Violent negative attitudes towards immigrants: an integration of micro-meso-macro perspectives

The South African Case

Tabita Slimmens 5909910

Mariëlle Lassche 5700140

Heleen Bruggink 5749239

Supervisor: Roosmarijn van Woerden

Contact Information

Development Geography

Tabita Slimmens

5909910

t.slimmens@students.uu.nl

Disciplinary Supervisor

Dr. Femke van Noorloos

h.j.vannoorloos@uu.nl

Cognitive- & Neurobiological Psychology

Mariëlle Lassche

5700140

m.m.lassche@students.uu.nl

Disciplinary Supervisor

Dr. David Terburg

d.terburg@uu.nl

Governance for Sustainable Development

Heleen Bruggink

5749239

h.m.bruggink@students.uu.nl

Disciplinary Supervisor

Msc Sandra van der Hel

s.c.vanderhel@uu.nl

Interdisciplinary Supervisor, Liberal Arts and Sciences

Msc MA Roosmarijn van Woerden

r.vanwoerden@uu.nl

Table of Contents

Abstract

This interdisciplinary research is about the adversarial relationship between migrants and locals in South Africa. The disciplines, Development Geography, Governance for Sustainable Development, and Cognitive & Neurobiological Psychology, each provide different insights about sub-topics based on an extensive literature review. Subsequently, these insights are integrated, using techniques developed by Repko & Szostak (2017). The aim of this research is to provide insights into the nature, and causes of the adversarial relationship between these groups. These insights will contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the research problem, which may ultimately serve as a tool for the improvement of associated policies. The overarching research question is as follows: *What is the influence of socio-economic inequality on the adversarial relation between migrants and locals in South Africa?* Socio-economic inequality is maintained by discrimination on a macro-level as a consequence of several policy-practice gaps. In addition, resource scarcities and the inflow of international migrants strengthen -the feeling of- competition within the low socio-economic class in South Africa. Resulting from these types of competition, negative attitudes towards migrants are formed, leading to discrimination on a micro-level. Ultimately, these processes reinforce the adversarial relationship between migrants and locals.

Keywords: socio-economic inequality, discrimination, resource scarcity, competition, intergroup categorisation, threat

Introduction

According to estimations of the World Bank, South Africa is the world's most economically unequal country. The Gini Index was 63% in 2014, which has been the highest percentage measured thus far (World Bank, n.d.). The Gini index may be explained as "a well-known direct measure of the degree of distributional inequality in income or consumption". It explains the cumulative distribution of income or consumption (represented by the Lorenz curve) and estimates the extent to which it deviates from perfect equality (Chappelow, 2019). (International Labour Office, 2016). Another deeply entrenched problem of which South Africa suffers are the brittle relations between different racial subgroups within the country. Discriminatory attitudes and practices continue to manifest themselves against a new victim: 'The Foreigner' (Graf, 2011). The results of these attitudes and practices are, looting of foreign-owned shops, violence, and even deaths (Burke, 2019). The research question answered in this interdisciplinary paper is as follows: *What is the influence of socio-economic inequality on the adversarial relation between migrants and locals in South Africa?*

Several factors have been studied with the aim of finding an unambiguous explanation for the conflictual relation between migrants and locals in South Africa. However, no univocal nor satisfying explanation has been yielded to date. Yet, the conflictual situation between groups in South Africa remains a contemporary social problem. Several fundamental motivations and influences underlie the surface of the conflict; therefore, the problem requires a multilateral approach in which various disciplinary perspectives need to be included.

The extent to which socio-economic (in)equalities are present in particular social groups— on a local, regional or national scale—may be explained by the way governance is organised. Policy frameworks, as a product of this organisation, are developed with the aim to address specific societal issues. From a Governance for Sustainable Development (GSD) perspective, socio-economic (in)equalities are the result of (in)effective governance. By analysing and evaluating policies addressing these issues, underlying causes and factors may be identified. These factors might provide an explanation for the maintaining of these inequalities. Therefore, the sub-question is as follows: *What are the determining factors leading to a discrepancy between environmental justice as a policy objective and its implementation in practice in South Africa, and Johannesburg specifically?*

Insights within the historical context of migration flows may offer an explanation for the current relationship between migrants and locals. The consequences of the arrival of international migrants, and the socio-economic circumstances in which they reside, may explain developmental processes that influence the adversarial intergroup relations. The relevant sub-question is as follows: *What is the influence of migration flows from Mozambique and Zimbabwe, on social and economic development in South Africa?* The discipline Development Geography (DG), provides a perspective on spatial processes leading to socio-economic inequality in South Africa.

Acquisition of insights within the formation process of negative intergroup attitudes is necessary. By this, in-depth knowledge within the (social) causes of conflictual relations between different groups may be obtained. The fundamental causes of human behavior are used as a starting-point. Processes within the human brain may be regarded as these fundamental causes of human behavior and actions (BRON). Therefore, it is important to study the formation of negative attitudes from a cognitive, neuroscientific perspective. In this, the central research question will be: *What are the underlying cognitive and affective processes in the formation of negative, hostile attitudes towards out-group members?*

The central aim of this study is to obtain insights within the nature of, and several factors involved in the conflictual situation among different social groups in South Africa. These insights may be applied in the development of policy strategies, which may be used to grasp at an early stage on relevant factors and thereby prevent the potential outbreak of a conflict situation.

1. Development Geography

International migration is evolving, and there is an increase in countries experiencing positive or negative consequences of migration flows (Hunvgwe, 2013). South Africa is one of those countries. Development Geography (DG) studies migration flows, and the influence on sending and receiving countries, from a developmental perspective. In order to understand the relationships between international migrants and locals in South Africa, it is important to understand migration, and the causes it may bring for societies. The case of South Africa is therefore particularly suitable for analyses by a DG's perspective.

Throughout South Africa's history, migration has been an important theme. During colonization, many Europeans permanently migrated to South Africa (Dinbabo & Nyasulu, 2015). By the end of the apartheid regime in 1994, migration towards South Africa began to increase (Schuerkens, 2005), and recently, legal international migrant flows have been increasing rapidly. Especially migration from less developed countries has been expanding (United Nations, 2019). The increasing flow of migrants may bring complications to South Africa. South Africa is dealing with several challenges such as high unemployment rates, poverty and growing inequalities (Freemantle & Misago, 2014), and a continuing increase of migration flows may reinforce these challenges.

The decision to migrate depends on the interrelationship of multiple contextual factors. Political instability, environmental change and economic distress are some examples of push factors for people to migrate (Kiwanuka & Monson, 2009). Moreover, South Africa has a stable economy compared to a lot of other countries in the region, including high living standards with relatively low costs, an attractive climate for investing and better state financing of social services (Dinbabo & Nyasulu, 2015). Migration flows often generate social, economic and political challenges for the receiving country. It is therefore critical to identify how substantial migrant flows impact the situation in South Africa. This paper focuses on the consequences of immigration on social and economic development in South Africa. The research question discussed here is: *What is the relation between migration flows from Mozambique and Zimbabwe, and social and economic development in South Africa?*

The first section of the paper focuses on the historical context of migration flows from Mozambique and Zimbabwe to South Africa. This study focuses on these two countries, since a quarter of South Africa's immigrants originate from these countries. In order to answer the research question it is important to understand why people decide to move to South Africa, which is why it will contain an analysis of the push and pull factors contributing to migration. The second section of the paper embarks on the consequences of migration flows on economic and social factors in South Africa. Gauteng will be used as a case study, since most migrants settle in this province of South Africa. Using a database with information on social and economic factors, people originating from Gauteng and international migrants will be compared. This is done in order to understand the influence of migration flows on the social and economic situation in Gauteng. Finally, xenophobia in South Africa is being discussed. Xenophobia is expressed within social society, and may find its cause and effects within the social and economic structure of South Africa. The role of the South African government will be central in this section.

❖ **1.1 Historical context of migration flows to South Africa**

In order to understand the impact of migration flows on the social and economic situation in South Africa, it is important to understand the history of migration flows. Why did people migrate, what are the push and pull factors? In this section a historical context of migration from Mozambique and Zimbabwe to South Africa is provided.

Although exact numbers are unknown, the United Nations (2019) estimates that the legal international migrant stock in South Africa increased from 1.2 million in 1990, to 4.2 million in 2019. Important to note is that this is an estimation of legal migrants, there is also a substantial unidentified flow of illegal migrants (United Nations, 2019). A lot of migrants in South Africa originate from neighboring countries. According to the United Nations estimations, the top 5 indicating number of migrants per country of origin is: 1) Mozambique, 2) Zimbabwe, 3) Lesotho, 4) Namibia and 5) the United Kingdom (United Nations, 2019).

Significant migration to South Africa started during the colonial period, in which migration was mainly facilitated to satisfy colonial obligations (Hungwe, 2013). In this time, mostly Europeans sought permanent residency in South Africa. Later on, this changed to migrant flows

from especially central and southern Africa (Hungwe, 2013). As a result of the discovery of gold, the mining industry in South Africa expanded. Since the South African work force could not satisfy the supply of work in goldmines, immigration from neighboring countries was encouraged. Consequently, the Native Labour Department was founded in 1893 (Hungwe, 2013). This department focused on acquiring mineworkers from Mozambique. The Native Labour Department eventually led to the establishment of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WNLA) in 1900. The WNLA's main objective was getting labour forces from other countries than Mozambique, such as Zimbabwe (Hungwe, 2013).

During the Apartheid regime, a racially-oriented system of immigration was implemented, in which black Africans were restricted from entering South Africa (Dinbabo & Nyasulu, 2015). White immigrants escaping a more uncertain political situation in other Sub-Saharan countries, received citizenship between 1960 and 1980. Black Africans were excluded from acquiring temporary or permanent residency (Dinbabo & Nyasulu, 2015). Since 1990, migration towards South Africa changed drastically (Crush & Williams, 2010). After the fall of the apartheid regime in 1994, the African National Congress (ANC) led-government tried to dismantle the migrant labour system (Crush & Williams, 2010). The government did so, by signing bilateral agreements and implementing three major amnesties to foreigners (Hungwe, 2013). Those included a miners amnesty in 1995, the amnesty for SADC nationals in 1996, and the amnesty offered to Mozambican refugees for a permanent residence (Hungwe, 2013). What followed was an increase in immigration from Mozambique and other neighboring countries (Schuerkens, 2005). Shortly after, due to mine closures and retrenchments, demand in mine labour decreased (Kok et al., 2006). The South African gold mining industry encountered a decline of ore reserves, stagnation of gold prices and a rising of costs (Crush & Williams, 2010). Migration flows did not decrease, a demand for legal mining forces did. Permanent residence was only given to people working in mines, thus an increase in illegal migration followed (Hungwe, 2013). In 1987, 477.000 migrants were employed in the minefields. By 2001, only 207.00 migrants worked in the mining industry (Crush & Williams, 2010).

