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MANAGEMENT**

**Assessing the impact of the South African xenophobic attacks on SADC
regional integration principles**

By

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this study to my late mother Bathabile Ndebele from whom I draw my motivation and inspiration even in her absences.

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ABSTRACT

South Africa is a member of the Southern African Development Community and it is termed the economic master minder of the region due to its economic development in the region unlike the other member states. Therefore by virtue of signing the 1992 SADC treaty it meant that everything that happens in South Africa or that South Africa does has to be in line with the SADC principles or objectives. The research study therefore assessed the impact of the South African xenophobic attacks on SADC regional integration principles or objectives. It is also quite important to highlight that words principles and objectives were used interchangeably throughout the study. Therefore before assessing the impact the study highlighted the SADC principles or objectives which are, to enhance economic development in the region through poverty alleviation, promote free movement of people and goods, consolidate peace, stability and security in the region as well as to promote cultural exchange in the region through interaction to mention but a few.

The study highlighted the nature of xenophobia at a global perspective then moved on to reveal the nature of xenophobia in South Africa which is then traced from pre apartheid then post apartheid up until 2017. The driving force towards the whole study was based on the fact that the SA xenophobic attacks have been occurring periodically ever since apartheid which in turn has moved from being a national problem to being a regional problem as it threatens the success of regional integration in Southern Africa. In the research the impact of SA xenophobic attacks was assessed under three main dimensions which were political, economic and social impact that the attacks have on the various objectives or principles. It is imperative for one to note that literature written by other scholars on the subject at hand was critically reviewed giving detail and gaps that haven't been fully addressed by various scholars which are the main reason why this study had to be carried out.

The research used a qualitative approach mostly though the quantitative approach is also applied to explain data that is in numeric form. For a reliable data collection procedure research instruments like interviews, questioners, visual presentations and desk top analysis were used. It is also important to note that data was analyzed using excel in the computer for presentation of pie charts and tables and then descriptive method is given in words to explain information presented by graphs. Last but not least after all has been said and done conclusions and recommendations of the study were given as a way of cementing the whole research.

Acronyms

A.U	African Union
F.D.I	Foreign Direct Investment
F.M.T	Fin Mark Trust
H.S.R.C	Human Science Research Council
H.R.W	Human Rights Watch
I.O.M	International Organization on Migration
NEPAD	The New Partnership for Africa's Development
R.I.P	Regional Integration Principles
S.A	South Africa
SADC	Southern African Development Community
ZLHR	Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights

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CHAPTER 1:

INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces the impact of the South African xenophobic attacks on SADC regional integration principles. The background of xenophobia is outlined showing its nature at a global, regional and national level. This chapter also presents the statement of the problem, research objectives, research questions, the justification, delimitation and limitations of the study.

1.2 Background

Nature of xenophobia at a global level

The investigations on xenophobia have credited such disdain of non natives to various causes, for example, the dread of loss of societal position and personality, a danger or dread to natives financial achievement, a method for consoling the national self and its limits in the midst of emergency as hypothesized by Harris (2001) a sentiment predominance and poor scholarly data Moge kwu(2005).As if this isn't sufficient Moge kwu (2005) goes ahead to say that xenophobes apparently don't have satisfactory data about the general population they despise and since they don't know how to manage such individuals they consider them to be a risk. The researcher however sees a loophole in the previous statement because not knowing about the other person or people for that matter does not justify bad actions towards them or abuse of other people because most of the times the reason why people do not know it is because of ignorance.

As indicated by Kosaka and Hussein (2009) xenophobia has been depicted as something of a worldwide wonder intently connected with the procedure of globalization, It has been noticed that it is predominant in nations experiencing transition. Neocosmos (2006) nearly concurs with Kosaka on the last proclamation as he specifies that it is on the grounds that xenophobia is an issue of post coloniality,one which is related with the legislative issues of the overwhelming gatherings in period following independence. Matunhu (2010) goes ahead to specify that xenophobia is a social bad habit that is as old as social history, which depends on

the governmental issues of prohibition which is an inclination that outsiders are from various nationals thus ought to have a lower status than that of the first nationals.

Xenophobia has been witnessed in different parts of the world, it has been witnessed in America and according to Fetzer (2000) Americans view foreigners with suspicion, fear and hatred even when they needed them for cheap labour. Xenophobic tendencies have also been observed elsewhere outside America during the 2007 election the populist Swiss People's Party gained 29% of the seats in the parliament as a result the party was accused of increasing racism and xenophobic sentiments by publishing a controversial poster during its time which then led to chaos and violence as asserted by Matunhu (2010).

Therefore one notes that generally in the world xenophobic tendencies are usually perpetrated by that group with less social capital which then sees a threat whenever a person who is not of their country arrives and seem to be doing better than they are and hence hatred develops which then results to violence and abuse of such people, while it is also equally true that at times people develop hatred and fear over or towards foreigners because of their colonial background as these people would be in fear that history might repeat itself.

Nature of xenophobia in South Africa

Akihila (2014:56) postulates that in South Africa xenophobia is not a new phenomena instead it is the extension of other forms of violence and intolerance. One notes that the violence and torture in South Africa did not begin with the coming in of foreigners but rather there has always been conflicts in South Africa amongst the South Africans themselves especially on issues to do with ethnicity between the Zulu and the Xhosa ,class struggles as they would be fighting for superiority hence it is no surprise as to why the people of South Africa would see foreigners as a threat to them because already they are threats to themselves as South Africans. Tshishonga(2015) asserts that most African nations attained their political independence in the immediate post 1960s a period where socio-economic development lagged behind with poverty, unemployment and inequalities on the rise which might then help to explain why most of the SADC citizens had to find themselves in South Africa in their numbers which is probably because of the attracting stable economy compared to that of other member states within the SADC region.

Oucho (2006:57) postulates that unless economic and political situation improves xenophobia and unfavourable policies against foreigners would persist. The researcher therefore notes

that the previous scholar might have come up with that idea because though the economic and political situation of South Africa is better for foreigners it might not be the best for the citizens of South Africa which is then probably the reason why they get frustrated and divert their anger to the foreigners who seem to be benefiting from their country. Over the years South Africa has been a host to a variety of African immigrants of then refugees in the 1980s the Mozambicans, in the 1990s the Nigerians and other immigrants from Angola, Somalia, Rwanda, Burundi and the Zimbabweans fleeing the political and humanitarian crisis McKnight (2008). As such black foreigners in South Africa have often been referred to as "amakwerekwere or amagrigamba" hence these words are derogating and are used to inflict intimidation and hate on immigrants Jere (2008).

The Human Science Research Council (2008) identified two main patterns of the xenophobic culture in South Africa that the violence was most aimed at black African nationals not all foreigners in general and secondly that the violence was largely confined in urban informal settlements in the major cities of SA. Hence a few examples of these xenophobic trends are the following: In 1995 there was the assault on Malawian, Mozambican and Zimbabwean immigrants in Alexandra township in a campaign known as Buyelekhaya (go back home) as postulated by the Human Rights Watch (1998), in 2005 twenty Somalis traders in Cape town are allegedly said to have been murdered by locals Human Rights Watch (1998). Thus one notes that xenophobic attacks in SA are not a thing of today but rather they started long back and were directly aimed at the black African nationals.

As if that is not enough in May 2008 the attacks on foreigners were also observed in South Africa and these consumed several cities and townships throughout the country for weeks. The violence began in Alexandra north of Johannesburg to the provisions of Mpumalanga and Kwazulu Natal and to Cape town as asserted by Landau and Segatti (2009) of which 62 deaths were documented and 21 are believed to have been South Africans, over 100 000 people were displaced from their homes and property for millions of local people looted Misigo, Landau and Monson (2009).

Moreover according to Landau (2011:22) in the aftermath of the world cup in 2010 when hundreds of thousand fans visited the country from across the global world, threatening pamphlets were distributed and foreigners were told that they must leave their communities and go back to their countries. In 2015 and the recent 2017 ones in Pretoria xenophobic

attacks in South Africa have been observed as well which shows that the xenophobes have no exact time to start these violent attacks whenever they feel like they just attack and also if one is to follow closely to the way the attacks have been occurring it shows that they are just continuous attacks since post apartheid (in documentation) up to date and nothing tangible has been done to bring an end to such violence. The past articulation is then went down by the HSRC (2008) as it hypothesizes that xenophobic propensities against outside vagrants and all the more particularly African transients have just been reported since 1994 and from that point forward there has been prove that xenophobic inclinations in South Africa have expanded throughout the years as the quantity of non natives have expanded.

Study Area(geographical)

South Africa occupies the Southern tip of Africa its coastline stretches more than 2,500km from the desert border with Namibia on the Atlantic coast towards south wards around the tip of Africa and then north west with Mozambique on the Indian ocean. South Africa is also a member of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and in terms of space it is the largest in the region as shall be illustrated in the following map .

Figure 1: South Africa in Southern Africa



Source:

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Xenophobia_in_South_Africa

South Africa's relation with SADC

South Africa is a member to the Southern African Development Community which then means that in everything that South Africa does as long as its within the region such activities should be binding with the SADC regional integration principles, goals and objectives. Also South Africa is a signatory to International Human rights and Humanitarian treaties especially on refugees and asylum seekers. Thus obligations to combat xenophobia have both a legal and moral force as asserted by Matunhu (2010), as a liberal democratic country fostering the African development NEPAD the SADC and the AU, South Africa is hardly in an ethical position to close borders as the xenophobes want. This is so because such organisations were set up to encourage fraternity and greater regional cooperation and integration especially that of the SADC principles considering the reasons behind its formation.

The reasons towards the formation of SADC are inclusive of the goal to improve economic backwardness and the background of poverty in Southern Africa considering the booming economy of South Africa the region saw South Africa as their mother board to help enhance

economic development in Southern Africa until every SADC member state could develop hence this was to promote integration in the region as well as interdependence within or amongst the SADC member states. Hence with such arrangements in the region and the commitments South Africa has in the region one would wonder whether or not the xenophobic attacks in South Africa promote or hinder a successful regional integration.

1.3 Statement of the problem

It can be direct or indirect, African or western but generally the xenophobic attacks are destructive economically, politically and even socially especially if the attacks do not occur as a onetime event. The continuous xenophobic attacks in South Africa not only do they have an impact on South Africa as a country and the people who are being attacked but also on the neighbouring states which are integrated and incorporated with SA through the SADC treaty of 1992 which is meant to promote regional integration principles and objectives.

However the xenophobic attacks in South Africa are not giving any room of success of such principles as foreigners are being killed in South Africa, South Africans want all black African foreigners to go back to their countries hence the poor remain poor and rich get richer thus undermining the SADC regional integration principles as well as considering the fact that the attacks are only aimed at the black Africans which makes the attacks to be afro phobic rather than xenophobic and thus undermine the spirit of unity within the region, which is what triggered the researcher to do a research on this field in order to reveal how xenophobic attacks have impacted on the principles and objectives of the region as far as regional integration is concerned.

