

Conflict and Connection in African Urban Communities



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Abstract

This thesis examines emerging forms of sociality, conflict, and political participation across three cities in sub-Saharan Africa: Accra, Johannesburg, and Nairobi. The continent's unprecedented experience of rapid urbanisation has invigorated debates about the *nature and role of mobility in shaping Africa's future*. Almost all demographic projections indicate that city populations will continue to grow as people migrate between villages, towns, and cities, resulting in the emergence of a variety of economic, social, and political arrangements. Indeed, as new urban residents integrate or segregate within these communities, they develop a variety of social membership mechanisms, forming local associations such as savings and burial societies, thereby establishing trust (and sometimes distrust) among neighbours and co-ethnics, resulting in a variety of social, political, and economic outcomes. While some urbanites may achieve a measure of economic or social integration, others face violent marginalisation within the 'host' society. Scholarship is only beginning to understand the significance of these forms and outcomes. This thesis contributes empirically to this effort. It is concerned with the evolving forms of sociality in these urban communities, and in order to begin unravelling these concerns, I address the following questions in the dissertation's empirical chapters: (1) What role does mobility play in shaping Africa's urban future? (2) Is there a link between community membership, trust, and political participation in each of the three cities? (4) Is there an association between the spatial distribution of xenophobic violence incidents in South Africa and socioeconomic indicators in its cities? (3) What methods are appropriate for analysing xenophobic violence in cities, and how is it spatially organised? The body of work is essentially an examination of two sides of the same coin. The first two empirical chapters (chapters 3 & 4) look at the convivial types of local engagement while the second section (chapters 5 & 6) addresses the

contentious modes of engagement. Numerous implications arise as a result of the continent's increasing urbanisation, and I am interested by both moments of cooperation and those of contention.

This thesis is structured as follows: a broad introduction situates the work within the intellectual tradition of urban and migration studies and provides an overview of migration-fuelled urban expansion in the region from the colonial era to the present. Four chapters address critical empirical gaps in our knowledge of the social nature and dynamics of urban communities in sub-Saharan Africa. I suggest that migration continues to be a critical aspect in the so-called triad of rapid urban expansion, which includes rural-to-urban migration, urban natural population growth, and rural reclassification as urban.

The empirical chapters employ two distinct datasets to conduct its analyses. The first two empirical chapters are based on quantitative survey data collected as part of a multi-country study of urban mobility and translocality in Africa. Three cities in sub-Saharan Africa served as the primary research locations for the February–April 2021 fieldwork: Nairobi, Johannesburg, and Accra. Each chapter in the dissertation is interconnected but self-contained. The dissertation's overall goals are to gain an understanding of how people interact in novel and creative ways in cities, to examine the emergence of new hybrid cultures and modes of social interaction, and to reflect on the implications for future political engagement and modes of social interaction in sub-Saharan cities. This work takes a Lefebvrian approach to understanding how social interactions generate and shape space (Molotch, 1993). This approach views these interactions within and across space as mutually constitutive rather than strictly geographical. Finally, this thesis argues that African cities display multiple forms of sociality, which necessitates reconsidering spatially bound units of analysis and an appreciation for social interactions

that are both translocal and highly localised. Urban communities continue to be nodes in interaction networks that defy conventional rural-urban geographical categorisation. Additionally, interactional modes are instrumental and transitory, rather than constitutive of an emerging, unified political community.

The primary reason for conducting this research therefore was to gain a deeper understanding of the nature of social organisation in Africa's urban neighbourhoods and to examine any broad trends and patterns that may indicate how these spaces will evolve in the future. Despite widespread interest in the dynamics of urbanisation on the continent, particularly from an economic perspective, much remains unknown about the sociospatial and political dynamics emerging and evolving as a consequence of the macro changes wrought by human mobility.

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To my parents, Lt. Col. Samson Bako Sarki & Mrs Litlhare Meisie Agnes Sarki.

Declaration

I declare that this thesis has been composed solely by myself and that it has not been submitted, in whole or in part, in any previous application for a degree. Except where stated otherwise by reference or acknowledgment, the work presented is entirely my own.



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Chapter 1: Introduction

Overview

As a result of rapid urbanisation fuelled by migration, Africa has seen decades of profound transformation. Although this lengthy history of migration and city growth precedes the colonial era, present patterns in urban migration have become extremely diversified and dynamic compared to previous patterns. Indeed, even in this constant flux, an increasing number of people are opting to stay longer in or near their current neighbourhoods of residence in cities, at least in the short term.

This introductory chapter establishes the theoretical and empirical groundwork for the empirical chapters of the thesis by examining the long-standing relationship between migration and cities in Africa, dating back to colonial times. The fundamental issue in question is the continued inflow of people into sub-Saharan African cities, which is not being fuelled by abundant jobs or major industrial or economic development (Jedwab, 2010). Individuals are not being shaped into a coherent political community bound by shared religious institutions, devotion to or systematic coercion by the state, or even a sense of political solidarity, social coherence, or cohesion, unlike in other regions of the world with comparable urbanisation patterns.

In the absence of these institutions, it remains unclear what kinds of sociality and politics are emerging in Africa's cities. The empirical chapters in this thesis offer at least some insights and descriptions to this complex subject. I begin by laying out the historical foundations of urbanisation dating back to colonial times, which provide insight on several observable dynamics in contemporary migration into Africa's cities. I then present summaries of the four empirical chapters, each of which is autonomous, but conceptually

tied to the larger concern of emerging forms of politics and sociality in the continent's metropolitan centres.

On three fronts, this thesis contributes to the field of urban and migration studies by bolstering the corpus of theoretical and empirical works, and by elucidating these dynamics using recently obtained data. First, it makes an empirical contribution by utilising two new datasets founded in the rich empirical realities of modern urban living in sub-Saharan Africa. Second, it engages in debates about the advantages and disadvantages of social capital, adopting a translocal perspective that considers social networks that span regional boundaries and facilitate the circulation of goods, services, and ideas. Third, it examines cooperation and conflict as two sides of the same coin.

Chapters three and four examine convivial or cooperative modes of local engagement. Numerous implications arise as a result of the continent's rapid urbanisation, and I am intrigued by both cooperative and contentious moments in urban communities. Chapters five and six examine how outsider intolerance manifests itself in South Africa through xenophobic violence. Finally, the discussion chapter considers theoretically how the empirical chapters' findings could add to urbanisation and urban dynamics theory in sub-Saharan Africa. Because cities in other parts of the world have historically developed consolidated politics and new societies, I anticipate a similar pattern on the African continent with the aim of generating at least a partial explanation from the evidence.

Urbanisation from the colonial period

Cities in Africa have changed dramatically in terms of social and economic development from the colonial era to the present (Tarver & Tarver, 1993). According to United Nations estimates, the world's urban population reached 2.3 billion in 1990, with developing country cities accounting for 61% (1.4 billion). By 2025, about 4 billion people, or 77% of the world's urban population, will live in developing nations. This

figure represents 2.61 billion additional urban residents, throughout Africa, Asia, and Latin America since 1990 (OECD/SWAC, 2020; United Nations, 2020). These dynamics herald a sea change in the geography, demography, and morphology of African cities, and raises significant questions about the social modes that emerge when diverse groups of people coexist in urban spaces.

Economic progress and urbanisation, it has long been asserted, are inexorably intertwined as nations shift from a mostly agricultural to an urban-industrial economy. The developments in African urbanisation over the last few decades have put this concept to the test, as urbanisation patterns do not necessarily coincide with economic success. Numerous hypotheses have been offered to account for this occurrence.

Throughout recorded history, human migration has been a significant factor in the growth and evolution of cities, and this pattern of mobility occurs across and within countries (Dodman et al., 2017) . Migration is the primary factor that contributes to cities' initial growth, and these cities continue to grow as a result of additional migration and natural growth. The rapid rate of urbanisation observed in Africa's cities raises numerous questions about Africa's urban future, the political and social forms that are likely to emerge, and the implications for local administrative and planning authorities. People continue to migrate to cities with little hope of finding work in the formal sector, as economic development and job creation fall short of keeping up with population growth. While these issues are well-known and well-documented, little is known about the lives of new urban residents, their moral and material connections to various locations within and beyond the city, their hopes and aspirations, and their motivation for moving to cities.

The debates

Cross-border movement of people, goods, and ideas continues to shape the world. While a sizable corpus of migration and urbanisation research continues to regard cities, towns, and villages as different geographical entities, there are significant parallels and links between these spatial units. Since the 1950s, migration scholars have explored the factors that drive migration, and two major approaches have developed throughout the subsequent decades. According to push-pull theory, an early attempt to systematise migration theory, migration happens because of high levels of poverty and backwardness in sending regions in comparison to work opportunities, higher income levels, and a better standard of living in receiving areas (Boyd, 1989; Fawcett, 1989). Although not entirely robust in accounting for a variety of mobility patterns, this approach continues to be prevalent and is frequently invoked as a causative characteristic driving the volume and direction of immigrant flows (Byerlee, 1974; Portes, 2014; Portes & DeWind, 2004; Richmond, 2001).

From the 1980s through the 1990s, network theories of migration gained substantial research interest because they represented the development of migratory streams facilitated by transnational social networks formed by family, household, friendship, and community ties and affiliations (Fawcett, 1989; Levitt & Schiller, 2004; Portes, 2003; Schiller et al., 1992; Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2003). These scholars increasingly considered migration as a representation of and evolution from the connections between sending and receiving regions, deviating fundamentally from the static conceptualisation of migration as a one-time occurrence involving movement from point A to point B (Boyd, 1989). Cities were and continue to be a critical node in the development of these observed patterns and trends. Although many critics of this theory contended that the observed phenomena were not unusual and that these patterns had long been

known, a few key characteristics of observed mobility patterns countered that the high intensity of exchanges, volume of movement, and multiplicity of activities justified this as a truly unique phenomenon (Portes et al., 1999).

The study of migration systems and structures in the form of local and translocal social networks inspired widespread interest in migrant integration in host cultures, as well as the ways in which these structures constrain or facilitate newcomers. The explanatory frameworks created during this time spurred investigations into patterns of migrant settlement, integration, socioeconomic and political adaptation (Adger, 2003a, 2003b; Allen, 2009; Hirschman, 2004; Pelling & High, 2005; Portes, Guarnizo, et al., 2002; Portes, Haller, et al., 2002; Portes & Rivas, 2011). This genealogy serves as a blueprint for this thesis, which delves into current migration trends, forms of social and political integration, and the continued significance of family, friendship, and community-based networks in city-making.

In Africa, migration-fuelled urbanisation has significantly altered communities, not just their morphology, but also their ways of life (Vertovec, 2004). How this occurs is a major focus of this thesis. In other words, each of the thesis's chapters will study a distinct facet of the observed societal shift fuelled mostly by migrant-driven urbanisation combined with continued high rates of fertility and urban expansion. This is an inherently complex task that no single body of work can thoroughly address considering that the observed changes are the consequence of several interacting factors at multiple levels of analysis, including macro, meso, and micro. The following sections include summaries of each chapter, as well as definitions for the important ideas used throughout the thesis.

Aims and research questions

In western cities, urbanisation was viewed as a by-product and enabler of industrial and economic progress. A continual flow of migrants seeking work in cities reflected the

underlying shift away from agricultural production and toward higher-value-added activities characterised by increasing specialisation (Brenner & Schmid, 2015). In comparison, Africa's economic growth rate is insufficient to absorb the rapidly expanding population in the formal sector (Castells-Quintana & Wenban-Smith, 2020; Jedwab & Vollrath, 2015b). These issues are well-documented in the literature, though there are those who dispute the so-called alarmist view of urban decline and decay across the continent (Potts, 2013). Additionally, the diversity of ethnicities, languages, and places of origin that characterises urban spaces lacks the coherence and articulation that have been the subject of over a century of social theory. Institutions such as a shared church, a strong state, and shared norms and values are conspicuously absent.

Each chapter of this thesis is constructed around the premise of a mostly unknown political and social life emerging in sub-Saharan African cities. Numerous academic and journalistic articles have documented the growing challenges confronting Africa's megacities and towns, which include a severe housing shortage that has resulted in the proliferation of informal housing or slums, a lack of basic services in these areas, insufficient employment opportunities in the formal sector, and environmental degradation (Batty, 2015; Farrell, 2018; Finn, 2014). While these concerns are well-known and well-documented, little is known about modalities of social connection and engagement in highly diverse metropolitan communities made up of nationals, domestic, and international migrants who spend varied amounts of time in these places. A central premise of this study is that processes of migration and movement from outside and inside the city contribute to the formation of inhabitants' identities on both a local and translocal level and significantly influence their levels of local participation in social and political life. A critical observation made in these settings is that unlike in other parts of the globe, individuals coming into cities in Africa are not being moulded into a cohesive

political citizenry by the state, a unifying national identity, or a shared sense of norms and values.

This observation raises the following research questions: What kinds of sociality are emerging in Africa's cities in the absence of these institutions? What is the likely structure of Africa's urban future, based on the evidence obtained and its interpretation? The empirical questions are the first tier and focus on fundamental issues such as residents' mobility histories, work in cities, and future aspirations. The second-tier question examines the nature of African urban communities and determines whether they are distinct from other cities in that they were primarily designed as sites for colonial extraction and governance and were not designed for indigenous residence on a large scale. The broader theoretical question remains: what is the meaning of community and, consequently, what is the nature of African urbanism? There are cultures in which migration is viewed positively and has developed into a way of life.

In discussing these trends, I use the term 'urbanisation' to refer to the proportion of the total population of a country residing in urban settlements (OECD/SWAC, 2020). Urban refers to a complex social organisation including population density and size, complex division of labour, advanced technological development, and advanced infrastructure (Kasarda & Crenshaw, 1991).

Rationale for the research

The term migration is frequently used to refer to movement between countries, and indeed, national states continue to define the laws, rules, and conditions of entry and settlement within their borders (Flahaux & de Haas, 2016). While migration to cities is not the exclusive form of migration, cities and towns of all sizes are typically the principal destinations for domestic and international migrants. Cities such as Johannesburg and Nairobi grew in direct response to various waves of migration both from within and

outside the southern and eastern African region respectively (Coquery-Vidrovitch, 1991; Peel, 1980; Rayfield, 1974). Prior to, and especially following independence from colonial rule, cities continued to attract a steady flow of migrants from the region's villages, towns, and countries (Adger et al., 2002; Castelli, 2018; Flahaux & de Haas, 2016; Rogers & Williamson, 1982). However, some scholars have argued that what we are witnessing is more accurately described as mobility — some permanent, some circular, and varying degrees of overall irregularity and instability (Potts, 2012a, 2012b).

Cities have always been formed through migration. Cities would not thrive or grow without some type of inbound migration, whether international or domestic. Migration affects cities geographically, economically, politically, and socially, and does not only create a culturally diversified populace (Abascal & Baldassarri, 2015; Landau & Freemantle, 2016), it also lays the groundwork for future forms of human social organisation (Dinesen et al., 2020; Semenas, 2014). Thus, human mobility continues to impact urban growth and reshape cities' social, political, and economic landscapes. This research advances our understanding of migrant-driven urbanisation, how people live in cities, and their future goals and aspirations. It will also shed light on developing forms of sociality in these regions, which may potentially serve as a springboard for future research initiatives.

The cities used in the analysis were selected based on several criteria, including their role as migration hubs in their respective regions and their presence in the top twenty list of Africa's fastest growing cities for several decades. Additionally, each of these cities offers a distinct sub-regional perspective, highlighting the migratory dynamics, similarities, and differences amongst the different regions in sub-Saharan Africa. Additionally, cities exemplify cultural and ethnic diversity and act as regional commercial centres, transportation hubs, and crossroads for many categories of migration. The

research presented in this thesis focuses on the nature of African urban communities, which are characterised by mixed migration streams and heterogeneous neighbourhoods that experience rapid population turnover.

Methodology overview

The goal of this study was to use a quantitative cross-sectional research approach to examine the nature of urbanisation and new forms of sociality in three African cities. The larger project, based at Wits University's African Centre for Migration and Society, examined Mobility, Temporality, and Africa's Future Politics with the goal of comprehending the diverse social and political dimensions of modern migration in sub-Saharan Africa. I was a member of the research team and oversaw coordinating the three cities' research project leaders and fieldwork coordination. We surveyed individuals, but also identified heterogeneous urban spaces with a good mix of locals and migrants, that could shed light on modes of interaction and connections within and between cities and people's communities of origin were also considered.

Standardised interviews were conducted in each city across three research locations to generate representative data on migration patterns into and within cities, as well as social connectedness and local participation. The survey was conducted concurrently in three cities during March and April 2021 in Johannesburg (South Africa), Accra (Ghana), and Nairobi (Kenya). These three cities are undergoing significant expansion as a result of urbanisation, making them an ideal environment for studying and measuring the interplay of mobile, culturally diverse, and transitory populations.

Each city had a total sample size of 515 participants, the research team targeted around 166 residents each neighbourhood. The research team consisted of native-language speakers who conducted interviews with slightly more than 1,800 persons in the three cities. This figure includes people who participated in the pilot phase of the survey

questionnaire. We selected participants from three unique groups to reflect the range of migration experiences within these sites: domestic migrants, long-term residents, and indigenous people. Following that, the 166 were evenly allocated among these three groups (i.e., approximately 56 foreign migrants, 56 domestic migrants, 55 long-term residents per neighbourhood). We intended for each neighbourhood to have an equal gender split (50 percent male, 50 percent female). Each respondent was an adult at least 18 years old.

Overview: Research sites

Nairobi - Kenya

Nairobi, Kenya's largest city located in the eastern Africa region, is home to a significant number of migrants. Most are from the region, specifically Tanzania, Rwanda, South Sudan, Ethiopia, Burundi, and Somalia. Additionally, a significant number of Kenyans move from the rural areas and towns to the major city centres. Since 1963, when the country gained independence, it has experienced an average annual rate of urbanisation of 4 - 6% (OECD/SWAC, 2020; World Bank, 2017). As is the case with other countries in the region, Kenya's capital Nairobi serves as a critical node for people moving within and beyond the region (Agesa, 2004), and the capital also hosts an increasing number of informal settlements, including Kawangware, Kayole, and Korogocho (Martin & Bezemer, 2020; Wanjiru & Matsubara, 2017). Peripheral towns such as Ongata Rongai are beginning to host residents who are unable to find housing in the already overcrowded city. Selected survey sites were Kawangware, Ongata Rongai, and Kayole.

Kayole, located east of Nairobi has emerged as a vibrant economic hub attracting a significant number of international and domestic migrants. It is also host to a considerable number of asylum seekers and refugees from the Great Lakes region. Kawangware is one of Nairobi's largest informal settlements, located 12 kilometres from

the city centre. It faces the same problems as other slums, including a lack of basic services, infrastructure, and decent affordable housing. It is a popular destination for rural-urban migrants and is home to Kenyans of various ethnic groups, including the Luhya, Luo, and Kikuyu. Ongata Rongai is a satellite urban centre that has grown in popularity as a result of its proximity to Nairobi. Rongai, as it is colloquially known, is a hub for domestic migrants from all over Kenya as well as international migrants. It continues to attract migrants who are unable to secure housing in Nairobi due to a lack of availability or high rental rates.

Johannesburg - South Africa

Johannesburg, the largest city in South Africa is famous for being known as “The City of Gold”. Johannesburg is a paradigmatic case of how migration has influenced urban and industrial growth. Apartheid restrictions severely limited black South Africans' housing and settlement options (Ogura, 1996). In South Africa, urbanisation has been shaped primarily by historical policies restricting black people's movement and settlement, thereby limiting their access to cities. By the time of the first post-apartheid census in 1996, urban areas accounted for 55.1 percent of the South African population (Todes, Kok, Wentzel and Cross, 2010). This began to change following the dismantling of apartheid, which resulted in a large influx of people from rural areas to major cities. Johannesburg, in South Africa's Gauteng province, attracts foreign migrants from Southern Africa, the rest of sub-Saharan Africa, and beyond.