There was a huge loss in employment for a lot of migrants (Crush & Williams, 2010). Yet, the amount of Mozambican migrants employed in South African mines increased between 1990 and 2000 (Collinson, Tollman, Kahn & Clark; 2016). In the early 90s, migrants from Mozambique,

who fled the ongoing civil war, were granted refugee status (Collinson et al., 2016). Migrants who move because of conflict and who are desperate to find a job in order to survive, may accept lower wages, are willing to work for long hours and are willing to work in harsh conditions (Rusinga, Maposa & Tobias; 2012). Companies in South Africa deliberately hired more vulnerable workers, like Mozambicans, because of this (Crush & Williams, 2010).

After 1990 Zimbabwe was hit by an economic crisis (Hungwe, 2013). In combination with growing political unrest, this leads to an increase of migrants from Zimbabwe to South Africa. Unskilled impoverished migrants from Zimbabwe, tended to migrate illegally to bypass costs for migrating (Hungwe, 2013). In contrast to Mozambique, Zimbabwe and South Africa did not have bilateral agreements regarding migrants until 2004. In the agreement of 2004, called Memorandum of Understanding, the price of migration went down, because workers from Zimbabwe could get emergency travel documents. These agreements got more extensive in 2010, when Zimbabwe and South Africa collaborated to provide legal stay for Zimbabweans for business, work and study permits (Hungwe, 2013).

Poverty, unemployment and the scarcity of basic commodities are push factors for both Mozambicans and Zimbabweans (Kiwanuka & Monson, 2009). South Africa's higher living standard, lower cost of living, relatively stable economy and better state funding of social services, are the main pull factors for migrating to South Africa (Dinbabo & Nyasulu, 2015).

❖ 1.2 The social and economic situation in South Africa

The first section of this research elaborated on reasons why migrants moved to South Africa from a historical perspective. These flows of migrants have an impact on South Africa. This section will firstly provide an overview of where most of the immigrants settle. Secondly, the impact on the social and economic situation in South Africa will be examined, in terms of urbanisation, dwelling type and employment. These are important socio-economic factors, where the division between migrants and locals can be observed. Lastly, the changes in socio-economic conditions that occurred from 1990 until now will be explained. This time span is chosen because, as mentioned before, the biggest migrant flows occurred after 1994, when the Apartheid regime fell. The focus

of this part of the research is on Gauteng, since this is the largest receiving province of South Africa (Kok & Collinson, 2006). Furthermore, the possible role of international migrants on the changes in the social and economic situation in South Africa is being explored.

An extensive number of migrants ended up working in the lower economic class: mining and agricultural sector (Njwambe, Cocks & Vetter; 2019). At the end of the twentieth century however, there was a period of impasse for many mines in South Africa (Kok et al., 2006). People started migrating to urban areas to find work (World Bank, 2018). From the 1990s onwards, the rural population in South Africa began to decline at a quicker rate than in the decades before, as displayed in graph 1.1 (World Bank, 2018). As a consequence of the decline in employment opportunities in mines and farms, the South African economy had to restructure.
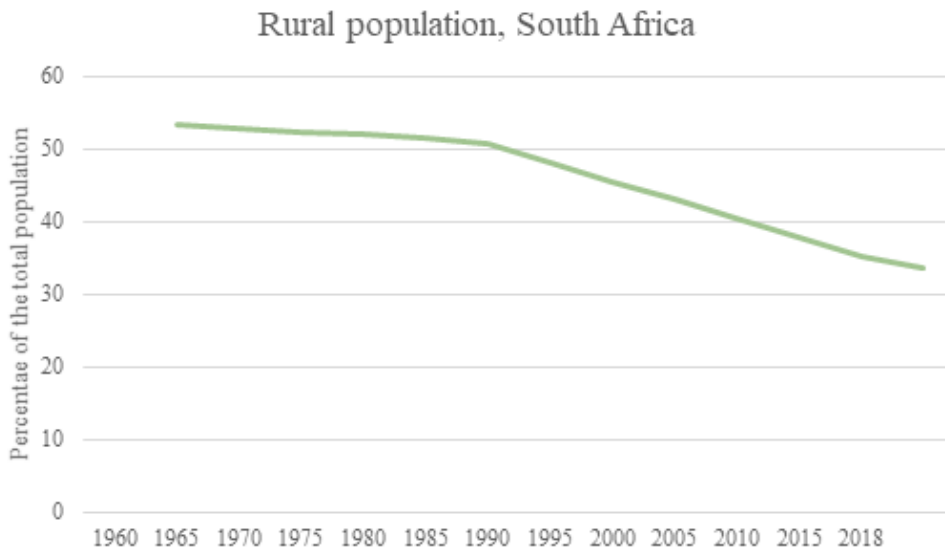
Graph 1.1: Percentage rural population of total population in South Africa, source: World Bank, 2018.

Migration in South Africa bears an important urban dimension (World Bank Group, 2018). Most of the international migrants in South Africa are located in Gauteng, where Johannesburg is located (Kok & Collinson, 2006). Gauteng is South Africa's economic center and is highly urbanized (WBG, 2018). The province is attractive for migrants due to the economic opportunities (WBG, 2018). According to surveys in 2002 and 2003, around 25 percent of people living in Johannesburg were international migrants (Vearey, 2008; and Greenburg & Polzer, 2008). Moreover, there has been an increasing movement of international migrants into townships and

informal settlements (Peberdy, 2018). When comparing residency of locals to international migrants, a clear disparity comes to light. More than half of international migrants do not live in a house, whereas more than 80 percent of local Gauteng residents appear to own a house (Gauteng City-Region Observatory, 2013). This is displayed in graph 1.2. International migrants are also more likely to end up in informal settlements (GCRO, 2013). Research showed that in 2013, 19,8 percent of international migrants lived in informal settlements, compared to 8,4 percent of people that are born in Gauteng (GCRO, 2013).

Dwelling type in Gauteng (% of all dwellings)
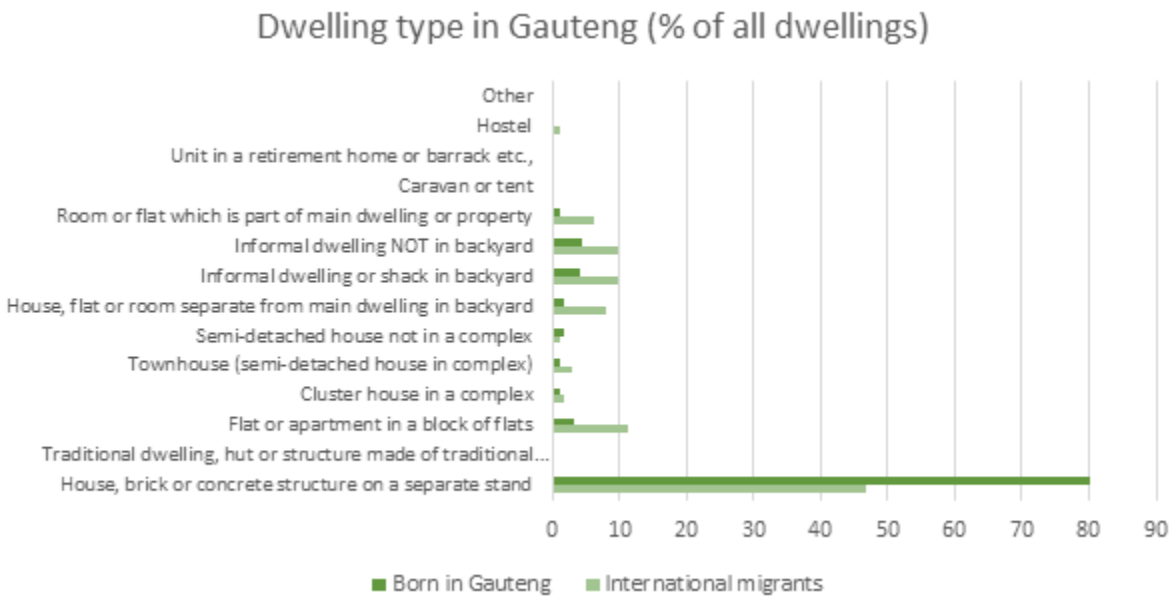
Graph 1.2: Dwelling type in Gauteng in percentage. Source: GCRO, 2013.

The massive reduction of jobs in rural areas, mainly in the unskilled and semi-skilled sector, led to people moving into towns and cities, yet they did not possess the competencies or the required skills to get a job in the cities (Kok et al., 2006). High unemployment rates, are reinforced by this process, and have been fluctuating since 1991 between 22 and 34 percent (World Bank, 2019). This has been displayed in graph 1.3. In addition, cities like Johannesburg are faced with the challenge of urban governance, since they struggle to supply enough work for the demand of labour (Vearey, 2008).
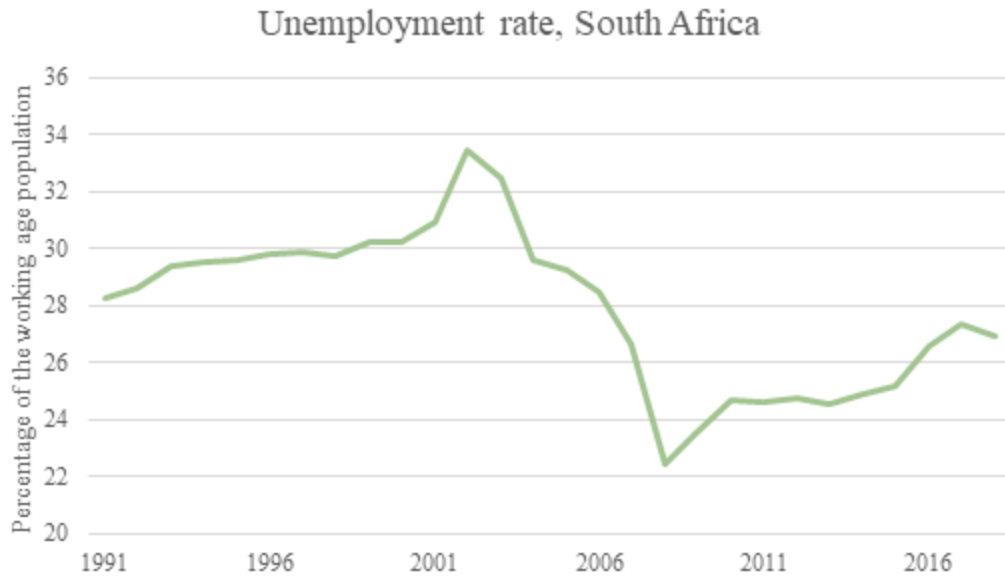
Graph 1.3: Unemployment rate in South Africa, source: World Bank, 2019.

