A Descriptive Study of Conflict Management Strategies of the Johannesburg Central Methodist Church Refugee Community

by

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ABSTRACT

The growth of forced migration populations - i.e. the movement of people within and across national boarders as a result of conflicts, disasters, and development policies and projects - has been a defining feature of the twentieth century and will no doubt remain with us well into the twenty-first century (Rutinwa, 2001: 13). Literature searches suggest that the ‘refugee’ constitutes the most powerful label within the forced migration discourse. Published calculations regarding the number of refugees in the world at the end of 2008, range between 15.2 million (UNHCR, 2009: 2) and 13.6 million (World Refugee Survey, 2009: 33).

The refugee experience of a small representative population of these figures namely, the Zimbabwean refugees living within the Central Methodist Church (CMC) or Central Methodist Mission (CMM) refugee community, in Johannesburg city centre is the concern of this treatise. From the perspective of the conflict management scholar, the informal and formal conflict management strategies adopted among and between the CMM refugees, have been studied. Analysis of existing literature, interviews conducted with the refugees, as well as hours of experience within the refugee community, substantiate the descriptive study that follows. Guided by the grounded theory approach, research findings have emerged out of the descriptions. The research findings in turn have founded the development of the recommendations that appear in the conclusion to the treatise.
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABET - Adult Basic Education and Training
CCR - Centre for Conflict Resolution
CMC - Central Methodist Church
CMM - Central Methodist Mission
IDP - Internally Displaced Person
MSF - Medecins Sans Frontieres/ Doctors Without Borders
NGO - Non-Governmental Organization
NMMU - Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University
SADC - Southern African Development Community
UNHR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Introduction
The growth of forced migration populations - i.e. the movement of people within and across national boarders as a result of conflicts, disasters, and development policies and projects - has been a defining feature of the twentieth century and will no doubt remain with us well into the twenty-first century (Rutinwa, 2001: 13). Literature searches suggest that the ‘refugee’ constitutes the most powerful label within the forced migration discourse. Calculations regarding the number of refugees in the world at the end of 2008, range between 15.2 million (UNHCR, 2009: 2) and 13.6 million (World Refugee Survey, 2009: 33).

In this chapter, the research topic, which concerns itself with a descriptive study of the conflict management strategies of refugees within the context of the Central Methodist Mission community, in central Johannesburg, will be introduced. The theoretical framework within which the study has taken place will be outlined by describing fundamental underpinnings of the social interpretive theoretical paradigm. The problem statement and research questions that have guided the study will be outlined so as to introduce the thought processes that have guided the work. Next the aims and objectives of the study will be presented. Thereafter, the motivation for embarking on research in the particular field is described. This is followed by an outline of the case study grounded theory research design and analysis that was employed for the purpose of study. Possible contributions of the treatise and limitations of this particular study are delineated towards the end of the chapter. In the conclusion to Chapter 1, Chapter 2 will be introduced.

1.2 Background to Measurement and Narrative Study
A question raised out of an informal pilot study, that was undertaken in preparation for the commencement of this study, was: How do people in vulnerable situations resolve conflict? The research conducted for the purpose of this study, constitutes a descriptive study of the informal and formal strategies refugees living at CMM used to resolve and manage conflict.
The CMM church building on the corner of Pritchard and Smal Street in central Johannesburg acts as a refuge and shelter to hundreds, indeed thousands, of foreign and local displaced persons. According to figures received from the centre’s administrator, the minister of the church and gatekeeper to the refuge, the church building houses about 2,000 people each night. A further 600 individuals lay down their cardboard and plastic ‘bedding’ each night, forced to sleep out in the open on the pavement. The majority of the refugees are from Zimbabwe. During daylight hours, some people go to work; others go in search of finding some form of labour that will pay for something to put in their stomachs; still others remain near the church building hungry and despondent. Among the people are mothers, fathers, youth, children, toddlers and even a-few-hour-old babies. These are not faceless digits but human beings. The focus of this treatise is on the human experience behind these figures.

Varied causes and motivations have pushed and drawn individuals to seek refuge in the CMM community. Primarily, they are refugees, asylum seekers and internally displaced persons (IDPs) from Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Tanzania and South Africa. Gavin Bradshaw (2007) asserts that the “living in close proximity of vast numbers of …beings…in the context of a world of finite resources” (15) will inevitably result in conflict. Conflict, interpreted as “miss-match” (Mitchell, 1981:18) or “incompatibility of goals” (Galtung, 1996:72) between conflicting parties may escalate into a range of behaviours, often with violent consequences (Ramsbotham, et al. 2005:11).

In an issue of the Track Two publication, a conflict resolution journal that was co-published by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR), it is noted that invariably conflict, understood as “a normal and ubiquitous social phenomenon that does not lead inexorably to violence” (Nathan, 2000), exists within refugee community settings. Deriving lessons from the Kigoma Refugee Camps in Tanzania, Durieux (2000) similarly asserts that conflict situations are rife in refugee settings.

The CMM refugee situation is not exempt from the presence of conflict between and among individuals and different groups of the community. Based on an informal pilot study conducted in preparation for the commencement of the study, it was ascertained that
different types and forms of conflict exist among and between individuals and groups living in and around the CMM building on the corner of Pritchard and Smal Streets.

The question raised, and the focus of the study, is how these conflicts are managed and resolved. “A spectrum of common approaches to conflict management can be identified” (Bradshaw, 2007:70). According to Rubin, Pruitt and Kim (1990), on an individual level, every conflict is accompanied by “a distinctive set of moves, ways of pursuing the conflict in an effort to settle it” (3). The way people deal with conflict is a matter of habit or choice (Ramsbotham et al., 2005). Chris Mitchell (1981) proposes that “most social systems, however simple, possess a range of mechanisms or procedures, either built into the social structure, or consciously employed by members, that help in containing conflict situations” (255). Formal conflict management or resolution strategies often involve third parties acting as arbitrators, facilitators, negotiators or mediators (Ramsbotham et al., 2005).

Within the refugee setting, a lack of clarity exists with regard to whose responsibility it is to tend to conflicts (Nathan, 2000). While dealing with refugees, displaced people and the related consequences of high-intensity conflict lies within the scope of the UNHCR, it is assumed that the responsibility for averting and ending conflict between and among refugees and displaced persons lies within the political domain, i.e. the domain of the United Nations Security Council, the African Union and other political actors. Sedako Ogata (2000), former secretary general of the UNHCR, maintains the following:

Helping communities is an area in which humanitarian work with its emphasis on vulnerable groups can be a valuable complement to conflict resolution and peace-building efforts. ...All these efforts, however, will be neither effective nor durable if they are not complemented at the political level by African states, supporting governments and developmental institutions.

Many international humanitarian organisations view “conflict management and resolution as falling outside their mandate” (Nathan, 2000).

A lack of research and praxis with regard to the conflict management/refugee setting nexus becomes apparent when conducting database searches. According to Bradshaw (2007:62), the conflict resolution scholar-practitioner’s primary goal is not only to achieve an understanding of conflict theories and the genesis and development of conflict, but also to actively work towards the resolution of conflict. As such, one might contend that it is the
responsibility of those working within the conflict resolution field to research and actively contribute to conflict resolution among individuals who have been pushed or pulled into refugee situations.

In this treatise, a broad understanding of conflict resolution is proposed where not only the wider context in which international actors, domestic constituencies and inter-party relationships are looked towards for resolving conflict and sustaining peace, but also, the resolution of conflict between individual members of a community has in itself the potential to be “the engine of social evolution, pushing us onward and provoking us to find new (and better?) ways of organizing and producing” (Bradshaw, 2007:15) solutions to the challenges, changes and conflicts posed by the 21st century world.

1.3 Paradigm of Interpretation

Theories might be interpreted as the systems of ideas that help explain various patterns in the world, and in the context of research, they guide, and offer clues about the direction in which to conduct research (Wong, 2004). According to Newman (2006) the theoretical paradigm that guides a study includes the “basic assumptions, the important questions to be answered or puzzles to be solved, the research techniques to be used, and examples of what good scientific research looks like” (81). The following paragraphs outline the basic tenets on which the interpretive social scientific paradigm rests, and which inform this study.

1.3.1 Interpretive social science assumptions informing the study

Thomas Kuhn’s seminal publication in 1962 put forward the idea that any research method or approach to the systematic investigation of phenomena rests upon epistemological and ontological assumptions, i.e. assumptions about the nature of knowledge and the kinds of entities that exist. Denzin and Lincon (1898:4) maintain that epistemological paradigms represent belief systems that attach the researcher to a particular worldview.

Knowledge according to the interpretive paradigm is acquired by investigating the phenomena under study in various different ways as the social context is different from the natural science context. The interpretive tradition is predominantly based on a ‘mental metaphor’ which emphasises the centrality of human consciousness (Babbie and Mouton, 4
2007:28). The human being is viewed as a conscious self-directing, symbolic being. Therefore, investigations of social phenomena can result in many interpretations.

According to one of the first propagators of the interpretive paradigm, Weber (1981), interpretive studies of the social world should concentrate on the personal reasons or motives that shape an individual’s internal feelings and decisions to act in particular ways. Research, or acquiring knowledge, as such, becomes an attempt to subjectively understand (verstehen) and describe (beschreiben) meaningful, everyday social actions within a specific context.

According to Neuman (2006), interpretive social science is often called “qualitative social research” (88). Within the qualitative research context, the researcher uses “a language of cases and context, employs bricolage, examines social processes and cases in their social context, and looks at interpretations or the creation of meaning in specific settings” (157). Case study research, where the researcher carefully “considers the specific context of the case and examines how its parts are configured” (40), so Neuman (2006) falls within the interpretive, qualitative context.

1.3.2 Important questions or puzzles
According to Neuman (2006), the interpretive approach is idiographic and inductive, i.e. it proceeds from particular facts to general conclusions; its aim is to provide thick descriptions of whatever is being studied without drawing abstractions. Based on the interpretive proposition that social reality is characterised by “fluid definitions of a situation” (105), one might contend that interpretive questions do not have one single correct answer, and as such, the best interpretive questions are those that generate the most engaging discussions and those with several different answers, i.e. open-ended questions.

1.3.3 Research techniques
Traditionally, the interpretive paradigm has been associated with qualitative research techniques (Babbie and Mouton, 2007; Neuman, 2006). Drawing on the work of Silverman (2001), and Fielding and Fielding (1986), Kayrooz and Trevitt (2005) contend that “interpretations in organizations or communities are always going to be qualitative...since so much of the research is involved with gauging people’s perceptions” (109). According to Silverman (1997), no agreed upon doctrine underlies qualitative
social research. As such, qualitative research might cover a vast range of research techniques and methods without any conscious analytic perspective.

According to Neuman (2006) an interpretive understanding of the meanings and self description of the individual requires a methodology that emphasises the following:

- participant observation and field research where the researcher is required to spend many hours in direct personal contact with the subject of their study
- the analysis of transcripts of conversations, study of video tapes and of behaviour in extraordinary detail, while looking at subtle nonverbal communication to understand the details of interactions in their context.

1.4 Statement of the Problem

Conflict management within refugee settings has received little attention in academic literature and on a praxis level. The UNHCR and other humanitarian NGO’s do not consider the peaceful resolution of conflict among and between members of refugee settings to be part of their mandate. Political actors likewise do not consider it to be their mandate.

Conflict resolution rooted in the political, legal and moral foundations of cosmopolitanism, which asserts that moral obligation between individuals transcends national boundaries (Brock and Brighouse, 2005: ix), should be held accountable in terms of the contribution it makes to the long-term interests of populations. In this respect, the scholar-practitioner that propagates cosmopolitan conflict resolution has a moral obligation and responsibility to engage in attempts to understand and promote the resolution of any conflict however “dramatic” (Bradshaw, 2007:15) or ordinary as conflict resolution asserts the value and universal moral concern for each individual life.

The presence of conflict within the CMM refugee community has been established. In response to the lack of research and praxis with respect to conflict management and resolution strategies within refugee settings, a case study research was designed. The purpose of the case study research is to yield a descriptive study of the formal and informal strategies employed by members of the CMM refugee community to manage and resolve conflict.
1.5 Research Question

In light of the information provided above, it is possible to formulate a clearly demarcated research question:

What are the informal and formal conflict handling strategies and mechanisms that members of the CMM refugee community rely on?

As discussed above, the paradigm used will be that of interpretive social science. The principal questions of concern for the study are the following:

- What formal conflict handling strategies and mechanisms are in place at the CMM refugee community?
- Who are the individuals responsible for implementing these strategies?
- If ‘conflict complaint’ committees exist, how are they structured?
- What informal conflict management mechanisms are used within the CMM refugee community by members themselves, members responsible for the security of the building and the centre’s administrator?
- What motivates members of the CMM to use the formal strategies and mechanisms in place to manage conflict?
- What motivates members of the CMM to skip protocol and rely on informal strategies to manage conflict?
- Does the origin of the conflict affect the conflict management mechanism that is used by the individuals involved?
- How could the formal conflict management structures available to members of the CMM refugee community be improved?

1.6 Aims and Objective of the Study

1.6.1 Aims

The aims of the study are the following:

- To describe the formal and informal strategies employed by members of the CMM refugee community to manage or resolve conflict.
- To describe why members of the CMM refugee community engage in informal conflict handling strategies and why formal conflict handling strategies are sometimes an option.
• To propose possible recommendations with respect to improving or developing the formal conflict handling structures within the community.
• To contribute to discourse surrounding conflict management within refugee settings

1.6.2 Objective
Against the backdrop of the interpretive paradigm, the primary objective of the study is to present a description that has both empirical grounding and theoretical relevance towards an understanding of the underlying motivations and subsequent meanings and experiences of the informal and formal conflict management mechanisms within the CMM refugee community. The study is not directed at creating change through activity, but rather, at creating consciousness.

Kayrooz and Trevitt (2005:310) outline “some possibilities” for the “roles” that might be assumed by a researcher. Aware that “the interpretive practice of making sense of ones findings is both artful and political” (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998:30), the role of “critical friend” (Kayrooz and Trevitt, 2005:310) was assumed for the purposes of the research. A critical friend is seen as “supportive; [and] critical…”. The researcher wishes to as Kayroot and Trevitt (2005: 310) propose, emphasize the distinction between a “critical friend” and a “devil’s advocate” (311); the latter tends to be more oppositional, adversarial and even antagonistic.

1.7 Motivation for the Study
The conflict resolution scholar-practitioner’s primary goal is not only to achieve an understanding of conflict theories and the genesis and development of conflict but to also actively work towards the resolution of conflict (Bradshaw, 2007). In a search for a topic of study for the treatise, the motivation to find a topic that would yield a contribution to the academic discourse surrounding conflict and yield a contribution with practical implications for individuals was pressing. In August 2007, the researcher was involved in English teaching sessions to Congolese refugees in the centre of Johannesburg, as part of a certification in language teaching. During these months, the researcher became increasingly aware of the challenges faced and overcome by many refugees in the South African context. On a personal level, a deep desire to proactively engage in a field of conflict management that will positively bear on the life circumstances and human
development of individuals and communities was a driving factor in the desire to find a topic of study involving refugees.

By describing the informal and formal conflict handling mechanisms and strategies at play within the CMM refugee community, both the academic and practical targets may be met. On an academic level, the study may lead to broader insights and understanding of the formal and informal conflict handling strategies used by refugees in a specific living situation. The treatise may stimulate further research into the different formal and informal mechanisms at work within the CMM refugee community.

On a practical level, the study is aimed to produce descriptive insights that draw attention to formal conflict management strategies and mechanisms that are successful, along with those that could be reconsidered and revised by the centre’s administrator. The study may be of benefit to the Pritchard/Smal Street CMM refugee community and the potential communities that will develop when “the new buildings are made available to refugees” (Interview, Centre Administrator, March 7, 2009). According to the Centre Administrator, the possibility exists that two further buildings will be made available to shelter refugees in the not too distant future. Based on the unique nature of the community, it is not expected that the study will have a direct, practical bearing on other refugee settings in South Africa or other settings globally.

In light of the fact that the researcher is a social being who lives within a social context where “knowledge helps to embrace/share empathetically others’ life worlds and experiences” (Neuman, 2006:105), bringing awareness of the situation of refugees within the South African social structure to receptive listeners is a goal of the research.

1.8 Research Design

The exploratory-descriptive purpose of the study necessitated a qualitative research design. Based on the fact that the study did not intend to produce statistical findings, but was aimed at generating general ideas and views on the problem area, the qualitative paradigm that only rarely identifies variables, tests hypotheses, or converts social life into numbers (Neuman, 2006:157) guided the research design.
According to Henn, Weinstein and Foard (2006: 198 - 199), grounded theory, which is an inductive approach, is most often adopted for qualitative social research and specifically research with an exploratory intent. For the purpose of the research under discussion, the research design was founded in the grounded theory. As will become clear in Chapter 3, the research design determined the research methods and methodology that were employed. Goulding (1999) offers extensive elaboration of how the interpretive paradigm relates to grounded theory research and what the research procedures of the grounded theory research design are.

Although the grounded theory approach is generally used “to develop an inductively derived grounded theory about a phenomenon” (Strauss and 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” (155). Such is the case with the current study where research findings are presented without the final development of a grounded theory.

Heleta (2008: 14) draws attention to the fact that researchers working within the grounded theory framework either “start research without any fixed ideas about the nature of the things that are about to be investigated” (Denscombe, 2007, cited in Heleta, 2008:14) or with a grounded preparation for the subject under study. The study presented in this treatise was embarked upon with prior understanding of the CMM refugee setting founded on the pilot study. Based on time and financial constraints, the pilot study was undertaken to determine whether the aims and objectives of the study might be met within the data gathering framework. Extensive literature reviews as well as conversations with those that have actively been involved in the CMM refugee setting might be viewed as part of the actual research and fieldwork of the study and not as part of the preparation for the study, as outlined by Heleta (2008: 14).

1.9 Research Methodology

As described above and as will become clear in Chapter 3, the research design influenced the research methods and methodology that were employed for this study. Kayrooz and Trevitt (2005) hold that the research design links the choice and use of particular methods with the purpose of the research.
1.9.1 Type of sampling
The selection of the sample was based on personal judgement and the purpose of the study which was descriptive. A member, who is active within the community, acted as an agent and assisted the researcher in identifying community members for the sample group. The agent was aware of the purpose of the study, and assisted the researcher in identifying members from the population who met certain criteria.

The following broad practical considerations provided general criteria for choosing participants interviewed:

- a fair level of English competence
- 21 years of age or older
- the candidate must have lived within the CMM refugee community for a minimum of three months

1.9.2 Method of data collection
Formal and informal in-depth, face-to-face interviews allowed the interviewer to probe and to illicit information from members of the refugee community. Sixteen participants were formally interviewed individually. This allowed for privacy. Four participants felt more comfortable being interviewed in groups of two. The interviews were conducted in different locations within the CMM building. A digital voice recorder was used as a research tool.

The observation of eight Ray of Hope Refugee Meetings at the CMM also facilitated insight into the subject being investigated.

Interviews with social workers and an aid worker who was no longer active in the CMM setting provided valuable information.

1.10 Data Analysis
According to Goulding (1999:17), grounded theory emphasizes that a researcher’s thesis or theory evolves during the research process itself and is a product of a continuous interplay between data collection and data analysis. The analysis and interpretation of the data collected for this research adhered to the principles of grounded theory. As such, the researcher did not wait until all the data was collected before initiating analysis and
interpretation and the search for meaning through the interrogation of data commenced in the early stages of the study. According to Strauss and Corbin (1990, cited in Babbie and Mouton, 2007:499) two processes to grounded theory analysis exist, namely, coding procedures and adjunctive procedures.

1.11 Validity and Reliability
According to Maxwell (1992, cited in Thomson, 2003:7) the validity of qualitative research might be judged according to five categories namely: descriptive validity, interpretive validity, theoretical validity, generalisibility, and evaluative validity. Descriptive validity, interpretive validity and theoretical validity are the forms of validity applicable to the study, as drawing generalizations or evaluative discussions was not the aim of the study. The validity of each of the categories mentioned above were based on the research design and methodology that guided the study.

1.12 Ethical Considerations
The ethical considerations propagated by the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU) in the Institutional Regulatory Code (2005) have been adhered to as guiding principles for the study. The codes of conduct outlined in the Ethical Code of Professional Conduct (Professional Board for Psychology, 2000) were consulted prior to engagement in the study. Other referenced literature also informed consideration of ethical concerns.

Of importance is the fact that all interviews (formal and informal) were conducted on a voluntary basis. Participants were orally informed of the following (see Addenda :III)

- They would be permitted to exit the interview process at any point.
- They had the right to decline to answer any questions they found inappropriate

The confidentiality of participants’ identities was guaranteed, although a majority indicated a willingness to own the information they offered.

In-depth discussion of the ethics pertaining to the study is addressed in Chapter 3.

1.13 Limitations of Study
Sarantakos (2005) maintains that the primary limitation of the grounded theory approach is researcher subjectivity and the fact that researchers rely on a “high level of arbitrary
decisions” (350) in their studies. These limitations might apply to the research conducted and are acknowledged although every attempt was made to render a systematic and well grounded research. The ‘insider/outsider’ status of the researcher (Kayrooz and Trevitt, 2005) affected the information gathered and insights generated. Limitations arose based on the fact that the researcher is not a member of the CMM community and are outlined in Chapter 3.

The chapter that follows provides a descriptive exploration of the historical, social and political contexts in which the research is embedded. An extensive account of the historical narratives that informed Zimbabwean refugees is provided. Statistics about the Zimbabwean forced migrant are outlined. The chapter provides descriptive insights into the present functioning of the CMM refugee setting. Conflict resolution as an enterprise responsible for expanding consciousness about “the costs of failure to manage conflict non-violently and of the benefits to be gained by strengthening non-violent conflict resolution capacity within and between societies” (Ramsbotham et al., 2005:329) is outlined in the final section of Chapter 2.
CHAPTER 2: NARRATIVES OF THE ZIMBABWEAN REFUGEE: PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

2.1 Introduction
In this chapter, the historical, social and political context in which the research study is embedded will be descriptively explored. Neuman (2006) notes that in order to faithfully maintain the social meaning and significance of events, social actions, answers to questions, or conversations within a given research context, it is imperative to “note what came before or what surrounds the focus of the study” (158) or to place “parts of [the] social life into a larger whole” (158).

The chapter is presented in three sections. Section 1 describes the historical conflicts that have created a population of Zimbabwean refugees and the present political and social status of Zimbabwean refugees in South Africa. Section 2 presents an overview of the Central Methodist Church in the centre of Johannesburg with respect to its history as a religious movement; its present role in the experience of the destitute and homeless; and the organization’s prospects for the future. Section 3 will place the study of the refugee experience within a bigger conflict management or conflict resolution framework. In the final section of the chapter, conflict resolution as the enterprise responsible for expanding an emancipatory cosmopolitan consciousness is outlined as the refugees’ hope for the future. The assumption is that the conflict resolution scholar-practitioner has a responsibility to bring about an awareness that emphasises “the costs of failure to manage conflict non-violently and of the benefits to be gained by strengthening non-violent conflict resolution capacity within and between societies” (Ramsbotham et al., 2005:329).

2.2 History of Conflict in Zimbabwe
According to Ager (1999:14) understandings of the personal experiences of refugees are valuably informed by relevant social histories with respect to the development of a refugee identity. Notwithstanding the fact that “the experience of forced migration is crucially shaped by personal factors, such as the beliefs and the values of the displaced” (Ager, 1999:13), one might contend that analysis of the refugee only at the micro or personal level is decontextualized when the “histories, beliefs and values are not linked to the social processes which have served to shape them” (14). The section that follows places the
ethnic, educative, political and economic identity of the Zimbabwean refugee within its historical context.

2.2.1 Pre-colonial Zimbabwe

According to Anstey (2006:83), the San people occupied regions of Zimbabwe until 900 AD when the Shona people from the Great Lakes region moved south and formed the strong kingdom of Monomotapa. Although infighting and overpopulation destroyed the Monomotapa kingdom in about 1500, the Shona continued to dominate the land up until the Ndebele arrived in the region in about 1840.

Fleeing from the dominance and brutality of Shaka Zulu in the South African KwaZulu-Natal area, Mzilikazi Khumalo set up his leadership in the Bulawayo region in the early 1820’s (Lindgren, 2004). People from various ethnic groups (Nguni, Sotho and even Shona) migrated with Mzilikazi; however, collectively, his people became known as the Ndebele people for southern Zimbabwe. In most of the country the Ndebele people defeated the Shona tribes, stealing their cattle as they moved north (Anstey, 2006:82).

2.2.2 Colonialism in Zimbabwe

In 1890, Cecil John Rhodes commissioned a group of white settlers to settle in Matabeleland just south of Bulawayo (Anstey, 2006). According to Moorcraft and McLaughlin (2008), Rhodes secured the land in a deceitful mining concession with the Ndebele King Lobengula (Mzilikazi’s heir), who claimed dominion over most of the territory between the Limpopo and the Zambezi rivers. Although Shona and Ndebele uprisings that lasted 18 months ensued, the resistance was quelled, and by 1900, the country was in the hands of the Rhodes British South Africa Company. Armed with the fear-creating “white mans military technology” (19), Rhodes and his settlers pushed their way ever further north into Zimbabwe. Moorcraft and McLaughlin note that the events of the late 1890’s “bequeathed a legacy of bitterness to both [white and black] racial groups” (20). Imperialism was rife under the Company after it secured its position and heavy taxation forced the black man to seek work in the “labour-hungry settler economy” (21). Registration certificates and pass laws controlled the movements of the Africans. The boundaries around the reserves were strictly delimited and the patrol police were ever ready to “nip in the bud any form of insurrection” (21).
In 1923, the Company sold the land to the white settlers, ignoring any previous ownership of land by the San, Matabele or Shona (Anstey, 2006:82). Rhodesia became the British Empire’s first self-governing colony. Despite the fact that the Empire retained supervisory rights over the colony, the settlers were able to create the sort of economy and society they wanted (Moorcraft and McLaughlin, 2008:22). In 1931 the Land Apportionment Act formalized the distribution of land between the races: white settlers gained 48 million acres of land, blacks about 29 million acres for communal occupation, and 18 million acres were reserved for forests and national parks. By 1960, Rhodesia had a population of 200 000 white and two million blacks (Anstey, 2006:81). Although ‘hard’ Apartheid was not propagated by the Rhodesian government, black people were restricted in all spheres. Legislation with respect to voting rights, education and land ownership served to ensure the “economic and educational supremacy of a small white elite, which was never more than 6.2 percent of the population” (Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe and the Legal Resources Foundation of Zimbabwe, 2007:43).

Black African discontent with white rule resulted in violent insurgencies. The establishment of the Southern Rhodesian African National Congress in 1957 under Joshua Nkomo marked the first African nationalist movement (Moorcraft and McLaughlin, 2008:19). The party was largely supported by Matabele and Kalanga groups. Robert Mugabe formed a fledgling liberation movement, the Zimbabwean African National Union (ZANU), to challenge the status quo. The party was predominantly supported by Shona speakers (Anstey, 2005:83). Black interest groups and parties that posed a threat to the government were “actively repressed, banned and detained, radicalising them into more violence” (56). All the while, the Rhodesian Front unsuccessfully ‘negotiated’ to secure national independence from Britain. By the end of 1969, Ian Smith’s Rhodesian Front was forced to redistribute land in the Land Tenure Act. Forty-five million acres were apportioned to each race group (black and white) and six million acres were reserved for parks and forests (Anstey, 2005:83).

Between 1972 and 1980, the country became locked in a bitter and violent civil war. Black guerrilla groups initiated a bush war – chimurenga – for freedom, “attacking whites, as well as black peasants who were suspected of being informants or sympathising with whites” (Anstey, 2005: 57). Over 30 000 people lost their lives, and many were raped and butchered (84). By 1976, Smith was forced to grant universal suffrage, in so much as
black people were granted the right to vote (84). When the bishop Abel Muzorewa was democratically voted to prime minister in 1979, black leaders of the liberation armies of Nkomo (ZIPRA) and Mugabe (ZANU), refused to accept the result and the war continued (84-85). By the end of 1979, in peace talks in London, Muzorewa, Nkomo and Mugabe were persuaded to call a ceasefire which was followed by new elections.

As election fever spread in February 1980, “intimidation on all sides mounted” (Moorcraft and McLaughlin, 2008:175). Mugabe’s guerrilla fighters continued long and brutal campaigns of terror. Nkomo remained protected by men from Scotland Yard and his own body guards (174-175). Anstey (2006) notes that even though it was “very clear that white rule was over” (85), the Rhodesian military adopted tactics to sway voters from granting Mugabe their vote. Church bombings and an attempted assassination on Mugabe were some of the strategies adopted.

