Coping Strategies among Female Zimbabwean Refugees at the Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg: a Conflict Management Perspective

By

Guro Lauvland Bjorknes

A treatise submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree Magister Philosophiae

In

Conflict Transformation and Management

at the

School of Governmental and Social Sciences

in the

Faculty of arts

of the

Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University

Supervisor: Dr. Gavin Bradshaw

January, 2011
DECLARATION BY CANDIDATE

FULL NAME: Guro Lauvland Bjorknes

STUDENT NUMBER: 206043634

QUALIFICATION: M.Phil Conflict Transformation and Management

TITLE OF PROJECT: Coping strategies among female Zimbabwean refugees at the Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg: a conflict management perspective

DECLARATION:

In accordance with Rule G4.6.3, I hereby declare that the above-mentioned treatise/dissertation/thesis is my own work and that it has not previously been submitted for assessment to another university or for another qualification.

SIGNATURE:

DATE: 28 December, 2010
ABSTRACT

This treatise represents an investigation into the coping strategies of female Zimbabwean refugees at the Central Methodist Church (CMC) in Johannesburg. The CMC in Johannesburg includes a non-profit organisation called Ray of Hope that has functioned as a provider of accommodation and emergency refuge at the church since 1997. A vast number of Zimbabweans are moving to adjacent countries as a consequence of the conflict in Zimbabwe and approximately 85% of the people that have sought refuge in the CMC in Johannesburg are Zimbabweans that have fled the economic and political conflict in Zimbabwe.

Using an interviewing strategy of a sample of 20 female Zimbabwean refugees, conducted at the CMC, the researcher gathered data, indicating that they face various conflicts on a daily basis inside as well as outside the refugee community in the CMC in Johannesburg. An extensive literature review and researcher’s own observations during hours spent in the refugee community have also contributed to the collection of data. The findings suggest that coping mechanisms have been adopted by the female refugees to deal with the conflicts. Analysis of data was guided by grounded theory approach which allowed key findings about coping mechanisms to surface which encouraged recommendations presented in the conclusion of the treatise.

KEYWORDS: Zimbabwe, refugees, Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg, coping strategies and conflict management.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author would like to acknowledge and extend heartfelt gratitude to the following persons who have made the completion of this treatise possible:

Dr Gavin Bradshaw, her supervisor, for guidance and encouragement throughout the study.
Natalie Zeno for her assistance during the research process.
Her family, and Cameron, for all their patience and support given during this time.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION BY CANDIDATE.............................................................i

ABSTRACT.........................................................................................iii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.................................................................iv

TABLE OF CONTENTS.....................................................................v

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS...............................................................xi

LIST OF TABLES................................................................................xii

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.........................................................1

1.1 Introduction..................................................................................1

1.2 Background to the Study............................................................1

1.3 Statement of the Problem...........................................................2

1.4 Aims and Objectives of the Study...............................................3

1.4.1 Aims.........................................................................................3

1.4.2 Objectives................................................................................3

1.5 Motivation of the Study...............................................................3

1.6 Interpretive Social Science and Qualitative Research..................4

1.7 Research Design and Methodology............................................4

1.7.1 Type of Sampling.....................................................................4

1.7.2 Data Collection.........................................................................5

1.8 Data Analysis...............................................................................5

1.9 Validity and Reliability...............................................................6

1.10 Ethical Considerations..............................................................6

1.11 Limitations of Study.................................................................7

1.12 Summary..................................................................................7

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW...............................................8

2.1 Introduction..................................................................................8

2.2 Historical context of the Zimbabwean refugee............................8
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.2.1 Colonial History</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.2 Revolutionary Struggle</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.3 Independent Zimbabwe in the 1980s</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.4 Zimbabwe in the 1990s</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.5 Land Reform in Zimbabwe</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.6 Resistance against Mugabe</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.7 Collapse of Human Rights</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.8 Recent activities in Zimbabwe at a glance</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.9 Zimbabwe today</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3 The refugee</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.1 Definitions of refugees</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.2 Towards a definition of refugees relevant for this treatise</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.3 Urban refugees</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.4 Refugee Women</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.5 Difficulties refugees face</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.5.1 Xenophobia</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.6 Coping Strategies</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.6.1 Women and coping strategies</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.7 Refugee settings</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.7.1 Refugee settings in South Africa</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.8 Refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.8.1 Zimbabwean refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4 The Central Methodist Church in South Africa</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.1 The Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5 Conflict theory</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.1 Introduction</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.2 A brief history of Conflict Management</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.5.3 Conflict.................................................................................................................. 36
2.5.3.1 Latent and Manifest conflict............................................................................. 37
2.5.3.2 Conflict dynamics: escalation and de-escalation............................................ 38
2.5.4 Three models of conflict...................................................................................... 39
2.5.4.1 The Contender-Defender Model....................................................................... 39
2.5.4.2 The Conflict Spiral Model................................................................................ 39
2.5.4.3 The Structural Change Model.......................................................................... 40
2.5.5 Human Needs....................................................................................................... 40
2.5.6 Relative Deprivation............................................................................................ 42
2.5.7 Scarce resources.................................................................................................. 42
2.5.8 Ethnic conflict...................................................................................................... 43
2.6 Summary.................................................................................................................. 45

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN, METHODOLOGY AND ANALYSIS.........................46
3.1 Introduction.............................................................................................................. 46
3.2 Pilot Study............................................................................................................... 46
3.3 Aims and Objectives of the Study......................................................................... 47
3.3.1 Aim....................................................................................................................... 47
3.3.2 Objective............................................................................................................. 47
3.4 Interpretive Social Science and Qualitative Research.......................................... 48
3.5 Research Design..................................................................................................... 48
3.6 Methodology.......................................................................................................... 49
3.6.1 Sample method................................................................................................... 49
3.6.2 Sample unit......................................................................................................... 51
3.6.3 Data Collection Techniques.............................................................................. 51
3.7 Data Analysis......................................................................................................... 52
3.7.1 Grounded Theory.............................................................................................. 52
3.7.2 Coding procedure...........................................................................................................54
3.8 Objectivity, Validity and Reliability......................................................................................55
3.9 Ethical considerations in the research process......................................................................56
3.9.1 Voluntary participation and informed consent.................................................................57
3.9.2 Privacy and Confidentiality..............................................................................................58
3.10 Limitations of research......................................................................................................59
3.10.1 Standpoint theory..........................................................................................................59
3.11 Summary............................................................................................................................60

CHAPTER 4: PRESENTATION OF DATA.................................................................................62
4.1 Introduction..........................................................................................................................62
4.2 Demographic findings.........................................................................................................62
4.3 Who are the female Zimbabwean refugees participating in the study?.................................65
4.4 The major issues and coping strategies faced by female Zimbabweans in the CMC..............68
4.4.1 Employment....................................................................................................................68
4.4.1.1 Perception of employment in South Africa before arrival............................................69
4.4.2 Coping strategies to access resources............................................................................70
4.4.2.1 Access to adequate food.............................................................................................71
4.4.2.2 Access to blankets.......................................................................................................73
4.4.3 Cleanliness.......................................................................................................................73
4.4.4 Respect............................................................................................................................74
4.4.5 Safety.............................................................................................................................77
4.4.6 Hospitals and police.........................................................................................................79
4.5 Perception of other women’s coping strategies.....................................................................81
4.6 Summary.............................................................................................................................82
CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

5.2 Data Analysis

5.2.1 Category 1: Coming to South Africa to better their situation as a coping strategy

5.2.2 Category 2: Creating a livelihood to achieve consistency of income, as a coping strategy

5.2.3 Category 3: Relying on an underpaid job in an abusive environment when lacking an alternative, as a coping strategy

5.2.4 Category 4: Relying on friends as a coping strategy

5.2.5 Category 5: Reducing the quality and amount of food as a coping strategy

5.2.6 Category 6: Relying on religion and its practices as a coping strategy

5.2.7 Category 7: Relying on donations from the CMC or other beneficiaries as a coping strategy

5.2.8 Category 8: Turning to prostitution as a coping strategy

5.2.9 Category 9: Begging in the streets of Johannesburg as a coping strategy

5.2.10 Category 10: Relying on the Centre Administrator, Bishop Paul Verryn, as a coping strategy

5.2.11 Category 11: Relying on the Centre Administrator for resources for the baby

5.2.12 Category 12: Relying on the Centre Administrator rather than the security group if harassed on the church premises as a coping strategy

5.2.13 Category 13: Relying on “boyfriends” as a coping strategy

5.3 Summary

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

6.2 Aims and Objectives of the Study

6.2.1 Aim

6.2.2 Objective
6.3 Research Design and Methodology…………………………………………………………97
6.3.1 Type of Sampling…………………………………………………………………………97
6.3.2 Data Collection……………………………………………………………………………97
6.4 Data Analysis……………………………………………………………………………….98
6.5 Summary of research findings……………………………………………………………98
6.6 Validity and Reliability…………………………………………………………………….99
6.7 Ethical Considerations……………………………………………………………………99
6.8 Limitations of Study………………………………………………………………………100
6.9 Recommendations………………………………………………………………………100
6.10 Summary…………………………………………………………………………………101

REFERENCE LIST………………………………………………………………………………103

ADDENDA……………………………………………………………………………………115
Addendum I: Permission from CMC Centre Administrator to do research………………115
Addendum II: Questionnaire for refugees in the CMC, Johannesburg……………………116
Addendum III: Informed consent form…………………………………………………………119
Addendum IV: Information given to all participants before they gave their consent to participate…………………………………………………………………………………120
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABET- Adult Basic Education and Training
BHN- Basic Human Needs Theory
BSAC- British South Africa Company
CFU- Commercial Farmers’ Union of Zimbabwe
CMC- Central Methodist Church
IDP- Internally Displaced Person
MDC- Movement for Democratic Change
NGO- Non-governmental Organisation
OAU- Organisation of African Unity
PCC- People’s Caretaker Council
RF- Rhodesian Front
SADC- Southern African Development Community
UDI- Unilateral Declaration of Independence
UN- United Nations
UNDAF- United Nations Development Assistance Framework
UNHCR- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
ZANU- Zimbabwe African National Union
ZAPU- Zimbabwe African People’s Union
LIST OF TABLES

ABC triangle of conflict.................................................................37

Demographic overview of female Zimbabweans participating in the study..........................64
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The increase of urban refugees is not likely to stop any time soon and there is growing concern about the “problems (and opportunities) they present to host governments and communities” (Jacobsen, 2004:1). Literature suggests an enhancement of interest in this issue “both in the forced migration field and in urban and those in, demography, and anthropology, including the results of several research projects on urban refugees in the South” (1).

Coping strategies among female Zimbabwean refugees at the Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg: a conflict management perspective is the research topic of this treatise. The first chapter will describe the theoretical framework in which the undertaken study has been executed. First an outline of the background of the study and statement of problem will be presented. The aims and objectives of the undertaken study will be outlined before sections on research design and methodology and data analysis will describe how research was executed and data interpreted. Objectivity, validity and reliability will be discussed before the ethical considerations in the research process will be addressed. Finally the limitations of the study are described.

1.2 Background to the Study

Exposure to the refugee situation at the CMC was first established through a pilot study a few months before the research for this treatise was carried out. The first visit revealed a vast number of people who needed attention: Maybe just for a chat, a bite to eat or hopefully work that possibly could provide them with the long sought-after scarce resources of money and food. Most of them were just sitting outside the church: those who were lucky enough to have a job to go to were not present as it was daytime. Yet others were out searching for one. Information about the population in the CMC from the caretaker of the church revealed that men form the majority of those who stay at the church. In addition, Zimbabweans outnumber the others there. However, what they all have in common is that they are there as a result of conflict, whether it is conflict which has ravaged their country for decades after bad management by government, conflict over scarce resources, or conflict caused by xenophobia. The refugees staying at the
church are double victims of conflict since they encounter both new and familiar forms of
certainty in their daily lives where they live in the Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg, and
they employ various strategies to deal with their situation. This is the background to the research
topic of this treatise: coping strategies among female Zimbabwean refugees living in the Central
Methodist Church, Johannesburg: a conflict management perspective.

Coping has been defined by Lazarus, Folkman, Gruen and Delongis (1986) “as the person’s
cognitive and behavioural efforts to manage the internal and external demands of the person’s
environmental transformation” (1986:24). Coping strategies that have been recognised among
refugees can include receiving aid from NGOs and UN agencies. Buying lower quality food and
decreased spending on health care were also coping strategies that were used (El-Zein 2008).
Leaning on religion, social networks, hoping for a better future and relying on governmental
services are also coping strategies utilised by refugees (Khawaja, White, Schweitzer &
Greenslade, 2008:504-505).

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Refugee flow into urban centres is a relevant problem of our time. When a population grows,
resources become stressed which leads to conflict, hence refugees’ distress after escaping
conflict does not end on arriving in a new place because new conflict manifests itself there too,
and this can include the struggle for space, work and money. “The processes and modalities of
humanitarian work need to be adapted - maybe even transformed - to enable us to meet the basic
living requirements and protection needs of the urban displaced” (Tibajuka, 2010:4). To arrive
at conclusions that can resolve this issue, research on the major problems which refugees
encounter in an urban setting and their ways of coping with the problems is needed, which is the
focus of this treatise. This treatise does not aim to suggest a resolution for this issue because
more on-going research would be necessary to reach conclusions of that nature, but the aim is
rather to highlight more information which will enhance an understanding of the plight of
refugees in general and female Zimbabwean refugees living in the CMC in particular.
1.4 Aims and Objectives of the Study

1.4.1 Aims

The aim of the study is to analyse coping strategies among female Zimbabweans living in the CMC. The coping strategies revealed through the empirical study will be analysed using grounded theory techniques. Developers of grounded theory, Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, encouraged researchers to develop their own ways of coding and analysing data, and hoped that their grounded theory method would inspire researchers to develop other procedures (Larossa, 2005:839-840). In support of this argument, categories of coping strategies of the sampling group will be compiled. Making interested readers aware of these strategies might lead to a better understanding regarding female refugees and hopefully to better ways of dealing with these issues.

1.4.2 Objectives

- To describe the major problems female Zimbabwean refugees encounter on an everyday basis living in an urban setting at the CMC;
- To analyse coping strategies among female Zimbabwean refugees living at the CMC;
- To describe the major problems they encounter resulting in a coping strategy through a conflict management perspective and
- To contribute to a better understanding of the plight of refugees.

1.5 Motivation of the Study

The initial motivation to carry out research on coping strategies among female victims of conflict came to the fore when information about the refugee community living in the CMC, Johannesburg was aired on various news channels. The unique setting creates a platform from which a study of coping strategies among female refugees can be executed.

The refugees in the church are there as a result of various conflicts: they have escaped a situation that has been detrimental to their socio-political well-being. Refugees are vulnerable as victims
of conflict and they are also vulnerable as new players in a foreign environment. The refugees relevant for this treatise are in their new situation as a result of various conflicts. They have escaped a context in which conflict over scarce resources, a lack of meeting of human needs and relative deprivation was evident. They imagined a better life in the host country but are still facing the same issues. Xenophobia has played a significant role in the locals’ dealings with the refugee population and continues to do so, and research has shown that refugees find it difficult to get jobs and earn a livelihood as a result of a lack of support from official channels and hostile reactions from the local population. A better understanding of the refugee population facing these issues and hopefully the ability to disseminate more knowledge that can contribute to a solution is what motivated this study.

1.6 Interpretive Social Science and Qualitative Research

The analysis of coping strategies among female Zimbabwean refugees in the Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg, Johannesburg is based on the phenomenological or interpretivist metatheory of social science. Babbie and Mouton (2008) describe this paradigm as a focus on the human mind and consciousness while interpreting the link between the human mind and the study of society. Human beings will always create and mould their actions, and the interpretation of their world is constantly changing (Ibid, 2008:28). In the case study in the Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg, participants are individuals with a continually changing view of their society. Social research through a phenomenological theory demands the use of a qualitative approach as it supplements the view on ‘understanding’ their subjective interpretation of society (Ibid, 2008:33), hence is applicable to this study.

1.7 Research Design and Methodology

1.7.1 Type of Sampling

A non-probability sampling method was employed to find an appropriate population for the undertaken study. The purposive or judgmental sampling method had to be deployed to achieve a population which covered all of the various coping mechanisms the female population in the CMC employs on a day-to-day basis. During a pilot study that had a sufficient overview of the
people staying in the CMC a contact was established who became an agent for getting in touch with the women who fulfilled the criteria for participating in the study.

The participants needed to fulfil the following criteria:

- They needed good English-speaking skills;
- They had to be 21 years of age or older;
- They had to have lived in the CMC community for two months or longer and
- They needed to be women from Zimbabwe.

1.7.2 Data Collection

Formal face-to-face in-depth interviews were conducted in private settings at the CMC at various times of the day, using a voice recorder and pen and paper.

Observations and informal conversations with others in the refugee community also added to the understanding of the whole situation.

1.8 Data Analysis

There are social phenomena that may be challenging to understand and grounded theory is one of a few theories that were developed to try to understand and achieve insight into these issues. Grounded theory is part of the interpretive paradigm with regard to research (Mello & Flint, 2009). Developers of grounded theory, Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, encouraged researchers to develop their own ways of coding and analysing data, and hoped that their grounded theory method would inspire researchers to develop other procedures (Larossa, 2005:839-840). People are problem-solving actors and in grounded theory there is an attempt to discover and understand meanings and concepts used by people in social settings. Research based on grounded theory usually involves in-depth interviews, observations and document analysis to understand how people deal with, for example, problems they may be facing (Mello & Flint, 2009).
The study is not trying to confirm existing theories but rather to contribute to the understanding of the plight of refugees.

1.9 Validity and Reliability

To reach the goal of objectivity, validity and reliability in qualitative research, extensive field notes and performed member checks were made. This is to make sure texts match or can be adjusted to the unpredictable changes in the research process. Member checks will assure that the interviewees feel that data is correct according to the answers they gave. Having a supervisor may also contribute to the validity as the outside person is able to assist in identifying problems, errors and biases in the research process (Babbie & Mouton, 2008:275-276).

1.10 Ethical Considerations

Neuman (2000:130) writes that ethical considerations start and end with the researcher. He also states that the researcher’s personal moral beliefs and codes are what will prevent unethical behaviour. The researcher’s integrity and values have a great influence on ethics during research, and the researcher should consult his or her conscience before, during and after collecting data.

The informant must voluntarily be part of the interview. Babbie (2005:64) describes informed consent to be “a norm in which subjects base their voluntary participations in research projects on a full understanding of the possible risks involved”. Babbie and Mouton (2008:521) argue for voluntary participation by respondents to be important to maintain a certain ethical standard in social research. The respondent’s personal information should not be accessed through forceful methods.

Confidentiality refers to situations where the researcher knows the identity of informants but promises not to reveal it in any published document (Babbie & Mouton, 2008:523). According to Gliner and Morgan (2000), “Privacy refers to a person’s concern about controlling access to information about themselves” (2000:36-37). Voluntary informed consent and confidentiality throughout the process strengthen the research subject’s right to privacy.
1.11 Limitations of Study

Babbie and Mouton (2008:276) argue that maintaining objectivity, reliability and validity throughout the research process should be the ultimate goal, but is never completely successful. There will always be errors which lead to limitations in our work. Sarantakos (2005) emphasises limitations in the grounded theory approach to be based on the researcher’s subjectivity and warns that a “high level of arbitrary decisions” (2005:350) may lead to limitations in the study.

The researcher acknowledges that the limitations may be pertinent for this treatise, but consulting appropriate literature and attempting to carry out research guided by relevant methodology were carried out to lessen the limitations of study.

1.12 Summary

The chapter presented an outline of the background of the study and a statement of the problem. The aims and objectives of the study undertaken was outlined before research design and methodology and data analysis described how research was executed and data interpreted. Objectivity, validity and reliability were discussed before the ethical considerations in the research process were addressed. Finally, the limitations of the study were described.

The next chapter will discuss literature that has been consulted for the undertaken study which is coping strategies among female Zimbabwean refugees at the Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg: a conflict management perspective.
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the literature that has been consulted for the undertaken study which is coping strategies among female Zimbabwean refugees at the Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg: a conflict management perspective. The research title suggests an exploration of four concepts, namely ‘Zimbabwe’, ‘refugees’, ‘Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg’ and ‘conflict management’. Definitions are provided where appropriate and investigations into the concepts relevant to the undertaken study are outlined.

The following chapter is divided into four sections. Section 1 will give an overview of the history of Zimbabwe. There have been several events in the history of the country which may be seen as a trigger of the escalation of conflict that still rages in Zimbabwe today and which has led to a massive exodus from Zimbabwe. Neuman (2006:158) stresses the importance of recognising the past and present context of what is being studied to sustain information authentically which is revealed in the research process. Before embarking on the description of the CMC and the refugee community of Zimbabweans staying there, Section 2 will deal with a definition of refugees and a definition of refugees relevant for this treatise. It will also give an outline of urban refugees, refugee women, the difficulties refugees face and coping strategies, and refugee settings in general as well as in South Africa. Section 3 will describe the Zimbabwean migrants, where they settle in South Africa and the refugee setting in the CMC in Johannesburg, South Africa. Section 4 is concerned with theories of conflict and outlines conflict theory relevant for the study undertaken.

2.2 Historical context of the Zimbabwean refugee

2.2.1 Colonial History

Zimbabweans are the descendants of the San people, a theory supported by evidence found in the area of Stone Age culture that can be dated back 100,000 years (Hill, 2003:15). The Shona-speaking Bantu tribe lived in the area between the 10th and 11th centuries and the San were chased away or killed. The Shona were in control of the area until the Zulu chief, Mzilikazi,
arrived from the south, taking control of the area in about 1840. The Ndebele-speaking tribe was called the Matabele. Mzilikazi’s son, Lobengula, maintained the suppression of the Shona tribe after his father’s death (Hill, 2003:26-32). Lobengula drove the Shona away and stole their cattle.