In Gauteng, the survey was conducted in Katlehong, Berea, and Diepsloot. Each represented an 'urban estuary,' conceptualised as a location with a diverse ethnic and linguistic composition and multiple migrant streams. Urban estuaries exemplify the flow, transience, and layers of heterogeneity that characterise Africa's fluid cities (Landau, 2013). Each community develops a distinct human ecosystem comprised of long-term

residents, people who relocate from other parts of the city and its environs, domestic migrants, and international arrivals. These areas have experienced significant 'churn' over the last two decades, with significant segments of the population expected to relocate within the next two to ten years (Landau 2014).

Katlehong, located in Ekurhuleni near Johannesburg, has a long and illustrious history in South Africa's struggle against apartheid. Between 1944 and 1950, a series of land invasions in Benoni, east of Johannesburg, resulted in the establishment of several squatter camps. These developments occurred because of rapid migration from South Africa's so-called homelands or rural areas to towns and major cities (Bonner & Nieftagodien, 2012). Large black townships, such as Katlehong, grew out of South Africa's apartheid policy of influx control and urban management. Katlehong and its environs are now one of the most migrant-heavy areas in the country.

Berea, along with Hillbrow, Joubert Park, Braamfontein, and Bellevue, is in Johannesburg's central high-density zone. These areas, which are almost entirely composed of high-rise apartment buildings, were once desirable but are now referred to as urban slums – neglected and populated by African immigrants – in contrast to Diepsloot, which is a relatively recent settlement (Grant & Thompson, 2015; Harrison et al., 2014). It was established in the mid-1990s as a 'transit camp' for people displaced from elsewhere due to policy and natural disasters. What began as a small space for slightly more than a thousand people has expanded into a sprawling complex with tens of thousands of residents (Harrison et al., 2014). Unlike many townships that have seen generations come and go, almost all Diepsloot's residents, except for the youngest, are from elsewhere. Our research focused on Extension One, one of the most transient spaces in the area and a frequent site of violence directed at international migrants.

Accra – Ghana

Accra research locations included Jamestown, Old Fadama, and Madina. Each of these settlements were chosen for their distinct qualities. Jamestown has a good cosmopolitan mix of people with a rich history (Kropp Dakubu, 1997). Its closeness to Accra's central economic district makes it a popular residential area for long-term, local, and international migrants. Old Fadama, one of the largest informal settlements in Accra, is a long-established neighbourhood and preferred location for domestic migrants, especially those from the Northern parts of Ghana. This community is also located close to the Accra business centre. This neighbourhood also attracts international migrants. Madina has mixed groups of locally born domestic, and long-term residents and international migrants (Stacey & Lund, 2016) .

Ghana's population has grown rapidly since independence in 1957. It shifted from predominantly rural to approximately 50.9 percent urban in 2010, up from 23 percent in 1960 (Gillespie, 2016; Owusu & Oteng-Ababio, 2015). Ghana urbanised at a faster rate than its other African counterparts, owing to its post-independence expansion in the cocoa sector. In Ghana, urbanisation has resulted in the growth of medium and small towns as well as cities (Diao et al., 2008). The interaction between urban migration and natural population growth is significant in this regard.

Chapter summaries

The remaining chapters of the thesis are organised as follows: Chapter two which serves as an in-depth methodological manifesto, details the research design, sampling methodology, instrumentation, site selection, piloting, and survey implementation. It also provides an overview of the datasets that inform the rest of the empirical chapters in the thesis. Chapter three and four look at cities as generators of cosmopolitanism and sociality. Chapter three is mostly descriptive in nature, attempting to characterize the

sample's demographic profile, migration trends, and a broad summary of the sample data. Chapter four entitled *Revisiting the coming anarchy? Institutions, Engagement, and mobility across three African cities* critically reflects on the traditional indicators of social capital – trust and community engagement and participation – as indicators of political engagement, and what this could mean for Africa's future politics. Social capital is a nebulous phrase that has diverse meanings for different authors and is not always consistent in its application. High levels of social capital speak to the possibility of solving collective problems and taking collective action (Allen, 2009; Amalia, 2015; Lederman et al., 2002; Szreter & Woolcock, 2004).

Additionally, membership in a social network or voluntary organisation helps generate norms and values such as trust, collaboration, and reciprocity, all of which contribute to the creation of a productive state, institutional performance, and democratic communities (Alcorta et al., 2020; Cheong et al., 2007; Claridge, 2004; Fieldhouse & Cutts, 2010; Magson et al., 2014; Mohan & Mohan, 2002; Portes, 2009; Portes & Vickstrom, 2011a; Stone & Hughes, 2002). Social contacts and linkages provide access to information and political ideas, create active citizens, and foster individual participation in politics, collective decision-making, and policy development, all of which lead to enhanced governmental accountability (Putnam, 1993, 2007; Siisiäinen, 2000). A migrant social network is a web of social connections that links prospective migrants in sending regions to individuals and institutions in receiving areas (Massey & García España, 1987).

Chapters 5 and 6 analyse xenophobic violence from a sociospatial viewpoint, analysing places where these types of violence tend to cluster and the socioeconomic profiles of these high-risk locations to ascertain whether there are any relationships between rates of violent xenophobic occurrences. The empirical chapters are thematically connected

but designed independently for publication. The final chapter is devoted to discussion, in which I attempt to synthesise the findings and connect them to the broader issue of contemporary urban socioeconomic and political processes in sub-Saharan Africa.

Chapter 2: Methods

Understanding emerging forms of mobility and sociality, as well as their consequences for a rapidly urbanising continent, demands a multifaceted approach. There are several demographic and ethnographic studies that examine themes such as vulnerability and livelihoods, but relatively few that examine the social facets of people's lives, their ambitions, why they move, and what they value. These studies are indeed valuable, but they do not enable us to see the larger sociospatial patterns unfolding in these urban areas, nor do they provide clearly comparable frameworks. This study seeks to bridge that gap by serving as a type of methodological manifesto, outlining the research design, implementation, and lessons learned, all of which contribute to our understanding of survey data collection in the sub-Saharan urban African setting. In their respective methodology sections, Chapters 3 and 4 contain abridged versions of the approach discussed in full below.

Below, I describe the methodology used to gather data in the three cities chosen for the survey: Accra, Johannesburg, and Nairobi. The data were gathered as part of a larger project based at Wits University's African Centre for Migration and Society that used a quantitative cross-sectional research approach to examine the impact of continuing migration and translocality in African urban communities. Individuals served as the primary unit of analysis, while neighbourhoods served as the secondary unit of analysis. To meet the study's purpose and goals, we prepared a questionnaire and refined it after a week of pilot testing in the three cities in early 2021.

Sampling Design

Adults aged 18 years and older were included in the study. Pre-qualification questions were used to ensure that we satisfied quotas for our target groups and that the groups were adequately represented in the sample. We recruited participants from three unique groups: domestic migrants, long-term residents, and native population. Domestic migrants were described as those who relocated from one region of the country to the city of interview with the purpose of establishing a permanent residence there. A long-term resident is someone who has lived in the neighbourhood of the interview or in close proximity to the location of the interview for at least eight years. Locally born respondents are individuals who were born in the neighbourhood or close proximity to the location of the interview. This was the line we used to distinguish between individuals who had moved and those who had not moved or migrated over their lives.

Purposive sampling was employed to select neighbourhoods and quota sampling was used to recruit individuals in this study. This choice was motivated by a desire to prioritise migrant-rich neighbourhoods with a diverse population of long-term residents, domestic migrants, and indigenous populations. We made this decision in conjunction with project partners in all three locations who had extensive experience conducting research in each city and were knowledgeable about the various demographics of each city's neighbourhoods. Data from all three cities were collected between 1 March and 30 April 2021.

Within each community, we utilised a randomised small area sampling technique in which fieldwork teams were randomly given a Global Positioning System (GPS) position with a maximum radius of 1 km in which to conduct interviews. Once inside that small area, the enumerator approached each family and requested to speak with the head of the household or another available adult with knowledge of the household. If a participant

declined to be interviewed or could not be contacted on the second visit, enumerators would approach another household. We acquired authorisation from the appropriate local authorities to enter all communities.

While the data do not fully reflect the migrant or host populations, the study team recruited survey respondents from a range of origin countries. The fundamental shortcoming of our technique is that, due to a lack of reliable demographic statistics, we were unable to establish the size and makeup of the immigrant population in advance. However, the research teams ensured that the highest quality standards were followed and that participants were recruited randomly to ensure, to the best of our abilities, representativeness.

The objective was to collect survey data from 1 500 respondents in Nairobi, Accra, and Johannesburg's migrant-heavy neighbourhoods. To do this, we used a two-stage sampling strategy. The number of persons we could reasonably hope to interview was constrained by expense and schedule constraints imposed by continuing COVID-19 restrictions. To begin, we choose three communities in each city that are known to have a significant migrant population (both domestic and foreign-born). As previously stated, each city had a total sample size of just over 500 individuals. This total was divided evenly across each city's three pre-selected communities. This equates to 166 interviews per community. The 166 was split as follows: $\frac{1}{3}^{\text{rd}}$ foreign migrants, $\frac{1}{3}^{\text{rd}}$ domestic migrants, $\frac{1}{3}^{\text{rd}}$ long-term residents (approximately 56 foreign migrants, 56 domestic migrants, 55 long-term residents per neighbourhood). Each neighbourhood had an equal gender composition (50 percent male, 50 percent female). While minor deviations from these standards were permissible, every effort was made to achieve an equitable distribution of origins and gender.

Fieldwork was conducted utilising the ResearchGO application, a Computer-Assisted Personal Interviews (CAPI) technique for conducting face-to-face interviews in which the interviewer manages daily quota targets using a tablet, mobile phone, or computer. This guaranteed that the targeted quota was achieved in each community. This method of data collection is advantageous for monitoring enumerators, documenting survey duration, acquiring GPS coordinates, and conducting quality control at the conclusion of each day of fieldwork. Permission sought from local authorities for access to areas and areas regarded as less safe, police stations were informed. The interviewers in each city were trained specifically for this study on how to use the app and the overall structure and flow of the questionnaire. While the questionnaire was written in English, fieldworkers were trained on the glossary of words and were able to interpret potentially ambiguous ideas into a local language as the interview progressed.

The final survey questionnaire contained six modules that solicited sociodemographic information including age, gender, country of origin, town or village of origin, usual place of residence, household members and their usual place of residence. There were also modules on economic activities in place of residence, political engagement in the place of residence and place of origin, and plans to migrate in the short, medium, and long-term including where respondent would likely retire. The questionnaire included questions on six distinct yet interconnected themes: (1) Demographic information, (2) Past and present mobilities including the impact of COVID-19 on mobility, (3) Economic interactions, social interactions, and affections, (4) Institutional and urban interactions, (5) Politics and perceptions, and (6) Future mobilities and expectations.

Datasets

Two datasets were utilised for the empirical chapters of this dissertation. The first dataset comes from the survey discussed in detail in this chapter. The second comes from an

existing database of xenophobic violence incidents in South Africa, which is maintained and updated by Wits University's African Centre for Migration and Society (ACMS).

Xenowatch tracks incidences of xenophobic violence and other contemporary instances of xenophobic intolerance. The database includes records of incidents that occurred between 1994 to date. Most incidents in the database have been investigated and confirmed by the Xenowatch team with the assistance of verification partners.

Underreporting of xenophobic events, notably in the late 1990s and early 2000s, is a persistent problem when collecting data on xenophobic occurrences. Data is collated through a variety of channels, including free text messaging, email, news reports, WhatsApp, and direct telephone contact. Civil society groups and Verification Partner organisations located in each of South Africa's nine provinces are also useful sources of information on reported occurrences. Each incident is then anonymised and coded to include the following information: province, municipality, geographic coordinates (latitude and longitude), sub-place, source of information, and event type, which may include threats of violence, extortion, total fatalities, displacements, looting, and property damage. The data gathering and coding processes ensure the data is of high quality, accurate, and, most importantly, verifiable. These records are updated on a regular basis to maintain their accuracy and completeness.

Study cities

This section provides brief background information about each city's three selected neighbourhoods beginning with a brief historical excursus. Nairobi, the capital of Kenya, has a long history of urbanisation dating back to the pre-independence era. During the colonial period, colonial administrations established cities as administrative and political control centres. Nairobi's railway links and trade established it as the British East Africa protectorate in 1907, cementing its place as Kenya's capital (Mitullah, 2003; Myers,

2015; Obeng-Odoom, 2011). Ghana's capital, Accra, was formerly a port city on the country's Atlantic coast, along the Gulf of Guinea. Accra developed from a cluster of small towns into a substantial metropolitan area and was designated as the colony's capital in 1877. It grew to be a vital port for agricultural and mineral exports and has evolved into a developed urban centre within the Greater Accra Region (Gillespie, 2016; Obeng-Odoom, 2011). Johannesburg's meteoric ascent was fuelled by the discovery of gold in present-day Gauteng's Witwatersrand region. Johannesburg, South Africa's largest city by population, rose from a few thousand people in the 1880s, to slightly more than 5 million today. It is now one of Africa's most urbanised regions, attracting a sizable number of migrants from within and beyond the continent (Brodie, 2014; Simone, 2004).

Nairobi

Ongata Rongai, Kawangware, and Kayole were the three survey neighbourhoods identified in Nairobi. Kawangware is one of Nairobi's largest informal settlements. Kawangware faces high population growth due to rapid urbanisation which has exacerbated the poor living conditions in the area. Residents of Kawangware, an urban informal community, are a diverse group of domestic migrants, who are mostly Luhya, Kisii, Luo, and Kikuyu. Additionally, the area is home to a substantial community of foreign migrants, the majority of whom come from East Africa, including Burundi, Uganda, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Ethiopia (Mitullah, 2003; Wanjiru & Matsubara, 2017).

Kayole, is located within the Embakasi constituency located east of the city. It is separated administratively into Kayole Central and Kayole South and is made up of informal communities. It is a popular choice for asylum seekers and urban migrants from the Great Lakes region. Ongata Rongai (often referred to as Rongai) is a satellite urban

centre that owes its existence and expansion partly to its closeness to Nairobi. It was traditionally held by the Maasai ethnic minority in the late 1950s. Rongai has a significant concentration of domestic migrants from rural areas around Kenya. The town has expanded and continues to see a spill over of migrants who have moved to Nairobi but have been unable to secure housing in the city's neighbourhoods owing to scarcity or high pricing (Agesa, 2004; Mitullah, 2003).

Accra

Accra research locations included Jamestown, Old Fadama, and Madina. Each of these settlements were chosen for their distinct qualities. Jamestown has a good cosmopolitan mix of people with a rich history (Kropp Dakubu, 1997). Its closeness to Accra's central economic district makes it a popular residential area for long-term, local, and international migrants. Old Fadama, one of the largest informal settlements in Accra, is a long-established neighbourhood and preferred location for domestic migrants, especially those from the Northern parts of Ghana. This community is also located close to the Accra business centre. This neighbourhood also attracts international migrants. Madina has mixed groups of locally born domestic, and long-term residents and international migrants (Stacey & Lund, 2016) .

Ghana's population has grown rapidly since independence in 1957. Ghana's population shifted from predominantly rural to approximately 50.9 percent urban in 2010, up from 23 percent in 1960 (Obeng-Odoom, 2011). Ghana urbanised at a faster rate than its other African counterparts, owing to its post-independence expansion in the cocoa sector. In Ghana, urbanisation has resulted in the growth of medium and small towns as well as cities (Diao et al., 2008). The interaction between urban migration and natural population growth is significant in this regard.

Johannesburg

Berea, Diepsloot, and Katlehong South were chosen as the three neighbourhoods in Johannesburg. These neighbourhoods were chosen for their diversity and high probability of locating migrant quotas. Diepsloot has an area of 12 kilometres and is home to over 140 000 persons, making it a highly populated area (Bank et al., 2014). Katlehong is a big township in Southern Africa that is home to both domestic and foreign migrants (Bonner & Nieftagodien, 2012).

Apartheid restrictions severely limited black South Africans' housing and settlement options. In South Africa, urbanisation has been shaped primarily by historical policies restricting black people's movement and settlement, thereby limiting their access to cities. By the time of the first post-apartheid census in 1996, urban areas accounted for 55.1 percent of the South African population (Harrison et al., 2014). This began to change following the dismantling of apartheid, which resulted in a large influx of people from rural areas to major cities. Johannesburg, in South Africa's Gauteng province, is a magnet for international migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa and beyond.

Each of the chosen communities developed a distinct human ecosystem comprised of long-term residents, people who relocate from other parts of the city and its environs, domestic migrants, and international arrivals. Indeed, these neighbourhoods have experienced high rates of 'churn' over the last two decades, with significant portions of the population expected to leave within the next two to ten years (Landau, 2013; Madhavan & Landau, 2011).

Katlehong, located in Ekurhuleni near Johannesburg, has a long and illustrious history in South Africa's struggle against apartheid. Between 1944 and 1950, a series of land invasions in Benoni, east of Johannesburg, resulted in the establishment of several squatter camps. These developments occurred because of rapid migration from South

Africa's so-called homelands or rural areas to towns and major cities (Bonner & Nieftagodien, 2012). Large black townships, such as Katlehong, grew out of South Africa's apartheid policy of influx control and urban management. Katlehong and its environs are now one of the most migrant-heavy areas in the country.

Berea, along with Hillbrow, Joubert Park, Braamfontein, and Bellevue, is in Johannesburg's central high-density zone. These areas, which are almost entirely composed of high-rise apartment buildings, were once desirable but are now referred to as urban slums – neglected and populated by African immigrants – in contrast to Diepsloot, which is a relatively recent settlement. It was established in the mid-1990s as a 'transit camp' for people displaced from elsewhere due to policy and natural disasters. What began as a small space for slightly more than a thousand people has expanded into a sprawling complex with tens of thousands of residents. Unlike many townships that have seen generations come and go, almost all Diepsloot's residents, except for the youngest, are from elsewhere. Our research focused on Extension One, one of the most transient spaces in the area and a frequent site of violence directed at international migrants (Brodie, 2014).

Summary and lesson learned

In summary, this chapter established the necessary context for the data and analysis used in the empirical chapters that follow. Site selection was guided by collaborating partners in each city who possessed in-depth knowledge of neighbourhood and demographic composition, even in the absence of official statistics. Satisfied with the high standards applied during data collection and subsequent data quality verification, as well as standardisation across study locations, the analysis provided in this report is both valid and consistent, with the normal limits associated with quantitative methodology.

Numerous lessons learnt can be applied to future data collection initiatives across the continent, and I will highlight two significant ones here. To begin, depending on network availability, small sampling locations may be difficult to identify owing to a lack of coverage. Second, considerable area scouting is recommended prior to piloting and fieldwork to prevent wasting days and sending teams out for data collection in unsuitable and unpopulated locations. Terrain mapping and a high level of familiarity with the area would be beneficial.

Chapter 3: A tale of three cities: Mobility & sociocultural transformation in African urban communities

Mobility is intrinsically related to social transformation. Africa has experienced an unparalleled pace of migration into its main cities over the previous few decades, making it one of the world's fastest urbanising continents. Numerous studies conducted over the last half-century have amassed an abundance of evidence depicting these mechanisms in action (Dodman et al., 2017; Farrell, 2018; Robinson & Roy, 2016; Rogers, 1982; M. P. Smith, 2005; Steinbrink, 2009; Walker, 2015).