Figure 2 xenophobia in South Africa



1.4 Research Objectives

- To establish the cause of xenophobia in South Africa
- To analyse impact of the xenophobic attacks in SA on SADC regional integration principles
- To contribute to a community which appreciates and understands the importance of regional integration
- To proffer solutions on how xenophobic attacks can be prevented in line with SADC principles and objectives

1.5 Research Questions

- What is the major cause of xenophobic attacks in RSA?
- How have xenophobic attacks impacted on diplomatic relations among SADC member states?
- What are the impacts of the South African xenophobic attacks on SADC regional integration principles?
- What measures have been taken to address such a phenomena in SA by the other SADC member states

- What impact do the attacks have on issues to do with humanitarianism and Pan Africanism?
- What is it that has to be done in order to bring an end to these attacks?

1.6 Justification of the study

The research seeks to assess and unravel the impacts of the South African xenophobic attacks on SADC regional integration principles and revealing the impacts will not only serve the continuity of a successful regional integration but will also promote issues of Pan Africanism, democracy and the embracement of globalisation in Africa as these are also undermined by the xenophobic attacks in South Africa. It is true that one may argue that some of the impacts are not yet dominant but whether direct or indirect the attacks have a stronghold on the success or failure of integration in Southern Africa. Xenophobia is actually not a new phenomenon in the world it has been observed, witnessed and assessed in other parts of the world for instance the hate crimes committed against the Chinese in the late 1800s in the US, the murder of black families by Klux Klan and the Jewish Holocaust all these incidents were considered to be xenophobic and if one is to follow the consequences that followed then it should have a plank on SADC member states to take action in order to stop these attacks.

It is no secret that people like Julius Nyerere from Southern Africa upheld the ideology of humanitarianism (Ubuntu) something which the South Africans were well know of as they emphasis on Ubuntu in everything they do, However the attacks in SA go against such an ideology thus degrading African dignity. This research is meant to cultivate a culture of grass root support in the SADC region as it is possible that the actions perpetrated by the fellow South Africans on their African brothers might be because they do not understand issues of integration and the objectives of the region to promote free movement of people and goods within the region. The research will also help restore the idea of unity within the region and Africa as a whole and help remind the South Africans how the foreigners they are chasing away and killing helped South Africa to fight the apartheid era and maybe then they will realise that these foreigners are not out there to harm them but they are just in search for better living conditions which they are not getting in their mother countries due to economic a political instabilities.

The researcher also notes that assessing the impacts of the attacks on the principles of SADC will not only help the region to come up with solutions to this problem but rather prevent a

situation where the attacks in South Africa will end up attracting the eye of the international community as some might end up terming it as a genocide or crime against humanity and once it attracts the international eye the sovereignty of the region is bound to be undermined as it might reveal that the region would have failed to solve their own issues thus attracting the outside community.

Moreover xenophobic tendencies have been observed in countries like Botswana and Namibia though not tense like in South Africa hence the moment the region deals with the root causes of xenophobia which results in them having impacts on the region, then maybe the idea or culture of violence and torture against foreigners will be dealt with throughout the region and costs of such attacks would have been revealed and solutions brought forward.

1.7 Delimitations

The research being carried out is based on SADC regional integration principles in relation to the xenophobic attacks in South Africa diplomats in Harare from selected SADC member states were able to give information needed for the research hence the researcher did not really have to go country by country as respondents were readily available where the researcher resides. Also the availability of the internet made it easier for the researcher to be able to read the different stories of the affected individuals and also see videos of people being burnt and killed which then saved the researcher from having to travel to South Africa in order to interview people who were affected by the attacks. Most importantly the fact that the researcher studies Politics and Public management and once did modules on regional integration, diplomacy and international relations made it easier for the researcher to be able to analyse and interpret written documents on xenophobia with a political eye in order to fatten the research.

1.8 Limitations

- Time factor: The research was carried out within a short period of time however the researcher made great use of the university's vacation period to do data collection.
- The researcher faced a challenge in meeting some of respondents in embassies as some were not available due to other work commitments however in such a case the researcher would be given the second best person to respond.

- The researcher did not get to meet the perpetrators of these xenophobic attacks in person but the social media and internet saved the day as the researcher could get information from there as to why they attack the foreigners.

1.9 Chapter summary

The first chapter introduced the study by outlining the background against which the study is based thus giving the direction which the study will embark on as well as to make one understand the value of the research. It outlined the objectives, research questions, problem statement and justification of the study. The delimitation of the study and the key terms of the study are also highlighted. The next chapter will focus on the related literature review.

Chapter 2: Literature review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the literature review of material that has been published on this topic by accredited scholars. Dimensions of economic, political and social impacts and the

theoretical and conceptual framework are discussed. The chapter will also look at the gaps that have been left in trying to reveal the impact of xenophobia on the principles of SADC.

2.2 Conceptualizing xenophobia in South Africa

Xenophobia is characterized by Webster's word reference as the dread or disdain of outsiders or non natives or of anything that is unique or remote. However there are individuals who contend that the definition is excessively basic and that the idea of xenophobia incorporates a part of savagery and physical mishandle, Judy Kollapan the previous executive of South Africa's human rights commission fights that " the term xenophobia must exemplify activity and hone and can't be just characterized as a mentality" Kollapan (1997). Hence one notes that in this setting xenophobia incorporates an antagonistic inclination towards a specific gathering of individuals which at that point may lead to issues of negative action like violence and abuse which then leads one to the definition that xenophobia is the fear or hatred of foreigners or strangers, it is embodied in discriminatory attitudes and behaviour and often culminates in violence, abuse of all types and exhibitions of hatred Moge kwu (2005)

As indicated by Harris (2001) investigations of xenophobia have credited such disdain of outsiders to various causes, the dread of loss of economic wellbeing and personality, a risk saw to natives' monetary achievement, a method for consoling the national self and its limits in the midst of national emergency .The scientist concurs with the past researchers' view as one notes that xenophobia fundamentally gets from the feeling that non subjects represent some kind of risk to the beneficiaries character or their individual rights and is additionally firmly associated with the idea of patriotism, the sense in which as indicated by Keyser individual of enrolment in the political national has a basic fixing in his or her personality.

2.3.1 Economic Integration

The study will first show the principles, objectives and goals of SADC economically that which should be promoted by every SADC member state before revealing what other accredited scholars have to say about the economic impacts of SA xenophobic attacks on SADC regional integration principles. The main objective of SADC is to promote economic and social development through cooperation and integration the next step after independence (SADC ,2002 p2). Economic integration seeks to achieve self sustaining development, economic growth and the alleviation of poverty, the promotion of resource management and the achievement of sustainable utilisation of natural resources SADC treaty art 5(1) and all

these objectives came as a reaction towards economic backwardness and the poverty background in Africa.

2.3.2 Economic Impact

Economic impact is defined as a macro economic effect on commerce, employment or incomes produced by a, decision, event or policy according to the business dictionary. Hence in relation to the subject at hand economic impact has to do with the effects that the SA xenophobic attacks have had on the principles mentioned earlier on and these can be direct or indirect.

According to the Fin-mark Trust research, South Africa is the power house in the SADC region. To the ordinary citizens of the countries neighbouring South Africa, this is the country of opportunities with its track record in upholding democratic principles, for these reasons there has been an influx migration towards South Africa since 1994 .However according to the F.M.T research (2012) the recent spite of xenophobic violence in South Africa is in direct contradiction to the regional integration agenda that is supported by Fin mark Trust. Through this Fin mark trust seeks to promote the broadening and deepening of financial links within SADC.The process involves eliminating barriers to cross border investment and yet the attacks do not help the process of nation building and integration as it defeats the sense of belonging and the principle of free movement of goods and people within the region.

The research by Fin mark Trust stresses out that companies such as Shoprite Holding Limited which report to have almost 290 retail outlets in SADC countries and the Standard bank which is the largest bank in the continent have much to lose as far as the xenophobic attacks are concerned. Hence impacting on the South African companies which are meant to promote economic development across the Southern African countries and the African continent at large .According to the F.M.T research (2012) the attacks of foreigners in South Africa have far reaching consequences on the social, political and economic relations within the sub region, their research however notes that the impacts will be felt most acute in South Africa which then undermines economic development in the SADC as South Africa is the economic power house of the region hence once their economy is disturbed then economic interdependence and cooperation in the region will be affected as well. Hence one would agree with Fin mark Trust research because whether direct or indirect the xenophobic attacks

in SA have a huge economic impact on the SADC economic principles as it is clear that xenophobia is not only a nation problem but a regional problem as well.

As if this is not enough scholars like Kizito Sikulcia argue that while significant progress has been made by the SADC to integrate the region a lot more still needs to be done to ensure that Southern African citizens appreciate the idea of cooperation amongst member states. According to Kizito the recent cases of increased xenophobic attacks by some South African on foreigners may help to reveal the nature of challenges that Southern Africa face in promoting deeper integration amongst citizens of the region. The region is working towards breaking down its colonial barriers by opening up its borders to encourage the smooth movement of goods, services and persons within Southern Africa. This is aimed at improving intra regional trade and facilitating the movement of skilled personnel in the region. However kizito postulates that the attacks on foreigners do hinder the implementation of such regional arrangements and affects SADC's main goals of advancing political freedom into broader socio-economic independence that ensures improved living standards of people.

Moreover the Southern African Research and Documentation centre (SANF) stresses out that the xenophobic attacks also have negative impacts on SADC regional integration principles in terms of foreign direct investments (FDIs). According to the SANF every investor would want to invest in a safe environment to which will be able to provide the lasting security for his or her investments of which the xenophobic attacks in South Africa are directly opposite of what is needed for good foreign direct investors.

As far as the SA xenophobic attacks are concerned one notes that the dream of united economy or regional economic integration in Southern Africa is a myth, African leaders' quest for economic integration to proffer economic development and alleviate poverty in Southern Africa is underestimated, this is true with reference to the SANF research that the current incidents in South Africa are an upfront to the dream of a united Africa. This dream is a partnership for transformation through the strategies, policies and programmes and the activities of regional integration. It of great importance to note that under the SADC economic integration the other goal of such an integration is to ensure that there is poverty alleviation which is a step towards poverty eradication to the economically disadvantaged in the region. However with the economic master minder of the region having its people to proffer such actions as xenophobic attacks yet the other member states should cooperate with

it in terms of trade issues it is no doubt that issues of poverty alleviation in the region will remain a myth as the poor get poorer and the rich get richer .

Linked directly to the SADC regional integration principles is the SADC common agenda which originates in article 5 of the SADC treaty of 1992 ,under this treaty is the principle to achieve economic development thus enhancing free trade within the Southern African region However with the argument presented in the previous statement and with the way the South Africans are butchering foreigners in their country show that they want to see all the African foreigners being evacuated from their country and never coming back which then undermines the whole principle of free movements of goods and people.

2.4.1 Political Integration

Political integration refers to a fundamental transformation impact of political architecture (Allied consultants 2002) .The political objectives of regional integration range from promoting common political values and systems, strengthening legitimate and democratic institutions in consolidating peace security and stability. In Southern Africa, political integration involves the establishment of shared values and norms that guide the goals of regional cooperation and development as asserted by IDASA(2004)

2.4.2 Political Impact

Apart from the economic impacts the researcher takes notes of the political and social impacts of South Africa xenophobic attacks on SADC regional integration principles which are not fully dealt with in literature that has been documented already as much emphasis is given by accredited scholars on economic impacts, thus living a huge gap in trying to explain the impacts the xenophobic attacks on SADC regional integration principles.