Migrants from Mozambique and Zimbabwe are mainly employed in the lower economic class (Crush et al., 2017; Lubkemann, 2000). The self-employed informal trading sector has been increasing since 1990 (Kiwanuka & Monson, 2009; and Muanamoha et al., 2019). Research conducted by Crush et al. (2017) showed that 20 to 30 percent of Zimbabwean migrants work in the informal sector in South Africa. Mozambican migrants are increasingly investing in the informal sector as well, especially in townships (Lubkemann, 2000).

As displayed in graph 1.4, the division of labour between international migrants and people born in Gauteng show significant differences (GCRO, 2013). More than a quarter of international migrants say to be working in informal households, which is 14 percent more than people born in Gauteng (GCRO, 2013). Most people born in Gauteng are either working in the public sector/ government, private household, or community, social and personal services. The biggest divide is between public and government sector: only 3,2 percent of international migrants is employed in this sector. There is a convincingly larger number of international migrants employed in the informal sector then people born in Gauteng: 37,9 percent for the former, and only 15,9 percent for the latter (GCRO, 2013).

Employment per sector in Gauteng (% of the labour force)
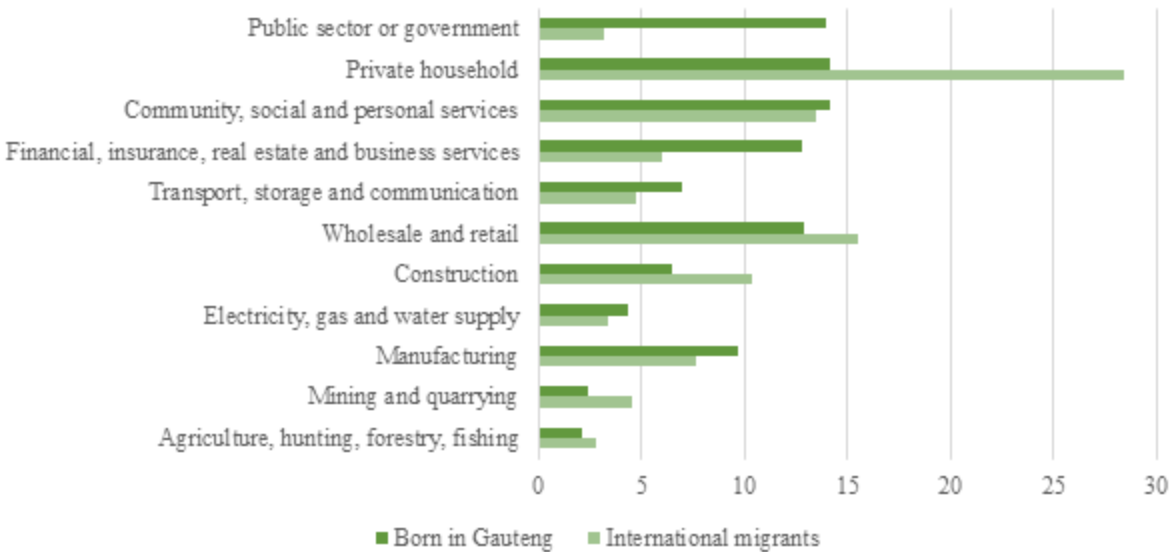
Graph 1.4: Employment per sector in Gauteng, percentage of the total labour force. Source: GCRO, 2013.

International migrants are more likely than South Africans to work in the informal sector (WBG, 2018). This may be explained due to their need to survive, as mentioned by Peberdy (2000). According to his research, South Africans get preferred for jobs in the formal sector. Therefore, competition in the formal sector gets harder for immigrants, forcing them to get a job in the informal sector in order to make a living (Peberdy, 2000). Yet, the informal sector may be the source for poor social protection, such as no access to "pension or retirement funds, medical insurance or coverage and paid annual leave" (WBG, 2018). In most cases the informal sector is a survival strategy instead of an engine for growth (Chopra & Sanders, 2004). This leaves many immigrants in a vulnerable and insecure position.

The restructuring of the South African economy has led to urbanization, resulting in higher rates of (unskilled) work seeking migrants and locals in urban areas. Cities are congested with people fighting for work opportunities, in an environment of high unemployment rates. Especially international migrants are forced to seek work in the informal sector, leading to low social protection and uncertainties.

❖ **1.3 Xenophobia in South Africa**

South Africa has been dealing with migrations flows, high unemployment rates and inequality for many years. In this final paragraph consequences of constant instability in South Africa is discussed. Migration led to a dynamic and diverse environment in South Africa. The country is known for its multiculturalism. This may bring challenges, however, especially for minorities. Discrimination, social exclusion and violence are part of the South African reaction to migrants (Crush et al., 2017). According to Ray & Preston (2009), discrimination can be defined as "a perception of unfair treatment that individuals attribute to the same identity markers". Identity markers can be attributed to specific traits of "ethnicity, culture, race, skin, colour, language, accent or religion" (Ray & Preston, 2009). In South Africa, immigrants are discriminated: they are blamed by locals for taking jobs, being a danger for social cohesion, and being responsible for high crime rates (Crush & Williams, 2018). In this paragraph xenophobia in South Africa is analysed, to get a better overview of the relationship between migration and social and economic development in South Africa.

Whilst there is no general consensus in the academic debate concerning xenophobia in South Africa, it seems to be a result from a complicated accumulation of political unrest, economic distress and social inequalities (Gordon & Maharaj, 2015). After the fall of the Apartheid regime, governmental actions focused on the creation of social cohesion and intergroup relations. However, the strong racial divide created during the colonial and the Apartheid era, has a persisting influence on social inequality in the country (Gordon & Maharaj, 2015). The constant increase of migrants since the 1990s brought more cultural diversity to South Africa, as well as competition for labour in the lower socio-economic class (Kiwanuka & Monson, 2009). This increase of competition resulted from a combination of factors, including high unemployment rates, and minimal or no support from government in guiding migration flows or supporting people in finding jobs (Kiwanuka & Monson, 2009; Parliamentary Joint Committee, 2015; Muanamoha et al., 2019). As elaborated on in paragraph 2, migrants would do a lot to get a job (Peberdy, 2000). Immigrants accepted low-income jobs under harsh conditions, which were previously held by locals of the low social-economic class. This made it more difficult– and some say unfair – to compete on the labour market for locals (Rusinga, Maposa & Tobas, 2012). This motivated South Africans in blaming foreigners for taking their jobs.

These xenophobic sentiments continued to fester. Several attacks occurred, of which the ones in May 2008 and April 2015 were considerably the largest (Dibabo & Nyasulu, 2015). The attacks were directed at small-scale businesses, mainly owned by Zimbabwean and Mozambican immigrants who were trying to make a living in the urban informal sector (Dinbabo & Nyasulu, 2015; Freeman, 2017; and, Crush et al., 2017). The shops were destroyed by locals across several cities (Crush et al., 2017). Although these xenophobic attacks in South Africa have been widely discussed in the academic world, the South African government does not explicitly mention xenophobia in official releases after the attacks in 2015 (Crush et al., 2017). Yet, the government implemented the Inter-Ministerial Committee on Migration (IMC) on the 22nd of April 2015 (Parliamentary Joint Committee, 2015). This committee was implemented to regulate migration, and promote the safe coexistence of migrants and locals. In response to the attacks, Operation Fiela-Reclaim was launched by the committee (PJC, 2015). This operation was put in motion to eliminate criminality in the country, by clearing communities of crime and criminals to ensure that all people in South Africa feel safe (Naicker, 2016). However, much criticism followed when it became apparent that out of 41,000 arrests made at the end of 2015, most of them were immigrants (Crush et al., 2017). More than 10,000 immigrants got deported during Operation Fiela, of which most were Zimbabwean and Mozambican (Crush et al., 2017).

In addition to the implementation of the IMC, a report was composed by the Ad Hoc Joint Committee on probing violence against foreign nationals in November 2015 (PJC, 2015). The conclusion of the report is that in the largest parts of South Africa, people show no violence targeting immigrants. However, the Committee does admit that the framework for improving social cohesion and integration is inadequate, especially in urban areas (PJC, 2015). The conclusion of the Committee is formulated as if violence targeted at immigrants is minimally present nor a major problem in South Africa (Crush et al., 2017). This conclusion, however, might be oversimplified. As mentioned in paragraph 2, estimates show that around a quarter of Johannesburg's residents are immigrants (Vearey, 2008). Another research shows, that in 2013 around 15 percent of Gauteng's population was immigrant (GCRO, 2013). Targeting might not consciously be at immigrants, in reality they are. Moreover, the South African government agrees with locals that migrants create unfair competition (Crush et al., 2017). The government thus seems to avoid the fact that the attacks are xenophobic, however there is a need to address these attacks in this framework.

South Africa seems to be trapped in a liberal paradox. This theory has been applied to 'core' liberal states in America and Europe (Ghosh, 2003, p.96). Normally, developed states only periodically have an interest in admitting large numbers of foreigners. This depends on the business cycles in which the states are present (Ghosh, 2003, p.96). Developing states almost always have an incentive to export surplus populations, whereas developed states only periodically have an interest in admitting large numbers of foreign workers. Migration would have been something that is in the interest of the economy. However, evidence shows that the business cycles are broken through the continuing inflow of migrants (Ghosh, 2003, p.96). I argue that the same is happening in South Africa: rates of migration have been rising continuously since 1990 (United Nations, 2019). South Africa is a liberal democratic state, trying to maintain a competitive advantage in the current capitalist world-economy (Hollifield, 2004). In order to do so, both economy and society have been open to trade, investment and migration (Hollifield, 2004). South Africa is keeping its borders open for migrants as it provides social and economic benefits, it may reduce wages and maintain a flexible labour market. This is however contradicting the interests of the poorer population in the country. For them this creates more competition, as most migrants are working in the same socio-economic class (Hungwe, 2013). South Africa seems trapped in a liberal paradox, in which a lot of pressure is put on the low social economic class. This expresses itself in xenophobic attacks.