Cecil John Rhodes mined diamonds at Kimberly and was interested in territory in Zimbabwe as gold had been discovered in the area. The territory also lay conveniently on the Cape to Cairo railway path he was dreaming of establishing. After several negotiations with King Lobengula, Rhodes and the British South Africa Company (BSAC) finally got him to sign a document in 1888 that gave them the mining and colonisation rights over Matabeleland. Rhodes and his company fought the local tribes and eventually started farming on the fertile and productive land from which they had chased the indigenous people away. The Shona and Ndebele tribes eventually tried to fight the British in what has been named the first Chimurenga (liberation war) in 1896 and 1897 (Owomoyela, 2002:14-17). Rhodes had already sent his settlers into the Ndebele-occupied Matabeleland and the Shona-occupied Mashonaland. They founded the town of Salisbury (now Harare) in Mashonaland after the BSAC had entered the area with a European police force. They believed that a show of violence would enable the Europeans to colonise the area, and during the first Chimurenga the indigenous people showed that they could also use violence in the fight for power (Summers, 1994:2).

The area was renamed Southern Rhodesia until it became a crown colony in 1923 (Owomoyela, 2002:14-17). The British government sold the land to the new government in Rhodesia for 2.3 million pounds without considering previous ownership by the San, Matabele or Shona. The Land Apportionment Act of 1931 divided the land between races as follows: 48 million acres for whites, 29 million for communal occupation by blacks, and 18 million acres for forests and national parks. White commercial farming grew over the next 30 years and became the core of the Zimbabwean economy, while the blacks became increasingly more dissatisfied with their land situation. Hard apartheid never entered Rhodesia because it was possible through racial separatism for the government to maintain its policies which did not allow blacks to vote, be educated or own land (Anstey, 2006:82 and 83).
2.2.2 Revolutionary Struggle

Shortly after the white government banned the National Democratic Party in 1961, Mugabe and Nkomo formed the Zimbabwe African People’s Union (ZAPU). In September 1962 ZAPU was banned and Nkomo eventually put in prison where he shared with his colleagues his faith in continuing the liberation struggle in exile. After attempts to organise a government in exile and continue the struggle for a free Zimbabwe from outside its borders, Nkomo lost his fellow leaders’ trust and Sithole and his followers regrouped into the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) in 1963 (Hill, 2003:54-57). ZAPU was banned and they formed the People’s Caretaker Council (PCC). ZAPU was also blamed for potentially wanting to exclude other parties in the reconciliation with a white government (Ellert, 1989:3).

The government in Rhodesia declared a Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in 1965 after much civil unrest that had led to a national state of emergency (Ellert, 1989:3). White Rhodesians had earlier had different opinions on the racial issue and not all were as conservative and racist as Smith and his regime. With the UDI a united white population stood behind the white government as a growing fear of the British and the international community threatened their position. They also felt threatened by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), and the blacks within their borders. People were forced to sympathise with the Rhodesian Front and risked being banned by their families and imprisonment by the fascist state if they did not obey (Chung, 2006:62-63).

Between 1972 and 1980 civil war (Chimurenga) raged in Zimbabwe. Over 30 000 lives were lost (Anstey, 2006:83 and 84). After a conference in Geneva attended by all the main players, black and white, there was still no solution to the conflict. Eventually an agreement was reached at the polls in 1980: ZANU PF won by a modest majority and the new Zimbabwean flag was raised over Zimbabwe. At the age of 56 Mugabe became the Prime Minister (Hill, 2003:67-70).

2.2.3 Independent Zimbabwe in the 1980s

During the Lancaster House Constitutional Conference, headed by Lord Carrington, the British foreign secretary, the Patriotic Front alliance of ZANU and ZAPU agreed to 20 per cent of the seats in the new government being reserved for whites for seven years. Conflicting opinions rose
during the conference but the conflict escalated when the question of land came up. Whites were worried that land would be taken away from them after independence which led to an agreement being reached that land would not be confiscated from whites but rather be based on voluntarily buying and selling. The British government would also supply money for the buying of farms but did not make any definite promises (Chung, 2006:242-245).

Before and during the elections all parties agreed to place their guerilla armies in holding camps. However, ZANU only put one third of their forces into these camps as a security measure in case negotiations failed, while ZAPU put their whole army into the selected areas. ZANU won the election comfortably and ZAPU attributed their victory to the fact that ZANU forces were still spread out in the area. This is one of the main reasons why ZAPU took up arms against the ZANU government from 1982 to 1987. Another possible reason why ZANU won the election was the control by ZANLA over large areas of the country. In addition, people voted based on ethnicity, as ZANU PF was seen to be Shona and ZAPU Ndebele, and this is another crucial reason for ZANU’s victory (Chung, 2006:252-53).

The white settlers in Zimbabwe tried to portray guerilla groups as blood-thirsty animals, and used the media to get the message out to the people. They aimed to expose them as anti-Christian Marxists and asserted that the people would be much better off to maintain the racist regime. However, after Zimbabwe became independent in 1980, it was clear that the new rulers had learned valuable lessons from the previous rulers. Control of the media was now a priority for ZANU PF and to use it as a tool to promote the new rulers’ policies and to assist in Africanising its civil services (Chitando, 2005). Hill (2003) also discusses ZANU PF’s use of the media to promote Mugabe and his party: members of government were now to be called ‘Comrade’ instead of ‘Mister’ or ‘Doctor’ (Ibid, 2003:72). ZANU PF endorsed its war contributions and war songs through the state media and its radio channels. It also made use of state media to propagate ZANU’s slogans and symbols at various national events, and Joshua Nkomo eventually criticised them strongly for only emphasising their role in the struggle for the liberation of Zimbabwe and neglecting the part played by ZAPU. Nkomo, ZAPU and ZIPRA were not popular in ZANU PF assembly camps and were often criticised through slogans. Matabeleland was historically the base of the Ndebele and at various rallies in Bulawayo,
Nkomo was verbally targeted for being less of a contributor to the liberation struggle, and it was said that he should be crushed as armed dissidents in his camp were going to start a second liberation war to put him in power (Kriger, 2003:75-76).

In August 1981, 106 North Koreans travelled to Zimbabwe. They were on a mission to train a unique brigade that would be Mugabe’s personal army and would answer only to him. Both ZANLAs and ZIPRAs were trained to be part of the army: however, many of Nkomo’s men had left and their behaviour in Matabeleland had caused great civil unrest. A few fights broke out in an effort to suppress the dissidents. Nkomo was eventually fired from the government on the grounds that ZAPU-owned farms in Matabeleland were hiding places for arms (Hill, 2003:76).

The Fifth Brigade, which was the name of Mugabe’s army, settled in Matabeleland in 1982. The soldiers started eradicating the opposition by killing and torturing everyone in the area. It is said that they killed between 10 000 and 30 000 people and the period was known as Gukurahundi, meaning “the wind that blows away the chaff before the rains” (Hill, 2003:77). Hill (2003) further says that no one would disapprove of ZANU’s actions at that time and that “… there was an unspoken feeling that this was revenge for the bad days our grandparents used to talk about before white rule, when the Matabele used to come and slaughter us and steal our cattle” (2003:77-78). The Fifth Brigade raged in Matabeleland from 1982 to 1985, and Mugabe had great confidence about winning the election of 1985 in that area. The Fifth Brigade tortured, killed and raped many ZAPU sympathisers and whoever stood in their way, and much pre-election violence took place. Mugabe still did not win any seats in Matabeleland. This led to a great escalation in violence in the area where Mugabe personally encouraged people to “go and uproot the weeds from your garden” (Kriger, 2003:31). ZAPU was officially banned and their offices shut down in June 1987. However, the two parties tried to reconcile from 1986 onwards and ZAPU was integrated into ZANU PF in December 1987 (Ibid, 2003:31).

It was a notion in the country that a one-party state was the answer as this would provide national unity. This belief grew stronger between 1983 and 1987 and prompted ZAPU in Matabeleland and the Midlands to rebel against ZANU and its government. When peace was finally achieved in 1987 when ZANU PF and ZAPU united, it was seen as the greatest feat of nation building (Chung, 2006:262).
The 1980s were very good for Zimbabwe and there was still economic growth in the 1990s, when the people enjoyed free education and relatively accessible medical care. Zimbabwe was enjoying great success as foreign investment was growing and the population was better educated. It had great mineral assets that also contributed to the success story (Richardson, 2005). There were large investments in education which created “the best-educated population on the continent” (Anstey, 2006:85). It consequently resulted in an increase in unemployment as the urbanisation of youths looking for jobs took place and “only 25% of the working age population had formal employment” (Anstey, 2006:85).

In Dinner with Mugabe by Heidi Holland (2009), she interviewed Denis Norman who was elected the first white agricultural minister under Mugabe. He argued that the voting pattern in the election in 1985 had had a severely destructive effect on the relationship between Mugabe and the white population. For the first five years 20 seats were reserved for whites and the election in 1985 when the whites still voted according to racial lines made Mugabe feel very disappointed as he felt he had given them land rights and that they showed him no gratitude. He was still a black person for whom the whites would not vote (Ibid, 2009:111-12).

2.2.4 Zimbabwe in the 1990s

The issue of war veterans and how they should be compensated for their efforts in the liberation war arose in the 1990s. They had not been considered in the agreement that gave pension rights to blacks and whites who had fought for the Rhodesian Front. The people joining ZANLA and ZIPRA joined the struggle for various reasons and some of them had not completed any education and some were involuntarily abducted to start guerrilla training in neighbouring countries. A fund was organised in 1992 to deal with the people who had been injured in the struggle, but the war veterans did not receive much compensation as the corrupt system favoured people in powerful positions (Hill, 2003:93-95). The fund ran out of money as between 1992 and 1997 much of the money had been given to senior politicians, officials and relatives of the two groups. In 1997 the War Veterans’ Association and its chairman, Chenjerai Hunzvi, tried through direct action and demonstrations to get a portion of the fund awarded to people injured in the war. The men that had fought to put Mugabe in power were also victims of corruption in the political system and their aggression increased as their case was not dealt with. In August
1997 the 50 000 war veterans demanded $2000 each in pension every month and also a $50 000 bonus. There were claims by 50 percent of the war veterans who had no land to stay on that they be awarded land by December 1997 and the rest claimed that they be given land before July 1998 (Meredith, 2002:134-36). They threatened the government by saying they would invade white-owned farms if their demands were not met: “… they will occupy white man’s land because the white man did not buy that land” (2002:136).

After the fund that was originally meant to pay the war veterans had been depleted, a new way to provide them with compensation had to be found. The government therefore increased various taxes such as sales tax and the tax on electricity (Hill, 2003:97).

2.2.5 Land Reform in Zimbabwe

The issue of land can be traced back to the 1890s when white settlers started entering the country, but it was in 1930 in the form of the Land Apportionment Act that the land was formally divided according to race, with whites being given the advantage. However, most of the indigenous people stayed in the areas designated for whites until after the Second World War when land was given to men who had served in the war. Europeans also entered the country as part of an agenda to improve settler agriculture in the 1950s (Mbiba, 2001).

The Land Apportionment Act of 1930 made sure that the only way that Africans could enter the cities and industrial centres was if they worked for white settlers. They were situated a good distance from the white areas. Cities were to stay as white and European as possible but in the 1960s Africans were able to rent houses through their work. Some elite Africans accomplished ownership of their own property. Strict laws sustained the racist policies regarding movement. The Africans were supposed to return to the Native reserves to which they had been restricted under the RF regime. Ranger in Mbiba (2001) recorded that Africans from Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique who worked in the mines or for the white farmers were shunned during the liberation war in the 1970s as they worked for the white settlers. And this hatred also blossomed after independence in 1980 and 1996 onwards as the political crisis escalated and they were often blamed by ZANU PF for supporting the opposition and foreign interests (Mbiba, 2001). The article also argues the fact that in order to suppress Africans evolving, they were restricted to the
rural areas, because it is easier to advance in urban areas. The argument against settlement in the cities was that unemployment would increase. However, urban areas can also create options for the unemployed such as street trading, recycling garbage and transport services, among others (Mbiba, 2001).

An event that might have been a nail in the coffin for the land agreements was when Britain’s International Development secretary, Clare Short, in a letter to Mugabe in 1997 wrote off their responsibility for compensation as there was a new government under Tony Blair which had no connections to the former colonisers. It had been the Conservative government under Margaret Thatcher which had made agreements regarding funding land distributions. This event fuelled Mugabe’s hatred towards Britain and Tony Blair (Holland, 2009:93-95). However, Sarah Hudleston in the biography of Morgan Tsvangirai A face of courage (2005) argues that Britain still wanted to assist in the land resettlement issues. The Zimbabwean government and the UK both agreed on the necessity of “transparency, respect for the rule of law, poverty reduction, affordability, and consistency with Zimbabwe’s wider economic interests” (2005:58-59) as principles for land reform.

Land reform from 2000 until 2003 involved landless blacks being given property which was taken by force from white farmers. This was seen as compensation for the land that had been taken away by the British in the 1890s, when the blacks were re-allocated less fertile land. During the land grab in the early 2000s many farm workers were left unemployed and the commercial farmers were not given any payment for the land that was taken away from them (Richardson, 2005). Chung in Re-living the second chimurenga: memories from the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe (2006:263-64) discusses the notion of traditional thinking in the liberated Zimbabwe where the chief, now the government, would be the ultimate decider regarding land distribution which clearly happened in 2000 when white-owned farms were taken and not necessarily allocated to agriculturally-skilled party supporters. In addition, violence as a means of executing political power increased during farm takeovers in 2000. Frustration amongst the poor caused violent action towards the whites and Chung (2006) recognises violence in the politics of the 1960s within the youth groups of ZANU and ZAPU which was now directed against the whites (Ibid, 2006:263-64).
In February 2000 a referendum was held to research support for a new constitution. The new constitution consisted of a section that enabled the Zimbabwean government authorities to take over any land without compensating the owners. The responsibility for payment for the land lay with the British, the clause proclaimed. According to the new constitution Mugabe also secured himself another ten years as head of state. The people voted against the new constitution, but Mugabe made sure that the clauses on land invasions were approved by parliament (Hill, 2003:104 and 112).

Shortly after Mugabe unsuccessfully tried to change the constitution he started organising land invasions. Hunzvi recruited people who were unemployed by promising money, food and land, and they were to join forces with war veterans in occupying white-owned farms. The police were ordered not to assist the land-owners when they called out for help, saying they could not intervene since it was a political issue (Hill, 2003:108-9). The Zimbabwe Supreme Court tried ending the land invasion as they saw it as illegal, but Mugabe and his government continued their illegal actions. Richardson in his journal article *The loss of property rights and the collapse of Zimbabwe* (2005) mentions that for the first time in 20 years property rights were worthless.

Hill (2003:110 and 112) writes about three areas that would collapse, about which Mugabe had been warned by the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe, if the farm invasions were to be continued. These were: the departure of foreign investment; the fact that the IMF would stop their financial support; and thirdly, that a financial crisis would occur as farmers had mortgages on their properties and relied on growing and selling crops to be able to pay them. It was said that the agenda before the election was to invade and take over as many farms as possible as a means to correct historical land imbalance (Hill, 2003:110 and 112). The consequence was a drop in the Zimbabwean economy by 5 per cent in 2000 to approximately 18 per cent in 2003. Inflation in the country was at 500 percent and the Zimbabwean dollar had lost 99 percent of its exchange value. Less rainfall and the land reforms, Richardson argues, had a far-reaching influence during this time, and hence can be seen as the main factors leading to the collapse of Zimbabwe. Drought, AIDS, poor fiscal and monetary policies, food shortages and a problematic economy also contributed to Zimbabwe’s collapse (Richardson, 2005). Richardson stresses that the disappearance of land equity which consequently forced investors to move their money and
investments out of the country was the main reason for Zimbabwe’s economic collapse. In turn, commercial farmland lost three-quarters of its value. The farmers left Zimbabwe and took their valuable skills and knowledge with them which led to a drop in agricultural production levels. Other sectors such as manufacturing and banking also collapsed as a consequence (Richardson, 2005). The lack of rain in Zimbabwe and its neighbouring countries made farming difficult. When the white farmers were being evicted from their properties in Zimbabwe, countries like Mozambique, Zambia and Angola proposed deals in their countries as they thought the Zimbabwean farmers could assist in improving their agricultural problems. Many white farmers also headed for Australia, the United Kingdom, the United States and South Africa. It is, however, difficult for the farmers to settle elsewhere in Africa as they arrive with little money and need big loans to be able to buy equipment and pay workers before the first harvest (Ford, 2003).

2.2.6 Resistance against Mugabe

1999 saw an increase in resistance towards the government. The labour movement wanted to have a say in the running of the country and so a newspaper which did not publish propaganda for Mugabe and his government was established. On 1 March the formation of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) was announced to protect workers’ rights. Tsvangirai said “the new party would not only represent labour, but also be a broad-based movement for governmental and constitutional reform” (Hudleston, 2005:54). After realising the people’s great need for an opposition the MDC was formally launched in September 1999, and they were to challenge ZANU PF in the 2000 parliamentary election (Ibid, 2005:55).

The MDC was backed by the urban population, the white community and, in addition, white farmers and their workers supported the new party. ZANU PF tried to gather resistance to the MDC through land distribution. With a promise of fertile land Mugabe reached out to a lot of blacks living on congested communal land (Hudleston, 2005:60). When the land invasion before the election in 2000 started, Hunzvi, nicknamed Hitler, was in charge of the ZANU PF youth militia and war veterans that were implementing it. (Ibid, 2005:51).
2.2.7 Collapse of Human Rights

In early 2000 the government launched new legislation which would assist them in controlling Zimbabwe’s people. The new legislation involved restricting Zimbabweans’ internationally recognised rights to “freely associate, assemble, and express themselves” (Amnesty International, 2003:7). The article Rights Under Siege argues that Zimbabwe failed to preserve the rights of most of its population even though they were protected according to the Lancaster House Constitution of 1980 (Ibid, 2003:8). The constitution had been adjusted and the people of Zimbabwe urged for the referendum in 2000 to alter the constitution but did not succeed.

The Zimbabwean constitution protects peoples’ rights to freedom of expression, the freedom of association and assembly (Amnesty International, 2003: 13). However, they do not protect these in praxis and laws were introduced to help suppress the constitutional rights of the people. The Broadcasting Services Act (2001), the Public Order and Security Act (2002), the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (2002), the Private Voluntary Organisations Act (2002) and the Labour Relations Amendment Act (2003) are all laws that enable the government to control its opponents as they leave no room for political discussion in the country. Thanks to totally undemocratic restrictions, the people of Zimbabwe are not able to exert any influence on the organisation or ruling of their own country (Ibid, 2003:13).

2.2.8 Recent activities in Zimbabwe at a glance

From May to July 2005 the Zimbabwean government decided to get rid of all illegally built housing that did not have formal plans as an attempt to clean up the cities. The operation was known as Murambatsvina. Fontein in the journal article Anticipating the Tsunami: Rumours, Planning and the Arbitrary State in Zimbabwe (2009) recognises the feeling in Zimbabwe after operation Murambatsvina, as the name when translated from Shona as “reject the rubbish” carries a message not very different from the Gukurahundi in the 1980s (Fontein, 2009). Fontein (2009) identifies various reasons for the operation and one of them was that the people currently without homes were not regarded as indigenous if they did not have a rural home to go back to. Another reason might have been the urge to get people back into the rural areas to work on the redistributed farms. Many people living in the urban areas supported the opposition so the
operation could also have been seen as an attempt to control voting patterns (Fontein, 2009). An article published on 18 June 2005 on Sokwanele (Sokwanele, 2005) which is a Zimbabwean Civic Action Support Group campaigning non-violently for freedom and democracy in Zimbabwe supports this argument as many urban voters supported the MDC. Making these voters return to rural areas where ZANU PF governed would change their votes in favour of Mugabe as they would need to satisfy the traditional leadership to access resources like food. Informal traders were also the victims of the operation and only the people with ZANU PF membership cards were accepted for vendor licenses which, the article argues, was also another attempt by the government to control the voters in the cities.

In 2008 the Southern African Development Community (SADC) agreed that the land reform discriminated against 78 former white farmers because of their skin colour. Mugabe ignored this and continued with the land reform which had started in 2000. ZIMEYE published an article on 9 February 2010 in which Deon Theron, leader of the Commercial Farmers’ Union of Zimbabwe (CFU), pleaded that the agreement be upheld by the Zimbabwe’s Supreme Court and that negotiations should start in March. Political analyst Takure Zhangazha says that the legal system in Zimbabwe has not been legitimate since the start of the land programme as the decision-makers are incompetent and stand to benefit from the rulings they make (Chateta, 2010).

It is debatable whether ZANU PF and Mugabe will ever be ready to give up their power in Zimbabwe. As James Hamill writes in an article published in the Contemporary Review (2002), when African liberation movements come to power, they find it very hard to ever give up the new powerful status to an opposition party even though their constitution might be based on democratic values. Hamill (2002) also raises the question whether Mbeki’s attitude of silent diplomacy towards Zimbabwe shows signs of the South African ruling party’s view on democracy. South Africa also welcomed Mugabe after he had won the presidential election in 2002 through violence and undemocratic means. Tsvangirai and the MDC won the first round of the election in 2008 which led to an escalation of violence in the country. As a result he pulled out of the second round. With the help of Mbeki, amongst others, a power-sharing agreement was reached and Tsvangirai became prime minister although Mugabe was still president.
(Elmhirst, 2009). The Zimbabwean government is a government of national unity between ZANU PF and two factions of the MDC (BBC NEWS, 2005).

Huge unemployment was the result of the downfall of the economy in Zimbabwe, consequently leading to inflation and all resources becoming scarce. Foreign exchange also became scarce as the farming industry collapsed (Anstey, 2006:88). Zimbabwe, “once known as the breadbasket of Africa”, was falling apart (The Washington Times, 2006). The flight of professionals called the “brain drain” has added to the difficulty in creating economic stability in Zimbabwe (Chimanikire, 2005:3).