2.2.3 Zimbabwe as an independent state: 1980

The February 1980 elections saw Mugabe’s ZANU (PF) win 57 seats in a 100 member parliament (Moorcraft and McLaughlin, 2008:176; Sachikonye, 2005:9). Nkomo’s ZAPU won 20 seats, Muzorewa’s UAC won three seats and Sithole’s party won 1 seat (Anstey, 2006:85; Moorcraft and McLaughlin, 2008:176). According to Moorcraft and McLaughlin (2008) it was “the first time in Africa that a Marxist had been voted into power” (176); “Nkomo was shattered” (177) and “the whites were panic stricken” (77).

In April 1980, Mugabe took on his role as the premier of the Independent state of Zimbabwe (Moorcraft and McLaughlin, 2008). With the white constructed dictatorship that Mugabe had inherited the “panoply of secret courts, secret hangings and emergency powers” (179) arose. The leader however did not appear to propagate old principles, proclaiming in a television statement: “Let us deepen our sense of belonging…and engender a common interest that knows no race, colour or creed” (Mugabe cited in Moorcraft and McLaughlin, 2008:179).

Despite the fact that Mugabe propagated a conciliatory drive with Nkomo’s party (ZAPU) for two years, following eruptions of conflict in Matabeleland and accusations by Mugabe that Nkomo’s party supported dissidents, all conciliatory pacts collapsed (Sachikonye, 2005). In the early phase of Mugabe’s rule, objections about increasing ZANU (PF)
dominance “in the civil service, army, police and constant stream of ZANU (PF) propaganda in the newly controlled press, radio and TV” (Moorcraft and McLaughlin, 2008:176) led Zimbabwe to the brink of civil war. The white-officered Rhodesian African Rifles (RAR) quelled the mutinies and guerrilla insurgencies. According to a report by the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe and the Legal Resources Foundation of Zimbabwe (2007) some of the RAR personnel and other personnel from the former government “used their continued influence to further South African interests by destabilizing Zimbabwe” (48).

By 1983, a North Korean-trained “anti-dissident force” or 5th Brigade (Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe and the Legal Resources Foundation of Zimbabwe, 2007:73) was unleashed by Mugabe “for the purpose of defence” (73). Nearly all 3 000 troops in the brigade were Shonas loyal to the ZANU (PF) (Moorcraft and McLaughlin, 2008). During the mid-1980s, the 5th Brigade “starved and slaughtered between 8 000 and 40 000 Nkomo followers in Matabeleland in an organized pogrom known as Gukurahundi” (Anstey, 2005:85). Numerous villagers described how they were “forced to sing songs praising ZANU (PF) while dancing on the mass graves of their families and fellow villagers, killed and buried minutes earlier” by the 5th Brigade (Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe and the Legal Resources Foundation of Zimbabwe, 2007:83).

2.2.4 Education
According to Anstey (2006), Mugabe invested a great deal in education, resulting in “the best educated population on the continent” (85). As a result of urbanisation, unemployment grew rapidly in the late 1980s. Increasing demands from the population for jobs and wages became a pressing issue. The labour wing of the ZANU (PF) with Morgan Tsvangirai as its general secretary became a base from which the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) was formed (Anstey, 2005:85-86).

2.2.5 Land issues leading to economic disaster
Initially, under Mugabe, land could only be purchased from an unwilling seller if “it was under-utilized or needed for public purposes” (Anstey, 2005:86). Palmer (1990) refers to the “willing seller-willing buyer principle – with the state providing financial support” (29). By the 1990s, Mugabe passed laws allowing him unlimited capacity to expropriate
land. Loyalists, ‘war veterans’, and government ministers and their families were given land as part of Mugabe’s system of patronage (Anstey, 2006). Soon, Mugabe started threatening to confiscate land from the 6,000 white commercial farmers who were the backbone of the increasingly failing economy. According to Mugabe, there should be no need for him to pay for land that had been “stolen in conquest in the first place” (86).

Zimbabwe essentially relied on 6,000 white commercial farmers as the “backbone of the economy and as the major employment sector” (Anstey, 2006:86). Bank loans to Zimbabwe’s commercial farms meant many were as sophisticated as any large-scale farm in the United States. The farms also employed about 350,000 black workers, and the larger farms often provided schools and clinics (Richardson, 2004:75). According to Richardson, the commercial sub-sector also included small-scale commercial farms run by about 8,500 black farmers.

From 1992, Mugabe’s government embarked on a poorly organised process of designating farms for acquisition (Anstey, 2006). Initially land acquisition and redistribution was “slow bureaucratic and corrupt” (86). By 1995, black public dissatisfaction about the government’s corruption and the high unemployment in the country found a voice when riots broke out. Mugabe brought the land issue to the fore and manipulated it expertly to save his growingly unpopular regime in a context where “the land card” had become his only option (Lafon, 2005). The white industrialists and farmers soon became the expanded enemy.

According to Anstey (2006), the war veterans who felt that they had been abandoned by the ZANU (PF) were the force that added the ultimate impetus to Mugabe’s rising crises. Based on the fact that the War Veteran’s Compensation Fund had been bankrupted by corruption by 1997, war veterans took to streets threatening to take over land. Mugabe offered veterans gratuities of Z$ 5,000 per person for an estimated 70,000 veterans (Mwanza, 2000). According to Anstey (2006), in total the “land, free healthcare and education” gratuities cost about US$ 4 billion. Zimbabwe was plunged into an economic crisis, and by 1998, food riots broke out (Lafon, 2005). Although the war veterans had been temporarily silenced, demands for land were reignited (Anstey, 2009).
In a voter referendum in February 2000, citizens rejected Mugabe’s call for a new constitution, giving the government greater powers over land seizures. Acceptance of the referendum would have eventually legalized land seizures from the 4,000 white commercial farmers for redistribution to landless blacks (Anstey, 2006). Acceptance of the referendum would also have limited any president to two terms of office. Surprisingly over 50% voted against the referendum. Morgan Tsvangirai, the MDC’s leader, appeared to have a chance at winning the general elections to be held within the following three months.

A defeat of the ZANU (PF) would open way for investigation into the past, not an appealing prospect for many, “as the world does not guarantee any more safe havens for unseated dictators and their clique” (Lofan, 2005). Because there was no escaping going to the polls, the only way out was to create conditions that would at best regain ZANU’s popularity and, at worst, allow for intimidation and political pressure to make the outcome good. Mugabe mobilised those loyal to him under groups of war veterans who embarked on a campaign of “organised terror against opposition groups in rural areas, and occupied white farms” (Anstey, 2006:87). In the last two to three months to the elections, the war veterans from camps on occupied farms were controlling most commercial farming areas and adjacent communal land, which had become virtual no-go areas for the opposition and the independent press. A majority of the rural population was subjected to intimidation and fear (Lofan, 2005). The police stood by in spite of repeated court orders having become part of an “extensive state machinery of intimidation” (Anstey, 2006:87).

When elections were held in 2000, the MDC gained 57 out of 120 seats and should have obtained the advantage and taken over the government (Anstey, 2006:87). However as Sachikonye (2005) notes, the MDC was prevented from becoming the head of the Zimbabwean government by an “anachronistic electoral regime which gave the advantage of 30 additional seats” (16) to the ZANU (PF), Mugabe’s governing party. The period 2000-2003 is marked by “incidents of violence and intimidation by opposition activists and supporters” (Sachikonnye, 2005:17). Anstey (2006) notes that “Mugabe’s forces were much more organized” (87) after the 2000 elections. Elections held in 2002 saw Mugabe defeat Tsvangirai. Based on reports with respect to election rigging and intimidation, Mugabe was suspended from “the Commonwealth, and the USA and the European Union [who] refused to recognise his mandate” (87).
Following its suspension, the Zimbabwean economy began to implode (Richardson, 2004:77). By 2003, the Zimbabwean economy was shrinking faster than any other in the world, at 18% per year (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development/OECD, 2004: cited in Richardson, 2004: 357). Inflation was running at 500%, and Zimbabwean dollars lost more than 99% of their real exchange value. Food supplies collapsed and export crops, which provided the country with foreign exchange, dried up. By 2004, only 300 of an original 4 000 white farmers remained on their farms, having been evicted by the ZANU (PF) under Mugabe (Anstey, 2006:88). Agricultural workers and their families were also evicted, and any judges who decided against the eviction actions were intimidated and replaced. An unprecedented flight of skills from both the private sector and public sectors ensued. The “brain drain” (Te Vera, 2008:13 and 71) saw the exodus of teachers, nurses and doctors amongst other professionals, and “the education system once the pride of Africa” (Anstey, 2006:88) started falling apart.

The elections in 2005 were won by the ZANU (PF). Terror campaigns, where rape and torture were the primary strategies of coercion, secured Mugabe his position as president. According to Richardson (2004), by 2005, a Z$ 20,000 bill was worth about 33 US cents. “Food and basics had simply disappeared from shelves, and widespread fuel shortages paralyzed the country’s” (80) modes of transport. Anstey (2006) draws attention to the fact that Africa and South Africa “did little to halt the assault on common people” (88). South Africa, practicing what has become known as “quiet diplomacy” (88), merely propounded that the situation was undesirable for Zimbabwe and South Africa, which was “already carrying huge numbers of refugees” (88).

### 2.3 Zimbabwe Today

From the description above, it is clear that Zimbabwe has been driven by mismanagement to social and economic ruin” (Haass, 2007:v). The plight of its people and the instability in the region make the situation deeply troubling for its citizens, its neighbours, and the entire international community at large. In October 2007, Haass, the president of the Council on Foreign Relations, based in New York, commented that “there appears to be little in the way of a viable option to bring about favourable change” (v). Less than two years later, the situation in Zimbabwe, once a most “prosperous and promising state” (v), was still “wrought with conflict and the possibility of collapse” (v).
2.3.1 Zimbabwean migrants
Against the background of the described hardship, conflict and crises facing Zimbabweans, “many Zimbabweans … moved to neighbouring countries in search of more favourable working and earning conditions” (Makina, 2008:14). Fuelled by its geographic location and “skills shortage and comparatively robust – in regional terms at least – economic performance” (Leslie, 2000:5), South Africa has become a destination sought out by many Zimbabweans. A smaller but “significant number of people are also coming as a result of political persecution, human rights violations, or other (well founded) fears linked to the country’s disintegrating political system” (Landau, 2008:9). The latter migration population group seeking status as refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa will be the focus of discussion in Chapter 3. The sections that follow describe various aspects of the Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa.

In the middle of 2008, estimates of the numbers of Zimbabweans in South Africa were as high as three million (Leslie, 2008:5). Based on the complications surrounding estimations, no authoritative figures are available. Government statements on the influx have been marked with a mixture of concern and resignation. The question raised is how South African policies developed to deal with the influx of Zimbabwean migrants.

2.3.2 South African policy responses to migration from Zimbabwe
Since 2008, a profound deepening of what the South African government has referred to as the Zimbabwean crisis is apparent. According to Leslie (2008), current policies make it difficult for skilled people to enter South Africa legally; “procedures are marked by complicated and demanding permits and quota systems” (6).

In April 2008 Lefko-Everett (2008), in an article investigating South African responses to migration from Zimbabwe, claimed that policy solutions from the government were not forthcoming. Less than a year after the publication of Lefko-Everett’s statement, significant policy changes have been put forward by the South African government in acknowledgement of “the need for a new approach towards irregular migration” (27). However the policies have not been implemented.
In line with the Southern African Development Community’s (SADC) immigration policies, Zimbabweans have been recently granted access to a free 90-day visa. Previously 30 or 90 day visa waiver agreements were granted to other SADC member states, for example, Namibia, Lesotho, Zambia and Botswana, but denied to Zimbabweans (IRIN, 2008). Lefko-Everett (2000) maintains that entry requirements have been far stricter for Zimbabweans than for the nationals of most other SADC member states.

At the beginning of April 2009, it was announced by the outgoing home affairs minister, Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula, that Zimbabwean migrants would be eligible to special permits allowing them to stay in South Africa legally for up to six months (LHR, 2008.). The permit would confer on Zimbabwean migrants the right to stay in South Africa for a period of six months, the right to schooling or education, the right to work, and access to basic health care. Following South Africa’s general election on 22 April, the much heralded special permit system for Zimbabweans has come under review.

2.3.3 A profile of Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa

According to Landau (2008) from the Forced Migration’s Studies Programme at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, one of the world’s leading research institutes on forced migration, “attempts to accurately estimate new arrivals in Zimbabwe are complicated by insufficient census data, as well as at least four important factors” (7) that include the following:

- Cross border communities and cross border farm workers along the Limpopo border include Zimbabweans that came to South Africa before 2000. This complicates estimations about ‘new entries’.
- The presence and long standing legal status (many remain undocumented) of Zimbabwean traders and skilled people in various centres in South Africa complicates estimations about ‘new entries’.
- Zimbabwean migrants have the ability to “shift codes” (8) and become invisible; due to physiological and linguistic similarities with local populations, many Zimbabwean migrants are effectively able to hide their foreign status.

In lieu of the abovementioned difficulties with regard to determining Zimbabwean migration statistics, Makina (2008:14) puts forward migration statistics based on a study
conducted with about 4 600 Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg. According to the Makina, 8% of the research participants migrated to South Africa between 1979 and 1999, and 92% migrated between 2000 and mid-2007. According to Makina, the farm invasions of 2000 and the subsequent political and economic crisis probably escalated and accelerated migration flows to Johannesburg.

2.3.4 Geographical dispersion of Zimbabwean refugees in South Africa
Although significant populations of refugees in South Africa remain in border areas, there are increasingly visible concentrations in Gauteng and other major urban areas (Landau, 2008). According to Landau, anecdotal evidence suggests that urban Zimbabweans that have been politically targeted tend to live in South African inner cities. Less educated workers tend to seek jobs in farming, industry and mining areas. Migration populations from rural areas remain in the border areas or Limpopo’s rural villages.

According to Landau and Gindrey (2008), Johannesburg and Pretoria in Gauteng Province, representing the centre of South Africa’s trade and transport networks and responsible for close to 10% of sub-Saharan Africa’s GDP, attract business and people from around the continent and further beyond. As a primary node of the air and road transport networks, the majority of immigrants to South Africa arrive in or pass through Gauteng Province.

2.3.5 Gender and age statistics
Based on the fact that most respondents were between the age of 21 and 40 years, Makina (2008) asserts that a youthful population is on the move. According to Landau (2008), adult males – relatively young and active – are most likely to immigrate. Landau notes, however, that women are increasingly migrating to South Africa on their own or with children. In addition, “Significant increases in the number of children and particularly unaccompanied minors have also been observed” (9). Rapid changes in the migration gender and age statistics have been correlated with severe economic deprivation in Zimbabwe.

In the sections above, the historical conflicts that have created a population of Zimbabwean refugees are described. Reaching back into precolonial Zimbabwe, the conflict between the Shonas and the San people have been interpreted as early conflicts in the Zimbabwe territory. Following this the ethnic conflict between the Zulus who later
formed the majority of the Matabele people and the Shonas was interpreted as dominating Zimbabwe. These conflicts were exacerbated by British interference under Rhodes and those who followed him. Mugabe’s rule of Zimbabwe i.e. his original tactics for attaining his rule and the more recent tactics employed by him to hold on to his power have also been described. Against the backdrop of this history, Zimbabwean refugee trends are briefly outlined. In the section that follows the Methodist religious movement as an agent that caters and cares for the destitute and specifically those that have been displaced, is described.

2.4 The Christian Church: A Shelter to the Poor and Destitute

“There is abundant precedent in the history of two millennia of the Christian Church’s existence of the Church being used as a shelter for the destitute and vulnerable in society” (CMM, 2009). According to Bishop Desmond Tutu (1982), in his role as General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches, and quoting from the Bible or sacred writings of the Christian religions, when the Christian prophet or saviour Jesus proclaimed, “The poor you have always with you …” (Mark, 14:7; John 12:8), he could with equal truth have said “Refugees you have always with you…” (4). Tutu continues that when considering the biblical record, it becomes evident that refugees have been a part of human history from the beginning. The example of Cain who had to become a fugitive after killing Abel and sought refuge where he would not be killed by those who wanted to avenge the death of Abel, is put forward by Tutu to draw the readers’ attention to the existence of refugees in proto-history. Citing further examples from the New Testament, Tutu proposes how the “Holy Family” sought refuge in Egypt in order to escape from “the machinations and wrath of a…feared supplanter” (4).

Drawing parallels between reasons in antiquity for seeking refuge and contemporary refugee causing trends, Tutu (1982) describes the atrociousness of the refugee experience. Referring to the humanity of refugees, or “people who are mothers, fathers, children, husbands, wives to somebody” (4), for whom a “Lord and Saviour died” (4), Tutu, reminds the churches in South Africa that they “have an obligation to minister”(4) to those in “desperate straits as refugees almost invariably will be” (4). The moral obligation of Christian churches to minister to those in desperate straits is a key principle that underpins the humanitarian work of many Christian churches.
The literature on churches in Africa is vast, and the emerging picture is one of bewildering factual variation and a lack of theoretical convergence. According to Comaroff and Comaroff (1986) the subject has lent itself to interpretations of churches in terms of the philanthropic role of missionaries (Wilson, 1969, 1976; Sillery, 1971 cited in Comaroff and Comaroff, 1986) against those interpretations that condemn churches as agents of imperialism (for example, Majeke, 1953; Dachs, 1972 cited in Comaroff and Comaroff, 1986). Questions about “Whose side was the missionary really on?” and, by extension, “Whose ends did he serve?” translates a complex historical phenomenon into a crude equation of cause and effect.

2.4.1 The Methodist Church

According to Theilen (2005), the religious movement of Methodism cannot be justly understood without a basic knowledge of its history. Providing a comprehensive survey of all the historical facets of Methodism lies beyond the scope of this treatise; the following sections, however, provide a brief overview of the origins of Methodism in South Africa and the initial and present intentions behind the movement.

Methodism, which is inseparably linked to the life and teachings of John Wesley (1703-1791), was born as a religious movement in the first half of the 18th century England (Dreyer, 1999:13). Born into a family of ministers in the Church of England and influenced by early Christian beliefs that viewed “community as a means to spiritual experience” (Theilen, 2005:33), Wesley’s early religious devotions were in the form of a Bible study club. According to Theilen, based on the strict methodological approach espoused by Wesley about handling meetings and religious matters of the Bible study group, initially called the Holy Club, club members were soon referred to as Methodists.

Although Wesley supported the idea of social work because he believed in “doing good” (Theilen, 2005:34), it was through his friend William Morgan that the Holy Club extended its engagement to social work such as caring for prisoners and poor and sick individuals (Schmidt, 1973). In doing good and “spreading the good news” (Theilen, 2005:37), Methodist preachers initially remained lay ministers and were not allowed to administer sacraments; the act of performing formal religious ceremonies conferring a specific grace on those receiving the sacrament remained the realm of ordained ministers of the Church of England. Towards the end of the 18th century, Wesley insisted that ordained preachers
be required to serve as missionaries in the colonies (Sommer, 1968). A hierarchy soon assumed importance, a structural element distinguished by three sections: at the top was John Wesley and a group of Anglican ministers, below that a group of lay preachers, and at the bottom a group of local preachers, leaders of small groups, stewards, housekeepers and visitors of the sick (Theilen, 2005).

Anyone was allowed to join the Methodist movement irrespective of their religious convictions and principles. According to Theilen (2005), the fact that pastoral care and “the education of common people” (39) was placed in the hands of lay persons guaranteed the massive pull influence of the Methodist movement in the 18th century. The phenomenal growth of the Methodist movement was a result of the “industrial revolution, and the social disaster it caused” (39), as well as the vast gap between the social classes.

By 1813, the Wesleyen Methodist Missionary Society (WMMS) was formed to control all missionary activity originating from England. The aim of the missionary was threefold: ‘evangelise the lost’, minister to British citizens living abroad, and convert foreign subjects (Ward, 1993:227).

According to Dreyer (1999), Methodism should be examined as a system of thought in relation to other systems of thought instead of being interpreted on the grounds of its sociological and psychological origins. In the sections that follow the development and growth of the Methodist Church will be considered in relation to its social work function in the South African context.

2.4.2 History of the Methodist Church in South Africa as a humanitarian agent

2.4.2.1 Early role in South Africa
The first five Methodists in South Africa were members of a British regiment stationed at the Cape in 1795. The men hired the use of a very small room in the town for two hours in a week to hold a prayer meeting where they read, sang and prayed until four of the men were transferred to the West Indies (Balia, 1991). Between 1805 and 1812, various Methodist soldiers were sent to the Cape to secure British interests, and by 1812, the Methodist congregation in the Cape compromised 142 members. According to Theilen (2005) the large majority of Methodist members were of British decent and a few were ‘colords’ (46). Apparently, no white population of Dutch decent were interested in the
Methodist movement, and the 20 000 Boers who had a strong connection to their own Protestant church snubbed the movement.

One of the prominent figures in the early history of the Methodist church was the Reverend William Shaw (Theilen, 2005). Loved by “Europeans and Natives alike” (Hockly, 1957:150), Shaw expressed an unfailing engagement in taking care of any task that he confronted, taking upon himself the spiritual welfare of the whole settlement (Theilen, 2005). According to Hockly (1957), Shaw acted as a representative of the Committee for the Relief of Distressed Settlers, investigating causes of hardship, reporting on applications for relief, and comforting the sick and the needy. By the mid-1830s, 800 children and adults benefited from educational institutions erected by Shaw (Theilen, 2005).

By 1866, the Methodist mission had become increasingly successful at drawing on members and ministers from different race groups and regions in southern Africa. Despite the ethical doctrine of the church that preached equality of rights, Theilen (2005) notes black converts and preachers in the movement were not acknowledged for their work; nor did the whites treat them equally. Consequently, secession from the Wesleyan Methodist Church ensued in various parts of the country as new churches were formed, for example, the Independent African Churches (AIC) and the Ethiopian Church in Pretoria, founded in 1884 and 1892 respectively.

By 1931, a private Act of Parliament united the Wesleyan Methodist Church of Great Britain, the Primitive Methodist Missions in the Union of South Africa and the Wesleyan Church of South Africa into the Methodist Church of Southern Africa or MCSA (Attwell, 1997). Soon after the formation of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, the Bantu Methodist Church and the Bantu Methodist Church of South Africa were formed (Theilen, 2005) in the Transkei.

The formation of the Black Methodist Consultation (BMC) in 1975 represents an important development in the history of the Methodist Church whereby attempts were made to undo the psychological oppression born out of the apartheid structures (Balia, 1991). Seeing the need for political life within the church, the BMC progressively worked towards reducing white domination in the hierarchical structure of the church, opening up
possibilities for black South Africans to obtain leadership positions within the MCSA (Theilen, 2005).

Theilen (2005) maintains that “apartheid shaped the Methodist Church in ways that have been painful to its membership and congregations” (65). De Gruchy and Villa-Vicencio (1994) note that a sense of unity in the apartheid struggle and a sense of unity based on common social praxis among English-speaking churches who “saw themselves as voices against injustice” (Theilen, 2005:64) should not be underestimated.

2.4.2.2 Post apartheid aims of the Methodist Church

Following the abolition of apartheid in 1994, churches were faced with new issues and opportunities in a society “that may have freed itself from an unjust system but is still in crisis” (Theilen, 2005:64). In this treatise, the social and political implications of Methodism on a broad scale have not been examined; the overview is specific to the context of the research, namely, Methodism in Johannesburg. According to Comaroff and Comaroff (1986), variations in the structure of local communities, in the social and theological background of evangelists, and in the wider politico-economic context and precise circumstances each church encounters bespeaks the singularity of each case.

Having traced the origins of the Methodist Movement from its birth in England to its development in southern Africa and post apartheid South Africa, the section that follows examines the Central Methodist Mission in the centre of Johannesburg as the specific context within which the research study is imbedded.

2.4.2.3 The Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg

The CMM, situated on the corner of Pritchard and Smal Streets in Johannesburg, has a long history of serving as a refuge and a centre of hope for the homeless: “The ministries of love associated with the church are well known to both the city and national authorities” (May 2008).

Ray of Hope is a non-profit organization of the CMM that is committed to the promotion and protection of the rights of refugees, asylum seekers and internally displaced persons through networking with other non-profit organizations (Ray of Hope, 2009). The mission has provided emergency refuge and accommodation for the homeless since 1997.
present, the mission provides accommodation to more than 2,000 homeless people (CMM Centre Administrator, personal communication, April 2009).

According to the webpage associated with the CMM, the Ray of Hope ministry includes “a feeding scheme, primary health attention, a support group, counselling, advocacy and searching for appropriate job opportunities” in its ministry to the homeless on the streets (Ray of Hope, 2009). Attendance of 12 Ray of Hope refugee meetings (held in the main sanctuary) provided evidence of the mentioned and various other bodies that have been formed within the Ray of Hope/CMM structure to cater for the basic needs of those seeking refuge within the CMM building walls. The following bodies/committees are to be found within the CMM structure:

- A clinic next to the CMM building is administered by Medicins sans Frontieres (MSF)/Doctors without Borders. It is open from 12:30 till 20:00 from Monday to Friday.

- A soup kitchen provides between 200 and 300 members of the CMM community with a warm meal two to three times a week. Food is served depending on funds and gas with which to cook the food. From an observer’s point of view and based on interviews conducted with members of the community, it is not always clear when food will be served next.

- Education is central to the CMM. Various educational programmes are run for children and adults. Members of the CMM community run the Albert School (grades 1 to matric) on premises close to the CMM building. Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET) offers adult education classes. Members of the community offer computer courses. Hotel and catering courses are offered to individuals, and many people have found jobs in the hospitality industry based on the training obtained through these courses. Sewing courses take place despite the fact that there are only two sewing machines at the disposal of the programme. Although certain of the programmes are sponsored by non-profit organizations, they are primarily or completely run and taught by members of the community who are not reimbursed for their work.

- A crèche is operated by a few of the mothers to enable other mothers to go out and look for work; there were 68 babies in the building at the time of data collection. Tolerance for mothers with small children seems to be low.
• A security team exists to take care of the safety of members of the community. Seventeen men take care of various security matters.
• The Refugee Fellowship is a group of people from the community who conduct workshops on defence, abuse and violence. Its primary aim is to assist women; however, men were also encouraged to seek advice and assistance with regards to issues of abuse and rape. Amongst other things the group has liaised with Home Affairs and organized workshops so that home affairs members can explain why delays with processing documents have increased.
• Various other groups and bodies exist within the community, for example, a soccer club and a chess team, as well as a group of cleaners that consists of members of the community.

According to the Centre Administrator and superintendent of the mission:

The prevailing value is that we show compassion, but do not create dependency; we engage the fundamental humanity in all people and refuse to stigmatise people because they are poor. These are not heroic principles; they are fundamental to an understanding of our faith.

In the sections above, the history of Zimbabwe and the experiences of conflict that have had the agentive role in the development of present day refugees and asylum seekers were described. This was followed by a description of the Methodist religious movement as an agent of care to those who find themselves in destitute situations, as so often refugees do. In the section that follows the cosmopolitan conflict resolution enterprise is introduced as the agent that bears a moral obligation to act as facilitators in the creation of hope for a future for every individual refugee.

2.5 Cosmopolitan Conflict Resolution: Future Hope for the Refugee

Befitting the global age, cosmopolitan conflict resolution is an approach that is not situated within any particular state, society or established site of power and has been highlighted by prominent conflict resolution specialists including Ramsbotham et al. (2005). Cosmopolitan conflict resolution is a guiding approach for contemporary and future generations’ conflict resolvers. As “a narrative that competes with terrorism and war, challenging particularist ethics and asserting the value and universal moral concern of each individual life” (Ramsbotham et al., 2005:251), cosmopolitan conflict resolution promotes “constructive means of handling conflict at local through to global levels in the interest of
humanity” (250). Based on political, legal and moral foundations, the approach seeks to open new political spaces in which citizens from different parts of the world can tackle the sources of violent conflict.

Because the approach is based on the political philosophy of cosmopolitanism, debates about transitions in interstate order and the emergence of cosmopolitan democratic governance are pertinent to an understanding of the approach. According to Held (2005:10), two accounts of cosmopolitanism bear on its contemporary meaning. The Stoics were the first to explicitly develop the thought of replacing the central role of the polis, or the city, city-state and citizenship, with the cosmos (world). By exercising its moral duty to humanity as a whole and its overall developmental requirements, humankind might live together in harmony (Hortsman, 1976, cited in Held, 2005:10). In the 18th century, Emmanuel Kant introduced the term Weltbürger, or world citizen, in his development of cosmopolitan law or rights, or the entitlement “to present oneself and be heard within and across communities” (cited in Held, 2005:26). Kant develops his democratic peace ideals in his exploration of the moral community in which a society where the “never ending and indeed continually increasing preparation for war” (Kant cited in Ramsbotham et al. 2005:250) would be replaced by a pacific federation in which war would be renounced as a means of politics.

Kant and fellow propagators of contemporary cosmopolitanism (irrespective of whether propagators assume strong/weak or thick/thin philosophical positions) rest their premises on the possibility of a new political community based on moral and political concerns and beyond the borders of a particular state (Miller, 2005).

