



Title:

**Violence, Chaos, and Degeneration: Analysing Unemployment and
Xenophobic Conflict in South Africa, 2006–2021.**

by

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been submitted before to any institution for assessment. The information derived from the literature has been duly acknowledged in the text and bibliography.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'B. S. S.', written diagonally.

19 February 2024

Signature

Date

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Thank you to God, for carrying me through it all. To my mum and dad, and to my siblings, for the support and encouragement when it became too challenging for me, thank you.

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ABSTRACT

Over the past 27 years, xenophobic conflict has overwhelmed South Africa. From “Buyelekhaya” (go back home) campaigns to “Operation Dudula” (push back), xenophobia has spread to different parts of the country, provoking social division, animosity, and a nervous condition of ‘othering’ among Black Africans. At the centre of these insurgences is the issue of unemployment in the country. Unemployment levels have seen a persistent increase in the past five years. Scholars that have examined these challenges have not settled on an opinion about the relationship between xenophobic conflict and unemployment. The reason for this lies in the intricacies and racial undertones of anti-migrant sentiments in South Africa. Xenophobia has particularly targeted Black African immigrants, probing questions about intra-Black racism and Afrophobia. Using the SP-SP model I have established, this study examines the influence of high rates of unemployment on xenophobic conflict in South Africa from the year 2006 to 2021. I draw upon secondary qualitative and quantitative data, and primary qualitative data in my analysis.

Key words: Xenophobia, violence, conflict, unemployment, Afrophobia

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ACRONYMS

ACMS	African Centre for Migration and Society
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HSRC	Human Science Research Council
ICIR	International Centre for Investigative Reporting
ILO	International Labour Office
LDT	Latent Deprivation Theory
NAP	National Action Plan
REC	Research Ethics Committee
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SALC	Southern African Labour Commission
SAMP	South African Migration Project
SAPS	South African Police Services
SES	Socio-economic Status
SIT	Social Identity Theory
Stats SA	Statistics South Africa
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
WB	World Bank

INTRODUCTION

Background Analysis | Research Problem | Aim of Research

Research Question

1.1. INTRODUCTION

South Africa prides itself on the moral philosophy of Ubuntu, which conveys humanity, personhood, and inclusivity. When xenophobic riots erupted in the township of Alexandra in May 11 2008, many were in shock as they watched local residents attack foreign immigrants from different parts of Africa (Hickel, 2014, 103). Led by young men, the riots went on for weeks spreading to different parts of the country, resulting to sixty-two deaths, a hundred injuries, and a thousand displacements (Tafira, 2018, 16). These violent eruptions stemmed from a belief that foreign nationals are the cause of unemployment, poverty and the spread of diseases in the country (Tarisayi and Manik, 2020, 1). How does a country with formidable structures of Ubuntu and personhood defy social integration?

South Africa is among the most advanced countries in Africa. Its great infrastructure, vibrant civil society, robust media, active and independent judiciary have attracted tourists and people from all over the world (Dauda et al., 2018; Francis and Webster, 2019). Ironically, South Africa is also one of the most unequal countries in the world, its strengths are only shared and enjoyed by a select group of wealthy people. Inequality is rife alongside unemployment and poverty. This dynamic trio is South Africa's major weakness and xenophobia has become an additional challenge.

In 1994, South Africa became a constitutional democracy, gaining global recognition as a proponent of human rights, cultural diversity, and a leader on the African continent. However, outbreaks of xenophobic violence have become a threat to this elite status, prompting a number of "questions and reappraisal of theoretical suppositions" (Tafira, 2018, 15). Xenophobia found its way in South Africa, inspiring a hierarchical order where one sees one's own nation-state as being superior to the "other" (Miller, 2018; Mngomezulu and Dube, 2019). What intrigues

me about the xenophobic conflict in South Africa is that it is “Black-on-Black” violence, “practised by people of the same population group” (Tafira, 2018, 15). The violent eruptions have specifically targeted Black Africans from across the continent, in contrast to the positive attitudes shown towards White immigrants.

While some have accounted xenophobia to pressures of inequality and economic constraints: “desperate people resort to desperate measures, there are no jobs and life is expensive” (Mogoeng as cited in Blinder and Jeannet, 2018). Others analyse the xenophobic violence in South Africa as the “characteristics of decolonisation and difficulties of assimilating and integrating Black African immigrants into the new South Africa” (Tafira, 2018, 15). The latter implies that colonisation and Apartheid created dissimilation and competition between Black communities. This means that rather than a fellow brother or sister, the Black immigrant is perceived as a threat and competition, whilst the White immigrant holds a superior position.

Black people have been conditioned to perceive White people as benefactors and potential employers. Therefore, by virtue of his/ her skin colour, the White immigrant is distinguished as a potential employer, investor, or tourist by the Black South African. This is the legacy of Apartheid and colonisation which instilled the “white supremacy” mentality in the minds of Black people (Tshaka, 2016; Mngomezulu and Dube, 2019). This paper will analyse whether xenophobic violence is a signifier of a broader and deepening social crisis in South Africa. It will examine the connection between high rates of unemployment and xenophobic conflict in the country

1.2. DEFINING XENOPHOBIA, UNEMPLOYMENT, AND CONFLICT

Xenophobia is the dislike and “fear” of non-nationals by state-nationals (South African Human Rights Commission as cited in Saleh, 2015, 298). It is a kind of prejudice that sees one’s own nation and people as superior, and immigrants as inferior. The very nature of xenophobia seeks to divide and segregate people on the bases of nationality and cultural differences. As a result, its causes are commonly linked to concepts like, nationalism, patriotism, ethnic cleansing, and intra-Black racism. The latter is a much more intricate analysis of the xenophobia in South Africa. It argues that anti-migrant sentiments among Black people run deeper than the universal

definition of xenophobia. To understand it, we would have to deconstruct and re-evaluate our perception of what constitutes racism.

Xenophobic violence in South Africa has specifically targeted African immigrants. This has prompted questions about whether to define the actions against foreign nationals as xenophobia or intra-Black racism. The term intra-Black racism places its attention on identity and perception. This is a kind of racism that is more cultural in nature rather than biological. Tafira (2018), identifies the existence of social inequality and segregation within the Black community as racism. Conventional definitions of racism have analysed it as a stagnant term, whose conceptualisation must be understood on the bases of physical characteristics. Tafira argues against this, borrowing from Goldberg's definition, he ascertains that racism must be understood as a fluid and delicate term that assumes a different meaning at different times (Goldberg as cited in Tafira, 2018, 18). If we understand racism as "discrimination based on putative differences in social membership", it can be applied within same race population and to the Black-on-Black violence in South Africa (Tafira, 2018, 18).

On the other hand, Hickel identifies the xenophobic violence in South Africa as a fight for order. Rather than analyse xenophobic violence as a reaction to social confusion and economic disparity, Hickel (2014, 120) argues that "xenophobic violence represents the urge—assumed to be universal—to establish order against encroaching chaos". He distinguishes order and chaos from the traditional compass in which the terms are understood. Here the terms differ from their orthodox definitions. Hickel makes the case that chaos and order are perceived exclusively in informal settlements across South Africa. "They are rooted in ideas about what constitutes a proper moral economy" (Hickel, 2014, 120). Perpetrators of violence are responding to a kind of chaos that has disrupted job stability and their livelihoods, and unfortunately it is immigrants that fall victim to this violence. Albeit Hickel makes an interesting case, he does not support this perceived relationship between chaos and order with theoretical foundation.

The definition of unemployment varies because there are different kinds of unemployment: seasonal unemployment, frictional unemployment, short-term unemployment, and long-term unemployment (Banda et al., 2016, 247). All of these terms have their exclusive definitions.

However, more generally, unemployment can be defined as a situation where a person who is actively seeking employment is without work. The key words in this definition are “someone who is actively seeking employment” (Stats SA, 2020). This means that in order to fall under the unemployment category, one would have to be actively seeking employment. Similarly, the phrase ‘rates of unemployment’ is concerned with unemployment statistics. It is the total labour force percentage that is unemployed but actively seeking employment (Stats SA, 2020). This paper will analyse both definitions of unemployment. The first part will look at the statistical aspect of unemployment and the other at unemployment as a concept. The concept of unemployment acknowledges the human, emotions and need for corroboration, behind unemployment statistics.

Conflict is defined as a clash of opinions, values and principles (Dennen, 2005). It is pervasive and determined action against unfamiliar groups and ideas. It can be found between ethnic groups, social units, intra-state and inter-state relations. The term is not a substitute of naked violence and destruction, although it does have a propensity to gravitate towards violence (Peterson as cited in Dennen, 2005). The paper will focus on destructive and non-destructive modes on conflict. The former is concerned with violent and abrupt behaviours that propel indifference between groups. It is guided by frustration and aggressive cycles. Non-destructive forms of conflict, on the other hand, are identified as behaviour that becomes self-reinforcing (Galtung as cited Dennen, 2005). This kind of conflict is non-violent and intends to promote new ideas, values and identity. It is commonly associated with movements and boycotts that seek to establish change within society.

1.3. RESEARCH PROBLEM

The research problem that this paper addresses is how high rates of unemployment influence xenophobic conflict in South Africa. The discussions on xenophobia have populated the academic literature. The limitations, however, lie on the disparities in the texts. The variances in these examinations have added much confusion about what constitutes xenophobia. This runs the risk of prolonging anti-migrant sentiments due to the inability to find its antidote. Equally, the spell of unemployment and socio-economic exclusion is a major challenge in the country. Black and coloured people are the most affected by this. According to Statistics South Africa (Stats SA 2022), 38.6% of Black people, 25.9% of Coloured people, 17.1% of Indian

people, and 10% of White people are unemployed. These unemployment levels have seen a sharp increase in South Africa since 1995 (Mamabolo, 2015). This has called for greater attention and examination.

Xenophobic crimes are often depicted through scenes of violence. The evident animosity has particularly affected African immigrants, challenging globalisation and African integration. These riots have become a common theme in South Africa with at least one xenophobic social media trend each month. The sentiments often range from “Buyelekhaya” (go back home) campaigns, to “Operation Dudula” (push back) (Ho, 2022). In all cases, migrants from different parts of Africa have been terrorised, intimidated, and in some instances brutally killed. The Black-on-Black-violence has led to the exploration of concepts such as, Afro-phobia, Negrophobia, and even intra-Black racism. There are two issues that stand out here.

Firstly, neither of these terms are synonymous with xenophobia. Instead they argue against the narration that the collective violence on non-nationals in South Africa is xenophobia. The application of these concepts requires one to re-evaluate the decision to identify sentiments imposed on Black foreign nationals in the country as xenophobic. However, the knowledge that immigrants from outside of Africa have also been partially affected, challenges this conception. Eventually, there are still significant breaches in these terms that require delicate examination before they can be universally accepted.

Secondly, neither of these concepts contribute to the discussion of unemployment and violence. It is undeniable that the animosity on non-nationals frequently spills into uproars about the disease of economic constraints assumed to be perpetuated by migration (Crush and Ramachandran, 2016, 1). Many scholars have alluded to this as a result of the collective violence on non-nationals (Mamabolo, 2015; Tshaka, 2016; Crush and Ramachandran, 2016; Tafira, 2018; Tarisayi and Manik, 2020). However, very few have attempted to seal this with theoretical supposition. A study conducted by Chamunorwa and Mlambo (2014), identifies that “there is no settled opinion on the relationship between immigration and unemployment”. In order to understand the relationship between unemployment and xenophobia, opinions on the relationship between immigration and unemployment would have to be settled.

At best, a Marxist approach outlines a significant relationship between population growth and unemployment. Karl Marx (as cited in Mbembe. 2012) calls this the surplus population, which is a part of the population that is left unaccounted for due to resource constraints. This results to unemployment. He categorises this surplus group into three sections: those with insecure employment, those moving in and out of the labour force, and those who are rarely employed. The surplus population is tied to population growth that is prefigured by reproduction. Migration also contributes to population growth. Although this concept may help explain increasing levels of unemployment in South Africa, the concept alone does not clarify how unemployment may lead to collective violence on foreign nationals.

Overall, the discipline of International Relations centres its purpose on state interaction and cooperation. Xenophobia is a global problem experienced across different countries in the world, and South Africa is one of those countries (Oni and Okunade, 2018). In order to imbibe the spirit of brotherhood, cooperation, and stability in the African continent, the issue of xenophobic conflict requires in-depth analysis. Xenophobia represents a crisis of moral panic, irrational and illusionary fear, (Kiano, 1963). The violent eruptions are abrupt and momentary, but their effects and impact on victims, bystanders, and the state are long lasting. Similarly, increasing unemployment levels affect livelihoods, and security. This counteracts populist objectives about equality and inclusion assumed to be represented by the South African democracy.

1.4. AIM OF RESEARCH

This thesis intends to do three things. Firstly, it will identify the relationship between immigration and unemployment. The Human Science Research Council (HSRC, 2020) contends that immigration influx in South Africa has a positive effect on economic growth. However, increasing unemployment levels do not support these claims. According to Clement and Hlalefang (2018), economic growth is inversely proportional to unemployment levels. This means that an increasing economy should decrease unemployment levels. However, South Africa has seen a steady increase in rates of unemployment since 2018 (Stats SA, 2022). Secondly, the paper will examine the connection between rates of unemployment and xenophobic incidents. In order to verify the relationship between the two, the paper would have to prove that the people involved in xenophobic conflict fall within the unemployment

category: are without work but are actively seeking employment. Finally, a theoretical concept defining the relationship between unemployment and aggression on foreign nationals will be established.

1.5. RESEARCH QUESTION

The paper will investigate how high rates of unemployment influence xenophobic conflict in South Africa, and will be governed by the following question:

❖ ***How do high rates of unemployment influence xenophobic conflict in South Africa?***

This research question suggests that unemployment has an influence on xenophobic conflict, and aims to examine how. To make my deductions, I will study the two variables between the period of 2006–2021. The effect of unemployment will be examined in two ways. Firstly, through a quantitative analysis that will measure net and youth unemployment rates against xenophobic incidents in the country. The results will outline occasions where a correlation between unemployment and xenophobia was the strongest. The second is concerned with the theoretical analysis of unemployment. This will conceptualise how the frustration of unemployment may result to aggressive behaviour on foreign nationals. The two approaches should work together cohesively in order to get results.

Rates of unemployment will be used synonymously with the term unemployment. The reason I have decided to specify ‘rates’ is because, unemployment statics will be used to capture findings in the latter chapters to examine the possible relationship to xenophobic conflict. I have also decided to use the term conflict rather than violence because, conflict is a fluid term. It can be used to conceptualise disputes that are both violent and non-violent as well as destructive and non-destructive.

1.6. CONCLUSION

Much literature examines the causes of xenophobia both in Africa and across the world. The intentions of this paper is not to restate this valuable body of work. Rather, this paper intends

to closely examine the existing assumption that unemployment is the cause of anti-migrant sentiments in South Africa. My interest on this topic is stimulated by three things. Firstly, by the obvious contradiction of xenophobia when measured against South Africa's formidable concepts of Ubuntu, and rainbow nation status. Secondly, the evident harm xenophobia poses towards existing structures of Pan-Africanism. Xenophobia is a hate crime that identifies immigrants as the less perceived other, and unfortunately it is Black Africans who have largely bore the brunt of xenophobic purges in South Africa.

This analysis alone would have been enough to encourage me to commence with this study. The distinctive prejudice against Black African immigrants has given me great reason to believe that, the anti-immigrant sentiments displayed in South Africa are more than ordinary demonstrations of xenophobia. In other words, we would have to reevaluate our definition of xenophobic conflict when looking at the anti-migrant cases in the country if we insist on describing the conflict as xenophobic. Finally, findings by the World Bank (WB) and HSRC, indicate that immigration has had a positive effect on South Africa's economy. However, increasing unemployment levels counteract these findings. Studies conducted in the past have concluded that unemployment is inversely proportional to economic growth (Clement and Hlalefang, 2018). This means that an increase in economic growth should decrease unemployment levels. However, this has not been the case. The country has seen a consistent increase in unemployment for the past five years (Stats SA, 2022).

The proceeding chapters will disentangle the complexities and ambiguities surrounding xenophobia in South Africa. As highlighted previously, the study will be guided by a question that seeks to establish how high rates unemployment influence xenophobic conflict. You will realise that the question already makes the assumption that high rates unemployment influence xenophobia. This was done deliberately, and was largely influenced by the periodic eruptions that have undeniably centred unemployment as the cause of frustration and prejudice towards immigrants in South Africa.

The following chapter will be the literature review. This chapter will outline existing debates and conversations surrounding this topic. It will compare and contrast texts concerning xenophobia and unemployment in South Africa, identify the progress within the literature and

the gaps that have influenced this study. This will be followed by a theory and approach chapter, which will demonstrate how I seek to examine this presumed influence. Here I will develop a model that defines the relationship between the two variables. This model will outline how unemployment translates to aggression on foreign nationals.

Correspondingly, the chapter to follow will be the methodology chapter. The section will outline the research design, research methods, and ethical considerations. This will be followed by two data analysis and discussion chapters. I have decided to divide the discussion into two separate chapters, with one focusing solely on secondary quantitative data, and the other on primary and secondary qualitative data retrieved from interview sessions. This should help consolidate my research findings. Finally, the study will conclude with the conclusion and recommendation chapter. Here I will synthesis my research, make recommendations for future studies, and discuss the limitations of the research study.

CHAPTER ONE

Literature Review

1.1. INTRODUCTION

The previous section introduced the topic and demonstrated its significance. It outlined the research problem, and identified the research question. This section analyses the major themes on unemployment and xenophobic conflict, and how they have helped push the discussion on xenophobia forward. The section stretches into four major segments. Firstly, it examines emerging concepts used to conceptualise anti-migrant sentiments. Scholars have linked xenophobic conflict in Africa to intra-Black racism and Afrophobia. The idea is that there are intolerances in Black communities that subvert claims about social inclusion—xenophobia has specifically targeted African immigrants. This means the values of Ubuntu are not without limitations, their extension to the outsider or stranger depends on them meeting certain criteria in order to be included (Kgari-Masondo and Masondo, 2019, 99). Black immigrants are treated with suspicion until they have proven themselves comparable to the community through their social norms and standards. Therefore, acceptance and rejection are blurred between the lines of transgression and mutual understanding.

Secondly, I observe existing theoretical assumptions of unemployment and violence. This section examines existing theories that demonstrate how economic constraints and unemployment perpetuate violent behaviour. A study conducted by Shulika (2011) indicates that xenophobic violence in South Africa is linked to socio-economic exclusion, increasing food prices, high rates of unemployment, and increasing crime levels. However, the study does not outline how these conditions influence antagonism on foreign nationals. In order to understand the influence of unemployment on xenophobic conflict, the relationship between unemployment and aggression must be determined.

Thirdly, I analyse the relationship between migration and unemployment. The subsection explores existing findings on migration and its influence on rates of unemployment.

Xenophobia is led by the assumption that migration increases unemployment levels in the country. This means that, instead of increasing employment prospects through economic growth, migration is perceived as a threat that perpetuates unemployment. This, of course, is contrary to observations made by globalisation experts who identify migration as a catalyst for economic growth, the exchange of knowledge, and social integration (Crush et al., 2006, 24). The idea that immigration results to unemployment has generated competition, where immigrants are perceived as competitors that overwhelm the country's resources.

The final section analyses how governance has contributed to the spread xenophobic conflict. It examines key discussions that point to governance as a contravening challenge to the sustenance of peace between state nationals and non-nationals. Much literature points to authoritative insecurity as a factor contributing to anti-migrant sentiments. A study conducted by Berezin (2009), observes that unemployment does not affect xenophobia. In fact, immigrants are often perceived as economic threats because they are articulated as such by political parties. In Switzerland, radical-right wing parties present immigration as a threat to the economy (Skenderovic as cited in Berezin, 2009). Therefore, anti-migrant sentiments in the country are a result of political disputes. Various studies have gone to support this claim, criticising the political response of government officials to xenophobia (International Labour Office et al., 2001; Misago, 2019; Mumbere, 2019).

Alternatively, in Germany, extreme right-wing nationalist parties were instrumental in fuelling xenophobic conflict (Mngomezulu and Dube, 2019, 70). However, government interventions played a crucial role on deterring the attacks, through monitored reports, and prosecuting crimes against immigrants in the country. Therefore, the way government responds to xenophobic sentiments is essential to how state citizens respond to immigrants. Xenophobia can be controlled through interventions that address issues that perpetuate it (Mngomezulu and Dube, 2019, Misago, 2019).

Overall, the literature on xenophobia is widespread and varies across different scopes. While some studies may suggest prejudice and socio-economic exclusion as the causes of xenophobia. Others have demonstrated a link between governance and xenophobia. State official response to immigrants and xenophobic violence influences how citizens perceive immigrants.

Moreover, the issue of racial tensions and intra-Black conflict in Africa stretches the conversation on xenophobia to different dimensions (Tshaka, 2016; Tafira, 2018; Mngomezulu and Dube, 2019). Defining the term in the context of South Africa has led to the exploration of unfamiliar concepts that seek to identify the underpinning roots of anti-migrant sentiments. While these concepts proceed well in analysing intra-Black conflict they neglect the economic aspects at the centre of anti-migrant attacks in the country. This chapter integrates and examines major findings on the topic and identifies their limitations.

1.2. XENOPHOBIA, INTRA-BLACK RACISM, AND AFROPHOBIA

Xenophobia is a term used to describe the dislike and fear of non-nationals by state-nationals. It is operationalised thinking that distinguishes the immigrant as the less significant “other”. The term, however, does not help us understand the violent attacks against Black African migrants in South Africa and the different parts of Africa. The literature on xenophobia suggests that some immigrants are more intensely disliked than others, with South Africans preferring immigrants from Euro-America to those from Africa (Dube, 2018, 1006). The negative attitudes on African immigrants are traced to different reasons. While some may attribute it to cultural and linguistic differences, others “ascribe it to the nature of society itself being destructive and antagonistic for historical reasons rooted in the ethnic and racial identity of primordial societies” (Saleh, 2015, 298).

In all cases, South Africa faces a crisis of image restoration resulting from the failure to accept Black immigrants as an integral part of society (Saleh, 2015, 298). This has struck conversations about possible terms that can be used to define the distinctive prejudice shown towards African immigrants. Two concepts stand out in the literature: intra-Black racism and Afrophobia. The former suggests that we look at the “Black-on-Black” violence in Africa as racism (Tafira, 2018, 17). This is a kind of racism practiced by people of the same population group, and functions through cultural differences, nationality, ethnicity, language, and social status. Conversely, other studies describe the Black-on-Black conflict in Africa as Afrophobia. Like xenophobia, Afrophobia is the fear and dislike of specific groups. The difference, however, is that Afrophobia targets Africans and the African diaspora. Both these concepts

function through hostility and differences, which undermines ideas about humanity and personhood most inherent in Ubuntu ethics conveyed in many African cultures.

Intra-Black racism is concerned with the existence of cultural inequality and prejudice between people of the same race. This kind of racism is not driven by biological characteristics, but is influenced by ethnic biases inherited from the conventional system of racism. Tafira observes that the media and analysts have overlooked the racial undertones influencing xenophobic conflict in South Africa. They have not seen how people of the same skin colour have over the years been transformed into different races, and have brought each other into racial subjectivity (Tafira, 2018, 18). This is a result of colonisation and racial segregation best understood in the African continent.

George Fredrickson (2002, 6) takes on a similar argument and analyses xenophobia in South Africa as racism. This interpretation is guided by the conventional understanding of xenophobia as a reflexive feeling of prejudice and hostility to the stranger or “other”. He identifies this as a starting point upon which racism is formed. The biological definition of racism that establishes a racial order and permanent hierarchy only covers one expression. The depths of its nature are found in idioms about religion and social status more than those of natural science (Fredrickson, 2002, 6).

Afrophobia, on the other hand, is defined as a systematic reawakening of tribalism and ethnicity—two related potent weapons that were used by the colonial powers to divide Africans (Oni, 2018, 48). The phobia in Afrophobia characterises the fear of anything outside of the individual, and Afro pertains to the African people, ethnicity, and culture (Hesnard as cited in Fanon 1967). Whereas xenophobia applies to any racial or ethnic group, Afrophobia is geographically bound to Africa. It challenges common identity and has the potency of robbing Africa and its people of cross-cultural advantages and the much needed socio-economic and political development. Scholars that have used this concept interpret anti-migrant sentiments in South Africa as a social struggle about who has the right to economic resources. This is a result of economic disparity and frustration resulting from limited resources in Black communities (Saleh, 2015, 298).