According to the United Nations, approximately 272 million people lived outside their nation of birth in 2019 (United Nations, 2019). Individuals migrate for several reasons, and this could be voluntary or forced migration. Some relocate in search of a better life for themselves and their families. Others are displaced due to conflict or climate change. These movements are frequently associated with political, social, and economic transformation, with varying impacts between and within cities (Arango, 2018; Castelli, 2018; Davis, 1974; de Lombaerde et al., 2014; Flahaux & de Haas, 2016).

For an extended period, interest in the social, political, and economic processes shaping urban life in the global south has risen dramatically. These processes are influenced by a variety of interconnected variables, not the least of which is population mobility (Farrell, 2018). Numerous types of population movements continue to reshape cities throughout Africa. Unlike in the past, observations of urbanisation processes on the African continent

indicate that they are motivated by factors other than economic development or rapid industrialisation (Guarnizo, 2003; Potts, 2013, 2016; Tollman et al., 2003). These continue to emerge, but not at the rate that would be required if Africa's cities had a high rate of labour absorption.

The remarkable demographic transition that has occurred in Africa over the last half-century has piqued the attention and concern of scholars and city administrators concerning the future of Africa's cities. This chapter addresses these persistent concerns by providing a descriptive examination of the nature of urban migration in a sample of African cities, emphasising regional differences while summarising overarching trends. Africa's urban morphology is evolving in lockstep with the amount of people who spend most nights in cities. Mobility is considered as a means of life advancement by the great majority of people who move to and through cities. Furthermore, migrants' sense of place and community is shaped by their memories of life in their homelands, their moral and material connections to these distinct locales, and the social networks and interconnections that bind them to the cities where they live (Blumenstock et al., 2019; Burt, 2000; Piselli, 2007; Williams et al., 2020). While a sizable number of people expect to retire in their hometowns, the majority prefer to remain in cities for the medium to the long-term. These characteristics underscore the interrelationship of mobility, spatiality, and temporality as fundamental factors shaping the lives of African urban dwellers.

Introduction

From its earliest conceptualisation, urbanisation referred to the percentage of a country's total population that lives in urban areas (Davis, 1965, 1974). The term *urban* refers to a sophisticated social organisation that encompasses population density and size, intricate labour divisions, advanced technological development, and sophisticated

infrastructure (Kasarda & Crenshaw, 1991; Wirth, 1938). Official definitions of urban areas frequently rely on the population density of bounded areas separating urban from rural areas, although this varies by country.

In his major work on *The Migrations of Human Populations* Davis (1974) maintained that the persistent source of human mobility is man's sociocultural method of adaptation to technical, cultural, and economic change. As civilizations expand and diversify, so does the human instinct to migrate (p.3). These population developments will have an impact on practically every aspect of human inquiry in cities, including environmental, political, economic, and migration-related issues. Understanding future population trends is critical for planning and forecasting for changing community structures, health, and education needs, as well as the economic and environmental landscapes of Africa's cities.

This chapter examines emergent forms of community, politics, well-being, local and translocal social interactions, and aspirations to move in the future. The chapter's overarching concern is about the nature of urban migration and the observation that the various dimensions of heterogeneity generated by migration is developing new forms of sociality. Throughout history, the city, the state, and the church regularly shaped individuals into cohesive communities by imparting a sense of shared values. This chapter is guided by the following question which serve as the thesis's overarching theme: What is the purpose of current migration in the absence of economic development or opportunities to absorb excess urban labour supply?

Cities and Migration

From antiquity to the modern era, various waves of migration, invasion, and colonisation shaped the morphology of African cities - from ancient to pre-colonial, colonial, and modern (Tarver, 1994; Tarver & Tarver, 1993). These settlement trends and patterns

foreshadow current settlement trends and patterns in Africa's rapidly growing cities and towns. Various notable observations can be made with hundreds of thousands of people moving into cities across the continent daily, raising concerns about the implications for current conceptions of community, governance, belonging, and identity (Likić-Brborić, 2018; Lindell, 2008; Obeng-Odoom, 2013).

Various modes of human mobility have shaped cities. Internal migration, a form of human mobility into cities, has historically been a critical factor in urban growth, with people arriving from rural areas surrounding cities. Employment has always been a primary driver of this type of migration (Todaro, 1969). Domestic migrants are not all from villages; indeed, migrants are increasingly moving from smaller towns and cities to megacities, perhaps for better job prospects, higher pay, or the allure of more exciting lifestyles (Castelli, 2018; van Hear et al., 2012). International labour migration has been another source of urban mobility. As a source of low-skilled labour for service industries such as construction, manufacturing, hospitality, and domestic services, this type of migration continues to influence urban economic development (Chen et al., 2014; Potts, 2016; Satterthwaite, 2007). Initially, these migrants were recruited into cities, but many relocate to seek work. They can be classified as regular or irregular, skilled, or unskilled, formal, or informal. As these migrants establish themselves, others, including family and friends, may follow (Faist, 2000; Lacroix, 2014; Schiller et al., 1992). International high-skilled migration has contributed to the growth of global cities and is frequently compensated at rates higher than those paid to citizens, and this group of migrants tend to be globally mobile. Another type of migration is refugee migration or forced migration, which tends to concentrate in urban areas, when given the choice, with a smaller proportion in camps. Today about half of the refugee population globally lives in cities

and not camps. Finally, individuals migrate for educational reasons (Allen, 2009; Stein, 1981; Verwimp & Maystadt, 2015).

Unlike in Western societies, African urbanisation is not driven by urban industrialisation, and it continues despite economic decline, an inability of industrialisation to absorb excess labour in the formal urban market, and governance and administrative fragmentation and inefficiencies (Jedwab & Vollrath, 2015a). These issues are well-documented in the literature, though there are those who dispute the so-called alarmist view of urban decline and decay across the continent (Fay & Opal, 2000).

City challenges

In Africa, migrant-driven urban expansion has created a slew of opportunities and challenges. For a remarkably long period of time, informal settlements or slums have defined the urban landscape. In some countries, the population of urban dwellers who live in informal settlements outnumbers the total urban population (Huchzermeyer, 2003). Within countries and cities, development remains uneven, fuelling the trend toward a *do-it-yourself* (DIY) urbanism, which entails the informal development of housing in and around cities (Finn, 2014; Foster, 2020).

Multiple migration streams representing diverse communities of origin, migration status, human capital, migration category, gender, and ethnicity congregate in urban estuaries and co-create spaces that facilitate or constrain social interactions (Landau, 2018). These are places of possibility and precarity, association and dissociation, conviviality and invisibility, inclusion and exclusion, and functional social interactions all at the same time (Landau, 2014). These spaces shared by diverse groups are the primary sites of population growth. As observed, these spaces exhibit a hybrid sociality in which residents are either cosmopolitan in outlook or band together to violently exclude

outsiders (Bufacchi, 2013; Claassen, 2014; Landau, 2014; Ray et al., 2019; Springer & le Billon, 2016).

According to some observers, recorded rates of urbanisation are imprecise, claiming that available evidence from satellite imagery and censuses indicates that the rate of urbanisation in sub-Saharan African countries has slowed or plateaued (Potts, 2013, 2016). The rationale for this stance has been that the facts cited by those advocating rapid urbanisation are unreliable due to the complexity of Africa's urban structures. Two strands comprise the position on rapid urban growth. To begin, urbanisation and the emergence of large cities on the continent boost economic growth through agglomeration, innovation, and specialisation in a variety of industries (Jedwab & Vollrath, 2015a). The third strand of this argument is that, while urbanisation is accelerating across the continent, it is neither a cause nor a consequence of economic progress. There is, however, some agreement on the urbanisation drivers – in-migration, natural growth, and the reclassification of urban administrative boundaries as cities expand (Farrell, 2018).

These debates about the rate of urbanisation in sub-Saharan Africa are significant because they draw attention to critical turning points in the region's history. These encompass social, political, economic, and environmental concerns shared by researchers and city governments alike. As a result, despite their importance, the social consequences of the multiple migration streams into the metropolis are frequently overlooked. Little is known about the socialities that emerge in cities because of increasing in-migration from a variety of origins and migration categories. These categories include refugees, asylum seekers, irregular migrants, circular migration flows, rural-urban migration, and urban-urban movement. This chapter contributes to this gap

by examining the nature of mobility emerging in cities experiencing rapid urban growth, churn, or stagnation.

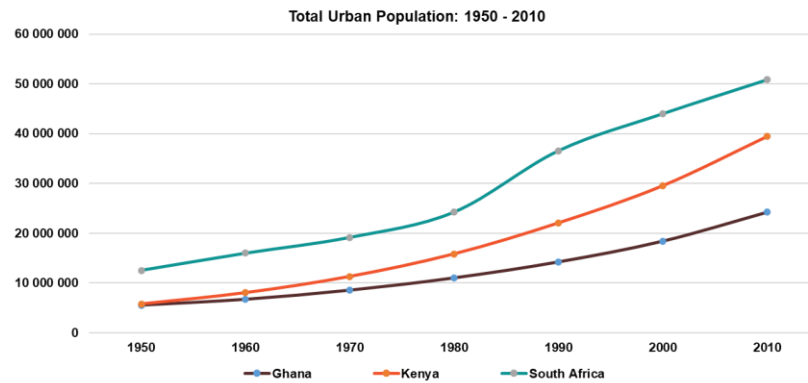
Methods

This study used a quantitative cross-sectional research design to examine the nature of urbanism and emerging forms of sociality in three African cities. This design decision was influenced by the phenomenon of interest - modes of sociality in Africa's cities. The individual was used as the unit of analysis, but spatial elements that could shed light on modes of interaction and connections within and between cities and people's communities of origin were also considered. A limitation of this choice is that alternative explanations or confounders for observed differences in modes of sociation across the three cities are likely. To counteract this effect and ensure consistency in responses, survey questionnaire items were repeated but with slightly different wording.

Research sites

Standardised interviews were conducted across three research locations in each city to elicit representative data on movement patterns into and within cities, as well as social connectivity and local engagement. Between March and April 2021, the survey was conducted concurrently in three cities: Johannesburg (South Africa), Accra (Ghana), and Nairobi (Kenya). These three cities are experiencing rapid growth as a result of urbanisation and thus provide an ideal environment for observing and quantifying the interaction of mobile, culturally diverse, and transient populations. Within each city, selected neighbourhoods serve as transit and destination points for an eclectic mix of immigrants, refugees, circular migrants, tourists, and explorers. As a result, these sites are ideal for examining dynamic urbanisation trends. Figure 1 demonstrates the total urban population growth from 1950 to 2010 for the three survey countries.

Figure 1: Total Urban Population growth: South Africa, Kenya, and Ghana (1950 – 2010)

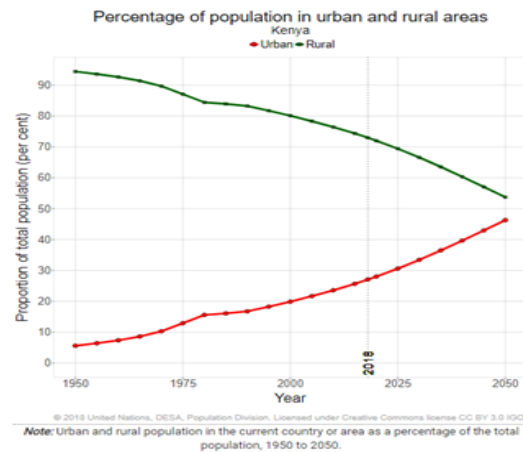


Source: Africapolis Data Portal

The graph shows that while the total urban population growth rate varies across the three countries, the overall trend is upward. The factors driving this trend are domestic and international migration, as well as natural growth (Castelli, 2018; Flahaux & de Haas, 2016). International migration, on the other hand, continues to contribute only a small portion of this growth, between 2.5 and 3% in each of the three countries (United Nations, 2020). Johannesburg, Accra, and Nairobi serve as regional hubs, attracting a sizable number of migrants from within each sub-region. The following section summarises urbanisation micro trends in the three survey research sites.

Nairobi - Kenya

Kenya, located in eastern Africa, is home to a large number of migrants, the majority of whom come from the region, specifically Tanzania, Rwanda, South Sudan, Ethiopia, Burundi, and Somalia. Additionally, a significant number of Kenyans are relocating from rural to urban areas.



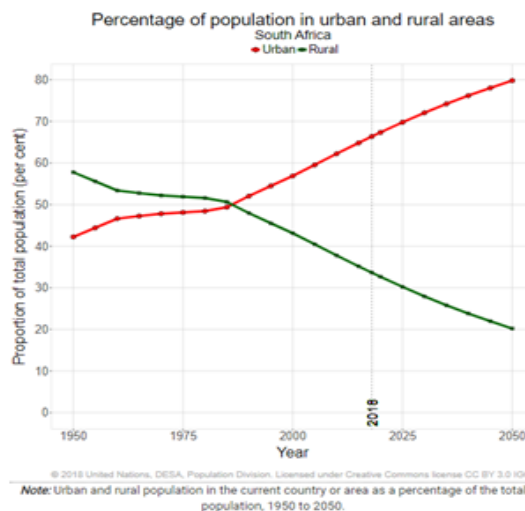
Since 1936, when the country gained independence, the country has experienced an average annual rate of urbanisation of 6% (Mireri et al., 2007). As is the case with other countries in the region, Kenya's capital Nairobi serves as a critical node for people moving within and beyond the region, and the capital also hosts an increasing number of informal settlements, including Kawangware, Kayole, and Korogocho. Peripheral towns such as Ongata Rongai are beginning to host residents who are unable to find housing in the already overcrowded city. Our survey sites were Kawangware, Ongata Rongai, and Kayole.

Kayole, located east of Nairobi has emerged as a vibrant economic hub attracting a significant number of international and domestic migrants. It is also host to a considerable number of asylum seekers and refugees from the Great Lakes region. Kawangware is one of Nairobi's largest informal settlements, located 12 kilometers from the city center. It faces the same problems as other slums, including a lack of basic services, infrastructure, and decent affordable housing. It is a popular destination for rural-urban migrants and is home to Kenyans of various ethnic groups, including the Luhya, Luo, and Kikuyu (Mitullah, 2003; Wanjiru & Matsubara, 2017). Ongata Rongai is a satellite urban centre that has grown in popularity as a result of its proximity to Nairobi. Rongai, as it is colloquially known, is a hub for domestic migrants from all over

Kenya as well as international migrants. It continues to attract migrants who are unable to secure housing in Nairobi due to a lack of availability or high rental rates (Agesa, 2004).

Johannesburg - South Africa

Apartheid restrictions severely limited black South Africans' housing and settlement options. In South Africa, urbanisation has been shaped primarily by historical policies restricting black people's movement and settlement, thereby limiting their access to cities. By the time of the first post-apartheid census in 1996, urban areas accounted for 55.1 percent of the South African population (Bakker et al., 2015; Harrison et al., 2014; Ogura, 1996).



This began to change following the dismantling of apartheid, which resulted in a large influx of people from rural areas to major cities. Johannesburg, in South Africa's Gauteng province, is a magnet for international migrants from sub-Saharan Africa and beyond.

Katlehong, Berea, and Diepsloot were the locations of our survey in Gauteng. All were chosen as 'urban estuaries,' or areas with multiple migration streams. Each community develops a distinct human ecosystem comprised of long-term residents, people who relocate from other parts of the city and its environs, domestic migrants, and

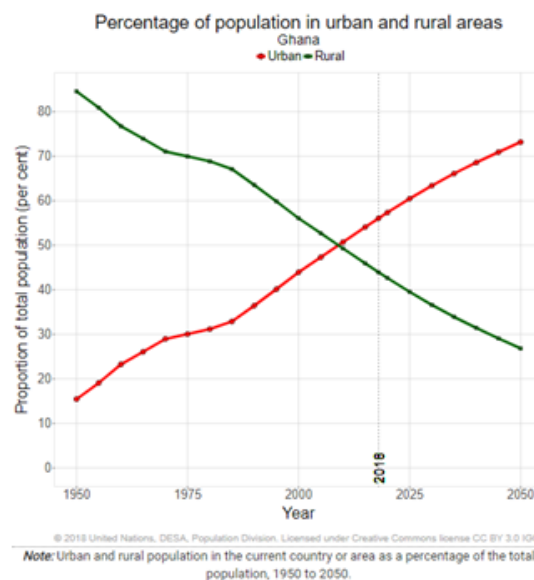
international arrivals. They have experienced high rates of 'churn' over the last two decades, with significant portions of the population expected to leave within the next two to ten years (Landau, 2009).

Katlehong, located in Ekurhuleni near Johannesburg, has a long and illustrious history in South Africa's struggle against apartheid. Between 1944 and 1950, a series of land invasions in Benoni, east of Johannesburg, resulted in the establishment of several squatter camps. These developments occurred because of rapid migration from South Africa's so-called homelands or rural areas to towns and major cities (Bonner & Nieftagodien, 2012). Large black townships, such as Katlehong, grew out of South Africa's apartheid policy of influx control and urban management. Katlehong and its environs are now one of the most migrant-heavy areas in the country.

Berea, along with Hillbrow, Joubert Park, Braamfontein, and Bellevue, is in Johannesburg's central high-density zone. These areas, which are almost entirely composed of high-rise apartment buildings, were once desirable but are now referred to as urban slums – neglected and populated by African immigrants – in contrast to Diepsloot, which is a relatively recent settlement. It was established in the mid-1990s as a 'transit camp' for people displaced from elsewhere due to policy and natural disasters. What began as a small space for slightly more than a thousand people has expanded into a sprawling complex with tens of thousands of residents. Unlike many townships that have seen generations come and go, almost all Diepsloot's residents, except for the youngest, are from elsewhere. Our research focused on Extension One, one of the most transient spaces in the area and a frequent site of violence directed at international migrants (Brodie, 2014).

Accra – Ghana

Ghana's population has grown rapidly since independence in 1957. Ghana's population shifted from predominantly rural to approximately 50.9 percent urban in 2010, up from 23 percent in 1960 (Konadu-Agyemang, 2001; Obeng-Odoom, 2011). Ghana urbanised at a faster rate than its African counterparts, owing to its post-independence expansion in the cocoa sector. In Ghana, urbanisation has resulted in the growth of medium and small towns as well as cities (Jedwab, 2010). The interaction between urban migration and natural population growth is significant in this regard.



Accra research locations included Jamestown, Old Fadama, and Madina. Each of these settlements were chosen for their distinct qualities. Jamestown has a good cosmopolitan mix of people with a rich history (Kropp Dakubu, 1997). Its closeness to Accra's central economic district makes it a popular residential area for long-term, local, and international migrants. Old Fadama, one of the largest informal settlements in Accra, is a long-established neighbourhood and preferred location for domestic migrants, especially those from the Northern parts of Ghana. This community is also located close to the Accra business centre. This neighbourhood also attracts international migrants.

Madina has mixed groups of locally born domestic, and long-term residents and international migrants (Stacey & Lund, 2016) .

Ghana's population has grown rapidly since independence in 1957. Ghana's population shifted from predominantly rural to approximately 50.9 percent urban in 2010, up from 23 percent in 1960. (Govt Stats). Ghana urbanised at a faster rate than its other African counterparts, owing to its post-independence expansion in the cocoa sector. In Ghana, urbanisation has resulted in the growth of medium and small towns as well as cities (Diao et al., 2008) The interaction between urban migration and natural population growth is significant in this regard.

Data Collection

Each city had a total sample size of 515, and we aimed to interview approximately 166 residents per neighbourhood. The research team was composed of native-language speakers who interviewed just over 1,800 people in the three cities. This figure includes those who participated in the survey questionnaire's pilot phase. To capture the diversity of migration experiences within these sites, we recruited participants from three distinct groups: domestic migrants, long-term residents, and indigenous people. The 166 were then evenly distributed among these three groups (i.e., approximately 56 foreign migrants, 56 domestic migrants, 55 long-term residents per neighbourhood). The team aimed for an equal gender split in each neighbourhood (50 percent male, 50 percent female). Each respondent was an adult, aged 18 years or older. Although the sample's median age was 35.6, the standard deviation of 12.33 indicates an age diverse population. Pre-qualification questions were used to ensure that quotas were met for target groups and that the groups were well represented in the sample.