The researcher notes that the minute an action on something starts to involve issues of tribe, race and ethnics then issues of politics could have taken precedence. In this case one notes that according to the definition of xenophobia by Wilson (1998) that it is the fear or hatred of foreigners ,however the South African case is different as far as the definition is concerned because the attacks seem to be aimed not in all foreigners or migrants in South Africa but rather to the black African immigrants like the Mozambicans, Malawians and Zimbabweans to mention but a few yet the white immigrants or the non black society is exempted from all types of abuse and brutality. In relation to such action one notes that there is more to these

attacks on Africans than just the claims by South Africans that foreigners are taking their jobs as the minority whites are the ones who are still in control of the SA economy over the majority black citizens of South Africa which then leaves a lot to be desired as why are they not fighting for the independence of their resources rather than to fight people who do not own or have total control in any of the things that benefit them.

Therefore with reference to the above one would wonder that the attacks in South Africa are xenophobic or afrophobic attacks since it is the black Africans who are fighting against each other and so it is clear that the attacks undermine issues of unity and cooperation within the SADC member states which also undermines issues of Pan Africanism which leaders like Kwameh Nkrumah advocated for. One also notes that as long as political issues between member states are not water tight then surely, economic and social integration in the region becomes a white elephant which also means that the principles and objectives of SADC would have been underpinned hence the three arms should complement each other for the success of the other.

In addition to the political impacts one would note that even the political leaders in South Africa are ignorant to the impact the hatred and abuse actions have on the success of regional integration for instance the alleged statement by King Zwelithini who is said to have noted that the foreigners should go back to their countries, hence with such thoughts and ideas on the political leaders who are expected to be the push factors for the success of the region's goals it is crystal clear that a lot still needs to be done in addressing the xenophobic issues for the success of SADC integration.

According to Chingono and Nakana in Southern Africa regional integration is undermined as xenophobia is on the rise and the immigration regime of South Africa in particular is increasingly becoming restrictive and discriminatory. Chingono and Nakana go on to reveal that a new form of post apartheid "apartheid" is emerging in which it is far easier for citizens from western countries that supported apartheid to enter the new South Africa while it is not as easy for citizens from African countries that supported the anti apartheid struggle to enter the country.

The SADC common agenda clearly states under its objectives that there shall be consolidation and maintenance of democracy, peace and security in the region. In relation to

this objective Southern Africa is even termed the most peaceful region in Africa due to the common values and principles that Southern African states share especially that of Ubuntu a term which was largely held by the rainbow country South Africa .However the recent xenophobic attacks do undermine the principles of SADC politically especially that of security and stability because in as much as the African citizens from neighbouring countries continue to go to South Africa however their security there is threatened as the attacks do not have a specific time on when they occur but rather attacks just take place any time and any day and they are continuous from the period of 1994 right up to 2017. Also one notes that not only is the stability and peace of the foreigners only that is threatened even the rightful citizens of South Africa the environment they live in is that without peace and stability as some can also be affected when these attacks take place a case in study of the 2008 xenophobic attacks were according to Harris (2001) of the 62 deaths that were recorded 21 were said to be South Africans

As if this is not enough issues of peace and stability continue to be undermined in the region as seen by the 2015 and 2017 xenophobic attacks which called upon SADC member states to act as evidenced by the reaction of Mozambique evacuating its citizens from South Africa as people were being burnt, violence and abuse of all types was the order of the day.

The researcher also takes note of Nigeria though not part of SADC but in Africa which has its citizens in South Africa which were also affected by the xenophobic attacks in SA and almost cost the diplomatic relations between South Africa and Nigeria. This is so because Nigeria was at a verge of evacuating its embassy from South Africa and even urged South Africa to do the same in reaction to the fact that Nigeria felt like South Africa had not done everything it could to stop the xenophobic attacks in South Africa. The reason why one had to include the incident between Nigeria and South Africa is to try and show that the xenophobia issue has even shifted from being a region's problem to being a problem of the continent as countries even outside the region are affected by it.

The researcher also notes that not only did the attacks have an impacts on the political sphere of Nigeria and south Africa but it also led to the citizens in Nigeria and the South African citizens to attack each other and exchange words over the social media the internet thus attracting even people outside the African continent hence killing the concept on oneness

.brotherly hood and unity not only in SADC but in Africa as well as citizens are not a peace with each other .Thus one would really note that there is a need to effectively address these xenophobic attacks in South Africa because from being a national problem they expanded to being regional problem and are even extending to be a continental problem.

2.4.3 Social-cultural integration

Chingono and Nakana postulate that integration in the socio-cultural sector is a form of development cooperation in which different cultures and societies meet and interact. In Southern Africa countries have a common history and tradition that transcends national borders in the region and this history includes pre colonial warfare, colonialism and the subsequent subjugation of indigenous black people by invading white settlers. According to the SADC treaty, the social objectives of regional integration are building supporting mechanisms for the socially disadvantaged, consolidation of the long standing historical, social and cultural affinities and links among the people of SADC .Also the protection of human rights in the region is also of paramount importance.

2.4.4 Social impact

According to the Longman dictionary a social impact is the effect on various people that happens as a result of an action, activity, project, programme or policy. As far as this research is concerned social impacts have to do with the effects of xenophobic attacks on the people of Southern Africa as far as the SADC integration principles or objectives are concerned. Issues of cultural affinities and links among the people of Southern Africa are a major concern if one is to look at the success of regional integration and the achievement of objectives and principles of SADC.However the culture exchange process can only take place when there is free movement of people within the region of which the continuous xenophobic attacks in South Africa and not giving anything fruitful towards the achievement of the whole aspect of culture exchange and interaction of people as the South Africans do not want anything to do with the black African immigrants as evidenced by the brutal actions of torture,killing and beating up of the foreigners to really make them go away.

Furthermore one would wonder that what about the black African foreigners who have gone under intermarriages with the South Africans yet they are not wanted in the country, what then happens to their families and not to mention the lives that these people would have started together. Thus indeed it is beyond measurable doubt that the xenophobic attacks in

South Africa do undermine the SADC region integration principles as issues of consolidation of the long standing historical, social and cultural affairs are undermined. Also one also takes into cognisance that some of these people who are being attacked they are from Zimbabwe of which if one is to apply history some of those people are originally South Africans who were just displaced during the Tshaka and Mzilikazi era where Mzilikazi had to run away from Tshaka with his people crossing over to Zimbabwe before imperialist borders were marked in the region.

Moreover it will be doing great academic suicide if one is to talk about the social objectives of SADC and fail to talk about the promotion of human rights in the region whether one is in their mother country or not and these rights being inclusive of the right to life, right to freedom and the right to property as stipulated in UN convention of the bill of rights as well as in the African charter of human rights. It is also of great importance to note that human rights are part and parcel of the tenets of democracy. However the xenophobic attacks in South Africa are a contradiction to such protection and promotion of human rights which is surprising as South Africa is well known for its ways of upholding democratic principles and taking into consideration that it is a signatory to international human rights treaties especially on refugees and asylum seekers.

In 2008, sixty two people were recorded to have been killed in South Africa hence it is true that the xenophobic attacks in South Africa do undermine the promotion and protection of human rights in the region as people are being butchered and killed ,what happened to ubuntu a term which was largely upheld by the South Africans “I am because you are” what has happened to the people’s conscience is someone can burn a woman and an innocent child the most vulnerable people who bring pride in any home as culture is concerned.

Figure 3 Cruelty of the xenophobic attack



As if this is not enough not only is the right of life which is undermined due to xenophobic attacks but also the right to property for instance the attacks in Mpumalanga in 2008 where shops were burnt and people's shacks burnt leaving them homeless and without anything to help them work and put food on the table. Then one would definitely wonder why the government of South Africa hasn't effectively enforced their law in order to cater for the affected and not only the government of South Africa but also the SADC member states have a role to play to make sure that these attacks come to an end as the region cannot prioritise maintaining that which it is benefiting from South Africa at the expense of other people's lives.

2.5 Theoretical framework

The interdependence theory developed by Kahone and Nye 2007 postulates that states are interrelated or connected such that if something happens to at least one actor on at least one occasion in at least one place it will affect all the actors. Hence according to this definition one notes that in regional integration if anything happens to one member state it automatically becomes a regional disaster. Hence in as much as xenophobia is not a pandemic people that are being attacked are that of the region and Africa thus affecting the region's efforts of moving towards promoting economic, political and social development.

However the attacks in South Africa undermine the whole movement which is why xenophobia according to the interdependence theory has become a regional problem from being a national problem as it impact on the regions principles and objectives especially that of SADC. Therefore one agrees with Kahone and Nye's view that interdependence has to do with sensitivity as whatever affects one actor will also affect the other actors hence a cause for concern for all the SADC member states to take action on these xenophobic attacks.

Moreover the neo functionalism theory which was developed by Earns Haas in 1958 in his work the uniting of Europe, the theory was aimed at explaining the regional integration and development in the area of economic cooperation in Latin America. The theory is one in which regional integration is a process by which countries remove barriers to free trade. Neo functionalism helps to explain the integration process and it is highly connected to the strategies of integration of the founding fathers Jean Monet's approach to integration aimed at individual sectors in hope of achieving spill over effects to further the process of integration. Thus neo functionalism is a process which is in a bid to promote regional integration which makes one quickly agree with the scholar as the theory is in line with SADC principles that of promoting free movement of goods and people within the region.

However one might argue that the theory was propounded to promote cooperation in the East and West countries so it is difficult for the theory to be applied in Africa which is somewhat true, however it is debatable because the aim of the SADC is to promote free movement of goods and people which means that the SADC principles or objectives are in line with the theory and the fact that the xenophobic attacks in SA pose as a threat in achieving such arrangements in the region.

The bio-cultural hypothesis postulates that the xenophobic attacks in South Africa are only affecting the black African nationals which according to Harris (2002) the foreigners are targeted because they are easy to spot. Therefore showing that the foreigners are targeted through observation as to the language they speak, the way they speak and the way they behave. This is true for instance Morris (1998:1125) states that Congolese and Nigerians are targeted as they are easy to identify because of their language, physical features, their clothing, bearing and hairstyle. However the researcher notes that the hypothesis does not give justification as why only the black African immigrants are the targeted ones. According to Harris (2002) language, clothing and physical features also make Asians to stand out as

other and one would agree with Harris 2002 because it shows that there is more to the attacks than just hatred towards foreigners and such actions undermine the SADC regional integration principles as Africans are developing hatred against each other thus it is true that conflicts between and amongst states contribute as a challenge to regional integration.