When analysing Afrophobia and intra-Black racism, colonialism is an important point of reference in the African literature (Mngomezulu and Dube, 2019). The idea is that colonisation stripped Africa off its identity and generated a dis-ease of preconditioned false identities (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2018). Africans, subsequently, took over a pre-set of ideas and cultures unknown to them while rejecting everything that was known to them. In other words, the Black-on-Black conflict is a result of cultural dissimulations on the one hand, and discrimination acquired through social learning on the other hand. The former suggests that the inheritance of the White man's culture resulted to the negligence of anything that may remind the Black man of himself. While the latter identifies xenophobia as learned behaviour acquired from the history of social division in South Africa. Therefore, Black people are only doing what is known to them.

Alternatively, the issue of race and racism is believed to have an influence on the psychological interweaving of Black people. This analysis does two things. It distinguishes racism as violence and links it to conflict. Frantz Fanon makes a rigorous case about the psychosomatic implications of racism on the Black man. He outlines that, racism creates a nervous condition that leaves Black people feeling like the helpless other. "The Black man is not any more than the White man" (Fanon, 1967, 9), rather he is the orient who lives only within the perimeters society has built for him. This creates a prison and a bulk of emotions that are best depicted through violence. Scholars that have used this analogy, interpret the Black-on-Black violence in South Africa as a psychological dismemberment that operates as a dysfunction resulting from the illusion of thought and separation from one's true identity (Mngomezulu and Dube, 2019). In other words, the idea that Black South Africans are more accepting of immigrants from Euro-America than Black immigrants from different parts of Africa, exposes the master versus servant binaries infused by racism, colonialism, and slavery.

Conversely, a study conducted by Tafira (2018) criticises cultural differences for the animosity and conflict between nationals and non-nationals. He poses the question: "how do we reconcile the ethical good of our community with the embedded practices of other communities whose culture and traditions contradict our internal good?" The assumption is that cultural differences have created social divisions and classifications. This is what Fredrickson (2002, 7) refers to as culturalism. Humans by nature oppose unfamiliar norms and values. Racism, colonisation,

and slavery were all based upon this very concept. Culturalism creates binaries and stereotypes against unfamiliar groups. The argument is that xenophobia shares these sentiments (Fredrickson, 2002; Tafira, 2018).

On the other hand, a study conducted by Lötter and Bradshaw (2022) tests Mervin Lerner's "Just World" theory on the Black-on-Black xenophobic violence in South Africa. In doing this, the scholars attribute the intra-Black conflict, and what appears to be Afrophobia, to God's plan. Society has grown accustomed to the thought that "what goes around comes around". The theory seeks to justify unexplainable outcomes—even racial tensions and all their complexities—through the notion that "everything happens for a reason" (Lötter and Bradshaw, 2022). The idea is that everyone gets what they deserve, whether good or bad. As such, the scholars suggest that this unspoken law can be applied to the xenophobic conflict imposed on specific groups. For obvious reasons, the theory does not suffice. It gives a superficial analysis to a rigid and serious challenge. The idea that God intends hostility for a select group of people is not feasible. It uses religious methods to rationalise unwarranted behaviour on specific groups, and generalises that the people on the receiving end of this behaviour deserve it.

Other studies have considered that the Apartheid system in South Africa created competition within Black communities. Rather than an African brother or sister, the Black African is perceived as a threat to the acquisition of one's goals (Hickel, 2014, 46). Therefore, to settle this is dis-ease, the Black African resorts to hate crime and violence towards Black-immigrants. This behaviour influences those who are exposed to it through the social leaning theory. According to the social learning theory, behaviour is learned through repetitive exposure. Young people who are "consistently exposed to crime and violence in the key institutions of their socialisation—their homes, schools and immediate social environments—learn, internalise and replicate this behaviour" (Altbeker as cited in Pelsner, 2008). Therefore, anti-migrant sentiments may suggest a veracity of shared beliefs that have existed long before our modern time and have been passed through generations.

Similarly, intra-Black conflict can be linked to social identity theory (SIT) (Islam, 2014). The theory removes identity from the individual and places it on collective group behaviour. A

study by Ngwane and Vilakazi (2017), reports that, it is highly unlikely for individuals in social movements to share sentiments that are contrary to the groups they belong to. The idea is that, individuals often define themselves according to the social groups they are associated with. This identification works to protect and bolster self-identity (Tajfel and Turner as cited in Islam, 2014, 1781). Therefore, self-image is cumulated by society and group association. While this analysis is not plainly used to conceptualise Afrophobia and intra-Black racism, it does help us understand how cultural values, nationality, and language may perpetuate a sense of common identity based on familiarity, and negative attitudes towards groups that are better perceived as the “other” regardless of how trivial those differences may be.

Taking the above mentioned into account, it can be assumed that rather than encourage African unity, the moral concept of Ubuntu has influenced nationality and digressed from African solidarity. Ubuntu is intended to protect the inalienable rights of individuals. It sees each person’s uniqueness as inter-connected to rights and obligations. However, in the context of xenophobic conflict in South Africa, Ubuntu has shown traits of discrimination as those who are not of the same national, economic and sometimes ethnic group are perceived as less human (Kgari-Masondo and Masondo, 2019, 93). The idea that “I am because you are” (Mbiti as cited in Chuwa, 2012) has only been good in theory rather than practice, because a deliberate approach to this concept would have been conveyed in our social interactions and fostered inclusivity despite our national variances. Instead, Ubuntu is misplaced with nationality and becomes apparent among South Africans in the face of external groups. It emphasises interconnectedness on the one hand, while also promoting discrimination on the other (Kgari-Masondo and Masondo, 2019, 94).

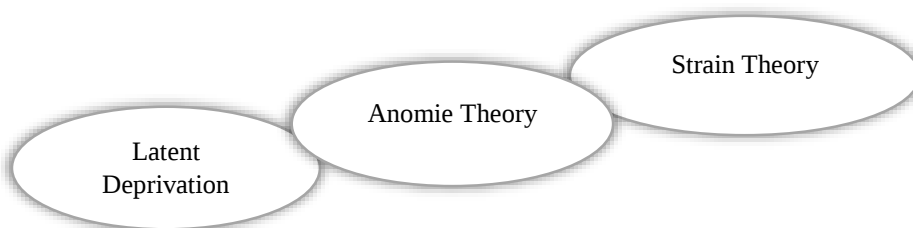
Overall, Afrophobia and intra-Black racism have extended the social discourse on xenophobic conflict in South Africa. These concepts have given insight to possible interpretations of existing racial and cultural differences in the country. Although their analysis is forthright they do not really help us understand xenophobic conflict in the context of unemployment in South Africa. Instead, they remove this perception, and introduce a much more intricate and psychological debate resulting from historical injustices and oppression. I do not wish to focus much on this premise but sought to outline the roles played by racial and ethnic tensions in the literature on xenophobic conflict in the country.

1.3. EXISTING THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS

Unemployment has an effect on how individuals behave. This relationship is identified in a number of studies, and is often supported by theory (Pelser, 2008; Kidwai and Sawar, 2015; Rebello, 2020; Simpson, 2022). This section looks at three major theories that have been used to conceptualise the effect of unemployment on individual behaviour and xenophobic violence: latent deprivation theory, anomie theory, and strain theory.

Figure 1

Existing Unemployment Theories



Studies have shown that, long-term unemployment is more threatening to the individual than short-term unemployment (Rebello, 2020). The inability to attend to one's basic needs for a long period of time may result to frustration, isolation, and in worse case scenarios illegitimate activities in the attempt to attend to those basic needs. The reason for this behaviour stems from society's idealised version of success, and the hunger associated with unemployment. The inability to access resources and dominant main culture, and yet be incorporated in it creates a dysfunction and destructive behaviour which often manifests as crime and violence (Froggio and Agnew, 2007; Pelsers, 2008; Hickel, 2014).

Latent deprivation theory (LDT), anomie theory, and strain theory demonstrate the possible effects that unemployment may pose on individual behaviour. LDT concedes that, employment comes with psychological stability. The theory suggests that unemployed people are more prone to stress than those with secure employment. This analysis derives from the knowledge that employment generates a positive stimulus, esteem, and confidence in one's abilities. Unemployment on the other hand, achieves the opposite. Although, this theory proceeds well,

other studies have argued against it indicating that “it is very often the experience of employment—in demeaning and monotonous tasks, with little prospect of promotion or skills development, in conditions that are often openly exploitative and coercive—that drive people to participate in insurgences and violence” (Cramer, 2010, 24). This means that, just as unemployment can lead to violence, exploitative and toxic employment conditions can also probe negative attitudes.

Similarly, anomie theory suggests that the inability to access culturally recognised goals results to a deviant behaviour, that is characterised by revolt, ritualism and rebellion against accepted behaviour (Bernburg, 2019). When people are unable to achieve society’s idea of success, it disrupts their mental psyche, self-image and development. According to Drozdowski and Matusz (2021, 2), “the state plays a formative and decisive role in choosing and shaping the content and reliability of collective national identities”. The idea of self is tied to the nations collective memories and cultural values. These values are transported to individuals and represent an image from which their identities are realised. Employment is tied to success and esteem, not only in South Africa, but across the world. The very idea of the industrial man — that Fredrick Cooper (as cited in Hickel, 2014) identifies as a figure of a married male breadwinner, living in a formal township house, and working a stable job in manufacturing, mining, or the civil service—is bound by employment and a decent cheque. Unemployment, on the other hand, creates the opposite: debilitating effects of poverty, dysfunctional home environments, poor education, and a lack of appropriate skills (Pelser, 2008, 8). The latter opposes society’s cultural values and may result to violent behaviour.

Likewise, the strain theory proceeds well in explaining the possible relationship between unemployment and crime. The theory originated from Robert Merton but was later reconstructed by Robert Agnew, who saw its evident gaps and “re-established its credible position within the criminology community” (Carey, n.d.). This theory concedes that stressors increase the likelihood of crime. This means situations that result to negative emotions like anger and frustration perpetuate criminal behaviour. Negative emotions create strains that require corrective action, making crime a possible response. The theory, however, is very specific in indicating that different kinds of personalities and values, may lead to different responses. For example, a man who is prone to anger and values material acquisition, is more likely to commit a crime under strenuous economic conditions, than an emotionally intelligent

man in a similar situation who places value on social acceptance and interpersonal relationships (Froggio and Agnew, 2007). Therefore, negative responses to strenuous economic conditions like unemployment are cultivated by one's personality and values.

A study conducted by Olofinbyi (2022) uses the strain theory to analyse xenophobic violence in South Africa. The scholar demonstrates that, the removal of positive stimuli—caused by abrupt changes such as job loss, poverty, denial of human rights, material deprivation, and unemployment—results to negative attitudes on non-nationals in the country. He argues that “most of the youth in South Africa, including those with education qualifications, have no option than to respond to the rigorous competition with foreign nationals in the country” in a form of prejudice and violence (Olofinbyi, 2022, 200). When people's values, honour, and esteem are removed, it may propel violent attacks on non-nationals (Hickel, 2014). This implies that, economic constraints and poor living conditions are likely to influence negative behaviour and xenophobic attitudes.

However, this largely depends on individual personality and how they deal with frustration. Not every unemployed young person or South African resorts to violence and crime in the face of frustration. Moreover, one's economic background influences how they respond to unemployment. For example, someone from a good socio-economic background may not be as severely affected by periods of unemployment as someone from a poor socio-economic background (Rebello, 2020; Olofinbyi, 2022). Therefore, the degree of frustration will influence how each of these individuals respond to unemployment, along with their personalities and values.

Overall, LTD, anomie theory, and the strain theory demonstrate how one's values, the need for success, and the removal of positive stimuli can create negative behaviour. Each of these theories outline the possible relationship between unemployment and conflict. Firstly, LTD shows that, employment creates psychological stability, esteemed image of self, and decreases stress levels. Unemployment achieves the opposite: high stress levels, depreciating self-identity, and psychological instability. All of which increase the likelihood of conflict, crime, and violence. The gap in this theory, however, is found in Cramer's (2010, 25) analysis that

poor employment conditions, hard labour with minimal remuneration may also result to negative attitudes and outcomes.

Secondly, anomie theory demonstrates the kind of behaviour that stems from the inability to achieve culturally recognised goals. Society has established normative ideas from which people measure success. The inability to meet these standards provokes negative behaviour, crime, and violence. For example, “people who cannot live up to society’s standards of success may find the promise of glory and honour within xenophobic violence as a substitute” (Maseko and Maweni, 2019). Thirdly, the strain theory explains how the removal of positive stimuli contributes towards negative behaviour. This analysis identifies employment as a catalyst for positive stimuli and growth. This is because employment provides one with the means to achieve cultural goals. A threat to the acquisition of these goals prompts negative attitudes and violence.

This view is supported by Hickel’s (2014) analysis on chaos and order. The argument is that, xenophobic violence results from the need for order. This is a kind of order that can only be experienced from economic stability, and the ability to attend to one’s basic needs. Any obstacle to the acquisition of these needs is perceived as chaos. In other words, “the removal of positively valued stimuli—where social acceptance, socio-economic goals, honour and esteem are unattainable—creates violence” (Olofinbiyi, 2022, 201). This analysis is based on the idea of what it means to be a proficient member of society, which is tied to material possession and esteemed status, both of which require a decent income. Therefore, the central causes of xenophobic tensions can be linked to socio-economic status (SES)—poverty, inequality and unemployment. While this demonstration may help explain the violent attacks against immigrants in South Africa, a relationship between migration and unemployment would have to be determined in order to substantiate it.

1.4. MIGRATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT

South Africa is the largest immigration destination in Africa. Its middle income status, industrialised economy and democratic institutions have attracted the largest number of immigrants on the African continent (Moyo, 2021). Official estimates have conveyed that the immigration population makes up approximately 5% of the overall population in the country

(HSRC, 2020). This percentage, however, does not account for unauthorised immigrants that have overwhelmed South Africa. As it stands, the immigration population remains a controversial topic because of the increasing influx of undocumented migrants, unsecured borders, and state official incapacity to resolve this problem. This challenges South Africa's sovereign "right to determine who is allowed entry into the country, and under what circumstances" (Department of Home Affairs, 2017, 1).

However, unrestrained international borders are an ancient topic in the Southern African region. Before the 1960's, Southern African Development Community (SADC) states had no border controls (Crush et al., 2006, 7). It was easy to migrate between states, and was during this time that South Africa gained an increase in immigration population. The immigrants had come in to find employment and accumulated informal positions in the mining sector. "The regional mining industry was the only sector to establish a formal contract labour system" (Crush et al., 2006, 7). The migrants soon spread to domestic services, commercial farms, factories, transportation, and construction. As such, states formed the South African Labour Commission (SALC) in the 1980s, advocating for a common policy on labour migration in South Africa. The SALC was unsuccessful because countries like Mozambique and Lesotho were unable to dispense with contract labour migration (Crush et al., 2006, 2). The important point of emphasis here is that we see a relationship between employment and migration between SADC states prior to South Africa's democratic declaration. The unrestrained international borders are also indicative of economic and political assimilations that may have been perceived as less challenging at the time.

According to the 2013 United Nations (UN) population report at least 3% of the human population are international migrants who have moved across borders to live in other countries for a year or more (Department of Home Affairs, 2017, 1). "The surge in long-distance migration across the globe is widely referred to as the age of mass migration" (Hatton and Williamson as cited in African Centre for Migration and Society (ACMS)). When migrants move to host countries, the decision is often fostered by an employment offer, social connection, political necessity, and economic or environmental pressure (International Labour Office (ILO) et al., 2001, 5). These factors fall under two categories: push factors and pull factors. "The former refers to the disadvantages and circumstances that impel immigrants to

seek out prospects elsewhere, and the latter refers to the relative attractions, either real or perceived, of life in different parts of the world” (Quirk, 2007).

Figure 2

Factors that influence Migration

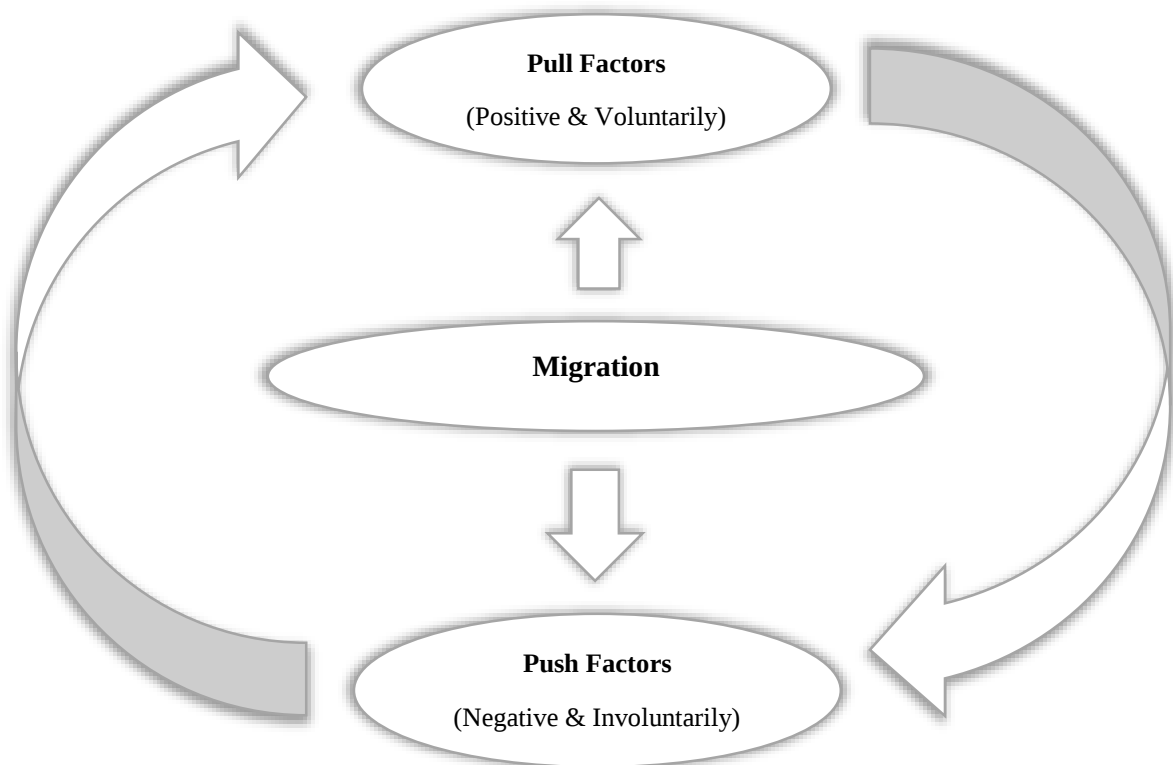


Figure 2 above is an outline of the push and pull factors that influence migration. Push factors refer to server conditions in one’s country that induce the need to relocate to a different country. These are conditions that force individuals to move voluntarily. This occurs when the risk of staying outweighs the risk of relocating into unfamiliar territories. These conditions include: environmental erosion, economic constraints, and war. For example, historical inequities in wealth, underdevelopment, poverty, and unemployment, as well as an economy that does not create sufficient jobs, may force individuals to move to different countries (ACMS, 2020).

Pull factors, on the other hand, have more to do with external attraction, than internal intolerances. These are conditions perceived as attractive by migrants. The key word here is “perceived”, as the conditions may not be a direct representation of what migrants are seeking. These conditions include: a promise for a better life, better employment prospects, and better political conditions. It is also important to note that push and pull factors often work simultaneously with each other. This means that intolerant conditions (push factors) influence individuals to seek favourable conditions (pull factors) in another country.

Chamunorwa and Mlambo (2014) examine the relationship between immigration and unemployment in South Africa between the period of 1980 to 2010. The scholars identify that there is no settled opinion on the relationship between the two. While some scholars have identified a positive relationship between unemployment and immigration others have identified a negative relationship. To assist with this analysis, the scholars conducted an Ordinary Least Squares study to test the relationship. The observation was that, there is a positive relationship between immigration and unemployment. This means that an increase in immigration levels in South Africa results to an increase in unemployment levels. Therefore, rather than alleviate unemployment, immigration perpetuates it. This is contrary to observations made by the HSRC (2020) that established a negative relationship between the two variables.

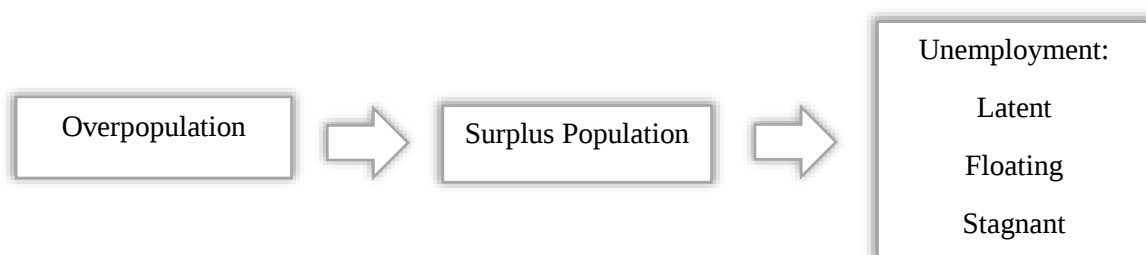
On the other hand, a study conducted by ACMS (2020), shows that between the year 2012 and 2017, unemployment increased for both international migrants and South Africans. There was a 2.7% increase in unemployment among state nationals, and a 2.8% increase for international migrants. However, migrants had lower unemployment rates than state nationals. In 2017, the unemployment rate for state nationals was 28%, and 18.4% for foreign nationals” (ACMS, 2020). Moreover, both migrant women and South African women are more likely than men to work in low skilled occupations. (ACMS, 2020). However, as the unemployment rate for South African women increased by 3.7% within the 5-year period, it decreased by 3,7% for migrant women. Ultimately, South Africans are the most affected by increasing unemployment levels, although foreign nationals are not far behind.

Alternatively, when xenophobic attacks rose in Alexandra, Mamelodi, and Thembisa, the HSRC took the conversation to the streets and conducted focus group interviews. The aim of these interviews was to get “an on the ground perspective from residents of violence-torn townships about their understanding of xenophobic violence and its possible causes” (HSRC, n.d., 16). Some of the sentiments shared by the participants pointed to overpopulation and government’s inability to render much needed social and economic services to the local population. The participants identified immigration as a cause for overpopulation which has resulted to some of the country’s major socio-economic challenges. The central causes of xenophobic violence stem from this very idea. The challenge, however, lies in substantiating it with theory.

Figure 3 below is an illustration of the Marxist perspective on overpopulation. The idea is that population growth creates a surplus population, which is a part of the population that is unaccounted for or unemployed. This happens when a country has a large population and minimal resources. The growth in population causes a constraint on resources, often leading to unemployment and inflation due to the increasing demand for resources. This population is divided into three categories: latent, floating, and stagnant. The latent population comprises of people with insecure employment. If a person is unable to attend to his basic needs from his wage or income, this could be a result of employment insecurity. The floating population, on the other hand, are those “cycling rapidly in and out of the labour force” (Mbembe, 2012). This is a kind of employment that is unstable. Freelancing can easily fall under this category. Finally, stagnant unemployment constitutes of those who are rarely employed and are the most vulnerable to long-term unemployment.

Figure 3

Marxist Perspective on Overpopulation



Overall, the Marxist approach points to two things. The first is that, population growth poses economic threats. The crises of reproduction in Africa is one of the major causes of unemployment. Secondly, immigration is also a contributing factor to the challenge of unemployment. Whilst the WB and HSCR (2020) have reported that migration in South Africa has had a positive influence on economic growth, the analysis above challenges this statement. The influx of immigrants in South Africa results to population growth, which increases resource competition, and unemployment. Moreover, South Africa has received a growing number of immigrants since 1995, but has had very little to show for it in the economy. A study conducted by Clement and Hlalefang (2018), shows that an increase in economic growth causes a decrease in unemployment. Therefore, South Africa's increasing unemployment levels point to a decreasing economy. While it is true that economic growth is influenced by a number of factors, and good governance is one of them, increasing immigration levels have not been efficient in neutralising unemployment, instead unemployment levels have seen a steady increase in the past 5 years (Stats SA, 2022).