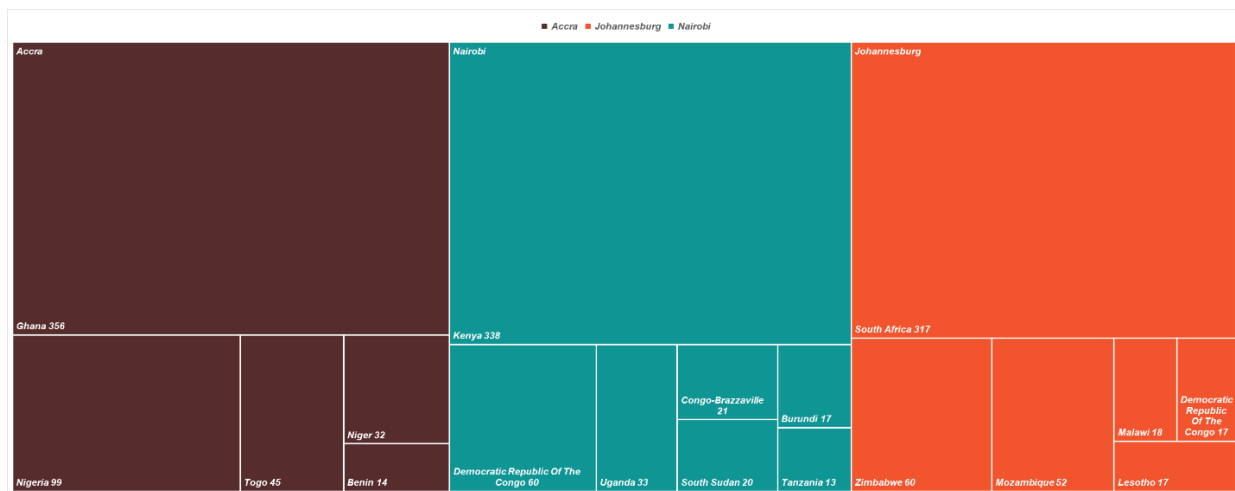
Domestic migrants were defined as individuals who relocated from one region of the country to the city of interview with the intention of establishing a permanent residence

there. A long-term resident was defined as someone who has lived in the neighbourhood of the interview or near the location of the interview for at least eight years. Locally born respondents are those who were born in the neighbourhood or proximity to the location of the interview. This was how we distinguished those who had moved or migrated during their lifetime from those who had not. We used a randomised small area sampling strategy within each community, in which fieldwork teams were assigned a randomly generated GPS location with a maximum radius of 1 km in which to conduct interviews. Once inside that small area, the enumerator would approach any household and request to speak with head of the household or an adult knowledgeable about the household. Enumerators would approach another household if a participant refused to be interviewed or could not be reached on the second visit. We obtained permission from the relevant local authorities for access to all neighbourhoods.

While the data do not fully represent migrant or host populations, the research team targeted survey participants from a variety of origin countries. The primary limitation of this approach is that we were unable to determine the size and composition of the foreign population in advance due to a lack of reliable population data. However, the research teams ensured that the highest quality standards were met and that participants were randomly selected to ensure representativeness to the best of our abilities.

Descriptive Analysis

Figure 1: Top Origin Countries Per City: Accra, Johannesburg, and Nairobi



The tree map in Figure 1 shows the top four to six countries of origin represented in each of the cities by the sample. Due to their geographic proximity, a sizable portion of the foreign-born population originates in the region which includes each city. Congolese appear in both Nairobi and Johannesburg. The general trend indicates that individuals continue to migrate within their subregions, with a small percentage moving further away. Figures 2 and 3 reflect the gender distribution and nativity status of sample in all three cities.

Figure 2: Sample size and Gender breakdown

City	Sample Size
Accra	575
Johannesburg	529
Nairobi	519
Grand Total	1623

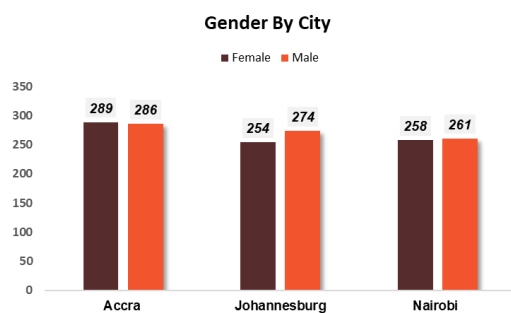


Figure 3: Nativity Status by city

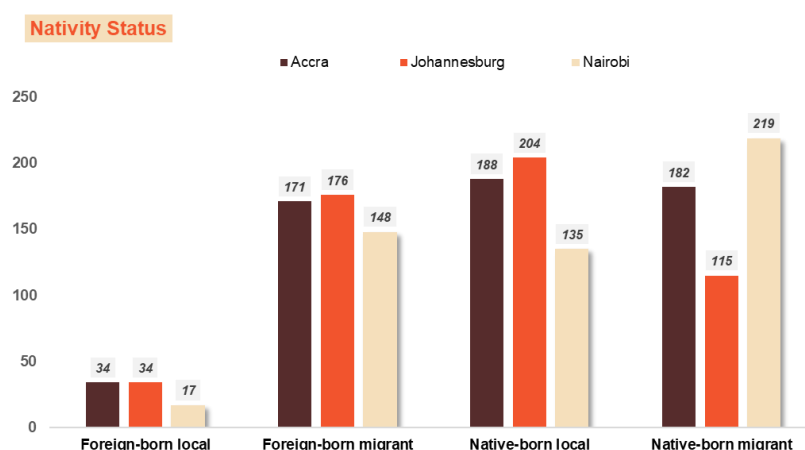


Figure 4 below depicts respondents' length of stay in each of the three cities. Over half of the sample has spent less than eight years in the city. As other studies (Madhavan & Landau, 2011) have demonstrated this pattern demonstrates the flexibility with which Africa's largest cities and towns continue to be defined. When asked if they were born in a city, town, or village, 58 percent of respondents in Accra stated that they were born in a town, compared to 18.4 percent who indicated they were born in a village. In Johannesburg, 40% of residents were born in villages, while 35% and 25%, respectively, were born in towns and cities. In Nairobi, 74% of respondents were born in villages, while 21% were born in towns. The bulk of urban residents in African cities are under the age of thirty. This conclusion, as seen in Table and the accompanying figures, is consistent with quantitative data from studies undertaken in cities in rising economies such as India, Thailand, South Korea, and Nigeria (Goldstein, 1987; Potts, 2012b; Rockenbach et al., 2019a).

Table 1: *Descriptive statistics: Sample mean average age for three research sites (row percent)*

Age Category	Accra	Johannesburg	Nairobi
18 – 30	33.6	28.1	38.4
31 – 40	37.3	33.5	29.2
41 – 50	37.5	39.3	23.2

51+	34.87	41.5	23.7
Sample Size	575(35.4)	529(32.6)	519(31.9)

*Total study sample: 1, 623

Figure 5: Sample age distribution

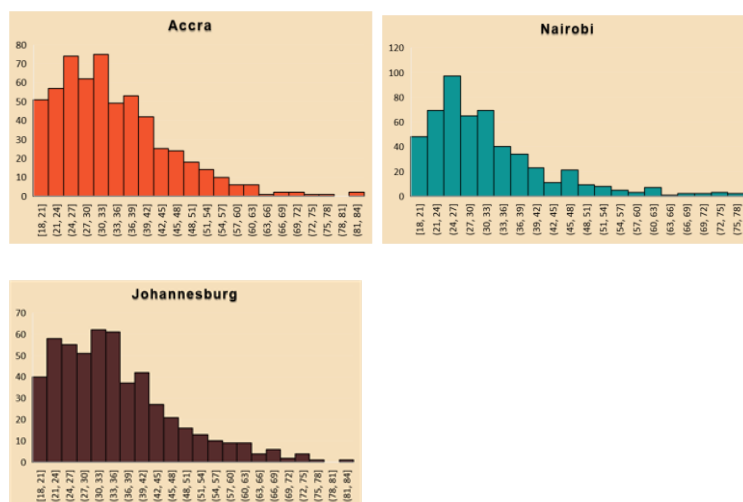
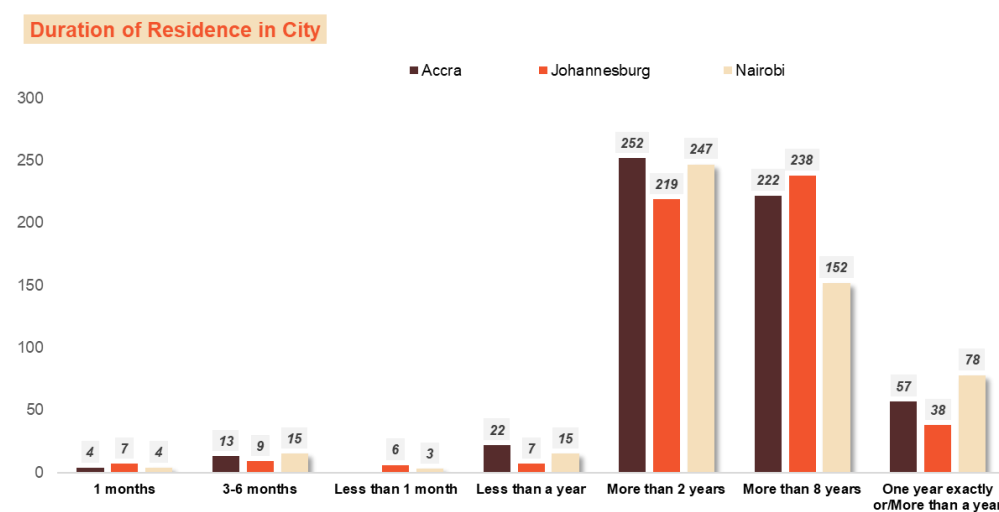


Figure 6:



Urban Migration and work

The migration and urbanisation literatures are replete with references to the factors that motivate migration. Economically, the emerging countries' national economies have abundantly proved their dual character (Narula, 2018; Todaro, 1997). The urban capitalist sector is focused on large-scale manufacturing and industrialisation, whereas

the informal sector is typically characterised as an unregulated number of interconnected businesses ranging from street hawking to shoe polishing to pedicabs (Todaro, 1997).

It is well established that the bulk of entrants to the urban labour force are either self-employed or work in informal occupations (Lindell, 2010; Stacey & Lund, 2016). Self-employment includes food vending, hairdressing, street hawking, commercial sex work, day labourers, dressmaking, household work, selling second-hand clothing, painting, and construction work. Given Africa's high unemployment rate and the continuous increase of urban populations, the informal sector will continue to play an important role in absorbing new labour force members, therefore helping to alleviate the continent's rising unemployment crisis. One drawback of this tendency is the precarity experienced by new entrants to the informal sector as a result of a lack of legal protection and job stability (Mabilo & Gouws, 2018).

Upward Mobility

When asked why they moved and why they preferred certain locations, more than half of respondents in each city indicated availability of employment, followed by family reasons and educational opportunities. The positive correlation between education level and proclivity to migrate is a recurring finding in the migration literature. According to these studies, the more years of education a person possesses, the more likely they are to migrate (Handler, 2018; Waters, 2006). This relationship implies that those with only a basic level of elementary and secondary schooling are more likely to be self-employed or involved in casual employment, whereas those with some post-secondary education or training are more likely to be employed in stable roles. This association is seen in the following tables.

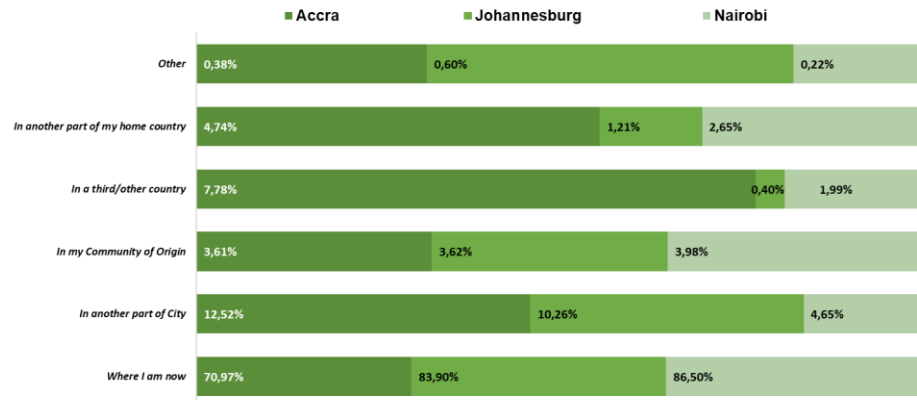
Table 2: Descriptive statistics: Education by Gender

<i>Employment Status</i>	<i>Accra</i>	<i>Johannesburg</i>	<i>Nairobi</i>
<i>Self Employed</i>			
Female	53,99%	45,52%	49,73%
Male	46,01%	54,48%	50,27%
<i>Stable Employment</i>			
Female	30,39%	42,25%	36,17%
Male	69,61%	57,75%	63,83%
<i>Unemployed/Casually Employed</i>			
Female	55,33%	52,78%	55,00%
Male	44,67%	47,22%	45,00%

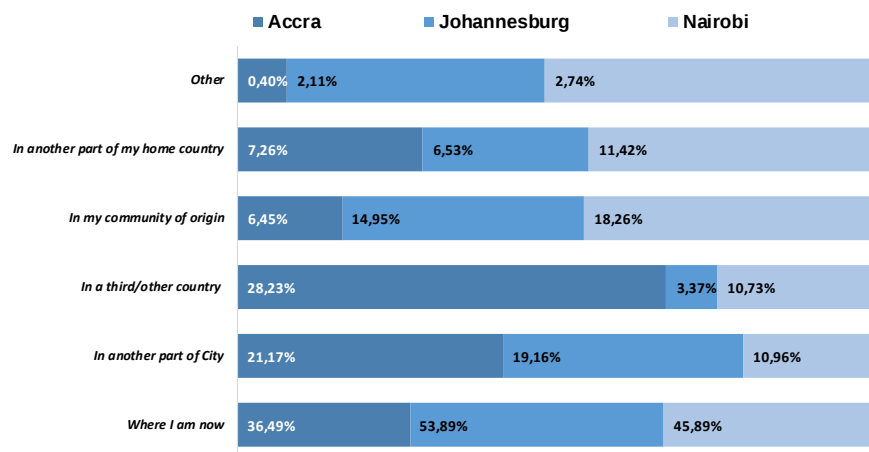
Table 3: Descriptive statistics: Education and Employment crosstabulation

<i>Employment Status</i>	<i>Completed Primary or Secondary</i>	<i>None/Some Primary</i>	<i>Some Tertiary</i>
<i>Accra</i>			
Self Employed	49,19%	50,00%	34,55%
Stable Employment	16,49%	16,67%	29,09%
Unemployed/Casually Employed	34,32%	33,33%	36,36%
<i>Johannesburg</i>			
Self Employed	26,10%	25,50%	17,95%
Stable Employment	27,86%	22,82%	33,33%
Unemployed/Casually Employed	46,04%	51,68%	48,72%
<i>Nairobi</i>			
Self Employed	35,48%	41,98%	32,03%
Stable Employment	13,87%	12,35%	32,03%
Unemployed/Casually Employed	50,65%	45,68%	35,94%

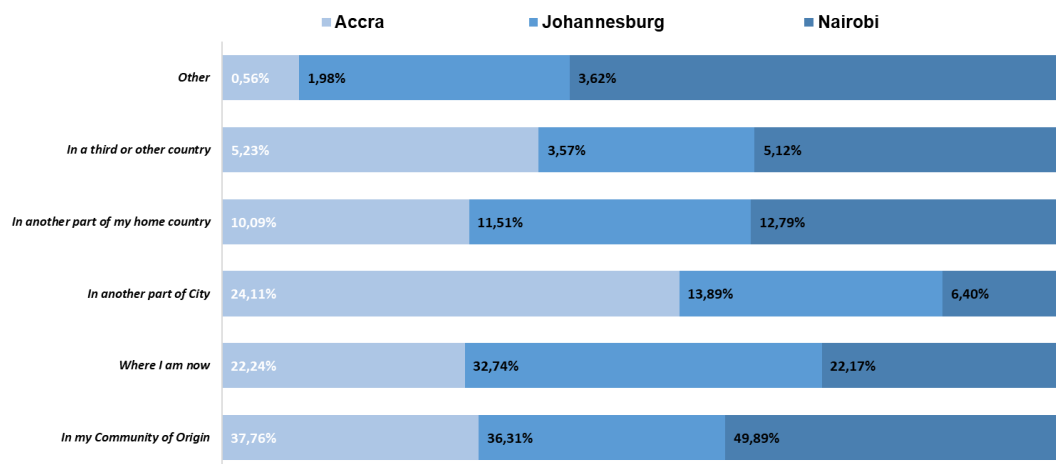
Medium term goals



Long term goals



Retirement



Conclusion

African cities exhibit a diverse range of movement patterns. Cities continue to act as a nexus for numerous human, material, intellectual, and informational flows. The rate of urbanisation in Africa is highly varied and is frequently influenced by a range of variables, including migration, natural population expansion, and agglomeration processes. The accompanying descriptive chapter investigated these patterns and processes in three sub-Saharan African cities: Accra, Johannesburg, and Nairobi.

The decades after the independence of the majority of sub-Saharan countries saw a massive migration of people from rural to urban areas. While urbanisation rates have fluctuated over this time period, the trend is largely upward and continuous. In most cities, the habits of non-settlement and continued mobility persist, whether for greater access to employment, family reunification, high rents, or higher education. Despite the insecure formal job base in the majority of cities, these countries continue to have strong in-migration rates.

While most scholars would claim that most migrants to cities are aware of their modest odds of finding work, when contrasted to the extremely limited opportunities in rural areas, the prospect of a potentially higher income trumps remaining in the village. While cities may have a distinct way of life in the shape of an informal sector, for the vast majority of new participants to the urban workforce, this remains uncertain. These newcomers work for modest family-owned businesses or establish their own businesses. Without formal jobs, Africa's cities will continue to rely heavily on the informal economy to sustain livelihoods.

Village-city connections are critical for comprehending the nature and character of contemporary migration. Individuals' lives are shaped by moral and material imperatives, straddling many locations, and ultimately forming these links between them. While

mobile communication, television, and various media all appeal to young people, the desire to migrate in search of adventure or a better life remains strong. As the majority of respondents to this survey testified, moving is viewed as a means of advancement, and the appeal of modern metropolitan amenities continues to be strong.

Success in cities, particularly for newcomers, necessitates the collaboration of a diverse array of persons and institutions, but this is not always the case. The majority of people relocate to new areas with the assistance of friends or relatives. The informal support provided by these networks serves as a safety net for newcomers, particularly during their first few weeks or months in the city. Onward migration is significantly more likely when the prospective migrant has social support or ties in the destination country. In other words, relationships and socialities are not solely determined by where individuals live, but rather by the value and connections they may create in other parts of the world. This results in the formation of translocal social networks, which frequently serve as a catalyst for the emergence of new migration pathways between locales.

Perhaps the most striking feature of these new modes of movement and sociospatial connectedness is the creation of new modes of sociality and interaction that are loosely dependent on geographic proximity. Communities form over enormous distances, without necessarily being based in a particular location, and are substantially facilitated by modern communication technologies.

Given the range of paths and emic community linkages, identifying what is emerging is complex. What is certain is that the foundations for contemporary territorially tied identities are becoming increasingly weak and collapsing. Migration is accelerating, as are the means of local and political engagement.