2.6 Chapter summary

This chapter discussed the theoretical and conceptual frameworks of the study, both xenophobia in South Africa and its impacts on the SADC regional integration principles have been analyzed and conceptualized through reviewing the already existing literature .Hence it is this chapter that the gaps that have not been addressed as far as the subject at hand is concerned were revealed by the researcher thus showing the utility of the study. The next chapter discusses the methodology of the study.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter addressed the research design, techniques, data collection tools, data analysis and ethical issues that were considered during the conduct of this research. It clearly articulates the intentions and procedures of the study and how it moved from one stage to the next in order to acquire the information that answer the research questions. Thus, in this chapter sources and methods of data collection, sampling techniques, and data analysis procedures are explained.

3.2 Research design

Research design is a comprehensive plan for data collection in an empirical research project, It is a blue print for empirical research aimed at ensuring specific research questions or testing hypothesis and must specify at least three process which are data collection process the instrument development process and the sampling process as noted by Bhattachajee (2002),Creswell (2002) explains that the research design is a process that links research questions with the data. Therefore one would agree with Creswell because the research design serves as the mother board of the whole study as it is where one gets the specific information needed through inquiring and collecting of relevant information needed to address a particular problem. A case study research design was adopted so as to generate an in depth account of factors relating to the impacts of the SA xenophobic attacks on SADC regional integration principles as multiple sources of gathering and analysing data were used which in turn validates the data collected.

3.3 Research approach

The research was a mixed method approach here both qualitative and quantitative approaches are used, mixed methods research represents research that involves collecting ,analyzing and interpreting quantitative and qualitative data in a single study or in a series of studies that investigate the same underlying phenomenon as postulated by Leech and Onwuegbuzie (2008) Thus this approach was ideal for the research as it brings out different thoughts and ideas of different people on the subject being studied, hence a variety in terms of information gathered

The study tools were structured interviews, questioners and illustrated presentations. All these tools were used in order to gain in depth information from the respondents in person where as on the illustrated presentations the researcher saw it fit to analyse visuals, written

documents by other people and the different videos that one can see on the internet about the xenophobic attacks in South Africa. The use of the three different tools was for triangulation

The weakness that can be dictated from the qualitative approach is that of subjectivity and biasness by the researcher in terms of interpreting the information given, however such a weakness can be avoided as the researcher was guided by the ethics considerations that prohibit issues of dishonesty.

3.4 The target population

The diplomatic missions in Harare of the countries that are in SADC were the target population particularly, Mozambique, Malawi and Zambia. The ministry of foreign affairs in Zimbabwe, organisations dealing with human rights and immigration were also part of the targeted population.

3.5 Sampling procedure

Population sampling is the selection of some participants to represent the entire population from which participants will be taken as postulated by Leeky and Omnrod(2005).Whereas John and Jane (1993) define sampling as a process that makes it possible to draw valid inference of generalization on the basis of careful observation of variables within a relatively small proportion of the population. The Mozambican, Zambian and Malawian embassies were purposively sampled as they are the close respondents one can get on the SADC member states who have citizens who were affected by the xenophobic attacks in South Africa and it is also part of their duties as diplomats to represent their nations as well as their citizens. Also on organisations dealing with human rights and immigration purposive sampling was conducted as well yet the quota sampling was selected for the Ministry of foreign affairs in Zimbabwe.

Non probability sampling was applied which is defined by Salent as a procedure that depends on the subjective judgement whereas Yamane goes on to say that it is a process where probabilities cannot be assigned to the units of objectivity and hence it becomes difficult to determine the reliability of the sample results in terms of probability .

Purposive sampling is done with a purpose in mind. A researcher usually would have one or more specific predefined groups he or she is seeking, hence the previous statement justifies why in this case the researcher did purposive sampling for the Mozambican, Zambian and

Malawian embassies in Zimbabwe because the three SADC member states have citizens in RSA who were affected by the xenophobic attacks hence the researcher saw it fit to engage the diplomats who are readily available in those embassies as one could not have travelled to all the three countries in order to gain the information needed.

3.6 Study sample

Seven diplomatic missions including the ministry of foreign affairs in Zimbabwe were sampled from a population of 14 diplomatic missions of SADC member states which 50% of the population. Key informants from the Human rights organisation and the International Organisation on Migration were also picked and these were inclusive of the officials who deal with International human rights under the Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights and the ones that deal with refugees statistics and rights of immigrants in any country under the International Organisation on Migration in Harare (Zimbabwe). Information from the victims was obtained through desktop analysis and illustrated presentations on the internet

Table 1: Study population and Sample size

Respondent category	Study population	Sample size	Percentage
Diplomatic missions	14	7	50
Key informants	10	10	100

3.7 The research instruments

Questionnaires, interview guide and a illustrated présentations were used to obtain data from the research participants. The advantages and disadvantages of these methods were considered.

3.7.1 Questioners

A questioner is a form containing a set of questions especially addressed to a statistically significant number on a subject and in a way of gathering information for a survey. It is also a written list of questions to be answered by a number of especially as part of a survey as postulated by the oxford advanced learners dictionary (1997:952)Whereas Haper (2001)points out that a questioner is an important instrument for observing and recording

data beyond the physical reaction of the observer which be either structured or instructed. The questioners used were open ended and close closed ended questions, open ended are questions that give room for any ideas or answers that the respondents might have whereas close ended are those questions which have possible answers readily available hence the respondent is to comply with the answers only.

Questioners were used to gather information from the international organisations of human right and that of migration and the respondents completed the questioners in writing. The questioner was simplified to enable the respondents to understand it as this was a sensitive study which one may choose not to truly respond to it maybe for political reasons or any other reason. The research instrument used had a great advantage considering the fact that it was not a self administered questioner so it gave the respondents time to search for the information in order to give reliable information especially where the questioners required statistics. However it is also equally important for one to take note of the demerits the research tool carries that of the fact that at times respondents may wrongly interpret the questions asked however that was carted for as one made it a point that the questions be simple and straight forward.

3.7.2 Structured interviews

Chitardo (2005) points out that an interview is used where detailed information is required and when the informants are few. According to CSSR (2007) an interview is a meeting for obtaining information by questioning a person or persons. It is in this part or in this method that the researcher gets to understand or hear out the respondent very well in person ,hence any clarifications and the interview. Thus structured interviews were used to gather information from the Mozambican, Zambian and Malawian diplomatic missions as well as the ministry of foreign affairs in Zimbabwe on the impacts of the SA xenophobic attacks on regional integration principles. The reason why one used interviews because the subject being researched on needed detailed information from at least the SADC member states hence no wrong interpretations were made as one will be able to even repeat the questions several times so as to get clarity.

Therefore one had to take into consideration the advantages of interviews as they are useful in gaining insight and context into a topic and also allows the respondent to describe what is important to them, as facial expressions will be shown and can be used as signs to dictate how the respondent feels or thinks about the subject. However one should also consider that

interviews are also susceptible to bias as the respondent might not be willing to come forward with the information. Also it is time consuming and expensive compared to other data collection methods.

3.7.3 Illustrated presentations (photos, voice)

Illustrated presentations are those presentations associated with the social media especially the internet where different people get to say their views through the internet. The researcher chose this type of research tool so as to reach to the direct victims and perpetrators of xenophobia as well as other people's view on the subject matter as some people tell their stories through the internet, videos and photos are also shown on what was really taking place. This method was ideal to the researcher as one could not have gone to South Africa and get hold of the victims but the internet and social media came to rescue. In doing this one took into consideration the advantages of illustrated presentations that the method is a powerful way to represent data because a picture is "worth a thousand words" though it takes some technological skills to really interpret the presentations.

3.8 Analysis

The data collected from the Human rights organisation and the International Organisation on Migration was analysed using excel in the computer. The generated responses are then converted into graphs and pie charts for easy interpretation.

3.9 Validity and Reliability

Reliability is the degree to which an assessment tool produces stable and consistent results hence it mainly deals with whether or not the findings can be used elsewhere to conduct other studies as they can be reliable whereas validity is the quality of being logical or factual hence a research has to show facts that the findings are really what they appear to be not what they ought to be. Hence that being said the validity and reliability of research instruments used by one will be measured using the advantages and disadvantages considered when the research was conducted. Thus one notes that the methods used are appropriate to be able to give the validity and reliability of information when answering the research questions of the study.

3.10 Ethical considerations

Ethics comes from a Greek word ethos which deals with habits of people. The interviews were informed that the participation in the study was voluntary hence the purpose of the study was explained to the interviewees in order to make them understand and participate willingly. Privacy and confidentiality was maintained to diplomatic missions and international organisations that participated and this was done through non recording of their positions at work and names as well.

3.11 Chapter summary

This chapter gave an outline of the research in which the study falls. Research instruments, data collection procedure and the study subject just to mention a few were discussed as well as issues of non plagiarism and ethical considerations were held with most significance. It is in this chapter that methods and procedures that were taken during data collection were shown clearly outlined.

Chapter 4: Data presentation and analysis

4.1 Introduction:

The chapter describes the results of the study .The data presented was collected from the Zimbabwe lawyers for human rights (ZLHR),International Organisation on Migration in Zimbabwe(IOM),ministry of foreign affairs in Zimbabwe and four diplomatic missions in Harare (Tanzanian,Mozambican,Zambian and Malawian)embassies.

4.2 An overview of the findings

The research revealed that of the embassies that responded, knowledge about the SADC regional intergration principles, xenophobia in South Africa and the impacts of xenophobic attacks on SADC principles/objectives are well known as shall be shown. Though there are some embassies like the South African and the Botswana embassy which the researcher did not have the opportunity to interview as they had other commitments, nevertheless the few embassies that managed to give responses complemented the whole research study. The responses that one got from the human rights officials and the IOM officials reveal that there is little knowledge about the SADC principles Though they appeared to know more on what was directed to them for instance impacts of xenophobic attacks on human rights and the statistics of immigrants in South Africa as well as what the refugees act say about refugees, immigrants and asylum seekers in any country.Overally from the responses the researcher got it is clear that the xenophobic attacks in SA do undermine the SADC regional integration principles though some respondents felt that the impacts are however indirect.