1.5. GOVERNANCE AND XENOPHOBIA

As Governments grapple with the new realities of their multi-ethnic societies, there has been an increase in violence and discrimination against immigrants and refugees in different parts of the continent (ILO, 2001). Xenophobic conflict has been linked to countries like Angola, Kenya, South Africa, Ghana, and Nigeria. These events have painted Africa in a bad light (Mngomezulu and Dube, 2019; Mamabolo, 2020). However, South Africa remains an outstanding case due to its frequent citation on mass media. Much literature points to lack of authoritative measures as a major influence on xenophobic conflict. State official capacity to prevent collective violence that is perceived as anti-social behaviour is essential to combating xenophobia. Conflict requires attentiveness and immediate response from the state. However, a lack of authoritative constraints perpetuates collective violence and increases the vulnerability of immigrants (Misago, 2019).

A study conducted by Misago (2019) and the ILO (2001) conveys that xenophobia is often trivialized and sometimes denied by authorities. In Kenya, politicians were accused of inciting xenophobic violence against non-nationals working in the country (Mumbere, 2019). The officials were alleged of spreading anti-migrant sentiments by criticising immigrants for the

country's economic crisis. "Enough is enough, Tanzanians and Ugandans have taken our businesses, we will beat them and we are not scared of anyone" (state official Jaguar as cited on Mumbere, 2019). Chaos ensued following this official statement. This does not only demonstrate state official influence on spreading anti-migrant sentiments, but also reveals government's opposition to assimilation.

An alternative example is German's official response to xenophobic conflict. When cases of xenophobia occurred in Germany, official leaders showed immediate response by controlling the attacks through monitored reports, and prosecuting crimes against foreign nationals in the country (Mngomezulu and Dube, 2019). The interventions played a crucial role on deterring the attacks. When government officials are involved in spreading xenophobic sentiments or do not respond to xenophobic conflict with urgency xenophobia increases and immigrants become vulnerable to it.

An interview conducted by Landau (2011) analyses xenophobic violence in South African townships and the irregular official responses on easing tensions. He examines government denialism as a moral crisis, and state citizen antagonism as uncensored perceptions enabled by a failing government system. The study focuses on the 2008 xenophobic riots that accounted for the country's major anti-migrant manifestations, followed by a similar case in 2015. He views the 2008 attacks as a legacy of a political configuration that has continuously defined and dehumanised immigrants as aliens, while subjecting them to different forms of coercion, harassment and expulsion (Landau, 2011, 11). State citizen's quest to acquire socio-economic security has sustained a culture in which outsiders are excluded. Therefore, in response to government denialism and unparalleled attention on national stability and cohesion, aggrieved South Africans decide to take matters into their own hands.

Similarly, a study conducted by Misago (2019) finds that increasing xenophobic violence in South Africa stems not only from weak authoritative measures, but from the presence and power of officials who facilitate its occurrence. In January 2009 community councillors from Durban were reported of inciting violence on foreign nationals (Tevera, 2013, 14). The councillors led a group of armed state citizens to pledge assaults on non-nationals living in the region. Similar cases were reported in the Western Cape later that year, where approximately two thousand five hundred Zimbabweans had to vacate to government buildings after their

houses had been demolished by state citizens (Tevera, 2013, 15). The attacks resulted from a grievance that farm owners were employing non-nationals and not recruiting local citizens in the community. The irony here is that, it was Zimbabweans who were attacked for unfavourable employment recruitments and not South African farm owners or government. This reinforces the idea of social inequity operating through nationalism and patriotism, and categorises the xenophobia in South Africa as a political misdemeanour, where citizens are used as pawns by state officials to accomplish their political motives.

Other arguments have analysed that the delayed response from South African Police Services (SAPS) on xenophobic conflict has increased the vulnerability of migrants (Misago, 2019). This raises concerns about migrant safety in times of conflict. However, the SAPS is often accused of its failure to maintain peace and security, as well as combat crimes that affect regular South African citizens. This has increased crime levels in the country and thus affected the relationship between state citizens and police services. Correspondingly, Landau (2011, 9) identifies that those arrested for immigration offences are detained in privately managed detention centres outside of Johannesburg. These centres have faced reports of sexual abuse, bribery and violence. Rather than dangerous efforts that deny outsiders their legal identities, “senior officials proudly report on their successes as a way of combating social exclusion and helping the city realise its potential” (Landau, 2011, 9). The idea is that the system used against illegal migrants is punitive, and sometimes corrupt. Therefore, xenophobic attacks do not occur because of insufficient security structures, but rather, they occur because officials have created spaces that enable them (Misago, 2019).

On the other hand, research has shown that the increase of immigrants residing in South Africa is owed to insufficient boarder control (ILO 2001). This has invited an influx of illegal immigrants into the country, and has caused a debate of its own. Media outlets have in the past reported a number of illegal immigrants residing in the country that were later disputed by Stats SA. While some studies have provided estimates of a number of undocumented migrants in South Africa (SAMP, 2002, 5), Stats SA (2021) has shared that there have only been three population consensus conducted on immigrants living in the country since 1996: “this includes immigrants of all types and is organised regardless of legal status.” There is no official record of illegal immigrant living in South Africa. Despite these reports, local citizens believe that the

country's major challenges stem from illegal immigration and this has induced negative attitudes towards immigrants.

The knowledge of illegal immigration perpetuates anti-migrant sentiments. Government response to this challenge is troublesome. HSRC (2020) maintains that migration has a positive effect on economic growth and that immigrants should be encouraged to bring their skills to South Africa. Economists have also reported that the host country's inability to receive immigrants, challenges globalisation and social integration. Therefore, the fastest way in which government can prevent antagonism is through policy reforms that attend to local citizen's concerns, and addressing issues that enable illegal immigration.

Overall, the vexed reality of the South African democracy is found in the collective pursuit to affiliate with state affairs despite the lack of understanding of the complexities of political dilemmas that influence everyday socio-economic conditions. The South African, in his national status, perceives the immigrant as an eminent threat to the acquisition of better economic prospects, and the government who holds the citizen's fate, fails to correct this perception. State nationals, as a result, resort to insurgency and learned disquisition that hostile challenges can only be resolved through violence and protest. This ancient rule was acquired through social learning, when violence became an alternative measure against death and systematic oppression (Pelser, 2008). While this examination is important, it only covers a single component of the rigid dilemmas that provoke anti-migrant sentiments in the county, and puts governance at the centre of increasing xenophobic conflict.

1.6. CONCLUSION

South Africa's constitutional democracy is among the country's biggest achievements, promoting values of equality, and respect for diversity (Koenane, 2018, 2). The end of the Apartheid regime signified a turning point for Black South Africans, a new dawn to economic freedom, and the end of pain and suffering. However, with the ever changing times, strenuous economy, absence of good leadership, and the struggle of limited resources, these constitutional values have become vexed and unrealistic. Equality is an elusive and a foreign concept in South Africa (Koenane, 2018, 2). This has caused conflict and a lack of cooperation. At the centre of

xenophobic conflict are disputes about socio-economic exclusion and the expulsion of migrants living in South Africa. The obvious question is how does grievance about social exclusion lead to conflict against non-nationals. This section has analysed existing literature that helps to answer this question.

The chapter has outlined four major themes concerning the topic. The first section examined reports on Afrophobia and intra-Black racism. Although there is extensive scholarship on xenophobia, the texts fail to settle on a unanimous theory that accounts the collective violence on African immigrants. The Black-on-Black violence has led to the exploration of concepts such as, Afrophobia, and intra-Black racism. The latter is concerned with cultural inequality, prejudice, and classism between same race population. It is a kind of racism that is based on social status rather than biological characteristics. Afrophobia, on the other hand, pertains to the fear and dislike of African people. These concepts tie the conflict on non-national in South Africa to historical injustices and identity dilemmas that continue to suppress Black communities. The section recounts these arguments and highlights their limitations in the context of unemployment and xenophobia.

The second section analysed existing theoretical assumptions that define the effects of unemployment on individual behaviour. In order to understand the influence of high rates of unemployment on xenophobic conflict, I had to analyse the relationship between unemployment and aggression. I specifically focused on three theories: LDT, anomie theory and strain theory. These theories outline how grievances arising from unemployment create political atmospheres and social unrest. Economic instability propagates negative attitudes and behaviour. It is more so long periods of unemployment than short-term unemployment that generates frustration and violence. One's background, experience, and personality also determines how they respond to seasons of unemployment. For example, someone from a poor socio-economic background is more likely to be affected by periods of unemployment than someone from a good socio-economic background. The evident limitation in these theories, however, is that derailing conditions of employment can also lead to negative attitudes and aggression.

The third section focused on unemployment and migration. It identified some of the causes of migration, and the relationship between immigration and unemployment. I also observed existing findings on the history of migration in Africa. The decision to move to a different country is often influenced by push factors, which refer to internal state intolerances that propel individuals to seek better prospects. These prospects are often identified by pull factors in another country, which refer to desirable conditions that attract individuals to migrate into a country. The literature conveys migration as an ancient practice among SADC states that slowly changed amidst policy restrictions over the years. It also poses migration as a cause for overpopulation that results to increasing unemployment levels.

Finally, I analysed reports on governance and xenophobia. Here, I reviewed the influence of state security, politics, and policies on anti-migrant sentiments in South Africa. The section observed how state official response to xenophobia has influenced the way state nationals perceive immigrants residing in the country. The literature conveys that the way state officials respond to immigration influx influences how state citizens interact with migrants. Moreover, migrant insecurity is often caused by a lack of authoritative measures to mitigate the vulnerability of immigrants. In other words, immigrants become subjects of abusive and antagonistic attitudes because state officials create social atmospheres that enable this kind of behaviour. It is not so much the incapacity of state officials to control xenophobic conflict that spreads it, but the moral crisis of government denialism and irregular official responses to easing tensions that perpetuates xenophobic conflict in South Africa.

The following chapter will present the theoretical model I have established to outline the presumed influence of unemployment on xenophobic conflict. The section proposes a hypothesis that links unemployment to insurgency and violence on immigrants. This will be followed by methodology chapter that outlines the research design and methods used to conduct this study.

CHAPTER TWO

Theoretical Approach | Analysis

2.1. INTRODUCTION

This section outlines the theoretical model I will use to analyse the influence of unemployment on xenophobic conflict. I propose a hypothesis that unemployment is linked to xenophobic conflict in the following way: SP-SP. In order to understand the influence of unemployment on xenophobic conflict, we must conceptualise the relationship between unemployment and violence, and establish how and why this violence targets foreign nationals. The model does this through a four-way process: Stigmatisation, Political identity, Social movement, and Pride.

People fight for employment because ideas about success are centred around it. Society is driven by normative goals and the acquisition of wealth, status and respect. The inability to access dominant main culture, and still be incorporated in it, creates a dysfunction and self-deprecating image. When people are unable to access resources and “legitimate pathways of achieving society’s normative goals, they seek illegitimate means—crime and violence—of acquiring the prevailing symbols of success” (Pelser, 2008, 8). Unemployment creates this dysfunction, while employment subverts it. This means that, the failure to access mainstream culture demoralises the unemployed and probes negative behaviour and stimuli. It creates stigmatisation, rejection and disapproval from society. Stigmatisation is incorporated in the SP-SP model and will be analysed further in the chapter.

In addition, I use the politics of identity concept, also known as identity politics. This is a concept used to categorise unknown groups and individuals. Drozdowski and Matusz (2021) describe it as a system that is used to polish society by threatening unknown groups. It encourages an operationalised dissemination of fear and threat towards groups that are better understood as the other. Here groups are formed and maintained on the basis of similar belief systems, ideas, and values. According to Yuval-Davis (2010, 201), belonging tends to be neutralised, and is politicised and articulated only when there is a threat to it. The idea is that the stigma of unemployment creates shame and distinguishes the unemployed as the “other”.

In their effort to merge back into society, they establish political identities. These identities are rooted in nationality and collective memory.

I am also impelled to use the social movement theory in my analysis of what I perceive to be the social movement of ant-migrant sentiments in the country. To fully understand the xenophobic conflict in South Africa, we have look at it as a social movement rather than an “irrational and spontaneous act” (Landau, 2019). Social movements in their very nature seek to establish transitional changes in society. They are activities by which individuals create new kinds of social identities (Eyerman and Jamison as cited in Ngwane and Vilakazi, 2017).

While xenophobia has led to the establishment of social movements that seek to counteract violence and prejudice towards immigrants, it has also led to the establishment of social movements that uphold anti-migrant sentiments: “Operation Dudula” (push back) and “Put South Africa Frist” are both social movements. It is important to understand that a social movement can have a good or bad leader, and may push moral or immoral agendas. It can be progressive or reactionary, and might use peaceful or violent methods to achieve its goals. Unfortunately, both these campaigns fall under the less colourful and moral categories of social movements. They have evoked division and animosity through violence in their efforts to preserve nationality.

In the final step of the SP-SP model I make a suggestion that the above mentioned incentives create an absorption of pride and fulfilment, displayed as patriotism and xenophobia. The idea is that collective beliefs and identity produce a sense of pride and aggression against non-nationals. The unemployed transition from a feeling of shame to pride through similar beliefs, sentiments, and actions. The collective action against the deficiency of unemployment create a kind of pride that becomes an antidote to the distortion of unemployment and demoralised image of self. Using the SP-SP model this chapter will conceptualise the influence of unemployment on xenophobic conflict.

2.2. THEORETICAL ANALYSIS: SP-SP MODEL

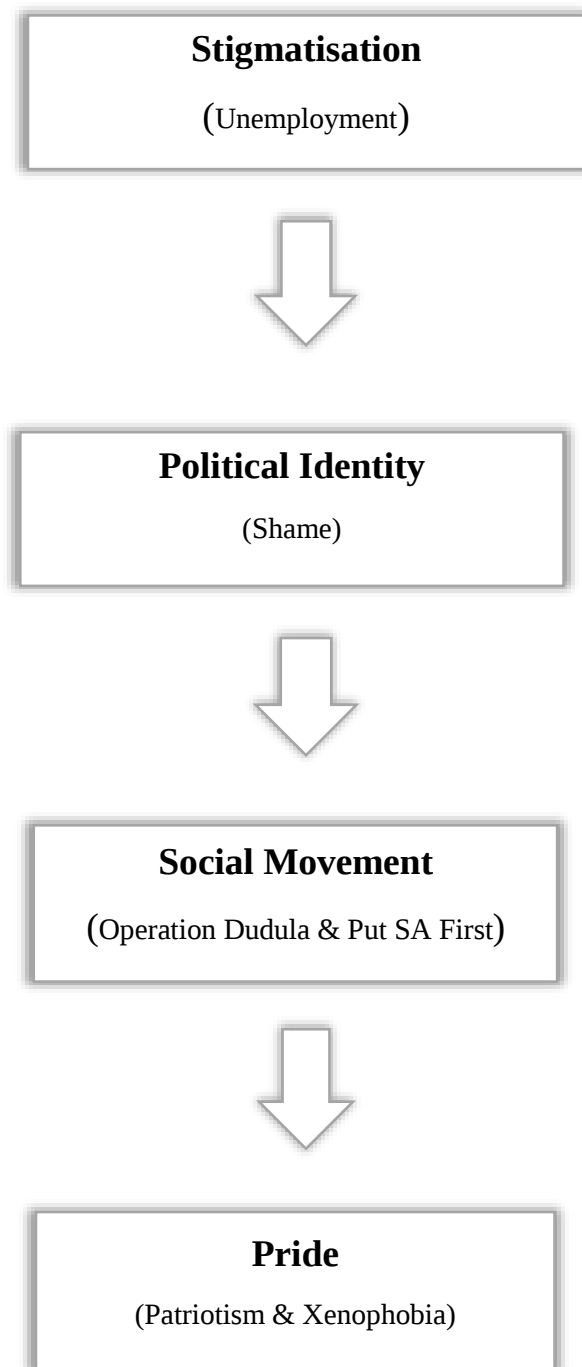
Xenophobic conflict divides the populations on the basis of physical characteristics and nationality. However, the less acknowledged connotation is the need for representation. I find that the aspect of representation is often overlooked in the study of xenophobia in South Africa. To understand the central causes of xenophobic conflict, we have to take a closer look at social movements that uphold anti-migrant sentiments in the country: Operation Dudula (push back) and Put South Africa First. At the heart of these social movements, is a need to be seen, heard, and understood. Social movements are not formed spontaneously, but rather intentionally and to voice out a dis-ease. This dis-ease may result from a number of things: social injustices, oppression, gender stereotype, and denial of human rights. In whichever angle that we may choose to look at it, movements are formed to serve a purpose and represent the people that belong to them (Smelser, 1962).

A study conducted by Ngwane and Vilakazi (2017) examines the trends and patterns of social movements that have embraced immigrants in South Africa. Whilst this approach proceeds well in analysing the behaviour between immigrants and South Africans, the two scholars overlook an important component about members who join social movement groups. They identify these members as “ordinary citizens”. My contention is that, these members are anything but ordinary. They are a representation of “transitional thought, grievance and generalised beliefs” (Smelser, 1962). The collective behaviour must be recognised as a mobilisation of belief systems that seek to redefine societal standards, and break through barriers and social deprivations.

Figure 4 below gives a hypothetical outline of the influence of unemployment on xenophobic conflict: SP-SP model. Firstly, I link unemployment to stigmatisation. The inability to attend to one’s needs may lead to a state of anomie and social stigma. I am more concerned with the latter. Studies have demonstrated that long periods of unemployment may result to unemployment discrimination (Kidwai and Sarwar, 2015; Krug et al., 2019). This is when unemployment generates un-employability. Organisations have been accused of showing preference to individuals who are already employed, or have been unemployed for less than a year during recruitment processes. This discrimination is influenced by experience and routine.

Figure 4

An outline of the SP-SP Model



When people are unable to secure employment for long periods of time, they lose hope and isolate. They cannot relate to the employed and are often stigmatised for their incapacity to secure employment and generate an income. This is a result of capitalism and ideas about

success that point to the industrial man (Cooper as cited in Hickel, 2014). Gender expectations also intensify unemployment stigma (Acevedo, 2019; Rebello, 2020). The world approaches unemployed men and women differently. While women may become vulnerable to abusive behaviour during periods of unemployment, men may feel a loss of masculine identity. This is a results of gender stereotypes. where men are expected to be household heads and providers. Overall, unemployment results to stigmatisation—the higher the stigma, the lower the subjective well-being of the unemployed (Krug et al., 2019).

Moreover, the stigma of unemployment leads to a need for association and acceptance. The unemployed associate among themselves on the bases of common grievances. They form political identities and identify themselves through their shame, aggression, and frustration. This identification accumulates to collective action for reform. Subsequently, a social movement is formed based on these emotions, and injured perceptions. This results to the establishment of common ideas. These ideas seek to eradicate any threats to the unemployed individual's livelihood and sense of belonging. In this case, because immigrants are perceived as outsiders who do not have an inherent right to the country's resources, they become instant targets (Kgari-Masondo and Masondo, 2019, 99). The once compressed emotions from unemployed citizens erupt through collective behaviour against perceived threats. This act releases a sense of pride and nationalism. Overall, xenophobic sentiments are released by unemployed citizens, and immigrants become victims of this unsolicited act.

2.2.1. STIGMATISATION

Stigmatisation forms the first stage of the SP-SP model. Unemployment is associated with adverse consequences, and stigma is one of them. While employment creates social status and influence, unemployment generates the opposite: a loss of status and discrimination. The stigma of unemployment removes people from social acceptance and puts their moral status in question (Sefalafala, 2018, 59). From employment, the modern man finds his identity, and security. His goals and ambitions are driven by a capitalist system that demands the application of ongoing labour in order to bear the fruits that acquire him access to resources, status, and respect. The failure to attain these basic moulds of success creates social stigma (Krug et al., 2019). In other words, the unemployed are not only susceptible to resource deprivation, but are

also inclined to stereotypical attitudes and beliefs that may hinder future employment prospects.

This requires us to understand unemployment as a challenge that assumes both internal (psychological) and external (stigmatisation) effects. It must be understood as a condition of moral loss leading to uncertainty and fear on the one hand, and a negative characterisation from society on the other (Sefalafala, 2020). The latter is associated with the external challenges of unemployment. The unemployed are festered with negative terms that range from “lazy” to “bomahlalelala”, which loosely translates to “dependant adults”, and is commonly used to describe unemployed males (Sefalafala, 2020). All of which carry undesirable inferences that critique the individual’s lack of productivity. As a result, unemployment becomes more than what it is and gains an adverse reputation (Goffman, 1963, 4).

Overall, these stereotypical characterisations intensify the challenge of unemployment, and create a demoralising identity for the unemployed. Rather than merely jobless, they are perceived as weak-willed and dependents. This stigma may transcend to self-stigmatisation, where the unemployed self-stigmatise and identify themselves through these concepts. Therefore, “what is lost in unemployment is not just money or a job, but a type of moral order without a new one arising in the place of the old” (Goffman and cited in Sefalafala, 2020, 5). If the unemployed are unconscious to the prevailing symbols of their unemployment status, they may fall victim to them.

2.2.2. POLITICAL IDENTITY

Political identity forms the second stage of the SP-SP model. Identity politics is concerned with regrouping and collective personality. In moments of uncertainty individuals resort to national ideas. When people sense their identity being threatened they lean towards political constituencies to restore it. Belonging tends to be naturalised, and becomes articulated and politicised only when there is a threat to it (Yuval-Davis, 2010, 201). This means that a threat to one’s identity provokes a need for acceptance and social integration. This idea of belonging and solidarity operates as a foothold for stability.

The politics of identity suggests that opinions and attitudes influence how individuals behave. An individual's behaviour is largely governed by political beliefs about themselves and others. When people feel marginalised they isolate or resort to collective memory, which is a nationalised understanding of self and is usually associated to the state's cultural values, traditions, and religion (Drozdowski and Matusz, 2021, 2). Individuals use this collective understanding to categorise themselves and merge back into society after stereotypical characterisations. They place trust on those who share similar cultural memories, beliefs, and experiences.

What does this mean in the contexts of unemployment? The challenges of unemployment perpetuate unemployment stigma. This creates shame and disrupts one's identity. As mentioned above, loss of identity invigorates the need for social assimilation and understanding. To support this, a study conducted by Sefalafala (2018, 59) identifies that unemployment provides new possibilities for social solidarity. It demonstrates how unemployed mineworkers unite to challenge former organisations to re-employ them or employ their children after retrenchment. Although the focus is primarily on mineworkers, the study shows a link between unemployment and social unity. The challenge of unemployment presents bonds of reciprocity and mutual obligation between the unemployed. Therefore, the union among the unemployed becomes an antidote to social isolation and is an effort to create new identities and integrate back into society.

2.2.3. SOCIAL MOVEMENT

The third stage of the SP-SP model is the formation of social movements. Social movements are a form of social behaviour. Past studies consider them as spontaneous, unstructured and unorganised social activities, while recent studies analyse them as intentional collective behaviour for reform and transformation, built upon ideas that seek to eradicate structures that oppress and overlook members of society. I am more interested in the latter definition of social movements as "temporary public spaces that provide society with ideas, identities, and even ideals" (Eyerman and Jamison, 1991, 2). These ideals are demonstrated in such a way that they are difficult to ignore. For this reason, social movements have led to evolutions, reconfigurations, and renewed thinking.

In 2021 South Africa saw the establishment of two major social movements: Operation Dudula and Put South Africa First. The movements quickly became the first organised groups to publicly spew anti-migrant sentiments. The groups have since been vocal about their advocacy against immigration and need for structural systems that support local citizens. The idea is that the influx of immigrants in the country has intensified economic and social challenges. Immigration has created a disproportion in unemployment and uncontrollable crime levels. The members of these social movements are guided by this belief and seek to interrogate social policies that have welcomed immigrants, and official structures that have failed to address the issue of illegal immigration.

