures, the term foreign (Makwerekwere) or illegal is widely used in order to de-humanize and hate there by generating great dislike. This is supported by Crush (2014) who notes that the attempts by South African government to run away from truth, is a true explanation of Denialism. The scholar advances the theory of xenophobic denialism in which xenophobia is rejected as a tool used to channel violence against foreigners. A good example of denialism is the attempt by the south African government to sugar coat the 2008 violent episodes that caused death, destruction and criminal elements against some African migrants and local sympathizers. Speaking at the 14th APRM in 2017, former president Mbeki stated *"There isn't a population of South Africans who attack other Africans simply because of their nationality," (former President Thabo Mbeki)*

The south African police watch helplessly a man on flames after he was necklaced by the angry mob in Soweto. SOURCE: Africa May 2008 (Accord 2011).

Solomon accounts that the remarkable feature of xenophobia experience in South Africa is that it takes some kind of racial form. This is because it is directed at migrants and especially

black migrants. Xenophobia is racially selective and directed to those who are simply corresponding to features of a stranger especially those from Africa. While Solomon's assertions are correct, the question that remains unanswered is why are white skinned foreigners or the Nigerians not usually attacked by these angry mobs. The racial form in its instance is a legacy of Apartheid which was perpetrated by the government and the transitional government under Mandela which flew with the banner of a rainbow nation seems to have mistaken people into thinking of whites as the only part of a rainbow nation in a black South Africa. Other black Africans especially those perceived as coming from economically challenged countries remained foreign and illegal. Thus it is justified to see the pre independence and the post-independence governments as having failed the processes of integration of Africans.

From one of the the SAMP surveys, the most given reason for xenophobia was fear of economic harm. According to Crush and Peddle ton (2004), economic reasons are why most Africans are attracted to South Africa, this is the perception that foreigners are there to cause economic harm to South African citizens but the reality is that this economic boom in South Africa is nothing but just a 'miracle of globalization as Solomon puts it. This boom has just catered for a few me affluent while ordinary South Africans are still found in shacks, shanty towns, poverty and uncertainty struggling along with black African immigrants for survival. Harris (2001) supports by noting that hatred ad bitterness bitterness is directed to vulnerable black African immigrants as a way to to ward of the feeling that their long struggle for democracy has not been fulfilled their expectations and it also allows them to differentiate themselves from back ward others. The obvious feature in this, is that definitely South Africans have been failed. The promises have not been fulfilled and their struggle continues. The government is the one that made promises to people and over twenty years have passed and the promises are still hanging un fulfilled. It should be clear who is to blame for this misplaced bitterness. The anger is not towards other Africans but their own government. African immigrants who are also struggling become a reminder of how they have been failed in their own home land to an extent that they remain equal to foreigners.

[2.4] Theoretical Framework.

Anderson and Arsenates (1999) determine that the importance of a frame work as 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 2 specific theories which are, the transformational leadership theory

and the conflict theory. These are themes by scholars in a bid to discover what influence different behaviours of actors in a society and the international arena.

The transformational leadership theory emphasizes that task and organizational integrity are more important in leadership. Transformational leadership serve s to enhance the motivation, morale, and collective identity of the followers. In simple terms leaders become role models of their subordinates and should always inspire to add their interest in the affairs of the community. This the theory argues that will enhance unity, peace and development. In this case the leadership in SADC should work and inspire their people who in turn will want to be part of governance and work together with their leaders to improve their communities. Such leaders will always have a deeper connection with their own people and will understand the importance of the needs that the people they serve have. Transformational leadership can be seen when leaders and followers make each other advance to a higher level of morality and motivation. Through the strength of their vision and personality, transformational leaders are able to inspire followers to change expectations, perceptions, and motivations to work towards common goals.

The conflict theory, suggested by Karl Marx, claims society is in a state of perpetual conflict because of competition for limited resources. It holds that social order is maintained by domination and power, rather than consensus and conformity. According to conflict theory, those with wealth and power try to hold on to it by any means possible, chiefly by suppressing the poor. The conflict theory has been used to explain a wide range of social phenomena, including wars and revolutions, wealth and poverty, discrimination and domestic violence. It ascribes most of the fundamental developments in human history, such as democracy and civil rights, to capitalistic attempts to control the masses rather than to a desire for social order. The theory revolves around concepts of social inequality in the division of resources and focuses the conflicts that exist between classes. Thus therefore the inequality existence can be explained by this conflict theory. The SADC region has very huge gaps between the poor and the allegedly rich. Discrimination, wealth and poverty facilitate violence in societies.

[2.5] Conclusion

In this chapter, violence was defined, explained as a culture and leadership was modelled why it has become a crisis in Southern Africa. Activities of xenophobia and what defines it

were broadly looked at. This was done chiefly with the reference to the schools of thought who have written broadly about xenophobia. The researcher accounted much why xenophobia should be modelled as an off spring of poor or leadership crisis that SADC region is facing. Existing literature was complimented, analyzed and acknowledged, gap that needs to be filled was explained.

CHAPTER 3

<u>METHODOLOGY</u>

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the research illuminates an orderly methodology that was used to present data and how the research was carried out. This is about translation of sampling methods that the research used and their role, research instruments that were used to compile data bringing advantages and disadvantages and how they were encountered. Methods and procedures that were employed in amassing and analyzing data for this research are explained in this chapter. Sampling techniques, research design and instruments, target population and size and methods will be looked at.

[3.1] Research methodology

Research can generally be understood as a search for knowledge. Kothari (2004) defines a research as Scientific search for relevant information on a specific topic. Degu and Yigzaw (2006;2) explain a research methodology as a systematic collection of, resolution and

interpretation of data to beget new knew knowledge and answer certain questions of solve a problem. Kothari (2004) accounts for research methodology as the way to orderly puzzle out the research problem. In this case the research problem is accounting how leadership crisis in Southern Africa is a reason for culture of violence. Thus methodology was set out to help the researcher puzzle out the problem.