4.3 Response rate

Table 1

Stratum	Total questioners	Those who responded	Did not	% for those who responded
(ZLHR) officials	25	19	6	76
(IOM) in zimbabwe	10	3	7	30

Table 1 shows the response rate for questioners by the human rights officials in Harare and the IOM officials in Zimbabwe (Harare). The overall response rate for both organisations was 62%,a very high response rate attributed to the data collection methods employed by the researcher which was through direct distribution of questioners. The researcher left the

questioners with the officials and waited for about 3 weeks to collect them meaning that the respondents were given enough time to respond accurately which is why there was a huge turn out.38% of the distributed questioners was not respondent to and a major contribution was from the IOM this is so because many of them had little knowledge about the SADC principles or objectives whereas some failed to respond due to other commitments in their work place but the few that responded managed to give relevant information

4.4 Impacts of xenophobia on human rights

Figure 1

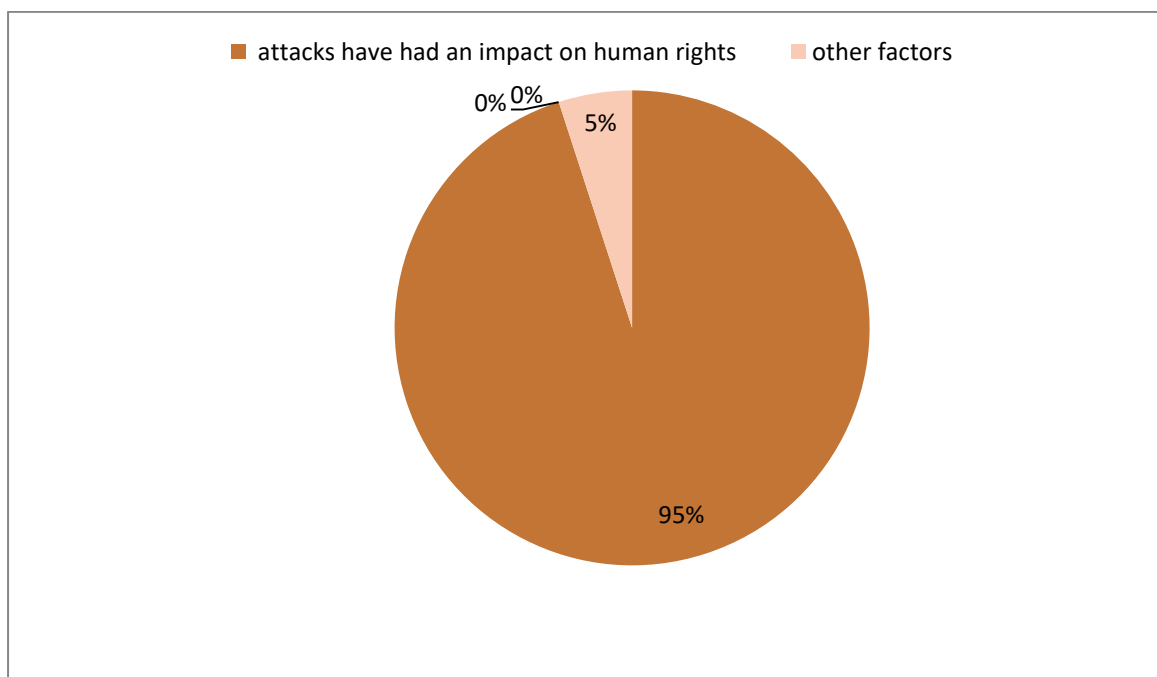


Figure 1 shows the response rate of the Zimbabwe lawyers for human rights for questioners pertaining the impacts of the xenophobic attacks on human rights since post apartheid up until 2017 ,of which 95% of the respondents were of the view that the attacks have impacted negatively on the people’s human rights whereas the other 5% were of the view that it is not only the xenophobic attacks that have undermine the human rights protection principle but the SADC member states as well.

ZLHR officials pointed out that the signing of the 1992 treaty by the SADC member states binds them to act in accordance with the promotion of human rights and democracy within Southern Africa, meaning that it is the duty of every member to make sure that all those principles are promoted. However according to the respondents the right to life, property and freedom have suffered victims of xenophobic attacks in South Africa as foreigners are being

killed and their property is being destroyed which makes the researcher to agree with them because such actions are a threat to human security .With reference to the responses that were given by the respondents it is clear that they agree with Harris 2001 who noted that the acts that undermine human rights in South Africa are not justified considering South Africa's obligations and commitments under the SADC treaty and the African charter on human rights to protect everyone regardless of their status.

However 5% of the respondents were of the view that xenophobic attacks cannot be wholly blamed for undermining human rights in Southern Africa but rather the SADC member states stripped the tribunal of its mandate to receive complaints from individuals and organisations leaving it only to adjudicate the disputes between member states. Hence the ZLHR officials stated that in as much as the xenophobic attacks might have undermined human rights promotion, it is also the SADC member states that have deepened and worsened it because even if those immigrants might want to report it is however impossible through the arrangements that were made.

4.5 What are the speculated statistics of the immigrants in South Africa?

Figure 2

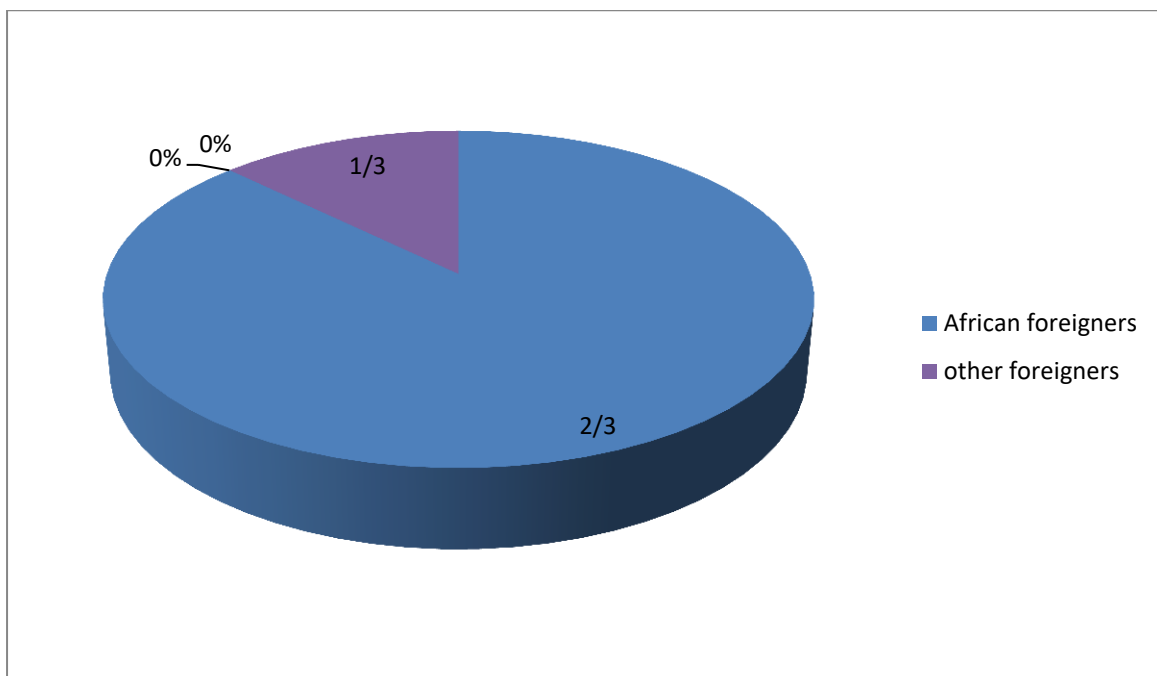


Figure 2 shows the population of immigrants in South Africa. The IOM officials in Zimbabwe speculated that according to the 2016 survey research there are about 1,6 million

of immigrants residing in South Africa, of the 1,6 million 2/3 are Africans and 60% being male ,30% being women and 10% children ranging from 15-64 years.

Therefore with reference to the figures that have been shown above it has been revealed that most of the immigrants going to South Africa are from Africa much of whom run away from economic and political instabilities in search for better living commodities so that they can provide for their families back home. Also if one is to look at the ages of people who go to South Africa most of them are from child headed families and are school drop outs who want to find something better so that they might be able to attain better living commodities as their mother countries could not provide much for them.

The IOM officials in Zimbabwe went on a further step to explain that indeed the xenophobic attacks have had an impact on the SADC principles as far as the treatment of refugees and asylum seekers is concerned as they pointed out that they should be treated the same with the other nationals which is however not the case of south Africa. Their view is further substantiated by the refugees act which places responsibility upon the South African government to provide full protection and provision of rights set out in the constitution.

4.6 Response rate: interviews

Table 2

Stratum	Total no of interviews	Those who were interviewed	Those who were not interviewed	% of those interviewed
Embassies	7	5	2	71

Table 2 shows the results of the interviews conducted in selected embassies. The total response rate per % was 71 %.The other 29% constitutes of those that were not interviewed due to issues to do with bureaucracy were certain procedures had to be followed for them to respond while for the others there were particular individuals who had to respond but they were not available the time the research was carried out due to other work related commitments.

Figure 3

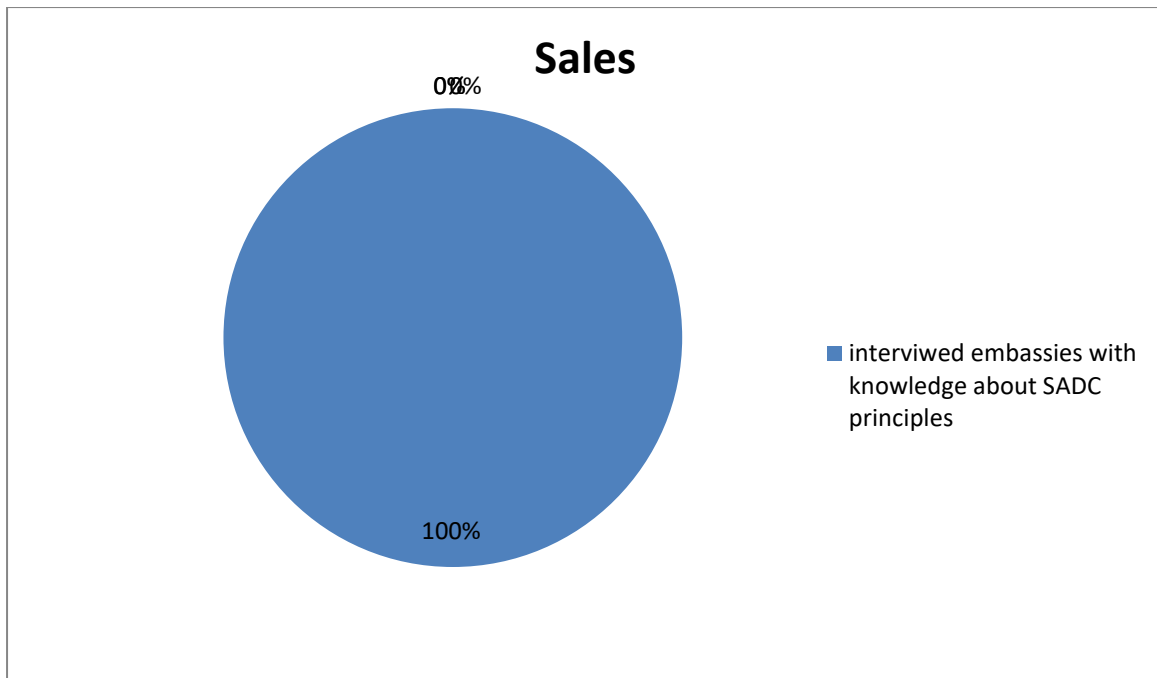
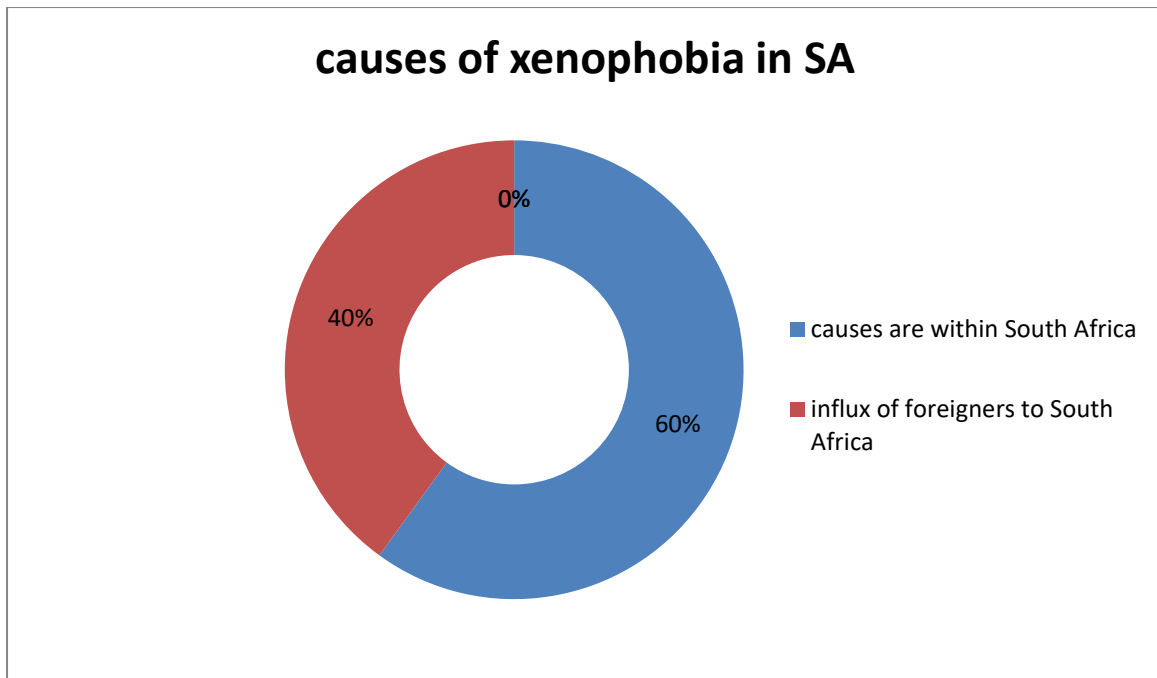