Moral cosmopolitanism rests on the premise that the flourishing and wellbeing of every human being is a matter of concern to all irrespective of who the people are or in what global context they are situated (Ramsbotham et al. 2005; see Sypnowich, 2005 for an astute cosmopolitan interpretation of human flourishing). Pogge (2002) embraces moral cosmopolitanism and explicitly understands human rights in a moral institutional manner, centring his arguments about world poverty and global order “on the fundamental needs and interests of human beings and all human beings” (178). Pogge emphasizes “that every human being has a global stature as an ultimate unit of moral concern” (169).
Cosmopolitanism juxtaposes national political perceptions that citizens of states have rights and duties stemming from their citizenship and that only the wellbeing of fellow citizens and not all human beings should be the concern of the state. Similarly, cosmopolitanism widely criticizes politicians who, by propagating the permissible exclusivity thesis, radically prioritize the national interest and those of citizens above the often very basic human rights of other human beings, for example, for food (Buchanan, 2005). Ramsbotham et al. (2005) assert that in the same manner that cosmopolitanism implies that all citizens have a responsibility for institutions that damage wellbeing elsewhere in the world, for example, in the case of world poverty, a cosmopolitan responsibility for the lives and life hopes of others being damaged through conflict, exists.

The meta-principle of autonomy that lies at the core of the democratic state might be understood as central to the cosmopolitan political question. Held (2005) emphasizes that the principle of democratic public life is not to be understood in liberal terms within a single, circumscribed, territorially based political community; cosmopolitanism does not presume “the link between self determination, accountability, democracy, and sovereignty” (21) can be understood simply in territorial terms. Cosmopolitanism does not set out to seek a general universal understanding of diverse ethical issues on, for example, abortion, animal rights or voluntary euthanasia, but as Held notes, it promotes a more restrictive exercise aimed at coming to an understanding of “the moral status of persons, the conditions of agency, and collective decision-making” (16).

Held (2005) continues that the conditions of taking cultural diversity seriously and of building a democratic culture to mediate clashes of “the cultural good” (16) are fundamental to cosmopolitanism: “The aim of modern cosmopolitanism is the conceptualizations and generation of the necessary background conditions for a common or basic structure of individual action and social activity” (16). By establishing the above ground rules, communication, dialogue and dispute settlement might be attainable.

The international law of human rights has given a legal basis to moral cosmopolitan concerns because it sets out human rights standards to which states have committed to guarantee and promote (Buergenthal, Shelton and Stweart, 2002). The vast human rights practice of the United Nations’ organs have established important legal principles applicable to the understanding of human rights and security based on the premise of
cosmopolitanism. Cosmopolitan messages of global unity and global responsibility can be found in many reports written by or for the UN. The former Secretary-General Kofi Anan clearly identified the development of a global community, with its own values and a shared responsibility for the fate of all people in the world as an important function of the UN.

2.6 Conclusion
In this chapter, the historical, social and political context in which the research study is embedded has been explored. In the first section, the historical conflicts that have created a population of Zimbabwean refugees were described. The present political and social status of Zimbabwean refugees in South Africa was further illuminated. In Section 2, an overview of the CMM in the centre of Johannesburg with respect to its history as a religious movement, its present role in the experience of the destitute and homeless, and the organization’s prospects for the future were outlined. In Section 3, the refugee experience was placed within a bigger conflict management or conflict resolution framework. Conflict resolution was identified as the enterprise responsible for expanding an emancipatory cosmopolitan consciousness that carries hope for the refugees’ futures.

The conflict resolution scholar-practitioner has a responsibility in the contemporary world to bring about an awareness that emphasises “the costs of failure to manage conflict non-violently and of the benefits to be gained by strengthening non-violent conflict resolution capacity within and between societies” (Ramsbotham et al., 2005:329).
CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, literature consulted for the purpose of the treatise, which is to describe aspects of the formal and informal conflict management strategies within the CMM refugee community setting, is presented. Relevant aspects of the concepts at the core of each of the different fields represented in the research title above are put forward. Definitions are investigated and where appropriate, current discourse surrounding each concept brought to light. Four core concepts have been identified: refugee, refugee setting, conflict and conflict management.

Five sections constitute the chapter. In Section 1, discourse surrounding the complexity of arriving at a single definition for the term refugee is outlined and a working definition of the term follows. In Section 2, the refugee concept is placed within its global, African and South African context. Various types of refugee settings available to refugees are outlined. A review of literature about the various aspects of the refugee experience within refugee settings is presented. In Section 3, the conflict concept, as a phenomenon studied by most of the social science disciplines, is placed within the investigative framework, a working definition of the term proposed, and models for categorizing conflict investigated. In section 4, conflict resolution as a multi disciplinary domain is described. Based on literature that is focused on interpersonal conflict at an organizational level, the advantages of formal conflict management structures are illuminated. Finally, literature about informal conflict management strategies as they apply to interpersonal and inter-group is overviewed.

3.2 The Refugee

In Chapter 2, aspects of the experience of Zimbabwean migrants who have been pushed or pulled to the South African context for various reasons were described. As will become evident during the course of the chapter that follows, distinct categories of forcefully displaced migrants exist. The sections that follow explore definitions and categories of forced migration in an attempt to arrive at a working definition of ‘the refugee’, the migration concept at the centre of this study.
3.2.1 Forced migration

Broadly speaking a forced migrant is considered to be an individual who, “owing to a fear … has abandoned her or his dwelling in favour of relocating elsewhere, either within or beyond the borders of her or his country of residence” (Moore and Stephen, 2004:724). Based on causal factors, for instance, conflict, disasters and development policies or projects, academic communities, policy makers, governmental, inter-governmental and non-governmental agencies, donors, and organisations study and address three categories of forced migration are studied. In an attempt to tend to the structural and operational consequences posed by the three different categories of forcefully displaced populations, different sub-groups of displaced populations have been discerned. When researching any one of the categories of migration mentioned, however, reference to other categories imminently surface (UNHCR, 2007x; Forced Migration Online, 2009; Wits Forced Migration Studies Programme, 2009).

- Populations that have been forced to migrate because of conflict are generally referred to as refugees, asylum seekers, internally displaced populations (IDP), or stateless persons.
- Populations that have been displaced as a result of natural disasters, for example, floods, volcanoes, landslides, earthquakes, environmental change, deforestation, desertification, land degradation, and global warming, and human-made disasters, for example, industrial accidents and radioactivity, are referred to as disaster-driven displacees or environmental/disaster refugees.
- Populations that have been forcefully displaced because of development projects, for example, large-scale infrastructure projects such as dams, roads, ports and airports; urban clearance initiatives; and mining and deforestation are referred to as development displacees.

Categorizing the forms of forced migration as has been done above leads to an oversimplified understanding of the concepts because the meaning behind each concept is anything but self-evident, and on ‘the ground’, it is far more difficult to make clear distinctions relating to the cause or causes of forced migration. For example, migration caused by development projects often affects indigenous and ethnic minorities (Forced Migration Online, 2009). Any form of resistance by the affected minority group might be viewed as a political statement and political statements might lead to some form of conflict.
This might, in turn, affect the migratory options available to the indigenous or ethnic group. Once internal or cross border migration has taken place, no single clear cause can be attributed to the displacement of the group. One might contend that, as Van Hear (1998), observes, “in real situations… these categories are often inextricably mixed, and it seems logically, practically, and morally absurd to single out one category of forced migrants …” (348).

3.2.2 Who is a refugee?

In a search for literature concerning all subjects of human displacement, Lammers (1998) concludes that both scholarly and humanitarian attention is almost exclusively oriented towards those forcefully displaced persons who become designated refugees. The literature reveals a multitude of definitions for refugees, some legal, some sociological and some anthropological. Although a working definition for ‘the refugee’ is presented, it seems imperative for a study that focuses on ‘the refugee’ to outline prominent interpretations of the term.

In a critique of structural approaches to definitions of ‘the refugee’, like the causal categorization offered for the term ‘forced migration’ above, Davenport, Moore, and Poe (2003) connect the behaviour of human beings, such as governments and dissident groups, to the behaviour of other human beings, such as forced migrants. According to Davenport et al., it is important to conceptualize people as making a choice to leave or not leave. In any given episode of forced migration, although many and sometimes most people leave, others stay. The author therefore defines the term ‘the refugee’ in terms of the behaviour of actors in political competition.

Lammers (1998) points to the fact that part of the attention given to discourse on ‘the refugee’, lies in the fact that “the concept is labelled differently according to context and discipline” (4). For example, based on the idea of entitlement to the pertinent rights or benefits often associated with ‘the refugee’ status, politicians and asylum seekers manipulate definitions according to the actor wishing to define the concept. Haddad (2004) points out that politicians, in attempts to bar the refugee from physically entering sovereign territory, act to limit the scope of any definition by tightening the requirements necessary for qualifying as a refugee, thereby potentially denying protection and assistance to individuals in need and falling short of fulfilling humanitarian obligations. A wide
definition of who falls into the category of refugee not only increases the potential burden on the host state but also infers a status of failure on the country from which the refugee originated. The observation highlights the context specificity of ‘the refugee’ definition. Lammers (1999) further draws attention to the fact that “far too often the label of ‘refugee’ artificially constructs and degrades people into a one dimensional homogeneous category, [yet] except for their common experience of having felt forced to migrate they are an extremely heterogeneous group of people” (22).

Moving away from the effects of restrictive legal interpretations of ‘the refugee’, Malkki (1995) examines how what different disciplines have to say about the refugee concept or how they frame it encodes not only the perceptions of refugees but the refugee experience itself. By confining interpretation of ‘the refugee’ to a framework of citizenship, all discussions of the refugee risk relegating the individual behind the label “to a floating world either beyond or above politics – beyond or above history – a world in which they are simply ‘victims’ ” (518). Haddad (2004) supports Malkki’s (1995) contention and explains that by simultaneously considering ‘the refugee’, in terms of identity, nationalism, displacement and territorialism, “we are able to understand displacement not just as a fixed, static, self-sufficient notion, but also in relation to emplacement and belonging, to being rooted and having a sense of home” (15).

Connolly (1983) draws attention to the descriptive and normative nature of assigning definitions to concepts and to the fact that ‘the refugee’ concept has “entered both our explanations and valuations of political life” (22). It is important to bear in mind that to describe is not only to name but to characterize, which invariably takes place from a certain perspective or vantage point, most often a personal point of interest, purpose or standard. ‘The refugee’, therefore, will always be shaped in part by the view from which it is being defined. From the various interpretations of ‘the refugee’ definition, it is clear that, as Zitter (1991) notes, “from the first procedure of state determination – who is a refugee? – to the structural determinants of life chances which this identity then engenders, labels infuse the world of refugees” (39).

3.2.3 Towards a working definition of the term refugee

The complexity surrounding the quest for a comprehensive definition of the term refugee is acknowledged. From an interpretive perspective where human interactions are best
described by fluid definitions, social reality cannot be summed up by the mere
interconnection of definitions, axioms and laws (Neuman, 2006:105). Attention is drawn to
the situational and theoretical paradigms of departure that suggest that a definition of ‘the
refugee’ might best be offered in the conclusion to the treatise. However, for the
advancement of understanding about the issues at the core of this treatise, namely the
formal and informal conflict management strategies within the case study refugee
community, it is imperative to propose a working definition from which to proceed. The
term ‘the refugee’ is ultimately imposed on forced migrants by bureaucratic activity; as
such, this treatise will proceed from a definition that informs all current and general
bureaucratic approaches to forced migration, namely the definition put forward by the
UNHCR.

According to the 1951 UN Convention relating to the status of refugees and its protocol of
1967, conflict is the prime causal factor for forced migration and the creation of refugees.
The status of ‘refugee’ is conferred to individuals meeting the following three criteria:

- 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
- persons who cannot, or will not, because of their fear rely on the protection of their own
  governments (UNHCR, 2007a).

The international legal definition outlined above stipulates that the individual must have
crossed an international boundary to qualify for the status as refugee. However, as Haddad
(2004) contends, the contemporary ‘refugee problem’ involves millions of individuals in
qualitatively similar positions as refugees who remain inside the borders of their states.
These are internally displaced persons (IDPs). Haddad (2004) proposed that the focus
when defining a refugee should be based on the state-citizen breakdown and not on the
crossing of a state boundary. Moreover, the political philosophy of cosmopolitanism
propagates the notion of identity and responsibility associated with thoughts of “citizens of
the world” (Brock and Brighouse, 2005:2). Therefore, the crossing of a state border is
deemed a defining factor of a refugee for the purpose of this treatise.
Asylum-seekers, a term often referred to within refugee discourse, may be defined as individuals whose applications for refugee status are pending a final decision (UNHCR, 2008). According to Turton (2003), it has become very difficult to distinguish asylum seekers from economic migrants.

In the definitions of refugees outlined above, it is implied that the agent of persecution would be the state or state agents (Rutinwa, 2001). The wars or conflicts referred to in the definition are, however, are no longer being fought only among nation-states. Conflict as a struggle for power and dominance within states, or the pitting of ethnic group against ethnic group, religious group against religious group, and neighbour against neighbour, has become the defining feature of conflict within and among states in the post-Cold War world (Ramsbotham et. al. 2006). The changing nature of conflict leads to Rutinwa’s (2001) observation that the majority of asylum seekers or people applying for refugee status are “victims of gross violations of human rights, civil wars and other forms of communal violence” (13), and are not merely “victims of persecution on the grounds of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion” (13). The perpetrators of the acts that compel victims to leave their home soil are no longer necessarily states or their agents.

3.3 Refugee Settings

Estimated calculations by the UNHCR (2007x) about the number of refugees and conflict-based internally displaced persons in the world at the end of 2007 were 11.4 million and 13.7 million respectively. The World Refugee Survey (World Wide Refugee Information, 2008) does not consider IDPs and estimates a world total of 14.1 million refugees and asylum seekers.

One may place a finger almost anywhere on a spinning globe and land on a site with a refugee situation. Although the precise number of refugee locations is difficult to establish, in 2007, the UNHCR identified over 1,100 different refugee locations that included approximately 370 refugee camps or centres, 480 urban refugee locations, and close to 300 rural locations where refugees and other displaced persons were living, dispersed among the local population. By the end of 2007, approximately 26% of the refugee camps or centres each hosted more than 10,000 residents. Eighty five percent of the urban locations hosted fewer than 1,000 people (UNHCR, 2007x). It is further indicated by the UNHCR
that the number of refugees in urban areas continues to grow. Based on the available information, it was estimated that at the end of 2007, half of the world’s refugee population resided in urban areas and one-third in camps.

### 3.3.1 Refugee settings in South Africa

According to Du Pisani (2000), migration is writ large in the history of the 12 SADC states that include Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The Mtabila in Tanzania is the largest individual refugee camp with an estimated population of 91 000 refugees (UNHCR, 2007x).

It is commonly assumed that South Africa only began receiving refugees in significant numbers after 1994. However Majodina (2003) advises that the history of refugees into South Africa might be traced back to the first and second World Wars. Handmaker and Parsley (2002) similarly maintain that although refugees lacked official recognition as refugees and asylum seekers prior to 1993, they have been a significant feature in South Africa for decades. According to Klotz (2000), rooted in the Immigration Regulation Act of 1913, which drew on 19th century policies and practices, apartheid-era laws tightly controlled population flows. Throughout the 20th century, white settlers were sought by the government, and Africans strictly limited to no more than temporary legal entry under the migrant labour system. Klotz continues that the last piece of apartheid-era migration legislation, the 1991 Aliens Control Act, codified numerous legislative amendments that reinforced, over the years, strict controls on the flow of people across the country’s borders. Until 1993, for example, South Africa refused to acknowledge the presence of Mozambicans as refugees fleeing their war-torn country.

Following South Africa’s transition to democracy, the country became a signatory to the UN and the Organization of African Unity’s (OAU) conventions on refugees. The OAU and South African government recognised that “persons who flee violence and war should be recognized as refugees in addition to those that have fled persecution,” as outlined by the UNHCR (Smyser, 2003:99).

According to Landau and Jacobsen (2005) from the Forced Migration’s Studies Programme at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, one of the world’s leading research institutes on forced migration, most of Africa’s refugees live in rural areas and camps.
However, an increasing number of refugees are “heading towards the cities” (44). The authors contend that since its transition to majority rule in 1994, South Africa has become the destination for tens of thousands of migrants and refugees from across the African continent, mostly settling in the country’s urban centres. By 2007, South Africa was one of the top refugee destinations, processing a cumulative total of more than 8.3% of the world’s total new individual asylum applications (UNHCR, 2007x).

Unlike other African countries, South Africa did not espouse refugee camp settings until the widespread xenophobic attacks in 2008. Calls for the establishment of refugee camps for Zimbabweans were initially rejected on the grounds that “most Zimbabweans were seen to be ‘economic migrants’ who did not qualify for refugee statuses” (Rolf, 2007; South African Government, 2007). Although significant populations of refugees in South Africa remain in border areas, there are increasingly visible concentrations in Gauteng Province and other major urban areas (Landau, 2008). Most asylum seekers and refugees survive largely without assistance (Crush, 2001).

According to Loren and Gindrey (2008), Johannesburg and Pretoria in Gauteng Province, representing the centre of South Africa’s trade and transport networks and responsible for close to 10% of the sub-Saharan Africa’s GDP, attract business and people from around the continent and further beyond. As a primary node on the air and road transport networks, the majority of immigrants to South Africa arrive in or pass through Gauteng Province.

Once in the centre of Johannesburg, thousands of refugees and asylum seekers are drawn to the sanctuary of the CMM on the corner of Pritchard and Smal Streets. According to figures received from the Centre Administrator, the minister of the church and gatekeeper to the humble refuge, the church building houses about 2 000 refugees and asylum seekers each night. A further 2 000 people lay down ‘bedding’ and sleep on the pavement, out in the open. Based on the temporary nature of the CMM refugee setting, statistics for total count of refugees within the CMM refugee community fluctuate. In Chapter 4, a more elaborate description of the CMM refugee setting will be provided.
According to Ager (1999) ‘the refugee experience’ is a term which has been broadly used in the field of refugee studies to denote the human consequences, political, economic, cultural, social and personal, of forced migration. A body of literature on the refugee experience exists. In the literature, the histories of refugee movements are traced (Westin, 1999; Kushner and Knox, 2001; Bohmer and Shuman, 2007), trends in political philosophy towards refugees are delineated (Adelman, 1999), theories of the impact of broken social and cultural bonds on families are described (Summerfield, 1999), and the policies and actions of humanitarian regimes are criticized (Zetter, 1999). Ager (1999) draws attention to the fact that notwithstanding the crucial relevance of the literature in which attempts are made at “mapping the impact of forced migration” (2), ‘the refugee’ him/herself lies at the centre of any attempted analysis. Kushner and Knox (2002) similarly maintain, “the importance of the individual…must be paramount” (xviii) when studying ‘the refugee’. Ager (1999) goes on to propose that the refugee experience be studied in terms of it being a lived experience. By investigating the lived experience of refugees, not only are moving insights into the personal construction of events and meaning of refugees brought to light, but the attributions of distress that assistance workers and governments need to focus on is highlighted.

A common framework that identifies discrete phases of forced migration is considered when describing the refugee experience (Ager, 1999). Within the framework, phases of migration are identified as pre-flight, flight, temporary settlement and resettlement. In the paragraphs that follow, literature about the refugee experience in each of these phases is reviewed. Because this treatise is focused on the refugee experience at the temporary settlement phase, in-depth discussion of the phase ensues.

### 3.4.1 The refugee experience at the pre-flight phase

At the pre-flight phase, refugees have invariably been victimized by or indirectly threatened by conflicts “of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion” (UNHCR, 2007a: 1:12). As mentioned in Chapter 3, the experience of conflict or fear of conflict is refugee status determining factors. Violent conflict, as will become clear in the paragraphs that follow, is an element that is present at every phase of the refugee experience.
A considerable number of studies have investigated the impact of exposure to conflict and specifically violent conflict on the individual in their refugee experience at the *pre-flight phase*. Topics of concern to authors about the effects of war and violent conflict on the refugee experience have been investigated in terms of the “effects of exposure to violent events on levels of emotional distress” (Beiser et al., 1989; Kinzie et al., 1990; Agger and Mimica, 1996; Summerfield, 1996, Netland, 2001). At the pre-flight phase, academics and researchers have investigated the experiences of economic hardship and social disruption. Ager (1999) draws attention to the effect of political oppression at the pre-flight phase on the individual’s refugee experience. According to Ager although political oppressions often manifests in terms of economic distress, social dislocation, physical violence, the lack of right of assembly, freedom of expression and so forth clearly have a direct impact on the refugee experience.

### 3.4.2 The refugee experience at the flight phase

Many refugee individuals undergo violent conflict at the flight phase of the refugee experience. Numerous studies have indicated that sexual abuse marks the experience of especially women during this phase (Goldfeld et al., 1988; Forbes-Martin, 1992; Agger, 1994). In a 56-page, special report put forward by the UNHCR, Ogata (1995) draws attention to the fact that refugee “women and young girls – and, less frequently, men and boys – are vulnerable to attack both during their flight and while in exile” (2). In the report, the topic of concern is sexual violence as perpetrated against refugees.

### 3.4.3 The refugee experience at the settlement phase

The settlement phase is the primary phase in which research studies on the refugee experience are conducted. Within this context, studies of war and trauma classically take precedence. Ager (1999) warns that although such studies are “highly salient in understanding the processes influencing the adjustment of refugees” (5), the attention given to the vividness and drama of such traumatic events lead to inattention toward less tangible aspects of refugees experiences that have an equally powerful influence on the wellbeing of refugees in post flight or settlement settings.

Violent conflict such as sexual violence is a frequent experience during the settlement phase, and has warranted attention by organizations such as the UNHCR, NGOs and para-statal organizations that have invested in-depth research into the theme.
According to Callamard (1999), sexual violence within refugee camps is demonstrated by the “prevalence of prostitution, sexual favours and domestic violence, all of which are common characteristics of the functioning of the institutions” (205). A recent workshop called Engaging Men and Boys in Refugee Settings, facilitated in Cape Town, South Africa, on 22-25 September 2008, directly addressed questions about sexual- and gender-based violence in refugee settings.

Limited literature with respect to non-violent conflict is to be found because such violence plays out as “a normal and ubiquitous social phenomenon that does not lead inexorably to violence” (Nathan, 2000). In the section that follows, literature that is focused on the refugee’s experience of conflict and its resolution in the South African context is addressed.

3.4.3.1 The refugee experience at the re-settlement phase in South Africa

Naicker and Nair (2000) claim that refugees in Cape Town experience daily conflicts at two levels, namely, conflict within the refugee population itself and conflicts between refugees and the local population. According to the Naicker and Nair (2000), conflict between groups of refugees of different nationalities occurs because of competition over limited resources, mutual mistrust and prejudice stemming from the past.

Xenophobia, a fear of foreigners, is cited as a source of conflict for refugees all over South Africa. Crush (2001), claims that the majority of South Africans are intolerant and hostile towards foreigners and that although sentiments of hostility towards non-nationals are primarily observed in attitudes of South Africans towards refugees, examples of covert actions of intolerance are also frequently expressed. Refugees are often perceived by the local South African population as “economic parasites” with whom they have to compete with for jobs and resources (Naicker and Nair, 2000:12 – 17). Williams (2000) supports Naicker and Nair’s (2000) assertion that South Africans hold negative views of foreigners. Competition for scarce resources and the perception that non-nationals pose a significant threat to limited opportunities and resources lies at the core of xenophobic conflict (Williams, 2000). According to Naicker and Nair (2000), “it appears that negative public attitudes towards refugees are reinforced by state officials’ attitudes” and many refugees allege that the South African police fail to respond to requests for assistance, particularly when they report criminal assaults. Drawing a link between conflicts in the countries of the
refugee’s origin and the refugees’ experience of conflict in their host countries, Naicker and Nair (2000) maintain, “as political conflict in the countries of origin escalate” conflicts in the host countries become more intense. Hardships such as poverty, loss of family and friendship support networks compound the refugees’ experience of conflict.

Conflicts occurring within the refugee family unit are the most common, so authors centre on power discourse. The impact of the dislocation from traditional practices and practices within the host country is cited as reasons for power conflict within the refugee family unit. The fact the South African Constitution promotes gender equality at various political, social and economic levels may give rise to tensions when newfound gender equality laws conflict with traditional female roles (Naicker and Nair, 2000:9-16). Naicker and Nair comment that often an “improved economic viability” for the female challenges the traditional breadwinner role of the male (15). Conflicts within the refugee community are also characterized by ethnic challenges relating to political tensions experienced in the country of origin. A typical example of this is the Somali community, which has about 15 tribes living in the Western Cape. The tribes blame each other for having had to flee Somalia.

Deriving lessons from the Kigoma Refugee Camps in Tanzania, Durieux (2000) asserts that violence and conflict situations are rife in refugee camp settings. In a case study of refugees conducted at the Dzaleka Refugee Camp in Malawi by Tembo (2004), the presence of conflict among refugees is ascertained. Naicker and Nair (2000) indicate that conflict within the refugee population is a fundamental occurrence between and among refugees in Cape Town refugee settlement settings.

Nathan (2000) attributes conflict within the refugee setting to the following bases and escalation factors:

- acute stress and alienation experienced by refugees that have been traumatised by violence, uprooted, separated from their home and families and denied access to adequate social services and employment
- war between members of different political, ethnic or religious groups that are at war with one another in the refugee country of origin, or example, in eastern Zaire (DRC) in 1995/6
- strained relationships between refugees and local communities.
According to Zwi and Ugalde (1991 cited in Ager, 1999), a key factor contributing to the wellbeing of the individual in his or her experience as a refugee at the settlement phase is oppression in the form of “economic hardship, social disruption and/or physical violence” (7). Ager (1999) contends that powerlessness has a fundamental influence on the perceived wellbeing of the refugee, to the extent that “it may produce an established pattern of attribution regarding self-esteem and personal potency [and] may have a long-term influence on mental health” (7).

Just as refugees might be interpreted as products and victims of insecurity and conflict, forced migration populations are increasingly being interpreted as adding to an environment of insecurity and conflict (Adelman, 2000:8). A surge of new literature has emerged that approaches the refugee as a possible facilitator in ‘future’ conflict. According to Lesbon (2008), the refugee might be considered to “facilitate ethnic militants or rebels; militarize; conduct raids on their country of origin, drawing their enemy into the host country; or pressure their host country and the international community to take action in their conflict” (1). Lesbon cites classic cases in which refugees have become involved in large-scale conflict, namely, Macedonia, Angola, Lebanon and Uganda.

3.4.3.2 Conflict resolution tools: Empowering individuals and communities

Vague recommendations have been put forward by authors to target conflict management within refugee communities. For example Williams (2000) proposes that “opportunities, in the form of sports and cultural events, and perhaps even informal seminars and workshops, need to be created for South African citizens and refugees to interact with and begin to develop an appreciation of each other” (xx). It is further recommended that political and civic leaders be encouraged to “develop and communicate a positive discourse and image of refugees and asylum-seekers, and migrants more generally” (xx). Drawing on practical experiences gained through involvement with, the Cape Town Refugee Forum/Centre (CTRF), an organization working in the Western Cape Province, Naicker and Nair (2000) describe aspects of conflict management that have been instrumental in assisting refugees in the Western Cape in their encounters with conflict.
3.4.4 The refugee experience at the re-settlement phase

Refugee experiences at the resettlement phase are frequently interpreted in terms of integrational conflict with which the refugee is faced (Ager, 1999). The CMM refugee situation is not exempt from the presence of conflict between different members and different groups of the community. An informal pilot study conducted in preparation for the study ascertained that different types and forms of conflict exist between and among members of the CMM refugee community. The sections that follow provide an overview of the conflict literature in an attempt to arrive at a working definition of conflict.

3.5 What is Conflict?

According to Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff (1990), questions about why two individual refugees quarrel over a blanket and countries wage war are related but different. Conflicts differ in their scale and significance and vary in their bases, duration, strategies, outcomes and consequences (Snodgrass, 1999). Fink (1968) notes that conflict as part of the human condition occurs in many different situations, and there are different types of conflict. In search of answers, different approaches of investigation might be employed. Quarrels between people may relate to “the inner springs of action within the individual human being” (Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, 1990:273). As such, the conflict analysis might be driven by theories based on psychological approaches to the study of behaviour. Wars within and between nations might be viewed as the result of “the decision making process of national governments” (273). As such, investigation might be strongly tilted towards an international relations approximation.