[3.2] Research design

According to Raj (2005), a research design is organizing conditions for assemble and analysis of data in a trend that will sum particular relevance to the research purpose with economy in process. Kothari (2004:14) asserts that, a researcher should state the conceptual structure within which research would be conducted. The preparation of such a design facilitates research to be as efficient as possible yielding maximal information. As stated by Raj (2005), the research design is very important as it plays two roles, which are to provide answers to research questions and to control diversity. This means that research design is therefore a scheme for getting participants and to gather a certain type of Data from the research in order to solve certain questions and problems bout a certain kind of subject.

Data survey was compiled using questionnaires to randomly selected men and women from Zimbabwe who are in South Africa and have experienced the harsh conditions and treatment. Most of these people were from Bulawayo which is a large population of people who have at one point migrated legally and illegally to South Africa. Other questionnaires were used to get in touch with subjects that are local South Africans of both sexes. After collection of the questionnaires, the study helped the research to analyse data in which the researcher exhibited the difference of data collected from locals in South Africa and foreigners from different countries and have all been part of the violent episodes of xenophobic activities that took place in 2008 and 2015 respectively and still continue to face these conditions on their daily lives. The researcher used qualitative and quantitative research outlines to accumulate information about the effects of poor leadership into influencing culture of violence.

[3.2.1] Qualitative research design.

As stated by Qualitative Research Consultants (2015), subjective research is good to expose a proposed intrigue gathering's extent lead of lead and the perceptions that drive it with reference to specific points. According to Creswell (2009) the most widely used well springs

of information accumulation in subjective research are meetings, perceptions and audit of records. Such a lay out is picked in fact that it provides a top to bottom comprehension of the theme under review. The design of qualitative research is probably the most flexible of the various experimental techniques, encompassing a variety of accepted methods and structures. Though there is no standardized structure, this type of study still needs to be carefully constructed and designed Creswell (2008).

Taking into account the repercussions of poor leadership that have engulfed the SADC region in the past 25 years or so, the use of qualitative enquiry is the best technique that can capture the intended purpose of understanding the violent episodes of Xenophobia beyond ordinary footer intellection. Majority of schools of thought Laminator and Arora (2009), agree that qualitative research is aimed at deeply analyzing, interpreting and exploring sociable phenomenon. In this case the researcher fully acknowledges the hard work of other think tanks who published different works on the similar subject matter. Bryman (2012) illustrates that there are 3 features that are worth taking note of when a researcher is looking at qualitative research. Firstly, there is inductive where the former being sampled is the existence of the latte. Secondly there is an epistemological interpretation which stresses upon the understanding of a social world through participant examination. And thirdly the scholar talks about the Ontological side which is a description that that social properties are a consequence of interaction between individuals.

However, it is of no wisdom to assume that qualitative research will answer of the research problem. Qualitative research methodology does have its imperfections in data collection. Patton and Cochran for example argue that the sample distribution tends to be minimum and do not interestingly represent the entire universe and that the enquiry technique has a tendency to generalize results which at times may be so misleading in research results. It is also a valid argument that qualitative findings are not exhaustive and may be based on affected or involved person's opinion. Though with such valid opposition claims, the research accounts that qualitative research methodologies are the best approach to a survey.

[3.2.2] Sampling for Data Collection

Sampling allows data scientists, predictive modelers and other data analysts to work with a small, manageable amount of data in order to build and run analytical models more quickly,

while still producing accurate findings. There are two main types of sampling: probability and non-probability sampling. The difference between the two types is whether or not the sampling selection involves randomization. Randomization occurs when all members of the sampling frame have an equal opportunity of being selected for the study. Following is a discussion of probability and non-probability sampling and the different types of each. Sampling techniques include comparative, purposive, probity and contrivance sampling etc.

[3.2.3] Purposive Sampling

According to Crossman (2018), purposive sample is a non-probability sample that is selected based on characteristics of a population and the objective of the study. Purposive sampling is also known as judgmental, selective, or subjective sampling. This type of sampling can be very useful in situations when you need to reach a targeted sample quickly, and where sampling for proportionality is not the main concern. There are seven types of purposive samples, each appropriate to a different research objective. The researcher shall however employ only 3 of the purposive sampling which are Homogeneous sampling which will allow the researcher the significance of being a native or a foreigner in South Africa. Typical case sampling will allow the researcher to average foreigners are affected by xenophobia. Thirdly the researcher will employ extreme/ deviant sampling where they will look at deviant cases such as crime in South Africa in order to gain a better understanding in of violent dynamics within the country.

[3.2.4] Desk Research

Desk Research is the research technique which is mainly acquired by sitting at a desk. Desk research is basically involved in collecting data from existing resources. According to Management Study Guide (2015), Desk research is very effective and can be conducted in starting phase of market research as it is quite quick and cheap and most of the basic information could be easily fetched which can be used as benchmark in the research process. This research shall use External desk research where online desk research and government published research. The internet already has a lot of electronic published data about dynamics of Leadership and xenophobia as a a subject in the study. The regional organization SADC and the governments all have website addresses were relevant information is available as it

would have been done by other specialists and is also cost and time effective. A variety of works by other renowned and prominent scholars is also available online and taking advantage of the internet will be good for the researcher.

[3.3] Quantitative research design

These experiments are sometimes referred to as true science, and use traditional mathematical and statistical means to measure results conclusively. Sinks 2013 portrays quantitative as often describing a situation or event, answering the 'what' and 'how many' questions one may have about something. This is research which involves measuring or counting attributes. A quantitative approach is often concerned with finding evidence to either support or contradict an idea or hypothesis a researcher might have. A hypothesis is where a predicted answer to a research question is proposed. The reason for quantitative approach in this research is to make sense of the responses and allow the researcher to organize, summarize and and explore the given responses. This will allow the researcher to provide tables, graphical displays and give summarized statistics where necessary. In this case similarities, differences and relationships will be exposed. Questionnaires and interviews will be used in the study under quantitative methods. Questions such as what, who and when will be answered by this method.