2.2.9 Zimbabwe today

The collapse of the economy and the high levels of political repression have led to vast numbers of Zimbabweans migrating to other countries. They seek safe havens to “ensure family survival and to escape persecution and torture” (Madziva, 2010:70). The situation in the country is disturbing not only for its citizens, but also its neighbours and the international community. Zimbabwe, formerly a thriving state of great potential, is still “wrought with conflict and the possibility of collapse” (Haass, 2007:v). Migrants from Zimbabwe include “asylum seekers escaping political persecution to people fleeing economic collapse for a better life over the Limpopo River, cross-border traders, students and shoppers” (IRIN, 2010).

This treatise involves refugees who have migrated as a consequence of persecution and the economic collapse in Zimbabwe. However, to reach a definition of refugees relevant for the undertaken study, a definition of a refugee in general follows. Thereafter an endeavour is made towards a working definition of refugees relevant for this treatise. A description of urban refugees and refugee women is also given. Difficulties refugees encounter and their coping strategies are then outlined. Refugee settings in general and in South Africa in particular are also explored before the Zimbabwean refugee and the refugee community in the CMC are described.
2.3 The refugee

2.3.1 Definitions of refugees

According to the United Nations 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol a refugee is defined as follows:

(...) owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.

(United Nations, 1951: convention article 1A, 2)

Nationality and country are stressed and research on refugees in the twentieth century had states, revolutions and international relations as the centre of attention. The social-ecological paradigm was applied to understand refugee crisis (Hein & Niazi, 2009).

The 1969 OAU Convention offers a definition of refugees which was more appropriate for an African context. It states:

... the term “refugee” shall also apply to every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his [or her] country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his [or her] place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his [or her] country of origin or nationality.

(Refugee Convention, 1969 article 1A,2)

The definition of refugees included persons who had fled because of civil war in the 1969 OAU Convention and it was also pertinent in the 1984 Cartagena Declaration in Latin America.

Rawles (2003) argues for a large number of people to be excluded from the definition of refugees that are in need of the protection and assistance. According to the criteria, persons defined as refugees must have crossed the border of their country into another country but this definition excludes a large number of people. Internally displaced persons are not easily assisted as state sovereignty prevents them from receiving aid or protection (Newman & Van Selm, 2003:6).
2.3.2 Towards a definition of refugees relevant for this treatise

Newman and Van Selm (2003) write that individual or collective human behaviour determines migration, whether it is voluntary or forced. “Refugee flows and human displacement have, *ad infinitum*, been a feature, and consequence, of conflict within and between societies” (2003:3). “Many scholars have asserted that changes in economic organisation and the reduction of state capacity have contributed to poverty and inequality, and that this is an underlying explanatory cause of migration” (2003:4). Forced or voluntary migration is therefore a result of socio-economic factors. A contributing factor is the argument that violent conflict and persecution are the main push factors of refugee flow whether it is within a country or to other countries. “Ethnic and civil conflict, state building, state collapse and failure, and government persecution are all inherently violent and lead directly to mass forced migration” (2003:4).

Governments, state bureaucracies and critical movements all struggle when trying to define who the refugee is. A country’s situation is scrutinised to evaluate whether it produces refugees or not and whether the population fulfils the criteria of asylum-seekers. Having to meet certain bureaucratic criteria in order to be accepted as asylum-seekers leads to the rejection of a vast number of people. The criteria do not always include the variety of reasons that lead to flight. The rejected or undecided population become undocumented migrants, “a relatively new category consisting of immigrants who entered on a tourist visa and then decided to stay, those who crossed the border illegally, and those who became illegal when they were refused refugee status” (Essed, Frerks & Schrijvers, 2004:53).

To reach a definition of refugees is complicated and the situation of economic migrants adds to the confusion (Newman & Van Selm, 2003:6). The UN Refugee agency stresses that the definition of an economic refugee is misusing the term ‘refugee’. If people voluntarily leave their country to make a better living they should be called economic migrants as they can return home safely at any time, and are not in danger of being persecuted on the basis of belonging to a particular social group, race, religion, political opinion or nationality as in the case of the refugees (The UN refugee agency, 2007). However, Sisulu cited in Vundla (2008) argues for the distinction between the refugee and the economic refugee to become irrelevant because of the
“complex nexus between the political crisis and the economic implosion” (2008:4) that exists in their countries.

When reaching a definition of refugees relevant for this treatise the UN 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol have been consulted. Refugees are therefore:

- Persons outside their own country who are unwilling or unable to return to their country of origin;
- Persons who have a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion and
- Persons who cannot or will not, because of their fear, rely on the protection of their own governments (United Nations, 1951: convention article 1A, 2 and Refugee Convention, 1969 article 1A,2).

Refugee flow as a result of conflict (Newman & Van Selm, 2003:4), refugees as populations who cross international borders (2003:6) and refugees as stipulated by the UN 1951 convention and 1967 protocol are the definition of refugees relevant for this treatise. A discussion of the definition of refugees for the treatise will follow when presenting data of the undertaken study in chapter four.

2.3.3 Urban refugees

La Caze (2004) offers a discussion on Immanuel Kant’s cosmopolitanism and hospitality in relation to urban refugees and asylum seekers, and how the difficulties they face are approached and understood. Kant’s theory of universal and unconditional hospitality should influence governments today in their dealings with refugees and asylum-seekers to better their situation. Refugees and asylum-seekers should be able to interact in the host community even though they are not citizens.

When a population grows, resources become stressed which leads to conflict, hence refugees’ distress after escaping a conflict does not end on arriving in a new place because new conflict manifests itself as there is a struggle for space, work and money. ‘‘The processes and modalities
of humanitarian work need to be adapted – maybe even transformed – to enable us to meet the basic living requirements and protection needs of the urban displaced” (Tibajjuka, 2010:4). Urban refugees must be evaluated in the context of the urban poor. Community-based and bottom-up are strategies that need to be executed to better assist the refugees in urban areas (Guterres, 2010:8).

When approaching a definition of refugees relevant for this treatise, a definition of refugee flow as a result of conflict was considered. IDPs and refugees moving from rural to urban environment create new challenges as a battle for resources may lead to new conflicts.

Statistics published by the UNHCR prove that one third of refugees live in camps while approximately half of the world’s 10,5 million refugees are located in cities and towns (UNHCR policy on refugee protection and solution in urban areas, 2009). According to Jacobsen (2004), “urban refugees are self-settled refugees - formally recognized or not - residing in urban areas” (2004:57). To distinguish between refugees and people who migrate for economic reasons is difficult in an urban area. Tibajjuka (2010:4) writes that various global trends like natural disasters as the result of climate change, the global food crisis and the rise in living costs lead to a move of populations into urban areas “…and are causing the issue of urban displacement to come to the forefront of both our humanitarian and development efforts” (2010:4). A change of policies regarding humanitarian work with the refugee populations and IDPs in urban areas is required to meet their protection and living requirement needs.

Urban refugees often do not receive the protection and assistance as required by their definition as refugees. Assistance in shelter, healthcare, education, and other social services suffers as a result of settling in an urban area. Refugees who come from an urban area or are simply not familiar with how to sustain themselves in camps or rural areas often chose to settle in an urban area (Jacobsen, 2004:58). However, in September 2009 the UNHCR published a document to secure the protection of the rights of refugees situated in urban areas. These rights include the following:

- The right to life;
- The right not to be subjected to cruel or degrading treatment or punishment;
• The right not to be tortured or arbitrarily detained and
• The right to adequate food, shelter, health and education, as well as livelihood opportunities (UNHCR policy on refugee protection and solution in urban areas, 2009).

2.3.4 Refugee Women

The UN 1951 Convention did not focus on the issues concerning gender and refugees (Indra 1999:xii). Speaking of gender does not necessarily mean women (1999:2). Refugee women and their coping strategies is, however, the focus of this treatise, therefore the next section will describe refugee women, the major problems they face as refugees and the coping strategies adopted to deal with the issues. Reference to Zimbabweans in a South African context will be made when appropriate.

A majority of male refugees residing in urban areas has previously been the trend. In countries without refugee camps, large numbers of refugee women, children and older people generally live in urban areas (UNHCR policy on refugee protection and solution in urban areas, 2009). Women and girls are highly exposed to sexual violence and falling pregnant in migration situations. A lack of health care also adds to the growing concern for this vulnerable group (Leahy, 2008). The Women’s Refugee Commission (2009) states that women and young people are not only vulnerable as a result of displacement, but their new attempts to create a livelihood might put them at risk of being exploited and becoming victims of violence and abuse.

2.3.5 Difficulties refugees face

In Jacobsen’s and Landaus article The new Johannesburg (2004:45) they discuss the notion that refugees and migrants often have difficulties with various institutions like the police and the Department of Home Affairs in South Africa. Their statistics verify the statement. One third of the population that was part of their survey revealed that they waited more than three times longer than the period determined by law to receive their asylum status. Paying bribes is often necessary to access the resources they need. Spiegel (2010:22) emphasises that access to health services is another issue refugees face, especially in an urban area. They do not have sufficient income to pay for transportation to access health services, in addition to the fees that are charged.
In addition, discrimination and stigma may lead to poor access to health services. Essed et.al. (2004:54) further highlight this issue and stress that the situation where refugees do not get access to health care as their legal status has not yet been defined is a moral dilemma for health workers.

Jacobsen and Landau (2004:45) describe an environment where migrants are more often victims of crime or police harassment than South Africans and where police are more likely to aggravate the problem than prevent or stop it. There have been incidents where the police have stopped migrants and then destroy their papers, and where migrants bribe the police to prevent their being arrested and deported. Another notion among South Africans is that crime has increased since the arrival of migrants in Johannesburg, and the South African Police Service’s Hillbrow Police Station confirms the fact that foreigners are more often the victims of crime. However, they are not necessarily the perpetrators (Jacobsen, 2004:45).

Among the other difficulties they face, according to Parsley (2005:9-10), is the high unemployment rate in South Africa which not only prevents South Africans from getting work but consequently the refugees struggle too. Another prevalent issue in the country is access to services which both refugees and South Africans struggle to obtain. Parsley (2005:10) also stresses the fact that refugees with qualifications cannot afford a professional evaluation of these and are subsequently not able to get jobs suitable for their training. This argument is supported by an article by Jacobsen (2004:58) where research showed that many refugees have qualifications and knowledge that might be of great assistance to the host country. According to the survey by Jacobsen (2004:60), 24 percent of the non-South Africans sought to work as medical professionals or lawyers when asked what type of work they could do which would match their skills and educational level and 26 percent saw themselves as business people. Language barriers also contribute negatively to the overall situation in which the refugees find themselves (Parsley, 2005:10).

2.3.5.1 Xenophobia

In the journal article by J.M. Vorster, *The Ecumenical Review*, Vol. 54, 2002 xenophobia is described as a growing threat to human rights as immigration increases. The motivational
factors of xenophobia are very similar to, if not the same as, those of racism. These are prejudice, stereotyping, bias and discrimination. Xenophobia manifests itself in aggression against migrants as a result of collective fear. He further recognises the evident existence of xenophobia in South Africa where immigrants in the townships are being called ‘kwerekwere’ which is a disapproving term for African immigrants (Vorster, 2002). The fear of outsiders can lead to hostile reactions against immigrants by communities and can also lead to illegal methods of deporting asylum-seekers.

Xenophobia reached a climax in May 2008 when groups of poor South Africans raged through townships and slums with the intention of hurting black immigrants. People were beaten and some were even set alight. At least 62 were killed and 670 injured. 80 000 fled their homes, leaving belongings, homes and businesses behind. Some sought refuge in shelters or churches but a large number of people chose to leave South Africa altogether (World Refugee Survey, 2009).

The protection of women is often jeopardised in urban areas. Being arrested and put in detention, harassment, exploitation, discrimination, inappropriate and overcrowded shelters are some issues that threaten the protection of women in urban areas. Sexual and gender-based violence, HIV-AIDS, human smuggling and trafficking are also realities for this vulnerable refugee group (UNHCR policy on refugee protection and solutions in urban areas, 2009).

2.3.6 Coping Strategies

Coping has been defined by Lazarus, Folkman, Gruen and Delongis (1986) “as the person’s cognitive and behavioural efforts to manage the internal and external demands of the person’s environmental transformation” (1986:24). Halcon in Khawaja,White, Schweitzer and Greenslade, (2008) discusses the importance of religion when trying to cope. African refugees in particular are pursuing religious practices as a coping strategy to lessen their unhappiness. They further write that “In some cases, religious beliefs are linked to a style of coping that emphasises ‘enduring’ the adversities of the present for the reward of a ‘better future’” (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2003 cited in Khawaja et.al.: 493). Research by Lehlomela (2006:22) at the Jesuit
Refugee Service in Johannesburg also concluded that the majority use religion and its practices as a coping strategy.

Coping strategies have been identified among refugees receiving aid from NGOs and UN agencies. Lowering the quality of food and spending less on health care were also coping strategies that were used (El-Zein, 2008). Depending on social networks and governmental services are also coping strategies employed by refugees (Khawaja et al., 2008:504-505).

The civil war in Mozambique in the late 1980s led to many people seeking refuge in South Africa. Initially the means of survival was by depending on churches, charitable organisations and perhaps the refugees’ own initiative. Still some refugees’ coping strategy is on a hand-to-mouth basis, while others practise long-term coping strategies (Golooba-Mutebi & Tollman, 2004:28).

Various coping strategies are being adopted among displaced persons around the world. According to research on Household income and coping strategies of refugee population of Nahr Al-Bared camp (El-Zein, 2008) in north Lebanon the coping strategies that were used daily were getting cheap food and receiving aid from NGOs and UN agencies. Lowering the quality of food in addition to getting cheaper food as well as spending less on health care were also coping strategies that were often used (El-Zein, 2008).

2.3.6.1 Women and coping strategies

Women often flee unprepared with few resources which lead to an uncertain situation where they have no safety net. To deal with the lack of economic resources and the lack of adequate humanitarian aid, many women and girls turn to destructive coping strategies. Some of these have been recognised as prostitution and exchanging sex for food. Collecting firewood can also put women or girls in risky situations where they are exposed to rape, violence and abuse (Women’s Refugee Commission, 2009:12).

The Women’s Refugee Commission (2010) has identified a need for “livelihoods” which is a concept they describe as the women’s ability to make their own living and be able to take care of
their own family. They specifically state that livelihood in a refugee context entails various activities such as vocational and skills training programmes, food-for-work programmes and business start-up programmes. They stress the need for women to develop self-reliance.

Parsley’s article points out the difficulty for women to develop self-reliance as they are usually responsible for several children too (Parsley, 2005:25). It has been recognised that women are better at adapting to local livelihood programmes than men and that they take on the economic responsibility in situations of displacement. This was evident among Liberian refugees in Sierra Leone. Men lose their role as providers in refugee situations where there are aid agencies to lean on, and they try to turn it round by enforcing their role as the decision-makers (Hampshire et. al., 2008).

Nilsson (2000:23) discusses studies on the importance of self-reliance by women and says that this is a positive solution which can be long-term. Other studies have, however, concluded that public policies can have negative consequences for displaced people’s attempts to establish a livelihood.

2.3.7 Refugee settings

UNHCR global trends (2008) show that developing countries accommodate four out of five refugees. Three-quarters or more of the world’s refugees seek refuge in neighbouring countries or an immediate region. From data based on 8.8 million refugees, the UNHCR has tried to map where refugees live. Their findings show that approximately half of the world’s refugees can be located in urban areas and one-third in camps. In sub-Saharan Africa a different trend is apparent where seven out of ten refugees live in camps (UNHCR Global Trends, 2008).

2.3.7.1 Refugee settings in South Africa

South Africa became a popular destination for refugees after the democratic changes which occurred in 1994. The flow of refugees to the urban areas has resulted in not only a demographic change in South Africa but also a change in attitudes (Jacobsen & Landau, 2004:44). South Africa’s view on how to deal with refugees in its community is not to set up refugee camps but rather to try to integrate them into society. South Africa, having to recover from the system of apartheid, is still coping with the integration of its own various groups and this creates a
challenging environment for the refugees who try to establish themselves in their new communities (Parsley, 2005:9-10).

South Africa has passed the Refugees Amendment Act of 2008 to bring it in line with the UN 1951 Convention which deals with the Status and Protocol of refugees, and also the 1969 Convention governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa. People that come from countries with serious disorders affecting the public order in the whole or part of the country are included in the definition of refugees (USCRI, 2010). It is stated in the protocol that no person should be discriminated against based on race, religion or country of origin. It also involves rules to be followed regarding the discharge of refugees. The convention also advocates against any deportation of a refugee back to a country where there is fear of persecution.

The South African Government has included refugees in the 2007-2010 UN Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF). There it is noted that the needs of refugees and vulnerable groups must be embraced in the transformation of the South African society to become a non-racist, non-sexist, non-exclusionary democracy. The importance of the training of experts to deal with the needs of asylum-seekers, refugees and migrants is also stressed as one of the national goals (USCRI, 2010). Refugees and asylum-seekers in South Africa can move around freely, obtain employment and access basic social services and as a result most of them will be found living in urban areas (UNHCR, 2010).

**2.3.8 Refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa**

Statistics given by the South African government describe asylum claims in South Africa in 2008 as numbering at least 207,200. This group is made up of Zimbabweans with 122,600 asylum applications, Malawians with 18,160 and Ethiopians with 11,350. Other African countries as well as Bangladesh, China, India and Pakistan also had asylum-seekers coming to South Africa in 2008. Government statistics also note that the refugee population is 43,500 which consist of people from Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and Somalia (UNHCR, 2010).
2.3.8.1 Zimbabwean refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa

A vast number of Zimbabweans are moving to adjacent countries as a consequence of the conflict in Zimbabwe (Makina, 2008:14), and according to Leslie (2008:5) many are on the move to South Africa because of its geographical position and also because of the “skills shortage and comparatively robust – in regional terms at least – economic performance” (Leslie, 2008:5).

Complications arise when trying to establish the number of Zimbabweans who have migrated to South Africa, and the number has been estimated at between one to more than three million people. Migrants from Zimbabwe include “asylum seekers escaping political persecution to people fleeing economic collapse for a better life over the Limpopo River, cross-border traders, students and shoppers” (IRIN, 2010).

2.4 The Central Methodist Church in South Africa

Methodism has been evident in South Africa since 1806. Apartheid was rejected and disapproved of by the Methodist Church from its commencement and it resisted pressure from the nationalist supremacy to “divide along racial lines” (Cragg, 2005). The mission charter (2004) contains four important aspects the Methodist Mission wishes to pursue. Statements such as “building meaningful relationships that transcend racism, sexism and all other forms of discrimination; a vigorous response to the crisis of HIV and AIDS; (…) becoming a church in solidarity with the poor” (Methodist.org, 2010) are on the mission agenda.

2.4.1 The Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg

The Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg is situated on the corner of Pritchard and Smal Streets in Johannesburg. Their mission includes a non-profit organisation called Ray of Hope that has functioned as a provider of accommodation and emergency refuge at the church since 1997. They aim to provide protection for refugees, asylum-seekers and internally displaced persons and they also cooperate with other organisations with the same agenda. The CMC values highly the importance of helping the homeless and the poor while at the same time avoiding making the people they help becoming totally dependent on them (Ray of Hope, 2009).
Offering necessities like food, shelter and clothing are a few of the objectives of the organisation. They also try to assist the refugees by offering various types of empowering training as a means of rehabilitation. Providing a safe haven and being the voice of the voiceless are objectives the church stresses. Another aim of the organisation is to make sure that human rights are not being exceeded or exploited (Ray of Hope, 2009).

There are certain rules that need to be followed by the people that stay in the church. Breaking any of these rules may lead to expulsion from the community. These rules involve no alcohol, smoking, fighting, stealing or illegitimate sex. They are also entitled to worship and are expected to maintain cleanliness in the building. There are 25 people in the church that are part of a group who make sure rules are obeyed (Ray of Hope, 2009).

According to Ray of Hopes’ own website there were about 600 people staying at the church (Ray of Hope, 2009). However, there has subsequently been a considerable increase. In September 2009 it was said by the bishop of the church, Paul Verryn, that around 3000 to 3500 people spend every night in the church. Of this number there are 110 unaccompanied minors. Approximately 85% are Zimbabweans that have fled the economic and political conflict in Zimbabwe (Centre Administrator, September 2009).

The mission statement on their website that the reason that there are so many people staying in the church is that it is a means to keep them off the violent streets of Johannesburg. It is also said that these are people that can be a great positive contribution to the building of democracy in South Africa. Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET), a clinic, cooking, sewing, drama groups as well as a group that searches for suitable job opportunities are some of the help programmes the church is trying to establish to assist the people in becoming independent, and to obtain employment outside the church (Ray of Hope, 2009).

The youngest unaccompanied minor staying at the church is nine years old, while the oldest male is 96. About 12 to 15% of the church’s population consists of South Africans, and their main reason for being there is poverty. Zimbabweans make up 72% while the rest are a mix of Congolese, Sudanese and people from Mozambique. The people that are not from Zimbabwe feel inferior within the community at the church, as they are part of a minority. There are a few
other places where people from other countries might rather go. Zimbabweans gather in the church because they feel good about being there together (Administrative Coordinator, Sep 2009).

The people in the church are mainly economic asylum-seekers, but there are also political refugees. Members of the MDC that have sought refuge at the CMC hold meetings in the chapel every week. Political refugees remain undercover as they are afraid of persecution (Administrative Coordinator, Sep 2009).

During the xenophobic attacks last year the population at the church rose to 5000. Most of the refugees resulting from xenophobia have been repatriated. There is a large percentage of unemployment among the women in the church. Many of them are victims of abuse inside the church. There are a lot more men than women in the church and the women face both emotional and sexual abuse. The women also have to deal with a lack of services and an attitude of prejudice from various institutions. As a result of a shortage of employment, the women rely on exchanging sex in return for resources (Administrative Coordinator, Sep 2009).