3.5.1 Paradigms of conflict investigation

According to Fink (1968), “The quest for scientific knowledge about social conflict has a long and complex history [that is] closely interwoven with the entire history of social science” (4). Great bodies of data have been collected by different disciplines, countless generalizations have been formulated and hypothesis and theories have been constructed in attempts to understand the nature of conflict, its role in society and its creative resolution. Fromm (1974:89) notes that each science has its own subject matter and its own methods of investigation. Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff (1990) highlight the improbability that a single approach will be able to isolate a single causal factor for explaining all forms of conflict and one could say, as Bradshaw (2007) did, that each discipline adds a specific aspect to understanding the phenomenon and “no general theory of social conflict” (42) exists.
Theories exist that locate the sources of conflict mainly within the nature of the protagonists, for example, certain theories in psychology. Prominent conflict scholars who have been influenced by psychological explanations of the phenomenon, namely Rubin et al. (1994), define conflict as a “perceived divergence of interest, or a belief that the parties’ current aspirations cannot be simultaneously achieved” (5). The impact of individuals’ mental status or intrapersonal state on social behaviour is central to this definition. Himes (1980) similarly emphasizes the “purposeful intention” (14) in his definition of conflict. Other theories look for sources of conflict in the relation between conflict parties, for instance, conflicts are interpreted as based on relational dynamics, for example, theories in behavioural sociology and social psychology. According to Deutsch (1973), a conflict exists when incompatible activities occur. The action component is emphasized in this definition. Still other theories look mainly outside to the conditions “that structure the conflicts and in some versions also generate the conflict parties themselves” (Ramsbotham et al. 2005:79). Marxist theories emphasize the influence of power relationships, based on class structures or authority and access to property, and the way that society is ordered (Bradshaw, 2008) in their definitions of conflict.

Based on the apparently irreducible discrepancies between major schools of conflict analysis (Ramsbotham et al. 2005), it becomes vital to approach conflict with a framework that relates the different components of conflict to each other. Bradshaw (2008) proposes that by exploring definitions of conflict propagated by prominent conflict scholars, awareness of “some of the important aspects of what is truly a complex and multi-faceted social phenomenon” (10) might be cultivated. A comprehensive review of the conflict literature as a whole is beyond the scope of this treatise; however, based on the fact that academic writing requires an explicit commitment to a distinct theory of investigation, the following section is focused on creating a working definition of conflict or a definition from which all discussions of conflict within the framework of this treatise depart.

3.5.2 Towards a working definition of conflict

According to Fink (1968), conflict literature is characterized by a great diversity of terms and concepts for designating and describing the conflict phenomenon. He goes on to note that both general and special theories differ widely in their use of terms such as “conflict”, “aggression”, “frustration” and many others. Efforts at clarifying definitions of concepts
usually involve “the elaboration of a typology of the phenomenon usually subsumed under the broader meaning of the term” (429).

3.5.3 Conflict defined
For the purpose of this treatise, a broad definition of conflict is employed. Typically conflict studies encompass structural and process models of investigation (Anstey, 2006). While structural models of conflict concentrate on factors such as “personal predisposition, social pressures, negotiation procedures and rules, incentives and their influence on conflict behaviour” (10), process models concentrate on “the internal dynamics of conflict episodes, studying events and the effects on succeeding events in conflict episodes” (11). Thomas (cited in Anstey, 2006) notes that an understanding of both models and the interplay between the dynamics of the two models is vital when dealing with conflict. The models provide a broad framework for studying conflict. As will become evident, the psychological approach to understanding an individual’s cognition, emotions and actions in conflict plays a critical role in investigating both the structural and procedural aspects of conflict.

3.5.3.1 Johan Galtung’s models of conflict, violence and peace
Galtung’s (1965) ideas about conflict are seminal in the conflict resolution field (Ramsbotham et al. 2005), and according to Bradshaw (2008), his work has offered great clarity with respect to “thinking about the nature of conflict and the behaviour that we associate with it” (71). In reviewing how the structural and procedural aspects of conflict influence each other, noted conflict scholars such as Deutsch, Mitchell and Galtung propose composite definitions of conflict.

Galtung (1965) espouses various approaches to conflict in his definition of the phenomenon by postulating a model that considers the internal, behavioural and contextual aspects of the phenomenon. The work of Mitchell (1981) is similar to the earlier work of Galtung and will be considered in formulating a working definition of conflict.

In reviewing how the structural and procedural aspects of conflict influence each other, Galtung (cited in Bradshaw, 2007) proposes a composite or triadic structure of conflict. Following from a definition of conflict based on an understanding that “an action-system is said to be in conflict if the system has two or more incompatible goal-states” (Galtung,
Conflict is viewed as a triangle that is made up of the following three interrelated components, namely, contradiction, attitude and behaviour. Following closely on Galtung’s (1965) definition, Mitchell (1981) postulates that conflict might be described as “any situation in which two or more social entities or ‘parties’ (however defined or structured) perceive that they possess mutually incompatible goals” (Mitchell cited in Teutsch, 1996:14).

Conflict contradiction refers to the underlying conflict situation, which includes the actual or perceived incompatibilities of goals between the conflict parties generated by what Mitchell (1981) refers to as a “miss match between social values and social structure” (19). Incompatibility may involve conditions of scarcity that place a premium on the possession of the same resources or positions. Value incompatibilities involving conceptions about the use or distribution of scarce resources, social and political structures, or beliefs about others and their behaviours constitute conflict situations (Mitchell cited in Teutsch, 1996).

Conflict attitude refers to “those psychological states (both common attitudes, emotions and evaluations, as well as patterns of perception and misperception) that frequently accompany and arise from involvement in a situation of conflict” (Mitchell as cited in Teutsch, 1996:15). According to Snodgrass (1999:10), Mitchell (1981) adopts an instrumental approach to social conflict, regarding conflict as arising through “the realistic pursuit of goals” (10). Ramsbotham et al. (2005:10) note that attitude may refer to negative or positive perceptions and misperceptions of oneself and of ‘the other’. Teutsch (1996) notes that Mitchell is clear that the psychology of conflict is best understood as an influencing factor rather than the underlying cause of social conflict. However he accepts that in conflict, “attitudes can become key factors as disputes evolve leading to the continuation or even extension of the conflict and altering goals in the process” (15). Ramsbotham et al. (2005) contend that, “in violent conflicts, parties tend to develop demanding stereotypes of the other” (10).

Conflict behaviour refers to “the activities undertaken by parties to achieve their goals” (Snodgrass, 1999:11). According to Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff (1990), conflict behaviour might be “violent or non-violent (i.e. in terms of physical force), dominant or recessive, controllable or uncontrollable, resolvable or insoluble under various sets of circumstances” (187). Cooperation, coercion and gestures signifying conciliation or hostility are
dimensions of conflict behaviour. Violent conflict behaviour is marked by threats, coercion and destructive attacks. Bradshaw (2007) draws attention to the fact that “violence is but only one form of manifest conflict – there are others, and of course, not all conflict is manifest” (54).

Emphasizing the fact that the three structural components may be considered separately for analytical purposes, Mitchell (1981:170) draws attention to the fact that the three components are, in reality, intricately interrelated because conflict is a dynamic process in which the three components are constantly changing and influencing one another. Ramsbotham et al. (2005) assert that a conflict structure without conflictual attitudes and behaviour is a latent (or structural) conflict. As the conflict dynamic develops, it usually becomes manifest and parties organize themselves around this structure to pursue their own interests.

3.5.3.2 Violent and non-violent conflict
Galtung (1990) demonstrates the nature of different conflict behaviours by distinguishing typologies of violence based on four classes of basic human needs. The concept of a triangle is used where each vertex represents a form of violence: direct violence, for example, where children are murdered; structural violence, for example, where children die as a result of poverty; and cultural violence is whatever ‘blinds’ people to the direct and structural violence or seeks to justify it.

Galtung (1990:302) proposes violence may start at any vertex of the triangle and be easily transmitted to the other corners. When violent structures are institutionalized and the violent cultures internalized, “direct violence tends to become institutionalized, repetitive, ritualistic, like a vendetta” (302). According to Galtung, the triangle of violence might be contrasted with a triangle of peace in which cultural peace engenders structural peace with symbiotic, equitable relations among diverse partners and direct peace with acts of cooperation, friendliness and love. As such, a virtuous rather than vicious triangle is created and is self-reinforcing. The virtuous triangle would be obtained by working on all three corners at the same time, not assuming that basic change in one will automatically lead to changes in the other two.
3.5.3.3  **Action systems or conflict parties**

Galtung (1965:348) distinguishes between conflict situations that consist of *individuals* and conflict situations that consist of *collectivities*. He further distinguishes between *intra-* and *intersystem* conflicts. According to Galtung, the individual actor is the smallest possible action-system. Collective actors can be of all possible sizes. Intra-system conflicts are conflicts that can refer to the smallest sub-units of the system down to the individual actor. *Intersystem* conflicts split the system in parts, and each system has its own goal-state. Galtung proposes variations based on the following table to depict the various action systems and severe behavioural consequences.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intra-System Conflict</th>
<th>Interpersonal Conflict</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Individual Level</strong></td>
<td>Intrapersonal conflict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>insanity, suicide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Intrapersonal conflict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Criminality, homicide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Collective Level</strong></td>
<td>Intra-national</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>disintegration, apathy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>International</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cold war, hot war</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 1. Types of Action Systems and Severe Behavioural Consequences of Conflict**
(adapted from Galtung, 1965:348/350)

In *intrapersonal* conflict, the action-system consists of one person who has two or more incompatible goal-states. In Van der Dennen and Falger (1990:34), Galtung is cited as referring to conflict that has only one actor as a dilemma rather than a conflict. According to Galtung (1965:348), in *interpersonal* conflict several possibilities exist. Two or more individuals may have the ‘same’ goal-state, and the incompatibility consists in the scarcity of the goal; if there is simply not enough for everybody, one will arrive at his/her goal-state whilst the other cannot. Another scenario is that the goal-states are ‘different’ but coupled to each other in such a way that they cannot all be realized. For the purposes of this treatise, the distinction between goal-states that are the ‘same’ or are ‘different’ is not important. Galtung proceeds that intra-national conflict is a collective organization of a number of intrapersonal conflicts.

*Symmetric conflict* is characterized by a contradiction between the interests of relatively similar parties or action systems. An *asymmetric conflict* is characterized by a situation where dissimilar parties are in conflict, for example, between a majority and a minority, an established government and a group of rebels, a master and his servant, or an employer and
his/her employees (Ramsbotham et al. 2005:21). According to Ramsbotham et al. (2005) “the top dog always wins, the under dog always loses” (21).

The question arises as to whether the conflict situation is essentially objective or subjective in nature. Mitchell (cited in Teutsch, 1996:14) notes that on the one hand, the ‘real’ nature of conflict can be understood as being embedded in the social structures and environment, in other words, independent of the perception of the actors in the situation. On the other hand, he notes that the conflict is recognized as conflict only insofar as it manifests itself in the perceptions of the actors; in other words, conflict exists only insofar as there is an awareness of an incompatibility of goals. According to Kriesberg (1973), neither the occurrence nor the outcome of conflict is stringently determined by objective outcomes. Kriesberg goes on to note that conflict exists psychologically for the parties involved even though perceptions about the conflict might not coincide with reality or there might not be an awareness of the veridical incompatibilities. Adopting a subjective approach, Kriesberg maintains that psychological processes mould objective situations or conditions into experienced conflict.

Mayer (2000) explains conflict along a three-dimensional perspective, propagating that “conflict may be viewed as occurring along cognitive (perception), emotional (feeling), and behavioural (action) dimensions” (5). By considering conflict along the dimensions mentioned by Mayer, it becomes evident that conflict does not proceed along a simple linear path. According to Dougherty and Pflazgraff (1990), the only available solution to the dilemma about which conflicts are more important to study, those between and among larger organized aggregates of human beings or smaller aggregates and individuals, is “to regard social situations and individual inner processes as constantly interacting within an organic whole” (232). The theory and applied conflict resolution techniques outlined above represent the guiding principles from which conflict and conflict management mechanisms in this study depart.

3.5.4 Types of conflict
Due to the complex and diverse nature of the conflict subject, a typology of conflict is necessary to supplement a definition of the term. Bradshaw (2008) characterizes conflict in terms of “its scope, or size, its intensity, its persistence, and the particular social units upon which it is visited” (23). Galtung’s typology of conflict is based on the scope or the types of action systems involved in the conflict. Frequently conflict types are distinguished in terms
of the societal level or scope at which they occur, for example, personal or interpersonal, within groups or between groups, or within communities or between communities.

Deutsch (1973) puts forward a six-fold typology of conflict based on the “objective state of affairs, and the perceptions of parties” about the conflict (cited in Bradshaw, 2008:23). A number of scholars classify conflict in terms of its resistance to being resolved or managed. Azar and Burton (1989), Kriesberg (1982) and Burton (1987) have respectively drawn attention to ‘protracted conflict’, ‘intractable conflict’, and ‘deep rooted social conflict’ respectively.

Bradshaw (2007:18) proposes a model for typologising conflict based on the incompatible goal-states or frustrations that give rise to the phenomenon. According to Bradshaw (2007), conflict might be divided into different categories according to the specific concerns or contradictions that result in specific attitudes and behaviours indicative of manifest or latent conflict. In terms of Bradshaw’s model (2008), conflict might be based on incompatible interests, values, frustrated needs, misperceptions, miscommunication, social structures or mistrust relating to past relationships. A single base or any combination of these bases might be the cause of conflict behaviour or attitudes. By approaching conflict from Bradshaw’s proposed framework, it becomes possible to examine any conflict from a micro and macro perspective. The paragraphs that follow outline the framework for typologising conflict, that will guide discussions in the course of this treatise.

3.5.4.1 Value-based conflict
Conflict might develop between two action systems or parties as a result of differing values or beliefs centred on religious, political or ideological orientations. Bradshaw (2008) proposes that conflicts between capitalists and communists, or Muslims and Hindus, or Christians and Jews are examples of value-based conflict. Many of the ongoing social conflicts in the world are entered around incompatible beliefs or values. Well-known terrorist groups that push their values and beliefs onto those holding different values and beliefs include the Senderoso Luminoso (the Shining Path, a socialist revolutionary movement in Peru) and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (a nationalist-separatist movement Sri Lanka). William Zartman’s (2001, cited in Ramsbotham et al. 2005:66) categorization of large scale conflicts based on distinctions between “greed, creed and need conflicts” (66) similarly acknowledges the influence of values or creeds, in other words,
systems of belief, as a basis around which conflicts develop and are pursued. On an interpersonal level, conflicts based on differing value systems might be exemplified in an argument between neighbours from a modernist and a traditionalist background with respect to childrearing practices. Bradshaw (2008) notes that conflicts based on value incompatibilities are “notoriously difficult to manage, due to the zero-sum nature of many value systems” (18).

3.5.4.2 Interest-based conflict

Bradshaw (2008) proposes that a great deal of conflict is based on the negative relationship between demand for resources, for example, “money, land, jobs and powerful positions” (18) and the limited supply of these resources. The model postulated by Bradshaw clearly distinguishes between competition for scarce resources and competition for basic needs. Interest-based conflicts which involve a contest over scarce resources, for example, between countries over the development of nuclear weapons; or between two tribes over a specific piece of land; or between two individuals for a specific occupational position, represent the base for “most of the conflict among individuals and groups”(18).

Influential social scientists such as Marxist theorists and theorists influenced by the works of Max Weber and Dahrendorf interpret conflict as centring on access to property and authority respectively (Wehr, 1979). Schellenberg (1982) holds that Marx’s analysis of conflict is not only based in his political revolutionary values, but “grounded in the study of economic forces” (61). Attempts to classify non-interstate conflicts are increasingly being centred on economically motivated conflicts, which Zartman (2000) refers to as “greed conflicts.”

3.5.4.3 Needs-based conflict

The denial and frustration of basic human needs has been interpreted as a bases or source of conflict by numerous conflict theorists. According to Staub (2003), a basic needs perspective has been adopted by theorists to “help in considering the origins of both violence and caring” and “to point to ways to build cultures of peace” (2; see also Burton, 1990; Kelman, 1990; Maslow, 1954 and 1987). Based on the work of the renowned psychologist Abraham Maslow, authors have investigated how the denial of basic human needs, which include both physical and non-physical elements essential for human growth and development as well as needs that humans are innately driven to attain, lie at the centre of unfolding conflict. “The denial of these needs leads to much deep-rooted social conflict” (Bradshaw, 2008:19).

Although theorists propagating needs-based approaches to conflict differ with respect to what constitutes a basic human need, theorists postulate the existence of psychobiological needs as a human characteristic (Sarantakos, 2005; Sandole, 2002). Maslow (1954) groups the sequential development of basic human needs under five headings namely: physiological, safety, belongingness/love, esteem and self-actualisation (Rubenstein, 2001). According to Maslow (cited in Bradshaw, 2008) the satisfaction of human needs always follows a specific order where base needs or physiological needs are satisfied first and the higher or psychological needs are satisfied thereafter. In other words, “until basic psychological needs of hunger, thirst, rest and shelter, have been met, higher needs for safety and security will not act as motivation” (Anstey, 2006:134).

Davies (1988) divides basic human needs into four categories namely: physical needs, social-affectional needs; self-esteem, dignity or equality needs; and self-actualization needs. Distinguishing between primary and secondary or substantive and instrumental needs Davies, maintains that although the fulfilment of needs does not always proceed in a sequential order he reiterates the importance of a needs hierarchy. According to Davies when the basic needs that are common to all humans are severely frustrated, aggressive behaviour is often a result.

In Burton’s (1979, cited in Rubenstein, 2001) view, the needs most salient to an understanding of destructive social conflicts are those for identity, recognition, security and personal development. Burton (1997) further maintains that the lack of recognition and respect for the individual’s identity results in forms of protestation using any means available.

According to Berkowitz (1993), when individuals are bothered by their inability to afford the bare essentials, their self-esteem is affected, “their nerves are raw, and they may easily become violent” (262). Summarising what many needs-based theorists maintain, Bradshaw (2007: 45) stipulates that “social conflict is normally the result of frustrated human needs, as human beings have no choice but to pursue the fulfilment of their needs” (xx). Indeed individuals and groups around the world, according to Rubenstein (2008), often put their own lives and the lives of others at risk in order to achieve their basic human needs.
3.5.4.4 Data-based conflict

Many scholars attribute the source of conflict to the poor communication, miscalculation, or misperception (Bradshaw, 2008). In an age where enhanced global interdependence has dramatically increased the possibility that conflict will erupt and develop in the midst of people irrespective of where people are (Faure and Rubin, 1993:xi), cultural and language barriers are increasingly being identified as a source of conflict. Burton and Dimbleby (2006:105) maintain that people use verbal and nonverbal language in social interaction as a prime carrier and creator of meaning.

Language and/or culture are the transmitters or codes in which goal-states are presented. Interpretations of incompatible goal-states where no incompatible goal-states exist might occur. Bradshaw (2007) draws attention to the fact that “once we have a certain image of an event, we tend to communicate the image as we perceive it, exaggerating those aspects that fit into our framework” (16); people may interpret the presence of a conflict where no objective conflict exists.

Folger et al. (1997) assert, “communication looms large because of its importance in shaping and maintaining the perceptions that guide conflict behaviour”; in other words, conflict might emerge as a result of the perceptual judgements people make to anticipate behaviour. Anstey (2006) holds that “lack of shared and legitimated information … gives rise to power struggles” (29); in other words, structural conflict, discussed below, “contributes to rising levels of mistrust in relations” (29).

3.5.4.5 Structural conflict

Many theorists identify social, political and economic structural order as a source of conflict or as the contradiction underlying incompatible goal-states (Bradshaw, 2007). Marxist social theorists, for example, interpret conflict as “the product of the class structure of society” (52), where the contradictions produced by a particular division of labour fuels a dialectical struggle” (52). Whereas interest-based conflicts centre around competing demands for resources, for example, “money, land, jobs and powerful positions” (16) or greed, structure-based conflicts might be interpreted with respect to the appropriateness of a given structure in the context. Bradshaw (2007) draws attention to the fact that structure designed in a
particular era or setting, for a particular set of circumstances may be entirely appropriate, but may cause much unnecessary conflict in another era and in another context.

According to Anstey (2006), structural imbalances are “actual or perceived inequalities of control of resources, ownership or resource distribution. Issues of power are central and dominant groups use their capacity for control to entrench a position of authority” (17-18). Kriesberg (1998) argues that increased structural imbalances and inequalities between the opposing groups “tend to arouse a sense of grievance among the relatively disadvantaged, especially when one party is increasing its gains at the expense of another” (77).

Asymmetric conflict, which occurs when “the root of the conflict lies not in the particular issues or interests that may divide the parties, but in the very structure of who they are and the relationship between them” (Ramsbotham et al. 2005:21) is an example of structural conflict. According to Ramsbotham et al. (2005:21), it may be that the structure of roles and relationships cannot be changed without conflict.

3.5.4.6 Relationships in conflict
According to Bradshaw (2007), conflicts are often caused by past relationships. Where conflict, latent or manifest, has been present historically, for example, where individuals or groups have in the distant past coerced or cheated others, various “psychological forces” (Rubin et al., 1994:76), for example, blame, anger, and/or fear, might create conflict even “where there is no objectively existing conflict” (Bradshaw, 2007:16). The diagnostic tool for identifying various facets of the multi-faceted conflict phenomenon put forward by Bradshaw (2007) constitutes the model from which conflict will be presented and interpreted in Chapters 5 and 6.

3.5.5 Moderators and aggravators of conflict expression
According to Anstey (2006), the expression of conflict depends on the presence and influence of various intervening variables that moderate or aggravate the actions of the conflicting parties. Anstey (2006) outlines various moderators and aggravators of conflict. Rubin et al. (1994) propose a number of conditions that serve to encourage conflict. Conditions that discourage conflict are also explained in detail. A synopsis of all the variables that might impede or facilitate the course of any conflict process would be superfluous given the length of this treatise, and the aggravation and moderation variables
that are pertinent to the focus will be discussed within the context of the case study. In the section that follows, conflict management or resolution as it applies to the present study will be elaborated.

3.6 Conflict Management/Resolution

Rubin et al. (1994) maintain that although conflict is not a definitive aspect of every human interaction, when it does arise, “more often than not it is settled, even resolved, with little acrimony and to the mutual satisfaction of the parties involved” (7). According to Ramsbotham et al., (2005), “the way we deal with conflict is a matter of habit or choice” (13). In the sections that follow various literatures on the strategies adopted by individuals and groups when dealing with conflict are outlined.

3.6.1 Informal Conflict Management Strategies

According to Rubin et al. (1994), every conflict is accompanied by “a distinctive set of moves, ways of pursuing the conflict in an effort to settle it” (3). Although the mentioned moves are not superficially similar from case to case, distinct classes or strategies revealed in the continuity from case to case may be observed. Generally, three basic strategies are opted for by individuals and groups when confronted with conflict, namely, contending; yielding; [and] reverting to approaches of problem solving (Gosselin, 2007; Ramsbotham et al., 2005; Rubin et al., 1994:3 -5). Ramsbotham et al. (2005) add a fourth strategy, namely, compromising. It is also possible that one of the action systems or parties might “deny that conflict is present” (Gosselin, 2007), in other words, opt for a form of “inaction or withdrawal” (Rubin et al., 1994:30). The conflict would thus remain latent. The study under discussion concentrates on overt or manifest conflict and the denial of conflict as a strategy or tactic will not be considered.

By contending, action system or party A (as proposed by Galtung, 1965), tries to impose its preferred solution to conflict on the other action system or party regardless of the other action system or party’s interests (Rubin et al., 1994:3 and 28). According to Ramsbotham (2005), this is an example of a “one wins, the other loses” (15) situation. Various tactics are employed when an action system chooses to engage in contending conflict. Pruitt, Rubin and Kim (1994) propose that tactics include presenting persuasive arguments, making demands that far outweigh what is actually acceptable; imposing deadlines; making threats, for example, imposing penalties with the understanding that they will be withdrawn once the
other party concedes; and taking pre-emptive action intended to resolve the conflict without the other party’s consent.

By yielding, action system or party A lowers its own aspirations and settles for less than it would have liked (Rubin et al., 1994). In this situation action system or party A loses and the action system or party B ‘wins’. Gosselin (2005:4) refers to yielding as capitulation or the ‘giving in’ of a party as soon as conflict arises. Pruitt et al. (1991:28) propose that yielding need not imply total capitulation and that it might also imply partial concession; for example, an action system or party might decide to give up a primary and pursue a secondary goal in order to make it easier to find a “mutually acceptable agreement” (28). As such, the party would be engaging in problem solving.

By problem solving, an alternative that satisfies the aspirations of both sides is sought (Rubin et al., 1994). When problem solving occurs, action system or party A tries to find a way of reconciling its aspirations with the aspirations of action system or party B. Various tactics are employed when an action system chooses to engage in problem solving in the face of conflict. Pruitt (1991) propose that tactics include speculative moves such as conceding with only an expectation and no guarantee of receiving a return concession; putting possible positions of compromise on the table; and revealing the underlying interests of the action system or party. Moves that are more cautious would include sending “disavowable intermediaries” (28) to discuss the issues, communicating through back channels, and communicating through a mediator.

Ramsbotham et al. (2007) postulate a fourth strategy, namely, compromise, which supposedly leads to “a win-win” situation. Compromising is treated as a response move to conflict in its own right by Ramsbotham et al. (2005). From the explanation of problem solving as proposed by Rubin et al. (1994), problem solving may be interpreted as a tactic to secure the conflict response move of compromising. Compromising may be adopted irrespective of whether problem solving has preceded it and been acknowledged. It is also important to distinguish between compromising and yielding as outlined by Rubin et al. (1994); Ruben et al. do not distinguish between total capitulation and partial capitulation.

For the purposes of this study, compromising is a form of partial capitulation in a search for solutions that appeal to both action systems and parties. Yielding is defined according to
Gosselin’s (2007) interpretation that treats it as a form of total capitulation. Four strategies or moves in response to conflict will therefore be considered, namely, contending, yielding as a form of total capitulation, compromising as a form of partial capitulation, and problem solving. On the interpersonal level, the discussed moves or strategies are not sanctioned or endorsed by some form of authority or formal structure, so the strategies represent what is referred to as informal conflict management strategies.

3.6.1.1 Reasons for strategic choice – dual concern model

Pruitt (1991) offers two models of strategy choice or conflict style: the dual concern model and the feasibility model. The dual concern model (originally developed by Blake and Mouton, 1964; Filley, 1975; Rahim, 1983) proposes that the strategic choice assumed by an individual is based on four factors.

Concern about both one’s own and other party’s outcomes encourages a problem-solving strategy; concern about only one’s own outcomes encourages contending; concern about only the other party’s outcomes encourages yielding; concern about neither party’s outcomes encourages inaction (Rubin et al. 1994:30-31).

According to the Pruitt (1991:31), concern about the individual’s own outcome is increased by the importance of the issues involved. Concern is also increased when the individual’s aspirations are close to his/her baseline position, in other words, when there is little room to make concessions. Concern is diminished when conflict is feared. Research has found that representatives are more concerned and less likely to yield than are individuals negotiating on their own behalf. This is based on the fact that representatives are accountable to and need the approval of their constituents (Rubin et al., 1994).

According to Rubin et al. (1994) concern about the other party or action system’s outcome may be genuine or strategic. Genuine concern for the other is increased by personal attraction, a shared group identity or a positive condition. Strategic concern for the other’s outcomes is based on dependency on the other or the endeavour to secure rewards or penalties from the other.

Experimental studies have confirmed predictions of strategic choice as outlined by the dual concern model (see Ben-Yoav and Pruitt, 1984 (a) and 1984 (b); Carnevale, P. J. and
Keenan P.A., 1990 cited in Carnevale, O. J., 1998; Pruitt et al., 1983). Studies have also indicated that concern for the other party’s outcome leads to a willingness to adopt strategies for problem solving. Problem solving, according to Pruitt (1991), is most beneficial when each party is interested in its own outcome and that of the other party. Lower interest in a party’s own outcome results in yielding and benefits are accordingly reduced. According to Rubin et al. (1994), representative accountability tends to encourage contention. In instances where conditions promote good relationships between neighbours, representative accountability has been observed to promote problem-solving approaches.

According to Rubin et al. (1994), feasibility or the extent to which the strategy seems likely to lead to attaining an envisaged goal state affects the choice of negotiation strategy: “A strategy is seen as feasible to the extent that it seems capable of achieving the concerns that give rise to it” (35).

3.6.2 Formal conflict management strategies

Anstey (2006) suggests, “Where conflict is regulated and institutionalized, mutual behaviour becomes more predictable, reducing the likelihood of misunderstandings and conflict escalation” (42). Mitchell (1981) proposes the following:

Most social systems, however simple, possess a range of mechanisms or procedures, either built into the social structure, or consciously employed by members, that help in containing conflict situations that inevitably arise between different entities within the society, or in limiting the destructive effects of ensuing conflict behaviour. (255).

Mitchell (1981) continues as follows:

Whether explicit or implicit, the effectiveness of such conflict management procedures can be measured in two ways; their success, in helping parties processing incompatible goals to find some solution to their conflict, and (if some solution largely satisfactory cannot be found), in limiting the behaviour employed by the adversaries during their processes (255-256).