Chapter 4: Revisiting the coming anarchy?

Institutions, Engagements, and mobility across three African cities

Introduction

Cities are central for politics and political theory. Indeed, current rhetoric and practice of democracy and good governance are built on the premise that political involvement, community participation, and trust in one's neighbours are all vital components of attempts to preserve livelihoods and a healthy democracy in cities (Paxton, 2002). Historically, urbanisation has frequently accompanied economic and political transformations, from the Italian city-states to the industrial centres of Europe, Latin America, and Asia (Farrell, 2018). While the effects have always been diverse and iniquitous, they often result in the integration of diverse populations into national and transnational processes of material and political production. I examine whether Africa would likely follow the same pattern in this chapter, given the continent's rapid urbanisation during the past sixty years, fuelled mostly by different types of migration.

This chapter compares political engagement levels across three cities in sub-Saharan Africa, focusing on the effects of community-level involvement and neighbour trust on political participation, using newly collected data from Accra, Nairobi, and Johannesburg. This chapter is particularly concerned with emerging (or likely to emerge) forms of community and institutional participation in areas where population expansion outpaces economic prospects and governmental investment. The chapter considers what Africa's political future may look like considering previous forecasts of political anarchy and social destabilisation because of unregulated urbanisation (Kaplan, 1994). The findings

support the hypothesis that community involvement is positively associated with the likelihood of political participation despite low levels of local engagement and trust overall.

Informed by Robert D. Putnam's propositions of what makes democracies work (Putnam, 1993), this chapter further examines the role of social capital in the development of productive and progressive urban communities in the sub-Saharan African context. Trust is a fundamental component of healthy social connections from this vantage point, and community is a vital component of social order and a well-functioning system (Dinesen et al., 2020; Hooghe, 2007; Kesler & Bloemraad, 2010; Kwon, 2019; Sturgis et al., 2011).

Social capital refers to the characteristics of social life, networks, norms, and trust that enable individuals to work more successfully together to accomplish common goals (Mohan & Mohan, 2002). Social capital is generated through involvement in a variety of associational or civic activities, including face-to-face contacts, which results in a more trusting disposition (Portes & Vickstrom, 2011b, 2011a). Social capital may exist on both a transnational and a highly localised scale (Bott et al., 2020). Political engagement refers to voluntary efforts made by the general populace to influence governmental policy. Among other things, this involves voting in elections, contacting local councillors and authorities to address community issues, political campaigning, and protesting. Such political engagement skills are developed in non-political institutions such as mosques or churches. A substantial amount of empirical evidence demonstrates that voluntary organisations within communities contribute to the functioning of democracies (Costa & Kahn, 2003).

Focusing on the politics of African cities, this article takes a non-normative stance emphasising trust, institutional engagement, and spatio-temporal orientations, by

offering unique and original reflections on the sociality of African urbanisation. Thus, it complements the developmentalism prevalent in much work by focusing on critical issues such as access to services and markets, economic and physical security, and inequality (Jedwab, 2010). The analysis begins by recognising that levels of trust and community involvement are frequently linked to migration-driven diversity, local politics, and participation in resolving collective action problems (Brehm & Rahn, 1997; Jacobs & Tillie, 2004; Putnam, 1993).

If Africa's urbanisation process, as characterised by population growth and migration, is surpassing economic potential, and governmental investments, this raises the question of the institutional interactions that are likely to arise in Africa's cities, where past research reveals low levels of civic and community involvement, trust, and political integration (Madhavan & Landau, 2011). Rather than considering the presence or absence of trust in binary terms, I disaggregate these terms across subgroups (gender, age, migration histories) while spatialising the analysis, determining whether the presence or absence of localised or translocal connections correlates (positively or negatively) political engagement. This enables the possibility of comprehending emergent socio-political orders ranging from highly localised to translocal and transtemporal forms of engagement and aspiration (Bott et al., 2020; Rockenbach et al., 2019b).

The demographic character of urban communities has continually been reshaped by an increasingly diverse population driven primarily by migration. In the last few decades, numerous reviews into cities in Africa have noted the negative repercussions of rapid urbanisation on urban communities (Castells-Quintana & Wenban-Smith, 2020; World Bank, 2017) .

Method

This study used a quantitative cross-sectional research design to examine the nature of generalised trust, community involvement and political participation in three African cities. This design is well-suited for comprehending modes of sociation or sociality, and political engagement in ethnically diverse urban communities. This decision has the constraint that alternate explanations or confounding variables for observed variations in ways of sociation among the three cities are plausible. To offset this impact and maintain consistency in responses, items from the survey questionnaire were repeated but with slightly altered terminology.

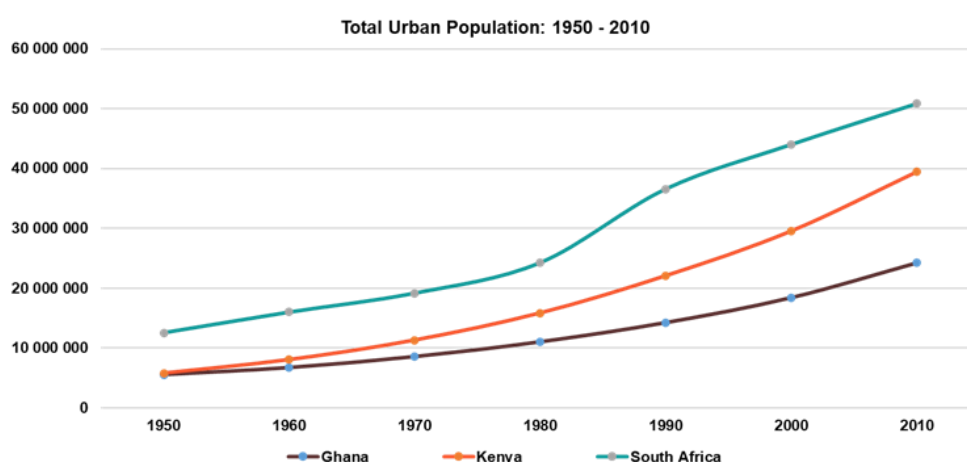
Individual social capital is defined as migration-enhancing resources derived from direct, personal, and typically intimate links to specific persons who live in the same area or elsewhere, and who may or may not have had any prior experience with migration (Fieldhouse & Cutts, 2010). Political participation refers to methods of collaborating with groups of individuals affiliated by geographical proximity, similar situations, and special interests (Fennema & Tillie, 1999). In this study it is operationalised as a positive response to participating in an official participatory planning/budgeting meeting and voting for a local or national leader.

Community engagement entails belonging to a community organisation and actively engaging in local clubs or associations. Trust is defined as a bet about the future contingent actions of others and as a necessary component of cooperative relationships in communities (Togedy, 2004). Community participation and trust were measured using three dichotomous indicators: trust in neighbours, trust in co-nationals living in the same neighbourhood, and attending meetings in local community associations or clubs. In heterogeneous and fluid communities, trust and mistrust become significant, even if they take the form of 'abstract transactional trust'.

Data

The analysis uses data collected between March and April 2021 in Accra (Ghana), Johannesburg (South Africa), and Nairobi (Kenya) as part of a larger comparative project of sub-Saharan African cities. These cities have experienced rapid urban growth in recent decades as a result of urbanisation (see Figure 1 below) and continue to be important for understanding migration trends and dynamics in urban Africa.

Figure 1: Total Urban Population growth: South Africa, Kenya, and Ghana (1950 – 2010)



Each city exemplifies the diversity of contemporary migration patterns, exhibiting a range of social, economic, and political characteristics that distinguish them as important destinations and transit points for international and domestic migration. Tables 1 and 2 provide selected statistics for the three cities.

Table 1: Descriptive statistics for three research sites (row percent)

Gender	Accra	Johannesburg	Nairobi
Female	36.0	31.7	32.2
Male	34.8	33.4	31.8
Sample size	575(35.4)	529(32.6)	519(31.9)

Although the majority of respondents, 82%, were born in a village or town, they maintain regular contact with household members in their communities of origin and in other

cities. 53% send money to household members outside the city on a regular basis, while 23% receive money from friends and family outside the city. While respondents continue to move within cities, they maintain social and familial ties to their hometowns, illustrating why full social and political integration into urban communities remains difficult. This observation is also evident in the length of residence of the majority of respondents who have lived in the neighbourhood of interview for less than eight years.

Table 2: Descriptive statistics for three research sites (row percent)

Age category	Accra	Johannesburg	Nairobi
18 – 30	33.6	28.1	38.4
31 – 40	37.3	33.5	29.2
41 – 50	37.5	39.3	23.2
51+	34.87	41.5	23.7
Sample size	575(35.4)	529(32.6)	519(31.9)

*Total study sample: 1, 623

Data Collection

Each city had a total sample size of approximately 515, and we aimed to conduct around 166 interviews per neighbourhood. To capture the diversity of migration experiences within these sites, we recruited participants from three distinct groups: domestic migrants, long-term residents, and indigenous people. The 166 were then evenly distributed among these three groups (i.e., approximately 56 foreign migrants, 56 domestic migrants, 55 long-term residents per neighbourhood). We aimed for an equal gender split in each neighbourhood (50 percent male, 50 percent female). Each respondent was an adult, aged 18 years or older. Although the sample's median age was 35.6, the standard deviation of 12.33 indicates an age diverse population. Pre-qualification questions were used to ensure that we met quotas for our target groups and that the groups were well represented in the sample.

Table 3: Descriptive statistics for three research sites (percent)

Residence status	Accra	Johannesburg	Nairobi
Foreign-born local	40.0	40.0	20.0
Foreign-born migrant	34.6	35.6	29.9
Native-born local	35.7	38.71	25.6
Native-born migrant	35.3	22.3	42.4
Sample size	575(35.4)	529(32.6)	519(31.9)

*Total study sample: 1, 623

Domestic migrants were defined as individuals who relocated to the city of interview from another region of the country with the intention of establishing a permanent residence there. A long-term resident was defined as someone who had lived in the neighbourhood or close proximity to the interview location for at least eight years. Respondents who were born locally are those who were born in the neighbourhood or proximity to the interview location. This was how we distinguished between individuals who had moved or migrated during their lifetime and those who had not. Within each community, a randomised small area sampling strategy in which fieldwork teams were assigned a randomly generated GPS location with a radius of no more than 1 km in which to conduct interviews. Once inside the restricted area, the enumerator approached each household and requested to speak with a member of the household. If a participant refused to be interviewed or could not be reached on the second visit, enumerators would approach another household. After obtaining permission from the relevant local authorities for access to all neighbourhoods, although they had no input into respondent or site selection.

Table 4: Descriptive statistics for three research sites (row percent)

Employment status	Accra	Johannesburg	Nairobi
Self-employed	46.4	22.5	31.1
Stable employment	30.2	42.0	27.8
Unemployed/casually employed	28.5	36.7	34.8
Sample size	575(35.4)	529(32.6)	519(31.9)

*Total study sample: 1, 623

Table 5: Descriptive statistics for three research sites (row percent)

Education	Accra	Johannesburg	Nairobi
Completed primary or secondary	36.2	33.4	30.4
None/some primary	39.5	39.2	21.3
Some tertiary	24.8	17.6	57.7
Sample size	575(35.4)	529(32.6)	519(31.9)

Procedure

Face-to-face interviews were conducted using ResearchGO, a data collection software for computer-assisted personal interviewing (CAPI). The interviewers used smartphones or tablets that came pre-installed with the Google Play Store application. This method enabled the tracking of quotas and daily targets, ensuring that each neighbourhood received the targeted quota sample. This technique is advantageous for monitoring enumerators, documenting survey duration, capturing GPS coordinates, and conducting quality control at the end of each day of fieldwork. It facilitated a high degree of precision in preventing and detecting fraudulent interviews and automated monitoring. The geolocation functionality of the application enabled the previously discussed randomised sampling.

Each interview lasted approximately 30 to 120 minutes and included slightly more than 400 questions, both fixed and open-ended. Six sections of the questionnaire addressed

the following topics: (1) Demographic data, (2) Past and present mobilities, including the effect of COVID-19 on mobility, (3) Economic, social, and affectional interactions, (4) Institutional and urban interactions, (5) Politics and perceptions, and (6) Future mobilities and expectations. Respondents were asked about their motivations for migrating, beginning with their initial departure from their community of origin and the duration of their stay at each place or house thereafter within the city. Prior to and during data collection, team leads trained field workers. While the questionnaire was written in English, fieldworkers were trained on the glossary of potentially ambiguous terms and were able to translate these into a local language as the interview progressed.

Data Analysis

Using STATA, I estimated a logit model to examine the relationship between trust, community involvement and political participation across the three cities and across migration category. First-time migrants have limited experience of the host society and rely on others for advice until they have lived in the city long enough to amass sufficient information on their own. Engagement levels will consequently first be determined by the influence on a migrant's initial contacts, immediate relatives, associates, or acquaintances (Massey & Aysa-Lastra, 2011).

Trust is a measurable indicator of social capital and has been commonly used in the migration literature (Dinesen et al., 2020; Leigh, 2006; Stolle et al., 2008; Sturgis et al., 2011). Distrust undermines both formal and informal connections, as well as a feeling of community. It also reduces a person's sense of belonging to a community. Distrust is often connected with ethnic and linguistic diversity, although it is insufficient as a primary cause of social integration in urban communities (Miciukiewicz et al., 2012; Portes & Vickstrom, 2011b). The key independent variable – migration status – is a four-category indicator of both place of birth and length of residence in the present

location. This allows for comparisons by both nativity and migration status. Persons who have lived in the city for more than eight years are considered local, while those who have lived in the city for ten years or less are considered migrants. This is an arbitrary cut-off point. Control variables include age, grouped into four categories; gender; education attainment categorised into three groups; employment status classified into two categories.

I controlled for gender, migration type, education, and work category (stable, casual, and self-employment) in order to isolate the influence of each variable on the dependent variable of interest – political engagement. Community involvement was quantified using the survey item: *Do you belong to and actively participate in groups or associations that are involved with activities outside/inside of this neighbourhood?* Response categories for each of these questions were: 'Yes' 'No', 'Don't know/Refuse to answer'. Similar to the community participation question, trust and political participation are dichotomous response variables that we measured using the following survey items: *Do you trust local people from neighbourhood of interview? Do you trust people from your country of origin living in this neighbourhood where you are now? Participate in an official participatory planning/budgeting meeting? Do you think it is important for you to be able to vote for leaders here in Neighbourhood of interview?*

Results

Table 7 reports results of a logistic regression analysis. The results are not surprising and consistent with previous similar studies. Gender, employment status, migration status and education status are statistically insignificant predictors of political participation. Level of education is a statistically significant predictor of political participation where people with primary level education or no education, are less likely to be politically engaged compared to those with a tertiary education. Table 8 reports

results of trust in the three neighbourhoods. The results suggest that age being a foreign-born migrant are significant predictors of trust in neighbours and co-nationals across the three cities. Compared with migrants in the 51+ age category, younger migrants are less likely to trust residents and their co-nationals and much more likely to trust religious leaders.

Membership in community associations continues to have a large positive effect on political engagement, while trust has no appreciable effect on political participation in the data (table 6). This confirms past observations that the majority of urban dwellers are disengaged from associational life and politics, both in their immediate neighbourhoods and beyond (Stolle et al., 2008; Sturgis et al., 2011). Given that the sample employed in this analysis is primarily composed of respondents between the ages of 18 and 45, this tendency is likely to continue in the future, if disengagement from formal institutions becomes the norm.

Table 6: Comparing cities: Associational membership and Trust (percent*)

	Accra	Johannesburg	Nairobi
Belong to and actively participate in groups or associations in neighbourhood	5.44	3.24	7.31
Worked together with someone or some group, informally, to solve a community problem	27.72	16.22	37.35
Belong to a burial society	13.86	28.82	54.55
Belong to a rotating credit association/Merry-go-round/Stokvel	29.82	21.76	36.56
Trust local people in neighbourhood of interview	38.29	53.04	62.16
Trust in co-nationals	43.83	62.57	66.86
Trust in religious leaders	35.61	28.44	61.46
Providing material assistance or money to religious organisations	59.30	29.96	71.54
Trust in local councillor	27.45	29.09	44.51

*Percentage that reported "Yes" to belonging to each of the above-mentioned groups/associations

Table 7: Logistic model predicting political participation in all three study sites			
	Odds ratio	Standard error	P-value
Residence status			
Foreign-born local	1.078	.2871	0.776
Foreign-born migrant	.7699	.1073	0.061
Native-born local	1.086	.1537	0.559
Native-born migrant	Ref.		
Gender			
Female	.8583	.0949	0.167
Male	Ref.		
Age group			
18 – 30	.7641	.1592	0.197
31 – 40	.7203	.1534	0.124
41 – 50	.7224	.1713	0.170
51+	Ref.		
Highest education level			
Completed primary or secondary	.8802	.1551	0.469
None/some primary	.6116	.1215	0.013*

Some tertiary	Ref.		
Employment status			
Self-employed	1.158	.1514	0.259
Stable employment	1.065	.1574	0.666
Unemployed/casually employed	Ref.		
<i>Pseudo R²</i>	0.0377		

*p<.05. **p<.001

Note: Ref = reference category.

Table 8: Logistic model predicting trust in locals in three study sites, all respondents			
	<i>Odds ratio</i>	<i>Standard error</i>	<i>P-value</i>
Residence status			
Foreign-born local	.9833	.2422	0.946
Foreign-born migrant	1.377	.1831	0.016*
Native-born local	1.134	.1485	0.334
Native-born migrant	Ref.		
Gender			
Female	.8683	.0903	0.175
Male	Ref.		
Age group			
18 – 30	.3935	.0775	0.000**
31 – 40	.4613	.0926	0.000**
41 – 50	.5792	.1300	0.015*
51+	Ref.		
Highest education level			
Completed primary or secondary	1.0729	.1705	0.658
None/some primary	.9797	.1808	0.912
Some tertiary	Ref.		
Employment status			
Self-employed	.8848	.1089	0.320
Stable employment	1.0177	.1418	0.899
Unemployed/casually employed	Ref.		
<i>Pseudo R²</i>	0.0434		

Conclusion

This chapter investigated differences in community involvement, trust, and political participation based on cross-sectional survey data from three cities in sub-Saharan Africa. The findings suggest that while community participation and trust significantly improve the likelihood of political engagement, overall trust levels remain low in all cities. Religious leaders enjoy a higher level of trust than political leaders and, in certain situations, residents. This research reaffirms the critical role of community engagement and trust in collective problem resolution, highlighting the critical role of community networks and participation in overall political stability.

This analysis extends social capital theory's generalisations by asserting that, while there will be variations between cities and even within cities, a foundation for cooperation and conviviality appears to be a strong suit for religion and religious organisations in these communities, implying that despite dire predictions of complete chaos and anarchy and repeated pronouncements of the disastrous consequences of unregulated urbanisation, people in these communities create ways and modes of coexistence in the midst of difference.

On the other hand, mistrust undermines formal and informal interactions, as well as a sense of community. It breeds suspicion of newcomers, particularly those of different ethnic, linguistic, or national origin, which frequently manifests itself in various forms of exclusion, marginalisation, and discrimination. This will be examined in further detail in the next chapter, with reference to xenophobic occurrences in South Africa.