The SP-SP model ties unemployment to the formation of social movements. The pressures mounting from resource deprivation, frustration, shame, and anger, lead to collective behaviour that encourages affected individuals to act against perceived threats. Operation Dudula and Put South Africa First occurs “in highly charged context characterised by mass enthusiasm, social contagion and mass hysteria (Roots, 1990, 9). These groups operate under the assumption of extraordinary forces, threats, and conspiracies (Smelser, 1962). When members of social movement groups examine that the consequences that may follow their actions against immigrants do not outweigh their challenges, they are motivated to continue with their antagonism.

Table 1 below outlines three social movement theories: deprivation theory, political process theory, and structural strain theory. These theories can help define and examine the causes of anti-migrant sentiments maintained by social movement groups in South Africa. The previous chapter outlined three major classifications that perpetuate xenophobic conflict in South Africa: economic constraint, intra-Black racism, and governance. The table below links these major themes to social movement theories.

Table 1*Understanding Social Movement Theories in the Context of Xenophobic Conflict*

	<i>Deprivation Theory</i>	<i>Political Process Theory</i>	<i>Structural-strain Theory</i>
<i>Why do people form / join social movements?</i>	Grievances and discontent, resulting from the deprivation of goods, services or resources.	Political opportunity, power governance, (cognitive liberation).	Societal issues that cause collective anger and frustration. Generalised beliefs of threats.
<i>Understanding the theory in the context of xenophobic conflict:</i>	Economic constraints and unemployment may help us understand why people join anti-migrant movements.	Associated with poor governance that provoke anti-migrant sentiments instead of mitigate them (e.g. Swiss right-wing parties)	Racial injustice and past trauma that provoke animosity among same race population (Afrophobia and intra-Black racism)
<i>Limitations:</i>	Does not explain why some cases of deprivation do not result to social movements.	Focuses too much on political circumstances and ignores cultural and social factors.	Does not say how much strain a society must have for collective behaviour to take place.

Deprivation theory holds that social movements are formed as a response to resource deprivation (Sen and Avci, 2016, 126). This means that when people do not have access to

certain resources, they form social movements in the efforts to acquire those resources. The theory demonstrates that deprivation and exclusion leads to discontentment and collective revolt for reform. The major limitation in this theory, however, is its failure to explain why some people under similar conditions of deprivation do not join social movements.

Political process theory on the other hand concedes that social movements are formed for political reasons. It is focused on interactions between organisational structures and the broader political and economic systems. The theory suggests that movements may result from political motivations and discrepancies. However, it faces criticism for its over indulgence in political circumstances and the little consideration to major issues outside politics. Scholars have argued that cultural factors may enhance the legitimacy of this theory and moderate the effect of political manipulation (Sen and Avci, 2016, 127).

Finally, the structural strain theory demonstrates that social issues may lead to the establishment of social movements. Societal issues are understood to have an effect on collective response. When the society witnesses a grave injustice, this can result to frustration, anger, and probe collective action against structures that enable oppression and injudiciousness. However, like the deprivation theory, structural strain theory fails to outline how much strain a society must have for collective action to take place or a social movement to be formed.

Overall, deprivation theory, political process theory, and structural-strain theory show great strengths in explaining why social movements are formed. When we look at social movements as a means to restore social conditions and identity, we acknowledge the core roots from which they manifest. For example, deprivation theory and structural-strain theory could suggest that “young people in South Africa, particularly those from poor socio-economic backgrounds, experience a great deal of strain and frustration due to resource deprivation or the perception that immigrants are competing with them over limited economic resources” (Olofinbyi, 2022, 201). The political process theory, on the other hand, would suggest that “government’s immigration policies that favour the sustenance of immigrants in South Africa” have perpetuated anti-migrant sentiments (Olofinbyi, 2022, 201). This may result to collective behaviour and generalised ideas against perceived threats.

In whichever way that we may choose to look at it, the theories give us an outline on why collective action and resistance occurs. Without structural strains, deprivations, and political motivations people would not have any reason to protest, and join social movements. The challenge in this observation, however, is that not all citizens under vigorous economic conditions join social movements. To mitigate this limitation, Smelser (1962) observes that, if people decide that the conditions they dislike are their own fault, they will not join social movements. They will also not join social movements if they decide that protesting will not improve their conditions.

2.2.4. PRIDE

Pride forms the final stage of the SP-SP model. It suggests that collective ideas and social unity induces a feeling of pride. The unemployed move from a negative feeling of shame to positive emotions associated with pride. Both shame and pride are social emotions arising from self-perception and how others view you (Davitz, 1969; Nathanson, 1987; Taylor, 1985; Scheff, 1990). The social unity between the unemployed alongside highly charged collective enthusiasm to form new identities creates a euphoria that spills over to patriotism, nationalism and aggression towards perceived threats. The once compressed emotions resulting from the stigma of unemployment, are collectively released and directed towards immigrants, as xenophobic conflict.

Nationalism and patriotism are not inborn characteristics, but are a result of a continuous process of learning and communion. Nationalism, on the one hand, is influenced by culture and social learning, and has a much deeper political undertone. The general feeling infused in its definition is deep patriotism and personal identification with one's nation state. Patriotism, on the other hand, is the feeling of pride, loyalty, and love of one's country. It is "an emotional fusion and exaggeration of nationality" (Hayes, 1926). This feeling extends to the community, and culture that has long existed in man's mind (Wolf, 1976).

In the context of xenophobic conflict, patriotism and nationalism are blurred between the lines of social identity and antagonism. They inherit a resentment that operates best through social division in the effort to maintain national standards. Here the love and devotion for one's country instigates hostility towards the outsider. In other words, the citizen's loyalty to the

country and its people fosters discriminatory perceptions about immigrants. The immigrant, in this case, is identified as an outsider who is only capable of imitating the cultural values upheld by state nationals, and thus becomes an easy target to frustrated nationals in moments of economic constraints.

The argument here is that xenophobic conflict is inspired by shared economic deprivations and ideas about nationality. “As livelihoods become ever more precarious and competition over jobs reaches extreme levels, people seek to leverage whatever social distinctions are most readily available in order to lay claim to diminishing resources” (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009). Immigrants are a target to economically injured citizens on a quest to redefine their social identities in society. Thus, the antagonism is a cathartic release of unsurmountable frustration and shame created by unemployment. However, it is important to understand that not all South Africans who are unemployed, and have a strong sense of nationalism and patriotism are xenophobic. Yet, by the same token, most violent attacks are committed by citizens who complain about the surge of exclusion and deprivation in the country (Nicolson and Simelane as cited in Olofinbiyi, 2022, 195).

2.3. CONCLUSION

Using the SP-SP model, this section has outlined the presumed influence of unemployment on xenophobic conflict in South Africa. The model identifies the stigma of unemployment, political identity, social movement, and pride as relative stages that lead to discrimination and antagonism towards immigrants. Firstly, I analyse that people fight for employment because ideas about success are centred around it. Participation in the capitalist system offers economic benefits and status, and exclusion from it produces the opposite. It creates stigma and rejection.

Secondly, I suggest that the stigma of unemployment creates shame in which the unemployed may respond in one of two ways: isolation or reform through political identity. Reform requires definitive action against stigmatisation. When people sense that their identity is under threat, they form new ones, or resort to national identities (Yuval-Davis, 2010, 201). Thirdly, employment deprivation and shame result to the establishment of social movements to fight against perceived threats: Put South Africa First and Operation Dudula. Finally, collective

action against perceived threats creates a sense of pride and patriotism, displayed as xenophobic conflict.

The following section is the research methodology chapter. I outline the research method used for this study. The section analyses the secondary quantitative, and primary and secondary qualitative research methods guiding this study. It outlines the ethical measures used in the study and the data collection process. I also identify the role played in ensuring and maintaining integrity and transparency during and after the research process.

CHAPTER THREE

Research Design | Methodology

3.1. INTRODUCTION

This is a single case study of South Africa that analyses rates of unemployment and xenophobic conflict from 2006 to 2021. The study is guided by the research question “How do high rates of unemployment influence xenophobic conflict?”. As such, I have examined the trends and patterns of xenophobia and unemployment during the stipulated timeline and analysed the cause of conflict. The study was conducted through secondary quantitative, and primary and secondary qualitative research method. The methods addressed my research question effectively and enabled a deeper understanding of xenophobia and high rates of unemployment in South Africa. This chapter outlines the methodological choices made and philosophical underpinnings that guided this research study.

Quantitative research method is concerned with numerical and statistical data analysis (Apuke, 2017, 40). Through this method, I was able to quantify and analyse rates of unemployment and xenophobic incidents in the country in order to get results. The method deduced the patterns and trends between the two phenomena. It enabled for the analysis of a larger and randomly selected data. Rates of unemployment and xenophobic incidents were independently retrieved from secondary sources, and measured against each other. Through this method, I was able to employ objectivity, careful analysis and identification of relationship. The method helped answer the “how” facet of the research question.

Punch (1998: 4) defines qualitative method of research as empirical research where the data is not in numerical form. The method focuses on descriptive human experiences, historical and action research. Within the qualitative research method, I used both primary and secondary data. Evidence was collected from interview transcripts and desktop analysis. Desktop analysis conveyed the secondary data. I examined historical data on xenophobia, immigration and unemployment in South Africa over the period of 2006 to 2021. The data was retrieved from online reports, journal articles and books. The study was also conducted through a series of

semi-structured interviews, where I collected primary data from participants (experts) and explored their knowledge and conceptual understanding of xenophobia and unemployment in South Africa.

3.2. SECONDARY RESEARCH: DESKTOP ANALYSIS

The secondary research method consisted of a desktop analysis where historical content and descriptive human experiences on xenophobic conflict was assessed. The study drew upon nuanced debates and discussions about xenophobic aggression and unemployment in South Africa. This approach helped me analyse and interrogate the trends and patterns on xenophobic conflict and its causes. I compared and interpreted statistical data on migration, unemployment, and xenophobia within the period of 2006–2021.

3.3. PRIMARY RESEARCH: INTERVIEWS

Given that this research study has a psychological element tied to it, in that violence and aggression are often best analysed and understood in the field of psychology, an interview with a two Psychologists was a great benefit to the study. I interviewed a Clinical Psychologist and Lecturer at a University in South Africa, and a Psychologist and Researcher who specialises in mental health and psychosocial support. I also interviewed a Researcher and migration Project Manager. The interviews were conducted through MS Teams. This helped me gather and record in-depth information about the essential causes of conflict and violence on foreign nationals. The primary data aided in strengthening the suggestions made by the SP-SP model—a model I have established to define the influence of unemployment on xenophobic conflict.

3.4. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethics are an essential component in research. As the researcher, I was required to maintain and uphold ethical integrity throughout the process of this research study (Saunders et al., 2012). Given that the study used both primary and secondary research data, it was mandatory that I applied ethical measures and considerations that honoured the research process and mitigated ethical issues. These included, informed consent, transparency, right to privacy, and internal board review.

3.4.1. INFORMED CONSENT

All participants were given verbal and written information about the research study and its purpose. This formal procedure clarified to the respondents, information about the research, my details as the researcher, what the research is intended for, and gave concise and clear details about potential risks (Nnebue, 2010, 5). The respondents were also informed of their right to withdraw from the study at any point. This measure ensured that participation was done under the will of respondents, to mitigate issues of discomfort during and after the research process (see Appendix E for participation information sheet and consent form).

3.4.2. RIGHTS TO PRIVACY

As the researcher, I was obligated to maintain the confidentiality of all respondents. A participant's engagement in this project did not affect their safety. The research interviews were designed in a way that maintained the privacy of participants. This was achieved by not disclosing the names of participants in the final research report (Saunders et al., 2012). Given the sensitivity of the subject matter, it was most desirable that the names and identifying information of participants be concealed in the study.

3.4.3. TRANSPARENCY

As the researcher, I had to show transparency throughout the research process. All the information attained is clearly stipulated, even if it is unfavourable to my expectations and hypothesis (see Appendix A, B and C for interview transcripts). The data was not fabricated to align with my preconceived expectations, findings and arguments (Saunders et al., 2012). Clear and concise terms were used throughout the research process, to mitigate uncertainty and the manipulation of information.

3.4.4. INTERNAL BOARD REVIEW

The proposed research project was submitted to the Research Ethics Committee (REC) for review. This ensured that the project was well within the confines of research ethics and did not pose harm to potential respondents. The risk level of this project was clearly identified. Participants were also made aware of all the support structures available to them, should there

have been a need to use them. This was communicated in the participation information sheet, research consent form, and verbally before all the interview sessions (see Appendix E).

3.5. CONCLUSION

This chapter has demonstrated the research methods used for data collection, and the research ethics considered during and after the research process. The following section is the quantitative data analysis chapter. Here I examine the secondary data guiding this study. The section measures unemployment rates against xenophobic incidents in the country from 2006 to 2021. It analyses quantitative data on xenophobia, immigration, and unemployment during the stipulated period. The findings are later applied to the SP-SP model to test the validity of hypothesis.

CHAPTER FOUR

Data Analysis | Secondary Research | Quantitative Findings

4.1. INTRODUCTION

The previous chapters have respectively outlined existing discussions on xenophobic conflict and unemployment, highlighted the limitations, established a model that seeks explain the presumed relationship, and identified the research methodology guiding this study. This chapter will integrate the accumulated data, explore figures on xenophobic conflict and unemployment, test the established model against existing findings, and identify its strengths and weaknesses. I draw upon secondary quantitative research on xenophobic violence and unemployment in South Africa. The data was independently retrieved from reliable sources. The chapter will be divided into four major sections. The first section will analyse the relationship between immigration population and rates of unemployment in South Africa. The second section will compare xenophobic violence incidents to rates of unemployment. This will be followed by an analysis of provincial rates of unemployment and xenophobic violence incidents in the country. The final section will apply the SP-SP model to the research findings.

The history of xenophobic conflict in South Africa dates back to the early 1990s. The antagonistic sentiments have affected the social and political atmosphere between immigrants and South African citizens. Studies conducted in 1995 were the first to reveal the latent hostility towards immigrants in the country (Masenya, 2017). Since then, anti-migrant sentiments have disseminated into violent killings and deportations. The Southern African Migration Project (SAMP, 2001, 11) identifies xenophobia as a disturbance to the peace and reconciliation intended by the democratic regime. Accordingly, several studies have examined the rise of xenophobic attacks in the country. Global, national, and regional organisations such as the UN, HSRC, SAMP, and ACMS have all contributed to these conversations, through data collection and analysis, in the effort to conceptualise and mitigate anti-migrant sentiments in South Africa. Although these findings are important, there are still some variations and gaps mounting from undocumented xenophobic incidents.

The first case study on xenophobic attitudes was conducted by the HSRC in 1994. The data was collected through questionnaires and surveys of approximately two thousand two hundred South African citizens (SAMP, 2001, 11). The aim was to analyse the attitudes and perceptions held about immigrants. Follow-up surveys and questionnaires were conducted in the period of 1995 to observe any unique changes in attitudes. The findings pointed to a considerable growth in anti-migrant sentiments directed specifically towards illegal immigrants.

Two conundrums stand out from the observation above. Firstly, the conception that anti-migrant sentiments were directed towards illegal immigrants. It is not clear how South Africans would have deduced that someone is an illegal immigrant before expressing anti-migrant sentiments towards them. The second is the magnitude of the data collected. The small sample of questionnaires and surveys suggests that anti-migrant sentiments were not strong enough to have probed a bigger sample size, but the negative attitudes retrieved about immigrants suggests a need for sufficient analysis.

4.2. IMMIGRATION POPULATION AND RATES OF UNEMPLOYMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

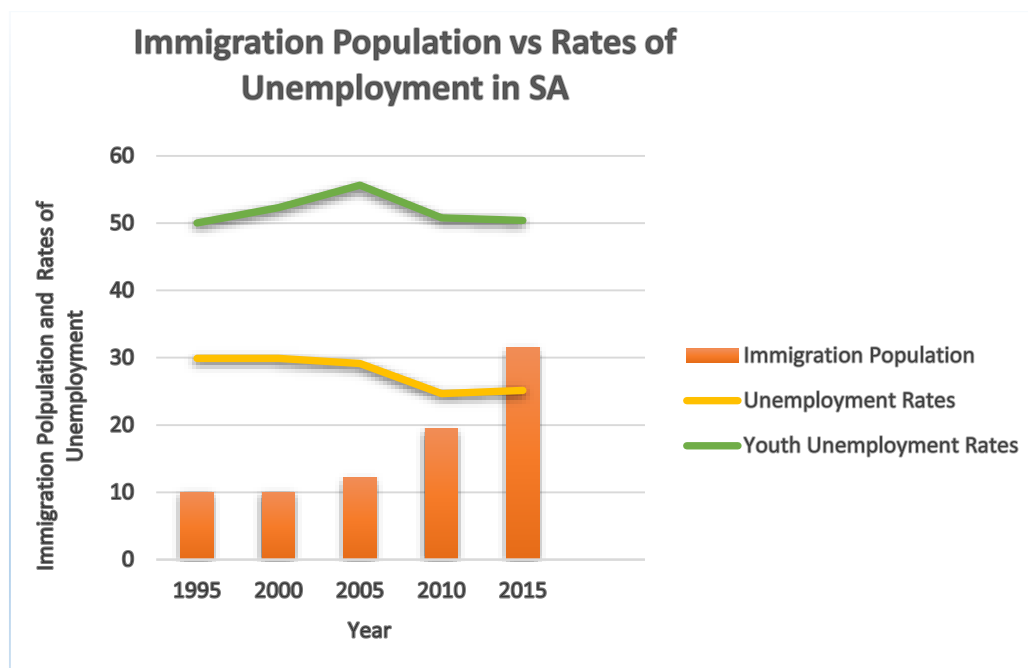
Economic experts and globalisation enthusiasts are outspoken about the positive effect of immigration on economic growth, diversification, and sustainable development. According to the World Economic Outlook (2020, 77), migration increases the world's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and productivity. Its benefits on migrants include potential wage gain, escaping conflict, and overcoming cultural and geographical barriers. On the other hand, the cost of migration on foreign nationals include policy restrictions, limitations on the right to work, and increase in competition. The latter is concerned with resource competition and deprivation. When a country cannot warrant for its population due to resource constraints, the natural result is pressure on available resources. Therefore, while optimism for migration is good, a realistic observation of its challenges is also important.

Figure 5 below demonstrates the immigration population and rates of unemployment in South Africa from 1995 to 2015. I analyse the relationship between immigration and rates of unemployment. If immigration population has a positive effect on employment levels, it should be detected by decreasing unemployment levels. Correspondingly, if immigration has a

negative effect on rates of employment, an increase in immigration population should increase unemployment levels, (Clement and Hlalefang, 2018). In other words, this comparison should deduce whether immigration has had a positive or negative relationship with rates of unemployment in South Africa by examining the stipulated 20-year period. Data from 2006 to 2021—given my research question—would have been the most favourable. However, Stats SA (2021) has conducted a limited number of the population consensus since 1994. This has caused a limitation on available population records. Nevertheless, the specified period is enough to give rapport between the two variables.

Figure 5

Demonstration of Immigration Population and Rates of Unemployment in South Africa from 1995 to 2015



The graph depicts both net rates of unemployment and youth unemployment levels. The latter forms a part of this observation because unemployment is largely a youth phenomenon in the country. Young people from the ages of 15–24 are the most affected by increasing rates of unemployment. Net unemployment refers to the general unemployed population in relation to the labour force aged 16–64. This breakdown shows which category of unemployment is the most influenced by immigration. From 1995 to 2005 there was an increase in youth unemployment rates and a decrease in net unemployment rates. Youth unemployment

increased from 50% to 55,63%, and net unemployment rates decreased from 29,89% to 29,12% during the ten-year period. This was accompanied by a persistent increase in immigration population from 1995 to 2005. From this we can deduce that immigration had a positive effect on net unemployment rates and a negative effect on youth unemployment rates. In other words, as immigration influx increased in the country, the net unemployment levels decreased but youth unemployment rates increased.

On the other hand, both youth unemployment and net unemployment rates saw an abrupt decrease from the period of 2005 to 2010, alongside increasing immigration population levels during that period. The observation shows a negative correlation between both youth and net unemployment levels and immigration population. In correspondence to findings by the HSRC (2020), it suggests that immigration may have a positive effect on increasing employment levels while subsequently decreasing rates of unemployment. However, the sudden increase in net unemployment and continuous increase in immigration from 2010 to 2015 subverts this analysis. The 5-year period reveals a positive correlation between of net unemployment rates and immigration population and a negative correlation between youth unemployment rates and immigration population.

Table 2

Relationship between Immigration and Rates of Unemployment

Immigration Population

AB	AB	AB	AA	Net Unemployment Rates
AA	AA	AB	AB	
1995–2000	2000–2005	2005–2010	2010–2015	Youth Unemployment Rates

AA – Positive Relationship

AB – Negative Relationship

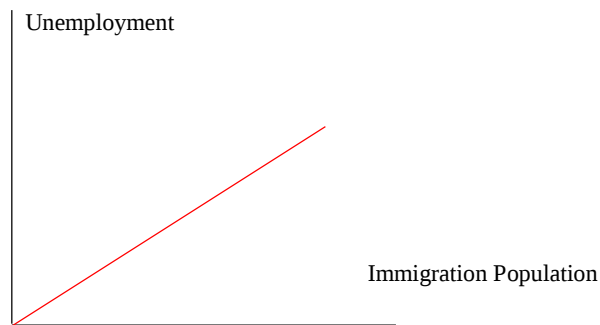
Table 2 above is an outline of the graphical illustration from figure 5. A positive relationship suggests that as immigration levels increased, unemployment levels increased. This would mean that immigration population levels are directly proportional to unemployment. Conversely, negative relationship suggests that as immigration population levels increased, unemployment levels decreased. This would suggest that immigration population levels are inversely proportional to unemployment.

✓ **Positive Relationship = Directly Proportional**

AA = Unemployment $\propto$ Immigration Population

AA = Unemployment Increases, Immigration Population Increases **OR**

AA = Unemployment Decreases, Immigration Population Decreases

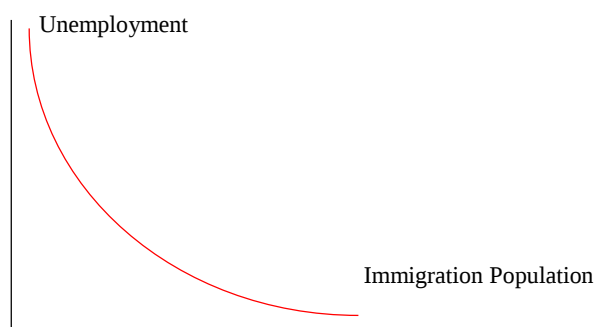


✓ **Negative Relationship = Inversely Proportional**

$$AB = \frac{\text{Unemployment}}{1} \propto \frac{1}{\text{Immigration Population}}$$

AB = Unemployment Increases, Immigration Decreases **OR**

AB = Unemployment Decreases, Immigration Increases



Immigration population has had a 75% negative influence on net unemployment rates in the country. As the immigration population levels peaked, rates of net unemployment decreased from 1995 to 2010. On the other hand, youth unemployment rates have not been as severely influenced by increasing immigration population levels. There was a 50% positive relationship and a 50% negative relationship from 1995 to 2005 and 2005 to 2015 respectively.

Overall, it can be deduced that immigration has had a much stronger influence on net unemployment levels than youth unemployment. This influence establishes a negative relationship in which increasing immigration population levels decrease unemployment levels. In other words, from the year 1995 to 2010 immigration had a positive effect on alleviating unemployment levels in the country. Instead of an increase in rates of unemployment, there was a decrease. Rates of youth unemployment on the other hand stand on a 50% positive relationship and a 50% negative relationship.