Figure 3 shows the response rate of the embassies that were intervened on their knowledge about the SADC regional integration principles and from the figure above it is clear that 100% of the interviewees knew and had knowledge about the SADC principles. The fact that the turnout was 100% complemented the whole research purpose because from the start the researcher was talking to individuals who knew about the matter at hand.

4.7 Causes of xenophobia in South Africa

Figure 4



It is of great importance to note that of the four embassies that were interviewed which are (Tanzanian, Mozambican, Malawian and Zambian embassies) as well as the ministry of foreign affairs in Zimbabwe the interviewees noted that 40% of the driving force towards the xenophobic attacks in south Africa is because of the influx of foreigners in South Africa yet the 60% is within the South Africans themselves. The interviewees articulated that the influx of foreigners in South Africa only worsened or deepened the situation that was already there which then fuelled the anger of the South Africans not because the foreigners were stealing their jobs but because they had deepened the frustration that was now there as they had to share the few resources they had with foreigners.

40 percent of the interviewees made mention that the causes of xenophobia can be attributed to the influx of foreigners in the South Africa since post apartheid up to date as they go to South Africa to share the few jobs that the South Africans themselves do not have. As a result both the South Africans and the foreigners have to compete for the same jobs which at the end the black immigrants end up being employed more than the SA citizens, This is true with reference to the group that steers up these violent attacks in South Africa it is a group of people that survives more on the informal sector that does not even give them enough for them to survive with their families now if they have to share this with African foreigners who are more or less their competition it somehow frustrates them which is why they end up attacking so that the foreigners could go back to their mother countries.

However the other sixty percent of the interviewees chose to disagree that the influx of foreigners in South Africa is the cause of xenophobia but rather mentioned that the influx of foreigners in South Africa only deepened the situation that was already there. Thus pointed out that xenophobia in South African can be traced back to the time of Tshaka and Mzilikazi where there were class struggles and ethnic differences which then cultivated a culture of violence within the South Africans as they have always wanted to be supreme from time memorial so if anyone comes and seem to be a threat to their supremacy issues fear and hatred arises which is why the African immigrants had to find themselves as victims of circumstances.

Moreover they also made mention that apart from the culture of violence within the South Africans the apartheid hangover also can be a major cause of the xenophobic attacks and this is so because when the colonial masters arrived in South Africa they offered friendship and partnership which they later on used to their advantaged and colonised the South Africans so it is out of that fear that anyone who enters South Africa becomes a threat to the South African citizens. However the question at hand is why then is it the attacks are only affecting the black African immigrants and not the whites or the other foreigners that are not African which then can be attributed to the fact that African immigrants are a competition and a threat whereas the whites or the non African immigrants are the one who run and control the situations in South Africa thus cannot be seen as a threat but as a saviour.

4.8 Impacts of xenophobia on SADC R.I.P

4.8.1 Economic

Figure 5

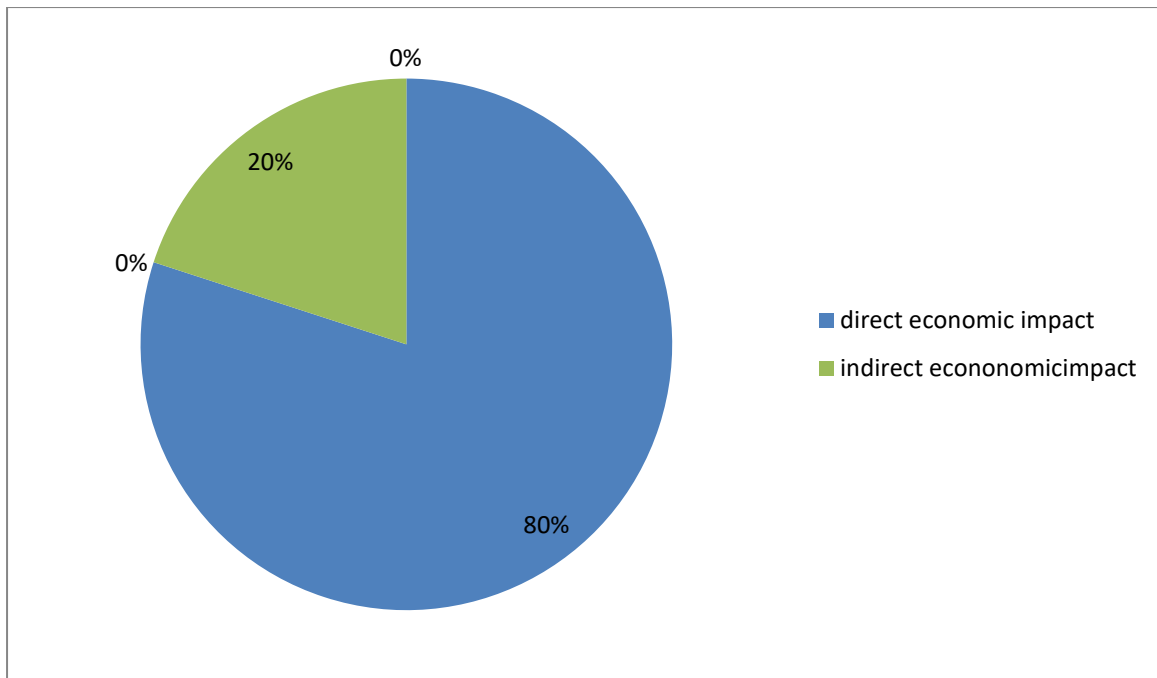


Figure 3 shows pie chart of the percentage of the interviewees who responded to the view that the SA xenophobic attacks have impacted on the SADC principles economically of which 80% of the respondents pointed out that the impacts have been seen as the attacks undermine the arrangements made by the SADC. Where the other 20% pointed out that the impacts might be there but they haven't been directly felt on the SADC principles or objectives they are just but indirect.

The interviewees who were of the view that xenophobic attacks have had an impact on the SADC regional integration principles alluded to the fact that the SADC principles/objectives on economy under the SADC treaty of 1992 is to ensure economic development in Southern African through poverty alleviation and that can be achieved through the free movement of goods and people within the region. However the xenophobic attacks in South Africa stand as a stumbling block towards the achievement or fulfilment of that principle/objective as seen by the fact that the South Africans do not want anything to do with African immigrants as evidenced by the way they torture them and kill them. Thus there is no way free movement of goods or people can be promoted because people go to South Africa in fear of the unknown as these attacks just erupt any time as they do not have affixed time table of when and how they are to appear. Thus at the end of the day it is only the state authorities who enjoy the free movement of goods and people principle as they are highly protected that ordinary citizens.

Moreover the respondents also reacted to the fact that the black Africans who are in South Africa went to South Africa in search for better living conditions running away from poverty

,hunger, economic and political stability so that they may be able to make something out of their living which they could not do back in their mother countries, however upon getting in South Africa they are faced with the xenophobic attacks which destroy everything they have worked hard for as seen by the 2015 xenophobic attacks in Mpumalanga where shops were burnt down and shacks (houses where these foreigners live) were destroyed leaving them with an option to start again or go back home. Thus with these views they mentioned they confirmed that the xenophobic attacks in SA have had an economic impact on SADC as they undermine its principles/objectives.

However the other third of the interviewees which comprised of 20% pointed out that the xenophobic attacks in SA have not fully had an impact on the SADC principles as most of the impacts are felt by South Africa as a country thus agreeing with the Fin Mark research survey that most of the impacts are to be felt by South Africa. The interviewees went on to mention that the SADC member states are still trading freely among themselves thus moving towards a step of ensuring economic development within the region ,however one might argue and say that if the states are trading well and towards enhancing economic development in the region then how come there are still foreigners moving away from their mother countries to South Africa in search for better living conditions. This is the part where one would mention that the SADC principles were meant to serve and benefit the civil society within the region not the ones in authority or in control of the resources so the minute the Southern African citizens do not benefit anything from the SADC principles or arrangements then SADC would have failed to serve its purpose which is why one would say that the xenophobic attacks in South Africa do undermine the SADC principles economically because the people are not benefiting from the arrangements that were made.

4.8.2 Political impacts:

The interviewees made mention that the xenophobic attacks have a political impact on the SADC principles/objectives as the attacks haven't been able to address issues of consolidating democratic principles and maintaining peace, stability and security within the region as stated in the SADC common agenda. The interviewees pointed out that in any environment human security and societal security should be of paramount importance not forgetting issues to do with peace. However to them the xenophobic attacks in South Africa were not in any way promoting or fulfilling the arrangements made by SADC but rather they have been undermining those objectives. One would want to agree with the interviewees that

the act of killing people, burning them alive and torturing them does not in any way promote security for anyone be it immigrants or other ordinary citizens as they might also end up being affected by all the violent acts .

As if this is not enough peace may be overrated and some might want to believe that issues of peace in the region haven't really been affected by the xenophobic attacks in SA which one proposes to disagree with that view because one cannot say peace hasn't been affected in South Africa while these xenophobic attacks have been occurring periodically since 1994 up until 2017 march and no one else knows when they might appear. Hence that act of promoting conflict and instilling fear in people threatens peace in South Africa and according to the interdependence theory what affects one state when states are integrated might affect everyone which is in the case with South Africa and other SADC member states as far as issues of peace, stability and security are concerned.