Chapter 5: Violence Begets Violence: Time, Space and Xenophobic Violence in South Africa, 1994– 2021

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Abstract

It is a well-established truism in the urban violence literature that contextual factors connected to location have a major impact on the likelihood of violence. In South Africa, certain areas are more prone to xenophobic violence than others. The evidence for and explanations for these correlations are predominantly qualitative and concentrated in a few 'hot spots.' These studies frequently attempt to explain the violence by emphasising inequality and poverty, both of which are typically defined as manifestations of relative deprivation. This article examines the relationship between xenophobic violence incidents, location, population, and concentrated disadvantage in South African municipalities from 1994 to September 2021, using data from the Xenowatch Database. The database stores spatially referenced data on xenophobic events occurring around the country. Xenophobic events, the data indicate, do not occur randomly in South African cities. Furthermore, while there is a strong correlation between xenophobic violence rates and population density, the link is weaker at the municipal level when income levels and unemployment are high. The potential for incorporating a socio-spatial lens into studies on xenophobic violence is immense. Indeed, the spatial perspective permits the integration of environmental, social, and economic data with the aim of evaluating the geographical and temporal interactions between contextual factors.

Introduction

Several researchers have long recognised the relationship between violence and place. (Gorman et al., 2013; Hooghe et al., 2011; Springer & le Billon, 2016). Many of these studies apply an explicitly spatial approach using Geographic Information Systems (GIS) to examine the spatial distribution of intergroup conflict, crime, concentrated disadvantage, and inequalities across a variety of geographical scales (Chainey & Ratcliffe, 2013; Hooghe et al., 2011; Rokem et al., 2018; Scott & Warmerdam, 2005; Weisburd & White, 2019). Inspired by this approach, this paper examines the spatial distribution of xenophobic incidents in South Africa using a GIS. It further assesses the degree to which low levels of income, unemployment and population explain the rates of xenophobic incidents across South Africa.

Existing theories for widespread xenophobic violence in South Africa aim to connect the violence to inequality, poverty, attitudes, resource mobilisation, or everyday criminality. (Everatt, 2011a; Fauvelle-Aymar & Segatti, 2012; S. Gordon, 2018; HSRC, 2008; Misago, 2019; Nyar, 2011; Sinwell, 2011). While these theories concentrate on different facets of xenophobia, there is widespread agreement that xenophobic violence is more likely to occur in specific settings, such as townships, informal settlements, and marginalised metropolitan fringes, than in others. (Kirshner, 2012; Nyar, 2011; Peberdy & Jara, 2011). Numerous case studies, attitude surveys, and participant explanation are utilised to substantiate these statements, offering rich information and ideas for future research. There is, however, little data to support broad generalisations or efforts to account for the spatiality of xenophobic violence.

The purpose of this study is to map the distribution of xenophobic events throughout South African municipalities and to examine the association between degrees of concentrated disadvantage and xenophobic incident rates. Using quantitative data on

xenophobic events, this study examines the following hypotheses: (a) Xenophobic violence incidents are randomly distributed across space and time (b) Concentrated disadvantage measured as high unemployment, low levels of income, and high population density are significantly associated with high rates of xenophobic violence in South Africa. The first hypothesis draws largely from South African government claims that xenophobic violence is 'merely criminality' disconnected from socio-political or institutional factors (Tagwirei, 2019). The second draws largely from existing work within South African academic and civil society circles (Fauvelle-Aymar & Segatti, 2012; Hiropoulos, 2020; HSRC, 2008).

The first section of the paper summarises recent research on xenophobia in South Africa. The second section discusses data gathering protocols, data analysis methodologies, and findings. The final section discusses the findings' implications for future research on xenophobic violence in South Africa. The findings suggest that comprehending the logic of xenophobic violence, particularly in urban areas where occurrences are more common, necessitates a detailed investigation of the spatial arrangement and relational mechanisms at work in heterogeneous contexts.

Literature Review

A growing corpus of literature has examined the linkages between violence and space in the last two decades. South African researchers have previously examined xenophobic violence from a number of different perspectives, including the psychological, historical, political, and socioeconomic consequences for people and groups at risk (Amisi et al., 2011; Amusan & Mchunu, 2017b; Bekker, 2015; S. Gordon, 2018; Harris, 2002; Kerr et al., 2019; Misago, 2019; Neocosmos, 2008; Wimmer, 1997). Despite the divergent thematic foci, there is widespread agreement on the critical role of geography and the socioeconomic character of distinct populations in the onset and continuation of

xenophobic violence. This article explores geographic variation in xenophobic violence occurrences and the interactions between them, as well as the relationships between locational and socioeconomic characteristics. This adds a geographical dimension to the continuing discussion and allows for an assessment of the socio-spatial character and context of elements that may lead to variance in xenophobic violence rates throughout South Africa.

Long-standing academic, policy and public interest on xenophobic violence has yielded an extensive literature on the topic. Much of the literature, arguably the majority of it, links violence to socioeconomic and institutional factors (HSRC, 2008; J. Steinberg, 2008). The second school of thought link the violence to a mindset, pathology, or attitude (Beetar, 2019; Crush, 2014; S. Gordon, 2018; Harris, 2002). The third link the violence to generalised crime (Charman & Piper, 2012). This brief review focuses on propositions from the socioeconomic school of thought. Attitudes provide a good gauge for overall sentiment towards foreign nationals however, attitudes are not typically spatialised and are therefore not universal.

Almost every paper that has been written on xenophobic violence in South Africa includes a section relating to relative deprivation. The relative deprivation theory suggests a link between resource disadvantage, whether economic or political, and xenophobic violence (Amisi et al., 2011; Everatt, 2011a) (Amisi et al., 2011; Everatt, (Amisi et al., 2011; Everatt, (Amisi et al., 2011; Everatt, . The basic proposition of the relative deprivation theory is that perceived levels of deprivation determine the intensity and magnitude of violence. The assumption here is that low levels of deprivation will motivate a few people to engage in violence or aggression, whereas severe deprivation will probably galvanize larger segments of the general populace into violent action against a perceived source of frustration (Bekker, 2015). These arguments suggest that

there is a perceived discrepancy between people's value expectations and their current material condition (Gurr, 1970). These studies, taken together, highlight the complexities of xenophobic violence in South Africa. With the availability of high-quality, reliable data, not all, but the majority of these claims can be empirically tested and used to target remediation efforts.

Kirshner (2012), made a similar point by arguing against explanations of xenophobia as a consequence of poverty or deprivation. The author uses the local socio-political struggles of residents of Khutsong in Gauteng, to highlight the importance of examining intersections between local socio-political struggles and the presence or absence of xenophobia in specific places. Along the same lines, Blaser Mapitsa (2018a) highlights the role of local political party politics through exclusionary practices and politicization of popular discontent. Similar arguments on the role of local politics in mobilizing popular anger and frustration have been influential in the ongoing debates (Misago, 2019; Mosselson, 2010; Vahed & Desai, 2013). This perspective outlines a mechanism for popular mobilisation against foreign nationals led by local political leaders. According to this view, local leaders capitalize on popular discontent to gain political and economic resources. The politicisation of discontent becomes the impetus for members to engage in collective violence.

Restrictionist sentiment and exclusionary practices, at the institutional and individual levels, have a long history in South African immigration politics (Peberdy, 2009). The 2008 and 2015 attacks received wide media coverage and as the images and reports of widespread attacks, looting, destruction of property and displacements were transmitted across the world, the views of politicians and bureaucrats alike dominated headlines (Bekker, 2015; Everatt, 2011b; Misago et al., 2010).

This study tests some propositions from the relative deprivation theoretical position. It illustrates that merging spatial and non-spatial data on xenophobic violence occurrences gives a holistic understanding of the complex interaction of contextual and locational elements that is critical for tackling the xenophobic violence crisis in South Africa. Xenophobia is used in this work to refer to a distrust of foreigners and a negative attitude toward them. Xenophobic violence refers to violent attacks on foreign nationals, which may include looting, property destruction, assaults, and murder. These attacks frequently result in mass displacements.

Data and Methods

Drawing from the extant literature, I set out to explore two main propositions: (a) Xenophobic violence incidents in South Africa are randomly distributed across space and time (b) Concentrated disadvantage measured as high unemployment, low levels of income, and high population density are significantly associated with high rates of xenophobic violence in South Africa. This study combines incident data from: Xenowatch¹, based at the African Centre for Migration and Society, University of the Witwatersrand Johannesburg; Administrative spatial data on South African Provinces and Municipalities from the Municipal Demarcation Board; and demographic data from the 2011 census from Statistics South Africa. The unit of analysis is the municipality (metropolitan, district, and local). According to Statista Research Department² (2021) there are 278 municipalities in South Africa and the top 5 largest municipalities by population as of 2016 are: City of Johannesburg (4.9 mil), City of Cape Town (4 mil), eThekweni (3.7 mil), Ekurhuleni (3.3 mil) and City of Tshwane (3.2 mil).

¹ Xenowatch is a platform for monitoring and recording all forms of xenophobic discrimination in South Africa. It is an early warning system that allows for the crowd sourcing, collation, and visualization of information on xenophobic behaviour and incidents. More information available at www.xenowatch.ac.za

² <https://www.statista.com/statistics/671778/top-10-largest-municipalities-in-south-africa/>

Xenowatch Data Collection Method

Xenowatch records past and present incidents of xenophobic violence and other forms of xenophobic discrimination. Xenowatch receives reports through various media, including direct free text messages, email, media reports, WhatsApp, or direct telephone contact. Civil Society Organisations and Verification Partner organisations across all nine provinces are also valuable sources of information for reported incidents. Every reported incident is subsequently anonymised and coded to include the following details: province, municipality, geographic coordinates (latitude and longitude), sub-place, source of information, event-type including threats of violence, extortion, total fatalities, displacements, looting, and property damaged. The process of data collection and coding ensures data quality, accuracy and most importantly, verifiability. These data are regularly updated with incidents to ensure reliability and thoroughness.

I extracted a sample of 836 incidents spanning 27 years (1994 to August 2021) from the database. This inevitably underestimates the total number of reports. As police do not record xenophobic motivations or violence, there are undoubtedly many other incidents, ranging from harassment to property damage and murder, that are not recorded. Incidents in remote or rural areas are likely to be excluded as they happen beyond the gaze of civil society organisations. The apparent marked increase in violence from the early 2000s may also reflect a growing awareness of xenophobia among observers and analysts, rather than an actual increase in incidents. Despite these limitations, careful analysis, and verification of each incident in the database, where possible, yield useful results in ways that can answer questions beyond the scope of other approaches.

The analyses involved three stages. First, descriptive statistics were used to summarise the total number of xenophobic incidents by province and by year. Second, using a

Geographic Information System, ArcGIS Pro 2.8, optimised hot spot analysis was used to find statistically significant clusters of high and low xenophobic incident counts (Hiropoulos, 2016). Finally, I created thematic maps of the three socioeconomic variables of interest and overlaid them with xenophobic incident data. This provides an intuitive visual analysis of the spatial association between xenophobic violence rates and the three socioeconomic variables: population density, unemployment, and low income.

Results

Descriptive Statistics

The distribution of xenophobic violent occurrences across the research region from 2000 to 2021 is depicted in Figures 1 and 2. To summarise, figure 1 demonstrates significant peaks in recorded incidents - the years 2008 – 150 recorded incidents including over 100,000 displacements, 546 looted shops and 72 deaths; 2015 – 63 recorded incidents including approximately 7,900 total displacements, 34 deaths and 327 shops looted; and 2019 with 78 recorded incidents, 1,629 recorded displacements, 28 deaths, and 1,080 shops looted³. When analysed by province, the highest incident count was recorded for Gauteng followed by the Western Cape and KwaZulu Natal.

Figure 1: Time series plot of xenophobic incidents in South Africa

³ Interactive dashboard available at <http://www.xenowatch.ac.za/statistics-dashboard/>

Xenophobic Incidents by Year: 2008 - 30 Sept 2021

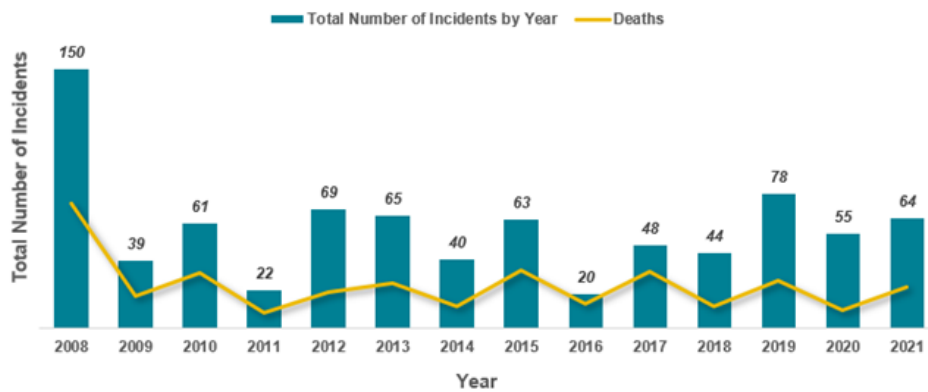
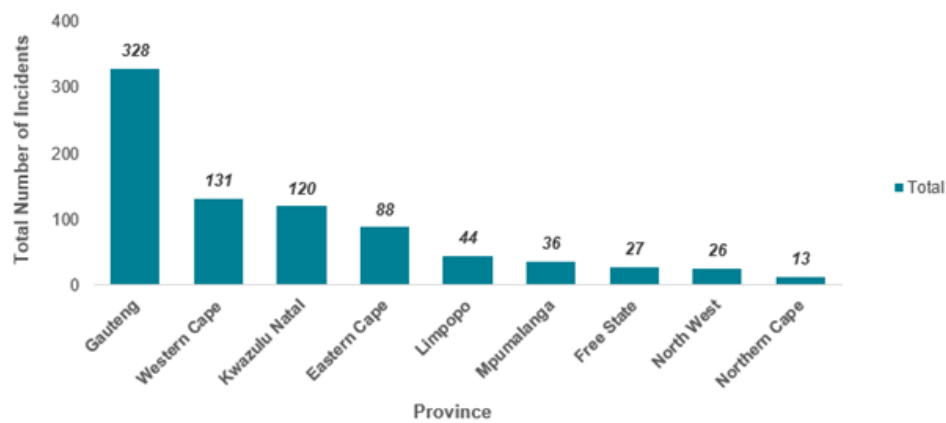


Figure 2: Incidents by Province

Xenophobic Incidents by Province: 2008 - 30 Sept 2021



Spatial Analysis

The investigation began by developing a map for first visual evaluation of the aggregated count of xenophobic violence events at the municipal level (map below). The municipal level was chosen because it preserves a healthy balance between higher-level geography (city or province) and lower-level geography (wards or enumeration regions).

Incidents of Xenophobic Violence in South Africa: 2008 – 30 Sept 2021

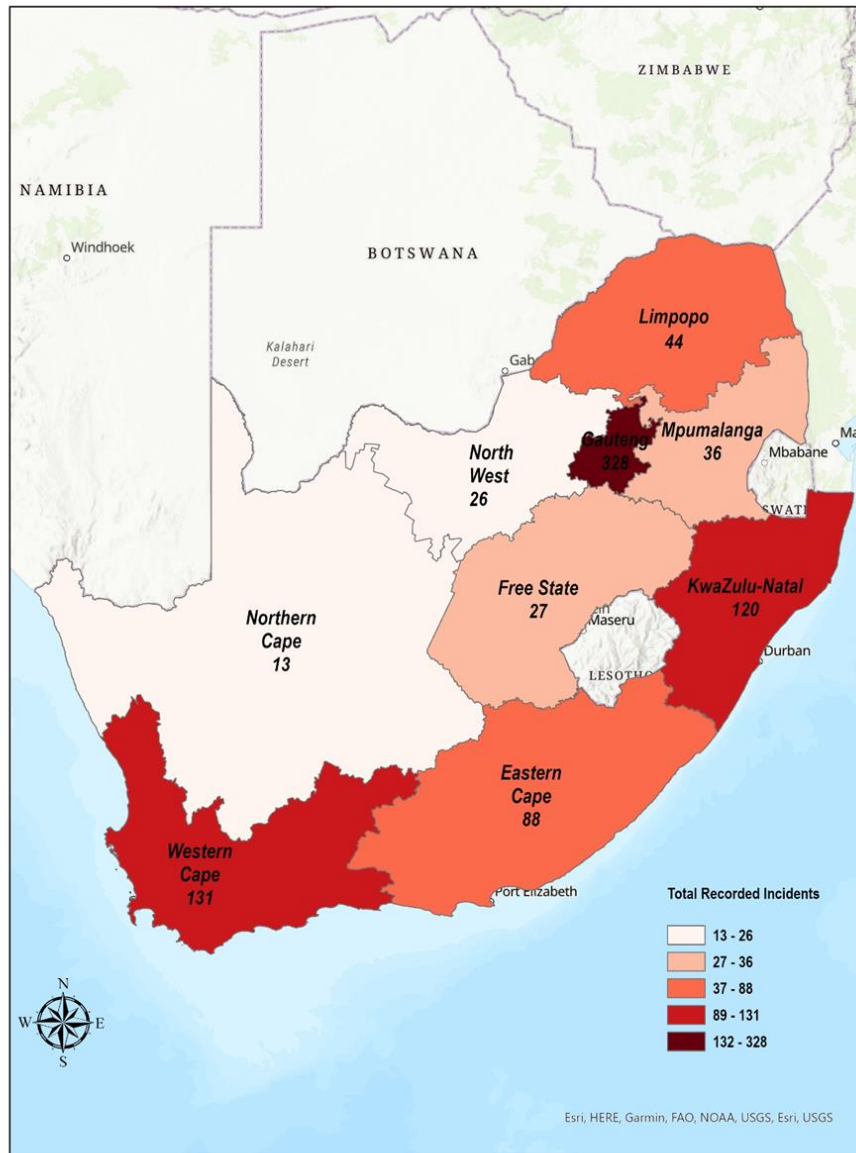
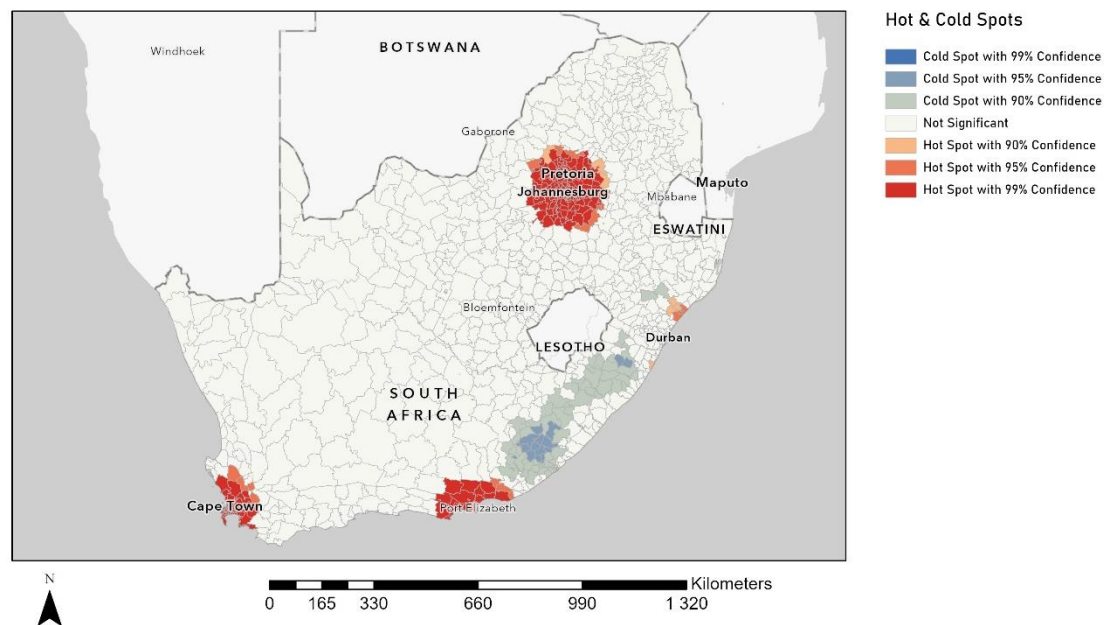


Figure 3 is the result of a hot spot analysis on the distribution of the xenophobic incident count data. Hot spot analysis is a technique for determining spatial randomness (Herrmann, 2015). It allows for the quantification of geographical clustering patterns and the assignment of confidence intervals to the results (Scott & Warmerdam, 2005). In other words, using the Getis-Ord G_i^* statistic, the analysis identifies statistically

significant clusters of high and low counts of xenophobic events (Getis & Ord, 1992; Herrmann, 2015).