According to the Centre Administrator (2009) there are various bodies and organisations within and connected with the CMC that give aid:

- A soup kitchen operates whenever funds permit. It serves up to 300 of the people living in the church, up to three times a week. It is not a daily occurrence, but does provide a much needed hot meal as often as possible;
- A crèche is operated on a rotation basis by some mothers living in the mission. Children are taken care of while their mothers go out in search of work. It is difficult for mothers with small children to find work;
- Doctors without Borders operate a clinic next to the church which is open weekdays from 12:30 to 20:00. Sex workers can go for STD and HIV tests and also birth control at a clinic at a different location so as to protect them from prejudice and stigma;
- A security team of 17 men on rotation take care of the community within the church. They also see to it that visitors enter and leave the mission safely. These men are refugees themselves;
• Various education programmes are run in or near the church, many of which are operated by members of the community. The Albert School near the mission offers full schooling from Grade 1 to Grade 12. Adult education and sewing classes, as already mentioned, are given at the mission, and persons may also take in courses directed at the hospitality industry in which many displaced people have already found jobs. It is important to remember that these programmes are run almost entirely by members of the refugee community, even though external sponsorship is available for many of them;

• The Refugee Fellowship organises workshops and counselling on violence, abuse and defence, as well as arranges meetings with Home Affairs to gain information about residency permits. The Refugee Fellowship is there to assist all members of the community, men and women, and are displaced people themselves who are part of the refugee community;

• Other groups and activities include a soccer club, chess team, and a group of cleaners composed of members of the refugee community who clean inside the church and

• There are also a few safe houses for political refugees whose lives are threatened.

The Central Methodist Mission acts as a means of taking care of people who may find themselves in a destitute situation, which is characteristic of the refugee situation. The mission shows its community sympathy and compassion, but will avoid creating a sense of dependency or reliance. The mission acts as an agent of care (Centre Administrator).

2.5 Conflict theory

2.5.1 Introduction

The following section is focused on reaching a definition of conflict relevant for the undertaken study. To create an understanding of the field in which the working definitions of theory for this treatise are applicable, a brief history of conflict management is provided. In addition, a general discussion of conflict theory is outlined. Conflict dynamics are then briefly accounted for through manifest and latent conflict and conflict escalation and de-escalation. Three models of conflict are provided. Thereafter four conflict theories relevant for the study are described. This
section provides a definition of conflict from which all discussions of conflict within the framework of this treatise depart.

2.5.2 A brief history of Conflict Management

Indications of conflict management can be found at earlier stages than the twentieth century. In the Roman Empire, during antiquity, there were considerations on how to secure law enforcement across political borders. This idea involved the fact that great powers have a responsibility to prevent conflict. In the post-Napoleonic time during the nineteenth century there were more serious attempts at conflict management activities where there was collective action with the aim of maintaining peace between states. The Concert of Europe was established in 1815 and the member states were the winners of the Napoleonic Wars. They did not try to abolish war but rather to maintain the status quo (Bellamy et. al., 2004:59-60).

The industrial revolution brought new arenas for conflict with Karl Marx contributing theories of conflict between classes. Imperialism showed that ethnic identity can also cause conflict as one race might think they are superior to other races as the colonisers thought themselves to be. Humans evolved in their dealings with conflict and later gained new insights from Ghandi’s non-violent reaction to conflict and industrial disputes evolved from violent struggle to collective bargaining where the workers’ rights were protected by law. The United Nations and its peace research and other peace movements became important after two world wars which gave rise to a need to control and understand international conflict. Decolonisation left a realm of potential conflicts as the colonisers had set up borders which did not consider ethnicity. Giving one ethnic group the advantage also created the possibility for post-independence conflict. The United Nations brought in peace keeping, peacemaking and peace building to deal with conflicts as the Cold War had sparked off several civil wars in developing countries. Since the 1970s third person involvement has increased to deal with conflict. Third person involvement such as mediation, arbitration and problem-solving are common conflict management strategies (Bartos, 2002:1-6). Bartos (2002:1) argues that the ways we deal with conflict are based on hereditary knowledge which has been transmitted from generations of life experiences where we have learned how to participate at minimal cost to ourselves. However, people’s conflict management skills vary from person to person even though we are all exposed to it.
2.5.3 Conflict

Bradshaw (2007) notes that conflict is an important topic for every single one of the social sciences, and has given rise to a number of theoretical understandings of conflict. “There is no general theory of social conflict” (2007:42); however, they all add to the understanding of the phenomenon. Some approaches to explain social conflict may be seen as belonging to the psychological paradigm; however, they cannot be seen as exclusive to that approach. Basic human needs theory is a social conflict theory which derives from psychology theories (Bradshaw, 2007:42 and 45). Mark Anstey in Managing Change, Negotiating Conflict (2006:3) describes conflict to be about change, and states that in every institution or organisation there will be interests of a conflicting nature. Workers might demand better salaries or working conditions, and countries might want greater territories or reclaim land that might once have been taken away from them. We might not even be aware of our participation in the social processes where we strive to maintain or improve our needs and interests. Rabie (1994:1) wrote that everyone participates in cooperating or competing relationships on an individual or group level which is all part of a social dynamic that is constantly changing. Rabie maintains that the social dynamics cause an alteration in power relations which leads to conflict, and the effects of inter-group conflicts can lead to structural violence if not dealt with. He brings in Johan Galtung’s theory of structural violence where a social structure suppresses a group and deprives them of opportunities of fulfilling their goals. However, there are not always violent clashes in these social structures so the term ‘structural injustice’ is a more correct description of the dynamic (Rabie, 1994:1-2).

Himes’s (1980:14) contribution was the theory of conflict as a struggle for scarce resources where opponents use social power to conquer each other. Himes’s emphasis on collective actors in dispute in a social structure has been criticised by Anstey (2006:5-6) who argues that the theory lacks an understanding of the conflicts that appear at interpersonal and intra-individual levels. Coser, as Himes, (cited in Horowitz, 1985:95) also saw the importance of overcoming the opponents as a way to deal with conflict and he argued for rewards in conflict while at the same time trying to defeat opponents.
Morton Deutsch said "Conflict can neither be eliminated nor even suppressed for long. Conflict is the root of personal and social change. The social and scientific issue is not how to eliminate or prevent conflict, but rather how to live lively controversy instead of deadly quarrels" (Burton & Dukes, 1990:38).

2.5.3.1 Latent and Manifest conflict

There might be conflict even though visible signs of conflict are not evident. Galtung (cited in Bradshaw, 2007) offers the ABC triangle of conflict to describe the complexity of conflict which involves “the behaviours, attitudes and structural underpinnings of contention among social collectives” (2007:14).

- A: Conflict attitudes (intolerance, prejudice, racism, rigidity)
- B: Conflict behaviour (arguing, fighting, hurting, lying, avoiding)
- C: The underlying conflict situation, or contradiction (unfairness, inequality, oppression)

( Bradshaw, 2007:14)
2.5.3.2 Conflict dynamics: escalation and de-escalation

Escalation is a process whereby participants start using more forceful means, whether they be actions or threats, in the interaction with their opponents. Mitchell (1981:60) describes escalation in violent behaviour either as an increase in destructive activities or the involvement of more individuals in destructive activity. For a conflict to escalate there is a need for interaction between two or more parties. Incompatible goals or values may cause an escalation of conflict. Deprivation by opponents, or past or present problems might come to the surface and cause an escalation of conflict. Conflict escalation can be grounded in problems in the past where someone has treated ancestors unfairly or in more recent actions of this nature (Bartos & Wehr (2002:99-100). Escalation can also be seen to have more of an emotional nature where anger and frustration, fear and hatred grow stronger on an intrapersonal level or where more people experience the emotions (Mitchell, 1982:60).

There are various factors that can contribute to de-escalating conflicts. It can either be an external factor as when NATO forces decide to enter a conflict and push parties towards a de-escalation of conflict. Bartos and Wehr (2002:113) write that internal events in the conflict itself can also lead to de-escalation. The media can also contribute by depicting less aggravating aspects about the other party through their channels which can lead to calming a conflict. Kriesberg (1998:185) argues for de-escalation to occur when there is a “decrease in conflict solidarity”. Individuals are exhausted and they might have lost family members. Bartos and Wehr (2002:114-116) discuss what can lead to a de-escalation of a conflict: if resources contribute to maintain the conflict, social inequality can become so strong that there is a need for de-escalation of conflict. Conflict resources are not unlimited and de-escalation might be inevitable. As a result of resources being drained, a wish to end the conflict might be the best strategy as the future might not look bright if the conflict continues. A change in leadership where a more moderate leader comes to power can also help towards de-escalation of conflict.

Bartos and Wehr (1998:116) argue for agreement to be the ideal way to end a conflict. Negotiation, mediation and arbitration are techniques shown as effective to assist in this procedure. Brown (cited in Rahim, 1990:106) argues for mediation as a conflict strategy which deals with the issues effectively and also helps parties save face.
2.5.4 Three models of conflict

Next, three models of conflict will be described, namely the Contender-Defender model, the Conflict Spiral model and the Structural Change model.

2.5.4.1 The Contender-Defender Model

This model encompasses two parties: the defending party defends itself against the contending party’s actions. The goal of the contender is to create change, and this in turn escalates conflict with the other party involved. This goal may include something as simple as stopping or questioning the other party’s actions. The contender’s tactics may initially be mild, but in order for a goal to be reached, much harsher tactics can be employed. Responses by the defender to the contender’s tactics increase tension. It is because of this reason that conflict escalates. It is important to remember that the contender’s actions are hostile whereas the defender is always passive (Pruitt & Kim, 2004:93).

2.5.4.2 The Conflict Spiral Model

The conflict spiral model, or “bilateral reaction model” (Pruitt & Kim, 2004:96), is one of the most common forms of conflict escalation models. In this model reactions are based upon prior actions of the other party. Further reactions are actions of revenge in an ever-present vicious circle. Retaliation by one party is an action to thwart the other party’s conduct, and if this party fails to react, it as seen as weak. It is extremely difficult to break out of the cycle because of these three reasons: lack of trust between parties; fear of reconciliation rewarding one party and encouraging further antagonism, and thirdly, this causes the other party to be blamed for escalating the conflict spiral (Ibid, 2004:97).

The spiral effect is seen very clearly in the way that retaliation between parties becomes more intense. Escalation in the conflict spiral model is characterised by the fact that parties begin using light tactics in response to threats, and when proven unsuccessful, the aggression level is increased. In turn the opposing party responds even more severely. Pruitt and Kim (2004:100) suggest a combination of the contender-defender model and the conflict spiral model when analysing conflict. Each episode in the conflict spiral can be seen as a contender-defender episode, and vice versa.
2.5.4.3 The Structural Change Model

The structural change model has a complex nature as it illustrates structural changes evident during the escalation of conflict. These changes influence the nature of the various parties’ decisions and tactics. These changes include shifts in the psychological conditions which are inherent within and between individuals and decision-makers, and this has a significant effect on the way the group functions as well as the community in which the conflicting party resides (Pruitt & Kim, 2004:101). The structural change model can incorporate the contender-defender as well as the conflict spiral model. The cycle of escalation explained in the spiral model is based upon the increased aggression of tactics between parties. It can be noted that, when referred to under the structural change model, tactics of retaliation by one party upon another force structural changes in the defending party, and vice versa (Ibid, 2004:102). The advantage of this model allows analysts to construct assumptions as to how conflict may escalate and persist.

2.5.5 Human Needs

Unmet psychological and physical needs are the sources of social conflict in basic needs theories. Originating from Maslow, the theory offers the explanation that all individuals need satisfaction of their basic human needs. Physical needs have been recognised as nutrition and shelter whereas the psychological constitutes the need for identity, security and control (Bradshaw, 2007:16). In understanding human behaviour, human needs have been seen as the key by anthropologists, philosophers, psychologists, sociobiologists, sociologists and political scientists (Coate & Rosati (1988:30). Coate and Rosati (1988:2-3) mention the importance of needs in social science research even though there is a lack of a universal agreement regarding the definition of needs and their connection to values and interests.

According to Burton (1990):

“it became clear (...) that conflicts (...) were not generated primarily – or even at all – by shortages of goods or even by claims to territory. They were fundamental issues in all cases, issues touching on individual and group security, identity and recognition. The power of human needs was greater than military might. The conditions that explained
Burton’s Basic Human Needs Theory (BHN) can be applied to all conflict because it identifies as the root of conflict the most fundamental sources – human identity and access to systems of change. “Besides the need for identity and participation, Burton identifies basic needs for consistency, security, recognition and distributive justice, the latter being linked to underdevelopment and thereby to structural inequality and violence (Fisher, 1997:6). Burton (cited in Anstey, 2006:17) notes that deep-rooted conflicts are often the result of human needs not being met. Sites (cited in Coate & Rosati, 1988) names eight human needs. These human needs are:”consistency of response; stimulation; security; recognition; justice; meaning; rationality and control” (1988:5-6). Burton in Coate and Rosati (Ibid:vii) describes human needs as not negotiable, whereas material needs are.

Human beings will act as a reaction to their needs not being fulfilled. The dissatisfaction of human needs may therefore be seen as the inspiration of social action. “Fears in inter-group conflict situations are driven by perceived threats to identity and security associated with the denial of ontological needs. Threats to the fulfilment of basic needs or their actual nonfulfilment are powerfully played out in serious international or ethnic conflict” (Jeong, 1999:10). Azar (cited in Bradshaw, 2007:35) describes a scenario where one group or some individuals might enjoy total satisfaction of their needs while another group is deprived partially or completely of the satisfaction of their needs. To completely satisfy human needs, “effective participation in a political system” (2007:35) is stressed as central.

According to Sites in Coate and Rosati (1988:6), social relationships are entered into by individuals as an attempt to “… fulfil such needs and they need to control those aspects of the environment which are essential for needs satisfaction” (1988:6). Behaviour of the individual might change out of societal norms if needs are deprived, “… when individual needs are not fulfilled within the dominant values and institutions of society, deviant behaviour becomes a necessity” (1988:6). Burton in Sandole and Sandole-Staroste (1987) argues that, according to control theory, the relationships, and not coercion by authorities, are what prevent anarchy in
society. Human beings will fight for their needs alone or at group level regardless of an outcome which would lead to anarchy in society, “… if there are no valued relationships with authorities in particular, or parents and schools” (1987:256).

2.5.6 Relative Deprivation

The early thinking regarding relative deprivation was Durkheim’s theory that “individual satisfaction is relative to the need expectations instilled by the collectivity, and that satisfaction is not derived from the individual's objective supply of goods” (Canache, 1996). Canache (1996) writes that relative deprivation occurs when an individual compares his or her socio-economic situation to that of other people, and how this can evolve into actions of political violence. He further discusses social comparisons and how they are the initiator of deprivation. Gurr (cited in Canache, 1996) describes the first way for deprivation to occur as when people have a different value capability to their value expectation. People might receive less than what they feel they deserve and this leads to deprivation, and the more they feel deprived, the greater becomes the feeling of frustration and discontent and the chance of people participating in political violence increases. Hanf (cited in Anstey, 2006:15) notes that conflict as a result of relative deprivation constitutes one group seeing its situation as one of exploitation and not containing equal opportunities or taking part in fair competition as in the case of the other group.

Dyk (1990:513) discusses relative deprivation in race relations. People might compare themselves to other ethnic groups. If there is a feeling that other groups have a different position when it comes to political freedom or socio-economic conditions, it can lead to attempts to end deprivation through social protest.

2.5.7 Scarce resources

Anstey (2006:12) recognises scarce resources as a source of conflict. Nations face conflict in the distribution process of their resources like food and housing if they do not match the population’s demand for it. Himes (1980:14) contributed to the theory of conflict as a struggle for scarce resources where opponents use social power to conquer each other. A battle over scarce resources can enhance inter-group conflict. This type of conflict is the focus of interest theories. When resources are scarce there is a greater chance for a group to feel threatened by
other groups (James & Goetze, 2001:75). Bradshaw (2007) notes that conflict as a result of competition over scarce resources provides the root cause of most social conflicts. The demand for “money, land, jobs and powerful positions” (2007:15) does not match the supply of these resources. Most individuals and groups compete for scarce resources.

The competition can be between countries for nuclear weapons, between two tribes fighting over land or between individuals for a certain position (Bradshaw, 2008:18). A technique that can be used to deal with the interest-based conflict is to allocate the scarce resources in a fair way if possible. Another possibility is to try through cooperative means to gain access to more of the resource (James & Goetze, 2001:88). Conflicts over resources are usually long and complex when parties are not willing to compromise or if there are no alternative supplies of the scarce resources (Deutsch, 1973: 15).

Weber (cited in Bartos & Wehr, 2002:30) recognises three resources of conflict. These are wealth, power and prestige. Land used to be and still is a resource often contested, as it used to be a symbol of prestige and power. The ongoing conflict between the Israelis and Palestinians is a good example of a conflict which has its root in conflict over land. Power is also a source of conflict where parties or nations will fight each other to gain more of it. Bartos and Wehr (2002:31) describe power as a scarce resource which often is zero-sum which means that a party has to lose it for another party to gain some. Prestige can be linked to power where a person in a powerful position can obtain prestige. Work has also become a scarce resource, and Anstey (2006:14) writes that foreign investors that can contribute to creating jobs are not likely to invest in politically unstable countries.

### 2.5.8 Ethnic conflict

Ethnic conflict is described in Bradshaw (2007) as “… one of the most dramatic forms of conflict in the world” (2007:29). Ethnic conflicts seen today are a consequence of “… imperial conquest, colonial rule, slavery, frontier settlement, and the international migration of labour” (2007:30). Ethnic and cultural tensions are evident in countries with a history where opportunities and status are established according to ethnicity. According to Gurr (cited in Anstey, 2006), the following factors exacerbate tensions: “.... political alignments defined by
ethnicity rather than other interests; an absence of crosscutting cleavages on non-ethnic lines; small groups of advantaged in a context of large groups of disadvantaged and economic inequalities reinforced by public policy and social behaviour” (2006:16).

McGarry and O’Leary (1993) discuss “eight distinct macro-methods of ethnic conflict regulation” (1993:4). The first four are “methods for eliminating differences” (1993:4) namely genocide, forced mass-population transfers, partition and / or secession and integration and / or assimilation. The last four are” methods for managing differences” (1993:4) namely hegemonic control, arbitration, cantonisation and/or federalisation and consociationalism or power-sharing (Ibid, 1993:4). These strategies can be used in a combination aimed at one ethnic group or various tactics can be aimed at various ethnic groups (Ibid, 1993:5).

Groups form very easily within a population and few differences promote these divisions. Group loyalty becomes prominent with allegiance to ingroups and prejudice towards outgroups. When compared to other groups within the environment, favourable appraisal of one’s ingroup is sought (Horowitz, 1985:143-144).

Bradshaw (2007:31) draws attention to Gurr and Harff’s (1994:18-26)) work Ethnic Conflict in World Politics, where they describe four variations of ethnic conflict, namely ethnonationalists, indigenous peoples, communal contenders and ethnoclasses. Ethnonationalists usually have a history of independence and “... their modern political movements are directed toward achieving greater autonomy or independent statehood “(1994:18). Indigenous peoples also aim for autonomy, but they are the original inhabitants of the area. They wish to protect their land, language and culture from “ethnocide” (1994:20). They have a strong feeling of “common identity and purpose” (1994:20) as a consequence of discrimination and exploitation by the ruling group.

Communal contenders wish to share power in government rather than seek autonomy. Ethnoclasses constitute minorities that inhabit a certain social and economic sector, and wish for “equal rights and opportunities to counteract the effects of discrimination resulting from their immigrant and minority status” (Bradshaw, 2007:31).
2.6 Summary

This chapter presented the literature that has been consulted for the study undertaken which is coping strategies among female Zimbabwean refugees at the Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg: a conflict management perspective. The research title suggests an exploration of four concepts, namely ‘Zimbabwe’, ‘refugees’, ‘the Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg’ and ‘conflict management’. Definitions have been provided where appropriate and investigations into the concepts relevant to the undertaken study have been outlined.
CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN, METHODOLOGY AND ANALYSIS

3.1 Introduction

Jacobsen and Landau (2003) discuss in their article *Researching refugees: some methodological and ethical considerations in social science and forced migration* the lack of research on forced migration performed with a satisfactory standard methodology. However, “Being able to follow the researchers’ approach enables us to judge for ourselves whether their findings are valid or not. We can recognise the quality and limitations of the data, replicate the study if need be, or compare the data with those of other similar studies” (2003:4). This chapter will give a detailed account of the methodology and techniques in the undertaken study which is coping strategies among female Zimbabwean refugees living in the Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg: a conflict management perspective.

3.2 Pilot Study

A pilot study was performed before the decision to carry out research in the refugee community in the CMC was made. The researcher was introduced to the refugee community by a colleague. On attending a refugee meeting, it became apparent that there was a high rate of unemployment among the refugees. Conversations with the centre administrator disclosed that the refugee community needs to carry out various coping mechanisms in their struggle to survive. The researcher’s agent in the refugee community said in an interview (Sept. 2009) that there was a majority of men staying in the refugee community. Johannesburg is a huge city in which survival may be difficult, even for those who are not refugees. Many of the refugees in the community are in South Africa to work and send money home to their families. A few visits to the church and several informal conversations with people staying there revealed that most of the refugees do not have jobs or any other means of income. When asked how they spend their days, most of them replied that they just “sit”. A decision was made to embark upon a study to reveal the various coping mechanisms.

The researcher is not very optimistic that the findings will better the situation for the women staying in the refugee community. As Jacobsen and Landau (2003) put it, “We want to believe that our research and teaching will contribute to our theoretical understanding of the world while
actually helping the millions of people caught up in humanitarian disasters and complex emergencies” (2003:3). However, the concern is that when trying to satisfy academic standards, the application to practical life becomes increasingly difficult. Therefore the refugee community at the CMC might not see an improvement in their lives based on the findings in the undertaken study, but as the centre administrator put it when asked about the role of research in the refugee community: “It is all part of the healing process” (Sept. 2009). Therefore the researcher hopes that our listening to their stories may contribute to their healing process.