According to Nathan (2000), a lack of clarity exists with regard to “the responsibility for averting and ending” conflicts within refugee settings. The UNHCR and many international humanitarian organisations continue to view conflict management and resolution as falling outside their mandate. While dealing with refugees, displaced people and the related consequences of high-intensity conflict lies within the scope of the UNHCR, it is assumed that the responsibility of averting and ending conflict between refugee and displaced people lies within the political domain, the United Nations Security
Council, the African Union and humanitarian organisations. These bodies, however, do not take responsibility for settling disputes and conflict within the refugee setting. As Nathan states, the truth of the matter is that organisations like the UNHCR are regularly obliged for practical reasons to manage, if not resolve, various types of conflict. One might assume that conflict management, resolution strategies and mechanisms within refugee camps and centres that do not have access to UNHCR assistance are dependent on the dynamics, financial possibilities and, ultimately, the expertise of the setting administrators.

3.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, literature consulted for the research purpose, which is to describe aspects of the formal and informal conflict management strategies within the CMM refugee community setting, was addressed. Four core concepts were identified, namely, refugee, refugee setting, conflict and conflict management. Relevant aspects, of the concepts at the core of each of the different fields represented in the research title above were outlined. Definitions were explored, and where appropriate, current discourse about the concepts was brought to light.
CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH DESIGN, METHODOLOGY AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction
In this chapter, the research processes that have been employed for conducting the case study are outlined. “Research is a process of systematically collecting and analysing valid and reliable information in a given context” (4), where “purpose, approach, design methods, analysis, interpretation and conclusion are the main aspects of the research” (Kayrooz and Trevitt, 2005:4). Acknowledging that general principles guide the research process, Kayrooz and Trevitt emphasize the centrality of context, or the political, economic, social and cultural dimensions that dictate the overall shape of the research. An appropriate “goodness of fit” (3) is ideally sought. Having contextualized the research in the preceding chapters, in this chapter, the research process will be presented “in a way that interested others will recognise as credible, authentic and relevant” (3).

4.2 Pilot Study
Before embarking on the study under discussion, an exploratory pilot research study was undertaken. The pilot study was an attempt to determine if conflict exists within the CMM refugee community and if specific conflicts warrant particular academic attention. Initially, telephonic contact was taken up with the Centre Administrator. The administrator expressed that conflict was rife among the members of the refugee community and extended his interest in the proposal to investigate conflict within the specific population. This was a first indication that pursuing the topic was viable. Following an attendance of a refugees meeting that took place on February 6, 2009 at the CMM, indications of possible conflict areas among the refugee population were witnessed. Informal interviews were held with various key members of the refugee community, as well as shorter interviews with grassroots members of the community on the street following the meeting, in an attempt to determine what specific conflicts among the population most likely warranted scholastic attention.

Through the exploratory pilot study, it became clear that focussing on a single specific conflict within the population would not yield sufficient data. The pilot study further highlighted a descriptive study of the formal and informal conflict handling strategies and
tendencies within the community may be necessary to ensure a beneficial academic and practical contribution to the CMM refugee community.

4.3 Research Question

Based on the pilot study, a clearly demarcated research question was formulated: What are the informal and formal conflict handling strategies and mechanisms available to members of the CMM refugee community? Principal questions of concern to the study were the following:

- What formal conflict handling strategies and mechanisms are in place at the CMM?
- Who are the individuals responsible for implementing these strategies?
- If ‘conflict complaint’ committees exist, how are they structured?
- What informal conflict management mechanisms are used within the CMM refugee community by members themselves, members responsible for the security of the building, and the centre’s administrator?
- What motivates members of the CMM to use the formal strategies and mechanisms in place?
- What motivates member of the CMM to skip protocol and opt for informal strategies to handling conflict?
- Does the origin of the conflict have an impact on the conflict handling mechanisms?
- How could the formal conflict management structures available to members of the CMM refugee community be improved?

4.4 Aims and Objectives of Study

4.4.1 Aims

The precise aims of the research could be delineated as follows:

- To describe the formal and informal strategies employed by members of the CMM refugee community to manage or resolve conflict.
- To describe why members of the CMM refugee community engage in informal conflict handling strategies and why formal conflict handling strategies are sometimes chosen.
- To propose possible recommendations for improving or developing the formal conflict handling structures within the community.
- To contribute to the discourse surrounding conflict management within refugee settings.
4.4.2 Objective
Using the interpretive paradigm, the primary objective of the study is to present a description that has both empirical grounding and theoretical relevance for understanding the underlying motivations and subsequent meanings and experiences associated with the informal and formal conflict management mechanisms within the CMM refugee community. This study is not directed at creating change through activity, but rather at creating consciousness.

Kayrooz and Trevitt (2005) outline “some possibilities” for the “roles” that might be assumed by a researcher (310). Aware that “the interpretive practice of making sense of ones findings is both artful and political” (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998:30), this researcher has assumed the role of the “critical friend” (311). The “critical friend” is seen as “supportive [and] critical…” (311). The researcher wishes, as do Kayrooz and Trevitt (2005), to emphasize the distinction between “critical friend” (311) and “devils advocate” (311); the latter tends to be more oppositional, adversarial and even antagonistic.

4.5 Research Design
The exploratory-descriptive nature of the study necessitated a qualitative research design. Based on the fact that the study did not intend to make statistical inferences but aimed at generating general ideas and views about the problem area, the qualitative paradigm, which only rarely identifies variables, tests hypotheses, or converts social life into numbers (Neuman, 2006:157), guided the research design. Neuman (2006) maintains that to capture the language of cases and contexts and interpret or create meaning in specific settings, qualitative research is appropriate because it is more concerned about “issues of richness, texture, and feeling of raw data” (149). The assertion points to the subjective nature of the study, which sought to understand the world from the participant’s point of view while acknowledging that experiences of reality may vary from one individual to another.

According to Henn et al. (2006), grounded theory, which is an inductive approach, is most often adopted for qualitative social research and specifically research with an exploratory intent. The research design has a bearing on the research methods and methodology employed. Goulding (1999) offers an extensive elaboration of how the interpretive paradigm relates to grounded theory research and outlines the procedures of the grounded
theory research design. Although the grounded theory approach is generally used “to develop an inductively derived grounded theory about a phenomenon” (Strauss and Corbin 1990:24), Strauss and Corbin 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” (155). Such is the case with the current study where research findings are presented without the final development of a grounded theory.

Heleta (2008) draws attention to the fact that researchers working within the grounded theory framework either “start research without any fixed ideas about the nature of the things that are about to be investigated” (Denscombe, 2007, cited in Heleta, 2009:14), or with a grounded preparation for the subject under study. The study presented began with prior understanding of the CMM refugee setting that was founded on the pilot study. Based on time and financial constraints, it was important to determine whether the aims and objectives of the study might be met with the data-gathering framework. Extensive literature reviews as well as conversations with members that have active contact with the CMM refugee setting might be viewed as part of the actual research and fieldwork of this study and not as part of the preparation for the study, as suggested by Heleta (2009).

4.6. Research Methodology

In the sections that follow methods of data collection used for the purpose of this study are discussed. The sampling procedures involved in drawing representatives from the research population are described. The research instrumentation used for the study and the pre-testing of the research tools are also described and explained.

4.6.1 Methods of Data Collection

“Time plays many roles in the design and execution of research,” suggest Babbie and Mouton (2007:92). According to Babbie and Mouton, participant observation in field research requires spending many hours in direct personal contact with participants and within the context of the study. The analysis of transcripts of conversations, studying of video tapes of behaviour in extraordinary detail, and looking for subtle nonverbal communication to understand details of interactions in their context are all forms of interpretive qualitative research. A researcher may live a year with people to gather quantities of detailed qualitative data through unstructured observation (Neumann, 2006). Longitudinal studies, which permit observation over an extended period of time, are
generally beneficial when conducting studies involving direct observation and in-depth interviews. Due to financial and time constraints, extended observation in the field was not feasible for this study. However, Babbie and Mouton (2007) assert that descriptive studies are also often cross-sectional, thereby offering support for the choice of method for the study. Data collection relied on two methods: observation and interviews.

### 4.6.1.1 Observation

According to Neuman (2006), “interpretive researchers often use participant observation” (88) for collecting data. For this purpose, 12 three-hour refugee meetings on Friday evenings were attended. During these meetings, “simple observation” was the employed research technique (Babbie and Mouton, 2006:293): the role of an outside observer was assumed. Based on the fact that the researcher was/is not a member of the ‘group’ of refugees and was unable to assume any a role that would entitle her to status as a group member, participant observation cannot be claimed. Not being an active participant was advantageous because the researcher was free to make full and accurate notes of what was going on. Note taking proved difficult during two of the meetings, but were put to paper soon after the meeting. When conducting research in the qualitative research paradigm, it may initially be difficult to discern what information is important and what information is unimportant (Babbie and Mouton, 2007), and it is regrettable that Babbie and Mouton’s (2007) recommendations to take notes of all empirical observations and interpretations of the observations at every point was not possible.

Babbie and Mouton (2006: 293) outline five major types of observable data. Although structured observation (Neuman, 2006:325) was not the intent, every attempt was made to pay attention to the following types of observable behaviour:

- Exterior physical signs
- Expressive movements
- Physical location
- Language behaviour
- Time duration of interactions

By observing the participants in an environment where conflicting interests and ideas are constantly under discussion, how the participants reacted to potential or actual conflict
situations could be noted. Nuances of attitude and behaviour were observed immediately and directly.

4.6.1.2 Interviews
According to Babbie and Mouton (2006), the individual face-to-face interview is one of the most frequently used methods of data gathering within the qualitative approach. Neuman (2006) supports this statement with his assertion that “face-to-face interviews have the highest response rate and permit the longest questionnaires” (301). According to Kayrooz and Trevitt (2005), “like observation, interviews typically range along a continuum from formal to informal (they may be structured, semi-structured or unstructured)” (191).

For the purpose of the research, the semi-structured interview was the primary form of data collection method employed. Kayrooz and Trevitt (2005) maintain that the semi-structured interview uses an interview schedule that is in format, where questions are open ended and there is a flexibility in the order in which groups of questions are asked and which themes are raised in the discussions.

The basic face-to-face interview, and in this case, the semi-structured face-to-face interview, relies on the establishment of cooperation and rapport between the interviewer and interviewee. Aware of the fact that the study was being carried out within a population where the level of literacy is unknown, distributing a prearranged set of questions to the subjects in the form of a questionnaire was not a viable method of data collection. An advantage of the face-to-face interview technique was that attention to the participants’ gestures and facial expressions when responses were being elicited could be noted.

It is important to note, as did Silverman (cited in Miller, 1997), that “qualitative researchers should resist becoming overly attached to any single technique” (1). Whenever it was noticed that a participant would more willingly engage in a ‘conversation’ type interview so that the interview did not revolve around the prearranged questions, the interviewee willingly performed the role of “friend” rather than an interviewer.

4.6.2 Sampling procedures
The CMM refugee community represents the population observed for this study. Individual human beings who have the status of refugees in South Africa were the units of
analysis. The purpose was to capture the voices and interpretations of members within the CMM refugee community about conflict and conflict management mechanisms.

Theoretical sampling is a fundamental concept to the grounded theory approach. According to Goulding (1999), theoretical “sampling is not determined to begin with, but is directed by the emerging theory” (9). By targeting the most knowledgeable participants, the quality of the data gathered in each interview is increased. According to Morse (2000), “an inverse relationship between the amount of usable data obtained from each participant and the number of participants” (4) exists. The exploratory pilot study provided sufficient insight about the CMM refugee community to engage in non-probability, grounded sampling theory or purposive sampling.

The selection of the sample was based on personal judgement and the purpose of the study, which was descriptive. A member who is active within the community acted as an agent and assisted with identifying community members for the sample group. Aware of the purpose of the study, the agent was trusted to identify members from the population who met certain criteria. The following broad practical considerations provided general criteria for choosing participants interviewed:

- a fair level of English competence
- 21 years of age or older
- the candidate must have lived within the CMM refugee community for a minimum of three months

The fact that the research did not set out to focus on a specific population within the CMM refugee community, but was focused on providing thick descriptive accounts of the conflict management mechanisms that are available to members within the community, highlighted the necessity for purposive sampling, or sampling in which “each sample element is selected for a specific purpose” (157). Each sample element was selected so as to provide representatives from both male and female population groups.

Sixteen participants were interviewed individually. This allowed for privacy. Four participants felt more comfortable being interviewed in groups of two. The interviews were conducted in different locations within the CMM building.
According to Glaser and Strauss (1967, cited in Thompson, 2003) the sample size for grounded theory relies on a point of theoretical saturation. Glaser and Strauss maintain that “researchers can not make a judgment regarding sample size until they are involved in the data collection and analysis” (5) and that the data should dictate the sample size. Based on the delimitations noted, Babbie and Mouton’s (2007) general rule of thumb for a South African master’s level study using the interpretive paradigm as “between five and twenty or twenty-five respondents” as sufficient, and De Vos’s (1998) assertion that “qualitative research usually works with small samples” (46), a sample of 20 members is considered sufficient.

4.6.3 Research instrumentation
For the purpose of the research, interview schedules with open-ended questions were used as the instrument for data gathering. The interview schedule consisted of the following themes: demographic details, conflict experienced within the CMM refugee setting, and conflict management strategies employed to deal with the conflicts. Greenstein (2005) notes that in qualitative research, the researcher is the primary instrument for both the data collection and analysis, hence basic interview skills are required.

4.6.4 Pre-testing the research tool
According to Leedy and Omrod (2005), a pre-test usually refers to a small-scale trial of particular research components that allows for the identification of potential problems with the instrument. To ensure the internal validity of data analysis, a pre-test using the interview schedule was conducted with four refugees in the pilot study. The questions included in the interview schedule were found to be relevant to the study and context. As such the tool required no changes. The semi-structured interview schedule is included in Addendum 1.

4.7 Data Analysis
In general, data analysis refers to a search for “patterns in data – recurrent behaviours, objects, phases, or ideas” (Neuman, 2006:467). According to Goulding (1999), the grounded theory method, which informs the data analysis for this study, emphasizes that a researcher’s thesis or theory evolves during the research process itself and is a product of the continuous interplay between data collection and data analysis. In the analysis and interpretation of the data collected, grounded theory methods and assumptions were
adopted. As such, not all the data was collected before analysis and interpretation were initiated; the search for meaning through the interrogation of data commenced in the early stages of data collection. According to Strauss and Corbin (1990, cited in Babbie and Mouton, 2007) two processes to grounded theory analysis exist, namely, coding procedures and adjunctive procedures.

4.7.1 Coding Procedures
A number of coding options are available for the processing of qualitative texts, none of which is mutually exclusive: open coding, axial coding and selective coding. Open coding is the process of breaking down the data into distinct units of meaning. As a rule, the process starts with a full transcription of an interview, after which the text is analysed line by line in an attempt to identify key words or phrases that connect the informant’s account to the experience under investigation, in this instance, the conflict and conflict handling mechanisms. The open coding process is associated with early concept development and refers to identifying a chunk or unit of data (a passage of a text of any length) as belonging to, representing, or being an example of some more general phenomenon (Spiggle, 1994).

Within the context of the proposed study, different chunks of data or units of data might represent conflict or conflict handling strategies. According to Babbie and Mouton (2007) “open coding may be done in three different ways” (488):

- Coding data line by line, all the possible categories pertaining to a specific line of text will be identified
- Coding by sentence or paragraph, it becomes possible to establish what the main idea of each paragraph is
- Once a whole transcript or text is read, one might be able to ascertain a category for the whole text or group of texts.

Axial coding, according to Glaser and Strauss (1967, cited in Goulding 1999), is a more sophisticated coding technique involving the process of abstraction onto a theoretical level. Axial coding does not merely describe what is happening in the data, but explains the relationship between and across incidents. Babbie and Mouton (2007) identify axial categories that denote condition, strategy and consequences. While the transcribed interview texts for this research have primarily been analysed along open coding categories,
Axial categories have also been assigned to the data in an attempt to explain relationships between and across incidents.

Selective coding refers to “the process of selecting a core category, systematically relating it to other categories, validating those relationships, and filling in categories that need further refinement and development” (Babbie and Mouton, 2007:501). The core category refers to “the central phenomenon around which all the other categories are integrated” (Babbie and Mouton, 2007:501). The core category pulls together all the strands so as to offer an explanation of the behaviour under study: “The core category’s development should be traceable back through the data” (Goulding, 1999:9). The core categories that were selected for examination in this study and to which all other categories are related is discourse about refugees, refugee settings, the refugee experiences and the formal and informal conflict management mechanisms employed by members of the CMM refugee community by virtue of focus of the study. The objective of the study is to describe observations and information gathered in face-to-face interviews to deepen understanding of the relationships between these categories. The discourse about these categories was addressed on in Chapters 2 and 3.

4.8 Reliability and Validity

Cunningham and Herbst (2007) asserts that the evaluation of research reliability, or dependability and consistency, and validity or the authenticity of an account “differs according to the chosen approach” (5). According to Joseph Maxwell (1992 cited in Thomson, 2003:7), the validity of qualitative research might be judged along five categories namely: descriptive validity, interpretive validity, theoretical validity, generalisability, and evaluative validity. Every effort was made to ensure the validity of each of the categories identified in the literature, research design and methodology that guide the study.

Several types of validity exist. Descriptive validity refers to the accuracy of the data (Maxwell, 1992, cited in Thomson, 2003) and to the fact that data is expected to accurately reflect what the participant has said or done. The practical implication of descriptive validity for the current study implied that transcriptions of the digital voice recordings, as well as any notes or memos, were required to accurately and completely reflect what was observed and/or heard. As many observations as possible were made while recording
interviews and nonverbal behaviour, for example, a melancholic look or tears in a participant’s eyes were noted.

Interpretive validity “captures how well the researcher reports the participants’ meaning of events, objects and/or behaviours” (Maxwell, 1992:49). Consistent mindfulness was maintained that, ideally, “interpretations are not based on the researcher’s perspective but that of the participant” (49). Threats to interpretive validity that arose based on the researcher and the individual subjects of the research coming from different cultural and socio economic backgrounds were held in awareness.

Theoretical validity “goes beyond concrete description and interpretation and explicitly addresses the theoretical constructions that the researcher brings to, or develops during, the study” (Maxwell, 1992:50). Every attempt was made to ensure theoretical validity by putting forward theoretical constructs that fitted together (Auerbach and Silverstein, 2003:85) or cohered.

4.9 Ethical Considerations
Ethics, “the rules or standards that govern the conduct of a person or the members of a profession”, (Harkness, 2004:53) assist with making ‘moral’ decisions in instances where one is alone in a research situation and has little time to make a decision (Neuman, 2006). Harkness (2004) draws attention to the fact that the principles guiding ethics might change over time and across cultures. For this reason, it is recommended that the researcher align his/her values and ethics to the code of ethics outlined by the national board and/or institution under which the research is being conducted. The ethical considerations propagated by the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU, 2005), found in the Institutional Regulatory Code (NMMU, 2005), provided guiding principles for embarking on the research. The codes of conduct outlined by the Ethical Code of Professional Conduct (Professional Board for Psychology, 2000), as well as other relevant literature was consulted prior to embarking on the fieldwork for the study.

According to Pauw (2008:5), ethical considerations might be outlined with respect to their implications in three contexts. The paragraphs that follow outline the implications of the ethical reasoning that informed this study; the subject of the research, namely, individual
members of the CMM refugee community who were being studied, and the practice of science.

4.9.1 Ethical issues related to the individual researcher

Research ethics provided ‘ethical’ and ‘moral’ guidance in decision-making processes. For example in two instances, the research participants requested that they may be interviewed in groups of two. This presented a conflict of interest because the plan was to conduct individual interviews. The NMMU principle that holds that “the interests of the latter take precedence” (NMMU, 2005: regulation 4.e.) was applied, and two sets of interviews were conducted with two participants.

The NMMU (2005) code of conduct holds, “The researcher should be constantly aware that the research may prejudice the situation and position of the research participant” (regulation 4.e.). The principle was contemplated and maintained. Consideration was given to differences in cultural and social values, based on the fact that an individual’s cultural context “Provides points of reference within which interpersonal communication takes place” (Burton and Dimbleby, 2006:151). In addition, the NMMU’s research ethics state, “The pursuit of knowledge should never be regarded as the supreme goal at the expense of other personal, social and cultural values” (NMMU: regulation 4e). In situations in which participants did not want to disclose information, the researcher did not insist that participants answer the question. The ethic was upheld because participants were advised at the start of each interview that they should not feel obliged to answer questions that made them uncomfortable in any way. Participants were also advised that they were free to abandon the interview at any point. By informing the participants of their rights, the responsibilities outlined in the Ethical Code of Professional Conduct (Professional Board for Psychology, 2000) were upheld.

Neuman (2006) maintains, “The relationship between the researcher and subjects… involves power and trust” (131). In accordance with Neuman’s description of the power relationship, it might be maintained that the researcher had more power relative to the members of the refugee community based on her credentials, training and the value attached by society to the role of ‘scientific’ research. In the research setting, the researcher’s power was further legitimised by her status as a South African citizen. The refugees and asylum seekers within the CMM refugee community were vulnerable.
populations based on their status as non-citizens. Fitzpatrick (2002) notes that human rights violations are prominent among refugee populations. As stipulated in the NMMU (2005: regulation 4c.), the researcher was aware of possible “forms of inequality and injustice” and intended to indirectly contribute to the improvement of the situation of participants in the study.

Neuman (2006) further states that a researcher is obliged to “guide, protect, and oversee the interests of the people being studied” (131). Trust was built up between the researcher and the participants of the study and attempts have been made to guarantee the maintenance of participants’ trust by ensuring that all notes, voice recordings or other gathered information collected are stored safely and are inaccessible to anyone who is not intended to see the data. For this purpose, a space under lock and key has been allocated for storage of the raw data.

4.9.2 Ethical issues related to the subject of study

Balancing the value of advancing knowledge against the value of non-interference in the lives of others is a central concern to ethical research. The following responsibilities were taken into account when conducting the study: do no harm, obtain informed consent, do not deceive and maintain participants’ anonymity and confidentiality.

A fundamental ethical obligation of the researcher is “do no harm to … respondents, either, physically or psychosocially” (Harkness, 2004:55). Neuman (2006) defines the various forms of harm that should be avoided: physical harm, psychological abuse/stress/loss of self-esteem, and legal jeopardy. Elaborating upon these ethical elements lies beyond the function of the research. The practical implications of staying true to the ethic of not harming participants were revealed in the research setting with research participants, and the researcher was aware that she would be responsible for identifying, and where possible, undoing the unforeseen and undesirable consequences of the research. Where it was not possible to support the participant in “dealing” with an unforeseen undesirable consequence, an effort to refer the participant appropriately was made. In accordance with the NMMU (year: regulation 4e.), “the researcher is particularly concerned about the rights or interests of more vulnerable participants”, in this instance, the refugees at CMM.
Harkness (2004) holds that the first rule of research is that all participants in the study give their voluntary and informed consent. This is based on the fact that respondents may reveal personal information about themselves that might have long lasting physical or mental effects. The Professional Board of Psychology (2000) stipulates that consent shall be obtained “from research participants prior to … recording them in anyway unless the research involves simple naturalistic observation” (as cited in Babbie and Mouton, 2007:530). In order to encourage an informed decision on the part of the research participant, participants were informed regarding the purpose of the study, who the researcher is, and what would done during the study, prior to asking if a voice recorder might be used. The implications of the study were outlined and verbally explained to each participant (see page one of Addendum III). A statement of consent to participate in the research was obtained from the research participant thereafter (see page two of Addendum III).

According to Strydom (cited in De Vos, 1998), informed consent implies that: “all adequate information on the goal of the investigation, the procedures which will follow during investigation, the possible advantages and disadvantages and dangers to the respondents may be exposed” (25-26). An important aspect pertaining to the procedures that was followed during the interview was the timeframe for interviews. The participant was informed prior to starting the session what the envisaged timeframe for the interview would be, namely, 45 minutes to one hour. In accordance with the NMMU (2005: regulation 4e), the intention was to “respect the right of individuals to refuse to participate in research, and to withdraw their participation at any stage” (regulation 4e).

In accordance with the ethical principle of obtaining ‘informed’ consent, deception was not practiced with respect to the researcher’s identity, the purpose of the study, and how the research would be conducted. Moreover, by using understandable language to dialogue with the research participants and avoiding the use of academic jargon, clear and honest communication between the researcher and the research subjects was facilitated.

“Protecting the identity of the participants” (Harkness, 2004:55), or maintaining their anonymity, is an important ethical consideration. Harkness (2004) draws attention to the fact that research subjects are provided with either anonymity or confidentiality. Anonymity refers to a situation in which not even the researcher is aware of the identity of the subjects, such as in an internet survey. Anonymity did not apply to this study; however,
protecting the confidentiality of the research subjects in the study was an important ethical concern for the study. “Confidentiality means that information may have names attached to it, but the researcher holds it in confidence or keeps it secret from public” (Neuman, 2006:139).

The confidentiality of the records of participants was best guaranteed by implementing the following procedures: All names were assigned a number and then the name and corresponding data stored separately from the data. The names were deleted from the voice data and the notes taken and the appropriate number replaced the name (see Addenda III for a quick reference of the ethical considerations applied).

4.10 Limitations of Research

Henn et al., (2007) maintain that subjectivity is a feature of researcher bias that might be considered as limiting factor of any research. Henn et al. continue that the setting selected, the people studied, what is recorded and what is filtered out, and the interpretation given to data are all governed by the subjective choices made by the researcher. As such, findings are the products of a researcher’s preconceptions and existing knowledge. Sarantakos (2005) similarly argues that the primary limitation of the grounded theory approach revolves around researcher subjectivity and the fact that researchers rely on a “high level of arbitrary decisions” (350) in their studies.

Acknowledging that these limitations might apply to this research, every attempt was made to render a systematic and well-grounded research by contextualizing the population of interest, namely, refugees located at the CMM refugee community; the literature about the discourses related to understanding vulnerable populations and conflict and its resolution; and the design applied for collecting and analyzing data.

As noted by Kayrooz and Trevitt (2005) the ‘insider/outsider’ status of the researcher affects the information gathered and insights generated. A distinct disadvantage associated with being an outsider to the CMM community was that a great deal of time was required to “get to know the organization” (13). Although not frequent, moments in which the researcher was viewed with suspicion were apparent. The “ultimate long-term outcomes” of the research were questioned on a few occasions. The authenticity of the interviews
conducted in such instances may be questioned; however, participants’ cooperation and rapport were maintained despite these threats.

A distinct advantage to being an outsider was also apparent. According to Kayrooz and Trevitt (2005), “external researchers will be more independent than internal researchers and should be able to bring a more objective – or at least different - perspective into the organization or community” (13). Kayrooz and Trevitt further assert that the external researcher is often able to question the status quo in a more direct way than an insider because his/her career or position will not be jeopardized by asking probing questions.

4.11 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the research processes that have been employed for conducting the case study. Acknowledging that general principles guide the research process, Kayrooz and Trevitt (2005) emphasized the centrality of context – the political, economic, social and cultural dimensions – that dictate the overall shape of research. Accordingly an appropriate “goodness of fit” (3) was sought for the purpose of this research. In Chapter 4, the research question and the aims and objectives of the treatise were put forward and the pilot study undertaken prior to embarking on the research outlined. This was followed by an in depth description of the research design, methodology and analysis that was employed for the execution of the research and interpretation of the collected data. Issues surrounding the reliability and the validity of the treatise were addressed and the ethical concerns surrounding the research elaborated. Finally, the limitations of the study were sketched. Having contextualized the research in the preceding chapters, this chapter presented the research process “in a way that interested others will [hopefully] recognise as credible, authentic and relevant” (3).
CHAPTER 5: PRESENTATION OF DATA

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, data gathered in the course of the fieldwork is presented. The chapter is presented in three sections. The first section tabulates the demography of the participants. In Section 2, the various formal conflict management strategies in place within the CMM refugee setting are described, including the daily church services and refugee meetings, the rules that guide and govern behaviour, and the Conflict Complaint Protocol Structure. In Section 3, the most pertinent conflicts experienced by members of the CMM refugee community are described and the forms of conflict management most frequently adopted by participants as a response to the various forms of conflict are identified.

Data has been collected by means of simple non-participant observation, face-to-face interviews with a structured interview schedule and informal interviews that were conducted throughout the study. Transcriptions of the authentic words of the participants will be presented throughout the chapter. Where appropriate, available documentation from sources that have relevance to the CMM refugee community, have been consulted. The extensive literature consulted for the theoretical components of the study guides the focus of core concepts to be descriptively presented in this chapter. Documentation and professional opinions of social workers and researchers active in the CMM refugee community are included about various issues. Only data pertinent to the general research questions and aims and that describe the various conflicts the CMM refugee community case study participants experienced and the informal and formal conflict management strategies that were adopted to resolve those conflicts are presented. Babbie and Mouton (2007) maintain that descriptive studies “are seldom limited to a merely descriptive purpose” (81). In Chapter 6, an analysis of the data presented in Chapter 5 is presented.