❖ 1.4 Conclusion

South Africa has a long and complicated history regarding immigration. Push factors for people to leave their home country are mostly political instability and economic distress (Kiwanuka & Monson, 2009). Pull factors for migrants to enter South Africa are employment opportunities and political stability (Dinbabo & Nyasulu, 2015). Since 1990 South Africa has been urbanizing, and especially metropole regions like the province of Gauteng attracts a lot of migrants (WBG, 2018). In this chapter it is tried to answer the following question: *What is the relation between migration flows from Mozambique and Zimbabwe, and social and economic development in South Africa?*

Immigrants from Mozambique and Zimbabwe have had a considerable role in fulfilling the need of employment in the mining sector before 1990 (Hungwe, 2013). After the restructuring of

the South African economy, unemployment raised competition in cities. In the low socio-economic class, immigrants sought work in the informal sector (Peberdy, 2018). This forced them to accept living conditions lacking social security (Peberdy, 2018). In an environment with already high competition, locals often blame migrants for being unfair competition (Rusinga, Maposa & Tobas, 2012). The economic unstable conditions of South Africa, seem to have a negative influence on social stability within the country. The South African government has been struggling with eliminating violence against foreigners, as the violence seems to be an expression of an accumulation of instability within the social and economic composition of South Africa. Development in South Africa, within the low socio-economic class, seems to be in an impasse. Although, immigrants contribute to the South African economy by working, they get blamed for social and economic instability.

❖ **1.5 Discussion**

The literature research done in this chapter, only described part of the relationship between immigrants and social and economic development in South Africa. Namely, within the scope of this study, not all potentially involved factors could be examined. The main focus has been on the relationship between migrants and locals, since this was of most relevance for the overarching interdisciplinary research about socio-economic inequality and the influence on the adversarial relationship between locals and migrants. Further research may explore a more specific subject, for example focusing on specific economic or social factors, in order to truly understand the complex relationship between immigrant and South Africa's development. In addition, this paper tried to focus on two migration flows. However all of them may be important because they bear a different dimension.

Another limitation of this research is the lack of information about illegal migration flows. Estimates are done that a lot of people enter South Africa illegally. This probably has a considerable role on social and economic development in South Africa.

A very topic where this research could not elaborate on, is the role of the government on socio-economic development in South Africa. In the last paragraph, the role of the government after the xenophobic attacks has been discussed. However, the government has a more extensive role in the arrival of immigrants and the consequences for their integration.

2. Governance for Sustainable Development

The urgency to address anthropogenic-induced climate change is acknowledged widely within several academic disciplines. Its effects on social, economic, and environmental dimensions of today's societies are significant, and are estimated to increase even more. South Africa, as a developing country, is one of many vulnerable places that is likely to be affected by these changes. For example, since 2015, South Africa is dealing with serious water scarcity, and is—and will be—experiencing other significant water-related problems in the near future. Problems such as extreme storms, altering precipitation patterns, soil erosion, and the effects of growing evaporation and increasing temperatures on aquatic systems (Department of Environmental Affairs, 2017). These issues will consequently result in more extreme sorts of resource deficiencies, health and security issues, and other related risks. However, these issues and their consequences are proven to be unequally distributed throughout different subgroups within societies (Reese & Jacob, 2015; Van der Merwe & Patel, 2005; Patel, 2009).

In the post-1994 period, South Africa implemented major reforms concerning legislation and policies "aimed at the democratisation of society and an explicit commitment to reversing injustices in all its forms" (Patel, 2009). The Bill of Rights of The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, signed in 1996, is the product and embodiment of justice and democratic objectives. Furthermore, the growing role of environmental rights was enshrined in this new constitution and seen as a precondition for environmental justice (Dixon & Ramutsindela, 2006). Section 24 of the constitution is the embodiment of "the fundamental principle of environmental justice" (Ibid.):

"Everyone has the right—
    (a) to an environment that is not harmful to their health or wellbeing; and
    (b) to have the environment protected, for the benefit of present and future generations, through reasonable legislative and other measures that—
        (i) prevent pollution and ecological degradation;
        (ii) promote conservation; and
        (iii) secure ecologically sustainable development and use of natural resources while promoting justifiable economic and social development" (South African Constitution: section 24, 1996)

These legally established aspirations are part of a broader movement: *environmental justice*. Environmental justice, as stated by van Dixon and Ramutsindela (2016), is fundamentally about the "fair treatment and meaningful involvement of all people—regardless of race, colour, national origin or income—in the development, implementation and enforcement of environmental laws". The reconstruction of environmental law and South Africa's international participation over the past 10 years, "projects an image of a country making significant advances in addressing questions of environmental justice" (Patel, 2009). In reality, this proves more difficult.

The overall aim of this chapter is to propose a fitting conceptual framework of notions on environmental justice in policy and practice, and its implementation in practice in South Africa. This leads to the following sub-question:

What are the determining factors leading to a discrepancy between environmental justice as a policy objective and its implementation in practice in South Africa, and Johannesburg specifically?

To answer this question, this research is divided into two sections. Firstly, the concept of environmental justice is elucidated and corresponding relationships are clarified. From this, a proposed conceptual framework follows. Secondly, the developed conceptual framework is used to make evaluative judgements about environmental justice as a policy objective and its implementation in practice in South Africa and, on a local scale, Johannesburg. This section will start with a brief history of the development of the environmental justice movement in South Africa. Subsequently, the proposed framework is applied to the case of South Africa. Lastly, possible causes for the policy-practice gap are examined.

❖ **2.1 Conceptual Framework**

This section elaborates on the definition of *environmental justice* drawing on its history, conceptual barriers and recurring conceptual aspects. The conceptual aspects of distributive and procedural justice are operationalised and their policy and practical implications are explained. The aim of this section is to create a framework for the evaluation of environmental justice as a policy objective and its implementation in practice.

2.1.1 Conceptualization environmental justice: history, barriers and recurring aspects

Around 1980, the concept of environmental justice emerged in the United States as a "language and a frame for making normative claims about the relationship between environment and social difference" (Walker, 2012). Over the years, the concept of environmental justice is increasingly being used and redefined—on a global as well as local scale—in the academic and political arena (Ibid.). However, scholars have had some issues with defining the concept of environmental justice (Holifield, 2001; Walker, 2012; McDonald, 2004; Schlosberg, 2017). Environmental justice—or on the contrary, *in*justice—is not an unequivocal concept. Walker (2012) argues that there is not one agreed upon universal definition of environmental justice in the "academic, activist and policy literatures", but rather numerous alternative definitions are being used parallel.

Pursuing a fixed, unifying and universal definition of concepts such as environmental justice and racism is, according to Holifield (2001), misplaced. He points out that individuals have contrasting understandings of these concepts due to different "geographic, historical, political, and institutional contexts" (Ibid.). Holifield (2001) emphasizes that the lack of a comprehensive definition of these concepts is not an obstacle. The variance of interpretations can be used for improving current research, and may eventually lead to better dialogue and deliberation (Holifield, 2001; Walker, 2012). Though, as Holifield (2001) argues, it is important that "we must acknowledge that interpretations of the terms have inevitable political implications". Walker (2012) also states that there is no unifying framework of environmental justice, by stating that the concept is "situated and contextual" and based on "the circumstances of time and place". He also emphasizes the political nature of the concept justice, and "politics involves disagreement, competing perspectives and active work to persuade others of your point of view" (Ibid.)

Nonetheless, there are several core conceptual aspects of environmental justice scholars do agree on. Firstly, several academics highlight the anthropogenic orientation of the concept (Patel, 2009; Walker, 2012; McDonald, 2004). Environmental justice is about justice to people, rather than justice to ecology (Walker, 2012; McDonald, 2004). Secondly, there is consensus about the distributional relation between environmental quality and various social groups (Patel, 2009; Reese and Jacob, 2015; Walker, 2012; Schlosberg, 2017). Reese and Jacob (2015) argue that environmental justice is fundamentally about "a set of actions that is concerned with the fair distribution of environmental burdens and benefits aspiring to act on behalf of the disadvantaged".

The "disadvantaged" are usually distinguished by income, colour, gender, nationality, or race. This type of justice is referred to as "*distributive justice"* which ought to ensure "equity in the distribution of environmental [benefits and] risks" (Schlosberg, 2017). However, environmental justice is about more than equity in the distribution of environmental burdens and benefits. "*Procedural justice*" and "*justice as recognition*" (Walker, 2012) are as well critical issues that need to be addressed (Reese & Jacob, 2015; Schlosberg, 2017; Holifield, 2001). Where procedural justice is about participation of the affected in the political decision-making process and its management, justice as recognition is about acknowledging identity and "the diversity of the participant and experiences in affected communities" (Schlosberg, 2017). Concerns about distribution, participation and recognition construct the fundamental aspects of justice evaluation (Reese and Jacob, 2015; Holifield, 2001) . It must be stressed that these three conceptions of justice are not isolated entities, but are often closely linked.

The main focus of this research will be on the concepts of distributive and procedural justice. It should be noted that the conception of justice as recognition is not considered as inferior, but for the sake of this research, acknowledged as interlinked with distributive and procedural justice.

2.1.2 Operationalisation

The former mentioned conceptions of justice, distribution and participation, will be operationalised in this section—see table 2.1. Furthermore, its implications for policy and practice need to be clarified. Since no such overall and unifying framework exist in contemporary academic literature, one will be constructed by integrating multiple studies, theories and insights.

Distributive justice

There are various different theories on distributive justice. While some emphasize an "impartial, proceduralist approach", others follow more "substantive and consequentialist theories" (Schlosberg, 2007).The former is fundamentally about achieving consensus about the rules that are set to produce distributive justice, and the latter is about the outcomes of these distributive processes or "substantive notions that flow from a particular idea of what a good society should look like" (Ibid.).

Distributional justice in policy is about "the rules that govern a just distribution of social, political, and economic goods and bads" (Ibid.). 'The rules' are defined as the presence of policies that ensure and pursue basic human needs and wellbeing. These kind of policies are part of the "brown" environmental agenda. The brown environmental agenda focuses on social issues including "imbalances in patterns of production and consumption resulting in unequal access to opportunities, resources and services" and "the fulfilment of basic human needs such as food, housing, medical facilities, sanitation infrastructure, waste management, intra-generational equity, and quality of life" (Du Plessis, 2015).