4.3. XENOPHOBIC VIOLENCE INCIDENTS AND RATES OF UNEMPLOYMENT

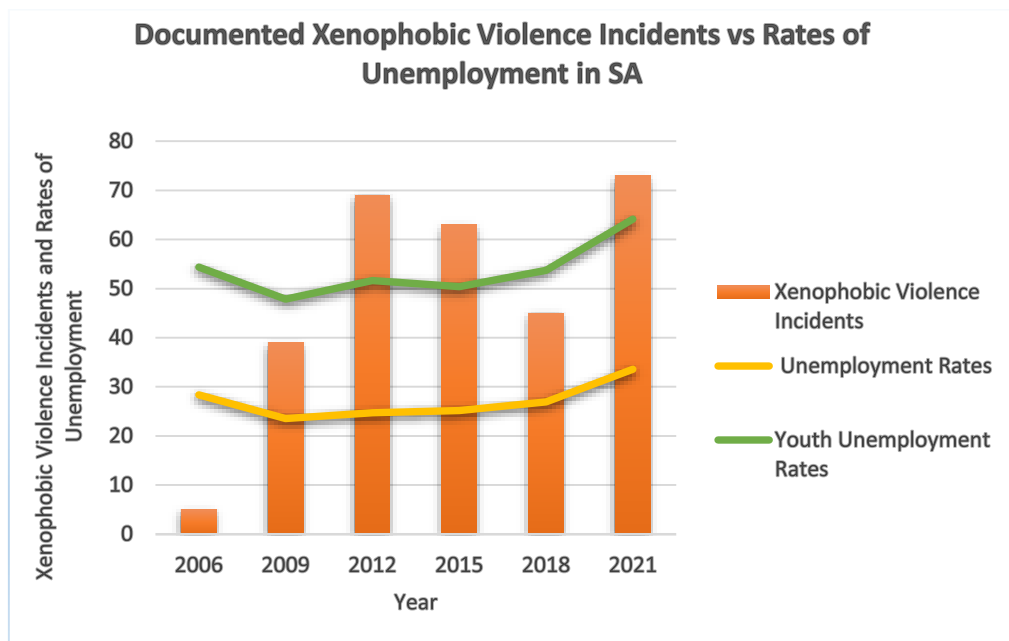
This section examines the relationship between xenophobic violence and rates of unemployment, and is the most fundamental to the research question. It seeks to identify two things: the relationship between unemployment and xenophobic violence, and whether fluctuating rates of unemployment have had an influence on xenophobic incidents. While unemployment has haunted the country for the past 15 years, xenophobic conflict has not always been a present public manifestation in South Africa. The graphical illustration below should provide an outline that infers a pattern between the two variables. As it stands the data was independently retrieved from substantial sources (Misago et al., 2021; Stats SA, 2022). However, unreported and undocumented cases of xenophobic violence may confine the reliability and interpretation of findings.

Figure 6 demonstrates the rates of unemployment from 2006 to 2021, and compares them against xenophobic violence incidents. Like the earlier graphical demonstration, I have decided to use net unemployment rates and youth unemployment rates in my analysis. Both net unemployment and youth unemployment levels had a significant increase between the stipulated timeline, with one increasing from 28,34% to 33,56% and the other from 54,34% to

64,18% respectively. There was also a 93% increase in xenophobic violence from 2006 to 2021.

Figure 6

Demonstration of Xenophobic Violence Incidents and Rates of Unemployment in South Africa from 2006 to 2021



There are two substantial shifts that stand out. The first from the year 2009, and the other from the year 2021. The former shows net and youth unemployment levels at their lowest during the stipulated 15-year time frame, alongside xenophobic violence incidents. Conversely, the latter demonstrates a major increase in both net and youth unemployment levels. The year saw a significant increase in both unemployment and xenophobic violence, and had the highest rates of unemployment and reported xenophobic attacks. It also marks a period around which two major anti-migrant movements were established: “Put South Africa First” was established in April of 2020, and “Operation Dudula” (push back) established in June of 2021.

In total, the figure shows instances of a positive correlation between rates of unemployment and xenophobic conflict, and moments that show a negative correlation. From the year, 2006 to 2009, there is negative relationship between both youth and net unemployment levels and

xenophobic violence incidents. When rates of unemployment decreased, xenophobic attacks increased. However, from 2009 to 2012, we see a positive correlation. Documented xenophobic attacks increased simultaneously with rates of unemployment. This overrides to the year 2015 as a decrease in both unemployment levels and xenophobic violence incidents can be observed.

Table 3

Relationship between Xenophobic Violence and Rates of Unemployment

Xenophobic Violence Incidents

AB	AA	AB	AB	AA	Net Unemployment Rates
AB	AA	AA	AB	AA	
2006–2009	2009–2012	2012–2015	2015–2018	2018–2021	Youth Unemployment Rates

AA – Positive Relationship

AB – Negative Relationship

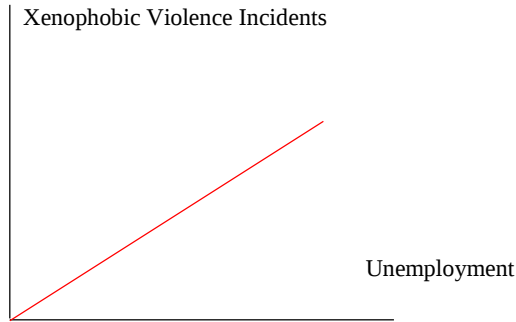
Table 3 outlines the xenophobic violence incidents and rates of unemployment from 2006 to 2021. It demonstrates both a negative and positive relationship between the specified variables. There was a 60% negative relationship between net unemployment rates and xenophobic violence. This means that as net unemployment rates increased or decreased the opposite occurred for xenophobic incidents. Net unemployment rates are 60% inversely proportional to xenophobic violence, and 40% directly proportional. On the other hand, youth unemployment rates show a 60% directly proportional relationship to xenophobic violence, and a 40% inversely proportional relationship. The former suggests a 60% positive relationship between the two variables, and a 40% negative relationship. Below is a sketch that gives an outline of the positive and negative correlation.

✓ **Positive Relationship = Directly Proportional**

AA = Unemployment $\propto$ Xenophobic Violence Incidents

AA = Unemployment Increases, Xenophobic Violence Incidents Increase **OR**

AA = Unemployment Decreases, Xenophobic Violence Incidents Decrease

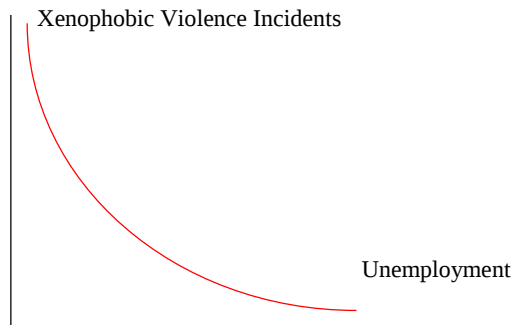


✓ **Negative Relationship = Inversely Proportional**

$$AB = \frac{\text{Unemployment}}{1} \propto \frac{1}{\text{Xenophobic Violence Incidents}}$$

AB = Unemployment Increases, Xenophobic Violence Incidents Decrease **OR**

AB = Unemployment Decreases, Xenophobic Violence Incidents Increase



Overall, it can be deduced that youth unemployment levels have had more influence on xenophobic attacks than net unemployment levels. As youth unemployment levels increased, xenophobic violence increased, and as the youth unemployment rates decreased, xenophobic attacks decreased. This analysis accounts for 60% of the stipulated timeline. The net unemployment rates, on the other hand, show a 40% positive correlation with xenophobic violence. Although this analysis may suggest an existing connection, it is not enough to deduce a solid relationship between the two variables. This interpretation is partially affected by data

limitations on xenophobic violence. Not all anti-migrant aggressions are reported or documented, which may obscure the validity of findings (Adebajo, 2019; Misago et al., 2021).

4.4. PROVINCIAL RATES OF UNEMPLOYMENT AND XENOPHOBIC VIOLENCE INCIDENTS

This subsection takes a closer look at provincial rates of unemployment and xenophobic violence. While unemployment is a South African problem, not all provinces are affected the same way. Some provinces are more industrialised and have more economic landscape than others and may be less affected because of this, or more affected in cases of high employment competition. Similarly, provinces do not have the same immigration population. The push and pull factors that influence migration determine the migration movements. An immigrant that moves to South Africa for economic opportunities, for example, is likely to settle in the most advanced and industrialised province. As such, Gauteng is considered the economic hub of the country and has attracted migrants from across Africa (Stats SA, 2022).

The limitation in the provincial analysis of xenophobia is found in the magnitude of immigrants in each province. If province *A* has two hundred immigrants and province *B* has twenty-one immigrants, and they both experience violent attacks against non-nationals. *A* would have more attacks largely because of the number of immigrants residing in the province. This does not make *B*'s case any less severe. The province is simply not as profoundly populated by immigrants as *A*. People attack what they see and have knowledge of. Moreover, as defined by the concept of intra-Black racism and Afrophobia, the issue of race has an influence on who is attacked. These limitations may pose challenges to the interpretation of data.

Table 4 below outlines the provincial number of documented xenophobic cases from 2008 to 2021. Unlike the previous sub-section that outlined the national landscape of xenophobic violence, this fragment analyses the provincial number of xenophobic violence in the stipulated timeline. It is apparent that Gauteng has had the most xenophobic violence incidents, and a significant decline in 2021. Eastern Cape province, on the other hand, was among the less affected by xenophobic violence incidents from 2008 to 2019, but saw a momentous increase in 2021. Two important things stand out from this illustration. The first is that, Gauteng moves from being one of the most affected provinces from 2008 to 2019, to one of the least affected

by xenophobic conflict in 2021. Secondly, the Eastern Cape province also shows evidence of drastic shifts transitioning from being one of the least affected by xenophobic violence incidents to the most affected province in 2021. This abrupt increase came shortly after no xenophobic violence cases were documented in 2019.

Table 4

Provincial Xenophobic Violence Incidents 2008–2021

Province	2008	2012	2019	2021
Gauteng	98	24	48	6
KwaZulu-Natal	13	2	19	18
Western Cape	27	11	3	6
Northern Cape	0	0	0	4
Mpumalanga	1	4	5	2
Free State	3	11	1	2
Eastern Cape	3	7	0	33
Limpopo	1	9	1	0
North West	3	1	0	2
Unallocated	1	0	1	1
Total	150	69	78	73

Note. Data retrieved from the African Centre for Migration and Society (ACMS Misago et al., 2021)

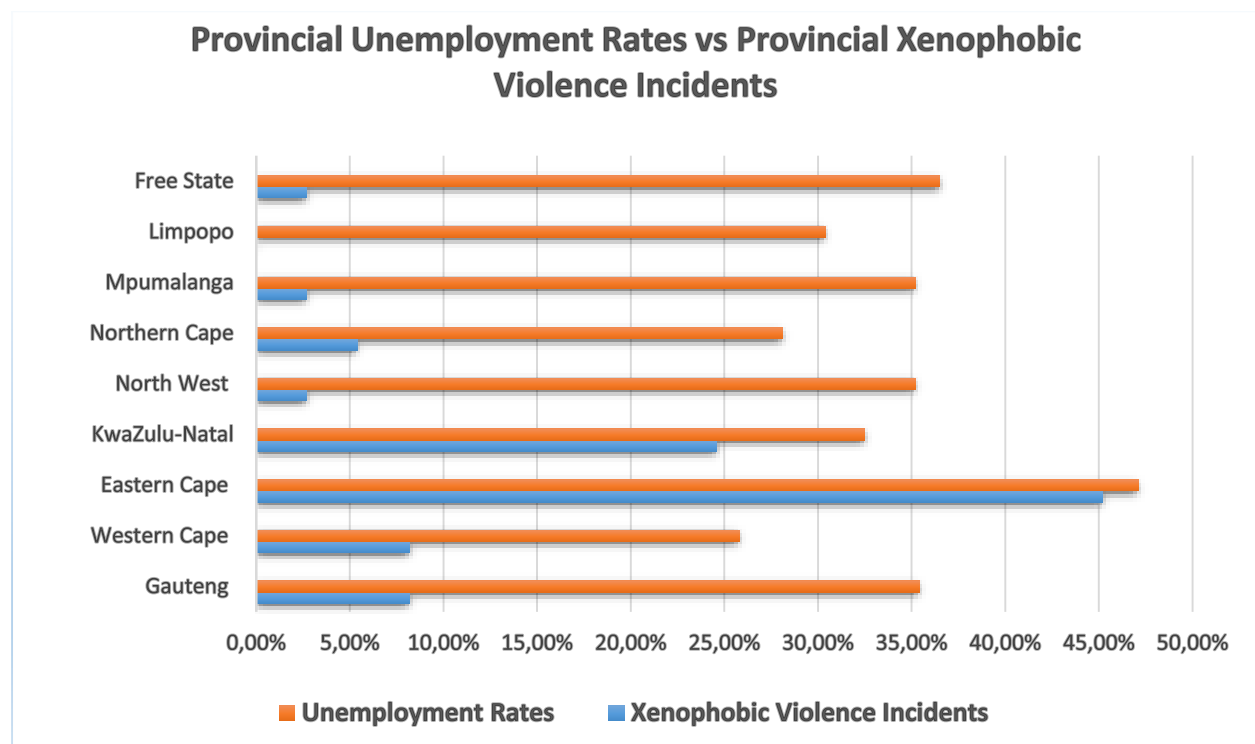
Apart from Gauteng and the Eastern Cape, substantial shifts were found in KwaZulu-Natal, Free State, and the Western Cape. The Western Cape province had a decrease in documented cases of xenophobia from the year 2012 to 2021. However, the province had the second largest anti-migrant cases in 2008. It accounted for 18% of the xenophobic violence incidents in the year 2008 and 8,23% in 2021. Conversely, Free State was among the least affected by xenophobic purges in 2008, but had an increase in 2012 taking the second spot of the most affected by xenophobia that year. The province accounted for 15,94% of the country's

xenophobic violence incidents. Similarly, KwaZulu-Natal had a drastic increase that placed it at an average of 24,35% in the year 2019, after a 2,90% decrease in reported xenophobic violence cases in 2012. Correspondingly, the province had the second largest number of xenophobic cases in 2021 with an average of 24,66%.

In order to interpret these substantial shifts, data stipulating provincial immigration population levels would have benefited the study. However, the immigration consensus is limited, largely due to Stats SA (2021) irregular observations. This has posed challenges in establishing a solid analysis of the fluctuating xenophobic violence incidents in the country. As highlighted earlier the magnitude of immigrants residing in a province is expected to influence the number of violent attacks imposed on immigrants, even if unemployment and economic conditions are the leading causes. Nonetheless, research conducted by SAMP (2017) and ACMS (2021) have provided a general outline of the anti-migrant attacks in the stipulated timelines.

Figure 7

Demonstration of Provincial Unemployment Rates and Xenophobic Violence Incidents in 2021



The data in Figure 7 demonstrates the provincial rates of unemployment and xenophobic violence incidents in the year 2021. I take a closer look at this period because of its frequent citation on mass violence, unemployment acceleration, and the establishment of antagonistic social movements. Put South Africa first and Operation Dudula (push back) are social movements that gained inclination in 2021. The movements were established to fight against immigration and to bring urgency on issues that affect local citizens. These issues are fundamental to crime, economic instability, service delivery, and unemployment. They ascertain ancient narrations “regarding the stealing of jobs and unfair business competition” assumed to be carried over by increasing levels of immigration in the country (Bekker, 2015, 240). Although these issues have dominated xenophobic episodes in the past, 2021 is a crucial source due to the generic voice of social movements engendered in that period.

The graphical illustration shows the Eastern Cape province as the most affected by rates of unemployment. This was followed by high levels of xenophobic attacks. This observation alone is not enough to create a connection between the two phenomena, especially considering the less collaborative relationship between the other provinces. Yet the Eastern Cape’s sudden increase in xenophobic violence incidents, as demonstrated in table 4, confirms a positive correlation. It proposes an idea that increased economic pressure resulting from a sudden rise in unemployment may have stimulated xenophobic violence in the province. Both rates of unemployment and xenophobic conflict experienced a substantial increase—unemployment levels increased to 41,10% and xenophobic violence incidents accelerated to 45,20%.

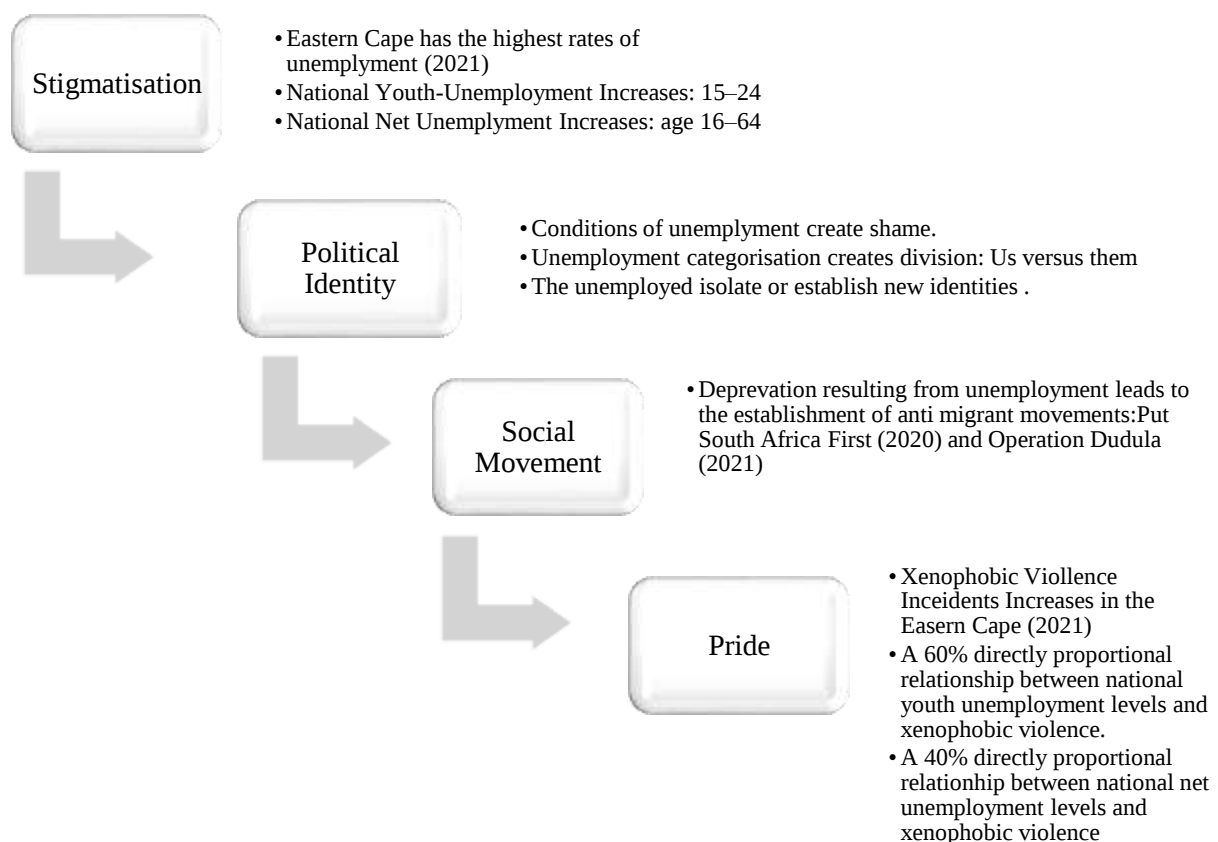
4.5. APPLICATION OF THE SP-SP MODEL

The data above has demonstrated three major components. Firstly, it has outlined the relationship between immigration and unemployment. Secondly, it analysed the relationship between unemployment and xenophobic violence incidents. Finally, provincial unemployment and xenophobic violence incidents were examined. This section applies the SP-SP model to the acquired results. The model links unemployment to xenophobic conflict through a four-way process: Stigmatisation, Political identity, Social movement, and Pride. It recognises that political and psychological incentives perpetuate negative attitudes on non-nationals in South Africa.

An important issue to emerge from these findings is the growth in youth and net unemployment rates between 2006 and 2021. This quantifies unemployment as both a youth and national phenomenon in South Africa. With this comes the surge of stigmatisation. Between 2006 and 2021, those falling under the unemployment category had to face the brutality of stigmatisation that came with their unemployment status. This is what Hickel (2014) describes as the chaos that disrupts an individual's idea of order emphasized in the earlier chapters. The ability to secure an income builds stature in society, and the inability to do so generates the opposite. Therefore, unemployment statistics are more than mere representations of quantitative data, but demonstrations of stigmatisation imposed on those who are unable to move within the labour market. This is demonstrated in figure 8 below.

Figure 8

Application of the SP-SP Model to the Secondary Data



The failure to integrate into society and its conventional norms creates shame, exclusion and division between the employed and unemployed. This exclusion is either self-inflicted or perpetuated by generalised beliefs from society. This is where political identity comes in. The conditions of unemployment create two things: isolation or the establishment of new identities. The latter is what Yuval-Davis (2010) defines as the need to belong, articulate, and politicise one's identity. When people sense their identity is under threat they take on political demeanours in the efforts regain or establish new identities. One of the ways in which this can be achieved is through collective memory. Drozdowski and Matusz, (2021, 2) defines collective memory as a reconfiguration acquired through political beliefs and national understanding. The idea here is that the shame of unemployment leads to a conquest to redefine one's value and image within society. Therefore, a South African, who perceives economic freedom and democracy as the chief right to local citizens, is likely to display anti-migrant sentiments in moments of economic constraints and unemployment.

Further, the year 2020 led to the establishment of the social movement Put South Africa First, followed by Operation Dudula in 2021. This came shortly after a state emergency increase in rates of unemployment. Domestic citizens pointed to economic restraints and poor border control as the reason for South Africa's economic pressure (Bekker, 2015; Misago et al., 2021). To support this, the findings above show a positive relationship between unemployment and xenophobic incidents in the year 2018 to 2021. When unemployment levels increased xenophobic conflict also increased during the stipulated period. This sudden shift, although not glaringly so, suggests that increased rates of unemployment may have contributed to anti-migrant incidents. To substantiate this, however, one would have to prove that the people involved in these social movements fall under the unemployment category: are without work but are actively seeking employment (Stats SA, 2020).

The data shows a 60% positive relationship between youth unemployment and xenophobic incidents, and a 40% positive relationship between net unemployment and xenophobic incidents. Correspondingly, the provincial data proves a positive relationship between rates of unemployment and xenophobic incidents in the Eastern Cape. The province shifted from being one of the least affected by unemployment and xenophobic conflict to the most affected in the year 2021. In light of the SP-SP model this means that, increasing rates unemployment

occurred simultaneously with an increase in collective behaviour, violent protests, and personal attacks towards immigrants that year.

4.6. CONCLUSION

The findings in this chapter show a deeper correlation between youth unemployment and xenophobic conflict than net unemployment levels and xenophobic conflict. This means that when youth unemployment rises, xenophobic incidents are more likely to increase. Similarly, provincial unemployment levels pointed to a possible relationship between unemployment and xenophobic incidents. The Eastern Cape province had a sharp increase in rates of unemployment that was followed by high levels of xenophobic conflict in the year 2021. There was a correspondence in unemployment levels and anti-migrant incidents in the province during that period. Although these findings suggest to a possible relationship between the two variables, they are not enough to consolidate how one influences the other.

While the SP-SP model has outlined a possible relationship between rates of unemployment and xenophobic conflict in some areas, it still requires further analysis in others. It was difficult to prove statistically how political identity manifests among the unemployed. Alternatively, identifying whether members of anti-migrant social movements fall within the unemployment category—without work but actively seeking employment—was a challenge. Moreover, the data limitations on reported xenophobic incidents also posed a challenge to the accuracy of the data interpretation. However, these limitations will be modified by the primary and secondary interview explorations in the following chapter, where I will look at data from civil citizens and relevant experts in the field.

Overall this chapter has interpreted secondary findings addressing the research question on the influence of high rates of unemployment on xenophobic conflict in South Africa. It has analysed four major components. Firstly, the relationship between immigration and rates of unemployment. In order to study the influence of unemployment on xenophobic conflict, the relationship between unemployment and immigration had to be established. Secondly, the youth and net unemployment rates were measured against xenophobic violence incidents. Thirdly, the provincial rates of unemployment and xenophobic incidents were analysed.

Finally, the SP-SP model was applied to the quantitative research findings. The following chapter evaluates the primary and secondary data retrieved from interview sessions.