4.8.3 Social Impact:

The interviewees made mention of the social impacts that the xenophobic attacks have had as well on the SADC regional integration principles that is to say issues to do with building supporting mechanisms for the socially disadvantaged ,consolidation of long standing social and cultural affinities as stated in the SADC treaty of 1992.It was also pointed out that for this to be achieved there is need of flexibility amongst people so that they may be able to allow issues of culture exchange to take place through interaction and maybe intermarriages.

However the attacks in South Africa do not seem to be promoting any of those arrangements because the South Africans really want nothing to do with black African immigrants so much such they do find pleasure in killing and torturing the people whom share almost the same background as articulated by Chingono and Nakana that the Southern African countries have a common historical and traditional background that transcends beyond national borders. However to the South Africans it is those artificial borders that should separate the people so that they may enjoy the fruits of their development on their own. Thus the interviewees confirmed that the xenophobic attacks have done nothing but undermine the arrangements made by SADC of which the researcher is in agreement with tem

4.9 Impacts of Xenophobic attacks on other factors other than SADC principles:

Figure 6

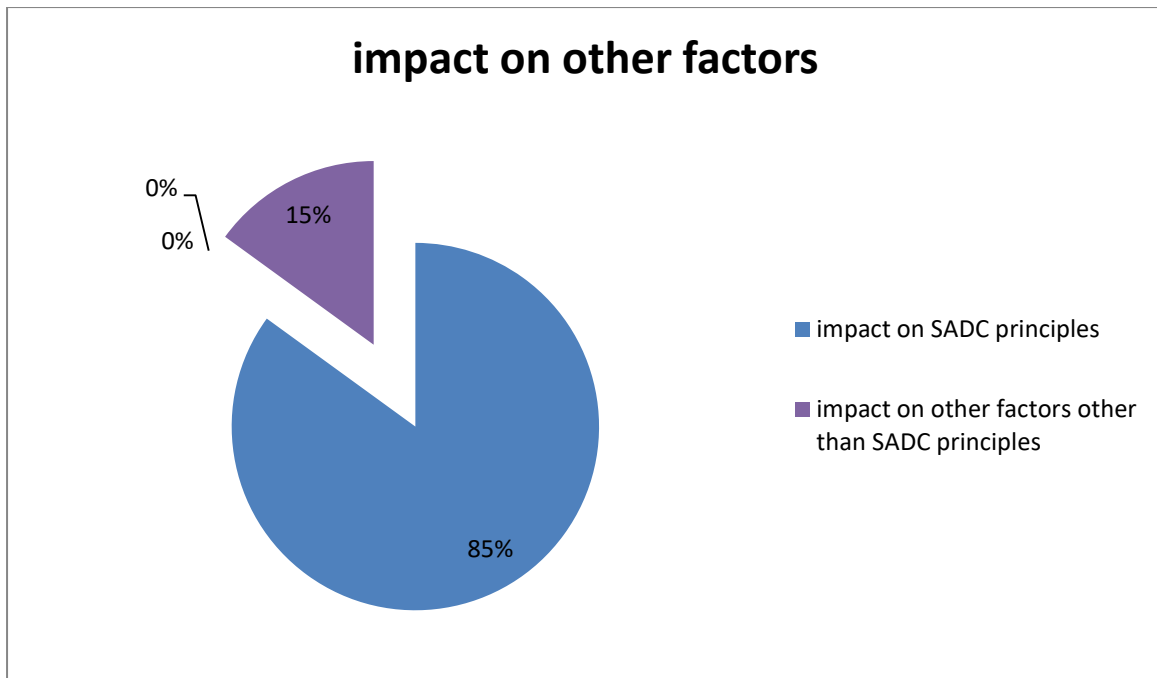


Figure 4 shows that 15% of the interviewees were of the view that there other factors other than the SADC principles that the xenophobic attacks have had an impact on for instance issues to do with humanitarian issues where the acts of xenophobia on their own do not reveal any sign of “ubuntu” thus undermine the ideology of humanitarianism which people like Julius Nyerere advocated for in Africa. Also the xenophobic attacks of 2015 in South Africa moved from being a national problem to being a regional problem then an African problem as seen by the way the way the attacks strained diplomatic relations between Nigeria and South Africa as Nigeria threatened to evacuate its embassy from South Africa and for South Africa to do the same with theirs in Nigeria. The turn that things almost took in 2015 due to the xenophobic attacks would have affected Africa deeply.

Moreover the interviewees went on to mention that the principles of Pan Africanism and globalisation are also being undermined by the xenophobic attacks in South Africa. They pointed out this view based on the fact that the xenophobic attacks are mainly aimed at the black African foreigners which then distorts the whole notion of unity and brotherly love that the Pan africanist view tries to portray because the minute the Africans are butchering and torturing each other then there is nothing like unity amongst or within them thus destroying the dreams of African leaders like Kwameh Nkrumah that of a united africa. Moreso issues of

globalisation also suffer victim of the S.A xenophobic attacks this is so because the era of globalisation encourages free movement of goods and people and the adoption of democratic principles which however the opposite of what is happening in Africa as far as the xenophobic attacks are concerned.

4.10 Strategies that have been taken by SADC to curb xenophobia:

Figure 7:

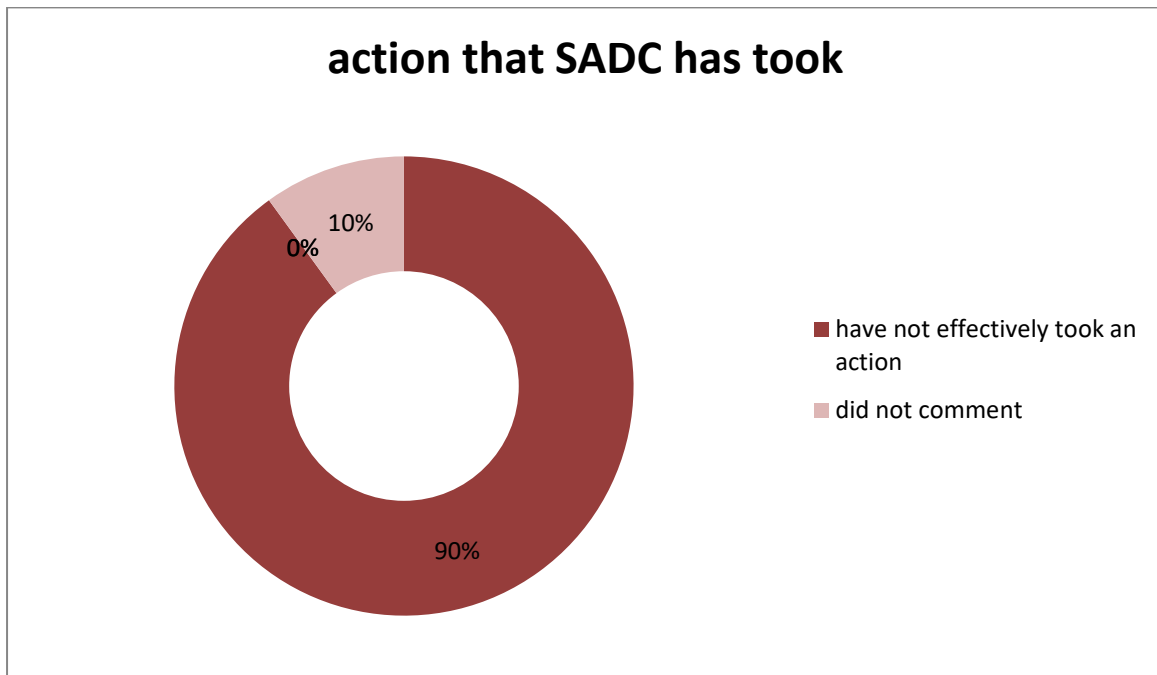


Figure six shows the percentage of interviewees in reaction the fact that SADC has taken any action towards the xenophobic attacks in South Africa, of which 90% of the interviewees made mention that that there is nothing effective that SADC has done in trying to address the xenophobic attacks instead whenever they hold summits they keep on mentioning that they will discuss the issue and come up with strategies on how to address the attacks but nothing has been done yet. The interviewees then noted that the only action that some member states took in the 2015 xenophobic attacks was to send their buses to South Africa so that those that wanted to go back to their mother countries would do that a good example of Mozambique which had to evacuate some of its citizens in South Africa and Zimbabwe which had to send a zupco bus to ferry those who wanted to come back home.

However it is equally important for one to highlight that in as much as some countries did try to evacuate their citizens from South Africa it did not bring an end to the xenophobic attacks in South Africa as after that one notes of the 2017 xenophobic attacks which took place in

Pretoria thus showing that there is a need a for SADC members to sit down and come up with a permanent solution for the xenophobic attacks not only in south Africa but in the region as well.

The other 10% of the interviewees however failed to comment on whether or not there are strategies that have been taken by SADC in addressing the attacks as made mention that they do not have any idea hence wouldn't want to comment without factual evidence. Hence from the responses or the views that the interviewees gave it is clear that SADC has not really taken the xenophobia issues as a matter of concern as nothing yet has been done to address the issue permanently.

4.11 Chapter summary:

The findings have been discussed and presented. Pie charts and bar graphs were used to present the data. Discussions were used to interpret the meanings and implications of findings. Therefore it is in this chapter that the impact of the xenophobic attacks in SA was revealed where overall from the data that was collected it is clear that the South African xenophobic attacks have impacted largely on SADC regional integration principles though some aspects still have an indirect impact though to a lesser degree. Most importantly it is in this part of the research that some factors other than the SADC objectives that the SA xenophobic attacks have had an impact on were assessed, Hence revealing the dangers of xenophobic attacks at a national as well as regional level.

Chapter 5: Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents conclusions based on study findings. It also showed how the study objectives were met. Recommendations to particular authorities, policy formulating members and states were stated as well on how one may come up with strategies to permanently take care of xenophobic attacks not only in South Africa but at a the region as well.

5.2 Conclusions

The impacts of the South African xenophobic attacks on SADC regional integration principles /objectives since post apartheid up to 2017 were highlighted by the study. The root causes and dynamic factors that contribute to xenophobic attacks in South Africa include the culture of violence within the South Africans, class struggles and ethnic differences which can be dated back to Tshaka and Mzilikazi's as well as the apartheid hangover which then makes them react towards the foreigners who come in their country particularly the black African foreigners. The African immigrants find themselves as victims of circumstances because they go to South Africa to share the same resources ,jobs ,privileges and their day to day activities with the South Africans unlike the non black society particularly the whites as they are the ones who run the situation in South Africa and even create jobs for the blacks in South Africa which the African immigrants and the South African citizens have to scramble for thus seeing African immigrants as a threat to their wellbeing.

Therefore in assessing the impacts of the xenophobic attacks on SADC principles/objectives one takes note of several conclusions taken from research findings. It is quite clear that the xenophobic attacks in South Africa have impacted on the SADC regional integration principles as they undermine what SADC ought to achieve. This is so taking into consideration that the minute the South Africans are against the coming in of African foreigners in their country and by virtue of them having to use violence and brutal actions to get rid of the foreigners it denotes the whole idea of ensuring free movement of goods and people within the region as people are being killed and tortured thus undermining the whole principle which in turn contributes to the failure of regional integration.