It should be noted that there are multiple indicators for distributive justice policies. In this research, the focus will be on three key services: water and sanitation, housing, and electricity. These services function, as identified in academic literature, as basic instruments and katalysators for establishing overall "environmental health, urban economic growth and social relations" (Beall, Crankshaw & Parnell, 2000). *Distributional justice in practice* is operationalised as the actual access to water and sanitation, housing, and electricity.

Procedural justice

As mentioned in section 1.1.1, procedural justice is about participation of the affected in the political decision-making process and its management. Preconditions—operationalised in terms of policy characteristics—are identified in order to make evaluative statements about 'procedural just policies'. It should be noted that there are several instruments that could indicate procedural just policies. However, this research focuses on the presence of a public participation strategies, as an indicator for procedural justice as a policy objective. Public participation is defined by the Legislative Sector of South Africa (2013) as, "the process by which Parliament and provincial legislatures consult with the people and interested or affected individuals, organisations and government entities before making a decision". Procedural justice in practice is therefore operationalised as the outcome of the process as described above—referred to as meaningful participation.

	Definition	Policy Instrument	Practice
Distributional justice	"Equity in the distribution of environmental [benefits and] risks" (Schlosberg, 2017)	Presence of a Brown Agenda	Access to water, housing, sanitation and electricity
Procedural justice	Participation of the affected in the political decision-making process and its management	Presence of Public Participation strategies	Meaningful public participation

Table 2.1: Overview operationalisation of distributional and procedural justice.

❖ 2.2 The South African Case: applying the framework

The abovementioned conceptual framework will be projected on the case study of South Africa. Firstly, this section elaborates on South Africa's history and its implications for the development of the environmental justice movement. Thereafter, the 'distributive just' policies and practices in South Africa will be analysed using the proposed conceptual framework. For analysing the practical implementation, a municipal level is applied, by using the City of Johannesburg as a case—further referred to as Johannesburg. Procedural justice will be evaluated in the same manner. Finally, this leads to an attempt to understand the gap between policy and practice. The aim of this section is to understand environmental justice as a policy objective and its implementation in practice in South Africa.

2.2.1 Historical Context: Environmental Justice in South Africa

"The history of environmental policy in South Africa is a cruel and perverse one" (McDonald, 2004). During the Apartheid, thousands of indigenous South Africans were

involuntary moved and denied access to highly needed resources—such as water and food—and shelter, while an enormous amount of money was spent on the preservation of flora and fauna in whites-only national parks (McDonald, 2004; Debbané & Keil, 2004; Patel, 2009). During this era, as McDonald (2004) argues, environmental issues were considered as irrelevant compared to the anti-apartheid struggle. Environmental policy was seen as another instrument of racially based oppression (Ibid.)

In the early 1990s, the environmental justice movement developed parallel with the "collapse of the apartheid state" (Debbané & Keil, 2004). South Africa's policy objectives changed radically, and consequently resulted in the redefinition and rethinking of the environment and associated issues (Debbané & Keil, 2004; McDonald, 2004). This new definition included previously subordinated environments—mainly the livelihoods of black South Africans— "bringing into sharp focus the racially spatialised iniquitous social and environmental relations steeped in colonial and apartheid history" (Debbané & Keil, 2004). The environmental justice movement in South Africa is primary focussed on "quality of life issues" and inherently related to "social transformation", due to South Africa's historical legacy which is defined by racial oppression and exclusion, out of which the movement emerged (Ibid.). Parallel to the upcoming of environmental justice as grassroot movements; the ideas, objectives and terminology of environmental justice were included by the South African government within their constitutional and policy framework (Ibid.).

Similar to the rest of South Africa, the City of Johannesburg was provided the opportunity to redefine and rethink its environmental planning and policy practices, yet contemporary Johannesburg is still dealing with one of the largest discrepancies between the rich and poor. South Africa's urban areas are characterised by a physical appearance of enormous disparity in living conditions between the poor—shack dwellers living in townships—and the wealthy living in suburbs (Beall, Crankshaw & Parnell, 2014).

2.2.2 Distributive Justice in Policy and Practice: South Africa

As elaborated on in the above section, the presence of a policy framework governing the right to housing, electricity, water and sanitation operates as an indicator for distributive justice in policy. As stated in a report on access to water and sanitation by the South African Human Rights Commission (2014), "South Africa has one of the most progressive legislative and policy

frameworks for basic services in the world"—see South African Constitution, 1996. These frameworks address and elaborate on, amongst others, the right to water and sanitation, housing, and electricity—also referred to as brown policy agenda's (Human Rights Commission, 2014). The right to these basic services are a shared competence of national, provincial, and local government (Ibid.). These rights and associated legislative and policy frameworks are interlinked and interchangeable (South African Human Rights Commission, n.d.). The presence of legislative policy frameworks for basic services on national, provincial, and local levels, indicate that distributive justice as a policy objective, according to the proposed framework, is met.

On a municipality level, "[i]t is a constitutional mandate for the City [of Johannesburg] to ensure that all households have the access to basic services" (City of Johannesburg, 2018). According to statistical averages, the practical implementation of the mentioned policy objectives in Johannesburg is, in comparison to South Africa, relatively successful (Ibid.). However, as Beall et al. (2000) state, the use of numerical averages depicts "a misleading impression of widespread and uniform urban affluence", and "the plight of the urban poor is underestimated". In reality, there remain extreme deficiencies for citizens living in formal and informal shacks, often located in the City's townships.

According to the most recent available data from the Community Survey in 2016, 18 percent of the households in Johannesburg are living in informal dwellings—also referred to as shacks (Statistics South Africa, 2016; The Housing Development Agency, 2013; Wazimap, 2019). The right to adequate housing for everyone is not reflected in these numbers. As stated by the Socio-economic Rights Institute of South Africa (2011): "Despite new social and rental housing programmes aimed to deliver quality housing to low-income and poor households, these groups continue to be excluded by the current models pursued." Housing authorities admit that "informal settlement upgrading is a daunting task" (Ibid.).

Moreover, access to other basic human needs, such as electricity, water, and sanitation, are critical issues for low-income and poor households located in informal settlements (South African Government, 2019). These settlements often lack adequate toilets, sewage systems and waste disposal services. More than half of the households in informal settlements have no access to basic sanitation (City of Johannesburg, 2018). Most households in informal dwellings rely on a (shared) flush, pit, bucket or chemical toilets (Wzimap, 2019). Limited access to electricity is, as well as the other basic needs, mostly prevalent informal dwellings and settlements, "[m]any of these

households often use dirty fuels such as paraffin, candles and firewood which are often harmful for the residents and the environment" (City of Johannesburg, 2018).

In conclusion, indicators for distributive justice in policy are present. Although the practical implementation of these policies in South Africa, in specific Johannesburg, are resulting in a situation where mainly low-income and poor households, have been, and will continue to be, subjected to distributive injustices.

2.2.3 Procedural Justice in Policy and Practice: South Africa

As mentioned in the introduction, the new constitution, signed in 1996, is the product and embodiment of democratic objectives. The South African government "regards public participation as the cornerstone of democracy and service delivery" (Maphazi, Taylor & Mayekiso, 2013). Public participation is a constitutional right, not a privilege. Since 1994, several participatory systems, structures and mechanisms have been set up (Bénit-Gbaffou, 2008). Examples of these mechanisms in Johannesburg are: the election of ward councillors, the formation of ward committees, and the establishment of Integrated Development Planning processes. Ward councillors and committees serve as the representors of "relatively small urban territories" (Ibid.). The elected ward committees are community members that are able to make propositions and suggestions on any matter affecting its ward, to the local government (Maphazi, Taylor & Mayekiso, 2013). The presence of legally binding structures and mechanism concerning public participation, indicate that procedural justice as a policy objective, according to the proposed framework, is met.

However, as Bénit-Gbaffou argues, "institutional channels (be it representative democracy, or various institutions and instruments set up by local government to enhance participation) are currently not working in [Johannesburg]" (Ibid.). There are several cases were participation structures and mechanism fall short when implemented in practice—see Mbelengwa (2016). In other words, the practical implementation of these systems practice prove not to be meaningful nor effective (Mbelengwa, 2016). Mainly due to the reasons that community members are ignorant, and lack the appropriate awareness, resources and knowledge to participate (Ibid.).

Indicators for procedural justice in policy are present. Although the practical implementation of these policies in South Africa, in specific Johannesburg, are resulting in a

situation where mainly the least off, have been, and will continue to be, subjected to distributive injustices.

2.2.4 The Gap

Some key factors causing the housing policy-practice gap were identified by Manomano, Tanga and Tanyi (2016), stating that the main problems are a cause of corruption, a lack of adequate resources and finance, and mismanagement. In other words, the main barrier to provide adequate housing is simply because "the demand outweighs the government's ability to provide housing" (Burgoyne, 2008). Urbanisation, unemployment and international migration are main causes for this ever-increasing demand (Ibid.).

Factors causing the water and sanitation policy-practice gap are "a lack of lack of adequate funding and poor revenue collection leading to financial instability; a lack of technical, management and business skills; political interference and corruption and unclear municipal powers and functions." (Human Rights Commission, n.d.)

Five factors causing the public participation policy-practice gap were identified by the South African Legislative Sector (2013). These barriers to meaningful public participation in practice are defined as: "Problems of physical access", "Lack of effective information", "Insufficient public education", "Language barriers", and "Skills for public participation" (Ibid.). Participation is a time consuming and costly process, trade-offs must be made, since the participatory process itself can hinder its outcomes.

It should be noted, that most of the previous mentioned gaps are an underlying cause of South Africa's legacy of suppression and exclusion.

❖ **2.3 Conclusion and Limitations**

While distributive and procedural justice as a policy objective are enshrined in the South African Constitution, discrepancies between ideals, in terms of policy, and the lived experience, in terms of practice, continue to exist. The identified factors leading to this discrepancy are the South Africa's historical legacy, the lack of several resources, and dysfunctions between national and local governments. It should be noted that these conceptions of justice, distributive and procedural, do not operate as isolated entities, but are closely linked. Since distributive injustices in practice—

expressed as the least well off with low access to basic human needs—often lack the resources to participate in policy processes addressing these very issues.