[3.3.1] Interviews

This research will involve a number of interviews between the researcher and the subjects in this foreign nationals who live the conditions of South African life and have at one point experienced violent challenges such as the subject at hand or similar.

[3.3.2] Questionnaires

Open ended questions in form of questionnaires will be asked in order to gain an insight of the views and feelings of subjects. Questions such as Are South Africans, foreign nationals good or bad people and why, will help the research compile information of how many subjects feel the same way in which way. Thus use of questionnaires will be pretty handy.

[3.4] Limitations and delimitations

The limiting factors for this research are the geography of the study, Time costs, misleading information from subjects under study and to some extent provision of accurate information

by authorities. The SADC region politically has 15 countries and the researcher cannot be able to reach most of them and will have to rely on secondary information. Due to the tough economy in the researcher's country travelling to South Africa to find subjects to carry a study on will be costly and the size of the sample may have to be limited and also given the expected hostile nature of the South African brothers and sisters, most of them may not be willing. Those who are there may even provide misleading information and the researcher has no control over such conditions.

The researcher has also decided not to go in red spot areas where foreigners are usually attacked in South Africa for security reasons. The researcher feels it will be better to survey in the Johannesburg central business district where people from different corners of the city are found.

[3.5] Chapter Summary

In this chapter the researcher was outlining the methods that are going to be employed in attaining information, organizing and analyzing it. The chapter also explains why the researcher has chosen these various tools for the research. Factors out of control or challenges expected and what the researcher won't do during the research was explained in the chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSIONS

[4.0] Introduction

This chapter focuses on data presentation gathered by this research in field of study. These take the form of the interviews, testimonials as well as the literature sources like documents and articles, theses and journals, just to mention these few, be it in soft or hardcopy, that the researcher came across. This work is concerned mainly about how leadership is directly and indirectly a cause of continuous violence in southern Africa in the post-colonial era. Thus for mitigation measures to be provided these consequences were looked at in order to provide proper possible solutions. Extensive use of quotation and paraphrasing will be associated in a bid to support 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 chapter1.

[4.1] Response Rate during the Study

The researcher prepared 50 questionnaires for respondents while in South Africa. However, the respondents that complied were 38 out of the expected response. These questionnaires were dispersed specifically for respondents in four categories. The first category (group A) was of 20 South African nationals who are from areas such Cosmo city, Alexandra and Thembisa where violence has taken place before. The second (group B) 20 was intended for different foreign nationals who possess permits in South Africa and the third category (group C) was meant for 10 respondents who do not possess any legal documentation to stay in South Africa and the last group was of respondents from 3 government offices. The criteria for choosing respondents was based on the knowledge ability and representability to the sample population selected by the researcher during the investigation. The criteria of selecting were based on the knowledge of respondents about xenophobia and its causes and those who have experienced it.

Table 2: Respondents grouped

A (South Africans)	B(different foreigners)	(Illegal foreigners)	Government offices
20	20	10	3

In order to make for lost questionnaires, the researcher set out to carry interviews with 15 respondents from group A, B, and from group C and 3 from relevant government departments such as the ministry of home affairs South Africa and the Zimbabwean Embassy. This shaded a lot of light in the subject matter and the researcher was not disappointed in the response rate that he received. The information provided was able to give the research a shape and provide direction. The insights and representation of three governments provided a deep understanding of the issues at stake and the attempts to towards solving them. Below is a table expressing the dispensation of questionnaires and interviews carried out.

Table 2

Tool for collecting data	Expected response	Actual response	%Rate response

Questionnaires	50	38	76%
Interviews	15	11	73.3%

[4.1.1] Explanation for Acquired results

The data acquired from actual response of those who managed to respond demonstrated that that subjects had an overall understanding of the subject matter. Both the perpetrators and the perpetrated were involved and managed to give their sides and understanding of the subject. Though some could not make it, the data acquired was enough to give the researcher an insight and depth of the matter as the interviews were conducted in order to make up for the lost respondents in questionnaires.

[4.1.2] Non responded questionnaires

The possibility on why some questionnaires were not responded to, would be that respondents did not have time as it was a group of employed, hustlers and free lancers, maybe they could not find time. Another reason could be attitude towards the questions being asked as they may not see relevance on how the questionnaires would change anything or address the problems at hand. Xenophobia is a hot topic in South Africa most people do not want to talk about it especially those who have been affected as this evokes a lot of emotions and terrible memories. Another reason of note would be low literacy in some respondents.

[4.2] Xenophobia and reasons for existence

Over 80% of the respondents expressed knowledge of the term xenophobia in response to the question asked pertaining the subject. Respondents from all groups expressed xenophobia as hatred and violence towards foreigners as Mogekwu (2005) expresses that xenophobia is simply the fear or hatred of foreigners or strangers and is embodied in discriminatory attitudes and behaviors which later culminates into violence and abuses of all types exhibiting hatred. An interviewee from group A expressed foreigner as people who do not belong to South Africa by birth that means all foreign nationals who hold passports, permits and under Asylum and even those living illegal as all falling under the "foreign" banner. However according to the South African Immigration Act 13, 2002, "a foreigner is an individual who is neither a citizen nor resident but is not an illegal foreigner" whereas an illegal foreigner is a

foreigner who is in the republic in contravention of the migration act 2002 or prohibited persons (Migration Act, 2002:8) Thus 75% of interviewees in group A had no much knowledge on how to define a foreigner. Interviewees in Group B and C had about 81% of knowledge of the general definition of a foreigner. Examples of Zimbabweans, Nigerians and Somalis were put in while the subjects tried to define a foreigner. Answers given in the questionnaires about reasons for xenophobia provided a variety of responses from all 4 groups.