CHAPTER FIVE

Data Analysis | Primary Research

Secondary Research | Qualitative Findings

5.1. INTRODUCTION

During the past few months, I conducted interviews with three experts in the field of research, migration, and psychology. The respondents were selected and approached based on their thematic skills and expertise on the subject of unemployment, the human condition, and xenophobia. Each participant had something different and insightful to offer to the study. The first interview was with a Researcher and migration Project Manager, who shared his views and knowledge on the root causes of xenophobia in South Africa. He highlighted governance and the lack of civil education as some of the contributing factors to the brewing conflict between migrants and local citizens. The second interview was with a Clinical Psychologist and Lecturer, who brought in a different analysis to the discussion. Some of her views touched on how status and gender stereotypes influence the way men and women respond to the frustrations of unemployment. The final interview was with a Psychologist and Researcher whose work focuses on mental health, psychosocial support, and violence induced trauma. The respondent suggested that we look at unemployment as systematic violence pervaded in Black communities—the lack of access to resources deters a person’s level of functionality within society and probes violent behaviour. In addition to these interviews, I attended seminars and webinars on xenophobic conflict, and unemployment. The discussions were useful, and provided additional data, analysis, and insight.

This section looks at the secondary and primary data on unemployment and xenophobia. It analyses secondary data collected from state citizens and nuanced observations from researchers on the field. I draw specifically from research conducted by, SAMP, ACMS, HSRC, International Centre for Investigative Reporting (ICIR), Human Rights Watch, and independent research scholars. I also examine the primary data retrieved from interview sessions (see Appendix A, B and C for full interview transcripts). While the previous chapter

focused on the statistical analysis of unemployment and xenophobic conflict, this chapter observes the individuals and experiences behind the statistics. It is undeniable that the spread xenophobic conflict in South Africa are a reflection of economic hardship and resentment. As economic conditions are expected to worsen, social division and animosity is also expected to rise. Unemployment is said to carry a deep moral unease (Sefalafala, 2018), and xenophobic conflict undermines the rule of law and puts everyone at risk (Misago et al., 2021). I paint a picture of the two dilemmas in the context of South Africa, the perceptions held by state officials, and their effects on local citizens. I also apply the SP-SP model to the qualitative data in my analysis.

5.2. DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

Xenophobic conflict is generalised as a catalyst for division fostered by irrational and negative behaviour on non-nationals. While it is irrefutable that uncensored perceptions about immigrants have enabled disintegration, their manifestations should also be viewed through the lens of unfulfilled expectations. The unrealised promise of economic freedom has prompted negative behaviour. Democracy for many Black South Africans was an assurance for transformation and liberation (Tshaka, 2016). It became a metaphorical expression for freedom, where Black communities would gain acceptance and access to the country's resources. A major portion of this freedom relied on socio-economic liberation that would be qualified by housing, municipal services and employment. Consequently, the lack of access to these entitlements has led to chaos and frustration from local citizens. From this lens, the immigrant is a victim of misdirected frustration and confusion from unfulfilled promises.

“We live in a context that is quite challenging on various levels and people respond to trauma in protective ways. And that could be a contributor to aggressive behaviours. In the South African context that we live in, the instant response to threat is aggression.” –Clinical Psychologist and Lecturer Respondent

My interview with the Clinical Psychologist and Lecturer highlighted the discrepancies and mental challenges triggered by unemployment. I use the word triggered strategically in this case. There is an unspoken vulnerability and uncertainty that comes with unemployment. Studies have acknowledged the stigma and frustration that unemployment brings to the

unemployed. This frustration, in the case of South Africa is a trigger and an eminent threat to the country's constitutional democracy. It is a reminder of insufficiency, and economic constraints that pursued the Apartheid regime. Accordingly, local citizens respond to this trigger the best way they know how: violence and protest. Through this observation, unemployment becomes more than what it is. It is overstated as an oppressive and vicious condition by those whom the Apartheid system discriminated against.

“Unemployment on its own can be quite a frustrating and a debilitating condition. It almost exacerbates someone's problems. It makes the problem seem a lot bigger. The experience of it can be triggering.” –Clinical Psychologist and Lecturer Respondent

In order to understand how unemployment generates frustration we must examine why people seek employment. Society is governed by capitalism that is influenced by labour and output. From employment the modern man finds his identity and structure. His goals and ambition are driven by a capitalist system that demands the application of ongoing labour in order to bear the fruits of the “industrial man” (Hickel, 2014). To him success is measured by his profit and ability to attend to his basic needs. In other words, society's normative goals and acquisition to wealth, status, and respect are all attributed to employment. Conversely, this high demand for structure and status comes with restricted job opportunities and competition. Limited access to employment opportunities creates a dysfunction that intensifies the demand for employment.

“Sometimes people develop less functional coping strategies that could be high risk. They do this to cope with the psychosocial stressors that unemployment causes and continues to cause. From this mental lens unemployment could be compared to someone struggling with a disease...which is something you may or may not be able to cope with it.” –Psychologist and Researcher Respondent

The Psychologist and Researcher respondent shared similar sentiments with the Clinical Psychologist on the psychosocial stressors of unemployment. The respondent compared unemployment to a condition that may upset an individual's position in society. How people deal with this can differ. Depending on the intensity of unemployment, one may develop less

functional strategies to cope with the frustration that comes with unemployment. The main idea is that its effects go far beyond the physical and would require in-depth psychosomatic analyses.

“Status is everything. How we categorise people, the groupings we put them in and how we receive people is influenced by status. There are various stereotypes that come with employment and unemployment. It is unfortunate, but I think it is more of a reflection of society and how we understand and categorise people. This gives us a measuring stick, so we know how to engage with different people from various kinds of groupings.” –Clinical Psychologist and Lecturer Respondent

Further, an alternative argument is that unemployment creates a depreciating image in society. According to the Clinical Psychologist, humans are critical by nature. Society has created categories through which people’s values are measured. This has generated a dark and deplorable connotation for unemployment—a point outlined in the SP-SP model. Unemployment, as a result, becomes a configuration for stigmatisation, and is associated with adverse consequences. The unemployed are susceptible to stereotypes that trigger frustration and mental health challenges. Demeaning terms like “bomahlalela” (reprobates) that are used to categorise the unemployed are labels attached to differences that reinforce a separation of “us” versus “them” (Krug et al., 2019; Sefalafala, 2020). This is how unemployed—and discouraged job seekers—fall victim to existing constructs and are out-grouped by societal norms.

“I think that unemployment is violence in and of itself, and sometimes when we see things like crime happening, part of it may have to do with unemployment and what people do to cope with unemployment... Some of the issues with xenophobia is this idea that Black people hate Black people. But we’re leaving out that there’s an entire society that’s giving them one slice of bread.” –Psychologist and Researcher Respondent

Similarly, the Psychologist and Researcher analysed unemployment as a violent machinery governed by capitalism. The respondent suggested that we look at the Black-on-Black violence in informal settlements as a result of socio-economic exclusion mounting from resource

constraints. Two arguments standouts here. Firstly, the Marxist theory on unemployment and overpopulation mentioned in the earlier chapter. Marx (as cited in Mbembe, 2013) argues that high rates of unemployment are a result of a surplus population. This is a part of the population that is left unaccounted for due to resource constraints. This increases the demand for employment. Secondly, Hickel's (2014) observation that conflict in Black communities is a fight against encroaching chaos to establish a kind of order that is best represented by socio-economic inclusion. The idea is that socio-economic exclusion creates a dysfunction in Black communities and conflict becomes an instrument used to establish reparation and inclusion. Overall, an increase in population levels puts a demand on employment. This demand may play itself out as violence depending on the severity of unemployment.

“Violence happens long before the physical conflict that we see. You go and act out violently because you know that if you don’t you might not survive. Violence is also systemic. So...people do act violently because of how society and systems, structures and history has been violent towards them... The unfortunate thing is that you get left alone with the violence, but you didn’t instigate it.” –Psychologist and Researcher Respondent

The Psychologist suggested that we look at violence as currency, language and power. As opposed to our conventional understanding of violence as unrestrained action, she proposed that we analyse violence as a reflex to harsh systems, structures and environments. It is not an action but a reaction to something. People do not just act violently, there is usually a condition that causes a malfunction in an individual's psych that perpetuates this kind of behaviour. In other words, people may act violently as a means to survive and protect themselves against conditions that they themselves believe to be violent towards them. In this case, violence becomes a language by which individuals communicate with the harsh conditions proposed to them. By reacting, the individual may feel a sense of power that did not exist before.

“There are push and pull factors that influence migration. When you look at some of the social issues, like homosexuality it is both a push and a pull factor because the migrants are patronised and harassed in their own countries so they try to flee that. Then you consider countries like Zimbabwe where it is

mainly the meltdown of the economy that causes migration. People are in search of better economic opportunities, whether it be employment and potential ground for entrepreneurship”. –Researcher and Programme Manager Respondent

My interview with the Researcher and Project Manager touched on the effect of migration on the country's economy and how this may influence xenophobic conflict. When asked a question about the general causes of xenophobia towards immigrants in the country, the Researcher highlighted unemployment. He also conveyed that a large number of immigrants living in South Africa have secured informal types of employment. This idea is also identified in a study conducted by Landau (2005) and the ACMS (2020). Immigrants and refugees are deeply embroiled in small scale entrepreneurial businesses because they are willing to take on jobs with low wages. This is encouraged by the push and pull factors that influence migration (Quirk, 2007). Most of the immigrants residing in South Africa come from low socio-economic conditions and are willing to take on any job to make a living. They take advantage of accessible resources—something the modern day South African is often accused of not doing.

“I think the most interesting thing is that xenophobia is based on attitudes, and sentiments. So...it is very difficult to deal with sentiments because these are things that are ingrained in people and sometimes no matter how much factual data you might have you can't necessarily convince a person with those perceptions to see otherwise, because they are based on emotion. They are very subjective and the one thing that subjectivity does is that it blocks out all logic.” –Researcher and Programme Manager Respondent

Further, the Researcher highlighted perception and attitude as contravening challenges that have perpetuated anti-migrant sentiments in South Africa. He identified perception as a putative measure that has driven state citizens into the belief that unemployment, crime, and diseases are all connected to increasing immigration population levels in the country. The notion that immigration has increased unemployment is based on emotions and subjective reasoning. Like the HSRC (2019), he contended that immigration poses positive shifts on economic growth, diversification, and globalisation. The negative narratives that immigrants

increase crime, sicknesses and unemployment stimulates antagonistic perceptions that could take decades to repair.

‘If you look at history, what you find is that most African countries were very instrumental in the development of the modern democracy of South Africa. One good example which links to employment particularly is the mining sector, you will find that most of the workers that were coming to work in the mines were actually from neighboring countries, Swaziland, Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Botswana. They were coming in as migrant workers, working the mines.’ –Researcher and Programme Manager Respondent

The Researcher proceeded to outline that hostile attitudes towards immigrants are not driven by experience but by stereotype and myth. He highlighted the history of immigration in South Africa, applauding it for its positive influence on the development of the modern democracy. He reiterated that immigrants played a crucial role in the mining sector which resulted to positive shifts on economic growth. The Researcher also added that African countries were a great support structure during South Africa’s struggle against Apartheid. Xenophobia in this sense is merely a result of manufactured perceptions that have overestimated the effect of immigration in the country. Here state officials could play a role in educating the public about the positive effects of immigration and the danger of xenophobia (SAMP, 2001, 28). However, lack of interaction assumes the need to cooperate with disintegration.

“Governments should engage with civil society, migrants, and local South Africans. There needs to be civil education on all levels, grass root levels and communities. Because these are the people who engage with migrants on a daily basis” –Researcher and Programme Manager Respondent

Alternatively, on the issue of antagonism demonstrated by local citizens on non-nationals, the Clinical Psychologist maintained that resource deprivation carries an enigma that drive individuals towards negative behaviour. She accounted the violence on non-nationals to an act mounting from economic vulnerability and the scarcity of resources. The Clinical Psychologist outlined that immigration puts pressure on the accessibility of resources. In other words,

increasing population levels alongside uniform resources causes a strain on resources. This is an ancient observation of supply versus demand summarised by economists. If a country has a hundred jobs and three hundred people residing in it, there is a resource limitation on the provision of employment unless the population finds creative ways to generate employment through entrepreneurial ventures.

“The more people there are, the more need for provision. So if we’re getting people from outside it puts pressure on these systems, especially if the people are not here to contribute to the overall functionality of the financial context. So it leaves people bitter and perpetuating the stereotypes around foreign nationals coming in and taking over” –Clinical Psychologist and Lecturer Respondent

The Clinical Psychologist further emphasised that immigration threatens the functionality of the democracy if the majority of the population is unaccounted for. This perpetuates resentment and unwarranted stereotypes on immigrants. Bekker (2015, 248) takes on a similar argument, analysing xenophobic conflict as outbursts mounting from resource insufficiency. Increasing population levels have created poverty, maximised competition for resources, and influenced increasing crime levels in the country. The country has become notorious for, inequality, poverty and unemployment, which have targeted rural areas, townships and informal settlements. People living in rural dominated provinces and former homelands such as, Limpopo, Eastern Cape, and KwaZulu-Natal are the most affected by unemployment and poverty (Tshishonga and Matsiliza, 2021, 218).

“One of the causes of xenophobic violence is the fact that there are limited economic opportunities that are being shared between migrants and South Africans in the country. One of those limited economic opportunities is employment.” –Researcher and Programme Manager Respondent

While the Researcher maintained that immigration points to economic development in South Africa, he also acknowledged xenophobic violence as a result of limited economic opportunities. The issue rests in unauthorised and undocumented immigrants which is the country’s major defeat. South Africa is accused of two major dysfunctions: the first is allowing

too many immigrants into the country, and the second is its absorbent borders that have enabled illegal immigration (Segale as cited in Landau, 2005, 4).

“South Africa is majority Black and they’re at the intersection of income. So they’re coming into a country that is not necessarily able to cater for everyone. So there’s going to be a clash.” –Psychologist and Researcher

The Psychologist and Researcher respondent also resounded these sentiments and pointed increasing unemployment levels in Black communities to overpopulation. South Africa’s magnified socio-economic structures that have attracted immigrants from across Africa have also been the cause of the country’s socio-economic defy. The respondent suggested that part of the intra-Black conflict in South Africa stems from the county’s incapacity to cater for everyone.

An alternative argument made by the country’s former President Thabo Mbeki identifies anti-migrant sentiments as receptive behaviour to crimes conducted by immigrants in South Africa. He analysed actions against immigrants as inevitable responses to irregular behavioural patterns that pose harm to society. They are neither personalised to national attributes nor citizenry status.

“The truth of the matter is that there are Nigerian criminals, who are involved in drug dealing, and that’s true. There are Nigerian criminals who are involved in prostitution and that’s true. There is no South African that goes around chasing Nigerians because they are Nigerians, it doesn’t exist.... They act against any person distributing drugs to our children and destroying lives whether South Africans or Nigerians. When they report to the police and the police don’t act, the community takes the law into its hands.” (Mbeki as cited in Shehu, 2019).

Xenophobic conflict is frequently accompanied by three major arguments: unemployment, illegal migration and crime. Focusing on issues of human trafficking, prostitution, and drug

trafficking that have overwhelmed the country in the past two decades—and are connected to Nigerian people residing in South Africa —Mbeki ascertained that oppositions to such crimes are important in sustaining and maintaining peace and order. Actions against crime are neither xenophobic nor Afrophobic, but are equitable solutions that seek to ensure the safety of the country and the people living in it.

“It is incorrect to read that there’s been an offense against Nigerians in South Africa, that is not true. So, I am saying when you talk about xenophobia and Afrophobia we need to be very careful about it.” (Mbeki as cited in Shehu, 2019)

South Africa’s Minister of International Relations, Naledi Pandor, resounded these sentiments. Identifying Nigerian residents as offenders whose actions pose harm to the country. She called for collective action to expose Nigerian criminals involved in human trafficking and drug trafficking in the country.

“Help us address the belief and the reality that our people have that there are many persons from Nigeria, who are dealing with drugs in our country, who are harming our young people by making drugs easily available to them. This kind of assistance in ensuring that such people don’t come to our country would be of great assistance to our nation.” (Pandor as cited in Shehu, 2019)

While action against crime is good, an official statement requesting for a communal effort against perceived threats is not good. Especially if the targets are foreign nationals. South Africa gained a reputation for xenophobic violence in the African continent following its publicised attacks against non-nationals on May 11 2008 (Landau, 2011, 10). Not only are these shared sentiments harmful, but they also reinforce antagonism in the country. Misago (2019) recognises that xenophobic conflict occurs in unauthorised spaces. Immigrants are vulnerable to anti-migrant sentiments and violence because authoritative figures have created spaces that enable them. This challenge creates critical barriers that obstruct the course of justice (Human Rights Watch, 2020).

“If violence is the currency in the group, and we know that if we act violently as a group we will be able to resolve some of our issues, then yes there is a relationship between violence and group dynamics. Uhm....similarly when violence is not allowed or accessible then you find that your group is not going to act violently.” –Psychologist and Researcher Respondent

Both the Clinical Psychologist and Psychologist, highlighted the effect of group dynamics on individual behaviour. People dissimilate from their values and constructs when they are in groups. They detach from their personalities and take on the personality of the group, which is usually governed by a collective ideology or the leader of the group. Correspondingly, a study conducted by Ngwane and Vilakazi (2017), identifies that individuals are likely to express sentiments connected to the groups they are associated with. In analysing xenophobic violence, the desire to fit in may result to the inheritance of destructive behaviour exhibited by group members. There is also an urge to express negative attitudes when accountability is pinned on the group and not the individual. Overall, the group may become a mask to carry out grievances and reinstate ideas about inclusion.

“Sometimes the fight for basic human rights shows up as violence. The unfortunate thing is that you get left alone with the violence, but you didn’t instigate it. I think that the flaw is that we sit and we become fixated in the behaviour of violence and not the psychology of violence and perception of violence...and how we understand who is violent.” –Psychologist and Researcher Respondent

Alternatively, the Psychologist suggested that we change our perceptions about violence, how it occurs and why it shows up. Violence, in the context of xenophobia, is a signifier of a deeper social crisis. At the heart of the conflict is a desire for acceptance and a need to merge back into society. Resource constraints and the competition for basic human rights may perpetuate violence. The Psychologist outlined that systematic structures are set in such a way that Black people live in the chaos of insufficiency and crisis for resources. Under such circumstances, one may fall under the illusion that the elimination of perceived competition may increase their economic prospects and grant them access in areas they once felt neglected in.

“Xenophobia has changed immigrant perceptions. Hence the whole idea of xenophobia...a country that fears African migrants. The most important thing that it has affected is security. I believe that people have less trust in police services, because of xenophobia. If you take the examples of 2008, 2014 and earlier this year [2022], people were burnt and killed...mob justice as they say...because they were migrants. But no one was arrested, no perpetrators were brought to justice.” –Researcher and Programme Manager Respondent

In conclusion, xenophobic conflict has created a disillusion and rhetoric of self-exclusion among immigrants that fetishes their position as the permanent outsider or wanderer in a way that distances them from all connections and commitments (Said as cited in HSRC, n.d.). The Researcher suggested the need for collaboration and clarification to repair the damages pervaded by xenophobia. Xenophobic conflict opposes fundamental ideas about African unity, and solidarity. It defies essential principles about African confederacy best understood and identified by Pan-Africanist structures. The violent manifestations among African people are a revelation to how vexed and unrealistic these ideas have become to our modern society. Fieldwork conducted by HSRC (n.d.) reveals some of the sentiments shared by African immigrant living in South Africa. Two emotions stand out among immigrants: fear and distress.

5.3. APPLICATION OF THE SP-SP MODEL

The primary and secondary data above stretches into four major altitudes that either support or challenge the proposed SP-SP model. Firstly, the psychosocial stressors and conditions associated with unemployment support the idea of unemployment stigma. The Clinical Psychologist and Psychologist compared the state of unemployment to a disease that one may or may not be able to cope with. They highlighted unemployment as a threat that induces negative behaviour. This is because employment grants people access to privileges that unemployed people may not have access to. Consequently, lack of access to certain privileges creates a stigma on unemployment and the way society interacts with the unemployed. In other words, unemployment could be compared to an ailment in which the unemployed live with the constant reminder from society of their unemployment status.

Secondly, it outlines the political structures resulting from unemployment stigma. The SP-SP model identifies political identity as a defence mechanism to the condition of unemployment. Social constructs operate under the modus operandi of in-group versus outgroup. Society has created an imaginary line that determines how to interact with different groupings. While employment may generate acceptance, unemployment achieves the opposite. The identity associated with unemployment is shame and exclusion. The Clinical Psychologist and Psychologist respondents identified that the lack of acceptance from society may result to mental health issues that may induce violence or isolation. Although not explicitly shared by all the respondents, the general idea is that unemployment creates deplorable identities and conditions. The unemployed may react in one of two ways to these conditions: by accepting them as truth or challenging the status quo through the pursuit of new identities.

Thirdly, the feeling of exclusion may propel a desire to merge back into society. At the heart of social movements is the need for acceptance, and the xenophobic conflict in South Africa has seen the emergence of two major social movements: “Put South Africa First” and “Operation Dudula” (push back). Two arguments stand out from the respondents that respectively support and challenge the formation of social movements that uphold anti-migrant sentiments. Firstly, both the Clinical Psychologist and Psychologist identified the effect of group dynamics on individual personalities. Members of a social movement group are united by similar grievances and are likely to take on the persona of the group or group leader. The group becomes a mask that challenges existing notions and seeks to reinstate ideas about inclusion. The second argument challenges the ideological foundations of anti-migrant social movements in South Africa. Rather than rational objectivity, the Researcher argued that xenophobia is guided by perception and misinterpretations. He contended that immigration has a positive effect on economic growth, and that immigrants living in South Africa take on low scale employment positions. He further advocated the need for civil education about the effect of immigration and the dangers of xenophobic conflict to the social and political atmosphere in the country. This, however, does not nullify the narratives and attitudes carried by anti-migrant social movements.

Finally, a feeling of pride and nationalism is observed through a collective action that establishes the immigrant as the “other”—and as the cause of unemployment. The Psychologist respondent identified violence as a currency and language that occurs long before the conflict. She demonstrated capitalism as a violent system that propels exclusion. Lack of access to resources is bound to create conflict. Similarly, the Clinical Psychologist argued that if the country cannot cater for everyone immigrants become an eminent threat to affected citizens. Therefore, a plausible reaction to this is identifying and isolating the threat through collective action. The social unity against perceived threats releases a sense of pride. It creates a new separation governed by “us” versus “them”. “Us” in this case represents local citizens and “them” the immigrant (see Appendix D). Figure 9 below outlines the SP-SP model.

Figure 9

An outline of the SP-SP Model

1. Stigmatisation -Us Vs Them - The Employed Vs the unemployed - <i>Umahlalela</i>, weak, lazy -Social constructs	2. Political Identity - Shame mounting from being stigmatised and out-grouped. - Establishing new identities to get back into society.
3. Social Movement - Joins social movement -Put South Africa First / Operation Dudula -This invigorates new ideologies through collective memory: “We are South Africans” “Amandla”, raising the South African Flag	4. Pride - Collective action against perceived threats generate nationalism, patriotism and antagonistic perceptions against the newly established “other”: South Africans Vs “Foreigners”

5.4. CONCLUSION

This chapter has analysed the primary and secondary qualitative research findings addressing the research question on the influence of high rates of unemployment on xenophobic conflict in South Africa. It has examined the psychological and political ramifications of unemployment that induce aggressive behaviour towards immigrants in the country. This has helped to explore the experiences behind unemployment statistics and xenophobic violence incidents. Chapter five presents the conclusion, limitations and recommendations for future studies.

CHAPTER SIX

Conclusion | Limitations | Recommendations

6.1. INTRODUCTION

The research paper has investigated how high rates of unemployment influence xenophobic conflict in South Africa. The data was collected through secondary quantitative research, and primary and secondary qualitative research method. This helped strengthen the scope of the research findings. To answer the research question I established a theoretical model that sought to explain the relationship between unemployment and aggression on non-nationals, SP-SP model. The model conceptualises the relationship between the two variables through a four-way process: Stigmatisation, Political identity, Social movement, and Pride. The results point to economic constraints and poor governance as the causes of xenophobic conflict in South Africa. The idea is that violence occurs long before the physical manifestations we perceive. The economic hardships associated with unemployment are violent. People do not just act violently, but may respond in a form of violence as a means to survive and protect themselves against conditions that they themselves believe to be violent towards them. The problem becomes prominent when government fails to respond to local citizen's concerns and educate the public about the effects of migration on economic growth.