5.2 Presentation of Descriptive Details of Research Participants

The demographic details of the research participants are tabulated below (see Table 2). The names of the research participants have been replaced with a number to secure confidentiality of the data and protect the identity of participants. Numbers were assigned to interview sessions based on the chronological order in which the interviews took place.
Twenty research participants were interviewed for the purpose of the study. Seven participants were female and 12 participants were male. The ages of participants ranged from 19 to 55 years. All participants interviewed were Zimbabwean. The majority (n = 17) were mother-tongue Shona speakers; the rest were mother-tongue Ndebele speakers. Seventeen of the participants interviewed slept inside the CMM building and three slept outside on the pavement directly surrounding the building. Among the participants were five individuals who had completed some level of tertiary education (minister in training, mass media and communication technology, BA in Sociology, high school teacher, and qualified nurse); three individuals had completed a military training of sorts; other occupations included a certified welder, a driver, a security guard, and a seamstress. Seven individuals had most recently completed their Form 4 or O Levels at school, which is the equivalent of a South African Grade 11. Of the 20 participants, 14 participants had some form of work, part time or fulltime. Six individuals were looking for work.

Having outlined the demographic properties of the research interview population, the following section will use rich detail to describe the formal strategies in place to prevent and handle conflict at the CMM refugee setting. The information presented is based on formal interviews with the participant population described above, informal interviews with authorities in the CMM context, social workers who were active in the community but who wished to remain anonymous, and formal reports and analyses on the CMM refugee setting. Based on the semi-structured conversation format of the interviews, questions were mostly not presented to the participants in the chronological order or syntax in which they appear in the interview schedule. The emphasis of Chapter 5 is on rendering a description of the phenomenon under study. Analysis of the data follows in Chapter 6.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Country of Origin</th>
<th>Home Language</th>
<th>No of years in South Africa</th>
<th>Sleeping Location</th>
<th>Highest Formal Training</th>
<th>Job</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>Inside CMC building</td>
<td>Training as minister</td>
<td>MSF Councillor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>1 year</td>
<td>Inside CMC building</td>
<td>Form 4 O Levels</td>
<td>Looking for work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>Ndebele</td>
<td>4 months</td>
<td>Inside CMC building</td>
<td>Form 4 O Levels</td>
<td>MSM Health Educator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>1 year</td>
<td>Inside CMC</td>
<td>Mass Media</td>
<td>Looking for work</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* To ensure for the confidentiality of the interview data and to protect the identity of the research participants, research numbers have been assigned to each interviewee – despite an indication by many participants that their names could willingly be published. The author wishes to draw attention to the irony of this approach as indeed it was indicated in Chapter 1, that *refugees are not faceless digits but human beings.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Other Information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Female</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>4 months</td>
<td>Inside CMC building</td>
<td>Diploma Photographer</td>
<td>Looking for peace work. Taking care of own child.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>6 months</td>
<td>Inside CMC building</td>
<td>Form 4 O Levels</td>
<td>Looking for peace work. Taking care of own child.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>9 months</td>
<td>Inside CMC building</td>
<td>BA Sociology</td>
<td>Flock Nursery School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>Inside CMC building</td>
<td>Qualified teacher</td>
<td>Security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>2 ½ years</td>
<td>Inside CMC building</td>
<td>Welder</td>
<td>Security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>3 months</td>
<td>Inside CMC</td>
<td>Driver</td>
<td>Looking for work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Country</td>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Work Experience</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>-----</td>
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<td>--------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>1 ½ years</td>
<td>Inside CMC building</td>
<td>Military Head of Security</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>4 months</td>
<td>Outside on pavement</td>
<td>Form 4 O Levels</td>
<td>Looking for work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>9 months</td>
<td>Outside Artist Car Guard</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>8 months</td>
<td>Inside CMC building</td>
<td>Form 4 O Levels</td>
<td>Flag man on construction Site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>Inside CMC building</td>
<td>Military Head of cleaning in CMC building</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>1 month</td>
<td>Inside CMC building</td>
<td>Security guard</td>
<td>Peace work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>1 month</td>
<td>Inside CMC Military</td>
<td>Peace work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male/Female</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Country</td>
<td>Ethnicity</td>
<td>Years in School</td>
<td>Status</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>---</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>8 months</td>
<td>Outside Form 4 O Levels</td>
<td>Cardboard box collector</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>5 months</td>
<td>Inside CMC building</td>
<td>Trained Nurse</td>
<td>Looking for work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>Inside CMC building</td>
<td>Seamstress in a factory</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Demographic Details of Research Participants
5.3 **Formal Conflict Management Strategies**

As suggested in the sections describing the nature and types of conflict:

Most social systems, however simple, possess a range of mechanisms or procedures, either built into the social structure, or consciously employed by members, that help in containing conflict situations that inevitably arise between different entities within the society, or in limiting the destructive effects of ensuing conflict behaviour” (Mitchell, 1981: 255).

For the purpose of this treatise the mechanisms and procedures adopted by the superintendent of the CMM refugee setting, as well as other actors within the hierarchical structuring of the community to control conflict, have been interpreted as formal conflict handling strategies. The section below describes these strategies and mechanisms.

5.3.1 **Rules to be adhered to in the CMM refugee setting**

Five rules are in place to govern and guide the actions of individuals who live in the CMM refugee building. According to the Centre Administrator, upon arrival at the CMM refugee setting each person is told the following rules of the building:

- No drinking of alcohol
- No smoking of anything
- No fighting
- No stealing
- No illegitimate sex (married persons are accommodated in a separate area).

Moreover, all persons staying in the building, are required to keep the place clean and worship every day. In an interview with the Centre Administrator (Centre Administrator), the consequences for disobeying the listed rules were outlined:

*Centre Administrator:* Well if they don’t keep to the rules of the building I will tell them to go.

*Interviewer:* Oh, okay, so no fighting, no smoking, no drinking….

*Centre Administrator:* Mmm…Yes.

*Interviewer:* Do you penalize them if they do break these rules? What happens then? What happens if they break the rules?

*Centre Administrator:* I say I want you out of the building.
Interviewer: So they might then eventually be thrown out.

Centre Administrator: They might, but then, they might come back…

The interview excerpt above points to a degree of uncertainty about the consequences of disobeying the rules at the CMM refugee community.

5.3.2 Daily church services and Ray of Hope Refugee Meetings as platforms of conflict management

Every weekday from 7:00 pm to about 8:00 pm, a worship service is conducted in the main CMM building. These services are envisaged as a platform from which the centre’s administrator is able to communicate with members of the refugee community by instilling and awakening a “moral consciousness among the people” (Interview, Participant, February, 2009). All individuals living within the church building are expected to attend the weekday services irrespective of their religious conviction or church-going preferences. The following interview excerpt points to the earnest expectation from the Centre Administrator surrounding attendance of the church services by participants:

… Or like everyday we have a church service at 7 pm, and we are forced to push the people, we must take them to church everyday. And then maybe someone is coming from work, and they want to rest or sleep because they are tired. Then it is not allowed; then you have to force them to go to church before they go and rest.

Security team members, described below, attested to the fact that it is part of their duty to ensure that everyone in the building attends the worship service at 7:00 pm every evening. According to the Centre Administrator, the week-day church services provide a platform of accountability to members of the community; one might say a point of answerability or a point where each member realizes that he or she is ultimately responsible for his or her actions. The following words are taken from an interview with the Centre Administrator:

… I also think, you know, with due respect, and you might expect me to say this because of who I am as a minister, [but] I think that the worship centre at 7 o’clock provides a paradigm of co-operation. You understand, and whatever else it says, … whatever else it provides, that accountability, that is the seed here.

Eighteen of the participants indicated that they attend the meetings on a daily basis. There appeared to be no objection to attending the services, irrespective of whether individuals followed religious movements other than the Methodist Church movement. Three
participants explained that although they do usually go to the evening church services, they are unable to go to the evening church services when they have to work night shift, as the following dialogue indicates.

*Interviewee:* … there are some people who are very serious about their journey with God. They are very serious.

*Interviewer:* Ja, and that has an effect on everyone. That’s why it’s amazing to have that here in this space.

Two of the three members of the participant population (interviewee) who sleep outside the CMM building indicated that they never go to the worship services because they do not sleep inside the building and that, as such, they “don’t need to really go to the church.” Various other refugees who sleep outside the CMM building indicated in informal discussions that they do not attend the worship services or ever enter the CMM building for any reason whatsoever.

Every Friday from approximately 7:30 pm to approximately 9:30 pm, the *Ray of Hope Refugee Meetings* take place in the main sanctuary or church chamber. These meetings are used as a platform and meeting point for members involved in the co-ordination of specific tasks for the running of the community and members of the refugee community to communicate matters of concern. Not all members of the community attend the meetings; some people feel more responsible for the functioning of the community, others are still at work, and some have no interest and hear from their friends whatever important messages have been imparted. Various people emphasized, however, that the meetings are ‘compulsory’. The following is a description of a typical refugee meeting, based on attending 12 refugee meetings.

At the beginning of the meetings (7:30 pm) the church is approximately half full; people continue to come and go as the meeting proceeds, and by the end of the meeting (about 21:45), no open seats are free, and many people are standing in the back of the church. Prior to the start of the meeting, printed minutes of the previous meeting are (usually) circulated. Led by the Centre Administrator who sits on the altar space in the front of the community, meetings commence between 7:30 pm and 8:30 pm. A member of the community who assists with administrative matters in the community sits next to the centre’s administrator and takes minutes. Aspects of the bodies and programmes that require attention are put forward to members of the community at these meetings. Only those
aspects relevant to the resolution/management of conflict within the community that were discussed at refugee meetings will be the focus of the description.

At various meetings, issues associated with the 17 security team members drew many comments from the community. During six of the 12 meetings attended, dissatisfaction about the work of the security team was voiced by members of the community. The Centre Administrator controlled meetings by drawing attention to the fact that the security team have a difficult task to perform. On various occasions, it appeared as though he was appealing to the moral values of the community members or calling out something ‘more’ from the people to prevent them from becoming victims and relying on the ‘others’ to uphold their values. Although further research into the conflict management/resolution tactics and techniques of the Centre Administrator is required, the description serves as a starting point from which to investigate conflict the management/resolution methods practiced by the CMM’s Centre Administrator.

5.3.3 The Conflict Complaint Protocol Structure

During an initial interview with an influential member within the CMM refugee community who became a key informant, it was indicated that a hierarchical Conflict Complaint Protocol Structure is in place within the community and is followed by community members when trying to settle conflicts or disputes of any nature. The existence of this structure was confirmed by the CMM’s Centre Administrator, as indicated by the following dialogue:

Interviewer: Okay, so, as such, there is no hierarchy for conflict management? You have the security guys but …’cause I have read that in a camp in Malawi, for example, they have like leaders that take care of different groups and then conflicts get escalated. Here they go to the security, do they then sometimes reach a point where they say it has to be taken to you? Or..

Centre Administrator: Well I think that we have…we do have a hierarchy of dealing with it. Each floor, each place, has their own committee of seven people. Okay, and then there is an overall committee in the building. Both of those groups I think are sanctioned to monitor places where there could be possible conflict and that stuff. Then I suppose the next point of reference would be the security. And then, obviously, the last one to reference would be myself.

Interviewer: Okay, and have you ever felt the need to then go further to the police or anything?
**Centre Administrator:** We have at times; I mean, if it involves a form of criminality. So, for instance, if a woman is raped or if a child is abused, there are certain constitutional things which we have to observe properly you know….

---

**Figure 1: Levels of the Conflict Complaint Protocol Structure**

Figure 1, graphically represents the organization of the Conflict Complaint Protocol Structure, as outlined by the informant, the Centre Administrator and three of the research participants who were members of the security team by occupation.

According to the information received, should a member of the CMM refugee community wish to settle or resolve a conflict with another member of the CMM refugee community, a member active within the floor/section committee (stage 1) would be consulted. Should the section/floor committee leader be unable to solve or resolve the conflict, the conflict would be referred to the Overall Building Committee (stage 2) which meets every Monday. Should
this committee be unable to deal with the conflict, the security team (stage 3) is called upon. The head of the security (stage 4) is turned to for assistance should the security be unable to resolve or settle the conflict. According to this protocol, the centre’s administrator (stage 5) is consulted once all the possibilities for conflict resolution or settlement at the preceding stages have failed. As indicated in the interview excerpt with the Centre Administrator provided above, should a conflict lie within the criminal realm, the Centre Administrator relies on the police (stage 6) for support and ultimately judicial action. In the sections that follow, various aspects of the Conflict Complaint Protocol Structure will be described.

5.3.3.1 Stage 1: Floor/Section Committees
According to two key informants who were knowledgeable about the refugee setting but were not included in the interview population, each floor and living section within the CMM building is overseen by a committee represented by seven community members. The key function of the floor/section committee members is to deal with conflicts that they can settle. Once a month the Floor/Section Committees meet with the Overall Building Committee to report back on any issues that need to be addressed.

Eight of the participants interviewed acknowledged the function of the Floor/Section Committees in the resolution of conflict. These members all performed a function within the running of the CMM refugee community, for example, cleaning, security, committee duties. Five of the members merely indicated that they were aware that floor/section committee leaders were to be approached “when wishing to work out a conflict.” Three of the participants, all of whom were members of Floor/Section Committees, focused their discussions on the difficulties faced by the leaders of the committees when acting as conflict managers.

The following is an excerpt of one of the three participants; it points to the difficulty that committee members face when acting as agents of conflict management:

I am part of the committee for the second floor. But there isn’t anything we can do because these people can tell you all kinds of nonsense. The people on the floors! They can just say, “Look guys, lights are out; you don’t have to talk anymore.” Or you can say, “Guys there are woman on the second floor; you don’t have to sleep or move naked.” And then they will say to you, “Why must we listen to you? You didn’t even come here with even a spoon of cement…. You are not the bishop’s kid so leave us alone. You found us here so leave us here with the bishop.”
Two other committee leaders likewise commented on the fact that they were constantly made aware that they had “no standing” when telling their fellow room/floor inhabitants how to conduct themselves.

According to one participant who was not a floor/section committee leader, “the committees for the floor are not very functional because they [Floor/Section Committees members] are scared of some of the conflicts.” A second participant similarly commented that the section/floor Committee “does not even function…some committees only have one or two people in them.” One participant indicated some form of efficacy with respect to her floor/section committee conflict management role.

*Interviewer:* Okay, so the committee tries to solve the problems. But it’s not a thing where you are the top and you tell them how to solve the problem. Is it more a thing that everybody tries together…?

*Interviewee:* Ja, every one else, they will be trying to, getting to be involved. It is not that some just say, “Listen to me.” Someone will just say the situation is just like this or this. If they are fighting, we don’t allow fighting in our room. So if you want to fight it is best if you move out from this room. Ja, so that is how we do it.

The three remaining participants who offered views about the Floor/Section Committees suggested that the committees are good because the Centre Administrator “is too busy to always take care of everybody’s problems.” In four of the interviews, the Floor/Section Committees were described as a conflict management platform. Moreover, in many instances, participants circumvented (seemingly unconsciously), various stages in the Conflict Complaint Protocol Structure when dealing with conflict. The following excerpt demonstrates how failure to mention the formal conflict management protocol was described after extensive probing for information about the Conflict Complaint Protocol Structure:

*Interviewer:* Okay. So if I were to live here and I had a conflict, who do I go to immediately?
*Interviewee:* You go to the security.
*Interviewer:* Okay, and then.
*Interviewee:* And the security, if they can’t solve that problem, they write a letter so that you go to the police. Because if you go straight to the police they say go back to the security and see if they can change it. If they can’t solve it, then they will write a letter for you. Then you bring it to the police. Or sometimes it is something serious then you just call the police.
*Interviewer:* Oh, okay, so just go straight to the police if it is serious.
*Interviewee:* Yes, then they come.
The three interview participants who sleep outside the CMM building have not been considered in this section because there are no floor/section committee representatives for individuals sleeping outside the building.

5.3.3.2 Stage 2: Overall Building Committee

According to two key informants who are authorities within the refugee setting and not included in the interview population, the Overall Building Committee is represented by 10 influential community members: three males and seven females. A committee chairman and secretary chair meetings. The function of the committee is to oversee all general concerns about the community and the building. Meetings are held on Monday evenings. The Centre Administrator occasionally joins the meetings. The committee is the second stage in the Conflict Complaint Protocol Structure. Conflicts that are not resolved by members of the Floor/Section Committees are escalated to the Overall Building Committee. A single interview offers reference to the mentioned committee:

We have a council of committee members. But to my surprise it is said to discuss about the issues travelling in floors. It is not functional you know. I thought that I would tell the Bishop one day … so that we can discuss the issues we are facing and the problem.

5.3.3.3 Stage 3: Security Team and Head of Security

The security team is constituted of individual members from the refugee community. According to the head of the security, who was one of the research participants, members of the security team or the Centre Administrator decide who is to take on a position as member of the security team. Based on the fact that being a member of the security team requires “hard work” and makes “a contribution to the running of the building,” members of the security team receive monetary compensation for their work: “It is a paid job, because it is a job.” Answers about the total number of security team members vary. According to a key informant, 22 security members are active in the community. Participants indicated numbers ranging from 12 to 17. According to the head of the security team who was interviewed, 16 security individuals work under him. As such, a total of 17 security members work within the CMM refugee community setting. Every member of the security team is a Shona mother-tongue speaker.

According to the head of security, the security team meets every morning at 6:00 am to “discuss problems.” Meetings are conducted in Shona. While the meetings are compulsory
for every member of the security team, the head of the security team attends meetings three
times a week. When he is not there, one of the men under him, “tells the group what to talk
about,” and the “code of conduct” is discussed. The primary aim of the security team, so the
head of the security said, is to strive to “find solutions that leave us with peace and with our
life going on.” When acting as a security guard, ultimately “a mediation role” according to
the head of security, members of the team speak English, so “that they appear to be neutral.”
Although certain members of the security team were active in Zimbabwe as soldiers,
interviews indicated that not all members of the security team have had previous training in
any form of conflict management.

The excerpts from a dialogue with the Centre Administrator points to a certain mentality or
work ethic within the security team that hints at a level militarism. This was confirmed by
observations that suggested a mentality or attitude of inexorable sternness as the underlying
principle of the security team members:

Interviewer: Are they [the security team members] in any way trained or lets
say prepared to take care of conflict?

Centre Administrator: Some of them are not. Some of the security are ex-
soldiers.

Interviewer: Which is a different mentality.

Centre Administrator: It is a different mentality, ja. It is, “You’ll listen or I’ll
break you.”

According to the Conflict Complaint Protocol Structure, the security team is to approach the
centre’s administrator after having approached the head of the security with conflicts that
they are unable to settle or resolve. The head of the security team, however, contends that if
the security team cannot sort out the problem, a decision is made about whether the
complainant needs to go for counselling, in which instance he/she is sent to the Centre
Administrator, or the conflict centres on a “criminal act”, in which instance, the police
become involved.

Interviews conducted with research participants who are members of the security team
concentrated on the hardships that the security members face when performing their role as
conflict managers. The following interview demonstrates some of the difficulties the
security team member’s face.
You know, out of 17 people that are security, they cannot control 4000 people. It is a small building, but there are too many areas to be covered. (Pause) And they are not all on duty at the same time. Part of those 19 people, four of them belong to Albert Street, where the children are, and out of these others, there are two heads of security. So that leaves 12 people to share the duties 24 hours everyday.

Between 1600 and 2000 members live inside the CMM building. The building can ‘accommodate’ a maximum capacity of 2000, according to Centre Administrator. During the day, from 6:00 am, the vast majority of refugee community members are not to be found inside the building. Pregnant women, mothers with young babies and individuals with disabilities are allowed in the building during the day.

Two participants who are members of the security team drew attention to the fact that “Zimbabweans use and abuse South African human rights laws which protect individuals more and especially women’s rights.” According to one of participants, “the security can not take care of all conflict because ‘victims’ fabricate stories to the police, and so we are powerless to do anything.” The participant was referring to the fact that according to him, “women in South Africa are stronger because they have more rights” and that it sometimes happens that if a security guard were to reprimand certain women for wrongfully committing something, the women might turn the story around so as to make the security guard look like the perpetrator of the crime. Two different accounts given by participants, both of whom were security members, relate incidents where a security member was wrongfully accused of perpetrating a crime by a woman. Once the convicted security member had been put in jail, the complainant approached the convicted security member’s friends to negotiate the price at which she would drop the charges. Various incidents of corruption by security, police and other individuals surfaced during these discussions. Given the primary objective of this treatise, namely, to provide a broad description of the formal and informal conflict management strategies within the CMM refugee setting, delving into particular conflicts in great detail will not be indulged.

One participant, a member of the security team, drew attention to the fact that “the security guards are always accused of inefficiency” because, according to the Centre Administrator, “human rights abuse is more important to tackle than criminal activity.” The interviewee continued to focus his discussion around his opinion that “the bishop [the Centre Administrator] is a minister and pastor but not a politician.” Two other participants indicated
differing perceptions about the role of the police from the perspective of the Centre Administrator and the security team. According to one participant, the Centre Administrator “also wants us to be a counsellor and like a police…we can not listen to everybody’s stories.”

Having depicted the structural organization of the security team and explored some of the difficulties that the security team members face, the discussion will turn to the security team’s function of conflict management from the perspective of non-security team participants.

According to various informants, both participants and a social worker who was active in the community, the presence of a security force within the community is a recent development that has beneficially contributed to “a ‘smoother’ running of the community.” A participant living in the community for the past three years supported the positive contribution of security to the management of conflict:

*Interviewer:* Do people ever fight about getting the food.

*Interviewee:* Now they don’t.

*Interviewer:* Did they used to?

*Interviewee:* They used to. Sometimes they do fight, but with the help of this the security, they maintain the order now.

Other remarks about the positive contribution of the security team as a conflict resolution platform were the following: “Mostly the security guys understand when you come to them – depending on who is on duty”; “if someone beats me up in the building, they [the security] will catch him”; “the moment you go there [to the security] they’ll help you.”

Among the majority of participants, including members of the security team, feelings of ambivalence and even negativity about the role of the security organization as an agency in the resolution of conflict reigns. In one of the refugee meetings attended, many refugee community members in the audience rebuked the security for acts of corruption, favouritism and stealing.

The following snippets from four separate interviews bear testimony to the preceding statement: “if you sleep with a security man, he will help you”; “you must love me otherwise you’re not allowed in the door”; “I know what they want but I will not give it to them”; and,
“if one of the security is your friend you are okay.” One participant had the following to say about corruption among the security team:

You want a favour from the security…for example…not being allowed in the building. If I work a favour for the security, give the security food, go and buy things for him, any time that I pass…he will let me in. Some people will be outside the building; I will be inside the building. I can go in and out of the building like I want because I have got somebody from my gang who is there at the door. So, those conflicts arise….That’s why you see the security are being accused of so many …because the security give favours to some people.

Two participants reported a security team member who had stolen from individuals and from the community. Although the individual has since lost his position as a security guard, he still resides in the building. The following interview excerpts refer to the security guard:

He was a security and then they realized, for instance, that stuff would be dropped here at the building and TT\(^1\) would annex it. And then the next thing he was selling it on the streets to the people.

Oh, the not-security guy who likes to be a security guy? …I mean he is ruthless. So there is an old crippled man. So he got hold of his bags with certificates and everything and bartered it, used the money for something else. Yesterday I had a deaf mute come to me…so he eventually wrote stuff down but the bottom line is that is that he said, “TT has stolen all my money, my R80 and I have got nothing to eat. You know, so TT is a real charlatan.

Five participants described how security team members engaged in acts of violence when dealing with conflicts, although not every participant who related the incidents appeared to have been personally involved in the situations. Three excerpts of accounts follow:

They [the security] thought I had hit the old man. They severely attacked me. When they are beating you, they use the stick…

Ja, the big problem is our security. I think they have got a weakness. They beat people up that don’t have a problem. Just because here there are plenty people. So when someone comes with a problem they say, “Hey, you get away; you come for a stupid question.” Something like that you know.

**Interviewer:** Have you ever been physically reprimanded by the security? You know physically harmed?

**Interviewee:** I have not but they did used to do beatings.

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\(^1\) To protect the identity of the individual referred to in the dialogue his/her name has been assigned the letters TT. The letter has no relationship to the phonetic or lexical transcription of the actual name.
A situational analysis of the refugee setting conducted by an external social worker service provider who wished to remain anonymous quoted various reports by individuals and especially children and youth in which incidences of sjamboking by the security team were described.

In an interview with the head of the security team, he suggested “beating” is “needed” by the security team on occasions despite the fact their code of conduct includes “abstinence from beating” according to a participant. The interview with a member of the security team illustrates the security team’s view about “beating people with a sjambok”:

Ja, there is time when we need beating, but I always say that will come after… you try your best to talk to the people. When they fail to listen, that is when you apply force. But we know that the bishop does not want that, but there are times when you are forced. … So I tell the other men, you know before you beat, try to tell me and then I see whether that man deserves it.

The use of sjamboks and beating as a last resort to managing conflict were described by three other participants, all of whom were members of the security team. All four participants who were members of the security team thanked the researcher for having taken the time to listen so they could “speak about things”. One participant expressed that some form of counselling for the security team members might be beneficial.

Having described the role of the security team with regards to conflict management from both the perspective of members of the security team, members of the refugee community, and external observers, the section that follows provides an account of the role of the centre’s administrator as a stage in the Conflict Complaint Protocol Structure.

5.3.3.4 Stage 4: Centre Administrator

The Centre Administrator is represented by the Bishop of the Central Methodist Church or Central Methodist Mission. His role in the Conflict Complaint Protocol Structure is located at stage 5: the head of security refers cases for conflict resolution to the Centre Administrator, and should the Centre Administrator deem it necessary, the Centre Administrator refers cases to the police.

Although lengthy accounts and descriptions of the Centre Administrator’s role within the community and the influence of his role on the lives of individuals were gathered, the Centre
Administrator’s role within the Conflict Complaint Protocol Structure remains the focus of the section.

As outlined above, members of the security team describe the role of the Centre Administrator as being that of the counsellor and pastor who is concerned with human rights abuse over and above acts of criminal abuse. The security team refer situations of conflict that they are unable to solve to the Centre Administrator should they be of the opinion that counselling is required. However, one participant noted the following:

So the guys that I am working with, sometimes we can not send people to the bishop…because the bishop, you know, can’t do everything; you know, we can’t wait for him, so we deal with it or we go straight to the police.

Four participants indicated that they have approached the Centre Administrator with various concerns, but not with conflicts: “If you don’t have money, you can go to the bishop [Centre Administrator]”; “he [the Centre Administrator] will see you in the evening if you have a problem”; “if you fight you must go to the bishop [the Centre Administrator]”; and, “I would go straight to the bishop if someone would give me a problem”.

Three participants indicated that they would not approach the Centre Administrator to try and resolve a conflict. In each of the interviews under discussion, it was indicated that the security team is to be sought directly when conflict arises. The excerpt below is indicative of one participant’s stance on the matter:

*Interviewer:* So what does one do? Have you ever been to the bishop with a problem?

*Interviewee:* No, we usually try to do it with the security. They always look for a way to talk to the people. Because here they say, “No drinking,” but they come home drunk. They say, “No prostitution”, but they are having sex on the steps. They break each and every golden rule that is made here.

Six participants indicated that they have never met the Centre Administrator because “he is always very busy” and “when you go to him in the evening for help sometimes you will wait for a long, long time”. The three members of the research population who sleep outside the building had never had personal contact with the Centre Administrator and therefore do not place him within any conflict management or resolution framework.
The Centre Administrator personally holds that very little conflict is present within the CMM refugee community and that an informal system of self-disciplining exists:

What is remarkable, let me tell you, is that for so many people, there is so little conflict... I think considering the pressures in the building, we have relatively little abuse of both children and you know...If there is something funny that goes on, you know the community self-disciplines quite quickly.

Further on in the same interview, the Centre Administrator verbalized strategies for dealing with conflicts:

You have gotta watch it all the time! All the time! The trick is to nip it in the bud. As soon as evidence manifests itself, you climb in. Separate conflicting parties, take people out of the building to cool down, time out, that kind of stuff.

5.3.3.5 Stage 5: Police

The role of the police with respect to conflict management within the CMM building was described as being valuable by a limited score of members of the community. The dialogue below provides evidence of a co-operative relationship between the police and the security team members.

Interviewer: Okay, and if you catch any vandalism inside the building, what do you do?

Interviewee: The security are working hand-in-hand with the police. Because everyday police, because we once had a problem with the guys who were sleeping down to the Minor. We once had problems with those guys; they were stealing bags, which I was talking about. Sometimes they were stealing the phones. Sometimes they would get into the room where the ladies were sleeping and say, “Give me the phone! Give me the phone!” So because of this problem, the Bishop ended up making arrangement with the police. They work with the securities here. We have some personal forms for some people with special forces. If we have some serious cases, we just call them and they must come. And everyday they were coming here; there is a book that they sign. Is there any problem in the building? Who is being a problem? If there is some one who is not being good, they take that person away. As for now, maybe from last year September/October it is quite fine.