I. Group A [South Africans]

Group A, in a bid to try and explain reasons for xenophobia lamented most economic reasons. The belief was that foreigners come to South Africa for economic reasons which are to take jobs, own properties which should be owned by local people, settle for low wages and send money back to their native countries. Some respondents even claimed that Foreigners now made half of the population in the country and most of them were thieves, robbers, drug traffickers, car hijackers. One respondent in the group lamented that some companies such as food retail outlets and super markets were only hiring foreigners living behind locals who now suffer. According to Hagensen (2014), such feelings bring in a sense of deprivation and desertification. This gap between reality and aspiration means that it is likely that social unrest will develop (Harris 2002). The government was blamed for having a smooth treatment to foreigners and having friendly migration laws regardless of the fact that the 2014 migration act was intensified. The above reasons were justified by respondents as a reason enough to fight for "what is ours". The continued poverty, over population, staggering healthy systems and unemployment were seen as baggage brought by foreigners from their native countries. The respondents termed most foreigners as living in South Africa o illegal basis.

II. Group B [Different foreign nationals with legal documentation]

Different foreign nationals view xenophobia as a result of ignorance, misplaced anger and legacy of violence. One respondent in an interview accounted that, foreigners have no impact on economic downfall, they are simple workers who work for survival and do any job under any condition. Mostly foreigners are discriminated under the banner of being illegal yet most have proper documentation. Another reason given by some respondents in the group was that xenophobia in S.A was structural and government organs such as the police and depart

among others were models. The police should be impartial and protect every person in the country yet the department has more than often been accused of atrocities against foreigners. In July 2017, Deputy Minister of Police Bongani Mkongi made statistically unproven claims by alluding that

"How can a city in South Africa be 80% foreign national? That is dangerous. South Africans have surrendered their own city to the foreigners."

Nomvula Mokonyane, the Minister of Water and Sanitation, commented on Facebook in that in Kagiso
"almost every second outlet (spaza) or even former general dealer shops are run by people of Somali or Pakistan origin (sic)…I am not xenophobic fellow comrades and friends but this is a recipe for disaster".
Small Business Development Minister Lindiwe Zulu told *Business Day* a local media house that
"foreigners need to understand that they are here as a courtesy and our priority is to the people of this country first and foremost… They cannot barricade themselves in and not share their practices with local business owners".
In early 2017, the minister of Police Fikile Mbalula was quoted claiming that the majority of Zimbabwean ex-soldiers were involved in heavy crimes in South Africa and was later forced to with draw his claims. Thus Group B felt that xenophobia kept coming up as a result of structural hatred of foreigners by some organs of the government.

III. Group C [Foreign Nationals without Documentation]

For undocumented nationals, xenophobia is caused by angered as locals' blame foreigners for everything that is not right. Lack of employment crime, social infidelities among other negative factors. 3 of the respondents claimed that without documentation the sentence by local mob whenever there is an episode of an angry mob was necklacing. The respondents did not deny that some of the foreign nationals were involved in crime but maintained that it is in accurate to claim that all crimes are committed by foreigners as in most cases criminal groups have both locals and foreigners.

IV. Group 4 [Embassy of South Africa and Ministry of foreign affairs Zimbabwe]

Both offices agreed that xenophobia was not something positive and good for both countries

relations. The interviewee from Embassy of South Africa noted the causes such as misinformation, anger, frustration and fear are the ones that caused some people in the country to resort to violence. The interviewee further accounted that the violence was based of criminal behavior of certain individuals but on a larger scale the people of South Africa were peaceful, tolerant and did not mind leaving with foreigners. Based on the recurrence of same type of violence the researcher was not convinced by the response from the embassy of South Africa. As such violence in 2008 and 15 respectively took a form of cleansing from Makwerekweres and the sentiments from the likes of King Buthelezi where a clear call for the attack of foreigners. The response from the interviewee was what Crush (2014) defines as Xenophobic Denialism by the government of South Africa.

An interviewee in the office of the ministry of foreign affairs Zimbabwe, outlined that xenophobia was alive in South Africa. Reverse racism is also very pervasive in Southern Africa. The interviewee was convinced that if there is anyone to be blamed for such misconduct by the people of South Africa, the government is the responsible. Given xenophobic sentiments by some government officials such the minister of Police, Mr. Fikile Mbalula, it was clear that xenophobia is structured within government entities. Partel (2015) argues that, there is a sense that xenophobia is the sole preserve of black South Africans living in townships. There is a sense that the savage is no longer repressed and the doomsday long foretold by sceptics of majority rule has arrived. The respondent did not agree that Zimbabwe has had a lot of people living the country because of politics that have seen the country's economy decline. According the them (ministry of foreign affairs), the government of Zimbabwe has not been able to function well because of the economic sabotage by Europe, USA and the main opposition party MDC. The economic turmoil plundering the country was a result of sanctions that the country was slammed with in early 2000s. While it can be accurate to note the effects of sanctions on Zimbabwe 's socio political space, it is also a concern how the political landscape has affected the economy. Some government officials such Obert Mpofu have been publicly accused of corruption and the ruling party has been accused of stealing public funds for its party luxuries. Thus the reply from the ministry office about the economy of Zimbabwe was not at all satisfactory to the researcher.