Within the scope of this research, the assumed most relevant, and accurate operationalisations of justice have been discussed for the South African case. However, there are numerous alternative frameworks for evaluating environmental justice in policy and practice. Further limitations are the minor elaboration on what consists of meaningful participation, the limited access to accurate data in informal settlements, and the conception of justice as recognition.

3. Cognitive- & Neurobiological Psychology

‘‘We are a target’: wave of xenophobic attacks sweeps Johannesburg’, so is the title of a recently published article in The Guardian (Burke, 2019). In this context, ‘we’ points to migrants in Johannesburg, who increasingly suffer from xenophobic attitudes and violence from the local population. The current xenophobic conflict between the local population and migrants in South Africa can be considered as a complex, social process. This process is influenced by the behavioural outcomes of several underlying cognitive and neurological processes and functions within the brain. Therefore, in order to understand the adversarial relation between (those) groups, it is important to understand the underlying cognitive and neurobiological factors that drive local people to behave and act aggressively and hostile towards out-group people, such as migrants. Accordingly, the research question in the current chapter is: *what are the underlying cognitive and affective processes in the formation of negative, hostile attitudes towards out-group members?*

In studying cognitive and neurological processes that underlie negative attitudes towards out-group members, significant emphasis has been put on cognitive determinants such as stereotyping and social judgements. Therefore, this chapter starts with an overview of the most prominent research insights on these cognitive determinants.

However, within situations dominated by insecurity, emotional and motivational processes seem to have more significant influence in forming beliefs and (negative) attitudes towards out-group members (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005). Therefore, in the second paragraph of this chapter, the influence of three basic emotions (fear, disgust and anger) on intergroup attitudes is described.

In answering the research question, I hypothesize that the forming of negative attitudes contains both cognitive and motivational components. Yet, the latter are more dominant and have the final word in the formation of negative attitudes towards out-group members.

Insights within the underlying cognitive and motivational processes in the formation of negative attitudes towards out-group members is necessary, since by early grasping on and targeting relevant emotional- and cognitive processes, intergroup xenophobic conflicts could be prevented and tackled before they result in violent escalations. Therefore, these insights need to be applied in the development of effective and sustainable strategies on reducing the xenophobic conflicts within the context of South Africa.

❖ **3.1 Cognitive processes – Stereotypes**

According to Rydgren (2004), the fundamental cause of the formation of negative out-group attitudes need to be found in what is called 'stereotyped categorisation processes'. Traditional models of these stereotyped categorisation processes have assumed that stereotypes serve as rationalizations for the negative attitude held toward a group (Stangor, Sullivan & Ford, 1991). Therefore, in studying negative intergroup attitudes, cognitive approaches mainly focus on the formation and maintenance of social stereotypes.

The social cognitive theory of Bandura (1986) states that humans perceive and conceive other people in their daily lives within the context of their a-priori knowledge. This a-priori knowledge implies cognitive concepts, ideas and propositions which are based on earlier (social) experiences and thus are formed prior to confrontation with new information (Rydgren, 2014).

The use of a-priori knowledge enables people to navigate through a complex world, in which they need to deal with an overload of incoming social information (Boudon, 1989). Humans have an innate drive to interpret and integrate this complexity and versatility of social information into a coherent and meaningful unity (Tversky and Kahneman, 1982). Therefore, a-priori, cognitive, social categories are formed in which generalized characteristics are simplified and ascribed to a social group, called: stereotypes (Rydgren, 2004). These generalized characteristics imply personality traits, such as intelligence. However, circumstantial attributes, such as poverty, also appear to be integrated within social categories (Fiske, in Amodio, 2014).

Stereotypes thus merely serve as shortcuts, that enable humans to make fast predictions of other people's behaviour and may be considered a specialized instance of a social attitude. As such, they influence our decision making and behaviour in social situations (Wood, 2003). The latter is supported by the finding that endorsement of negative social stereotypes significantly relates to disliked attitudes towards social groups. Therefore, stereotypical traits associated with social groups seem to be particularly important as determinants of intergroup attitudes and behaviour (Stangor, Sullivan & Ford, 1991).

Although, social stereotypes may serve humans to navigate through a complex social world, the reverse of a-priori knowledge is that it may lead to errors and oversimplification (Rydgren, 2004). Namely, when we are exposed to new, unfamiliar situations, our earlier formed concepts and categories dominate new incoming information. This is because people hold their thoughts and a-priori formed knowledge as self-evident and therefore as true (Boudon, 1994).

Namely, stereotypes may operate implicitly, such that they may be activated and influence judgements and behaviours without conscious awareness (Devine, 1989; Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). Hence, while this earlier formed knowledge may not be congruent with reality and may be incorrect, people may still hold this knowledge as true. This might be problematic, especially in situations of uncertainty, since there is little or no information available to correct for false inferences (Rydgren, 2004). In these situations, we interpret individuals we meet, in light of the group to which they belong. Stereotypical traits of that group are attributed to the individual and inferences we make on that individual are based on those stereotypical traits linked to the group or category that the individual is part of. The latter is classified as stereotyping behaviour (Brown, 1995). Stereotyping behaviour thus is a consequence of the formation of conceptual associations between social groups and generalized traits and attributes.

Prior to the formation of conceptual associations, stereotype-related concepts need to be stored and encoded by the brain. The storage and encoding of concepts is better known as semantic memory and related to the temporal lobe of the cortex (FIG.1) (Amodio, 2014).

Since, stereotyping is a social process, especially the storage and representation of social information is relevant. These processes of memorization and representation of social groups and social information are linked to the anterior part of the temporal lobe (ATL) (FIG.1) (Olson et al., 2013). In a study by Contreras, Banaji & Mitchell (2012), increased activity within the ATL has been observed when participants made stereotyping judgements about social categories. This finding indicates that the ATL is involved in knowledge of social stereotypes.

The ATL is closely connected to the medial prefrontal cortex (mPFC), which is associated with trait judgements and the formation of impressions (FIG.1) (Amodio, 2014). Research findings on social stereotyping have indicated that de mPFC plays a contributory role in the generation of stereotype-based judgements (Quadflieg et al., 2009). It is believed that the mPFC receives input, containing social stereotypes, from the ATL. Then, this stereotypical information, together with conceptual information from the temporal lobe, is continuously integrated and applied by the mPFC in developing trait judgements and impressions of other people (Amodio, 2014).

In addition, stereotypical information from the ATL also is transferred to the inferior frontal gyrus (IFG) (FIG. 3.1). The IFG is associated with the selection of concepts into working memory to support goal directed action. In particular, the IFG in the left hemisphere is related to retrieval of conceptual information, such as conceptual associations between social groups and social traits

(Demb et al., 1995). This information is transported to the motor cortex (FIG. 3.1), to which the IFG is mutually connected. Within the motor cortex, the stereotype information received from the IFG is applied to generate complex goal-directed behaviour (Mitchell et al., 2009). This indicates the significant influence of (negative) stereotypes on behavioural, goal-directed, outcomes.
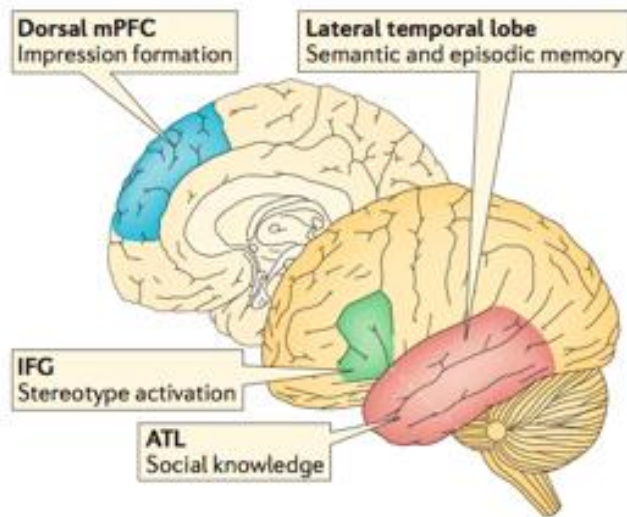

Figure 3.1 | **Stereotype network:** underlying neural structures in the process of intergroup stereotyping. Semantic information stored in the lateral temporal lobe — especially representations of stereotype-related knowledge about people and social groups in the anterior temporal lobe (ATL) — is recruited into the medial prefrontal cortex (mPFC) to support the formation of judgements based on social stereotypes, in conjunction, into the inferior frontal gyrus (IFG) to support goal-directed actions that are guided by these stereotypes. Source: Amodio (2014).

❖ **3.2 Affective processes**

Social categories, and generalized traits within these categories may also be associated with a set of negative or positive feelings and evaluations. Thereby, social categories may not exclusively influence people's cognitive processes, rather the affective feelings and evaluations of others may also be influenced (Operario & Fiske, 1998).

In turn, several studies have indicated that different emotions may be used as informational input in the judgement process (Angie et al., 2011). In this, different kinds of negative affect can have different effects on social information processing, especially on social judgement processes. These negative emotional states may each produce their own behavioural and judgmental tendencies. Therefore, the way in which people translate their negative attitudes into behavioural outcomes depends on the emotion that is evoked (Bodenhausen, Sheppard & Kramer, 1994).

According to the *intergroup threat theory* (Stephan & Stephan, 2017)*,* the subjective experience of threat could be regarded as one of the most important predictors of forming negative attitudes towards out-group members. This subjective experience is determined by the way in which someone appraises a certain threat. Depending on how the threat is appraised, emotions will be evoked within the individual which enables the individual to react to and modulate a certain threat (Landmann, Gaschler & Rohmann, 2019).

In this paragraph, the negative emotions 'fear', 'disgust' and 'anger' are being discussed in order to obtain insights in how out-group members are perceived and what consequences these emotions and perceptions have on forming negative attitudes towards out-group members.

3.2.1 Fear

Fear is an emotion that functions to alert humans when potential dangers in the individuals environment are present (Obeid et al., 2019). However, several studies have related feelings of fear with perceptions of out-group members, in particular migrants (Hart et al., 2000). The association between fear and immigrants is explained by the intergroup threat theory, which states that fearful reactions towards immigrants are evoked, because people perceive them as (criminal) out-group members, being a threat to the physical safety of the in-group members. This type of threat is also indicated as *safety threat* by the intergroup threat theory. Safety threat might be appraised as existential danger to one's own life or the life of in-group members and therefore elicit fear (Landmann, Gaschler & Rohmann, 2019).