Interviewer: Okay so people feel the presence of the police, so it is a little bit more under control. Okay, so the security has a good relationship with the police also.

Interviewer: Yes
The head of the security team indicated that although a working relationship with the police exists, the ‘right’ officers need to be approached to secure assistance.

Those who know what, they are really responsible, they know what they are doing, the captains, the directors, the senior superintendents, they really know. Because I work with all those people. Because when I phone, I don’t phone 10111, because I know they won’t respond. I will phone those officers, and I know they will then send those junior ones with immediate effect. When they come here now, they will be so vicious because they have been sent by the boss.

In an interview following a raid by the Metro police on the CMM refugee community on the evening of the 20 February, 2009, the Centre Administrator described the tactics used by the police.

You know, for instance, last night there was a raid of the Metro Police and the Red Ants; they basically came here and they… were basically cleaning up the court precinct. You know, but they started doing that at 1 o’clock in the morning when people were vulnerable and sleeping. And then they also brought Home Affairs in to check whether people were legal or not legal. And, you know, I wasn’t here. I don’t know whether they waited for me to go, but it was just after I left, and I was going to get something to eat, and I was phoned by Evans who told me what they were doing…. When I came I was not very pleasant towards the police, towards the Red Ants towards all the functionaries. I said to them, “Was it absolutely not possible for you to contact us earlier on so that we could facilitate this?” So that people were not treated like animals. I accused them of taking us back into the apartheid era. And that this really felt like that in every respect. I said to the Department of Home Affairs that they needed to be ashamed of what they were doing. Because people come to them everyday; they stand in line long, and they don’t serve them, they serve about 20 out of 1000, and then they come to this place and try to catch people who have not got asylum. You know I mean it’s a little fixation.

The majority of interview accounts relating to the police were about the xenophobic attitudes propounded by the police. In the following interview snippets, the refugees’ experiences of the police as xenophobic are evident.

The police is spread like bee’s looking for foreign nationals who don’t have documents. They look for them so they can bribe them.

Ja. There were three guys in Mayfair. Their documents were taken. They reported a case and nothing was done. But I wanted to go with them directly to John Forster because the way I operate, I work directly with the commissioner. Ja, I tell him the truth. Because if this is the way we are operating then we should know what we should do. They no longer want to serve us as foreign nationals. We have to tell them it is my right in here in my
document. And authentic documents from the offices. If someone takes it away it leaves me vulnerable, especially someone because the police are there to protect us and not to intimidate us. Police are for protection, to whoever, to all human beings. But if I am wrong, take me to court. If I am given a document from a police and another police tears up that document, what does it show?

I will never go to the police. They will tear up your documents and take you in their van and drive and drive for three/four hours, so that when they stop you will be saying you will give them anything.

Once a police car stopped on the side of the road and asked me where I was from. When I said Zimbabwe, the man got out and started interrogating me.

If you go to the police with a problem, they will make that you are the criminal.

Following an incident in which police officials have been accused of engaging in acts of violence against refugees sleeping in the vicinity of the CMM on the 3rd July, 2009, widespread media attention has been focused on police treatment of refugees living at the CMM. In accounts of incidents, it is stated that “the police beat them [refugees], insulted them, gave them electric shocks and stole their belongings” (Flanagan, 2009:5). Based on the fact that such happenings occurred in the post-field research phase of this study, personal accounts of the incidents were not obtained and are not included in the research.

5.4 Conflict Encounters and Strategic Approaches

The following section describes the most prominent conflicts encountered by participants within the CMM refugee setting context. Galtung’s (1965) definition of conflict, “an action-system is said to be in conflict if the system has two or more incompatible goal-states” (347), encompasses the working definition for this treatise. The strategies – informal and formal – employed by the participants when dealing with the various conflicts under discussion will also be elaborated. Descriptions of the strategic choice of conflict style of participants have been informed by Rubin et al. (1994) theories about strategic choice. The semi-structured interview schedule acted as a research tool in the current study and facilitated the coding of data because it provided core categories from which to proceed with coding themes and sub-themes for the discussions that follow.

5.4.1 Intrapersonal Conflicts

Based on the discussions of conflict presented in the review of the literature about conflict, descriptions of conflict within the CMM refugee community were not limited to
interpersonal conflicts. Intrapersonal conflicts are considered for description because an analysis of the conflicts and conflict handling strategies within the CMM refugee community cannot be adequately understood when placed only in a “sociological and political context” (Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, 1990:231).

Intrapersonal conflict or individual intra-system conflict in this study refers to incompatible goal-states within the individual. The section that follows describes the themes that emerged in discussions with participants with respect to intrapersonal conflicts and focuses on the types of conflicts they have experienced with themselves since being a part of the CMM refugee community.

5.4.1.1 Frustration with respect to lack of jobs and income

The majority of the responses to questions about intrapersonal conflict, or being angry with oneself, centred around a lack of jobs or income. This finding is supported by Siphosami’s (2008) report about social services and refugees at the CMM, in which it is noted that “one of the major problems they [refugees at the CMM] face is lack of jobs or any income generating services” (21). According to the interviews conducted for the current study, individuals blamed themselves or experienced some form of inner struggle based on the fact that they were not working and generating income. One response from an interview reads:

    About everything… (Pause) Because I don’t go to work, I don’t have money. I must suffer to be someone. Yes, this inside me makes me angry with myself.

The interview was conducted with a young male refugee who lives on the pavement outside the CMM building. He has no work, and it was not clear how he secures food. The sentence “I must suffer to be someone” points to a notion of future. The participant has thus not yielded to the conflict that he finds himself in. He has not assumed a destructive or contentious stance to the conflict. Perhaps one might suggest that he is engaged in a problem-solving approach to the situation indicated by the fact that he is looking for work to resolve his frustration about having no money.

A second interviewee noted that “I get cross with myself for not finding work…I must try more harder.” The comment also points to a form of problem solving, whereby the interview participant approaches her conflict by having identified a possible solution. A
lady confided in her interview that she is always in a *fight of time* between making money and her education, which she states she knows she must acquire.

*Interviewer:* Since being here at the central Methodist church, what are the biggest conflicts that you have experienced with yourself since being here. You know, sometimes we fight with ourselves.

*Interviewee:* Our difficulties?

*Interviewer:* Well, one sometimes fight with ourselves because we say to ourselves why didn’t we do this thing or that. Or what are our wishes.

*Interviewee:* I wish maybe that I would move away from this place and find a better place to stay. And I wish to find a permanent job because the work with the NA is casual work. Because sometimes, maybe, I [am] busying working with money, but I would love to go to school; so, you see, that sometimes, these to things fight against each other. That is a big wish, to go to college and further my education. But time and money is a problem. Time is moving now, but there is nothing I can do. Maybe if things are alright at home, I would love to go home and to find a job with better qualifications. And maybe if I am advancing my education, and then maybe, one day, when I go home, I can get a better job.

The research participant has partially surrendered to her circumstances: at present, she is working and earning money. She even says that there is nothing that she can do about it. However, she has not completely yielded to her circumstances because she still thinks of ways in which it might be possible for her to advance her education and be able to earn more money.

A different participant commented that when the centre’s administrator ordered that no one come inside the church building, he always feels a conflict in himself between feeling sorry for people and having to tell the people that they are not allowed into the building because it is his ‘job’ as a security guard to do what the administrator requires. The individual yields to the inner conflict that he finds himself in because he has a role to play in his position as a security guard.

The four interviewees cited above understood what was being asked of them about conflict with themselves without difficulty. Seven participants understood what was being asked once the question was phrased differently. It is not possible to identify and judge the intrapersonal conflicts and strategies used for dealing with those conflicts for the remaining 10 participants.
5.4.2 Interpersonal conflicts with Other Members of the CMM Refugee Community

Several possibilities for overt conflict develop become apparent when more than one action system is involved and goals states perceived to be ‘different’ or incompatible come into play. The section that follows describes the themes that emerged from discussions with the participants about interpersonal conflict, or the types of conflicts they have experienced with other community members since becoming a part of the CMM refugee community.

5.4.2.1 Conflicts based on positions or power

Nine out of the 20 research participants noted that they have been involved in a situation of conflict when active in their role in the CMM refugee community as members of the security, cleaning team or an influential person of sorts. A lady who used to be part of the security team commented as follows:

*Interviewer:* Can you tell me, has there been any conflict amongst the refugees here?

*Interviewee:* Ja, people who work together. Sometime I have been a security, from June last year till this year in February. Sometimes you will find difficulties with people who fight with you. Or like everyday we have a church service at 7 pm, and we are forced to push the people, they must take them to church everyday. And then maybe someone is coming from work and they want to rest or sleep because they are tired. Then it is not allowed; then you have to force them to go to church before they go and rest. And on Saturdays everybody has to pay R5 here at the door. Someone will not be having that R5, and then you feel sorry for that person, but your colleagues don’t understand; they just say that the person has to pay. If you don’t make them pay, your colleagues will make your life difficult.

The participant indicates that an intrapersonal conflict is experienced about how she would want to act and how she is expected to act based on her status as a member of the security. A conflict between the participant and members of the community who “want to fight” with her based on what she requires them to do not being something that they want to do is also apparent. The possibility of conflict with other security guards, should the interviewee not act within her role as a security guard, is also apparent. All three instances of conflict described above are related to the participant’s role as a security guard. Her power relative to members of the community and other members of security places her in three different conflictual situations.
Discussions with other participants indicated similar incidents of conflict based on different roles in the community. One participant (a Floor/Section Committee leader) focused his discussion on the fact that “because some people don’t like it if you tell them what to do…they just fight with you.” Another participant (head of the cleaning team) commented that “I am in charge here of the cleaners, but people don’t understand if I tell them – don’t do this or do this….They will just be rude.” In an interview with a community member who works next to the CMM building and who frequently “has to do with rich white people,” it was reported that the participant is often the target of attempted burglaries.

5.4.2.2 Conflicts based on misunderstandings

Eight interviewees commented that they have been in a situation of interpersonal conflict as a result of a misunderstanding of sorts. The following is taken from an interview with a security guard.

Here you find different kinds of people. Some, they are traumatised; some, they are strange. So, it will be difficult to control these people or to tell them to do this or that. Maybe, in the end, you find that you end up fighting with these people. You find that maybe you will not be understanding each other.

Although the participant does not clearly indicate what conflict handling strategy or style he adopts, one might surmise that some form of contentious conflict strategies are adopted as the participant ‘fights’ with the people in his attempts to ‘control’ them. There appears to be a clear purpose to have the other parties yield. The fact that the different parties “will not be understanding each other” makes the adoption of a problem-solving approach difficult, which ensures opening up possibilities for compromising as difficult and unlikely. Another security guard commented on the fact that other people sometimes do not understand the rules of the building and interpersonal conflict develops:

Sometimes you won’t be liking to do it. Like in the morning, you have to clear the building and people have to move out. Then you feel sorry for someone, but you have got no option, but it is the rule of the building that everybody has to move out. And some people they won’t understand those things.

Three incidents of interpersonal conflict based on some form of misunderstanding as a result of language barriers were related. In one of the instances, the language barrier was between a Shona and a Zulu speaking South African. In this instance, both parties assumed contending conflict styles and violence broke out. The conflict was halted by members of the security team who witnessed it. It has ultimately not been resolved.
The second instance of conflict based on a misunderstanding as a result of language barriers involved two Shona speakers and two Mozambicans. The participant reported that both parties were intoxicated and that should the security team not have intervened, the parties would have “hit each other”. The third instance of misunderstanding based on a language barrier, involved a Shona speaker and a Portuguese speaker. Evidence of a yielding approach to the conflict was indicated by the interviewee who articulated: “I don’t know his language, so I just said that he was right.”

5.4.2.3 Basic need conflicts
A soup kitchen is run by the CMM, and individuals who have no other way of obtaining food are able to obtain food approximately three times a week from the soup kitchen, depending on donations received by the CMM. Despite extensive probing to ascertain if individuals resort to some form of conflict if not enough food is available, as is often the case, and despite a report by an aid worker indicating that instances of stealing food by powerful members of the community had been observed, evidence of the development of interpersonal conflict based on the frustration or denial of nourishment within the CMM refugee community was not forthcoming. Possible explanations for this will be examined in Chapter 6.

Conflict surrounding the soup kitchen was voiced at two Refugee Meetings when competition for space between vendors and those serving food in the kitchen was described. It was also indicated that vendors were “passing unnecessary comments” and that the vendors and the soup kitchen should start working together. Conflict of this sort might best be described as a form of intergroup conflict. A problem-solving approach was adopted to deal with the conflict. Representatives from the soup kitchen and the vendors apparently spoke before the meeting to resolve the conflict, and the Centre Administrator assumed the role of the “mediator” (Rubin et al., 1994:28), which is associated with a problem-solving approach. However, it might be noted that a degree of contending from the soup kitchen’s side was implicit. Whenever the conflict between the vendors and the soup kitchen arose, it was clear that the matter was to be resolved on the terms of the soup kitchen, in other words, within a structural framework. The conflict appeared to have assumed the dynamics of an interest-based conflict, the underlying interest being the right or authority to space in which to sell food to the refugee community.
Blankets

Blankets and other belongings are stored in different storerooms in the CMM building during the day when people are not allowed to remain indoors. The fact that no clear security system exists for the storage of the community members’ goods results in individuals often losing all their belongings, including blankets, as a result of these goods being stolen. Stolen items are often sold but also kept for personal use by the perpetrators. Eight interviewees relayed accounts of interpersonal conflict about a blanket or personal item of clothing being stolen.

In six cases, interviewees whose goods had been stolen avoided engagement in any form of interpersonal conflict. The following excerpt indicates that yielding or total capitulation is the approach adopted by the participant.

*Interviewee:* Nothing. You do nothing. They say you must keep to the time of taking the blanket there by the store room. Let’s say I am at work, and I get here at 7 o’clock, then you find that all the blankets are already taken. Then they tell you must come on time, but we can’t because the contractors are funny you know.

*Interviewer:* If you are too late, what do you do then?

*Interviewee:* Nothing, you get inside with no blanket and sleep.

Another participant commented that he is too tired and hungry in the evening when he comes back from work as a flag man on a construction site to fight with someone about a blanket, but that he hopes that by the winter he would have found somewhere else to live. Although a yielding approach to the conflict is indicated above, one might also describe it as a form of compromise. Having identified that he is too tired to pursue any conflict about a blanket and that it is a bigger priority for him to sleep, the participant engages in a compromising conflict style.

Other participants contended that fighting about blankets did not help because “If there aren’t enough, there aren’t enough”; “Even if you make a mark so you know its your blanket the police will say – how do I know it is really yours”; “Ha, if you tell the police that man is wearing your shoes, the man will just say to the police that he bought it from someone”; and, “If you make someone in trouble for stealing your things he will tell his friends to steal it again”. The four different excerpts point to total yielding approaches to blanket/clothes
conflicts. The participants completely forfeited their aspiration/need for a blanket based on the fact that they felt that pursuing the conflict would not result in them getting their blankets or clothes back.

Two participants claimed that seeking the assistance of the security team was successful: “I got my bag again, but some of my things were gone”; and “They made him give me back my blanket”. One participant was “disappointed” because she had indicated to the police the person who had taken her cell phone, and the police had not gotten it back for her. This was allegedly because the accused perpetrator had told the security that he had bought the cell phone from someone in Jeppe Street. The two instances described indicate that the participants actively adopted a problem-solving approaches to the conflict by seeking the assistance of representatives of the security team. This lead to an engagement in formal conflict management strategies (stage 3).

According to two security members, “we are powerless to help if the bags go missing” and when “people go to the bishop”, in other words, the Centre Administrator, “there is nothing he can do.”

5.4.2.5 Conflicts about sleeping space

Based on the scope and size of the CMM building and the number of individuals that use it as a shelter or lodging place, space, and especially sleeping space, was a limited or constrained resource. Vundla’s (2008) study on the accessibility of social services to CMM refugees supports the notion of space in the CMM setting as a nexus of conflict. Accommodation according to Vundla (2008) was a grievance for all 15 participants involved in her research who reported that “it is overcrowded and it continues to be so as a lot of stranded people come to the centre” (21).

Six participants indicated that space was a source of conflict among members of the community. An elderly participant indicated that “when I first came here, I found a place to sleep, but then someone else came and he wanted to fight with me because he said that it was his place.” The participant relayed an account of how he had to get up and go and find another space to sleep. This approach to conflict is indicative of a yielding stance. Another participant pragmatically suggested that there are certain parts in the building where certain people always sleep and if a certain person always sleeps on the same two steps, “then those
are his two steps.” Four interviewees, indicated that they knew of people prepared to “fight with someone” about sleeping space, even if they personally would not.

The following dialogue about sleeping space points to a sub-theme about gangsters or dominant group formations that were described in a few interviews:

*Interviewee:* Within this community, if you sleep in this section, and I sleep in this section, there comes something like, “My gang needs to sleep in this place. Make space for them.” So they sleep in gangs. We have the problem. If I am new, I just find an open space, and I go in and sleep there. They will have conflict with me. So the conflict will arise because this is my “brothers” sleeping space. Although he is not there, maybe he has gone somewhere to work for three days that space has to be open.

*Interviewer:* Ah even if he is not here? You will not sleep there because this is his space.

*Interviewee:* Until someone who is bigger than him comes…This place is not to be occupied now because the guy is not there. So that is where the conflicts come from.

The interview excerpt points to a conflict between a group action system and an individual action system. The group action system has assumed a contending approach to the conflict and forces the individual attempting to occupy the ‘brother’s place’ to find a different sleeping space. The individual will be forced to yield completely and to find a sleeping space elsewhere.

Groupings of individuals or forms of gangsterism, as described above, were confirmed as a source of conflict in six other interviews. In each instance, the group or gang regulated the conflict on its terms. In four of the interviews, the participants related how members of the ‘Soweto’ “a gang that carries knives and guns” sleep in the CMM building. Participants confided that they would not like to “cross ways with these men.” A female interviewee described the Soweto gang in the following terms:

*Interviewer:* Tell me about the Soweto gang or group?

*Interviewee:* Oh, they will come at midnight and search your lockers for the cell phones and things whilst we are sleeping. The Sowetos, ah, they don’t go to work those guys. If you want a nice phone you can get it from those guys, they went to park station to rob phones. They will come and sell it. You know a nice phone they will sell it for R200 or R150. A nice phone!
In an interview with another participant the activities of the group were described in the following way:

They use knives. So, if you want to run away with your life, you just give them what they want, and then they go. And the problem with those guys, if they come and sell a nice phone to you, they will come after you also and steal it from you.

The Centre Administrator appeared to have contradictory views of the Soweto gang. The following excerpt from an interview indicates his view of the gang and the activities that they are involved in.

_centre Administrator:_ I think it is true. I think that there are groupings, but how efficient they are in censure and exploitation or in crime I am not sure. There is a nasty little group which they call Soweto. They tend to terrorize people. Like there was a man….

_interviewer:_ They stay here…

_centre Administrator:_ Like if you go down to the bottom of this passage turn left ad then down. So they are opposite the minor hall, and then they stay all the way into the crèche. They actually are quite dangerous people I think. [They] have knives. I believe that they carry guns.

In separate interviews, members of the security team commented that “if a conflict is unsolvable and between members of a group” within the same group, they “never get involved…because the parties know each other and will always in the end, end it”.

### 5.4.2.6 Conflicts based on political, religious or cultural views and beliefs

The majority of the participants indicated that politics is not a topic that is often discussed among members of the CMM refugees. In the dialogue below, it becomes clear that individuals might not advertise their political values for the sake of avoiding conflict confrontations.

_interviewer:_ Can you tell me a little bit about if people in the community ever have fights about politics? Like the political situation in Zimbabwe or things like that?

_interviewee:_ Normally we don’t have things like that because normally you find that the people staying here are of the opposition. And if someone is from the other party, maybe from the ZANU (PF), they will not show it; they will just try to squeeze in.

_interviewer:_ Just try to fit in?
Interviewee: To fit in because they would fear for that thing that maybe these people who go against me would maybe hurt me because they would find out who you are. And I have seen situation that if they suspect, they will just start harassing that person.

Interviewer: They will harass someone if they suspect that they are from the other party? So if some one is from ZANU (PF), the opposition will start harassing them.

Interviewee: Yes, they will start harassing them.

Interviewer: How? What will they do?

Interviewee: Mmm, you see they will just try to threaten that person. Ja, things like that so that person will not feel comfortable here! So that is why I am saying even if that person is from the opposition, they wont show it. They will just fit in. Ja, for their safety.

The interview excerpt below similarly points to the avoidance of political talk based on a fear of conflict:

Interviewer: Okay, that was good. Can you tell me a little bit about, do people in the community ever have fights about politics? Like the political situation in Zimbabwe or things like that?

Interviewee: Normally we don’t have things like that because normally you find that the people staying here are of the opposition. And if someone is from the other party maybe from the ZANU (PF), they will not show it; they will just try to squeeze in.

Another member indicated that he avoided discussing politics because “it can kill.” One participant based his avoidance of the topic on past experience:

Interviewer: Do you ever speak to people here at the church about politics or religion.

Interviewee: Ah, me? No, I am away from politics. Even at home they know me, my family. That’s why I ran away from them. By the time they were beating people and doing some shit to people, I wanted to be away. I am used to my father saying that politics is a dirty game. I have seen people dying, but I put that out of my mind. Here, too, I will not have to do with politics because it can kill.

According to two members of the security team, issues that are about something objective often get twisted into “a tribal conflict.” The first participant narrated an account where an individual had vomited in the church building; when the security member, a Shona, reproached the individual, who was Ndebele, and suggested he clean it up, the individual started swearing
at him in Nguni and saying that the security was “after him because I am a Shona.” The security guard proceeded to say that in such incidents the security end up having to “back away.”

According to the Centre Administrator, ethnic conflict is not as rife within the community as might be assumed.

*Interviewer:* From what we have heard the Shona and the Ndebele are very divided and they don’t really communicate.

*Centre Administrator:* Well not really. I don’t think it’s that bad. No, I think that there may be some very prejudiced people, but by and large, I think that their relationships are reasonably open. Ja, I mean they’re all suffering together.

### 5.4.2.7 Conflicts with South Africans or individuals of other nationalities

The section that follows describes themes that emerged from discussions with participants about interpersonal conflicts experienced with South Africans or people of other nationalities after becoming a part of the CMM refugee community.

All interview participants have had some form of conflictual experience with a South African since living at the CMM refugee setting. The observation is supported by Vundla (2008) in a report about the accessibility of social services to refugees at the CMM. Vundla maintains that 12 of the 15 participants in her study indicated that “the problem they face most is xenophobia and being discriminated against” (20). It is important to note that the majority of the conflict incidents occurred outside the CMM refugee setting.

For example, a lady who had been forced to move to the CMM building due to xenophobic attacks in Alexandra Township in 2008 commented as follows:

> And here at Central Methodist Church [we] find problems with South Africans that come to church. Sometimes they will say these people are smelling. In the evening, on Fridays, they have their service here; they don’t like the overcrowding of people, and some people are shouting at us because this is their property.

A second person commented:

> [In] the taxis, maybe. Sometimes you don’t understand the language that they talk and then you speak English and they don’t like that. They get angry and say things like we come here just to take their jobs.
Three female participants relayed accounts of how they had been victimized by South African shop owners. One lady recounted how a male shop owner would not let her into his clothing store, shouting that “we don’t need your business.” A second participant indicated that “when a manager in the Checkers in Newtown” heard her and her friend speaking Shona, they promptly went to the store security and told him that the ladies were thieves, at which point the security approached the ladies and put them through lengthy questioning. The third participant commented, “Yes, I have been treated badly often because I am a foreigner.”

Limited evidence of xenophobia among and between members within the CMM refugee setting surfaced during interviewees. According to the Centre Administrator, evidence of hatred between different ethnic groups only surfaced in situations were some form of stress factor had impinged upon the community:

> You know that when sometimes one gets into a crises then one senses…then they fall back onto that argument [xenophobia]...So, for instance, when we had the murders that thing raised itself. In those instances, and on both instances, it was the same tribe that had killed but initially there was a very strong… Let’s say I think the first one that was killed was a Ndebele…so they all said the murderer is definitely Shona…Yes you know that was the first thing I had to deal with. When we gathered everybody up at the church because, you know, at that stage, we did not have a service every evening. When I gathered everybody upstairs, that was the issue I had to deal with, only to discover, in actual fact, after I had dealt with it, that it was passé.

### 5.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, data gathered through the course of the field research was presented. The chapter was presented in three sections. The first section tabulated the demography of the interview sample. Section 2 followed with a description and outline of the various formal conflict management strategies in place within the CMM refugee setting: the daily church services and refugee meetings, the rules that guide and govern behaviour, and the Conflict Complaint Protocol Structure. In Section 3, the most pertinent conflicts experienced by members of the CMM refugee community and the forms of conflict management the participants adopted most frequently were described.

For the purpose of the descriptive presentation, data was collected by means of simple non-participant observation, face-face-interviews using a structured interview schedule, and informal interviews that were conducted throughout the period of the study. Excerpts from
transcriptions of the interviews were presented. Where appropriate and available, documentation from other sources that had relevance to the CMM refugee community were consulted. The extensive range of literature consulted for the theoretical components of the study was relied upon for guidance about the core concepts that were descriptively presented in the chapter. Documentation and the professional opinions of social workers and researchers active in the CMM refugee community were also referred to in the chapter.

Not all the information collected during the field study was presented in the chapter. Only the data pertinent to the general research questions and aims, which were about describing the various conflicts the CMM refugee community case study participants faced and the informal and formal conflict management strategies adopted for their resolution have been presented. Babbie and Mouton (2007) maintain that descriptive studies “are seldom limited to a merely descriptive purpose” (81). Chapter 6 presents an analysis of the data presented in Chapter 5.
CHAPTER SIX – RESEARCH FINDINGS: DISCUSSION OF DATA

6.1 Introduction
In this chapter, a description of the conflicts and conflict management strategies adopted by members of the CMM refugee community, as presented in Chapter 5, will be further analysed and presented as 15 core categories. The grounded theory approach that informs the research methodology will be adhered to for the analysis. When appropriate, reference will be made to preceding chapters in the study.

Despite the fact that the grounded theory approach is primarily used to generate theories, the focus of the current research was not about developing a grounded theory, but rather, about arriving at a deeper understanding of the various elements of conflict and the conflict management strategies and structures employed by members of the CMM refugee community. Strauss and Corbin’s (1998) assertion that the grounded theory approach can be used even if the “ultimate research goal is to arrive at a set of findings rather than theory of development” (155) underpins the preceding statement. Greater depth of research into the overall functioning of the CMM refugee community is required to facilitate the development of a grounded theory with respect to conflict management strategies within the setting.

6.2 Data Analysis
In order to present the description of the formal conflict management strategies available to members of the CMM refugee setting and the informal and formal conflict management strategies or approaches adopted by individuals when confronted by conflict, the open coding method was adopted. In other words, the data was condensed into preliminary analytic categories. A semi-structured interview guide facilitated the selection of core categories from which to proceed. For the purpose of the analysis in this chapter, the second stage of coding, namely, axial coding, has been adopted. According Neuman (2006), axial coding involves “making connections among themes or elaborating the concepts that the themes represent” (426). Axial coding involves identifying “the causes and consequences, conditions and interactions, strategies and processes” (Neuman, 2006:463) of the categories and concepts under study. In the section that follows, the categories or qualitative observations that emerged as a result of the first phase of axial coding are presented.
6.2.1 Category 1: Lack of clarity about the function of Floor/Section Committees
A lack of clarity exists about the functioning of the Floor/Section Committees as a platform of conflict resolution/management. The category is based on the descriptive presentation of the collected data presented in Chapter 5. The principal arguments that led to the development of the category are outlined below.

- A single interviewee commented on the efficacy of the Floor/Section Communities as a stage in the resolution of conflict.
- Four participants made no reference to the Floor/Section Communities as a stage in the resolution of conflict. Evidence of skipping protocol, in other words, consulting someone at a higher stage of the protocol without prior attempts at approaching an individual from a Floor/Section Committee, was reported by four participants. This might be interpreted as an indication of failure on behalf of the Floor/Section Committees as a platform for conflict resolution.
- Based on three interviews with members of the Floor/Section Committees, the difficulties associated with the functioning of the committees as a conflict resolution platform are evident.
- Members of the Floor/Section Committees have no formal experience in resolving/managing conflict. As such, it is questionable if it is possible for the individuals involved in the committees to successfully perform such a function.

6.2.2 Category 2: Failure of Overall Building Committee to perform its function
The Overall Building Committee does not appear to fulfil its function as a platform for resolution or management of conflict. The category is based on the descriptive presentation of the collected data presented in Chapter 5. The principal arguments that led to the development of the category are outlined below.