[4.3] Xenophobia and multilateral relations between South Africa and SADC states

The general outcome of these interviews brought a general understanding that foreigners be it those who possess permits, asylum and any form of documentation that approves of them being in the country, are viewed the same way as those who do not have. To the eyes of the subjects under study a foreigner is a foreigner/ Makwerekwere as long as they were not born in South Africa. Therefore, the research learnt that hostility, enmity and unfriendliness towards those labelled as foreigners brings with it sentiments of 'illegality'. Whether they have proper documentation or not according to 65% of subjects under group A they are illegal. The illegality comes on the bases that the government is the one that lets them in the country at the expense of locals who now feel challenged socially and economically. Foreign men were accused of taking local women from their husbands because they mostly have economic advantages over local men. The list of accusations goes on and on. The question on who told them that foreigners are taking their jobs 90% expressed knowing it through the media from government and some civil organizations. In the knowledge of the interviewer, the South African government has never formerly declared that foreigners are finishing up resources for locals as according to the United Nations' Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2015) the number of foreign international migrants living in South Africa was approximately 3,14million give or take. This figure includes asylum seekers and and refugees. The 2018 population of South Africa according to the UN estimates was 57, 23%

All subjects under the study except the those in the government offices expressed no knowledge of the current population of South Africa but were convinced Foreigners possibly make half if not a quarter of the South African population. Their convictions were that
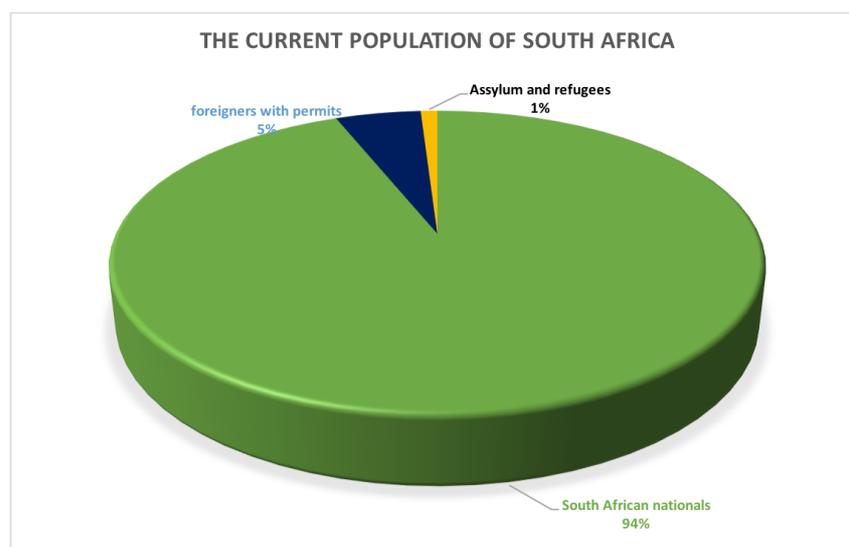
foreigners are everywhere.

80% of interviewees in group A expressed that South Africans are not xenophobic but are just protecting their jobs, properties and blamed those countries that have immigrants in South Africa for killing their own economies and standards of leaving. 20% in the same group blamed the government of South Africa for letting in poor foreigners to come and seek refuge in South Africa. They justified xenophobia as a way to get the government to listen to their pleas and demands as foreigners are thugs, drug dealers and lover snitchers. They also expressed that if foreigners are to come they should work informal jobs with low paying wages. In group B One Nigerian expressed that xenophobia was caused by the laziness and frustration of the South Africans as they did not want to work but but wanted high paying jobs. 50% in the same group claimed that most South Africans were the angriest people because the government is failing them by not fulfilling its promises and being corrupt but at times are accommodating and very friendly. Some claimed that xenophobia is caused by some members of the government that make publicly ill claims about foreigners without proof. Group C confirmed South Africa as xenophobic, Afro-phobic and racist even to well established foreigners. 70% however accepted that some of African immigrant brothers and sisters were a problem in South Africa and were engaged in illegal activities but could not provide statistics. 20% however disputed the allegations by noting that crime by foreigners is usually high profile involving government officials and that cannot be attributed to foreigners because locals can also claim to be foreign and bribe in order to do their activities. The fact that the claims have no statistic backing it makes the disproportionate.

Steinberg (2014) points out that, "perversely, xenophobia is a product of citizenship, the claiming of new birth right. It is just about 'we belong here and you do not'. In relation Nyamnjoh (2006) traces the xenophobic behaviour back to apartheid years. The scholar expresses how the South Africans would subject the *Makwerekweres* to dehumanizing treatment just like how the white apartheid system subjected them to the conditions. Giliomee however traces xenophobia back to 1914 when the poor Afrikaners looted shops owned by the British nationals. Bridger (2015) however differs by tracing the problem back to 1994 when a number of foreigners were beaten and displaced. This research there perceive the emergence of xenophobia in the 21st century as a fruit sown by apartheid fathers when segregation, discrimination was a thick line diving societies. When skin colour could determine your fate and violence could be your daily bread. The phenomenon of xenophobia is its relation to violence and how it has affected South Africa and other countries.

Subjects in group C expressed concern on relations between South Africa and other countries especially the ones whose citizens have been the most affected in the past. In 2015 Former Zimbabwean president Robert Mugabe expressed "The act of treating other Africans in that horrible way can never be condoned by anyone…Our own African people on the African continent must be treated with respect." (News24 2015). A respondent in group A expressed that President Mugabe did not have a right to blame Zuma as he was the one responsible for the brain drain in Zimbabwe because of his harsh rule and killing the economy which saw over two million people migrate to other countries in Africa and abroad. This assertion is supported by the Mail and the Guardian (2009) which accounts that The economy of Zimbabwe shrunk significantly after 2000, resulting in a desperate situation for the country widespread poverty and a 95% unemployment rate. Another respondent in C echoed that development in South Africa is brought by the foreigners who also work hard and contribute to the economy the government of South Africa should just stop corruption. These assertion is supported by Tralac (2015) Apart from this, South Africa also needs to check growing inequality, beyond the trumpeted black empowerment programme, which has done very little to bridge the inequality in South Africa, through an affirmative action which places an emphasis on compulsory education and a development programme directed at opening up slum areas and creating cottage industries.

While some respondents in group A expressed no love for foreigners, some did highlight how useful they were as some of them were running successful businesses that hire a lot of local workers. Both group B and C agree with this statement by noting that SADC is made up of one people regardless of the borders. Some languages have similar dialects, ethnic groups, cultures and beliefs. Fred (2011) agrees by stating that SADC is made up of the Bantu speaking who share a lot of common beliefs. Buyano (2004) also supports the notion by stating that relations of SADC nations were strengthened by leaders of majority ruled countries in 1960s and 70s through coordination of their political, diplomatic and military struggles to bring an end to colonial and white minority rule in Southern Africa. The relations among these countries are more than just geographic border relations. Thus they should always be kept.