3.3 Aims and Objectives of the Study

3.3.1 Aim

The aim of the study is to analyse coping strategies among female Zimbabweans living in the CMC. The coping strategies revealed through the empirical study will be analysed using grounded theory techniques. Developers of grounded theory, Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, encouraged researchers to develop their own ways of coding and analysing data, and hoped that their grounded theory method would inspire researchers to develop other procedures (Larossa, 2005:839-840). In support of this argument, categories of coping strategies of the sampling group will be drawn. Making interested readers aware of their ways of dealing with their situation might lead to a better understanding regarding the plight of female refugees and hopefully lead to better ways of dealing with these issues.

3.3.2 Objectives

- To describe the major problems female Zimbabwean refugees face in their daily lives in the CMC;

- To analyse coping strategies among female Zimbabwean refugees living in the CMC;

- To describe the conflict the women face leading to a coping strategy using relevant conflict theory and

- To contribute to a better understanding of the plight of refugees.
3.4 Interpretive Social Science and Qualitative Research

The analysis of coping strategies among female Zimbabwean refugees in the Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg is carried out based on a phenomenological or interpretivist metatheory of social science. Babbie and Mouton (2008) describe this paradigm as a focus on the human mind and consciousness while interpreting the link between the human mind and the study of society. Human beings will always create and mould their actions, and the interpretation of their world is constantly changing (Babbie & Mouton, 2008:28). The study undertaken in the CMC focuses on participants that are seen as individuals with a continually changing view of their society. Social research using a phenomenological theory demands the use of a qualitative approach as it supplements the notion of ‘understanding’ their subjective interpretation of society (Ibid, 2008:33). Therefore it is applicable for the study.

3.5 Research Design

The study undertaken for the research purpose attempts to understand the participants’ coping strategies, therefore qualitative techniques are applicable. Babbie and Mouton (2008) write that in quantitative studies a statistical description in which people can be depicted as numbers is the aim of the end-product, rather than a “thick description” (2008:272). “A thick description is usually a lengthy description that captures the sense of actions as they occur. It places events in contexts that are understandable to the actors themselves” (2008:272).

Research design “focuses on the end-product: What kind of study is being planned and what kind of results are aimed at?” (Babbie & Mouton, 2008:75). Coping strategies based on grounded theory methods is the end-product of this treatise. Babbie and Mouton (2008) say that “In practice, all aspects of research designs are interrelated” (2008:72). They also say that many studies undertaken in a qualitative paradigm are of a descriptive nature. “At the same time, such studies are seldom limited to a merely descriptive purpose. Researchers usually go on to examine why the observed patterns exist and their implications” (2008:81). Therefore the aim of this treatise is not only to analyse coping strategies based on the grounded theory method but also to describe them.
This study will not present a final grounded theory as its conclusion. An attempt to analyse the data using its techniques is, however, the aim of the researcher. Glaser and Strauss encouraged researchers to develop their own ways of coding and analysing data, and hoped that their grounded theory method would inspire researchers to develop other procedures. They, however, developed their methods to discover data in a way in which both beginners and researchers with experience could understand and use it (Larossa, 2005:839-840). The grounded theory approach is used “to develop an inductively derived grounded theory about a phenomenon” (Strauss & Corbin, 1990:24). Strauss and Corbin (1998) note that the approach can be used even if the “ultimate research goal is to arrive at a set of findings rather than theory development” (1988:155). The aim of the analysis is to uncover and establish categories. More on-going research would be needed to establish a grounded theory.

3.6 Methodology

3.6.1 Sample method

There are two types of sampling methods: probability and non-probability. The probability sampling method involves a random sample where all the names of a population being studied are on a list and a random sample can be drawn from this list and everyone has the same chance of being selected (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994:56). Non-probability sampling is a technique to be used if such a list is impossible to obtain or if it is simply not suitable as a technique for what is to be studied (Babbie & Mouton, 2008:166). In the research for this treatise the latter was the most appropriate sampling method. As a qualitative researcher the aim of this study is to “gain[ing] deep understanding of some phenomenon experienced by a carefully selected group of people” (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994:56), and therefore to develop a comprehensive understanding of the Zimbabwean women and their coping strategies.

If it is difficult to get an overview of the population or if the researcher wants to use personal knowledge about the group under study to draw a sampling group, a purposive or judgemental sampling method is appropriate to use (Babbie & Mouton, 2008:166). The purpose of the study is to analyse coping strategies among female Zimbabwean refugees and it was necessary to get a
A non-probability sampling method was employed to find an appropriate population for the undertaken study. A purposive or judgmental sampling method had to be deployed to cover all of the various coping mechanisms the female population in the CMC employ on a day-to-day basis. During the pilot study a contact was established with a person who had a sufficient overview of the people staying in the CMC and who later became an agent when choosing women who fulfilled the criteria for participating in the study.

The participants needed to fulfil these criteria:

- They needed good English-speaking skills;
- They had to be 21 years of age or older and
- They had to have lived in the CMC community for two months or longer and
- They needed to be women from Zimbabwe.

Glaser and Strauss (1967) as well as Strauss and Corbin (1990, 1998) (cited in Darlington & Scott, 2002:52) argue that theoretical sampling is a helpful strategy when selecting the participants in a study. This involves a purposive selection of informers as they can contribute with new knowledge which has not yet been uncovered. During the interviews, the researcher often heard about atypical coping strategies. Uncovering this information in the early stages of analysis and data collection led to an attempt to get hold of participants who could contribute more to the areas discovered. In that way it is a cyclical process of data collection, analysis and further data collection and, according to Glaser and Strauss (1967) and Strauss and Corbin (1990, 1998) (cited in Darlington & Scott, 2002:52), information revealed during data collection leads to an interest in getting hold of participants that might contribute more to that area or fill in the gaps in the data. This will lead to a better understanding rather than a confirmation or contradiction of data gathered. There is a purposive selection of informants as the researcher sees their stories and experiences as useful for research purposes.
3.6.2 Sample unit

Darlington and Scott (2002:52) in *Qualitative research in Practice: Stories from the Field* discuss the appropriate number of participants in a qualitative study and maintain that there is not really any clear answer to that. The topic is the deciding factor but there are also theoretical and practical concerns to consider. Time constraints and financial issues were deciding factors when creating a sampling group made up of 20 participants. According to Babbie and Mouton (2008:287), there is a need for between five and 25 participants in a research study at Master’s level done in the interpretive paradigm. A selection of 20 participants was chosen to ensure that the group was representative of the female Zimbabwean population in the CMC. There is a young generation staying in the refugee community (Centre Administrator, Sept. 2009) and therefore a few participants forming part of the sampling group were 19 years old. A decision to include them in the undertaken study was seen as important because young adults are often sent to work and send money home to their families because they are young and strong. Therefore examining their coping strategies to get a comprehensive picture of the coping strategies among the female Zimbabwean population in the CMC should be part of the study.

3.6.3 Data Collection Techniques

Qualitative data is, according to Patton (1990), "detailed descriptions of situations, events, people, interactions, observed behaviours, direct quotations from people about their experiences, attitudes, beliefs and thoughts and excerpts or entire passages from documents, correspondence, records, and case histories" (1990:22).

According to Maykut and Morehouse (1994:46), observations and in-depth interviews are important methods for gathering qualitative data. Through notes and audio-taped interviews the researcher is able to perform data analysis. These are the methods adopted for the research of the study undertaken. Interviews were recorded which were later transcribed and analysed. Notes were taken during and in between interviews to ensure a complete description. Observing a participant’s gestures and facial expression as in abnormal eye contact or fidgeting was helpful in the understanding of the situation as it may give hints of confirmation or contradiction of the information they are conveying.
Observations and informal conversations with others in the refugee community also added to the understanding of the overall situation.

The coping strategies in the particular situation were revealed through questions about how resources are obtained and how they deal with the major issues in the daily lives at the CMC. A questionnaire functioning as a guideline was employed but not followed strictly so interviewees could elaborate with anecdotes whether or not these were relevant to the topic, as this information would contribute to the overall understanding of their situation. Babbie and Mouton (2008:289) describe this way of interviewing to be most suitable for qualitative studies where there should not be a set of questions that need to be asked in the same way every time, but rather an interaction where questions can be adapted to leave room for the interviewee to talk freely, generally referred to in the literature as a semi-structured interview. There is also a risk involved when asking questions as the respondent might be influenced by the researcher to give a specific answer (Babbie & Mouton, 2008:289).

Principal questions for the research purpose were: What are the major problems the female Zimbabweans face every day and what are their coping mechanisms? Questions regarding variables of coping were included so as to enhance construct validity. Jacobsen and Landau (2003) write that “Construct validity refers to the strength and soundness of the measures used to operationalise the variables under investigation” (2003:9). Including questions about various coping mechanisms minimises the chance of missing out on valuable information.

An informal diary was kept for analysis purposes which consist of thoughts and ideas, and also the sequence of happenings and appointments from the very first stages of the research until the end. This is highly recommended by experienced researchers as it is of great assistance in the data analysis process (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994:68).

3.7 Data Analysis

3.7.1 Grounded Theory

Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss created grounded theory as a reaction to the ways theory testing was performed in the three decades following 1940. They saw that graduate students
were expected to test and confirm theories of great theorists like Marx and Durkheim, and not to
develop theories based on their own work. Social life is complex and they saw the importance of
the emergence of new ideas to appreciate the complexity (Larossa, 2005:839).

There are social phenomena that may be challenging to understand, and grounded theory is one
of a few theories that were developed to try to understand and achieve insight into these issues.
Grounded theory is part of the interpretive paradigm with regards to research. The early roots of
grounded theory can be traced back to Glaser and Strauss’s work in the 1960s. They wanted a
theory that could provide qualitative researchers with tools and guidelines to be able to conduct
research and data analysis systematically (Mello & Flint, 2009).

People are problem-solving actors and in grounded theory there is an attempt to discover and
understand meanings and concepts used by people in social settings. Research based on
grounded theory usually involves in-depth interviews, observations and document analysis to
understand how people deal with, for example, problems they face (Mello & Flint, 2009).

“Grounded theorists shape their data collection from their analytic interpretations and
discoveries, and, therefore, sharpen their observations. Additionally, they check and fill
out emerging ideas by collecting further data. These strategies serve to strengthen both
the quality of the data and the ideas developed from it.” (Charmaz, 1983:110)

Grounded theory will be consulted to understand and analyse data collected for the study.
Testing a hypothesis or proving an existing theory as in the quantitative paradigm is not the goal
for the data collected or the purpose of this treatise. Interpretations will be based on facts and
information that emerge out of the research process. According to Strauss and Corbin (1990:23),
in grounded theory “one does not begin with a theory, and then prove it. Rather, one begins with
an area of study and what is relevant to that area is allowed to emerge”. Information will be
coded or placed in categories as it appears in the process. The analysis which leads to coding or
categorisation will lead to an ability to describe and understand the coping strategies among
female Zimbabwean refugees living in the CMC.

Anzul and Friedman (1991:87) have gathered a few key points from the work of experts for
starting to analyse qualitative data. The importance when analysing is to not lose track of the big
picture when the categories are established. This is to make sure the categories do not evolve in their own direction but stay true to the bigger picture.

Even though it is said that it is difficult and almost impossible to learn grounded theory methods only through reading books, the developers Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss encouraged researchers to develop their own ways of coding and analysing data, and hoped that their grounded theory method would inspire researchers to develop other procedures. They, however, developed their methods to discover data in a way in which both beginners and researchers with experience could understand and use it (Larossa, 2005:839-840). Based on this argument the researcher is inspired by Ralph Larossa’s (2005) interpretation of Glaser and Strauss’s coding system of first open coding, then axial coding and lastly selective coding when analysing data gathered in the CMC, and alternately where needed to gain an understanding of the coping strategies among the female Zimbabwean population in the CMC.

3.7.2 Coding procedure

Strauss and Corbin saw open coding as a process whereby "the data is broken down into discrete parts, closely examined, compared for similarities and differences, and questions are asked about the phenomena reflected in the data" (LaRossa, 2005:841). Open coding is, according to Glaser, possible to perform through a concept-indicator model which involves a constant comparison of indicators throughout texts which are then put into codes. An indicator is “a word, phrase, or sentence, or a series of words, phrases, or sentences in the materials being analysed”. The researcher went through the transcribed interviews, line by line, paragraph by paragraph, to investigate indicators of the subject under research, namely coping strategies, that could be put into a concept which is a label or name associated with an indicator or indicators (Ibid, 2005:841). Glaser and Strauss argued that through the coding process it is possible to develop categories. A category is a more abstract formulation of a concept. Similar concepts can be put together into one category. According to LaRossa (2005:843), a category is a variable as it not only shows similarities but also dimensionality.

The second stage is axial coding in which the questions "when, where, why, who, how, and with what consequences" are asked around a focal category (Strauss & Corbin, 1998:125) to find its
subcategories. The researcher can find the categories in the language of the people or set them up on her own conditions. Literature can also be consulted to clarify and expand codes and categories. Grounded theory is a processual analysis where “categories once developed, are not treated singly but are woven together to make meaning” (Newman & Benz, 1998:62).

Axial coding involves creating hypotheses or propositions. Glaser (1978) introduced theoretical coding which is similar to axial coding and is a procedure to reveal “causes, contexts, contingencies, consequences, co-variances, and conditions” (1978:74-76) in relation to a category (LaRossa 2005:847). For this research purpose open coding has been predominantly utilised, but axial coding has been addressed when trying to investigate relationships between categories.

In selective coding, which is the last part of analysing data according to the grounded theory method, the aim is to find the core category to which all other categories can be related. The variable, as LaRossa (2005:851) chose to call it, that is most relevant and that stands out from the others needs to be identified. The core category refers to “the central phenomenon around which all the other categories are integrated” (Babbie & Mouton, 2007:501). The core categories examined for the research purpose were refugees, the problems they face and their coping strategies. The research gathered in the CMC refugee community seeks to enhance the understanding of the relationship between these categories.

3.8 Objectivity, Validity and Reliability

Kvale (1996) discusses in his book ”InterViews” the difficulty of objectivity in the interview process. The researcher recognised that as a problematic aspect. However, Kvale (1996) gives three notions of objectivity to make the process more accurate. These were followed to allow for the utmost objectivity in the research process. Firstly, doing extended research on refugees in general is needed, and then this is followed by acquiring comprehensive knowledge of the history of Zimbabwe and the various conflicts the participants have had to deal with in the past and are still struggling with today. It was also important to access information on women’s coping strategies in other refugee camps or in refugee situations. This was done to achieve what Kvale (1996:64) defines as reliable knowledge. Cross-checking information leads to
comprehensive and thorough knowledge that may lead to objectivity free of bias (Kvale, 1996:64). Secondly, Kvale (1996) mentions objectivity as meaning intersubjective knowledge. To achieve this there must be “repeated observations of the same phenomenon by different observers” (1996:65). The third concept of objectivity involves a researcher letting the objective speak as this will reveal the nature of the interviewee or object (Ibid, 1996:65). To accomplish this a questionnaire was used as a guideline, but not followed strictly, in order to allow respondents to tell anecdotes and share information that might not have been accessed if a questionnaire was strictly followed.

To reach the goal of objectivity, validity and reliability in qualitative research, extensive field notes and member checks were made. This is to make sure texts match or can be adjusted to the unpredictable changes in the research process. Member checks will assure that the interviewees feel that data is correct according to the answers they gave. Having a supervisor may also contribute to the validity as the outside person is able to assist in uncovering problems, errors and biases in the research process (Babbie & Mouton, 2008:275-276).

3.9 Ethical considerations in the research process

Neuman (2006:130) writes that ethical considerations start and end with the researcher. He also states that the researcher’s personal moral beliefs and codes are what will prevent unethical behaviour. The researcher’s integrity and values have a considerable influence on ethics during research, and the researcher should consult his or her conscience before, during and after collecting data.

“Social research should never injure the people being studied, regardless whether they volunteer for the study or not” (Babbie & Mouton, 2008:522). Neuman (2006:129) stresses that the responsibility to pursue ethical conduct in research depends on the researcher. When research subjects are unaware of or unconcerned about ethics it is the researcher’s moral and professional obligation to maintain ethical conduct.

All research may cause some kind of injury to the participants, whether it is during or after the process. Revealing sensitive information might trigger psychological reactions at a later stage. “Sensitivity to the issue . . . should improve the researcher’s tact in delicate areas of research”
(Babbie & Mouton, 2008:522). Interviews may trigger a reaction and when this is noticed, the researcher should make an appropriate recommendation to rectify the situation. The women staying in the refugee community are a vulnerable group, and the researcher consulted information to be prepared for and aware of their situation so as not to harm them in any way, because “...not harming people is of particular concern when we investigate certain more ‘vulnerable’ groups in society” (2008:523).

3.9.1 Voluntary participation and informed consent

There are several ethical issues a researcher must consider in the process of gathering data and the dealing with research subjects. The informant must voluntarily be part of the interview. Babbie (2005:64) describes informed consent to be “a norm in which subjects base their voluntary participations in research projects on a full understanding of the possible risks involved”. Babbie and Mouton (2008:521) argue for voluntary participation by respondents to be important to maintain a certain ethical standard in social research. A respondent’s personal information should not be accessed through forceful methods.

All participants in the study were informed that the interview was completely voluntary and that if they at any time felt uncomfortable, bored or discontented they could leave the situation. The researcher, after introducing herself, also gave a thorough explanation of what the study involved and what the data would be used for. They were also informed that researcher would protect the data and that it would be deleted at the end of the treatise process. The informed consent form provided by the Ethics Committee of the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University was used as a guide when informing participants about their rights.

The researcher emphasised that payment could not be given for the information they revealed in the interview process. Some of the participants decided to leave the interview after hearing they would not receive any payment. Many participants recognised the importance of telling their stories so that one day there might be a change in either Zimbabwe or in their specific situation in the CMC.
Deception was not an issue in carrying out the research for the treatise. The researcher did not hide any information about herself or the process from the research subjects. An effort was made to make sure language used in conversation was clear to facilitate a sincere conversation with the participants.

3.9.2 Privacy and Confidentiality

Harkness (2004:55) argues that anonymity is an important ethical consideration. Anonymity is maintained when not even the researcher knows the informants’ identity as for example in Internet surveys. Maintaining confidentiality throughout the process was a concern for the research purpose. Confidentiality refers to situations where the researcher knows the identity of informants but promises not to reveal it in any published document (Babbie & Mouton, 2008:523). Boruch and Cecil (cited in Babbie & Mouton, 2008:524) describe techniques to make sure confidentiality is properly maintained throughout and after the research process. Documentation that might trace information by respondents back to them must be destroyed when the research process is done. This is crucial to maintain confidentiality. All respondents were thoroughly informed that their names and identities would be confidential and untraceable in the final document. The document by the Ethics Committee of the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University relating to informed consent provided the participants with information about their rights and confidentiality rules.

Gliner and Morgan (2000) assert that “Privacy refers to a person’s concern about controlling access to information about themselves” (2000:36-37). Voluntary informed consent and confidentiality throughout the process strengthen the research subject’s right to privacy. All documents with sensitive information about research subjects were kept in a safe place so as to protect their privacy. In keeping with university policy, the raw data will be stored by the supervisor for three years, and then destroyed. It is now policy to keep it for this period, in case there are any repercussions from the respondents during that time.
3.10 Limitations of research

When executing a small-scale study there is a focus on “in-depth and valid information” (Jacobsen & Landau, 2003:11), but it is not always representative of the population it wishes to represent. “For example, interviews with urban refugees belonging to a particular church or welfare organisation, or those living in a particular part of a city, are not representative of all the urban refugees in that city” (2003:11). The study of female Zimbabweans’ coping strategies while living in the CMC in Johannesburg does not aim to generalise behaviour of all female Zimbabwean refugees in Johannesburg. The researcher acknowledges the issue of representativeness as a limitation of research. However, the best attempt was made to establish connections with women who would embody all aspects of the coping strategies pursued in the refugee community to enhance understanding of the plight of refugees.

Babbie and Mouton (2008:276) argue that to maintain objectivity, reliability and validity throughout the research process should be the ultimate goal, but this is never completely successful. There will always be errors which lead to limitations in the research. Sarantakos (2005) emphasises limitations in the grounded theory approach to be based on the researcher’s subjectivity and the fact that the “high level of arbitrary decisions” (2005:350) may lead to limitations in the study.

The researcher acknowledges that the limitations may be pertinent for this treatise, but consulting appropriate literature and attempting to carry out research guided by relevant methodology were done to lessen the limitations of study. Researchers must, however, accept that they might be wrong. “Only by accepting that one’s assumptions or pet hypotheses might be incorrect will we be able to learn what refugees are doing, who they are, and what they need. (Jacobsen & Landau, 2003:19).

3.10.1 Standpoint theory

The Zimbabwean women in the CMC are a marginalised group: not only since they count fewer in number than the men in the CMC where they are staying, but also as they are discriminated against as they are foreigners in a sometimes quite xenophobic South Africa. Not all of them have identity papers or working permits and are often exploited and paid low salaries when
Feminist standpoint theory has developed as an analysis of power and gender in society. One of its criticisms is the notion that it is impossible to remain objective when we gain knowledge. Dorothy Smith (1990:37) said that social contexts and dialogues are “ideological practices and procedures which conceal the underlying relations of power in society”. She argued for a new sociology that would emerge from a woman’s standpoint and her life and interaction with a dominant society and science. Other standpoint theories stress the fact that bias is an unavoidable factor in research. We should not try to eliminate it but embrace it as part of a scientific method (Smith, 1990:37).