- One out of 20 interview participants appeared to have knowledge about the Overall Building Committee as a platform in the management and resolution of conflict.
- Information about the function of the Overall Building Committee as a platform for the resolution of conflict was provided by key authorities within the CMM refugee community structure as few members within the community were aware of the existence of such a committee.
- Questions were raised about the existence of the structure under discussion and its inefficiency as a platform in the management and resolution of conflict.
6.2.3 Category 3: Conflicting perceptions of Centre Administrator and security team

The Centre Administrator and the security team have conflicting perceptions about the role of the security team. The category outlined above is based on the descriptive presentation of the collected data presented in Chapter 5. The principal arguments that led to the development of the category are outlined below.

- The Centre Administrator requires the security team to tackle human rights abuse and to act as counsellors.
- The security team approach their role from a “You listen or I’ll break you” perspective.
- The Centre Administrator’s orientation is described as being that of a pastor as opposed to that of a politician.

6.2.4 Category 4: Security team members implicated in acts of corruption

Security team members have been implicated in acts of corruption. The category is based on the descriptive presentation of the collected data presented in Chapter 5 and on research about the function of formal conflict management strategies presented in Chapter 3. The principal arguments that led to the development of the category are outlined below.

- Five individual interviewees accused security team members of corruption.
- At a refugee meeting, the refugee community members shouted accusations of corruption at the security team members.
- Two security members indicated that they had been forced to “pay their way” out of jail.
- Two accounts were given of a security team member who had abused his position as a security team member in the community by stealing and deceiving members of the community.
- A situational analysis drafted by an external social worker referred to various accounts of “beating by the security.” The report confirmed the existence of competing demands for resources, including “money, land, jobs and powerful positions” (Bradshaw, 2007:16) or greed.

Marxist social theorists interpret conflict as “the product of the class structure of society” (Bradshaw, 2007:52), where the contradictions produced by a particular division of labour fuels a dialectical struggle” (52), and the “dominant groups use their capacity for control to entrench a position of authority” (Anstey, 2006:17-18). “Structural imbalances and inequalities between opposing groups “tend to arouse a sense of grievance among the relatively disadvantaged, especially when one party is increasing its gains at the expense of
another” (Kriesberg, 1998:77). The category suggested the simultaneous existence of interest-based conflict and structural or asymmetric conflict.

6.2.5 Category 5: Security team members resort to violent disciplinary action
Security team members have been forced to resort to disciplinary acts of physical violence. The category is based on the descriptive presentation of the collected data put forward in Chapter 5. The principal arguments that led to the development of the category are outlined below.

• A situational analysis drafted by an external social worker referred to various accounts of “beating by the security” team members.
• In five interviews, participants indicated that security team members engaged in acts of violence when dealing with conflicts.
• The head of the security team confirmed that “beating” with a sjambok takes place.

6.2.6 Category 6: Security team members have difficulty performing their roles
Security team members are faced with various difficulties when performing their roles as conflict managers, and not all security team members have been trained to deal with conflict violent or otherwise. The category is based on the presentation of the collected data described in Chapter 5 and on research about the functioning of formal conflict management strategies presented in Chapter 2. The principal arguments that led to the development of the category are outlined below.

• Seventeen members of the security team are responsible for the safety of up to 2000 individuals.
• According to a security team member, “We cannot listen to everybody’s stories.”
• ‘Victims’ fabricate stories to the police about the security team members.
• The presence of a ‘gangs’ in the building whose members carry knives and guns result in the ‘unarmed’ security team feeling powerless to act.

6.2.7 Category 7: Evidence of criminal behaviour within the refugee setting
Evidence of criminal behaviour within the refugee setting exists. The category is based on the description of the collected data presented in Chapter 5. The principal statements that led to the development of the category are outlined below.
• Centre administrator made reference to criminal behaviour in the building “…criminality. So, for instance, if a woman is raped or if a child is abused, there are certain constitutional things which we have to observe properly you know…” (88).

• Conflicts are interpreted as being either of the type where counselling is required or criminal where the police are called for.

• The Refugee Fellowship targets assisting men and women who have been abused and raped. No specifications are made with regard to where such crimes might have been perpetrated.

• “If you make someone in trouble for stealing your things he will tell his friends to steal it again” (108).

• “And the problem with those guys, if they come and sell a nice phone to you, they will come after you also and steal it from you” (110).

6.2.8 Category 8: Intrapersonal conflict and frustration related to lack of jobs and income

Intrapersonal conflict and frustration about the lack of jobs and income is experienced by members of the CMM refugee community. The category is based on the descriptive data presented in Chapter 5 and on research about the function of formal conflict management strategies put forward in Chapter 2. The principal arguments that led to the development of the category are outlined below.

• Four participants expressed frustration at not having a job or being able to generate income.

• Siphosami (2008) notes, “One of the major problems they [refugees at the CMM] face is lack of jobs or any income generating services” (21).

• Dougherty and Pfaltzgrafff (1990) note, “The high conflict potential of the developing areas is a function of frustration caused by economic deprivation” (282).

• When individuals are bothered by their inability to afford bare essentials, their self-esteem is affected; “their nerves are raw” (Berkowitz, 1993:262).

6.2.9 Category 9: Individuals with power experience increased intrapersonal and interpersonal conflict

Individuals active in roles that grant them power within the CMM community experience increased intrapersonal and interpersonal conflict with fellow members of the refugee community. The category is based on the descriptive data presented in Chapter 5 and on
research about the functioning of formal conflict management strategies put forward in Chapter 2. The principal arguments that led to the development of the category are outlined below.

- Nine research participants were involved in a situation of conflict when active in their formal roles in the CMM refugee community.
- Max Weber and Dahrendorf interpret conflict as focused on access to authority (Wehr, 1979:3).
- Many theorists identify social, political and economic structural order as a source of conflict or as the contradiction that underlies incompatible goal-states (Bradshaw, 2007:16). Marxist social theorists, for example, interpret conflict as “the product of the class structure of society” (Bradshaw, 2007:52), where “the contradictions produced by a particular division of labour fuels a dialectical struggle” (52).
- Ramsbotham et al. (2005) suggest that the structure of roles and relationships cannot be changed without conflict.

6.2.10 Category 10: Individuals assume contending conflict management styles when confronted with data-based conflicts.

It appears that individuals assume contending conflict management styles when confronted with data-based conflicts that are founded upon poor communication, miscalculation, or misperception. The category is based on the description of the data presented in Chapter 5 and on research about the functioning of formal conflict management strategies put forward in Chapter 2. The principal arguments that led to the development of the category are outlined below.

- Eight participants have been in a situation of interpersonal conflict as a result of a misunderstanding of sorts.
- Five participants assumed contentious tactics when attempting to manage the conflict.
- Faure and Rubin (1993) suggest cultural and language barriers are increasingly being identified as sources of conflict.
- Anstey (2006) suggests, “Lack of shared and legitimated information … gives rise to power struggles” … “and contributes to rising levels of mistrust in relations” (29).

6.2.11 Category 11: Conflict about food on an inter-group level.

Conflict about the availability or not of food took place on an inter-group level. It appeared to be an interest-based conflict and not necessarily a basic needs conflict. Contentious tactics
endorsed by formal bodies were the primary conflict resolution strategies adopted. The category is based on the description of data presented in Chapter 5 and on research about the functioning of formal conflict management strategies described in Chapter 2. The principal arguments that led to the development of the category are outlined below.

- The denial and frustration of basic human needs has been interpreted as a basis or source of conflict by numerous conflict theorists.
- Basic human needs include both physical and non-physical elements essential for human growth and development; for example, food or hunger (Anstey, 2006).
- Verbal evidence of the development of interpersonal conflict based on the frustration or denial of nourishment within the CMM refugee community was not obtained.
- Conflict surrounding the soup kitchen was observed at three Refugee Meetings where it was mentioned that competition for space between vendors and those serving food in the kitchen existed.
- The conflict between the vendors and the soup kitchen was clearly to be resolved on the terms of the soup kitchen, in other words, within a structural framework.
- The dynamics of an interest-based conflict, or the underlying interest being the right to space in which to sell food to the refugee community, was also evident.
- Although the problem-solving approach was assumed in so much as the Centre Administrator assumed the role of the “mediator” (Rubin et al., 1994:28), a degree of contending from the soup kitchen’s side was implicit.

6.2.12 Category 12: Needs-based conflict based on competition for blankets or clothing

Needs-based conflict was observed in so much as competition for blankets or clothing was apparent. Strategies of yielding or problem-solving approaches were adopted by individuals. The category is based on the description data presented in Chapter 5 and on research about conflict and conflict management strategies described in Chapter 2. The principal arguments that led to the development of the category are outlined below.

- The denial and frustration of basic human needs has been interpreted as a basis or source of conflict by numerous conflict theorists.
- Basic human needs include both physical and non-physical elements essential for human growth and development; for example, rest or shelter (Anstey, 2006).
- Eight participants relayed accounts of conflict about a blanket or personal items of clothing that had been stolen.
6.2.13 Category 13: Incidents of conflict exacerbated by group formations or gangs

Incidents of conflict in the CMM building are exacerbated by group formations or gangs. The category is based on the description of the collected data presented in Chapter 5 and on research about the functioning of formal conflict management strategies presented in Chapter 2. The principal arguments that led to the development of the category are outlined below.

- Seven accounts of the activities of the ‘Soweto’, “a gang that carries knives and guns” were given.
- Dominant groups use their capacity for control to entrench a position of authority (Anstey, 2005:17-18).
- Increased structural imbalances and inequalities between the opposing groups “tend to arouse a sense of grievance among the relatively disadvantaged, especially when one party is increasing its gains at the expense of another” (Kriesberg; 1998:77).
- An asymmetric conflict is characterized by a situation where dissimilar parties are in conflict and “the top dog always wins, [and] the under dog always loses” (Ramsbotham et al. 2005:21).

6.2.14 Category 14: Political conflicts avoided by members of the community

Political conflicts are generally avoided among members of the CMM refugee community. The category outlined above is based on description of the collected data presented in Chapter 5. The principal arguments that led to the development of the category are outlined below.

- The majority of the interviewees indicated that politics is not a topic that is often discussed among members of the CMM refugees.
- Evidence was given that individuals might not advertise their political values for the sake of avoiding confrontations.
- According to two members of the security team, issues are often twisted into “a tribal conflict.”

6.2.15 Category 15: Xenophobia of varying degrees is evident

Xenophobia of varying degrees has been experienced by every participant. The category outlined above is based on description of the collected data presented in Chapter 5 and on research about the functioning of formal conflict management strategies presented in Chapter 2. The principal argument that led to the development of the category are outlined below.

- All interview participants, or 20 out of the 20 participants, experienced some form of conflict with a South African or South Africans.
• “The problem they [refugees at the CMM refugee setting] face most is xenophobia and being discriminated against” (Vundla, 2008:20).

6.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, the description of the conflicts and conflict management strategies adopted by members of the CMM refugee community that were presented in Chapter 5 were analysed and presented as 15 core categories. The grounded theory approach informed the research methodology and analysis. When appropriate, reference was made to preceding chapters in the study.

The aim of the chapter was to arrive at a deeper understanding of the various elements of conflict and the conflict management strategies and structures employed by members of the CMM refugee community and not to generate a grounded theory. Further research into the overall functioning of the CMM refugee community is required to facilitate the development of a grounded theory about the conflict management strategies used within the setting under investigation.

In the chapter that follows the data collection process and analysis of the data will be reflected upon and a summary of the research findings outlined. The limitations of the research study will also be described. Recommendations for the CMM refugee community with respect to the management and resolution of conflict, based on the 15 research findings put forward above will be outlined in the final sections of the following chapter.
CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

In this treatise, various aspects of conflict within the CMM refugee community, situated on the corner of Pritchard and Smal Streets in the centre of Johannesburg have been descriptively explored. The formal and informal mechanisms and strategies employed by members of the refugee community when dealing with conflict formed the focus of the descriptions.

Literature pertinent to concepts and aspects of conflict, and an analysis of the data gathered within a case study framework have informed the research conclusions and recommendations. In Chapter 1, the Zimbabwean refugee within the South African context was presented as the topic of study of this research paper. The conflict resolution scholar-practitioner’s responsibility to study and actively engage in the management and resolution of conflict within the refugee setting was put forward. In Chapter 2, the historical narratives and current situation of the refugees at the CMM were outlined. The influence of conflict resolution enterprise as a catalyst of future hope for refugees was addressed. In Chapter 3, an extensive literature review of the concepts at the core of the research question was provided. A definition of ‘the refugee’ was arrived at and the literature about refugee settings and experiences within broader contexts and specifically the South African context were described; various aspects and theories of conflict literature were presented; and literature regarding formal and informal conflict management strategies and mechanisms were investigated. In Chapter 4, the research design, methodology and analysis employed for the collection of data within the case study framework were discussed. In Chapter 5, the research data collected through observation and interviews within the CMM case study context was described. Excerpts from interview transcriptions were included in the descriptions, as well as secondary source information obtained from authoritative figures involved in the CMM refugee setting. In Chapter 6, the methods of coding used to arrive at the 15 core categories or qualitative research observations that emerged from the study were delineated.

In this chapter, the conclusion to the report, the research presented will be reflected upon, the core categories arrived at will be summarised, the limitations of the study and possibilities for future research outlined, and recommendations with respect to conflict management structures and strategies within the CMM refugee community will be presented.
7.2 **Aims and Objectives of the Study**

The aims and objectives of the study were primarily to yield descriptions of various aspects of conflict and the conflict management strategies used to resolve conflicts within the CMM refugee setting. As the research developed it became possible to delineate clear aims and objectives which are presented below.

### 7.2.1 Aims

- To describe the formal and informal strategies employed by members of the CMM refugee community to manage or resolve conflict.
- To describe when members of the CMM refugee community engage in informal conflict handling strategies when individuals opt for formal conflict handling strategies.
- To propose recommendations for improving or developing the formal conflict handling structures within the community.
- To contribute to discourse about conflict management within refugee settings.

### 7.2.2 Objective

Within the interpretive paradigm adopted, the objective of the study was to present a description that was empirically grounded and theoretically relevant toward understanding the underlying motivations for using informal and formal conflict management mechanisms within the CMM refugee community and meanings and experiences refugees held of these conflict mechanisms. The study was not directed at creating change through activity, but rather, at creating change through increasing consciousness and understanding of conflict.

The researcher assumed the role of the “critical friend” (Kayrooz and Trevitt, 2005:311) for the purposes of the research. The “critical friend” is seen as supportive and critical, emphasizing Kayrooz and Trevitt’s distinction between “critical friend” and “devil’s advocate” (311); the latter tends to be a more oppositional, adversarial and even antagonistic stance.

### 7.3 Research Design

The exploratory-descriptive nature of the study necessitated a qualitative research design. The intention was not to produce statistical findings, but generate general ideas and views on
the problem. The qualitative paradigm that only rarely identifies variables, tests hypotheses, or converts social life into numbers (Neuman, 2006:157) guided the research design.

The grounded theory approach, which according to Henn et al. (2006:198-199), is an inductive approach, was relied on for the purpose of the research. Although the grounded theory approach is generally used “to develop an inductively derived grounded theory about a phenomenon” (Strauss and Corbin 1990:24), Strauss and Corbin 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” (155). Such is the case with the current study, where research findings are presented without the final development of a grounded theory.

A pilot study was undertaken to determine whether the aims and objectives of the current study would be met within the data gathering framework. The extensive literature review and pilot study, as well as contact with other researchers and service providers that have been active within the CMM refugee setting, were viewed as part of the actual research and fieldwork of the study and not part of the preparation for the study, as suggested by Heleta (2008:14).

7.4 Research Methodology
The research design determined the research methods and methodology that were employed for this study. Kayrooz and Trevitt (2005:148) hold that the research design links the choice and use of particular methods with the purpose of the research. Phenomenologists like Stones in Kruger (1979) would suggest a method or research design develops in dialogue with the research question.

7.4.1 Type of Sampling
The selection of the sample was based on personal judgement and the purpose of the study which was descriptive. A member, who is active within the community, acted as an agent and assisted the researcher in identifying community members for the sample group. The agent was aware of the purpose of the study, and assisted the researcher in identifying members from the population who met certain criteria.

The following broad practical considerations provided general criteria for choosing participants interviewed:
• a fair level of English competence
• 21 years of age or older
• the candidate must have lived within the CMM refugee community for a minimum of three months

7.4.2 Methods of Data Collection
Formal and informal in-depth, face-to-face interviews allowed the interviewer to probe and elicit information from members within the refugee community. Sixteen participants were formally interviewed individually. This permitted privacy. Four participants felt more comfortable being interviewed in groups of two. The interviews were conducted in different locations within the CMM building. A digital voice recorder was used as a research tool.

The observation of eight Ray of Hope Refugee Meetings at the CMM also facilitated insight into the subject being investigated. Interviews with social workers and an aid worker no longer active within the CMM setting provided valuable information.

7.5 Data Analysis
Not all the data was collected before analysis and interpretation were initiated; rather, the search for meaning through the interrogation of data commenced in the early stages of data collection and earlier interviews may have informed probing in later interviews.

7.6 Summary of Research Findings
In the section that follows a summary of the research findings that have emerged as a result of study are presented.
• Lack of clarity exists about the functioning of the Floor/Section Committees as a platform of conflict resolution/management.
• The Overall Building Committee does not appear to fulfil a function as a platform in the resolution or management of conflict.
• The Centre Administrator and the security team have conflicting perceptions about the role of the security team.
• Security team members are implicated in acts of corruption.
• Security team members resort to acts of physical violence, such as beatings in certain instances.
• Security team members are faced with various difficulties when performing their role as conflict managers.
• Crime is rife within the CMM refugee setting.
• Intrapersonal conflict is associated with frustration about a lack of jobs and income among members of the CMM refugee community.
• Individuals active in roles that grant them power within the CMM community experience intrapersonal and interpersonal conflict with fellow members of the refugee community.
• It appears that individuals assume contending conflict management styles when confronted with data-based conflicts resulting from poor communication, miscalculations or misperceptions.
• Conflict about food does not appear to be interpersonal; it assumes inter-group dimensions. It did not appear to be a needs-based conflict but an interest-based conflict.
• Conflict about blankets or clothing appears to be a needs-based conflict. Individuals either adopted strategies of yielding or problem-solving approaches when confronted by such conflicts.
• Incidents of conflict associated with limited space and its impact on sleeping arrangements in the CMM community are exacerbated by group formations or gangs.
• A criminal gang is alleged to reside within the CMM building.
• Although political conflicts are generally avoided amongst members of the CMM refugee community, it appears that ethnicity is sometimes presented as a base for conflict development.
• Xenophobia in various forms has been experienced by every research participant.

7.7 Validity and Reliability
Descriptive validity, interpretive validity and theoretical validity are applicable to the study. The validity of each of the categories mentioned above is based on the research design and methodology that have guided the study. Generalizations or evaluative discussions were not the focus of the research.

7.8 Ethical Considerations
The ethical considerations propagated by the NMMU in the Institutional Regulatory Code (2005) were adhered to as guiding principles for the research. The codes of conduct outlined by the Ethical Code of Professional Conduct (Professional Board for Psychology, 2000) were
consulted prior to engagement in the study. Other referenced literature informed consideration of relevant ethical issues. Several observations are considered important:

- All interviews (formal and informal) were conducted on a voluntary basis.
- Participants were informed of the following:
  - They were able to exit the interview process at any point.
  - They had the right to decline to answer any questions they considered inappropriate (See Addendum III).
- The confidentiality of the identity of the research participants was guaranteed, although the majority of participants indicated a willingness to be associated with the information they disclosed. In Chapter 3, a more in-depth discussion of the ethical validity of the treatise is offered.

7.9 Limitations of Study

Sarantakos (2005) maintains that the primary limitation of the grounded theory approach involves researcher subjectivity and the fact that researchers rely on a “high level of arbitrary decisions” (350) in their studies. Acknowledging that this limitation might apply to the research conducted, it is nonetheless emphasized that every attempt has been made to render a systematic and well-grounded research by providing information about the background to Zimbabwean refugee narratives (Chapter 2), revising the relevant literature for understanding conflict and conflict management strategies (Chapter 3) and outlining the procedures involved in designing a research process and analyzing the data collected (Chapter 4).

The ‘insider/outsider’ status of the researcher (Kayrooz and Trevitt, 2005) may have affected the information gathered and insights generated. The limitations imposed as a result of the researcher’s outsider status because the researcher is not a member of the CMM community were outlined in Chapter 3.

7.9 Recommendations

The recommendations presented below are tentative. Authoritative recommendations cannot be made at this point because more in-depth research into various aspects of the overall functioning of the CMM community is required. A wider depth and breadth of experience beyond the academic/training framework would no doubt facilitate the more realistic
recommendations. The following recommendations can be made on the basis of the research and analysis conducted:

- Optimize the functioning of the Conflict Complaint Protocol Structure.
  - Re-examine the role of each of the phases in the structure and consider whether it is necessary to have a six-phase structure.
  - The function of the Overall All Building committee within the Conflict Complaint Protocol Structure needs to be re-evaluated.
  - Formal conflict management/resolution training for members involved in the structure would be beneficial and is crucial for members active at higher levels of the structure, for example, security team members and the head of the security team.

- Establish some form of communicative platform for the Conflict Complaint Protocol Structure.
  - The Conflict Complaint Protocol Structure needs to be officially recognized in its entirety within the community.
  - A placard of sorts, outlining the functioning and various details of the Conflict Protocol Structure, might be displayed in a position that is central and visible to all members of the community.

- Assist individuals with coping with the various conflicts they are exposed to at the different phases of the refugee experience, including pre-flight, flight, settlement and resettlement.
  - Invite NGO’s or conflict resolution specialists to present workshops on conflict management to the CMM refugee population.
  - Consider approaching universities or other institutions that train and prepare conflict resolution specialists to pro-actively engage with various aspects of conflict management within the CMM refugee community.
  - Consider sending one or a few members within the CMM setting with authority, for example, the head of the security team or heads of any of the other committees, on conflict resolution/management training courses.
  - Formal training would enhance members’ functioning within the CMM conflict resolution/management framework and they might be able to impart skills or knowledge to other members of the community.
7.10 Conclusion

In the research, various aspects of conflict within the CMM refugee community that is situated on the corner of Pritchard and Smal Streets in the centre of Johannesburg were explored. The formal and informal mechanisms and strategies employed by members of the refugee community when dealing with conflict formed the focus of the descriptive, grounded theory study.

Each night, close to 2000 individuals find shelter in the CMM church building on the corner of Pritchard and Smal Streets. A further 1000 individuals lay down their cardboard and plastic ‘bedding’ each night, forced to sleep out in the open on the pavement. During the daytime hours, some people go to work, others go in search of work that will pay for something to put in their stomachs, and still others remain near the church building hungry and despondent. Among these people are mothers, fathers, youth, children, toddlers and even a-few-hour-old babies. These refugees are not faceless digits but human beings.

In the world of finite resources and limited space, conflict inevitably results (Bradshaw, 2007:15). Individuals known as refugees have not been exempted from this ubiquitous social phenomenon, and it has shaped every phase, including the pre-flight, flight, and settlement phases of their experience as individuals forced to become refugees, asylum seekers or forcefully displaced people.

The research for this treatise was motivated by a lack of research and praxis about the conflict management nexus in a refugee setting. The conviction was that it is the responsibility of those working within the conflict resolution field to research and actively contribute to “pushing forward shared human understanding of the costs of failure to manage conflict non-violently and of the benefits to be gained by strengthening non-violent conflict resolution capacity within and between societies” (Ramsbotham et al., 2005:329), communities, and individuals.

Research conducted for the purpose of this study demonstrates the benefits to be gained from strengthening non-violent conflict resolution capacities. It is with humility and hope for the future of all refugees that the understandings contained in this treatise are presented.
REFERENCE LIST


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Filley A.C. 1975. *Interpersonal Conflict Resolution*. Glenview, IL: Scott Forseman


Tembo, E. F. 2004. *An exploratory case study of refugees at Dzaleka Refugee Camp in Malawi.* Treatise Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the requirements for the degree M. Phil. : Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University


Zartman, W. I. *Mediating Conflicts of Need, Greed, and Creed*. *Orbis* 44, no. 2 (Spring, 2000): 255-266


ADDENDA

Addendum I: Permission from CMM Centre Administrator to do research

Central Methodist Mission

PO Box 10375
Johannesburg 2000
Telephone 011 337-5938/9
Fax: 011 333-3254

79 Pritchard Street
(Cnr Smal Street)
Johannesburg

The Rev Paul Verryn
The Rev Khanyisile Nduli

REF:CMM1238

25 June 2009

Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University
P O Box 77000
Port Elizabeth
6031

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH AT THE CMM REFUGEE COMMUNITY

I hereby confirm that Christine-Maria Burger (ID No. 511105 0044 08 7) 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 (011) 337 5938 or on my cell at 082 600 8892.

[Signature]

PAUL VERRYN
Superintendent

Serving the city with the love of Christ
Addendum II: Semi Structured Interview Schedule

PREARRANGED QUESTIONS FOR INTERVIEW WITH REFUGEES

Date: ___________________ Time: ___________________
Venue: ___________________

SECTION I

1. Name: ___________________________________________________________
2. Age: ___________________________________________________________
3. Gender: Male
               Female
5. Year of entry into South Africa? ________________________________
6. How long have you been living at the Central Methodist Church? ________________________________
7. Where do you sleep? ___________________________________________
8. Level of formal schooling
   None
   Primary Education
   Secondary Education
   Tertiary Education

11. Do you currently have a job? ____________________________________
12. If you have, how long have you had this job? ____________________
13. What are the main difficulties that you face in South Africa? ________________________________
14. What types of conflicts have you experienced as part of the Central Methodist Church community?
   a) with yourself ______________________________________________________
      ______________________________________________________
      ______________________________________________________
   b) with other refugees ______________________________________________
      ______________________________________________________
      ______________________________________________________
   c) with South Africans or people of other nationalities __________________________
      ______________________________________________________
      ______________________________________________________

Take a break. Ask interviewee how they are finding the interview process. Remind them that if they wish to discontinue at any point, they only need tell the interviewer.

Ask interviewee if they are willing to continue with the second part of the questionnaire.

SECTION II

d) Please tell me a little bit about when you first came to the Central Methodist Church, in Johannesburg.
e) Please tell me a little bit about the community ‘soup kitchen’.
f) Please tell me a little bit about the ‘blanket storage’ room and how it works.

g) Would you mind telling me about any of your religious or cultural beliefs?

h) Please tell me about the kind of political discussions in the community?

i) Could you tell me about the different languages that people speak in the CMC community?

Thank the interviewee for their time. Explain that, should they need to get hold of me they can do so by contacting Evans, who will pass their message onto me.
Dear Participant,

You are being asked to participate in a research study on the conflict management strategies used by members of the Central Methodist Mission. You will be provided with the necessary information to assist you to understand the study and to explain what is expected of you (the participant).

The risks, benefits, and your rights as a study subject will be outlined to you. Please feel free to ask me, the researcher to clarify anything that is not clear to you.

You have the right to question anything regarding the study at any time. You are invited to report anything to me the researcher, that you might think would be of interest to me during the interview or during the days following your interview. Evans, who has acted as the contact person between us, i.e. he informed you that I was looking for research participants, has my contact details, should you need to get hold of me for some reason, let him know and he will inform me. I will meet with you at the soonest convenient time.

The study has to been approved by the Research Ethics Committee of the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, Port Elizabeth. The REC-H consists of a group of independent experts who have the responsibility to ensure that the rights and welfare of participants, such as yourself, in research are protected and that studies are conducted in an ethical manner. Studies cannot be conducted without REC-H’s approval.

Queries with regard to your rights as a research subject can be directed to the Research Ethics Committee (Human) on the following telephone number +2741 504-4536, you can also write to:

The Chairperson of the Research, Technology and Innovation Committee, PO Box 77000,
Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University,
Port Elizabeth,
6031.

Participation in this research is completely voluntary. You are not obliged to take part in it.

If you do partake, you have the right to withdraw at any given time, during the study without penalty or loss of benefits. Should you wish to withdraw from the study, please return for a final discussion in order that we terminate the research in an orderly manner.

Although your identity will, at all times remain confidential the results of the research study may be presented at scientific conferences or in specialist publications.

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

I thank you for your time.

Christine-Maria Burger
RESEARCHER

Date: …/…/…...
Informed Consent Form
To be Presented to Research Participants Prior to Commencement of Interview

Page 1 – kept by research participant
Page 2 – signed by research participant and returned to interviewer

Faculty of Political and Governmental Studies
NMMU
Tel: +27 (0)41 504-2624 Fax: +27 (0)41-504-2624

Date: …/…/……

I .................................................................................................................. hereby confirm that I have been informed of and I understand the conditions of the study. These conditions are outlined in page one of this consent form which I have been given to keep.

Signature: ...........................................................................................

Date and Place of Signature: .................................................................