[4.4] Regional integration and leadership uprightness as a feasible alternative for Peace, Security and development.

Explained by respondent in group C (Zimbabwean), regional integration is unity for purpose by all SADC states towards achieving economic, socio and political success. Definition from

respondents from South African government offices involved cultural, ethnic, racial and economic tolerance of all Africans in order to maintain long standing relations among states that traditional were one nation with different chiefdoms. The lesson for the researcher was that that processes of decolonization were a need in order to boost the relations between individuals and create a sense of self realization that will kill false conscious of self-degradedness. Xenophobic violence and dehumanizing sentiments such as 'Mukwerekwere' are weeds of colonization, if our society are still dwelling into such, then decolonization process has not started. During colonization, the colonial masters were not proper leaders for the African community as they set to enrich and empower themselves at the expense of the black masses. Surely if such still happen today then Africa, still does not have leadership but thieves, deceivers, war mongers, power hungry individuals and cheap talkers.

SADC is one platform where Southern African states should utilize to promote integration. From the interviews carried in Zimbabwe and South African government offices, SADC is the pool of relations and integration for states down south. The Southern African Development Community (SADC) started as Frontline States whose objective was political liberation of Southern Africa and indeed African States gained independence. This was due to the zeal and dedication of the the leadership at the time. According to 49% of the interviewees all groups combined, SADC Is now a toothless dog. This statement is in agreement with utterances made by Botswana minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation Phandu Skeleman in 2011 who on the case of the human rights abuses in Zimbabwe in argued that SADC failed dismally to address. Aside from making public statements the SADC leadership has not been able to be effective as it used to be when it was Frontline States. It is however not late for the institution to be transformed into an active one as the current mission and vision statement of SADC link directly to regional integration. One interviewee stated that maybe it is high time leadership transformation in Southern Africa be part of the pillars of concern as most countries are not preforming well as far as issues of governance are concerned.

UNSCAP (2009) notes that governance relates to "the processes of interaction and decision-making among the actors involved in a collective problem that lead to the creation, reinforcement, or reproduction of social norms and institutions. Poluha et-al (2002) argue that the concept of "good governance" often emerges as a model to compare ineffective

economies or political bodies with viable economies and political bodies. Thus as the subjects' understudy argue political and social reasons as the ones that are the main drives of suffering in Southern Africa, the SADC community and Africa Union at large need to start processes of implementation of proper governance within the body which will model for all member states to follow suit. Because countries often described as "most successful" are Western liberal democratic states, concentrated in Europe and the Americas, good governance standards often measure other state institutions against these states. According to Agare (2002) international affairs, analysis of good governance can look at any of the following relationships: between governments and markets, governments and citizens, governments and the private or voluntary sector, between elected officials and appointed officials and between government and Civil Society Organisations (CSOs).

Pan African schools of thought however have also attributed Africa's failure to European democracy which they view as one size fits all jacket which does not tally with African reality. The African continent continues to face many complex challenges ranging from issues of governance, poor socioeconomic development within its borders to growing terror attacks from extremist groups. Lobakeng (2017) speaks to the values of Pan-Africanism; values that aim to encourage and strengthen bonds of solidarity between all people of African descent and are based on the belief that unity is vital to economic, social, and political progress. African solutions to African problems aims to use the above in order to galvanise them into action.

Interviewees defining leadership, described a leader as having complex features such as ability to influence, honest, trustworthy and ability to see future. This means that for positive progress a leader should be a good leader. According to a report by the Harvard Business Review, managers manage work while leaders lead people. John C. Maxwell defined a leader as someone who knows the way, goes the way, and shows the way." And he continues to say what defines a good leader is their qualities such as responsibility, transparency, delegating, focused, positive attitude, empathy and creativity. These definitions tally with the definition of good governance given by Graham et-al (2011) who note that good governance by good leadership must entail legitimacy and voice, direction, performance, accountability and fairness. All these are provisions of human rights and principles of good governance. South Africa as country that is said to be democratic and pushing forward the agenda of human rights lacks a lot of safe guarding the rights of African foreigners, listening and fulfilling the needs of its citizens.

Such is also the case of almost all SADC states. Putting aside the issue of democracy as some interviewees did not subscribe to the notion that democracy can end the tyranny of leadership but the quality of a leaders and their styles can. The region needs to adopt, proper styles of governance such as the ones provided by Graham et-al. The concept of governance may be usefully applied in different contexts global, national, institutional and community. According to Graham et-al, good governance should ensure proper proportions of the above sectors. The sectors should not grow too big or be too small.

The current state of African Union is merely nothing than that of a talk show, Data compiled through desktop research reveals that African Union is or has become an outing for the heads of states in Africa just to meet have their talk show and then go back to their homes. The ultimate version to improve Africa's Peace and security remains nothing but a pie in the air. The current state of SADC and the rest of Africa is less peaceful. The 2011 Libyan invasion by North Atlantic Treaty organization while AU leadership sat on terraces and watched one of Africa's own leaders being killed on international television is a clear show how toothless the organization is. Meanwhile the conflict in the Democratic republic of Congo remains improperly resolved, many cases of human rights especially towards and woman and children remains un attended. Recently South Africa was criticized for letting Omar Al-Bashir go scot free while the Hague has issue warrant for his arrest on accusations of human rights abuses towards his people. Peace in the kingdom of Swaziland where Muswati the third is the absolute ruler has become less and less fragile and coup attempts by the Lesotho military wing are are a direct threat to peace in southern Africa. All these cases reflect how week the regional organizations to responding to threats of peace and security.