6.2. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

One of the important findings to emerge from this study is that anti-migrant social movements are not a result of spontaneity and irrationality. People join social movements when they suppose themselves to be victims of injustices. Frustration, grievance, and deprivation lead to the establishment of social movements that seek to eradicate existing concerns, and preconceptions. The very foundation the democratic regime in South Africa was partly founded by anti-apartheid movements that sought to deconstruct and construct new ideologies and identities that would serve vulnerable and marginalised groups. If we look at anti-migrant social movements as activism inflicted by economic deprivation and need for social inclusion, we begin to understand the disparities in which they manifest.

The second important finding is that collective violence and protest emerges from social learning. Social learning identifies protest and violence as a methodological expression for grievance and frustration in isolated communities. The idea is that people will always resort to what works. When the Black population realised “that non-violent passive resistance was incapable, in the South African context, to fight against injustices and discrimination because of the savagery of brute force employed by the repressive Apartheid regime”, they had to develop new approaches (Kunnie, 2000, 25). Some of these approaches included violence as opposition to tyrannical forces. Social learning theory helps us understand that these violent methods can be passed through generations and become a defence mechanism to perceived and actual injustices. As such, these methods continue to resurface in marginalised communities as xenophobic conflict and anti-migrant sentiments.

Alternatively, violence emerges from resource deprivation and political processes. Here resource constraints and the incapacity of state officials to ease social tensions perpetuates xenophobic conflict. The former highlights unemployment as a condition that propels frustration and aggression. Social constructs have generated a perception that makes employment a desirable goal from which one’s standard of living can be conceived. The inability to live up to this standard generates stigma and social separation which can result to violent manifestations. Political processes, on the other hand, suggests that government denialism, lack of accountability, and the incapacity to promote diversity pardons anti-migrant sentiments in South Africa and encourages violence and social division.

State citizens attack foreign nationals based on the assumption that their employment deprivation is a result of immigrant employment acquisition. This perception is guided by the collective effort to make meaning of their unemployment condition. Zimbabweans are attacked by local citizens despite the low wages they make from informal employment. This is linked to desperation and frustration. According to Smelser (1962), people protest or demonstrates destructive behaviour when they sense that the conditions they dislike are not their own fault. This action conveys a sense of national memorabilia, identity and belonging. Which counteracts the feeling of shame and stigmatization associated with their unemployment status.

Using the SP-SP model, I make a suggestion that unemployment influences xenophobic conflict through four devices: Stigmatisation, Political identity, Social movement, and Pride. This framework analyses the stigma of unemployment as an element that fosters separation between the unemployed and society. The stigma of unemployment stimulates a feeling of shame and isolation among the unemployed. In their efforts to merge back into society, they establish political identities. These identities are rooted in nationality and collective memory. According to Yuval-Davis (2010, 201), belonging tends to be neutralised, and is politicised and articulated only when there is a threat to it.

Through collective efforts, the unemployed seek to establish new identities. Consequently, a social movement is formed that categorises unknown groups—who are believed to be the cause of unemployment—as permanent outsiders. This belief system creates a new separation of “us” (South Africans) versus “them” (immigrants). I advance this conceptual analysis further by suggesting that this collective behaviour be recognised as a mobilisation of belief systems that seek to redefine social standards. It represents a need to break through social barriers on the one hand, and societal deprivations on the other. Pride forms the final stage of the SP-SP model and reveals a kind of nationalism and patriotism that is directed outward instead of inward. In other words, instead of a nationalism that fosters cohesion between state citizens, these nationalist ideas create division and antagonism against perceived threats. Naturally, because immigrants are perceived as outsiders who are only capable of imitating the country’s cultural values, they become instant targets to aggrieved local citizens.

Overall, these findings add to a larger body of knowledge on the social and economic discourse in South Africa. Two issues stand out: government denialism as a moral crisis that threatens the country’s peace and security, and unemployment as a deep moral unease that affects individual behaviour. As immigration levels continue to increase, unemployment is expected to rise. The study has shown that immigration population is directly proportional to youth unemployment levels. This means that as immigration levels increase, youth unemployment will follow suit. If government does not create new ventures for employment opportunities. These social challenges will intensify existing inequalities and antagonism in South Africa.

6.3. RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

The research findings are subject to at least four methodological designs limitations. The first limitation to be considered is the secondary quantitative data collection process. The data on xenophobic violence incidents is still distorted. There are issues of under reporting and incomplete reports on documented xenophobic violence in the country. The second limitation is found in the primary qualitative data collection. The research scope was small, however, this challenge was moderated by the knowledge diversification of the selected participants. Alternatively, identifying whether members of anti-migrant social movements fall within the unemployment category—without work but actively seeking employment—was a challenge.

Finally, a portion of the findings reveals that citizens display anti-migrant sentiments on illegal immigrants. It became unclear how state citizens would deduce that someone is an illegal immigrant before expressing xenophobic sentiments towards them. This is because Stats SA has only conducted three immigration population consensus since 1996. There is no official data presenting the number of illegal immigrant residing in South Africa. This also posed a challenge on the data analysis on unemployment rates and immigration population for the stipulated research timeline: 2006–2021. However, to mitigate this challenge, I made use of the available population consensus by studying immigration levels between 1995 to 2005. With this data I was able to establish a relationship between the two variables.

6.4. RECOMMENDATIONS

More research is required to understand how existing policies influence unemployment. While South Africa's Refugee Legislation Act has been progressive in and safeguarding the human rights of refugees, less can be said about policies that have counteracted this effort (HSRC, 2020). Government has shown less sensitivity in other areas. For example, the full implementation of the National Action Plan (NAP) to combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerances are not prioritised (Human Rights Watch, 2020). The NAP has failed to live up to its promise to eradicate social ills that perpetuate inequality. While efforts have been made, they have been unsuccessful in combating xenophobia and related intolerances. There is a need for job creation programmes that stimulate the economy and harness socio-economic benefits for local citizens and migrants (HSRC, 2020). There is also a

need for information sharing and civil education. This can be done through government transparency, accountability, and civil education about the detriments of migrant intolerances.

While the country's constitutional democracy conceits itself with equal rights for all despite race, colour, or age, unemployment sees colour and has targeted young Black South Africans in the past 20 years. The unemployment rate is currently at 31.9%. Although this is a slight decline from the all-time high record of 35.3% in 2021, it leaves very little room for celebration because the country has seen a steady increase in unemployment since 2018. It appears that this problem will only get worse because the economy is not performing well. Young people in South Africa continue to face difficulties, with an unemployment rate that is higher than the national average (Stats SA, 2022). Many South Africans are unemployed or underemployed, and this has strengthened poverty lines and inequality in the country—where the socially and economically excluded experience South Africa in its brutal form (Van der Berg, 2011,136).

6.5. CONCLUSION

Unemployment and xenophobia are commonly studied phenomena, both independently and comparatively. The issue, however, lies on the incomparable conclusions on their causes and relationship. While a study conducted in France may allude to a possible relationship between unemployment and xenophobia, a study conducted in Switzerland may find that xenophobic sentiments are politically charged and influenced by government officials (Berezin, 2009; Deplaupe, 2011). Such has been the case for studies conducted in South Africa. The literature has reached incomparable conclusions. Part of the reason for this stems from discipline bias, where “researchers adopt theoretical approaches that are most useful to their own disciplines, and ignore alternative explanations” (Lötter and Bradshaw, 2022). Xenophobia is a rigid challenge that requires us to look outside the immediate concepts we are most readily familiar with in order to establish innovative methods to mitigate it. My research study employed this by developing an all-encompassing theoretical model that analyses xenophobic manifestations and acknowledges the psychological and political challenges that perpetuate it.

Xenophobic conflict disrupts social order and security. State official participation on inciting ant-migrant sentiments is problematic. Officials must reach a conclusion about which solutions best serve the state: social integration, or disintegration. An outline on the influence of

migration and its effect on the socio-economic and political landscape of South Africa must be realised and clearly articulated by state authorities. This will influence how local citizens perceive immigrants. Here integration would have to be understood as a process of assimilating local citizens and immigrants as full participants of the social and economic life of the country. This means that the challenge of job insecurity highlighted by state nationals would have to be resolved. The idea that non-nationals increase unemployment stems from what appears to be the state's incapacity to provide employment to local citizens.

Overall, anti-migrant sentiments are an endemic challenge in South Africa. The violence and prejudice on non-nationals has tainted the country's reputation, constitutional democracy, and rainbow nation status. The very nature of xenophobia rejects African ideas about unity and cohesion. In the face of conflict and degeneration among the African people, solidarity and unification is a distant hallucination.

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APPENDIX A

Researcher and Programme Manager Interview Transcript

Interviewer: Buhle Ndoda

Interviewee: Researcher and Programme Manager

Date: November 2022

Time: 14:00pm

(The meeting started with an explanation of what the research report is about and a confirmation that the information attained from the interview would be shared in my MA Thesis.)

[BEGIN OF TRANSCRIPT: 00:15:00]

Buhle: *May you please tell me about your project on migration and the influence it has had in KZN since it was established?*

Researcher: The migration project is a three-year project that's being implemented in KZN. The idea is to try to build civil society capacity in order to help mitigate xenophobic violence. Uhm...so...the areas were chosen mainly because they are the xenophobic hotspots in the region. Well...not all of them but...the major ones, so to speak. So because of human resources and material resources, the project was confined to five areas. That's basically the whole logic behind that. The idea is to try to capacitate civil society so that... since they work in these fields and areas this might help mitigate xenophobia. There's a second component to the project which targets entrepreneurship. The idea there as well, is to try and encourage entrepreneurial activities between African migrant entrepreneurs and local South Africans to come together and try to engage in economic activities, entrepreneurial activities that can generate employment and sort of uhm...ease tensions between the two groups.

Buhle: *I am aware that the project has conducted interviews with migrants in KZN. What would you say are the recurring sentiments shared by the migrants about the way xenophobia has affected their lives?*

Researcher: Uhm...well in most cases there is fear sometimes hopelessness because when we talk about xenophobia usually the sentiments that we refer to are perpetrators of xenophobic violence. It has affected them a lot. Maybe some of the issues they face on a daily basis, uhm... harassment and it comes from different groups like criminal entities and the locals themselves. It's made worse because of the context that they're actually in. For example, you might find a migrant who is a hawker, selling a little bit of sweets, drinks, fruits on the road and gets to be harassed by people. One of the narratives is that, you're stealing our jobs. But in their position that is something they have decided to do to make a living. Maybe getting ten or twenty rand a day. Obviously those are some of the challenges they face. But they also face the challenge of government policy. There's that constant fear that once you meet a police officer, to try and explain your situation won't help you in any way. Because the police and security services...uhm...all they see is a migrant. So there's also that feeling of indifference that they face, and in some cases stereotyping. They are always stereotyped, once you mention that you're from a different country the whole atmosphere changes. Those are some of the sentiments that they express. If you look at history, what you find is that most African countries were very instrumental in the development of the modern democracy of South Africa. One good example which links to employment particularly is the mining sector, you will find that most of the workers that were coming to work in the mines were actually from neighbouring countries, Swaziland, Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Botswana. They were coming in as migrant workers, working the mines. If you look at literature, it will show you the same thing as well. There was also the decolonization period, which was a process that was continental and countries were always helping each other.

Buhle: *What are the common reasons for migration in South Africa?*

Researcher: When looking at African migrants specifically, you find people from SADC...people from Central Eastern Northern Africa...I think the first one is they are just trying to flee wars. You find that with most Congolese migrants that's common and Somalians. Civils war is a push factor. There are push and pull factors that influence migration. When you look at some of the social issues, like homosexuality it is both a

push and a pull factor because the migrants are patronized and harassed in their own countries so they try to flee that. Then you hit it closer to home when you consider countries like Zimbabwe where it is mainly the meltdown of the economy that causes migration. People are in search of better economic opportunities, whether it be employment and potential ground for entrepreneurship. If it's stability, political, economic, and social... So those are some of the reasons why people migrate to South Africa. But since migration is broad, there are some aspects where people migrate for the purposes of leisure, and some people are coming in for retirement. Obviously that would all depend on the regions they are coming from. If you are considering Europe, there's a case that was settled last month or the month before about this couple from Asia. The court ruled that they should get ER papers because, they met the conditions for that because they had R14 000 000 in their account. So...you see that some people are actually coming in for retirement. There are many reasons for migration, some are pull factors, and others are push factors.

Buhle: *Has xenophobia changed the perspectives of immigrants about what the country can offer to them, and if so how? If not, why?*

Researcher: I would say yes it has changed their perceptions. Hence the whole idea of xenophobia...a country that fears African migrants. The most important thing that it has affected is security. I believe that people have less trust in police services, because of xenophobia. If you take the examples of 2008, 2014 and earlier this year, people were burnt and killed...mob justice as they say...because they were migrants. But no one was arrested, no perpetrators were brought to justice. This dynamic has changed this perspective and one of the things that it's actually changed is the security. They no longer have that security. Well...maybe they never had it in the first place. Then when you consider as well that policy is becoming more restrictive, that's also a challenge. But in terms of what the country can offer, I believe that most continue struggling on because, economically the opportunities that South Africa provides tip the odd. Migrants are willing to go through all that struggle, to make sure that they make a living. They might have a spaza shop. They continue operating like that because they have a means of upkeep and livelihoods. So...at the end of the day, yes it has affected, but coming back to policy as well...uhm there is a potential for the introduction of Quota systems with the recent national draft for migration and employment in South Africa that came out recently this year. The opportunities have shrunk a bit, because of these Quota systems. How

this is going to be implemented and when, I think it has already begun. It has limited migrant's economic opportunities. When you look at the idea of general work visas. You cannot be working in a place where your visa does not allow you to work. The rules are becoming stricter. I think overall, what we can say is that it has limited the economic opportunities. But maybe limited might be too strong of a word. I can rather say, the policies have become more restrictive, which makes accessing certain economic opportunities difficult.

Buhle: *Are all foreign nationals targeted by xenophobic violence and xenophobia, or does class and race have an influence on which migrants are targeted?*

Researcher: So...there's a debate in literature where most proponents are actually opting to say that it's Afrophobia rather than xenophobia. Because even if you look at the cases of xenophobic violence you will find that the targets of xenophobia have largely been African migrants. Take for example Operation Dudula. Which migrants are they saying should go? Where are they from? Which countries are they coming from? You will find that it's always African countries, Zimbabwe and Nigeria in particular. So obviously those dynamics do have an impact. The people that have borne the brunt of xenophobia are African migrants. They are the ones who are burnt in tyres. They are the ones whose food stores and spaza shops are vandalized.

Buhle: *Would you say unemployment has an effect on xenophobic violence?*

Researcher: Yes, it does. One of the causes of xenophobic violence is the fact that there are limited economic opportunities that are being shared between migrants and South Africans in the country. One of those limited economic opportunities is employment. But at the same time, when you look at analysis from Stats SA and compare the total migrant stock in South Africa against the total population and try to draw a conclusion from that. But the general understanding is that because we are sharing limited resources this is one of the causes of xenophobic violence. So you talk about employment and housing. Those are some of the limited economic opportunities that migrants and South Africans are sharing, therefore creating that tensions that act out as xenophobic violence. But then again, you also have to understand that there are negative narratives of xenophobia. The negative narrative has always been that migrants are

coming to take the jobs of South Africans. But when you look at the economic activities that they engage in. For example, opening spaza shops, can we really say that migrants stole a job that was meant for the South African? Everyone can establish that. You look at hawkers; these are people that decided to sell goods for the little that they can get. So those are some of the issues to consider as well. But there is a strong relationship between unemployment, employment, and xenophobia.

Buhle:

Would you say that the government has implemented constructive strategies for dealing with the challenges of xenophobia and unemployment in South Africa over the past 10 years?

Researcher:

Well they do say that implementation is the benign of policy making in Africa. Uhh...it's neither here nor there. Consider the White Paper on migration, 2017. That was a good piece of legislation, although there were some problems that came with that. You consider even the 2022 draft national policy on migration and employment. Those were a move on the right direction, although there are some controversies with some of the provisions. For example, migrants who are in the informal sector are usually exploited because they are paid less wages. They work more hours, and the policy of knowledge is that...uhm...as the government would like to stop these practices so that they can protect migrants. But then you also look at other provisions like...uhm this idea of introducing Quota systems. Some have embraced it, others not so much. What are the dynamics there? Quota systems are a way of restricting migrants from entering all sectors. Which can be seen in negative light, as a form of trying to discourage migration to South Africa. So...there still needs to be much more work. But as I said before, it's neither here nor there. The government is trying to implement the policies. But there needs to be more migrant friendly policies. Even the treatment of refugees, and migrants as well. For example, the back log that's at home affairs. Those are some of the things that need to be cleared up as well. But then again, it's neither here nor there, it's not clear cut. The government is doing what it can. Obviously there are some issues that might not align democratically, as well as with different members in society. Another example is the spot checks. The police are allowed to spot check migrants. This might create an atmosphere of fear and intimidation. So those are the dynamics. Government is doing the best it can, but more needs to be done. There needs to be engagement with civil society. There needs to be engagements with migrants themselves. There needs to be more civil education. Another example is that during the COVID 19, migrants were initially not included in the

vaccination programme, but because of civil society and other stakeholders they were included because COVID 19 affected everyone.

Buhle: *What are your thoughts on the ongoing narrative that migrants have caused more harm than good, in the face of the social challenges in South Africa?*

Researcher: I think it's an underhanded statement. It's one of those things that express anti-migrant sentiments. Uhm...I'll refer you to two things. Recently, Bheki Cele noted that crime is not something that migrants came with, it has always been a part of South Africa. To blame it on migrants does not stop crime. Then recently, the ISS last month published a report on the very same things that you are speaking about. What they actually found is that migrants benefit the economy more than what is stated outside. Because it is just hearsay... Sometimes it is just public opinion and not really facts. So if you look at that report, it just confirms the opposite. Migrants actually bring more to the economy, rather than what they actually take out. When you look at the work of the Human Research Sciences Council they also conduct public polls and public opinions so it's a great source as well to find information on migration. Basically, they've also found that migrants are actually a positive element to the economy. So...I would say those statements are blown out of proportion. I think the most interesting thing is that xenophobia is based on attitudes, and sentiments. It is a product of negative narratives but it also perpetuates those negative narratives on migrants. The most common one being that...uhm...migrants come to South Africa to steal South African jobs, migrants come to South Africa to take South African women, migrants bring diseases into the country, and all these other issues. So...the interesting thing is that it is very difficult to deal with sentiments because these are things that are ingrained in people and sometimes no matter how much factual data you might have you can't necessarily convince a person with those perceptions to see otherwise, because they are based on emotion. They are very subjective and the one thing that subjectivity does is that it blocks out all logic. Which is why there is a need to have strategic partnerships in migration management. Governments should engage with civil society, migrants, and local South Africans. There needs to be civil education on all levels, grass root levels and communities. Because these are the people who engage with migrants on a daily basis. One interesting case that happened is that during the looting in some communities, South Africans were actually coming together saying you can't vandalize these *spahza* shops. Those shops were owned by

migrants, but because they were a community, they understood each other. So there is a need for that understanding.

[END OF TRANSCRIPT: 01:20:00]

APPENDIX B

Clinical Psychologist and Lecturer Interview Transcript

Interviewer: Buhle Ndoda

Interviewee: Clinical Psychologist and Lecturer

Date: March 2023

Time: 15:00pm

(The meeting started with an explanation of what the research report is about and a confirmation that the information attained from the interview would be shared in my MA Thesis.)

[BEGIN OF TRANSCRIPT: 00:10:00]

Buhle: *May you please briefly tell me about the work you do as a psychologist?*

Psychologist: I am a Clinical Psychologist, I work both in the private and government sector. I offer mental healthcare services to various people depending on the mental health challenge, which can range from a depression to psychosis. I offer individual therapy group therapy... Uhm I do psychometric assessments as well. I also do supervision for interns in the field, supervisions of community service, psychologists. That pretty much covers that. Uhm...and I also lecture psychology students.

Buhle: *From your experience of working with people as a psychologist, what would you say are the major contributors of violence?*

Psychologist: That's a big one. The major contributors of violence. Uhm...So obviously the individual's mental health on its own can contribute to a predisposition toward violence. There are also social issues. Things like backup support, issues around low socio-economic status, previously disadvantaged groups. The individual's mental health and their ability to cope and adapt is an important aspect toward how individuals handle

challenges. Violence is often perpetuated and exaggerated by social context. This could be anything, it could be a financial issue, it could be a political issue, it could be an issue stemming from a lack of support. It could be an employment issue. So there are numerous factors that play into the likelihood of becoming aggressive. A person's mental health is important because it creates a foundation on how we respond. If we consider psychiatric disorders or mental health issues, it's almost like an indication of someone having difficulty in coping or adapting to their context. And context could be anything...It could be a fight with someone, or issues around unemployment. It could be issues around discrimination. Uhm...so it depends on the context, but the mental health and ability to cope is an important factor in determining how individuals react or deal with challenges. An unstable mental health and ability to coping may often lead to violence when challenges erupt.

Buhle: *Would you say unemployment has an effect on how humans behave and perceive themselves within society? If so how?*

Psychologist: I think it definitely does. Unemployment on its own can be quite a frustrating and a debilitating condition. It almost exacerbates someone's problems. It makes the problem seem a lot bigger. The experience of it can be triggering. Status is everything. How we categorize people, the groupings we put them in and how we receive people is influenced by status. Coming from a context where unemployment is a big factor for them and one of their pressing issues, it creates limitations for them in terms of how they're received in society, how they view themselves within society, their relevance, and their importance. If people can judge people based on what they make or how they make their money, there's a judgement that comes with unemployment. People have judgement and biases, prejudices and discrimination. The way a poor person presents himself is very different from how a wealthy person may present himself, or even considers his self-worth and relevance in society. The way they engage with the world, and how they engage with others. Uhm...but like I said these things are part and parcel of their mental health. It forms such a great foundation in terms of how they engage, how they understand themselves within the world, how people respond to them. It creates pressure, it creates expectations depending on which kind of socio-economic grouping you are coming from. The level of acceptance in society speaks volumes within society, if you are rich or poor. Also access to certain things, like proper healthcare, education, resources. And resources could be anything. It could be, what kind of house you live in, or what kind of environment you find yourself in. Whether they are assimilating or not, whether they are encouraging or not. Being around a particular group of people can create a certain mind-set.

Buhle: *Does employment have an effect on how humans behave and perceive themselves within a society? If so how?*

Psychologist: Uhm...It does as much as unemployment does, employment does because it gives you access to various privileges. It depends also on your level on employment. How much money you make, whether your job is satisfying or not. How you are viewed in society as well. What people expect of you, depending on the family dynamics, ideas around black tax. So if you're working there's an expectation that you will be able to take care of your family, whether it's immediate or extended. There's an expectation that you have access to certain things. You have access to certain luxuries, that unemployed people may not have access to. Your quality of life is expected to be better compared to someone that is unemployed. Sometimes there might be a discrepancy in terms of what the expectation is now that you're working compared to what the reality of being employed can be, and the stressors that come with it. There are stressors in both contexts whether you are unemployed or employed. Uhm...but the stressors just look different. How people view you might look different. If you are employed, there's a level of respect you get as compared to someone that's unemployed.

Buhle: *Do you think we can tie that "respect" to "black tax"? If you're an employed black person in South Africa, you are more likely to be respected within your community and even your household because you are providing.*

Psychologist: Yes, definitely. It's almost like the more money you make the more respect you get. Within the community everybody knows that this one is employed, or this one is a graduate... You get labelled like that and the level of respect you get is different from someone who is unemployed, that does not provide, and is seen as someone that is not pulling their weight and all the stereotypes that are around that. And the stereotypes that are around your employment and how much respect you get. Even in terms of decision making around the family, there's almost like this subliminal expectation that you would know what to do and know what the right answers are or what the right path is. The perception is that you are able to plan and respond effectively as compared to someone that is unemployed. There are various stereotypes that come with employment and unemployment. It is unfortunate, but I think it is more of a reflection of society and how we understand and categorise people. This gives us a measuring stick, so we know how to engage with different people from various kinds of groupings.