Figure 3: Hot spot Analysis

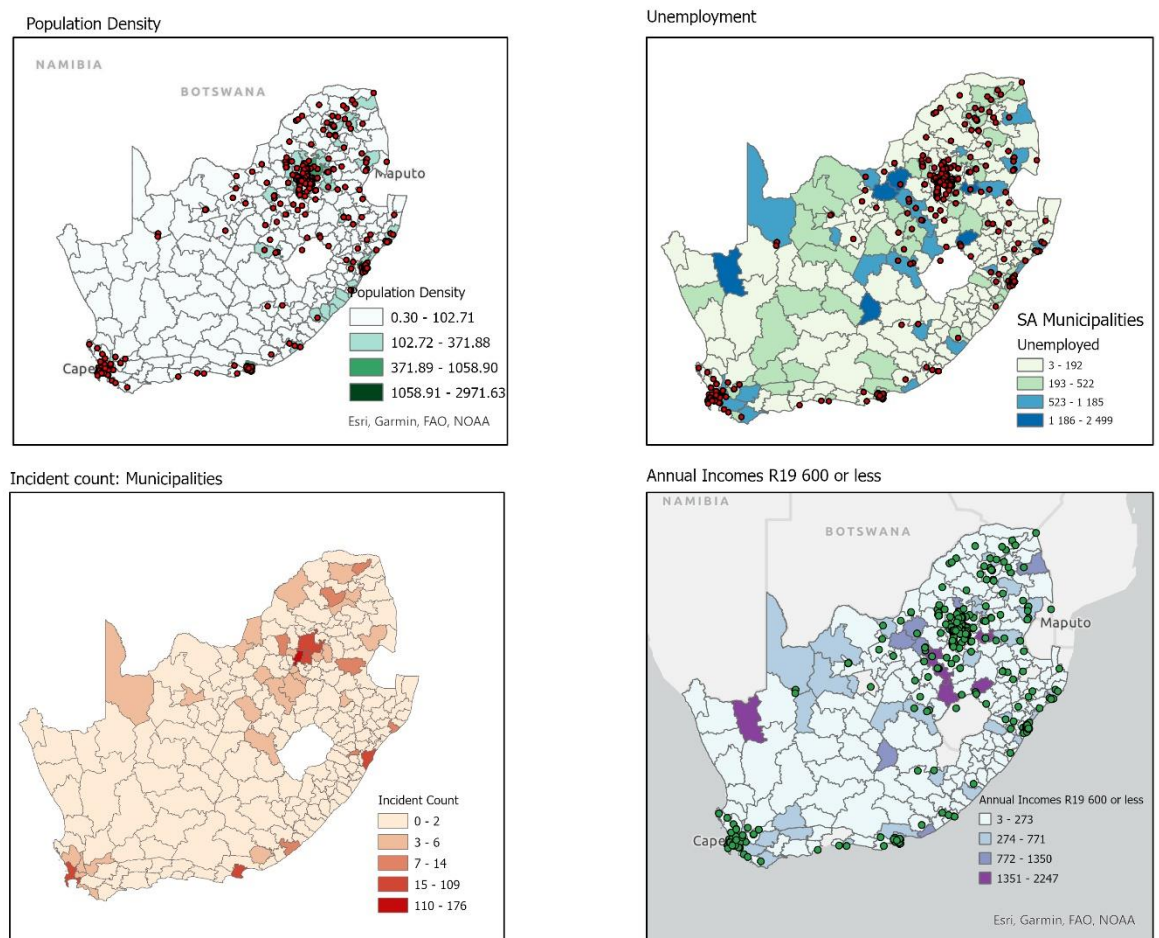
**Hot Spot Analysis - Xenophobic Violence Incidents
Jan 1994 - Sept 2021**



The purpose of this preliminary exploratory approach is to discover clusters that are significantly distinct from the remainder of the study areas. Statistically significant clusters indicate that there are underlying causes or spatial processes that can explain observed patterns (Weisburd & White, 2019). The hot spot analysis tools calculate the probability of observed events clustering randomly using z-scores and p-values. The results shown in the legend of the hot spot map in figure 3 shows that there is only a 10% chance that the observed pattern is random; in other words, it reveals with 90% confidence that the observed clustering pattern encompassing the three metropolitan municipalities in Gauteng – Cities of Johannesburg, Tshwane, and Ekurhuleni - is a result of an underlying spatial process that requires further investigation. The non-significant results highlight areas where events appear to be less clustered and more randomly dispersed across space. It is important to note that aggregating incidents at lower levels

of geographical hierarchy such as sub-places, wards or even enumeration areas would lead to different results.

Figure 4: Population Density, Income and Unemployment



The spatial nature of income, unemployment, and population density

The preceding examination of the geographical distribution of xenophobic violence in South Africa indicated that violence is not dispersed randomly across space. Additionally, there is inadequate data to support the claim that unemployment and poor income are

strongly connected with xenophobic violence rates (Figure 4). Population density is associated with an increase in xenophobic events.

Discussion and Conclusion

In South Africa, ongoing debates on xenophobic violence have attempted to link the violence to inequality, poverty, attitudes, or ordinary crime. In this study I set out to explore two propositions: (a) Xenophobic violence incidents in South Africa are randomly distributed across space and time (b) Concentrated disadvantage measured as high unemployment, low levels of income, and high population density are significantly associated with high rates of xenophobic violence in South Africa.

The results of the first hypothesis test indicate that incidences of xenophobic violence in South Africa are not random. If xenophobia is simply another sort of criminal conduct, it should follow the same trend as other forms of crime in the country. The second theory, economic reasons, asserts that poverty, unemployment, and largely black South Africans view immigrant nationals of predominantly African ancestry as competitors for jobs, housing, and social services. Comparable to World Bank research on the socioeconomic drivers of crime in South Africa, the results demonstrate scant empirical support for the relationship between xenophobic events, low income, and unemployment (Bhorat et al., 2017). This points to the complexity of factors behind rates of xenophobic violence in South Africa.

The population density was shown to be strongly linked with the number of xenophobic violent incidents. This is unsurprising, given that metropolitan areas have the greatest proportion of substantiated xenophobic acts. Future research might examine the influence of human mobility, demographic heterogeneity, and social cohesiveness, as well as the opportunities and constraints of urban policy in social integration programs.

Considerable research on urban violence and its numerous incarnations frequently establishes a connection between the violence with some type of material hardship, unemployment, or poverty. These are undoubtedly critical aspects to consider when comparing violence rates across different areas. However, the robustness of these factors has proven uneven and unconvincing in explaining discrepancies. To begin, while the relationship between poverty and violence is frequently taken as a given, there are alternative perspectives. There is disagreement about what constitutes poverty and why it contributes to violence. Inadequate housing, blighted neighbourhoods, and an absence of adequate services are just a few instances of these circumstances (Morenoff et al., 2001; Sampson et al., 2002; Sampson & Groves, 1989; Veysey & Messner, 1999). These assertions are frequently correlational, meaning that the causal process might operate in either direction (Crutchfield & Wadsworth, 2003).

The extant evidence necessitates a rethinking of ideas that problematically link poverty and violence, and a reduction in the role of poverty, unemployment, and different measures of relative deprivation as factors (Crutchfield & Wadsworth, 2003; Tittle et al., 1978). Both Xenowatch and crime data analysis in South Africa have revealed no consistent relationships between these factors (Bhorat et al., 2017).

In conclusion, the contribution of this study is both substantive and methodological. It illustrates the utility of the spatial perspective in the analysis of xenophobic violence. Importantly, the spatial approach enabled the identification of the inadequacy of commonly accepted explanations for the violence. The exploratory analysis presented in this paper is a first step toward identifying underlying spatial processes that contribute to the observed patterns of xenophobic violence in South Africa. Much work remains to be done, and this provides a solid foundation for future efforts.

Chapter 6: Geographies of Xenophobic Violence & Crime in South Africa

Introduction

Scholars have long recognised that crime and other acts of violence tend to cluster in specific regions inside cities, and this spatial concentration of occurrences was first identified over two centuries ago (Hipp & Kim, 2017; Moser & McIlwaine, 2014; Weisburd, 2015; Winton, 2004). To identify and address this phenomenon adequately, it is critical to first grasp the spatial variation inherent in criminal and violent behaviour patterns before delving into causal analysis. Using spatial analytical tools entails establishing the link between geographical features, and this descriptive chapter employs a Geographic Information System (GIS) to analyse the spatial distribution of xenophobic occurrences in South Africa from January 2008 to September 2021. Additionally, it demonstrates the use of exploratory spatial analytic techniques, including hot spot analysis, using comparative South African crime and xenophobic event data. The exploratory examination of xenophobic and crime incident data demonstrates that explicitly including geographic location in the analysis of sociospatial phenomena improves statistical and predictive models significantly, revealing previously unobserved patterns. The improved exploratory workflow will advance both theoretical understanding and practical application in mitigation and community intervention efforts.

Background

Since South Africa's democratic transition in 1994, there has been an increase in xenophobic violence directed at foreign nationals in various parts of the country (Misago, 2019; Misago et al., 2010; M. J. Smith, 2011; J. Steinberg, 2008). While violence against foreign nationals of African origin is not new in the country, the violence that

erupted during this period was disproportionately directed at them (Ochonu, 2020). Numerous reports and scholarly works have attempted to decipher the origins of the violence by implementing a variety of techniques and examining a variety of components and socio-political systems that may be involved (Amusan & Mchunu, 2017a; Bekker, 2015; Blaser Mapitsa, 2018b; Everatt, 2011b; S. L. Gordon, 2020). These studies have included large-scale national representative studies aimed at ascertaining citizens' attitudes toward immigration as well as in-depth case studies of locations where violence had erupted or was likely to erupt.

There has always been an interest in the locations of violence and crime in metropolitan areas, which extends beyond theoretical considerations to practical concerns such as implementing community programs that promote social integration and cohesiveness, as well as targeted law enforcement prevention and mitigation initiatives (Andresen, 2019; Andresen et al., 2017; Bernasco & Steenbeek, 2017; Block & Block, 1995; Eck & Weisburd, 2015; Weisburd et al., 2009). Prior research evidence has been limited to certain localities, but current efforts to collect more detailed data on the manifestations of violence throughout the country have resulted in a much more comprehensive dataset necessary to sustain these efforts (Brown, 2001; Demombynes & Özler, 2005; Mulamba, 2020).

Extensive multidisciplinary research over the last two decades have established that South African neighbourhoods are marked by violence and criminal inequality (Hiropoulos & Porter, 2014; Lancaster, 2018; Lemanski, 2004; Liebermann & Coulson, 2004). Despite apartheid's collapse, some of this is believed to be a result of economic segregation and inequality. Others have claimed that socioeconomic characteristics could account for regional variations in crime and violence rates, owing to the spatial clustering of criminality and xenophobic violence. Numerous theories and frameworks

have been proposed to spatially relate crime and violence to location, allowing for the identification of crime and violence hotspots (Braga et al., 2019; Breetzke, 2018; Weisburd & White, 2019).

This chapter analyses xenophobic incidents and crime data in order to propose a methodology for deconstructing these theoretical assertions and considering the methodological implications of conducting research at various geographic scales. This chapter discusses analytical techniques for isolating the impact of location and the interaction of crime, violence, and other location-based data. Additionally, the chapter presents an exploratory methodology for examining such data. For the vast majority of geographic analysis techniques and across the various spatial scales, the first step is to consider the theoretical assumptions that will inform the interpretation of the analysis output (Anselin, 1996; Chainey & Ratcliffe, 2005, 2013). There are several theoretical frameworks and hypotheses derived from past research, and a comprehensive assessment of the literature can assist in selecting testable propositions. This is also the point at which the geographical level of analysis is determined – block level, ward, sub-place, main place, municipality, or city level.

Although the information for this study is coded at the neighbourhood level, data at additional levels of analysis are also available. A neighbourhood is defined in this context as a geographical unit to which local spatial analysis is performed on the assumption that elements inside the neighbourhood interact more consistently than those outside it (Grekousis, 2020a). Due to technical improvements, this level of disaggregated geocoded data is now accessible. Additionally, significant advancements in the accessibility and usability of mapping software have made it possible to integrate spatial and non-spatial data essential to the research context (S. J. Steinberg & Steinberg, 2006).

This chapter will not delve into the realm of theory (covered in Chapter 5) but will instead highlight certain methodological challenges that may arise when spatially analysing multiple dimensions of social phenomena. A fundamental premise of this study is the awareness that crime and xenophobic violence are intrinsically spatial in nature (Charman & Piper, 2012; Everatt, 2011b; Harris, 2002; Landau et al., 2005). Since the mid-2000s, South Africa has seen substantial anti-foreigner mobilisation, and over the previous six years, an extensive dataset of these incidents has been collected and systematically compiled. This data may now be analysed methodically in tandem with publicly accessible geographical and census data on the country's administrative boundaries and socioeconomic indicators respectively.

As decades of criminology research have demonstrated, in order to fully comprehend the effects of location on crime rates and similar occurrences, it is necessary to first examine their spatial distribution, followed by additional data layers such as demographic data, crime rates over time for various crime categories, housing types, income and unemployment levels, and percentage of foreign-nationals in the area, among many other variables (Bernasco & Steenbeek, 2017; Block & Block, 1995; Braga et al., 2011; Irvin-Erickson & la Vigne, 2015; Short et al., 2008). This chapter builds on this tradition, applying its methodologies to data on xenophobic violence while addressing South African-specific challenges.

Exploratory Spatial Analysis

GIS has evolved into an indispensable tool for tracking crime and urban violence patterns, trends, and clusters (Goodchild, 1987; S. J. Steinberg & Steinberg, 2006; Stewart Fotheringham & Rogerson, 1993). This is because it is now relatively straightforward to overlay additional layers of socioeconomic and demographic data on crime and violence data in order to gain a comprehensive understanding of the spatial

correlations between crime, violence, and neighbourhood socioeconomic characteristics. There are however a few obstacles to overcome when attempting to implement this in a South African context.

The most persistent of these difficulties is in obtaining accurate and reliable data for geocoding locations or street addresses (Overall et al., 2008). The problem is exacerbated in remote towns and villages although in this chapter the focus is on cities where xenophobic incidents tend to cluster. While geocoding cities is frequently less challenging, the ever-expanding peri-urban areas and informal settlements have remained a perpetual challenge (Overall, Singh, & Gcina 2008).

The Exploratory Spatial Data Analysis (ESDA) process entails analysing the geographic distribution of events using centographic metrics and then analysing the spatial pattern of occurrences to determine if point patterns are random, clustered, or scattered (Anselin, 1996; Grekousis, 2020b). This is then followed up with hot spot and outlier analysis. To begin an exploratory inquiry, events are visualised using GIS maps to determine their clustering and to determine the mean and median position of occurrences, as well as their overall direction and trend, using a standard deviation ellipse. The strength of this approach lies in its potential for data mining in the absence of a pre-existing theoretical framework. This rapid detection of event clustering is a preparatory step that adds little to the depth of investigation. The next step would be to perform a hot spot analysis to determine whether the patterns represent true clusters or are spurious (Anselin et al., 2000; Grekousis, 2020a; Messner et al., 1999). Statistical significance in spatial patterns suggests it is highly unlikely that events are the outcome of a spatially random process (Schnell et al., 2017).

The next step in the workflow would be to model associations to identify socioeconomic or political factors that might account for a location's incidence rate. The models used

to evaluate links between processes and patterns are classified as regression models - each of which is represented by a geographically weighted regression equation (Grekousis, 2020a). Traditional statistical approaches such as multivariate regression and map inspection are inappropriate for analysing spatial and space-time data (Ratcliffe, 2010).

Decades of research highlight the issue of flawed and spurious relationships including model misspecification when traditional regression techniques are applied to space-time data (Li & Fotheringham, 2020). Another caveat is that a superficial visual study of data on a map is insufficient for recognising spatial patterns and clusters owing to human perception and interpretation limitations and biases (Messner et al., 1999). ESDA is a first crucial step that provides a rigorous empirical basis for further spatial multivariate regression analysis. The application of formal analytical techniques to crime/violence data has a long history. Understanding the relationship between event data (such as crime and violence), and location requires analytical methods that isolate the effects of place on crime (Irvin-Erickson & la Vigne, 2015; Unwin, 1996).

Hot spot analysis – spatial analysis workflow

A hot spot for crime or xenophobic violence is a small area with a high concentration of incidents contained within a defined boundary (Kalinic, 2018; Weisburd & White, 2019). It is critical to keep in mind that crime hotspots are not always permanent, and that rates fluctuate over time and space, necessitating regular updates. Identifying hot spots underscores the importance of an initial visual evaluation of incidences helps the establishment of more effective community intervention and prevention programs. Additionally, it emphasises the physical and location characteristics of an area that may affect certain types of violent behaviour (Chamberlain & Boggess, 2016; Chamberlain & Hipp, 2015). In the South African context, this could include the number of foreign-

owned spaza stores in the neighbourhood, visible policing, and the proportion of foreign-born people, among other variables.

While there are differences between categories and types of crime and urban violence, including variation across space and time, decades of empirical evidence suggest that certain locations are more prone to violence and crime than others. While space has played a significant role in these studies, incorporating time has grown in popularity during the previous two decades. The growth in studies on geographical and temporal features is due to increased availability of spatiotemporal data, mapping technology, and improved data processing tools for spatial data with temporal components (Delmelle et al., 2013).

These studies have shown the efficacy of spatio-temporal techniques in a range of domains and identified the conditions under which they perform best. These strategies have been applied successfully in a variety of fields, including epidemiology (Moore & Carpenter, 1999), criminology (Newton & Felson, 2015), and regional epidemiology (Bailey & Gatrell, 1995; Moore & Carpenter, 1999). These strategies can aid in the mapping of hot spots for the purposes of preventing, predicting, and forecasting xenophobic violence and crime. There is still scope for further improvement in the spatio-temporal analysis of crime and urban violence generally in South Africa, which future researchers could consider.

Discovering spatial patterns in data involves comparing observed values to a null hypothesis of complete spatial randomness (Levin et al., 2017). If spatial randomness is present, there is little evidence to support claims of spatial and temporal processes that could explain incidents of crime and xenophobic violence. In addition, if processes are non-random, this warrants further investigation of alternative factors that explain the likelihood of violence across geographical space (Newton & Felson, 2015). ESDA has

proven useful for measuring spatial autocorrelation – the phenomenon where observations in spatial proximity are similar (Fornango, 2010).

Data

In the current chapter as well as in chapter five, I analysed and mapped the spatial manifestations of xenophobic violence in South Africa from 2008 to 2021, utilising data from the Xenowatch project at Wits University. As discussed in the prior sections, the exploratory data analysis stage was necessary to ascertain the influence of location on xenophobic violence rates.

I set out to explore two main propositions: (a) Xenophobic violence incidents in South Africa are randomly distributed across space and time (b) Concentrated disadvantage measured as high unemployment, low levels of income, and high population density are significantly associated with high rates of xenophobic violence in South Africa. This study combines incident data from: Xenowatch⁴, based at the African Centre for Migration and Society, University of the Witwatersrand Johannesburg; Administrative spatial data on South African Provinces and Municipalities from the Municipal Demarcation Board; crime data from the Institute for Security Studies, and demographic data from the 2011 census from Statistics South Africa. The unit of analysis is the municipality (metropolitan, district, and local).