The aftermath of the 1994 Rwandan Genocide gave AU powers to be pro-active towards any indicator threat to peace yet there is little or nothing that recognized leaders like Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma as the head of the union commission have done so far to stop or manage conflicts affecting the region. Even the Website itself is filled of speeches of the AU leadership that mostly always appeal for donations from well-wishers. While the African Union and the SADC are potential mechanisms to put Africa at ease, the findings by the research reveal that these organizations have not been effective enough to perpetuate and influence regional integration for peace, security and economic stability thus the mileage to

achieving the desired goals such the agenda 2063 are simple a fallacy. The current leadership if not transformed cannot achieve any of the aims of the policy.

Different kinds of entities of governance; Source: Graham et-al (2011)
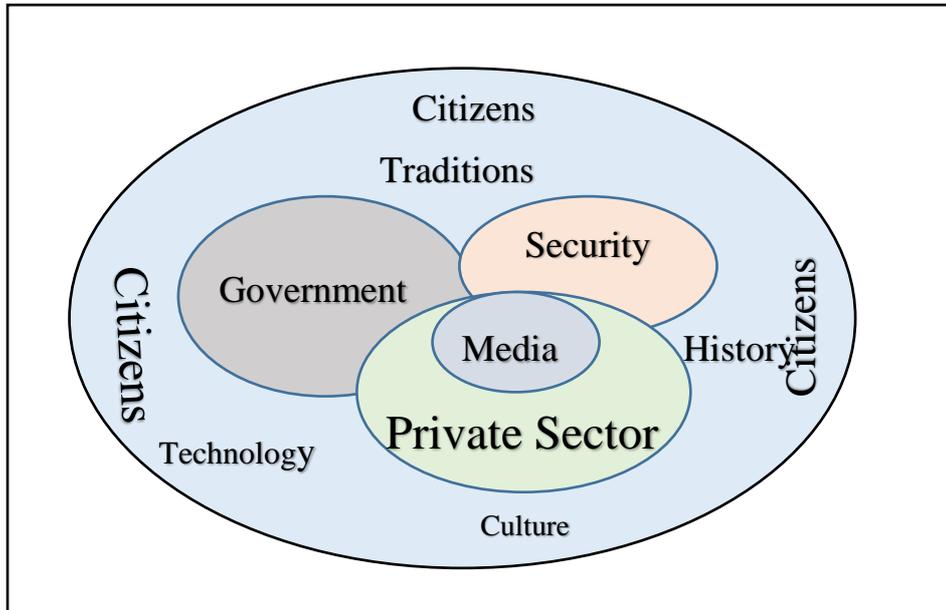
[4.5] Summary

This chapter was concerned with the presentation of data as well as analysis which came up with themes. The study was focused on the culture of violence as influenced by poor leadership in Southern Africa. Thus this chapter attended the research objectives that were in the first chapter. Questionnaires and interviews conducted gave the researcher an insight that constituted findings that were presented along with the views, opinions and arguments from different respondents. These helped the researcher to draw well informed conclusions.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

[5.0] Introduction

This chapter presents a summary, conclusions and recommendations of the subject on study. The research has been on accounting the culture of violence in Southern Africa as a product of leadership crisis or poor governance by political leaders. The aim was to investigate and present how poor political leadership has influenced the continuous recurrence of xenophobic activities in South Africa. The conclusions and recommendations shall be made in line with the objectives of this research as they have been the guidelines of the research.

[5.1] Research Summary

The main aim of the study was to prove that the SADC region has serious leadership crisis which directly and indirectly links to culture of violence within the region. The researcher used the theories such as Political realism, constructivism theory and the theory of institutionalism in order to analyze and explain the leadership structures of governance in Southern Africa.

The researcher looked at various forms of violence prominent in the region, the genesis and existence of xenophobic behavior among South Africans. Definition of violence and accountancy of why and how violence becomes a culture was given. The research was carried out in in different methods of acquiring data such as interviews, questionnaires, desk top research was used. Despite the challenges such as resistance from some subject fear of victimization and biased information, the researcher was able to pull through arrive at the conclusion of his work.

[5.2] Conclusions.

After embarking on the study about culture of violence and leadership crisis in Southern Africa, the results convinced the researcher that leadership is more responsible for most problems facing the people of the region. Political wrangles, dictatorship, weak leadership, corruption and lack of transparency have rocked leaders. Xenophobia is as a result of discontent and anger towards the government of South Africa whom have been misled and disappointed for two decades. The same case goes for all SADC states, influx of foreigners in South Africa is simply quest for peace, good living and economic opportunities that no longer or never existed in their native countries as some of them such as DRC Congo have had war after war. The researcher was able to discover that the problems affecting SADC leadership were less to do with poor economies, declined health sectors, and social disorders instead it was due to poor leadership which has given birth to these problems.

The post-colonial and apartheid era has done little or no effort to empower the majority of blacks instead it has continued the bourgeoisie system this time being led by blacks at the expense of their fellow comrades and countrymen. Xenophobia is just a symptom of a greater disease that the whole region is suffering. While most scholars have agreed that the South African government is in xenophobia denial, this research concludes that the end of xenophobia needs a collective approach by SADC states and leadership. The turmoil

affecting the region' states must be dealt with according by establishing proper leadership and post-conflict nation healings and transformations.

[5.3] Recommendations

[1] The Academic Community

All existing work pertaining the subject that the research looked at, is recommended by the author of this piece. The existing literature gives those interested to the subject a deep understanding. The researcher would also like to advice all potential scholars interested in the subject to get on ground and do more research in order to come up with a huge pool of knowledge that will help the future generations to find possible solutions and relate. The researcher also recommends that those doing research should take it seriously by using pure and proper research methods and following ethics in order to produce authentic work

[2] The government of South Africa

Rule of law and constitutionalism define a democratic nation. Human rights are part of the constitution of the United Nations, African Union and Southern African Development Community, in which South Africa is member. There cannot be an excuse for the abuse of human rights be it asylum seekers, refugees and immigrants entering the country. It is the duty of the nation to protect the life of every human being in their boundaries as articulated by the United Nations Charter.