Feminist standpoint theory argues that the researchers, being a scientific community that creates knowledge, should also be researched on the same level as the objects which are originally being researched (Durham, 1998:128). Mannheim (cited in Durham, 1998:129) said that the social group to which a human being belongs will have absolute influence over how knowledge is approached by that human being. Our social context will decide what we will think and believe in.

Bearing this in mind the researcher acknowledges her own social baggage in the research process. Arguments were discussed earlier in the chapter surrounding which methods would enhance objectivity in the research process. The researcher does, however, acknowledge the possibility of bias in the process, being a woman interviewing women. In addition, being the same age as some of the women participants can create the possibility of the research being biased. The researcher’s social departure might also have an influence on how knowledge is approached, and the best way to deal with this is to be aware of the issue as a possible limitation.

3.11 Summary

Jacobsen and Landau (2003) discuss in their article Researching refugees: some methodological and ethical considerations in social science and forced migration, the lack of research on forced
migration performed according to a satisfactory standard methodology. However, “Being able to follow the researchers’ approach enables us to judge for ourselves whether their findings are valid or not. We can recognise the quality and limitations of the data, replicate the study if need be, or compare the data with those of other similar studies” (2003:4). This chapter gave a detailed account on methodology and techniques in the undertaken study which is coping strategies among female Zimbabwean refugees living in the central Methodist church in Johannesburg: a conflict management perspective.

The previous chapter provided an outline of the pilot study which led to defining a research question and the aims and objectives of the undertaken study. Research design and methodology and data analysis described how research was carried out and data interpreted. Objectivity, validity and reliability were discussed before the ethical considerations in the research process were addressed. Finally, the limitations of the study were described.
CHAPTER 4: PRESENTATION OF DATA

4.1 Introduction

The following chapter will provide a presentation of data gathered for the study undertaken. The research topic which concerns itself with coping strategies among female Zimbabweans living in the Central Methodist Church on the corner of Pritchard and Smal Streets in Johannesburg was explored through questions about the major problems they face in their everyday lives in the CMC, and how they cope with these challenges. Data was gathered firstly, through interviews using a questionnaire functioning as a guideline and secondly, through observations. In order to analyse the problems the participants face, and use grounded theory to categorise, the problems they face and coping strategies requires a closer study. Reference to research presented in chapter two will be made when appropriate.

LaRossa (2005) and his interpretation of Glaser and Strauss’s coding and categorisation in grounded theory as introduced in chapter three has been an inspiration when analysing data gathered in the refugee community, but the researcher has also kept in mind that developers of grounded theory, Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, encouraged researchers to develop their own ways of coding and analysing data, and hoped that their grounded theory method would inspire researchers to develop other procedures (LaRossa, 2005:839-840).

This chapter is divided into three sections. Section 1 describes the demographic findings in the population selected for the study. Section 2 will present a discussion around refugee status in relation to the female Zimbabweans interviewed for the research purpose. Section 3 will illustrate the major issues the women deal with in their daily lives in the CMC in Johannesburg and how they cope with them. Most of them employ several coping strategies at the same time. In chapter five the researcher will present a categorisation of the coping mechanisms.

4.2 Demographic findings

A decision was made to use 20 of the interviews conducted in the CMC in Johannesburg. The respondents were all female Zimbabweans: 15 were Shona-speaking and five were Ndebele-speaking. Through interviews with the Centre Administrator on the 4th of September 2009 it was revealed that Shona-speaking people are in the majority in the CMC. This was also confirmed
through interviews with the participants and so it was reasonable to select more Shona-speaking participants for the study in order for the sampling group to be representative of the female Zimbabwean population in the CMC. Interviews with participants between the ages of 19 and 47 were conducted. Of these, 14 were between 19 and 30 years old, and six were between the ages of 30 and 47. According to an interview with a key informant at the CMC who has a comprehensive overview of the community, the majority of people staying in the church are under the age of 30 (Interview 2-9-09). Landau and Jacobsen (2004:44) also came to the conclusion that urban refugees are often young and revealed in a survey that not more than five percent were over the age of 40. All the participants commented that they were Christian. All but two have children or grandchildren. Nine participants have children or grandchildren in Zimbabwe while six have small babies with them in the CMC. They were either pregnant on arrival or became pregnant while staying in the church. One interviewee has an adult son in the CMC; one participant was pregnant at the time of the interview while the last participant had lost her baby the previous week.

The participants selected for the study had arrived in South Africa at different times from 2005 to three months before the interview process started.

Two of the interviewees commented that they have no schooling at all and four completed primary school which is from grade 1 to grade 7. Three of the participants who only completed primary school and one of the participants without any schooling are over the age of 36. They started their secondary education which consists of form I to VI but only reached form II and III before they left school. Nine of the interviewees have completed their O-level which is up to form IV, while three have done their A-level which is form VI. Two of the participants who finished their A-level have started higher education at a college.

Seven of the participants have jobs while 13 are unemployed but some of them might try to get piece work.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Home language</th>
<th>Time spent in South Africa</th>
<th>Highest formal training</th>
<th>Job</th>
<th>No. of children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>6 months</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>1 baby in the CMC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Ndebele</td>
<td>18 months</td>
<td>O level</td>
<td>Childcare in CMC, security in CMC</td>
<td>2 children in Zimbabwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>College education</td>
<td>Security in CMC</td>
<td>2 children in Zimbabwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>1 year</td>
<td>Primary schooling</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>1 baby in the CMC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>6 months</td>
<td>O level</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>1 child in Zimbabwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>3 months</td>
<td>Form 2</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Grandchildren in Zimbabwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Ndebele</td>
<td>6 months</td>
<td>O level</td>
<td>Till operator at shop</td>
<td>1 child in Zimbabwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Ndebele</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>Form 2</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>1 baby in CMC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Ndebele</td>
<td>19 months</td>
<td>O level</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>1 baby in CMC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>6 months</td>
<td>Form 3</td>
<td>Piece jobs</td>
<td>1 baby in CMC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>A level</td>
<td>In process of leaving</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>Primary schooling</td>
<td>Buys and sells</td>
<td>Grandchildren in Zimbabwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>O level</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>1 child in Zimbabwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>14 months</td>
<td>O level</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>1 child in Zimbabwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>16 months</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Selling oranges</td>
<td>1 adult child in CMC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>10 months</td>
<td>Degree in Sociology</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Ndebele</td>
<td>4 years</td>
<td>O level</td>
<td>Working in a shop</td>
<td>1 baby in CMC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>O level</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Sometimes get piece jobs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>6 months</td>
<td>O level</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Recently lost baby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>1 year</td>
<td>Primary schooling</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Pregnant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.3 Who are the female Zimbabwean refugees participating in the study?

According to a statement by the UN (UNHCR b, 2010), people that leave a country to better their economic position are not to be called economic refugees as this is seen to be misusing the term ‘refugee’. They should rather be regarded as economic migrants as they supposedly can at any time go back to their home countries without being scared of persecution (UNHCR b, 2010). This statement leaves room for thought and discussion. Every case must be put in context to be able to define whether refugee status should be given or not. Because it would be a time-consuming process it will not be possible to study each individual’s case in detail, but the context from which the economic migrants come should, however, be easier to map. In the Zimbabwean case an economic migrant going home might be heading for starvation and great poverty. Is this not a valid fear of returning to their homes and should the people concerned not be allowed to apply for asylum? Riera (2006) discusses that it is difficult to distinguish between the two terms ‘refugee’ and ‘migrant’. The reason for this is that because they are moving across borders, the two groups might use the same channels to access fake papers and use the same smugglers to take them on the same routes across the borders. According to Riera (2006), at a meeting on International Migration and Development held by the UN General Assembly in September 2006, a need for closer examination of the root causes of migration was stressed and whether people migrate voluntarily or if they have no choice in determining who is in entitled to asylum and protection.

The refugees that stay in the CMC carry different labels of migration status. Some have refugee status which gives them certain rights or some are, according to the statement by the UN, economic migrants. The South African Government has included refugees in the 2007-2010 UN Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF). There it is noted that refugees and the needs of vulnerable groups must be embraced in the transformation of the South African society to become a non-racist, non-sexist, non-exclusionary democracy (USCRI, 2010).

When questioning the participants about their reasons for leaving Zimbabwe and whether they felt they were forced to leave or left voluntarily, mixed responses were received. It was not made clear what status the participants had. Some would not reveal whether they had asylum papers or refugee status, while others were still applying for asylum. Out of the 20 women
interviewed, four of them commented that they had left Zimbabwe for South Africa for purely economic reasons. They did not feel they were forced to leave and felt good about going to South Africa to make money. Two of these four participants have jobs in South Africa and have determined goals during their stay like buying a fridge and stove or chairs before going back to Zimbabwe to pursue a catering business. One simply wants a job that suits her qualifications as she has some college education and she felt she was not paid enough in Zimbabwe. The fourth participant is currently unemployed but came to South Africa to buy and sell as she had been doing during the last few years in Zimbabwe. All of these interviewees have no intention of applying for asylum and can be categorised as economic migrants trying to earn money to save or send to family in Zimbabwe.

Twelve of the participants interviewed said they had left Zimbabwe to find a job so they could look after their families in Zimbabwe. Three of them commented that they felt they were forced to leave because of the situation there:

It’s really painful, it’s really sad, but you have no option: you have to come here to look for money so you can take care of the family. So that they can go to school and eat so we have to sacrifice to leave home and come here. You have to do it (9)!

They felt the situation in Zimbabwe was too difficult and that coming to South Africa in search of money was the only option, as one interviewee said:

I was not working in Zimbabwe and if you not working everything is very tough. It’s not easy to get money for food or school fees for the kids, that’s why I went here (13).

Another participant commented that the day she left Zimbabwe it was hunger that drove her:

One month, two porridge only. We are family so we can help ourselves (by) me coming here (9).

All the women who responded that they had left Zimbabwe in order to find a job and support their family back home have children under the age of five, either with them in the church or in Zimbabwe - except for one woman who takes care of her grandchildren in Zimbabwe after all five of her children had died of AIDS.
Four out of the 20 participants said that their main reason for leaving was based on political issues. Three of them had no option but to come to South Africa as they and/or their families were intimidated and threatened by followers of ZANU PF, as one commented:

ZANU PF is the most party that forced me to leave my country. Because they were after me they say ‘We want to kill you because you want to change this country. You were born and this country was like this and your generation say you want to change you want to vote for Tsvangirai’ (4).

Another participant commented that her parents decided to send her to South Africa because they were involved in politics and wanted to protect her after they had all experienced threats and beatings. One of these two participants told how she became unemployed as a result of farm invasions in Zimbabwe. People she calls “the politicians” came to the farm and slaughtered the cattle and sold the meat to butchers in the city. The farmer took his family and left for England and so the staff became unemployed. She then moved back to the rural areas. She said:

And I went back to the rural areas and people now they were starting again burning houses in the rural areas, beating people because he was not fond of this party (10).

She further said that supporters of ZANU PF burnt houses and slaughtered chickens and destroyed their victims’ possessions, and she felt she needed to seek refuge somewhere else.

One of the participants seeking refuge in South Africa explained a situation where the opposition party to ZANU PF, which she supported, had left her behind:

You know in a country, change is a process and a lot happens. Some are left behind and some are carried with (…) the country is upside down who do you ask, it is one man for himself, if you can get a chance to get out of the country, well good for you (11).

According to the UN’s classification of a refugee, many of the people at the church should call themselves economic migrants. Many of the participants interviewed for research purposes would not call themselves refugees but were still applying for asylum which, if granted, will lead to refugee status. Even though not all the interviewees would call themselves refugees, 16 of them felt that returning home to Zimbabwe would be impossible because it is a hopeless situation where getting enough food to eat is a struggle every day. It is impossible to make a living and to be able to look after a family because of a lack of jobs, or because of political
persecution. This group exemplifies why it is important to investigate the root causes of migration before deciding whether they left voluntarily or were actually forced by the situation and are candidates for asylum (Riera, 2006).

4.4 The major issues and coping strategies faced by female Zimbabweans in the CMC

4.4.1 Employment

Refugees often seek shelter in urban areas because they think it will be easier to find work and make money (United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, 2010). 13 of the participants commented that they are unemployed; however, three of them mentioned that they sometimes get piece work. One of the difficulties refugees face, according to Parsley (2005:9-10), is the high unemployment rate in South Africa which not only prevents South Africans from getting work but obviously the refugees struggle too. Seven of the participants said that they were working.

The participants that commented that they do not currently have a job provide different reasons for their unemployment. Three of the participants commented that having babies that are still dependent on their mothers prevents them from getting a job as they cannot leave the babies. One of the participants has a 15-month old baby that is undergoing treatment for TB and which she has to care for and that is why she is not working. One of the participants said she did not want a job because she is about to leave the country to go back to Zimbabwe. Another participant is unemployed and will not accept any job unless it is suitable for her qualifications. Seven commented that they have no job but are looking for work. Eight of the unemployed participants will, however, sometimes get piece work.

Five of the unemployed participants commented that they had left a job or would not take a job because of payment issues as one commented:

You can get jobs but they don’t pay you enough. They can say I can give you 500 a month. I’ll be giving you food, you’ll be bathing at my place, you’ll be sleeping at my place so there’s no need for me to give you more money. So others refuse, others say I will go, but at the end of the month they won’t get paid. (19).
Another participant also related an incident where someone did not get paid for a job and had to go to the Centre Administrator who got help from lawyers to ensure payment. One of the participants talked about the problem that employers do not take proper care of their employees. She said: “Some people, if you are sick, will just send you away because they know they can easily get another one because we are so many” (11). She also said that people do not necessarily try hard to get work anymore since the pay they get is so little and they are quite comfortable in the CMC. The six participants with small babies living in the CMC will ask for assistance from the Centre Administrator when not having enough food for the babies, as one commented:

The problem is this; I don’t find food for the baby. I wait for the bishop to call to come and fetch the food for the babies. For me it doesn’t matter, but for the baby, if she doesn’t eat she’s going to die (so) I wait for the bishop to call us to come fetch food for the babies (9).

Seven of the participants said that they are currently working. Two of them are employed as till operators in a shop, two are security personnel in the refugee community where one of them also works in childcare. One participant buys and sells, while another says that she gets piece work every day. The last participant sells oranges outside the church building. When asking the participants what jobs people would normally get, they answered that they were employed as housemaids, waitresses, construction workers, did piece work, were self-employed buying and selling, sold light meals, worked in shops as till operators, in security or did farm work.

4.4.1.1 Perception of employment in South Africa before arrival

There was an assumption among some of the Zimbabwean participants interviewed that there was work for everyone in South Africa. When talking about how they thought life in South Africa would be, 12 of the participants commented that they thought everything would be fine and that they would get work and send money home. One participant said that what one heard in Zimbabwe is that:

(...) somewhere there’s like a pot of gold. They tell us that in South Africa you get everything, everything that you need (12).
Some of these participants find life in South Africa very hard and if they got the opportunity to go home tomorrow, they would. One participant commented on her feelings when leaving Zimbabwe:

The feeling I had was like hopeful. I had hope for better things you know, you so enthusiastic. You think you gonna find the best in South Africa and bring the best home. It’s like you’re going for a treasure hunt, and when you get there it’s like shhh nothing. It’s just something. It’s another difficult situation you have to deal with (11).

All the participants decided to come to South Africa as a coping strategy to better their situation. However, most of them have learned that living in Johannesburg creates many new issues to deal with.

4.4.2 Coping strategies to access resources

Bradshaw (2007:15) notes that conflict as a result of competition over scarce resources forms the root cause of most social conflicts. The demand for “money, land, jobs and powerful positions” (2007:15) does not match the supply of these resources. Food is also a scarce resource and not having access to it might lead to conflict (Anstey, 2006:12).

When confronting the 13 participants that were unemployed at the time the interviews were conducted with how they managed to get food and money for other necessities in their daily lives, various coping mechanisms were revealed. They all relied on several strategies to get food and these were piece work, meals made in the church, relying on friends in the refugee community, relying on the Centre Administrator, relying on other organisations, relying on their own savings or relying on boyfriends. Five of the participants would try to get piece work if they did not have any money for food. Piece work usually involves washing of clothes where they would get R10 to R100 rand per job depending on what they were doing. Piece work can be found anywhere but these jobs are usually found by going to Mayfair, a suburb in Johannesburg, where mainly Indian families live and also where some shops are situated. Sometimes people will stop by the CMC in search of a domestic worker.
Another coping strategy is to rely on friends that also stay in the CMC. Eight of the unemployed participants commented that if they did not have any money, they would usually eat with a friend who had something to share:

If I don’t eat in the church we just help each other. If I have got some food I can cook for others and we eat together and then if she has and I don’t have, she’ll also call me and we eat together (19).

Five of them would also sometimes go to the Centre Administrator and ask for money or get a small donation in the form of food. The mothers with small babies will get disposable nappies and babies’ food from the Centre Administrator. Four of the participants sometimes get donations from organisations, as one commented:

You can get food from organisations. There are some people who come and cook in a soup kitchen and they can give you. Other donors also come and give you some items but if they don’t come, you’re just sitting. You’re not eating the whole day and then you can find somebody that you can cry for help and they give you (5).

The participants who said that they have a job would also sometimes rely on friends for help and sometimes the bishop, but they would usually rely on their own income. Relying on own savings was only mentioned by two participants.

4.4.2.1 Access to adequate food

Seven of the participants commented that they would sometimes rely on meals that are made in the church three times a week. They would only make use of this offer if they did not have any money to buy food. If they had some money, they would buy their own food so other people with no money could benefit from the offer, and it is also more tempting to buy and eat exactly what one wants. Six of the participants commented that they did not really enjoy the food made in the CMC because it is simple and is meant to feed a lot of people. A few weeks before research for this study was undertaken in the CMC, they had had trouble as the kitchen was cooking with dirty water, and many of the people whom they feed got diarrhoea. One participant commented:

I have been sick, (...) you always have a cold because it’s too dusty too dirty and then you get a runny stomach because the food they cook. When there’s no water you don’t know
where they get the water from. How they keeping the water, you can imagine, it’s not like a kitchen (10).

The Centre Administrator confirmed the issue of unclean water during a refugee meeting and apologised to the refugee community on behalf of the kitchen.

Six participants specifically commented on accessing food as a major problem and they were all unemployed and in their twenties. According to research on *Household income and coping strategies of refugee population of Nahr Al-Bared camp* in North Lebanon the coping strategies that were used daily were getting cheap food and receiving aid from NGOs and UN agencies. Settling for a poorer quality of food in addition to getting cheaper food were also coping strategies they utilised (El-Zein, 2008). The six participants would take advantage of the free meals served three days a week in the church although most of them did not seem happy about the quality of the food that they are served. Another strategy to get food was to rely on friends with jobs who would share their meals with them. Getting donations from the Centre Administrator or other organisations and trying to find piece work were also strategies the participants would employ to get access to food.

Sometimes the participants who work as housemaids also struggled with the issue of accessing food. They usually get jobs as housemaids in Mayfair and mostly with Indian families and have to eat the same food as the family they were working for. Two of them complained and one commented:

(…) sometimes it was tough. The food I couldn’t eat the food for the Indians. It was just too hot and I couldn’t eat it. The husband could not accept that I couldn’t eat the food (14).

However, it is important to note that this comment was made with a giggle indicating that it was not too bad, but rather a difficulty in adjusting to their habits.

The participants who had jobs would buy their own food.
4.4.2.2 Access to blankets

Four participants specifically commented that they saw access to resources like blankets as a major issue. Three of them in their twenties were unemployed and two of them have small babies that they take care of full time. The one woman has a baby who is ill with TB and she explained her problem:

Today I am facing some difficulty because I don’t have clothes for me and my baby [not] even some blankets. I have it but when I spent two months in the hospital they steal it. So right now I am facing some difficulties if I don’t have clothes for me and my baby. Some shoes for myself (4).

All of them would take donations from Centre Administrator or other organisations if offered, and one woman also said that all she wanted was a job so she could buy things herself and not rely on donations.

4.4.3 Cleanliness

Cleanliness includes cleanliness on a personal level which means access to facilities to shower or wash clothes, and cleanliness in the CMC in general, where a lack of cleanliness leads to disease, as one participant commented:

At the church it’s not a good place. As you can see, it’s not a good place to live (...) there is a lot of people [that] can spread diseases to one another. (...) diseases like TB, flu and so on if you live in a dirty place. If you have a disease like emphysema you can go on living like that because this place is too dirty. Sometimes you don’t get the water to bath yourself. You can spend more than three days without bathing yourself (5).

Seven of the participants commented that personal cleanliness was a major problem they face in the CMC. A lack of places to shower seems to be the biggest problem, and the participants said that they often have to clean themselves using only the basin and do not feel it is sufficient for maintaining personal hygiene. A water shortage was particularly mentioned by three of these participants in relation to cleanliness on a personal level. In addition, not having access to secure showers leads to a new issue, as one interviewee commented:

There’s other guys they sleep in the passage, so they use the toilet for the ladies. Use the ladies toilet and there’s no bathroom if you want to bath. There’s no bathroom so you
use the toilet. Sometimes they come into the ladies toilet. Sometimes like yesterday I was bathing, some of the guys (...) come and everyone was naked” (13).

It seems like the issues with bathrooms involves the fact that they have minimal access to shower facilities and that when they try clean themselves in the bathrooms there is an issue of privacy. Four of the women commented that there is an issue with cleanliness in the CMC in general which affects people’s health. One participant said:

You always have a cold because it’s too dusty, too dirty, and then you get a runny stomach because the food they cook (17).

One of the participants would walk to a public toilet to wash herself if there was a water shortage at the church while the rest of the participants commenting on cleanliness being an issue did not know how to deal with it other than hoping for the water supply to be re-instated.