Studies in which subjects are confronted with faces of out-group members have shown increased activity in the amygdala, often described as the 'fear centre of the brain' (Panzer, Viljoen & Roos, 2007). The amygdala is part of a set of structures that are activated and responding within milliseconds of a potentially threatening event (Amodio, 2008). This is because the amygdala receives direct sensorial information from all sensory organs into its lateral nucleus. Then, this signal is directed to the central nucleus of the amygdala (CeA), which tends to activate hypothalamic and brainstem structures to induce arousal, attention, freezing and preparation for fight or flight, a response that is often characterized as a fear response (Amodio, 2014).

Those emotional responses elicited by the amygdala are given priority by the brain, meaning that amygdala threat responses are faster and more dominant than those including more planned thoughts rooted in the prefrontal cortex (Obeid et al., 2019). This is necessary, since

humans need to respond very rapidly and efficiently when confronted with immediate threats. More elaborative processing of a stimulus takes too much time and effort and therefore is not desirable within a threatening context (Stangor, Sullivan & Ford, 1991).

The amygdala is involved in the rapid processing of social category cues, including for instance racial groups, in terms of potential threat or reward. Therefore, many researchers suggest amygdala activation, when subjects are confronted with out-group faces, may reflect an immediate (or implied) threat response to these out-group members (Amodio, 2014). As such, fearful feelings may arise and out-group members are perceived as physical danger towards the individual and the group to which the individual belongs. Therefore, individuals are motivated to protect themselves and their in-group members. As a result, the behavioural response to this kind of threat will take form in more withdrawal, escaping behaviour (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005).

3.2.2 Disgust

According to the intergroup threat theory, emotional reactions to threat are not limited to fear; feelings of disgust have been related to another type of threat, namely *health threat*. As the theory states, health threats may be appraised as potential contamination and therefore elicit disgust (Landmann, Gaschler & Rohmann, 2019). Namely, health threats imply concerns that the health of the in-group and their values will be threatened via contagion by out-group members (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005). When humans perceive someone marked by symptoms signalling the possible presence of diseases or potential contamination, disease-connoting cognitions are quickly activated into working memory and feelings of disgust are evoked (Curtis, Aunger, & Rabie, 2004).

The system of disgust is evolved to enable the individual to detect signs of pathogens, parasite and toxics (Kavaliers, Ossenkopp & Choleris, 2019). However, this system tends to be hypersensitive, meaning that these processes may also be triggered by the perception of out-group members, especially those who are perceived to be foreign (Neuberg, 2008). According to a study by Schiefenhövel (1997), people who spoke about ethnic out-groups indeed showed reactions of disgust, such as a disgusted face and vomiting movements. This is because "disgust in humans serve as an ethnic or out-group marker" (Rozin et al., 1997). People may form stereotypical beliefs in which concepts related to disgust, such as diseases or illness, may be attributed to subjectively

foreign groups. Consequently, while confronted with foreign groups, affective feelings of disgust may erase (Faulkner et al., 2004).

Moreover, feelings of disgust are shown to be elicited when other people are perceived as moral untrustworthy (Hutcherson & Gross, 2011; Rozin et al., 1999, in Matsumoto, Hwang & Frank, 2017). The latter is also defined as 'moral disgust' and is assumed to function as a mark of individuals whose behaviour suggest that they represent a threat (Hutcherson & Gross, 2011).

Disgust tends to stimulate behaviour that reduces the risk of contagion of the in-group health and values. Thereby, disgust motivates physical distancing from offensive people, and thus facilitates interpersonal avoidance and intergroup discrimination (Rozin, Haidt, & McCauley, 2000).

The perception and recognition of disgust is often related to the insular cortex (insula), which is part of the 'social behaviour network'. The insula functions to represent somatosensory states (including visceral responses) and emotions related to emotional states (such as disgust). Activation of the insula is frequently associated with responses to racial out-group versus in-group members. Especially, the anterior part of the insula is often linked to aspects of social cognition (Kavaliers & Choleris, 2018). In specific, activation of the insula has been shown when experiences and perceptions of norm violations are evoked. This supports the link between feelings of disgust and moral untrustworthiness (Ward, 2017).

The activation of the insular cortex is modulated by its receptors of the hormone 'oxytocin'. Activation of oxytocin-receptors appear to increase vigilance toward unfamiliar and possibly threatening social context associated with pathogens, parasites and toxins. It also leads to an increase in defensive aggression and expressions of disgust associated behaviours. Consequently, social approach with out-group members will be inhibited. This may function as a protective mechanism of in-group members against out-group threat (Kavaliers & Choleris, 2018). Therefore, the emotion of disgust is often related to 'avoidance' behaviour towards foreign groups and individuals within these groups.

3.2.3 Competition – anger

Halperin, Canetti-Nisim & Pedahzur (2007) link the perception of threat and negative, hostile attitudes to the socioeconomic status of people, by stating that the perception of threat is influenced by socioeconomic status. People with low socioeconomic statuses often live under scarce

conditions in which they have access to a limitation of resources. This limited access to resources and scarce conditions result in competition between different groups. Explicit feelings of competition are shown to be sufficient to generate another type of threat, related to negative attitudes towards out-group members. According to the intergroup threat theory, people may develop concerns that out-group members are stealing their jobs, houses, and other services and resources to which they themselves feel entitled. These concerns are classified by this theory as *realistic threats,* which are appraised as illegitimate obstacles to desired outcomes (Landmann, Gaschler & Rohmann, 2019). When people are confronted with goal obstruction (Ellsworth & Scherer, 2003) and perceive that their personal resources are being threatened, feelings of anger arise (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005). These feelings of anger enable the individual to remove obstacles and defend themselves and their group from losing their personal resources and social position (Rozin, Lowery et al., 1999, in Matsumoto, Hwang & Frank, 2017).

Anger typically arises in agonistic contexts, which often requires a quick response. Therefore, people perhaps have developed a tendency to react quickly and heuristically when angry. As such, angry people are significantly more likely to rely on simple cues in reacting to social stimuli. The latter was indicated by the finding that judgements of angry people of accused miscreants were more affected by negative social stereotypes compared to judgements of people who experienced no feelings of anger (Bodenhausen, Sheppard & Kramer, 1994). Especially within circumstances when individuals perceive themselves as more vulnerable, danger-connoting stereotypes and prejudices are more or less likely to be activated into working memory (Schaller & Neuberg, 2008).

In contrast to emotions of fear and disgust, which promote avoidant behaviour, anger promotes incaution and a more behavioural approach to out-group members (Schaller & Neuberg, 2008; Hutcherson & Gross, 2011). This behavioural approach takes place in the form of short-term attack responses (Fischer & Roseman, 2007, in Matsumoto, Hwang & Frank, 2017).

An important brain circuitry, related to threat responding, is the hypothalamus-periaqueductal gray-amygdala (HPA) connection. The perception of threat alters the responsiveness of HPA- circuitry and this alteration is associated with an increased risk for anger (Blair, 2012).

The amygdala also is connected to the prefrontal cortex (PFC), which is involved in the regulation of emotions. However, dysfunction of these frontal regions is associated with an

increase in anger responses (Bartholow, 2017). When participants were confronted with out-group members, decreased activity within the prefrontal cortex has been observed (Amodio, 2014). This lack of activity within the PFC suggests that feelings of anger towards out-group members are less inhibited and regulated. As a consequence people may fail to regulate and control their emotions and behaviour. As such, their feelings of anger may ensue in aggressive behaviour (Bartholow, 2017).

Furthermore, within a context of intergroup competition, the hormone oxytocin, which was earlier related to disgust, motivates humans to perceive out-groups as high threat and stimulates more aggressive behaviour. Researchers assume that the latter process functions to make the in-group a stronger and more threatening competitor to rivalling out-groups (De Dreu, 2012).

❖ 3.3 Conclusion

Affective and motivational processes are the underlying drivers in the formation of negative attitudes towards out-group members, such as migrants. Experiences of threats related to feelings of fear and disgust seem to encourage a more in-group versus out-group way of thinking. These emotions do not necessarily stimulate approaching and aggressive behaviour, but rather avoidant and withdrawal behaviour. However, within the context of adverse circumstances, in-group versus out-group thinking leads to the experience of greater competition from the out-group members. As a consequence, feelings of anger might arise which leads to more reliance on stereotypical information when forming judgements and attitudes towards out-group members.

In turn, these stereotypes may be mingled with negatively evaluated beliefs and/or affects. This may lead to dubious or false conclusions drawn upon individuals based on their prior knowledge about the social group and category to which the individual belongs. Since these false conclusions operate implicitly and thus are not being reflected nor corrected but rather experienced as true, the conclusions might lead to negative judgements and xenophobic attitudes toward out-group members.

The interrelation between negative stereotypes and negative emotions, such as fear, disgust and anger, within a context of competition, leads to aggressive, hostile attitudes (and behaviours) towards out-group members.

3.3.1 Limitations

Within this paper, different cognitive and affective processes related to the formation of negative intergroup attitudes have been discussed. Within the scope of this article, the most relevant and basic emotions, namely fear, disgust and anger, have been described and related to the formation of negative attitudes towards out-group members.

However, prosocial emotions and processes, such as empathy and compassion, are supposed to also be implicated within the formation of intergroup attitudes. For example, an intergroup empathy bias is assumed to persist among different social groups, which implies that people show increased feelings of empathy towards their own group members, while decreased feelings of empathy have been observed towards out-group members. This bias might explain decreases in pro-social behaviour and hostility towards out-group members (Chang, Krosch & Cikara, 2016). Also, empathy is assumed to have regulatory effects on fear, anger and aggressive behaviour (Blair, 2018). Therefore, further research might include the role of intergroup empathy biases in intergroup (negative) attitude formation and its effects on neurological and affective processes.

Another important limitation of this study is that the role of personality traits and individual differences are left out of consideration. However, individual personality traits might also explain different attitudes towards migrants. For example, people with more authoritarian personalities are more likely to show negative attitudes towards immigrants (Crouch 1999).

Lastly, the amygdala has often been linked with feelings of fear and implicit prejudices. However, its precise role in prejudice and the formation of negative attitudes towards out-group members remains to date unknown (Amodio, 2014). Therefore, elaborate research on the precise role of the amygdala in the formation of negative attitudes towards out-group members is recommended.

4. Common Ground

In the previous chapters, three different disciplinary perspectives on the adversarial relation between migrants and locals, and the influence of social inequality in South Africa have been studied and elaborated on. These disciplinary insights in itself, do not provide an unequivocal answer to the research question: *What is the influence of socio-economic inequality on the adversarial relation between migrants and locals in South Africa?* Integration of the disciplinary insights is required, in order to obtain a more comprehensive understanding within the complex and problematic relationship between the local population and immigrants in South Africa.