The independence of Africa came through collective effort of many black leaders from different countries. If it were not for neighboring nations that harbored and protected the freedom fighters, the efforts to fight the apartheid system would have been hard. With this statement the researcher is reminding the government of South Africa that, problems that the SADC is facing need collective effort, the issue of influx of migrants needs a holistic approach by all states. The problem is not the foreigners but their governments thus if the issue is to be addressed it is supposed to be with the responsible leadership who in this case is that SADC leadership.

Xenophobic behavior, reverse racism, discrimination and ethnicism among South Africans exists and are structural, hence the government rather than keeping up with the denialism, should start taking steps into dealing and healing the nation. While the country is often called

a rainbow nation on paper, the mindset among south Africans is still of division and self-centeredness, white still view themselves as the better while the black sees themselves as the owners of the land who deserve respect and benefits even for free. South Africa needs national healing and transformation of conflict true education.

The government as it claims to be democratic, that should not be based on the electoral processes only but also transparency, accountability and honest. Promises that the government gives should be kept. A democratic government should be a government of the people by the people and for the people. Leaders are servants of people not the other way round. Maximum efforts should be put to fighting ever growing unemployment poverty, improving infrastructural development, education and health systems. A larger number of South African people still languish in poverty and poor education while the government has developed bourgeoisie systems within the structures of state governance. Xenophobia, alarming crime rate and all forms of violence are symptoms of remaining unimproved Socio-economic and political sectors. To treat this disease, it is good to look at the cause not the symptoms, transform the kind of leadership the country has been having, employ new techniques of proper governance as different schools of thought and policy makers have recommended.

[3] The SADC states (countries falling under regional political influence of SADC)

The SADC states need to start dealing with the socio-economic and political turmoil within their boundaries. This can be done by adopting political reforms that will see improved leadership and governance. The culture of political violence, poverty, poor health system and melting economies seems to be the order of African set up. Recent studies have also shown that the SADC region is slowly becoming less peaceful. Thus regional reintegration and cooperation is a vital need for heads of states. Promotion of peace through strengthening multilateral relations through trade, culture exchanges between universities, Tourism and sport can be employed. The constitutions of all SADC States including for the SADC itself, emphasizes on the respect of life of all humans whether legal or not and the rule of law. This means that the constitution is the medium of governance. It should be followed properly all the time and governing factors such as the civil organizations and Human rights NGOs should be given existing ground and the media should be set free from censorship.

Since all states within the SADC claim to be democratic, that means the voice of people is the voice of God. The governments are chosen by people for the people and should be be of the people. Power hunger and and struggles should be kept low and corruption is a disease that should be diagnosed within government structures. Respect of own people and serving as a servant leader should be adopted by SADC leadership. Investor friendly policies should be passed in order to promote trade and investment among nations. Improved economics, politics and social lives of people will reduce migrations and influx of a lot of foreigners to other states and this will prevent violent treatment of foreigners as it is witnessed in South Africa.

[4] The SADC and AU Regional Organizations

Ever since the establishment, the organization has hardly achieved any of its aims which are to achieve Regional Integration and Eradicate Poverty within the Southern African region. If SADC is to remain relevant, the organization should then revisit or revive its SADC treaty of 1992 whose objectives are to, achieve development and economic growth, alleviate poverty, enhance the standard and quality of life of the people of Southern Africa and support the socially disadvantaged through Regional Integration; Evolve common political values, systems and institutions; Promote and defend peace and security.

The same goes for the AU that has been referred to by some scholars as a mere talk show. The organisation also needs to be proactive in tackling affairs of the continent. All visions and objectives are laid sounding on the paper yet the talk is not walk at the end of the day the set goals such the agenda 2063 may not be met if the organization is on slumber as it is now. All the good work on is a large sounding nothing if actions to fulfil the gap is not met.

[5.4] Summary

This chapter was concerned with the summary of the research work entirely. All the contents in the earlier chapters and what they discussed was summarized in this chapter. The first chapter laid the background of the research work. Chapter 2 related relevant literatures that the the researcher came across. Chapter 3 was all about the research methods and chapter 4 presented analysed research findings that's the data gathered during research.

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APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE/INTERVIEW GUIDE

INTERVIEW GUIDE TO THE PERSONNEL IN THE RELEVANT MINISTRIES ON THE TOPIC; CULTURE OF VIOLENCE, A CONCEQUENCE OF LEADERSHIP CRISIS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. THE CASE OF XENOPHOBIC ACTIVITIES IN SOUTH AFRICA.

This sections lays emphasis on the views and comments of the various personnel, the South African nationals, foreign nationals from different countries within SA, the Zimbabwean embassy and the department of home affairs in South Africa. The interviews are carried to get a broader understanding of the xenophobic activities including the violent episodes between 2000 and 2015. Thank you for taking your time and opportunity, the interviewer guarantees total confidentiality and privacy of your responses, in shorty anonymity is guaranteed. Your opinion shall be used for academic purposes. The author of this study appreciates your input.

For the sake of record may you kindly introduce yourself.

1. Violence is an old phenomenon in the world and xenophobia is another form of violence widely known in many countries, do you have an idea what the term xenophobia means?

2. There is still confusion on this term on the African context as it is not well understood. What do you think are the causes of xenophobia in the African context?

3. Some well-known figures have attributed xenophobia to Afrophobia, in your view is there any difference?

4. South Africa has been seen as a country that is highly xenophobic, who is to blame for these activities?

5. Do you think South Africans are very violent people as far as their handling of local problems is concerned?

6. The South African government has been referred to as having a smooth attitude towards foreign nationals. How true is this assumption?

7. Do you have any rough idea on how many in terms of population percentage do foreigners make up in South Africa?

8. Have you any idea what SADC is and what it stands for?

9. One of the objectives of the SADC is to facilitate regional integration, can SADC help in ending xenophobic violence?