4.4.4 Respect

The CMC is a very crowded place and there are more men than women staying in the church building and a question as to whether they feel they are respected or not was included in the questionnaire. Leahy (2008) argues that women and girls are very vulnerable in situations where they have immigrated to a new place. Sexual violence is one of the issues this group often has to deal with. During the interviews with those living in the CMC, some of them commented that rape does not often occur, but there have been incidents where girls have been abused. The Centre Administrator confirmed this during a refugee meeting. Many of the participants feel disrespected and incidents where men do not respect their privacy and touch them against their will often occur in the CMC.

When asking the participants if they ever feel disrespected in the CMC, 12 of the participants said they do not personally have significant problems with feeling disrespected in the CMC. It is important to note that five of these women are above the age of 35 and said they feel respected because of their age. Two of the participants are part of the security group and possibly earn respect through their position as security group members in the CMC. Three of them said that they do not have any particular problem with respect. One participant feels respected because she is the girlfriend of a person with a certain status in the CMC. The last participant works full-
time and avoids socialising too much and did not clearly say she feels disrespected in the CMC which is interpreted as an indicator that she does not have an issue with respect.

Six of the participants painted quite a different picture from the 12 that commented that they did not feel disrespected in the CMC. All the six participants in this response group are in their twenties. Three of them felt disrespected as men would grab them and even touch their private parts while walking down the stairs. The men sleep in the passages and the stairs, and the women have to walk past them to access toilet facilities. The men sometimes slap them for no reason and one participant said she did not feel she was in charge of her own body as men would take advantage. One interviewee described the lack of respect in the CMC as follows:

Men, because we’re staying here some of us end up doing prostitution. So it’s not everybody who is doing it so when they see you’re a woman they’ll treat you the same, we are all treated like prostitutes here (11).

Another one commented:

A woman who crosses the border is not a respected woman (3).

Some of the participants described a specific situation where men they called bullies would disrespect women. There are toilets on each floor in the CMC, and some are reserved for women. The toilet is, however, a place where women can be assaulted. As one commented:

Yesterday it was a lady she was walking to the toilet then the men come and the two men closed the door, locked her in the room. I come to open the door and what are you doing? They said I am gonna kill you. They take out a knife, so I go to report to the bishop. I leave the toilet, I close the door (10).

Another participant commented:

It’s just like an abuse, they abuse women. Even at night and if you wake up and go to the toilet. When you’re in the toilet they switch off the lights when you are in, because they know they look for money and phone, they can even rape you (19).

Burton identifies the basic needs for consistency, security and recognition (Fisher, 1997:6), and the lack of respect the participants face in the church building is interpreted as conflict based on need theories. To manage these situations six participants commented that they would go to the
A bishop who would usually report the matter to the police. The police would come and sometimes arrest some of the men. There is a security group at the CMC that is supposed to have some sort of control. None of the participants commented that they would go to the security group with this kind of problem. One of them said that they were too corrupt to help with this kind of matter. However, participant 13 (p. 73) further commented on the issue of respect and the security group. When asked how she deals with the issue with men walking in on ladies in the bathroom she commented:

I tell the security. Sometimes they talk to the people (but) like yesterday they were too busy and they apologized to us for that (13).

The participants commented that bullying men were responsible for the disrespect and thefts, but it became evident during the interviews with two of the interviewees in particular that these bullying men are a group of Ndebeles who live in the basement. They are called the Sowetans. There are about 10 men who see themselves as superior as Ndebeles are related to Zulus (chapter 2). This can be traced back to ethnic conflict as the Sowetans see themselves as closer to a South African ethnic identity which provides them with a higher status than the others. This in turn leads to an interest based conflict in which positions as a scarce resource can create conflicts. Bradshaw (2007) notes that conflict as a result of competition over scarce resources provides the root cause of most social conflicts. The demand for “money, land, jobs and powerful positions” (15) does not match the supply of these resources. Most individuals and groups compete for these scarce resources.

The Sowetans treat both Shonas and Ndebeles the same and do not show respect to elders. They are also in possession of knives. Everyone, including the police and Centre Administrator, knows they are there and during an interview with the Centre Administrator (4/9-09) he said that they are causing problems outside the church building in the inner city of Johannesburg as well as inside the church building. The participants cope with the harassment of these men by reporting it to the Centre Administrator or the police. However, there is a problem with the bullies returning to the CMC and the bishop being too busy to deal with the problem. As one participant commented:
Sometimes you can go to the bishop and he gonna call the police and arrest them. (…) Bishop is a man of God [and] he can feel pity for them and he can talk to the police and say okay you can release them it’s fine. So they come back here but Bishop tries his best to talk to them. (…) for that time yes they can understand, but they bully again. The bishop’s got a whole lot to do (…) he is very busy and can’t manage the whole place, but he’s trying his best (4).

Yet another participant commented on this issue:

Sometimes I get a bit frightened. It’s just because of the care that the bishop is giving us. In a place you feel protected. In a place like this, a church, you always think that the spirit of the lord is filling [this] place so nothing can happen to me, all those things (17).

On two occasions participants commented they would seek assistance from someone who is highly respected in the CMC when dealing with the issue of bullies.

4.4.5 Safety

Safety in the CMC is associated with fighting and theft and the participants clearly pointed out that they were scared of a specific group or felt unsafe while sleeping. Ten of the participants interviewed indicated that they have issues with safety in the CMC. Four of them commented that there is much fighting in the church building. One of these participants is part of the security group and said her major problem was dealing with all the people fighting in the CMC. When asked what people fight for it would usually be blankets and a sleeping place, for a specific spot in the area where they cook and sell, or unrecognised interpersonal conflicts or else the participants would just observe people fighting in general in the CMC. In these situations the four participants would report to the Centre Administrator or the police. One interviewee said she would leave the area where fighting was taking place. Four of the participants would hope for a change in the situation through prayer. As one participant said:

When fighting gets bad, I just pray, I just pray for it to get better (6).

Two of the participants commented that they were scared of the bullies that stay in the CMC. These bullies, as mentioned earlier, have been identified as the Sowetans who are males belonging to the Ndebele group. These men are also often involved in some of the fights that take place in the CMC and they have been blamed for much of the theft that happens in the
CMC. Three of the participants specifically commented that a problem they face on a day-to-day basis is theft. As one interviewee said:

There’s a Roberts room, it’s like a hall, it’s a big room (where) we sleep all. I think more than 18 ladies sleep there, and the other ones sleep in other rooms, and we put the bags at the feet and they come and took it (13).

She also said that when she used to work she would leave her belongings in a storeroom during the day, but they would be stolen by the time she got back from work. She specifically said that the people stealing in this case were men belonging to the group called the Sowetans.

Three of the participants commented that they would tell the Centre Administrator and report to the police when they dealt with the issues of bullies and theft, but it is quite a hopeless situation as the men might be arrested and then return to the CMC when they are set free. People are supposed to register on arrival (Centre Administrator 4/9-09) so there should be a certain amount of control over the people staying there. According to an interviewee this is not the case. She said everyone can go in and out as they please and that the security group is not doing their job. She said:

They tried to make a committee but I think that nobody has control over somebody. Yeah at times the security they can control but they just lost control because they are also doing it. Because we are all doing it, even if it’s drinking in the building, I’ll say you drinking so don’t tell me about it. If they say don’t we’ll say but you are also doing it, so they just lost it. I think there’s no order (11).

Burger’s research in the CMC in 2009 showed several indicators of corruption in the security group, both at refugee meetings and from individuals.

Finding a safe place to sleep was mentioned by two participants as problematic, and one commented that conflict would usually occur when people were trying to find a place to lie down. Space is a scarce resource in the CMC and most individuals and groups compete for scarce resources (Bradshaw, 2008:18).
4.4.6 Hospitals and police

Issues of xenophobia were evident as one of the major problems the participants face living in Johannesburg. When resources are scarce there is a greater chance for a group to feel threatened by other groups (James & Goetze, 2001:75). Zimbabweans have encountered problems in their attempts to make a living in neighbouring countries before. An article by Mukumbira published in May 2003 discusses the theme of Zimbabweans working in Botswana. Stealing, prostitution and spreading the AIDS virus were accusations made towards Zimbabweans at that time, and the abuse and accusations were made by both the public and as well as the police. The police in the Johannesburg inner city have on various occasions assaulted the people staying in the CMC, and five of the participants interviewed appreciated the fact that they stay inside the CMC as the police would often come with teargas to get the people off the streets and harass the people sleeping outside. During an interview with the Centre Administrator when visiting the church in February 2009, he explained that refugees staying in the refugee community would often be picked up by the police as they lacked asylum papers or identity papers.

Seven of the 20 participants interviewed commented that they had had issues with hospitals, the police or both. Four of them would seek assistance from the Centre Administrator while the other three would seek help from friends. Jacobsen (2004) recognises the fact that refugees and urban migrants often encounter xenophobia in their interaction with the local population or law enforcing agencies, and according to Nann (1982), “when refugees or migrants resettle into a new environment, they are usually exposed to various forms of discrimination and prejudice”(1982:xii).

Refugees often seek shelter in urban areas because they think it will be easier to find work and make money. This is, however, not always the case. Refugees in Kenyan cities tell a story of discrimination, police harassment, a lack of protection and violation of their human rights (United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, 2010). Urban refugees are often harassed by the police and have to pay bribes to be left alone. One woman interviewed shared a story where she and some others were put in jail for five days without much food, water or washing facilities as a punishment for failure to pay bribes. The bribes were exacted because their passports had expired.
Five of the participants had experiences with hospitals in Johannesburg where they encountered negative attitudes from hospital personnel. There is a Medicine Sans Frontier clinic outside the CMC (chapter two) and most of the people will go there for help first before being sent to hospitals if need be. Two of the participants had to accompany someone in need of help to the hospital. One was forced to accompany a stranger that lives in the CMC because the ambulance would not help her unless someone came along. At the hospital she was insulted because she is Zimbabwean. The other woman accompanied her friend to the hospital because she was feeling ill. Her friend was a nurse in Zimbabwe and just in time managed to stop the local nurse using a used injection needle when treating her. In both incidents the women tried to stand up for themselves but they felt insulted and badly treated at the hospital. Two of the five participants had bad experiences with hospitals and encountered difficulties when they were trying to give birth or get help with an unborn baby. One was insulted while giving birth. The other has problems with her unborn baby and faced a lot of difficulties as she did not have asylum papers and they refused to help her.

The fourth participant lost her baby a week before the commencement of the research interviews and hospital personnel refused to let her see her dead baby. When she arrived at the hospital with the sick child, hospital personnel were insulting and handled her baby roughly. The Centre Administrator was personally trying to help this particular woman see her dead baby and gain access to the medical report. All four of these participants felt insulted by hospital personnel. Usually personnel would say that Zimbabweans are trouble and that they do not want them in South Africa. One participant had spent two months in hospital with her baby that is ill with TB. While staying there the nurses were constantly insulting her and they said to her:

Those Zimbabweans, they are mad, they are sick, they should go home to their own country (4).

They also threatened her by saying they would phone the police, and she was very scared because she heard someone would steal and kill her baby.
4.5 Perception of other women’s coping strategies

Almost all participants interviewed had the same thoughts around what others do to access food and other day-to-day necessities. The most common answer would be stealing, begging and prostitution. To deal with the lack of economic resources and the lack of adequate humanitarian aid, many women and girls depend on destructive coping strategies. Some of these have been recognised as prostitution and exchanging sex for food. Collecting firewood can also put women or girls at risk in a situation where they are exposed to rape, violence and abuse (Women’s Refugee Commission, 2009:12). Seven of the participants told stories of other women getting ready to go out in the evening to sell their bodies in the street or at various night clubs. One interviewee said:

If you stay here around 8-9 o clock it’s busy around here, women are washing themselves, doing their makeup because they want to go out and sleep with men for money (16).

Begging was also a coping strategy that many of the participants said other women in the CMC pursued. One said:

(...), those with little babies, and I see them going into the streets, they go beg for money at the robots. Some they stay in the streets. Different kind of living which is not good but maybe they have no option (2).

Piece work, sitting around and relying on the CMC were less common.

Seven participants commented that relationships developed when women were used by men when relying on them. A key informant confirmed that there is an exchange of sexual services for food and money taking place in the CMC especially in a situation where the man is a ‘boyfriend’ giving the ‘girlfriend’ money or food as a payment for sexual favours. One participant commented when discussing what unemployed women do to access food:

Especially when it comes to food the other people (who) are not working they don’t have anyone to buy their food. If a guy comes to you and says I’ll buy you food the next thing that guy will say come sleep with me because you owe me ten rand. A lot of women are experiencing that, and some are beaten by their boyfriends. (...) Nothing you can do because they are depending on those men and they beat them up and they can’t run away from them because they are depending on them, they are not working (16).
One participant commented that she had previously been in a relationship with a man just because he was giving her food and money. She was not in love with him.

4.6 Summary

This chapter has presented the data gathered for the undertaken study. The research topic which concerns itself with coping strategies among female Zimbabweans living in the Central Methodist Church on the corner of Pritchard and Smal Streets in Johannesburg was explored through questions about the major problems they face in their everyday lives in the CMC, and how they cope with these challenges. Data was gathered through interviews using a questionnaire functioning as a guideline and observations. Data has been analysed using grounded theory techniques and the categories of the female Zimbabweans’ coping strategies in the CMC will be presented in the following chapter.
CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

Coping strategies among female Zimbabwean refugees living in the Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg: a conflict management perspective is the topic of the study undertaken. Data was gathered through interviews and observations during a two-week period using a questionnaire as a guideline but not followed strictly in order to facilitate an interaction where questions are adaptable to leave room for the interviewee to talk freely - generally referred to in the literature as a semi-structured interview. A purposive sampling method was used to draw up a population suitable for the study. The previous chapter gave a presentation of the data collected for the study. An analysis based on grounded theory techniques has been carried out to establish categories of coping strategies employed by the female Zimbabwean refugees living in the CMC. This chapter presents the categories. The treatise only focuses on data that is relevant to the topic. This treatise does not aim to establish a final grounded theory as further on-going research would be needed to establish such a theory. However, 13 categories have been established in order to create a better understanding of the coping strategies the female Zimbabwean refugees living in the CMC employ.

The challenges they face and coping mechanisms employed revealed that these women are victims of latent and manifest conflicts. Through a conflict management perspective a description of the latent or manifest conflicts they face which results in the specific coping strategy will be presented under a category when appropriate. Reference to chapter two is made where appropriate.

5.2 Data Analysis

5.2.1 Category 1: Coming to South Africa to better their situation as a coping strategy.

Some women see coming to South Africa to better their situation as a coping strategy: This category is developed based on information from participants presented in chapter four and research on the conflict in Zimbabwe and conflict theory in chapter two.
The coping strategy would be employed when facing the following conflict: Canache (1996) writes that relative deprivation occurs when an individual compares his or her socio-economic situation to that of other people, and describes how this can evolve into actions of political violence. The researcher interprets relative deprivation as not necessarily resulting in political violence but in conflict in general. Johan Galtung’s theory of structural violence (Rabie 1994:1-2), where a social structure suppresses a group and deprives them of opportunities of fulfilling their goals is more appropriate when explaining the root causes of why some Zimbabwean women have fled to South Africa. Anstey (2006:3) describes conflict to be about change and many Zimbabweans have come to South Africa because they see it as a country in which people have access to food and money. The participants’ comparing their socio-economic situation to that of South Africans led to a need for change so as to better their situation and fulfil their needs.

Human beings will act as a reaction to their needs not being fulfilled. The non-satisfaction of human needs may therefore be seen as the inspiration of social action (Burton as cited in Coate & Rosati, 1988: vii).

The development of the category is based on the following arguments:

- There was an assumption among some of the Zimbabwean women interviewed that there was work for everyone in South Africa;
- Twelve of the participants, when talking about how they thought life in South Africa would be, commented that they thought everything would be fine and that they would find work and send money home;
- “... Somewhere there’s like a pot of gold. They tell us that in South Africa you get everything, everything that you need” (12);
- Another participant commented: “You think you gonna find the best in South Africa and bring the best home. It’s like you’re going for a treasure hunt” (11);
- “... the primary motivation(s) for choosing South Africa were work ... (Jacobsen & Landau, 2004: 45) and
• Cognitive coping strategies like holding on to the idea of a better future regardless of the current situation, and “wishes and aspirations of a brighter and a successful future” (Khawaia et. al., 2008:506) were evident among Sudanese refugees in Australia.

5.2.2 Category 2: Creating a livelihood to achieve consistency of income, as a coping strategy.

Some women create a livelihood to achieve consistency of income as a coping strategy. This category is developed based on information from participants presented in chapter four and research on coping strategies among refugees in chapter two of this study. The development of the category is based on the following arguments:

• The Women’s Refugee Commission has identified a need for ‘livelihoods’ which is a concept they describe as the women’s ability to make their own living and be able to take care of their own family (Women’s Refugee Commission, 2010);

• Seven of the women have piece jobs or make an attempt to achieve a consistent income: Two of the women have jobs in South Africa and have determined goals during their stay like buying a fridge and stove or chairs to pursue the business they left behind in Zimbabwe;

• Relying on own savings when necessary was mentioned by two interviewees and

• Nilsson (2000:23) states that studies on the importance of self-reliance by women have shown that this is a solution which can be positive in the long term.

5.2.3 Category 3: Relying on an underpaid job in an abusive environment when lacking an alternative, as a coping strategy.

Some of the women rely on an underpaid job in an abusive environment for the lack of something better. The category is based on information from participants presented in chapter four and research on urban refugees and conflict types in chapter two.

The coping strategy would be pursued when facing the following conflict: Work has become a scarce resource (Anstey, 2006:14). There might be conflict even though visible signs of conflict
are not evident (Galtung as cited in Bradshaw, 2007:14). Some of the women are desperate to get work. The latent conflict is managed through an attempt to get access to more of the resource through accepting bad work conditions.

The development of the category is based on the following arguments:

- Some of the women are still waiting for asylum papers and do not have any legal documents. They do not have any legal rights and employers see this as an opportunity for cheap labour;

- One interviewee commented that she had been sent away because she was sick, because the employer knows workers are easily replaced: “Because we are so many” (11);

- Five of the unemployed participants commented that they had left a job or would not take a job because of payment issues: “So others refuse, others say I will go, but at the end of the month they won’t get paid” (19);

- Jacobsen (2004) writes that urban refugees are often taken advantage of as they do not have papers confirming their refugee status; hence they do not have any rights (chapter two);

- Chengsa (cited in Vundla 2008:6) comments that even though the papers might be in order, employers will exploit them as they know they are desperate for an income and

- One of the difficulties refugees face, according to Parsley (2005:9-10), is the high unemployment rate in South Africa which not only prevents South Africans from getting work but the refugees struggle too (chapter two).

5.2.4 Category 4: Relying on friends as a coping strategy.

Some participants rely on friends as a coping strategy. The category is based on information from participants presented in chapter four and research on urban refugees and conflict types in chapter two.
The coping strategy would be pursued when facing the following conflict: According to Himes (1980:14) conflict occurs when there is a struggle over scarce resources. The female Zimbabwean refugees struggle to access resources like food. An underlying conflict situation is evident.

The development of the category is based on the following arguments:

- Eight of the unemployed women commented that if they did not have any money, they would usually eat with a friend who had something to share;
- The women who commented that they have a job would also sometimes rely on friends for help; Three commented that they would rely on friends when facing problems with hospitals or the police; Depending on social networks is a coping strategy utilised by refugees (Khawaja et.al., 2008:504-505) and
- Jacobsen (2004:4) writes that refugees “struggle to meet their basic needs, including shelter and food”.

**5.2.5 Category 5: Reducing the quality and amount of food as a coping strategy**

Some of the women resort to reducing the quality and amount of food as a coping strategy. The category is based on information from participants presented in chapter four and research on refugees coping strategies and conflict in chapter two.

The coping strategy would be employed when facing the following conflict: Nutrition is a physical need which if unsatisfied is a source of social conflict in basic needs theories (Bradshaw, 2007:16). An underlying conflict situation is evident.

The development of the category is based on the following arguments:

- Seven of the women will rely on the three meals a week served in the CMC if they do not have access to money to buy food themselves;
- Six of the women commented that they did not really enjoy the food made in the CMC because it is simple and is meant to feed a lot of people. A few weeks before the research
for the undertaken study in the CMC, they had had trouble with the kitchen cooking with dirty water, and many of the people who they feed got diarrhoea;

- In Nahr Al-Bared camp in North Lebanon the coping strategies that were used daily were to lessen the quality of food in addition to getting cheaper food (El-Zein 2008);

- During a refugee meeting the Centre Administrator confirmed the issue of unclean water when the kitchen cooks for the people staying there (5/9-09) and

- Two participants struggle to eat food when working with the Indian families as it is too spicy.

### 5.2.6 Category 6: Relying on religion and its practices as a coping strategy

Relying on religion and its practices as a coping strategy is evident. The category is based on information from participants presented in chapter four and research on refugees coping strategies in chapter two.

The coping strategy would be employed when facing the following conflict: The conflict is usually over scarce resources like blankets and space and Anstey (2006:12) recognises scarce resources as a source of conflict. There is also a conflict according to needs theories over positions like a spot in the area where they cook and sell food (chapter two). Conflict often manifests itself through fighting.

The development of the category is based on the following arguments:

- All the women participating in the study commented that they were Christian and most of them would pray on a daily basis;

- Four of the women would pray when they face the difficulty of people fighting within the refugee community. One woman commented: “When fighting gets bad, I just pray, I just pray for it to get better” (6);

- African refugees in particular pursue religious practices as a coping strategy to lessen their unhappiness. “In some cases, religious beliefs are linked to a style of coping that
emphasises ‘enduring’ the adversities of the present for the reward of a ‘better future’”
(Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2003 cited in Khawaja et.al.,2008: 493) and

- Research by Lehlomela (2006:22) at the Jesuit Refugee Service in Johannesburg also came to the conclusion that the majority of refugees use religion and its practices as a coping strategy.

5.2.7 Category 7: Relying on donations from the CMC or other beneficiaries as a coping strategy

Some of the women rely on donations from the CMC and other organisations or beneficiaries as a coping strategy. The category is based on information from participants presented in chapter four and research on refugees coping strategies and conflict in chapter two.