Also the principle of enhancing economic development through alleviation of poverty within the region is also undermined by the xenophobic attacks because by virtue of African immigrants moving into South Africa in search for jobs and better living standards they are

trying by all means to reduce the level of poverty in their mother countries by equipping themselves however the South Africans deny them that opportunity as they want all the African immigrants back to their countries. It is equally important to note that not only individuals are denied the opportunity of searching for better living standards but the states themselves have failed to equip each other economically in Southern African the economic master mind of the region South Africa imports more than she exports from other neighbouring states which is the opposite of others thus benefiting more than it can give back yet the South African citizens want absolutely nothing to do with the African immigrants hence the rich get richer and the poor remain poor. Thus one notes that whether direct or indirect xenophobic attacks in South African undermine economic integration within SADC.

As if this is not enough the research also concluded that the fact that the xenophobic attacks have been happening continuously and no one can tell when, where and how they may begin or end it means issues of security in South Africa are at threat meaning that African immigrants are not safe as far as human security and societal security is concerned. Therefore the minute issues of human security in South Africa are shady the countries integrated with South African automatically become affected as far as the interdependence theory is concerned. Therefore if South Africa through the xenophobic attacks has failed to cater for the security of people in their country it means SADC has also automatically failed to provide that security as well as most of the Africans are residing in South Africa.

Also issues to with peace and stability in the region are undermined as well by the xenophobic attacks due to violent attacks that occur whenever the xenophobic attacks occur meaning that not only South Africa will be having to deal with that but SADC member states as well will be assessing the whole process of attacks thus internal peace wont be available even if they do not have to face it directly. Thus it can be concluded that the xenophobic attacks have had a political impact on SADC principles though one may argue that it is indirect but the fact that the African immigrants in South African who happen to be citizens of the region have felt the impacts meaning the principle/objective to maintain peace, stability and security in the region is undermine.

Moreover it is common knowledge that when different people who have a common historical and traditional background meet cultural exchange and inter marriages issues are bound to occur which is what is stipulated by the SADC treaty under its objectives. However the group steering up the xenophobic attacks in South Africa does not take into consideration all those

issues. Thus if one is to consider that some African immigrants have built homes and families in South Africa with the SA citizens through inter marriages yet someone would want to drive them back to their country it is somehow not justified as far as societal life is concerned. Hence one noted that the move by SADC to consolidate culture exchange within the region has been undermined and it will remain a white elephant if nothing is done to curb the xenophobic attacks in South Africa.

Furthermore one may note that apart from SADC principles/objectives the South African xenophobic attacks have also had an impact on the Humanitarian issues. The act of killing ,torturing and burning people alive does not represent any sign of “ubuntu” which the South Africans were well known of and which even represents African dignity .The acts in South Africa represent a new wine in a old bottle because issues like human rights which African fought so hard to acquire is what the South Africans are now trying so hard to take away. One would have done academic injustice if they fail to acknowledge the fact that the xenophobic attacks do undermine the principles of Pan africanism as well those to do with unity and love amongst Africans as the violence and torturing is totally the opposite of that.

5.3 Recommendations

Address the root cause of xenophobia in South Africa.

One noted that for someone to be talking about impacts today there should be a cause somewhere hence one recommends that before anything else the root cause of xenophobia should be addressed because the attacks just go beyond the influx of foreigners in South Africa, not to mention the fact that the attacks on the black African immigrants is a also a cause for concern meaning the culture of violence in South Africa and the apartheid hangover should be looked at. In this case it is the duty of the South African government to ensure that it comes up with strategies that would address the above mentioned concerns, as well as it is the government of South Africa fullfil the promises it made to the South Africa when the ANC was got into power in 1994 that is to say create employment and deliver services well to the people as that might be frustrating them as well.

Neighbouring governments to fix problems in their countries

Most immigrants in South Africa ran away from civil wars, economic and political instabilities in their countries which were now a threat to their human, economic, political and societal security hence a need by the neighbouring African countries to fix their problems

at home for people to be able to go back and settle well in their mother countries. Besides it is the duty of each and every country to ensure security to its citizens before any other state or organisation does it. The whole process of trying to fix problems that people are running away from might not be a one day thing but a process will need committed leaders and citizens to achieve it.

Also by trying to fix problems in the neighbouring states of South Africa it would also reduce too much burden on South Africa and avoid issues of too much dependency on one country by promoting interdependency and that can only be fulfilled if the SADC member states take the whole issue seriously and work on achieving it.

Peoples' interests before the State's

It is quite clear that the xenophobic attacks in South Africa have stretched for so long since post apartheid up to date and may even erupt again yet the African immigrants still live in fear of their lives in South Africa but the SADC as whole has not done anything effective to serve its people from such a life. This might be due to the fact that their economic and political interest with South Africa exceed that of protecting their citizens. However one would recommend that the peoples interest and wellbeing should come first before the states' interest in order to be able to have a successful regional integration in Southern Africa.

Need for grassroots support

The researcher also notes that it is also out of ignorance that the people of South Africa do not know how their actions cost regionalism in Southern Africa or it is also due to lack of knowledge as to what SADC is all about and as to how immigrants in any country are suppose to be treated. Thus one would recommend that outreach campaigns and educational campaigns be done in order to make sure that people know the consequences of their actions. Also these campaigns should not be centred to the South African citizens only but it will be of great importance that everyone in the region gets to know and understand SADC goals, principles and objectives.

The use of the OPDS (organ on politics defence and security)

In trying to curb issues of further violence after the colonisation era SADC saw the need to promote peace, stability and security in the region through the establishment of the Organ on Politics Defence and security in 1993 an arm that was to be used to take care of any violent

actions or of anything that would have been a threat to peace and security in the region. Hence instead of living South Africa to deal with these xenophobic violent attacks on its own one would recommend that the OPDS be put in action for any future xenophobic attacks that may occur as the attacks just happen without any fixed time hence a need to make sure that the security arm is always ready to attack and defend .

5.4 Suggestions for further study

The Southern African development community still has a long way to go to ensure the success of regional integration. Despite the impacts of SA xenophobic attacks on the SADC objectives/principles there are still other challenges to the achievement of SADC goals for instance issues to do with incompatible economic and political systems, lack of grassroots support and multiple membership to regional economic communities amongst others, all these are a cause for concern just like the xenophobic attacks to the successfulness of regionalism in Southern Africa.

5.5 Study summary

The study was a mixed method research which focused on the assessment of the impacts of xenophobic attacks on SADC regional integration principles/objectives. It also explored the causes of the xenophobic attacks in general and later focused on the causes of xenophobia in South Africa as a way of trying to analyse the impacts of the attacks in South Africa on SADC principles. Relevant literature was reviewed on the economic, political and social impacts of the xenophobic attacks on SADC regional integration principles. Other factors like humanitarian issues and Pan Africanism views were discussed as well. Case studies from different and relevant countries were reviewed and presented as well. Methodological processes in data collection were discussed, thus analysing data using excel and contextual findings .Findings were discussed while pie charts and bar graphs were used for graphical presentations.Achivements of the study objectives were presented, recommendations and suggestions for further study were pointed out as this research did not cover all factors that might be having an impact on the SADC regional integration success. Finally conclusion were reached that indeed the SA xenophobic attacks have impacted largely on the SADC regional integration principles though some are still indirect.

MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY



FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT

My name is Similo Magqina. I am studying for an honours degree in politics and public management at Midlands State University (MSU). This research is in part fulfillment of the requirements for the degree above. I am doing a research on the impacts of South African xenophobic attacks on SADC regional integration principles. The information obtained through the administration of this questionnaire will be used for academic purposes only. Your views will be treated in the strictest confidentiality.

Student reg number: R141276e

Cell number: 0784257647

Assessing the impacts of South African xenophobic attacks on SADC regional integration principles

QUESTIONNAIRE:

SECTION A- Personal details

1 Gender

Male	Female

2 Age

30 - 39	
40 - 49	

50 - 59	
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3. Position

.....

4. Name of organisation

.....

Section B –causes of xenophobia

5. Which is the major cause of xenophobia in South Africa? For any answer provided please state the reasons why.

Influx of foreigners in South Africa	
Apartheid hangover	
Culture of violence within the South African people.	
Any other cause	

6. Do you think the South African xenophobic attacks are justified?

YES	NO
-----	----

Please state the reason of any answer given

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Section C- Impact of SA xenophobic attacks on Human rights.

7. What does the African Charter on Human rights says about the rights of immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers in any country.

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

8. In your own view do you think xenophobic attacks in SA have impacted on the principles of Human rights in SADC.?

YES	NO
-----	----

Please give justification for any answer given

.....
.....
.....
.....

9. How do the SA xenophobic attacks undermine the concept of Ubuntu/humanitarianism if ever they do?

.....
.....
.....
.....

10. Do you think South Africa has done justice in promoting human rights as far as the xenophobic attacks are concerned considering it being a signatory to different treaties that have to deal with human rights ?

YES	NO
-----	----

If the answer is no please do justify

.....
.....
.....
.....

Section D _- WAY FORWAD

11.Is there anything that your organisation has done in order to protect the affect foreigners in SA so as to make sure that their human rights are protected?

.....
.....
.....
.....

12.What do you suggest be done in order to stop the xenophobic attacks in SA and promote human rights in the region?

.....
.....
.....
.....

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Assessing the impacts of South African xenophobic attacks on SADC regional integration principles.

Interview guide (IOM)

Section A-demographic data

Gender

Age

Position

Name of Organization

Section B

1.What do the principles or objectives of the organization say about immigrants in certain countries on how they should be treated?

.....
.....
.....

2. What are the statistics of immigrants who have migrated to South Africa since post-apartheid?

.....

3. What has your organization done in response to the South African xenophobic attacks ?

.....
.....

4. Basing on the objectives of your organization what your take on South African xenophobic attacks as far as protection immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers is concerned

.....
.....

5. In your own view does xenophobic attacks in South Africa undermine the SADC regional integration principles?

.....
.....

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Student reg number: R141276e

Cell number: 0784257647

Assessing the impact of South African xenophobic attacks on SADC regional integration principles.

Interview guide (SADC diplomatic missions)

Section A-demographic data

Gender

Age

Name of Embassy

Section B

1. In your own view what is the major cause of xenophobia in South Africa? And justify your answer.

.....
.....
.....

2. Do you think the South African xenophobic attacks have impacted on SADC regional integration principles? If yes please link your answer to any specific SADC integration principles

.....

3. What are the major impacts of S.A xenophobic attacks on SADC integration principles/objectives (diplomatic relations, economic, social and political spheres)

.....
.....

4. In your own view do you think issues of humanitarianism and the concept of Pan Africanism are upheld as far as xenophobic attacks are concerned?

.....
.....

5. Do you think justice has been done by RSA and other SADC member states to curb the xenophobic attacks in SA? Justify your answer.

.....
.....

6. What do you think is the way forward in halting these xenophobic attacks so as to fulfill the SADC integration principles and objectives?

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