Buhle: *Is there a relationship between violent behaviour and group dynamics? Are people more likely to act uncontrollably or display aggression in groups than individually? If so, how can this be psychologically defined?*

Psychologist: Uhm...there are various theories that speak to how we respond to this. That speak to how we respond in social contexts and different kind of groupings. The group has an influence on the individual in as much as the individual has an influence on the group. So if we are thinking about just group dynamics, the idea of peer pressure and wanting to fit in can perpetuate certain behaviours within a group setting. There is also a desire on an individual level to fit in. Even if it is undesirable on an individual level, because we are almost wired to act a certain in interpersonal relationships. There's almost like this pressure to perform and act in accordance. There's a pressure or desire to be liked, or want to be included and accepted. All of these desires influence how we behave in a group. Depending on your personality makeup. This can determine what you're willing to engage in and what you're not willing to engage in. If you want to be the leader of the group or be influential. Being able to accept if you are not being accepted based on your limitations or standards. These would influence your behaviour within that setting. If we take even the idea of gangsters, or if people gather and they want to be liked or they want to be accepted, they are more likely to adapt to the group norm. So whatever that grouping of people idealize of see as the way of life, they are more likely to adapt to that more than someone that is not within a group. So the group dynamic does put in a lot of pressure on the individual to behave a particular kind of way. And that's driven by many things, as I said belong or acceptance, wanting to be idealised or add value to your sense of self. There are negative connotations that come with not conforming to the group norms. The negative connotation could be "they are not as brave as we are" or "they think they are better".

Buhle: *Would you say that unemployment or underemployment affects men and women differently? Why?*

Psychologist: Yes it definitely does. On the one end there's the whole...as a society and as a community we are moving towards almost uhm gender neutral norms. Uhm...but the underlying issues around...we still live in a patriarchal society. So the expectations on men and women are quite different. The man is seen as the head of the house. That's a typical stereotype. One could argue that unemployment can exacerbate certain insecurities within a man who possesses a patriarchal understanding. The idea is that women want to be taken care of. You see this playing out

within society. Whether it is with the whole idea of the *blessed* kind of dynamic, or within a household and how the household is managed. Whether the woman is the bread winner or not, there is a sense of wanting to be taken care of. When the man is unable to take care of the household, once again it feeds off an insecurity. It exacerbates feelings of unworthiness. Uhm...cause within even a broader family dynamic if you are a man and you are not working, the expectation is that your wife is taking care of you or the household. It does create an almost weird dynamic within the broader family context that can affect the immediate family context. It puts pressure...and the way we organise ourselves within a social context there is more pressure on a man to be a provider than there is pressure on a woman to be a provider. There are other contexts that are more liberal...uhm but even just within the idea within a black cultural context. The idea of *lobola* for example... The expectation is that the man is...almost, even subliminally, saying he would be able to provide for his family. So the issues around unemployment become quite great issues. Not taking away the emotional aspects but the financial aspects play an important role.

Buhle: *You mentioned something interesting earlier when you said we are now moving toward a more gender neutral society. Would you say that despite this evident transition, men are still more affected by unemployment and women less so?*

Psychologist: Uhm...I think in comparison. If we're comparing, they might be less affected but it does not mean they are unaffected. And obviously the idea of moving towards a more gender neutral dynamic within society, I feel we are still far from that. But we have made some form of progress. We're moving towards more independent women, and obviously the more independent you are the more reliance or desire for being employed. So if you're unemployed as a woman you're still greatly affected by the unemployment. Uhm...and what we're getting is a lot of households that are either woman headed, so that puts pressure on women. So... I don't think it's as clear cut as we would like it to be. But do women get affected yes they do. Even if you consider the idea of...black women are still right at the bottom within a financial context. Black women are still at the bottom of minority groupings.

Buhle: *What are the common psychological implications of unemployment or underemployment?*

Psychologist: I don't think that there's a clear cut or definitive relationship between unemployment and mental health. Yes, there could be, or we could argue

otherwise. But the impact could be things like a depression or an anxiety, and extreme mental healthcare issues. But that does not mean that the rich are not affected by them as well. Uhm...but yeah it does add issues around frustration. It's like an added frustration. There are many other frustrations that are not necessarily subjected to whether you are employed or unemployed. But it does add to the frustration of living essentially. The quality of life of life that you have. Especially if there's almost a discrepancy between your ideal quality of life and the quality of life that you are living. I think it adds to the stress, it adds to the depression, it adds to the anxiety, and adds to multiple psychiatric disorders or mental healthcare issues. It adds to how you view yourself and how you view others. How much respect you give yourself or others. Your sense of self-worth.

Buhle: *Would you say unemployment or poverty has an effect on xenophobic violence or the way migrants are received by state nationals?*

Psychologist: Uhm...yes I would, in a sense that the general perception is that migrant workers are coming to take away and not contribute. Uhm...so they are coming to take away jobs and not contribute in developing jobs for people within a local context. So of one feels that someone is here to take something away, people generally become defensive against it. So based on that perception that they are here to take away, whether it is access to healthcare services, whether it is access to financial benefits. It can perpetuate the idea that, they are not here to do good but instead they are adding to the frustration. They are adding to the pressures around the socio-economic context. The more people there are, there more needs for provision. So if we're getting people from outside it puts pressure on these systems, especially if the people are not here to contribute to the overall functionality of the financial context. So it leaves people bitter and perpetuating the stereotypes around foreign nationals coming in and taking over. Taking what is *ours*, or what we claim to be ours. So yeah...but I think that it's a broader political issue in terms of how things are governed and run. How people feedback into the greater good of others essentially. But that also depends on the perspective you're coming from. From an individualistic perspective it is, "I need to make my own". From a collective perspective it is, "how to make it better to improve our lives". That can influence your perspective around whether immigrants are here to take or to contribute. As I said, you're touching on a very broader political socio-economic dynamic here, and the responsibilities of various people. Whether it is stakeholders, politicians, or ministers. And how finances are distributed.

Buhle:

Research has shown that males are more prone to violent behaviour than females, psychologically how can you best explain this trend, especially in the context of South Africa?

Psychologist:

Uhm...It starts on a biological level, where men might be predisposed responding aggressively as compared to a female. That's on a biological level. On a social level, uhm...the expectations of females are different from the expectations of males. Males are expected to be a protector. There's an expectation that might perpetuate certain aggressive behaviours within males as compared to females. A female is socially expected to be a lady and ladies don't act out aggressively. Even how we raise our children can be quite different, in terms of the kind of behaviours we reinforce. The kinds of behaviours we reprimand. You can't do that because you're a girl, or you can't do that because you're a boy. All of these little things contribute to behaviour. On a social level, on a biological level, on a family dynamic level, you're expected to behave in a particular kind of way based on your gender. Because we expect these differences, we tolerate aggressive behaviour better from males. If a man is a murderer for example it's like "oh that's kind of expected". If a woman is a murderer we're like "wait what just happened". So we reinforce all of these aggressive behaviours or non-aggressive behaviours. Uhm yes....and within the context of South Africa. We live in a context that is quite challenging on various levels and people respond to trauma in protective ways. And that could be a contributor to aggressive behaviours. Like a simple thing such as, when someone breaks into your house the first person who has to go and check is the man. Because the idea is that he would be better equipped to protect his family. Their response to the break in would be an aggressive response. In the South African context that we live in, the instant response is to respond in a protective way that might look aggressive.

[END OF TRANSCRIPT: 01:17:00]

APPENDIX C

Psychologist and Researcher Interview Transcript

Interviewer: Buhle Ndoda

Interviewee: Psychologist and Researcher

Date: August 2023

Time: 17:00pm

(The meeting started with an explanation of what the research report is about and a confirmation that the information attained from the interview would be shared in my MA Thesis.)

[BEGIN OF TRANSCRIPT: 00:16:00]

Buhle: *May you please briefly tell me about the work you do as a psychologist?*

Psychologist: I am currently working for an organisation that specialises in violence and trauma. My primary role within the mental health and psycho-social support department is within psychology...uhm it's a variety of different roles. Some of it does have to do with therapeutic work, such as seeing individuals, families, and children. All of it is related to trauma resulting from violence. Our trauma focus is related to violence induced trauma. That is one component. Other work that I do is capacity building with different organisations. We try to focus more on grassroots, CBO's, organizations of the justice sector, to capacitate them on anything that is trauma informed, understating trauma and violence. We educate on how violence is endemic in society. What I also do as a psychologist is develop toolkits so that they can be implemented in different contexts. Yes, we are based in South Africa, but we work globally. We focus primarily on conflict related violence, so we work with torture related conflict, sexual violence, histories of violence. It's just a broad range of work that we do. The importance of having a psychologist in those roles is that there is an understanding of human behaviour, and how violence impact on human beings on an individual level, community level, collective level, nationally, regionally and globally. There is always an

access to redress justice. Uhm...so it's quite a broad range of work that we do in the organisation as mental health and psycho-social psychologist.

Buhle: *From your experience of working with people as a psychologist, what would you say are the major contributors of violence?*

Psychologist: So I think the thing about violence is we try to look at violence as...uhm we focus a lot on violence in terms of how it shows up in behaviour. One of my understanding of violence is that violence is an entity in and out of itself. Violence happens long before the physical conflict that we see. People become violent because of a lot of different things. It's experiences they've had. You can think about it from so many different levels and angles. If you're looking at the bio-cycle social spiritual model for example, you can consider it from a biological or chemical perspective when you're saying that someone does not have impulse control. So when they're emotionally deregulated, maybe capacity for insight is limited and they act out on their anger. Anger is not necessarily a bad thing. In South Africa we see that part of the reason we have activism and protests is because people are angry. They're angry at things that are not working which is understandable. Sometimes you have the cause as something internal. People also learn that violence is an answer in their social spaces. They learn that violence is the way to go, that's why we have gangsterism. That's why we have issues like vigilantism as well...because it is learnt that this is going to solve a problem. Uhm...so there are various reasons why people act out violently. We know that it is very common if somebody comes from a home or an environment that is violent the chances that they also become perpetrators is not zero...there is a correlation between that...uhm and part of that has to do with survival. You go and act out violently because you know that if you don't you might not survive. Violence is also systemic. So...people do act violently because of how society and systems, structures and history has been violent towards them. So some have always seen violence as a response to how systems and structures towards people. This is why I am saying that, violence in and of itself is something, it's a currency, it's about power, it's about how you engage with people, it's language, it's communication. Part of the reasons that violence shows up in black communities is that, people study violence in black communities.

Buhle: *Would you say unemployment has an effect on how humans behave and perceive themselves within society? If so how?*

Psychologist:

Of course...unemployment is one...violence and two...unemployment communicates that a person does not have what they need in order to survive. Unemployment is one of the things that we categorise as psychosocial stressors. Even just your mental health as a person who is unemployed is already at risk because you typically don't have the ability to plan and predict for the future. You typically don't have the resources to that are required to develop a sense of safety. Uhm...so what happens is that people who are unemployed are then unable to... How can I put it? There are residual things that happen as a result of being unemployed. The expectation that a person who is more violent for example is a little bit flawed because if we look at it from a mental health perspective, when you are unemployed you are going to struggle a little bit more. Your quality of life is lower. Unemployment has an effect on how we perceive the people who are unemployed. When you see people who are unemployed there's a picture and then there's an expectation. I think to say that there's a way in which that could impact the way they behave...of course. You don't have resources. Your resources are not stable. But I also want to highlight that I am also not saying that unemployment contributes towards violence. I think that unemployment is violence in and of itself, and sometimes when we see things like crime happening. Part of it may have to do with unemployment and what people do to cope with unemployment. You don't have that much to fill up your time. You might then start to engage in behaviour...that is what we call risky behaviour. Sometimes people develop less functional coping strategies that could be high risk. They do this to cope with the psychosocial stressors that unemployment causes and continues to cause. From this mental lens unemployment could be compared to someone struggling with a disease...which is something you may or may not be able to cope with it.

Buhle:

Does employment have an effect on how humans behave and perceive themselves within a society? If so how?

Psychologist:

Yes, I do believe so. Similarly, with unemployment, life is predictable. You have access to resources. You have a sense of power. When someone is employed, they are perceived as someone who is functional. Sometimes we perceive a people who is unemployed as non-functional or dysfunctional. We see a person who is employed in our communities as people who have a role to play. They are able to generate income. They are able to with a career path. We have a perception that an employed person is functional. We respond to an employed person in a particular way. Even that...what you give a person is what's going to help them develop that sense of identity. The person who is employed is also not dealing with the everyday stressors that come with unemployed. You have predictability. You have a plan. Being employed and having

access to resources does impact on how humans behave. Being employed and having access to resources does impact on how people will see you. Also depending on what your employment looks like, there is a significant difference. You have a higher social capital as a person who is employed.

Buhle:

Is there a relationship between violent behaviour and group dynamics? Are people more likely to act uncontrollably or display aggression in groups than individually? If so, how can this be psychologically defined?

Psychologist:

So I mean we have seen things like gangsterism. We've seen things like vigilantism. We have seen things like bystander effect. I think socially people respond to situations differently based on who is on the vicinity. If violence is the currency in the group, and we know that if we act violently as a group we will be able to resolve some of our issue, then yes there is a relationship. Uhm...similarly when violence is not allowed or accessible then you find that your group is going to gravitate towards not acting violently. Are people more likely to act uncontrollably or display aggression in groups than in individually? I mean it depends, it really depends. Because firstly, our context is always going to be different. So even then acting recklessly is quite relative. But where people are a part of group, there's group language or a group understanding that a certain type of behaviour is acceptable, then the chances are they will even impulsively respond in a reckless way. Then uhm...the tricky thing about responding in isolation is that sometimes when you look at reckless behaviour is something that people often do with others. So if you are going to go and drag race, you are not going to do it alone. You are going to do it with people...people that are like minded. I think there is some sort of a correlation where certain behaviours are acceptable outwardly in a group. This is why gangsterism happens. Gangsterism is not a hidden isolated thing. You can do things in your group because it's acceptable. That's the way it is... Uhm if you also think about looting. There is that particular conduct, where a person can easily hide their way in. Sometimes the environment creates for certain types of behaviours that people respond to. The difficulty that we have with understanding violence is in the assumption that the person who is looting has always been waiting for an opportunity to loot. Whereas if we look at it theoretically, when the thing happened that's when the opportunity is created. I think that there is a psychology of looting and there are also people who have their own will who find themselves looting because the opportunity has presented itself.

Buhle: *Would you say that unemployment or underemployment affects men and women differently? Why?*

Psychologist: Yes...because men feel like unemployment is personal. It becomes a family problem. Uhm...I think with some of the work that we have done especially with gender based violence, a lot of times you will hear men talking about unemployment and how they are then not respected by their family members, their children, and their wives. Psychologically, because of patriarchy, men have been given higher positions in society in terms of status. So the assumption is that unemployment is going to impact them differently, whereas some of that is just patriarchy showing itself. Empathising and sympathising with men because how dare society take away their status as the powerhouse. Whereas what we found with women who are unemployed...women who are unemployed typically, if we are looking at it psychologically, tend to become more vulnerable. Part of that has to do with patriarchy as well. In terms of how it impacts them, it is different. Women will generally find themselves in situations where they are vulnerable towards financial abuse and other types of gender based violence because of that. Whereas with men, you will find that they struggle to cope with the unemployment because of patriarchy. We have a lot of situations where men then become aggressive because of the unemployment.

Buhle: *Would you say unemployment or poverty has an effect on xenophobic violence or the way migrants are received by state nationals?*

Psychologist: Yes, because for people who come from low income or low socio-economic contexts, society feels that it's okay to ill treat them. So when we look at xenophobic violence, one we are looking at xenophobic violence as Afrophobic violence, but two we are looking at xenophobic violence as something that is matted out predominantly on lower income or working class people. Xenophobic violence if we're looking at the physical aspects of it, is hardly seen in upper-class to middle-class society.

Buhle: *Research has shown that males are more prone to violent behaviour than females, psychologically how can you best explain this trend, especially in the context of South Africa?*

Psychologist: So this is how I am going to put it...Whilst patriarchy works in favour for men, it works against them as well. There is a certain level of entitlement that men have to things, people bodies... Part of how society

has moulded men into understanding their roles, their space and their power is that they can exert that power whichever way, and sometimes they exert that power in violence. If you remember in the beginning of how I spoke about violence, I spoke about it as a currency, language and power. And because of that when men find themselves conflicted in some areas without having power, they have the tendency to act out violently. But I am also going to say that...and I said this in the beginning as well...we study violence in men and we don't study violence in women enough. There are some researchers who have done research on women and violence. It's very important research...and we should go there at some point to say comparatively who is more prone. Because then if we're having a conversation about whether biologically men are more prone to violence. Socially, culturally and politically men tend to find themselves in situations where they act out violently. Because one they'll be positioned like that and then two, society has created a space such that men are supposed to have power. So even in situations where women do have more power than men you will find that men may struggle to understand that and then sometimes they do act up violently. Which is why you have situations with, for example, gender based violence where...and I'm generalising...I'll own that, let's say a woman is leaving an abusive relationship...we've seen that many times women who leave abusive relationships become more unsafe after they've left. They experience the violence while they are in the relationship, and then when they leave this angers their partner because how dare you have power over your own life. How dare you exercise your autonomy, and then that a more of an aggressor. But then at the same time, we do see the rates of deaths and homicide, we're looking at men and particularly black men's bodies are discarded so it doesn't matter if another black man is killed. We know that. Society treats black men in a particular way so it's one of those situations where...yes...if you want to say black men are more violent I think that's flawed. But I think they become positioned to be violent in many different ways. If look at things like protest even. If we look at what happened in Marikana, people will say those black men are violent but what were they fighting for. So we look at South Africans, and we look at South Africa's history and struggle with protest, and we see how protests become very violent easily and it's because people have had to put their vulnerabilities out on the line. That's their response to the violence of being kicked out society or placed within the margins of society...and when that comes together and society says actually no sorry we're not going to listen to you we don't care...it heightens up the anger which sometimes shows itself up as violence... And then what do we say? Black protestors are violent. It actually takes a lot, if we're being honest, to get up and protest. That's why so many people don't do it. So sometimes the fight for basic human rights shows up as violent. The unfortunate thing is that you get left alone with the violence, but you didn't instigate it. I think that the flaw is that we sit and we become fixated in the behaviour of violence and not the

psychology of violence and perception of violence...and how we understand who is violent. We do have laws that allow asylum seekers to come into the country and refugees to come into the country. These are forced migrants they have been displaced by their country of origin, so they are coming in with nothing. And they're not going to move into Sandton. Some of the issues with Xenophobia is this idea that black people hate black people. But we're leaving out that there's an entire society that's giving them one slice of bread. So at some point yes, there is going to be a fight. Let me use an example, there is a war in Ukraine. There are countries that opened their borders. If you were to look at refugees from Ukraine and refugees from DRC, their level of treatment is different. There are scholarships that are being created for Ukrainian refugees. Ukrainian refugees were allowed to flee their country with their dogs. There are countries that opened up for them to be able to go in with everything. African refugees have had to leave their country without some of their children. So the level of desperation is not the same. And then you go and settle in a place which says that they have accommodated you but they haven't. South Africa is majority Black and they're at the intersection of income. So they're coming into a country that is not necessarily able to cater for everyone. So there's going to be a clash. It's not that black people like to be violent and like to fight.

[END OF TRANSCRIPT: 01:22:00]

APPENDIX D

Images Demonstrating Anti-Migrant Protests by Operation Dudula and Put South Africa First.



Operation Dudula members march to submit a memorandum of demands against the employment of 'illegal foreigners' in Tshwane. Image taken by Alon Skuy, in March of 2022.



Put South Africa first and Operation Dudula members gather in Tshwane for a march against the employment of illegal immigrants. Image taken by Alon Skuy, in March 2022.



Operation Dudula gathers in Johannesburg to demonstrate their views about illegal immigrants, crime and unemployment. Image taken by Cai Nebe, in April 2022.



Operation Dudula members gather in Pretoria demanding for the expulsion of 20 000 Zimbabweans from South Africa. Image taken by Phill Magakoe, in November 2021.



Put South Africa first members protest against foreign nationals. The poster reads: #PutSouthAfricaFirst Save Our Country. Image taken by Shiraaz Mohamed, in September 2020.



"Operation Dudula" members hold South African flags during a protest in Hillbrow, Johannesburg, on the 19th of February 2022. Image from Arab News.

APPENDIX E



PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

*Faculty of Humanities
Department of International Relations
School of Social Science
Private Bag 3 Wits, 2050*

Dear Sir/Ma'am,

My name is Buhle Ndoda, I am an MA student in International Relations at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. I am currently working on a research project titled, **Violence, Chaos, and Degeneration: Analysing Unemployment and Xenophobic Conflict in South Africa**, under the supervision of Dr Sizwe Mpofu-Walsh. The aim of this research project is to examine the challenge of xenophobic violence and determine whether it correlates with the fluctuating levels of unemployment in the country, and if so how this correlation can be best explained.

I would like to invite you to take part in this study, by answering a few interview questions. The interview will be conducted online (MS Teams or Zoom). This will take approximately 1

Should you experience any emotional discomfort, or have any concerns or complaints regarding the ethical procedures of this study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee.

Telephone number: (0)11 717 1408

Email: hrecnon-medical@wits.ac.za

hour of your time. **Participation is voluntary**, and **anonymity** will be ensured. No identifying information, such as your name or I.D. number will be required or used in the final research paper, and as such you will remain anonymous. However, should you grant consent, the name of your organization will be shared or revealed in the final research paper. Moreover, the interview will be audio recorded and all responses will be safeguarded in my PC. **No one will have access to these interview audio recordings.** Responses will not be used for any purpose other than the research project. Informed consent is assumed by your completion of the consent form. However, you may withdraw from the study at any stage until the interview is complete.

There will be no personal costs to you if you participate in this project. I must also indicate that, you will not receive any direct benefits for your participation. There are also no penalties if you do not choose to participate. You may withdraw at any time or not answer any question you are uncomfortable with. If you experience any distress or discomfort at any point during the interview, you may stop answering the questions, and we may resume at a later stage.

Your participation in this study would be greatly appreciated. The research will contribute to a larger body of knowledge concerning conflict, xenophobia, and unemployment in South Africa. It will examine the challenge of unemployment and increasing levels of xenophobic violence in the country. Please contact me or my supervisor should you have any further questions.

Kind Regards,

Buhle Ndoda
Master of the Arts Student
Department of International Relations
University of the Witwatersrand
Email: 1173998@students.wits.ac.za

Supervisor: Dr Sizwe Mpofu-Walsh
Lecturer,
Department of International Relations
University of the Witwatersrand
Email: sizwe.mpofu-walsh@wits.ac.za

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Telephone number: (0)11 717 1408
Email: hrecnon-medical@wits.ac.za*

Research Consent Form

Violence, Chaos, and Degeneration: Analysing Unemployment and Xenophobic
Conflict in South Africa

by

Buhle Ndoda

I,, agree to participate in this research project. The research has been explained to me and I understand what my participation entails. I understand that it will take approximately 1 hour.

I AGREE TO THE FOLLOWING:

1. PARTICIPATION

My participation in this research is voluntary. I may refuse to take part in the research at any time without penalty. I am free to refuse to answer any question I do not wish to answer.

2. BENEFITS

I will not receive any direct benefits from participating in this research study. However, my responses may assist in providing answers to a larger body of knowledge that can be used for the research project.

3. RISKS

There is no foreseeable risk involved in participating in this research study, other than those encountered in day-to-day life.

PLEASE TICK THE RELEVANT OPTIONS BELOW:

DECLARATION:	YES	NO
➤ I request that my participation remains anonymous in the final research report.		
➤ I agree that the research will be conducted in the form of an interview, with preconditioned questions.		
➤ I agree that the researcher may use anonymous quotes in his / her final research report.		
➤ I agree that the interview will be audio recorded.		
➤ I request that the name of my organization be revealed in the final research report.		

.....**(signature of participant)**

..... **(name of participant)**

..... **(date)**

..... **(signature of researcher)**

..... **(name of researcher)**

..... **(date)**