The coping strategy would be employed when facing the following conflict: Bradshaw (2007:15) notes that conflict as a result of competition over scarce resources provides the root cause of most social conflicts. The female Zimbabwean refugees struggle to access resources like food, blankets and money. An underlying conflict situation is evident.

The development of the category is based on the following arguments:

- Two of the women with babies said it was difficult to get a job as they had to take care of their small child and relied on donations;

- Five of the participants rely on the Centre Administrator or other organisations to access blankets;

- Seven of the women commented that they would sometimes rely on meals that are made in the CMC three times a week;

- Five of them also sometimes go to the Centre Administrator and ask for money or get a little donation in the form of food;

- The means of survival of refugees from Mozambique in the late 80s was by depending on churches and charitable organisations (Golooba-Mutebi and Tollman, 2004:28) and
Relying on material assistance from the church was evident as a coping strategy among Sudanese refugees in Australia (Khawaja et. al., 2008:505).

5.2.8 Category 8: Turning to prostitution as a coping strategy

Some women will turn to prostitution as a coping strategy. The category is based on information from participants presented in chapter four and research on refugees’ coping strategies and refugee women and conflict in chapter two.

The coping strategy would be employed when facing the following conflict: There is a struggle for scarce resources in the refugee community. Anstey (2006:12) recognises scarce resources as a source of conflict.

The development of the category is based on the following arguments:

- To deal with the lack of economic resources and lack of adequate humanitarian aid, many women and girls depend on destructive coping strategies such as prostitution and exchanging sex for food (Women’s refugee Commission, 2009:12);

- Seven comments were made that the women without work would turn to prostitution for an income, as one woman commented: “The girls go and do the prostitution. They not working. There are no jobs (so) that’s the least they can do (11);

- One commented that in the afternoons you would see women getting ready to go out and sleep with men for money. “They want to go out and sleep with men for money” (16);

- The administrative coordinator said in an interview (2/9-09) that they send sex workers to a different clinic to protect them from prejudice and stigma which confirms that some women rely on prostitution as a coping strategy;

- The Women’s Refugee Commission (2009) states that women and young people are not only vulnerable as a result of displacement, but their new attempts to create a livelihood might put them at risk of being exploited, and becoming victims of violence and abuse. Women and girls are highly exposed to sexual violence in migration situations (Leahy, 2008).
5.2.9 Category 9: Begging in the streets of Johannesburg as a coping strategy

Some women are begging in the streets of Johannesburg as a coping strategy. The category is based on information from participants presented in chapter four, research on conflict in chapter two and researcher’s own observations when visiting the refugee community.

The coping strategy would be employed when facing the following conflict: There is a struggle over scarce resources in the refugee community. Weber (cited in Bartos & Wehr, 2002:30) recognises wealth as a resource of conflict.

The development of the category is based on the following arguments:

- Six of the female Zimbabweans participating in the study had the perception that women without work would sometimes beg in the streets of Johannesburg;

- Observation of women begging outside the church entrance was made by the researcher.

5.2.10 Category 10: Relying on the Centre Administrator, Bishop Paul Verryn, as a coping strategy

All the women participating in the study rely on the Centre Administrator, Bishop Paul Verryn, as a coping strategy. The category is based on information from participants presented in chapter four, research on conflict in chapter two and observations by researcher.

The coping strategy would be employed when facing the following conflict: Conflict appears when there is a struggle over scarce resources (Anstey, 2006:12). The female Zimbabwean refugees struggle to access resources like food, blankets and money. An underlying conflict situation is evident. Burton identifies the basic needs for consistency, security and recognition (Fisher 1997:6). An ethnic conflict manifests itself through a group of bullies called the Sowetans, who see themselves as closer to a South African ethnic identity which provides them with a higher status than the others. Conflict manifests itself through disrespect.

The development of the category is based on the following arguments:
• All the participants at some stage in the interview process said that they rely on some assistance in the form of food, money or other resources from the Centre Administrator, and many of them mentioned him as a source of assistance several times in the interview process;

• Five of them would go to the Centre Administrator and ask for some money or a small donation in the form of food;

• Four of the participants sought help from Centre Administrator when facing difficulties with the police or hospital;

• Four participants would turn to the Centre Administrator when dealing with theft;

• One interviewee commented:” If you want to go to Zimbabwe you can go to him and ask for money. He can give you and (you can) go back home. If it’s food he can give you money to buy food. Yeah he’s a nice guy” (4) and

• When dealing with abuse and disrespect in the church building six participants would turn to the Centre Administrator for help.

5.2.11 Category 11: Relying on the Centre Administrator for resources for the baby.

Some of the research participants rely on the Centre Administrator for resources for the baby. The category is based on information from participants presented in chapter five, the researcher’s own observations when visiting the refugee community and research on refugee women in chapter three.

The coping strategy would be employed when facing the following conflict: Bradshaw (2007:15) notes that conflict as a result of competition over scarce resources provides the root cause of most social conflicts. The female Zimbabweans who have small babies struggle to access resources like food, blankets and money. An underlying conflict situation is evident.

The development of the category is based on the following arguments:

• There are six women with small babies, and they will get disposable nappies and babies’ food from the Centre Administrator.
• One lady commented: “I wait for the bishop to call us to come fetch food for the babies” (9) and

• Parsley’s article mentions the difficulty for women to be self-reliant as they are usually responsible for several children too (Parsley, 2005:25).

5.2.12 Category 12: Relying on the Centre Administrator rather than the security group if harassed on the church premises as a coping strategy.

The young women in their twenties staying in the refugee community will rather rely on the Centre Administrator than the security group when abused, grabbed or assaulted. The category is developed based on information from participants presented in chapter four, research on conflict theory in chapter two and other research in refugee communities.

The coping strategy would be employed when facing the following conflict: Burton identifies the basic needs for consistency, security and recognition (Fisher, 1997:6). Conflict manifests itself through disrespect and abuse. Traces of an ethnic conflict are evident where a group of bullies called the Sowetans see themselves as closer to a South African ethnic identity which provides them with a higher status than the others. When resources are scarce there is a greater chance for a group to feel threatened by other groups (James & Goetze, 2001:75), which creates a situation in the CMC where the women are often harassed and robbed of their resources.

The development of the category is based on the following arguments:

• Six of the participants commented that they would not go to the security group when grabbed or assaulted;

• One of the women said the security group was too corrupt to help with this kind of matter;

• Six of the interviewees would go to the Centre Administrator for assistance when grabbed or assaulted;
• At a refugee meeting, the refugee community members shouted accusations of corruption at the security team members;

• Burger’s research in the CMC in 2009 confirms that there are several indicators of the security group being corrupt (Burger, 2009:129) and

• Emiliana F. Tembo’s research conducted in Dzaleka refugee camp in 2003 discovered that refugees have the impression of camp authorities being corrupt and selfish (Tembo 2003:64).

5.2.13 Category 13: Relying on “boyfriends” as a coping strategy

Relying on “boyfriends” is a coping strategy pursued by a few of the women in the CMC. The category is based on information from participants presented in chapter four and a conversation with a key informant.

The coping strategy would be employed when facing the following conflict: Weber (cited in Bartos & Wehr, 2002:30) recognises wealth as a resource of conflict. The female Zimbabwean refugees struggle to access resources like food, blankets and money. An underlying conflict situation is evident.

The development of the category is based on the following arguments:

• Seven participants commented that relationships would develop when women were used by men when relying on them;

• The key informant confirms that there is an exchange of sexual services for food and money taking place in the CMC and

• One of the unemployed women commented that she had been in a relationship where she would pretend to be in love but was really just after the man’s money.
5.3 Summary

Coping strategies among female Zimbabwean refugees living in the Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg: a conflict management perspective is the topic of the study undertaken. Data was gathered through interviews and observations during a two-week period using a questionnaire as a guide for the semi-structured interviews. Purposive sampling was used to draw up a population suitable for the study. The analysis of data was based on a grounded theory approach where coding procedures led to an ability to establish categories. This chapter has presented the coping strategies arranged into categories. The treatise only focuses on data that is relevant to its topic. This treatise does not aim to establish a final grounded theory as more on-going research would be needed to establish such a theory. However, 13 categories have been established to create a better understanding of the coping strategies employed by the female Zimbabwean refugees living in the CMC as they confront various conflicts.

The challenges they face and coping mechanisms employed revealed that they are victims of latent and manifest conflicts. Through a conflict management perspective a description of the latent or manifest conflicts they face resulting in the specific coping strategy was presented under a category where appropriate. The next chapter offers a conclusion and recommendations.
CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

Coping strategies among female Zimbabweans living at the Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg: a conflict management perspective was the topic of this treatise. The previous chapters have described literature and methodology consulted that enabled the research and the analysis of data. Chapter 1 introduced the topic of the treatise and briefly outlined the methodology used for the study undertaken. Chapter 2 proposed a thorough literature review which gave insight into the background, context and theory behind the four concepts the research title suggests, namely ‘Zimbabwe’, ‘refugees’, ‘the Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg’ and ‘conflict management’. Chapter 3 proposed the research design and methodology executed to carry out the study. Grounded theory was consulted on which the analysis of data was based. Chapter 4 presented data gathered for research purpose which was analysed and put into categories described in chapter 5. This chapter will propose a summary of research findings and recommendations.

6.2 Aims and Objectives of the Study

6.2.1 Aim

The aim of the study was to analyse coping strategies among female Zimbabweans living in the CMC. The coping strategies revealed through the empirical study were analysed using grounded theory techniques. The developers of grounded theory, Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, encouraged researchers to develop their own ways of coding and analysing data, and hoped that their grounded theory method would inspire researchers to develop other procedures (Larossa, 2005:839-840). In support of this argument, categories of coping strategies of the sampling group were drawn. Making interested readers aware of their ways might lead to a better understanding regarding the plight of female refugees and hopefully lead to better ways of dealing with these issues.
6.2.2 Objectives

- To describe the major problems female Zimbabwean refugees face in their daily lives in the CMC;
- To analyse coping strategies among female Zimbabwean refugees living in the CMC;
- To describe the conflict the women face leading to a coping strategy using relevant conflict theory and
- To contribute to a better understanding of the plight of refugees.

6.3 Research Design and Methodology

6.3.1 Type of Sampling

A non-probability sampling method was employed to find an appropriate population for the undertaken study. The purposive or judgmental sampling method had to be deployed to achieve a population which covered all of the various coping mechanisms the female population in the CMC employs on a day-to-day basis. During a pilot study a contact was established who had a sufficient overview of the people staying in the CMC and who became an agent for getting in touch with the women who fulfilled the criteria for participating in the study.

The participants needed to fulfil the following criteria:

- They needed good English-speaking skills,
- They had to be 21 years of age or older,
- They had to have lived in the CMC community for two months or longer and
- They needed to be women from Zimbabwe.

6.3.2 Data Collection

Formal face-to-face in-depth interviews were conducted in private settings at the CMC at various times of the day, using a voice recorder and pen and paper.
Observations and informal conversations with others in the refugee community also added to the understanding of the whole situation. Chapter 3 offered more details on the data collection process.

6.4 Data Analysis

There are social phenomena that may be challenging to understand and grounded theory is one of a few theories that were developed to try to understand and achieve insight into these issues. Grounded theory is part of the interpretive paradigm with regards to research (Mello & Flint, 2009). Developers of grounded theory, Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, encouraged researchers to develop their own ways of coding and analysing data, and hoped that their grounded theory method would inspire researchers to develop other procedures (Larossa, 2005:839-840). People are problem-solving actors and in grounded theory there is an attempt to discover and understand meanings and concepts used by people in social settings. Research based on grounded theory usually involves in-depth interviews, observations and document analysis to understand how people deal with, for example, problems they may be facing (Mello & Flint, 2009).

The study has not tried to confirm existing theories but rather to contribute to the understanding of the plight of refugees.

6.5 Summary of research findings

The following is a summary of research findings after analysing data using grounded theory techniques:

- Some women see coming to South Africa to better their situation as a coping strategy;
- Creating a livelihood to achieve consistency of income is seen as a coping strategy;
- Relying on an underpaid job in an abusive environment when lacking an alternative can also be seen as a coping strategy;
- Relying on friends is a coping strategy;
• Reducing the quality and amount of food is seen by some as a coping strategy;
• Relying on religion and its practices as a coping strategy among some is evident;
• Some of the women rely on donations from the CMC and other organisations or beneficiaries as a coping strategy;
• Some women will turn to prostitution as a coping strategy;
• Some women are begging in the streets of Johannesburg as a coping strategy;
• All the women participating in the study rely on the Centre Administrator, Bishop Paul Verryn, as a coping strategy;
• Some of the research participants rely on the Centre Administrator for resources for the baby;
• The young women in their twenties staying in the refugee community will rather rely on the Centre Administrator than the security group when abused, grabbed or assaulted;
• Relying on “boyfriends” is a coping strategy pursued by a few of the women in the CMC.

6.6 Validity and Reliability

To reach the goal of objectivity, validity and reliability in qualitative research, extensive field notes and performed member checks were made. This was to make sure texts match or could be adjusted to the unpredictable changes in the research process. Member checks assured that the interviewees felt that data was correct according to the answers they gave. Having had a supervisor may also have contributed to the validity as the outside person is able to assist in identifying problems, errors and biases in the research process (Babbie & Mouton, 2008:275-276).

6.7 Ethical Considerations

Neuman (2000:130) writes that ethical considerations start and end with the researcher. He also states that the researcher’s personal moral beliefs and codes are what will prevent unethical
behaviour. The researcher’s integrity and values have a great influence on ethics during research, and the researcher should consult his or her conscience before, during and after collecting data. Voluntarily informed consent and confidentiality was stressed during the research process and was further described in chapter 3.

6.8 Limitations of Study

Babbie and Mouton (2008:276) argue that maintaining objectivity, reliability and validity throughout the research process should be the ultimate goal, but is never completely successful. There will always be errors which lead to limitations in our work. Sarantakos (2005) emphasises limitations in the grounded theory approach to be based on the researcher’s subjectivity and warns that the “high level of arbitrary decisions” (2005:350) may lead to limitations in the study.

The researcher acknowledges that the limitations may be pertinent for this treatise, but consulting appropriate literature and attempting to carry out research guided by relevant methodology were carried out to lessen the limitations of study. The researcher’s being aware of her own standpoint in the research process which may lead to bias was further discussed in chapter 3.

6.9 Recommendations

To propose recommendations for the female Zimbabwean refugees living in the CMC is complicated as more research would be necessary before conclusions of that nature can be made. The researcher has, however, made an attempt to arrive at recommendations inspired by the research findings presented in chapter 5.

Further and more efficient attempts should be made to manage the conflict in Zimbabwe so the need for its population to cross borders to survive will not be necessary. A solution to the conflict is crucial to better the lives of the people of Zimbabwe and the international community must continue putting pressure on its leaders so as to create a democratic country which allows its citizens to make a peaceful living.

Refugees and asylum seekers should get access to appropriate documentation. The Department of Home Affairs should become more efficient so as to provide the vulnerable group with the right papers to prevent their being abused by employers.
Police and other law enforcement agencies should treat all human beings with the same respect whether they are refugees, asylum seekers or local South Africans.

A better understanding of refugees and their difficulties in a new country by local South Africans is crucial so as to prevent xenophobia and prejudice which the vulnerable group often face in their meeting with locals, employers and institutions. More information could be made available to local South Africans through various channels to improve their knowledge about refugees.

NGOs or other agencies could offer assistance when dealing with DHA or give legal assistance. There might be channels that do this already which emphasises the need for refugees to be enlightened about their rights as it seems that many of them are not aware of these.

Invite NGO’s, universities or conflict resolution specialists to offer the refugee community in the CMC training in conflict management, which will allow them to perhaps avoid some of the less desirable coping strategies.

Alternatively, one or a few members within the refugee community can be trained in refugee rights so that they might be able to impart knowledge to other people in the community.

A re-evaluation of the security in the church building is necessary so as to prevent theft and harassment. The refugees staying there should feel safe with the knowledge that the group tasked with the maintenance of security is free from corruption and there for them if they need assistance.

**6.10 Summary**

Refugee flow into urban centres is a relevant problem of our time. When a population grows, resources become stressed and this leads to conflict. Therefore refugees’ distress after escaping conflict does not end on arriving in a new place because new conflict manifests itself there too, and this can include the struggle for space, work and money. “The processes and modalities of humanitarian work need to be adapted – maybe even transformed – to enable us to meet the basic living requirements and protection needs of the urban displaced” (Tibaijuka, 2010:4). To arrive at conclusions that can resolve this issue, research on major problems which refugees
encounter in an urban setting and their ways of coping with the problems is needed. This treatise has made an attempt to provide more knowledge on this subject.

This treatise does not aim to suggest a resolution for the issue of the urban displaced because more on-going research would be necessary to reach conclusions of that nature, but the aim has rather been to highlight more information which will enhance an understanding of the plight of refugees and hopefully contribute to an improvement in the lives of this vulnerable group.
REFERENCE LIST


BBC NEWS, 2005. Split over strategy weakens MDC. 27 October 2005. (online) available: 


Canache, D. "Looking out My Back Door: the Neighborhood Context and Perceptions of


112


ADDENDA

ADDENDUM I: Permission from CMC Centre Administrator to do research

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH AT THE CMM REFUGEE COMMUNITY

I hereby confirm that Guro Lauvland Bjorknes has been granted permission to conduct research with the Central Methodist Mission refugee community as part of her research for her final M.phil Conflict Management and Transformation paper.

If any further information is required in this regard, please do not hesitate to contact me during office hours at 082 600 8892.

PAUL VERRYN

Superintendent
ADDENDUM II: Questionnaire for refugees in the CMC, Johannesburg

1. What is your age?

2. What is your nationality?

3. What ethnic group do you belong to?

4. Do you have any strong religious beliefs?

5. Do you have any formal education?

6. What was your occupation before you left your home?

7. Do you have any others than yourself in the church/refugee situation that you take care of?

8. If yes: What is the relationship? How many others?

9. Where is the rest of your family?

10. Why did you leave your home?

11. Why did you choose South Africa?

12. How do you feel you have been welcomed in South Africa?

13. For how long have you been seeking refuge?

14. How did you feel when you left Zimbabwe?

15. Were you forced to leave or did you leave voluntarily?

16. What were your experiences on the journey to the CMC?

17. For how long have you been staying at the CMC?

18. Where did you stay before arriving at the CMC?

19. How did you access food and other necessities at that time?
20. What led you to seek refuge in the CMC?

21. How did you hear about the CMC?

22. How do you feel about staying in the CMC?

23. Have you ever felt disrespected?

24. If yes, in what ways?

25. How do you deal with that?

26. Do you think other women feel disrespected?

27. What are the major problems that you face?

28. How do you manage to overcome the problems?

29. How do you access food and other necessities in your everyday life at the moment?

30. Who do you rely on in your everyday life?

31. Do you rely on help from NGO’s or the church to pay for or provide your daily meals?

32. Do you have a job?

33. If yes: what is your job?

34. How often do you work?

35. Is the job you have now the same as the one you had before you sought refuge?

36. Do you feel that your current job is suitable for your qualifications?

37. Do you earn enough to sustain yourself and possible dependants?

38. Why do you not work?

39. How do you sustain yourself?

40. Do a lot of people you know in the church have jobs?
41. What jobs do they have?

42. The people you know that do not have jobs, how do they get money to pay for food and other necessities?

43. Is your ambition to get out of the church as soon as possible?

44. If yes: What is preventing you?

45. If no: What is the reason for this?

46. What are your thoughts around the conflict in Zimbabwe?

47. Is your ambition to return to your home as soon as possible?
ADDENDUM III: Informed consent form

Dear Participant

You are being asked to participate in a research study on coping strategies among Zimbabwean female refugees at the Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg. I will provide you with the necessary information to assist you to understand the study and explain what would be expected of you (participant). These guidelines would include your rights as a study subject. Please feel free to ask the researcher at any time before or during interview if there are any aspects of the process you might find unclear.

To participate, it will be required of you to give consent to verify that you understand the process and agree to the conditions.

Participation in research is completely voluntary and you are free to leave the interview at any time. Your identity will at all times remain confidential; however, the results of the research study may be presented at scientific conferences or in specialist publications.

An important aspect of this study is that the ethical integrity of the study has been approved by the Research Ethics Committee (Human) of the university. The REC-H consists of a group of independent experts who have the responsibility to ensure that the rights and welfare of participants in research are protected and that studies are conducted in an ethical manner. Studies cannot be conducted without the approval of the REC-H. Queries with regard to your rights as a research subject can be directed to the Research Ethics Committee (Human), Department of Research Capacity Development, PO Box 77000, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, Port Elizabeth, 6031.

If you have no-one to assist you, you may write to: The Chairperson of the Research, Technology and Innovation Committee, PO Box 77000, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, Port Elizabeth, 6031.

This informed consent statement has been prepared in compliance with current statutory guidelines.

Yours sincerely Ms Guro Bjorknes (Researcher)
ADDENDUM IV: Information was given orally to all participants before they gave their consent to participate:

My name is Guro Bjorknes and I am from Port Elizabeth. I am currently busy with my Master’s degree in Conflict Management at the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University in Port Elizabeth. Part of my degree is to conduct research and write a treatise. I have chosen to research coping strategies among female Zimbabweans refugees at the Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg: a conflict management perspective. I want to ask for your permission to conduct an interview during which I ask you questions which involve how you cope in your daily life at the Central Methodist Church. The aim of my study is to create a better understanding of the plight of refugees.

The questions vary and some will encourage longer answers than others. However, if you at any time feel uncomfortable or displeased with the situation or the questions you may leave the interview. I encourage you to ask questions at any time if there is anything you do not understand or find unclear.

May I have your permission to use a voice recorder?

This is a voluntary process and I cannot give you any payment for this interview.

This interview is confidential and none of the information may be traced back to you in the future.