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intuitive visual analysis of the spatial association between xenophobic violence rates and the three socioeconomic variables: population density, unemployment, and low income.

Data limitations

Boundaries of violence do not always correspond to empirically or administratively defined boundaries such as wards or local communities. Additionally, official statistics do not include many variables needed to test theories of violence. These are important issues for violence research if it is to go beyond a basic atheoretical exercise in mapping of violent or criminal phenomena (Bernasco & Steenbeek, 2017; Chainey, 2021; Quick et al., 2018).

Descriptive Statistics

The figures 1 and 2 illustrate the yearly and provincial distributions of total xenophobic violence incidents. The same data is depicted in Figure 3 as a map, with the total number of occurrences in each province highlighted. This first visual examination reveals that xenophobic incidents are more prevalent in South Africa's larger urban regions. The population size may account for the high incidence rates, and to control for this possibility, the count of events must be normalised by dividing the count per area by the entire population in that area.

Figure 1 & 2: Xenophobic events by Year and Province

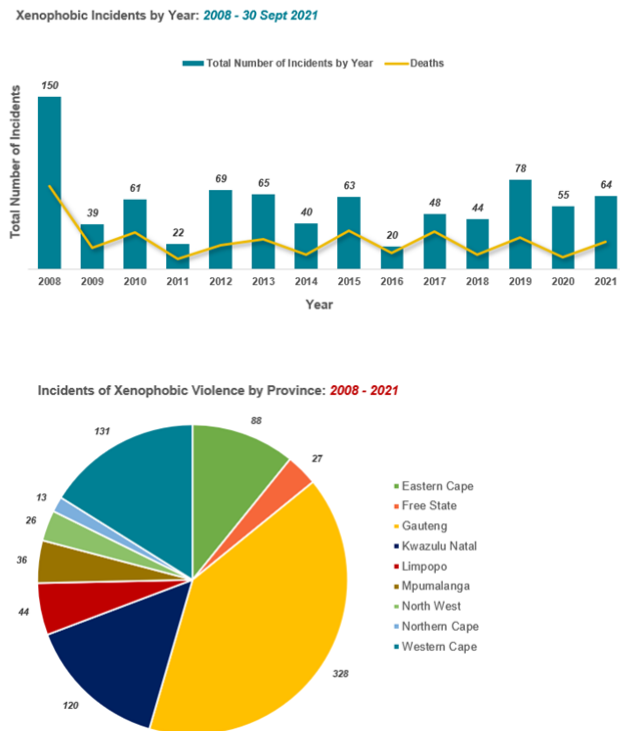
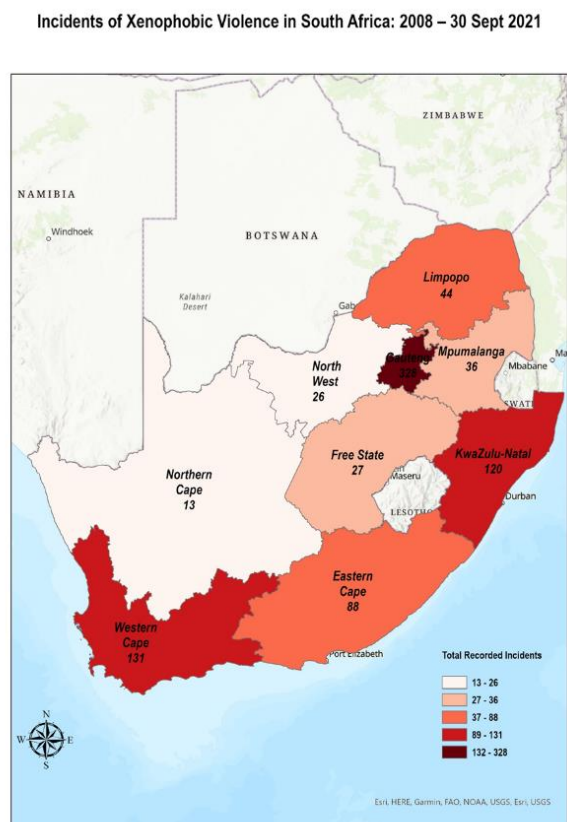


Figure 3: Xenophobic Incidents - Map



The crime and xenophobic violence data utilised in this investigation are imperfect. Nonetheless, these continue to be the most dependable sources of information available to date. To compute the crime and xenophobic violence rates depicted in Figures 4 and 5, I normalised the data by dividing the total number of crimes and violence events by the population and expressing the result as the number of xenophobic violence incidents per 10,000 people.

This additional step was performed to determine whether there was a statistical correlation between the rate of violence and population size. This association is presumed to exist in the literature, although its scope has not been determined (Nolan, 2004). The nature of this link will become apparent when the research is replicated using updated population figures and further disaggregation by type of violence and geography.

Figure 4: Xenophobic Incidents & Crime – Overlay Analysis

Overlay Map: Total Contact Crime (2019) & Xenophobic Violence Incidents (2008 - 30 Sept 2021)

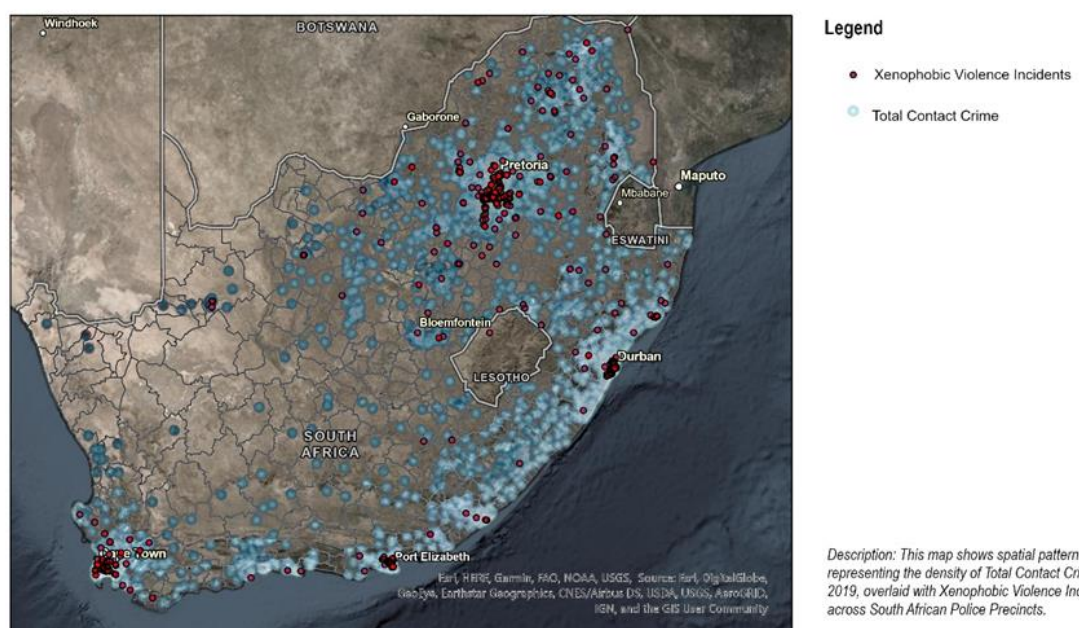
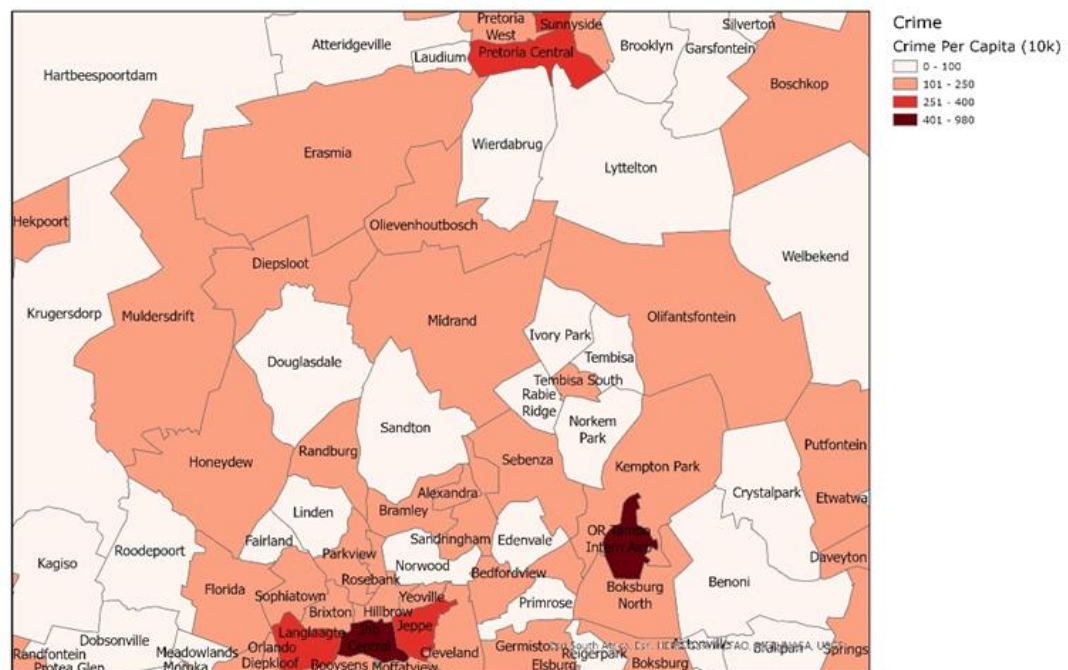


Figure 5: Total Contact Crime per capita

Total Contact Crime 2019 Per Capita - Gauteng



Conclusion

The overarching aim of this article was to further our knowledge of location-based expressions of violence and the sites of interaction between xenophobic violence and place. This requires an in-depth examination of the spatial configurations and relational mechanisms at work in different urban environments. As spatial analytic tools advance and become more available, researchers may acquire a more thorough understanding of the link between violence and environmental variables.

Numerous possibilities for computer-assisted mapping and spatial statistical analysis emerged in the 1990s and have improved significantly since then and continues to the

present times. The promise of geocoded data and spatial analysis for xenophobic violence should be explored continuously. If spatial features act as triggers for xenophobic violence, actions aimed at modifying those features or activities are likely to result in a decrease in incidences. However, focusing on specific locations is unlikely to be a successful intervention technique if events are fundamentally random in their spatial distribution.

Social scientists have utilised a range of perspectives that transcend traditional disciplinary lines in their ongoing quest to get a better understanding of the variables that contribute to high rates of crime and violence in cities. Significant improvements in technology, methodological innovation, and analysis have developed over the last few decades, from the separation of social and geographical aspects to their integration (Godfrey & Godfrey, 2020; Gorman et al., 2013).

When examining crime or xenophobic incidence data, the first step should be to conduct research into the nature of hot spots, particularly areas with high concentrations of incidents, to determine whether the high levels persist over time. While spatial analyses remain a promising tool, ongoing research on the relationship between crime and geography should be considered with caution to avoid pathologising certain locations. Additional research is necessary before focusing intervention efforts exclusively on identified hot spots.

Chapter 7: Discussion

This research provides empirical evidence for the emergence of multiple socialities in Africa's cities. Since the 1950s, Africa has witnessed a significant wave of urban transformation. Following the breakdown of colonial rule, a series of perplexing urban developments occurred including rapid urbanisation without parallel economic growth capable of absorbing the growing labour force. The findings in this research suggest that migrant-driven urbanisation will continue to play a significant role in shaping Africa's emergent urban future. Establishing the actual mechanisms behind these entwined processes empirically would be the starting point for future studies, to which this dissertation adds.

The reasons, linkages, and broader societal implications remain hotly debated. Utilising newly collected data from three cities in sub-Saharan Africa, this study explored a subset of the social consequences of these transformations. It examined the broader topic of migrant-driven urbanisation and the formation of new modes of sociality - collaborative and contentious - in these urban centres, as well as social and political participation. This underscores the observation that the flow of migrants and refugees into sub-Saharan African cities from within and beyond the various sub-regions is profoundly altering the social fabric, for better or worse.

Each chapter attempted to highlight an aspect of emerging forms of sociation, as well as the conflicting interplay between migration-driven urban growth and processes of economic stagnation, deindustrialisation, and marginalisation. I employed a translocal 'deterritorialised' perspective and argued that Africa's cities show multiple forms of sociality, and that this finding required a rethinking of the many forms that social interactions may take, which can be both translocal and highly localised, inclusive, or

marginalising in nature. Urban communities remain key nodes in interaction networks that challenge traditional rural-urban spatial categorisation. Moreover, modalities of interaction are instrumental and transient, rather than constitutive of a developing, coherent political community.

As this thesis has attempted to demonstrate in the foregoing empirical chapters, the world continues to be shaped by the cross-border movement of people, goods, and ideas. Additionally, the findings in this paper highlighted and confirmed several propositions in social capital theory regarding the benefits of civic associational membership and social engagement. Additionally, the findings raised questions on the role of integration initiatives in fostering popular engagement and suggest that understanding why people move and their aspirations may help fill a missing piece of the puzzle and provide a better of sense of the dynamic and contemporaneous economic, social, and political facets of Africa's emerging urbanism.

Viewing social and economic interactions in relational terms enables researchers to not only design more effective research projects, but also to uncover insights that might be hidden in a spatially distinct sense. I utilised translocality as a lens through which to examine established ontological and methodological assumptions regarding cities. Translocality provides a stronger analytical framework since it considers both mobile and immobile populations occupying an area and explains the mechanisms through which these links occur. Additionally, it explains cross-border movement and other types of spatial connectivity by emphasising material and immaterial systems of exchange.

Many people continue to migrate to cities despite the scarcity of good work prospects in the formal sector. This reality has resulted in the establishment and quick growth of a highly diversified informal sector in many cities throughout the continent. This has been a welcome respite for governments unable to offer employment opportunities for their

growing population, the bulk of whom are youth, but it has also created an opportunity to deflect the paucity of employment on migrants entering these cities. As stated in chapters five and six, this perception frequently leads to xenophobic discrimination and marginalisation.

As illustrated by the global rise of populist parties, divisive language from political leaders, including those on the left, fuels anti-immigrant sentiment and occasionally violence against foreign residents. The evident political ramifications of this may be observed in South Africa's periodic outbreaks of violence against foreign nationals, primarily of African descent. These dynamics are reflected both individually and collectively in the majority of the country's population's attitudes toward 'outsiders.' When continually perceived as an economic threat, sentiments will inevitably morph into increasingly antagonistic acts toward immigrants (Bohman, 2011; Paret, 2018).

Following South Africa's democratic transition in the early 1990s and the economic and political instability of neighbouring countries, the country's cities experienced a steady growth in the number of foreign-born residents and communities, fuelled by persistent economic disparities. While not all migration is oriented toward cities, cities absorb a disproportionately bigger amount of inward migration than other regions. Conflicts over resources and the rights to utilise them are frequently most prominent in cities. Locals exercise their rights to govern community life and to select who is welcomed and accepted. Even if nation states ultimately have the authority to define and implement migration laws, rights and inclusion are primarily negotiated at the community level. As seen in the preceding chapters, mobility and multilocality have a profound effect on the practice and ethics of inclusion and exclusion.

A range of social integration initiatives have been devised by municipal governments to address the issue of harmonious coexistence among the cities' diverse groups with

mixed outcomes. Integration however remains a multifaceted phenomenon that encompasses a range of broad dimensions, including socioeconomic, political, and labour market insertion. All of these are connected to the notion that cities arose primarily and initially as a result of migration, which resulted in varying degrees of diversity within the host society. Integration policies have had mixed results and vary by context, and a people's willingness to integrate or engage more politically is contingent on a variety of factors, including the political climate, the economic climate, and the degree to which a society exhibits or does not exhibit anti-immigrant sentiment. As Paret (2018) persuasively argues, economic uncertainty intensifies the relevance of national belonging, citizenship, and migration as significant terrains of collective struggle in the context of anti-immigrant nationalism.

While most scholars would claim that most migrants moving to cities are aware of their modest odds of finding work, when contrasted to the extremely limited opportunities in rural areas, the prospect of a potentially higher income trumps remaining in the village (Satterthwaite, 2007; Todaro, 1969). While cities may have a distinct way of life in the shape of an informal sector, for many new participants to the urban workforce, this remains uncertain. These newcomers work for modest family-owned businesses or establish their own businesses. Without formal jobs, Africa's cities will continue to rely heavily on the informal economy (Obeng-Odoom, 2011).

Village-city connections are critical for comprehending the nature and character of contemporary migration. Individuals' lives are shaped by moral and material imperatives, straddling many locations, and ultimately forming these links between them. While mobile communication, television, and various media all appeal to young people, the desire to migrate in search of adventure or a better life remains strong. As the majority

of respondents to this survey testified, moving is viewed as a means of advancement, and the appeal of modern metropolitan amenities continues to be strong.

Success in cities, particularly for newcomers, necessitates the collaboration of a diverse array of persons and institutions, but this is not always the case. Many people relocate to new areas with the assistance of friends or relatives. The informal support provided by these networks serves as a safety net for newcomers, particularly during their first few weeks or months in the city. Onward migration is significantly more likely when the prospective migrant has social support or ties in the destination country. In other words, relationships and socialities are not solely determined by where individuals live, but rather by the value and connections they may create in other parts of the world. This results in the formation of translocal social networks, which frequently serve as a catalyst for the emergence of new migration pathways between locales (Greiner & Sakdapolrak, 2013; Sinatti, 2008, 2018; Steinbrink, 2009).

Perhaps the most striking feature of these new modes of movement and sociospatial connectedness is the creation of new modes of sociality and interaction that are loosely dependent on geographic proximity. Communities form over enormous distances, without necessarily being based in a particular location, and are substantially facilitated by modern communication technologies. Given the diversity of trajectories and emic community ties, it is difficult to identify what is emerging. What is certain is that the foundations for contemporary territorially tied identities are becoming increasingly weak and collapsing. Migration is accelerating, as are the means of local and political engagement.

Conclusion

This dissertation examined contemporary African urban communities. The dramatic increase in urbanisation in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries necessitated in-depth

transdisciplinary studies, as evidenced by the volume of research produced in this area. This thesis contributes empirically and theoretically to the field of urban studies and migration in Africa by elaborating on the dynamic and ever-changing social modes observed in Africa's neighbourhoods. The collection of work examined two sides of the same coin.

The first two empirical chapters looked at the convivial types of local engagement while the second section looked at contentious modes of engagement. These examined the shifting dynamics of sociation, elaborating on the characteristics of urban spaces marked by rapid population turnover, heterogeneity, low levels of trust, interest, and disinterest in civic participation. Numerous implications arise as a result of the continent's increasing urbanisation, and this thesis examined both moments of cooperation and those of confrontation.

Chapters 2 provided a methodological manifesto, describing key study variables related to the study sites, participants' sociodemographic characteristics, their migration histories, their work in cities, and their future aspirations. In general, people continue to view migration as a means of advancement. These communities are demonstrating signs of stabilisation, even though the majority of participants have lived in the study neighbourhoods for less than eight years. Translocal connections to kin and friends in other locations are a visible and persistent trend, demonstrating that translocal social networks are a critical structure for bonding and bridging connections as people continue to migrate in search of better livelihoods. Most people, however, wish to retire in their communities of origin, a trend that highlights previous forms of migrations including labour migration.

In chapter four, I examined community engagement as a means of accumulating trust and thus social capital, and the findings indicate that while membership in community

associations remains low, the diverse forms of sociality that emerge underscore the point that, trust develops organically in some instances and even if observable it remains typically contrived. The motivation could be personal gain or the desire to maintain that gain in the future if they continue to live in that neighbourhood. Africa's cities are highly differentiated and polymorphic and continue to defy a singular encompassing theory. Contemporary urban conditions cannot be understood as a singular condition. Perhaps as research and data collection continue throughout a greater number of African cities, a more generalisable empirical reality will emerge.

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