First, an overview of the fundamental disciplinary insights is provided. Second, *common ground* is created by identifying and reconciling overlapping and conflicting disciplinary concepts, assumptions and theories. The reconciliation of the identified conflicts is operationalised by using Repko en Szostak's (2017) modification techniques: *redefinition*, *extension*, *transformation* and *organization*.

❖ 4.1 Disciplinary Insights

Development Geography

In South Africa the lower socio-economic class is facing instability. As a consequence of the loss of jobs in the mining industry and agricultural sector, people started moving to cities. A lot of immigrants and south african within the low socio-economic class moved to cities to find a job. The increase of urbanisation in combination with the government failing to provide enough jobs, reinforced unemployment in the cities. Especially migrants were forced into the informal sector to earn a living. They accepted lower working conditions than locals. Locals felt like immigrants were unfair competition. This led to discrimination, social exclusion and violence. Migrants were blamed for taking away jobs.

Governance for Sustainable Development (GSD)

Within the discipline of Governance for Sustainable Development (GSD) it is assumed that governance is a mechanism for influencing behavior and socio-economic processes. In this regard, instability and inequality in South Africa are an outcome of the manner in which governance is operated. Causes of this instability and inequality are sought by analysing two types of *environmental justice* as policy objectives and its practical implementations. Distributive justice is

about equity in the distribution of environmental benefits (i.e. resources) and risks (i.e. pollution). The presence of brown policy agendas, and consequently access to basic human needs for everyone, are operationalised as indicators for distributive justice in policy and practice. In the case of South Africa, and in specifically Johannesburg, distributive justice as a policy objective is met. However, this is not the case for distributive justice in practice, resulting in insufficient access to housing, electricity, water, and sanitation in the low socio-economic class. The result of this discrepancy between policy and practice is the conservation of inequality between different socio-economic classes. Procedural justice is about who is, and more importantly, who is not able to participate in the policy process and its management.

Cognitive- & Neurobiological Psychology

Within the discipline of Cognitive- & Neurobiological Psychology the assumption is that processes in the human brain underlie and are responsible for behavioural outcomes. Conflicts between groups are explained as a result of negative attitudes, formed by negative stereotypes and negative affect associated with certain groups. In particular, when out-group members are experienced as more competitive, as a result of emotions of fear, disgust and scarce conditions, they are perceived as a realistic threat which evokes feelings of anger. These feelings lead to more reliance on social stereotypes and aggressive, behavioural outcomes.

❖ **4.2 Similarities**

Several concepts and theories remain important within the involved disciplines. While some concepts or theories are not discussed in every discipline, they are worth mentioning nevertheless, since they appear relevant in relation to the main research question. These concepts and theories are not in conflict, which means that there is no need to create *common ground*. However, it is important to elaborate upon these theories and concepts, in order to create a *more comprehensive understanding*.

The first concept is *socio-economic status*. Socio-economic status can be defined as the position of a person, in relation to others, on sociological and economic levels. Often, a distinction is made between three levels of socio-economic status: high, middle, and low. Differences in these status are classified by income, education and occupation (Oxford Reference, n.d.). In addition, more comprehensive classification systems can be used, such as place of dwelling, ethnicity,

literacy and cultural characteristics (Oxford Reference, n.d.). In South Africa, the adversarial relationship between locals and migrants is mainly present within the low socio-economic class (Abdi, 2011; Tevera, 2013).

Resource scarcity is a second concept used within all three disciplines. Resource scarcity is defined as a discrepancy between one's current level of resources and a higher, more desirable reference point (Cannon, Goldsmith & Roux, 2019). Different examples of resource scarcities are elaborated on within the three disciplines. The discipline of GSD discusses a scarcity of housing, electricity, water, and sanitation, as well as a scarcity of meaningful participation in policy processes. Limited access of jobs is also discussed as a resource scarcity by the discipline of DG. All forms of resource scarcity are of importance within the conflictual relationship between locals and migrants. Given the complementary relationship between the scarcity variables 'basic human needs' and 'employment', they are considered of equal power. Therefore, the overarching concept of resource scarcity is used in an all-encompassing manner, and can be applied when creating a *more comprehensive understanding.* Although, the discipline CNBP does not explicitly define the concept of resource scarcity, it implicitly is described as a limited access to resources by individuals or groups.

Lastly, in Chapter 3 the concept of perceived realistic threat is discussed by the discipline CNBP. An example of a perceived realistic threat has been provided by DG, namely locals who are blaming migrants for taking their jobs. Although the discipline of DG does not explicitly mention the concept of *perceived realistic threat*, this blaming of migrants for taking their jobs can be assumed as similar to the concept.

❖ **4.3 Conflicts and Common Ground**

Competition

Contrasting explanations for how and why a conflict arises are identified by the disciplines of CNBP and DG. Both disciplines explain competition as a fight amongst resources. However, DG is more about literal competition, in the form of unemployment. CNBP is more about the belief that there is resource scarcity, which creates a perceived competition. *Common Ground* can be created by using the strategy of organisation (Repko & Szostak, 2017). Namely, both disciplines

explain a different part of the process of competition, and are unconditionally connected to each other.

Within DG, competition is discussed from a literal perspective. Competition is present when there is a limited amount of resources, compared to the amount of people present. In South Africa, there is a limited amount of, and competition over jobs. This consequently result in high unemployment rates.

Within the CNBP discipline an explanation for the origin of competition is given by emphasizing the prominent role of the perception of resource scarcity. This perception of resource scarcity stimulates the individual to make a distinction between in-group and out-group members. In this the out-group members are experienced as threatening. This creates feelings of anger , so that people expose more aggressive attitudes and behaviour towards the out-group.

When the theory of organisation is applied, we can argue that competition is a combination of physical competition as well as perceived competition. They are connected to each other and influence the process of the other. As explained by DG, competition increases when someone is living in physical scarce conditions. This brings stronger feelings of competition as explained by CNBP. They thus complement each other.

Intergroup categorisation

The dichotomy of 'in-group versus out-group' has a prominent role within all three disciplinary perspectives. CNBP uses the terms in- and out-group explicitly, while DG and GSD use the concept implicitly. The dichotomy is of importance, since a division between groups within South Africa is made, which underlies the adversarial relationship between migrants and locals. Consensus on the content of in-group and out-group remains absent amongst the involved disciplines, and their perspectives differ on how the concepts of in-group and out-group are constructed and approached. According to Repko & Szostak (2017), one of the techniques to solve conflicts between concepts, is the technique of extension. When the theory used within CNBP is extended, both definitions from GSD and DG can be included, which makes it possible to use 'in-group versus out-group' when creating a more comprehensive understanding.

Within the discipline of Cognitive- & Neurobiological Psychology (CNBP), the in-group is regarded as the social group to which an individual subjectively identifies him or herself. The in-group members are recognized and distinguished from other people, because they are perceived

as sharing common physical, psychological and circumstantial traits. In turn, people are categorised as the out-group when their traits are perceived as deviating from the categorised in-group members (Rydgren, 2004).

Within the discipline 'Governance for Sustainable Development' (GSD), a distinction between groups is made based on differences in access to environmental benefits and burdens; and the ability to participate in the policy process and its management. From this perspective, the in-group is regarded as those who receive relatively more environmental benefits and less environmental burdens. On the contrary, the out-group is regarded as those who receive relatively less environmental benefits and more burdens. In addition, those who are allowed to participate in the political decision making process, and its management, are regarded as the in-group. In reverse, those who are excluded from participation in the political decision making process, form the out-group.

From the perspective of the discipline 'Development Geography' (DG), a distinction between groups is often made based on socio-economic characteristics. In this, the majority group is often classified as the in-group, and the minority as out-group.

A main difference in the approach of the concepts of in- and out-groups of CNBP in comparison to GSD and DG is that within the latter, the concepts of in- and out-groups are assumed to be constructed objectively. Within these disciplines the assumption is, that objective differences between people can be made, and used to distinguish different social groups. While, within the discipline of CNBP, the distinction between different social groups is assumed to be subjective; rather existing within the individuals perception through social categorisations made within the brain.

To create *common ground* we extent the dichotomy of 'in-group versus out-group' as subjective categorisations into: intergroup categorisations which are based on both objective physical traits, circumstantial traits, and subjective perceptions on these traits. An example of a physical trait is ethnicity, and an example of a circumstantial trait is political position. The majority group sharing similar characteristics comprise the in-group, while minority groups sharing characteristics that deviate from those of the in-group, form the out-groups.

Discrimination

The next concept for which *common ground* needs to be created is 'discrimination'. The concept is used explicitly within the discipline DG. However, both CNBP and GSD implicitly mention causes of the forming of discrimination. These disciplines differ in their understanding of what factors underlie the process of discrimination: they focus on a different aspect of the process. Common ground is created by following the technique of organisation (Repko & Szostak, 2017). A model is created to visualise the created common ground between the different disciplinary perspectives on discrimination.

The discipline GSD describes macro-processes resulting in differentiations between groups. The assumption within GSD is that inefficient implementation of policies result in a discrepancy in the distribution of environmental benefits and burdens between different groups. Moreover, this inefficient implementation of policy may result in some groups being able to participate in political processes, while others are not. These two outcomes result in a group that is 'advantaged', and on the contrary, a group that is 'disadvantaged'. These groups are usually distinguished by income, colour, gender, nationality, or race (Schlosberg, 2017).

The discipline CNBP describes a micro-process of discrimination. It is a behavioural process of making distinctions between different people and groups, in which people are prejudiced, based on cognitive, social stereotypes that are linked to these groups. Discrimination is a result of the existence of a cognitive in-group bias. This implies that people have a tendency to assign positive traits and emotions to their in-group members, while negative traits and circumstances to out-group members.

Through application of the technique of organisation, common ground is created between the CNBP and GSD disciplines. GSD and CNBP describe the process leading to discrimination on a different level. GSD gives an explanation on a macro-level, in which policies underline the creation of discrimination, whereas CNBP gives an explanation on micro-level, where discrimination is approached as a behavioural outcome of a cognitive stereotyping process. The organisation of the concept 'discrimination' is presented in figure 4.1. The model involves different levels, which will contribute to a better understanding of the adversarial relationship between migrants and locals when creating a *more comprehensive understanding.*
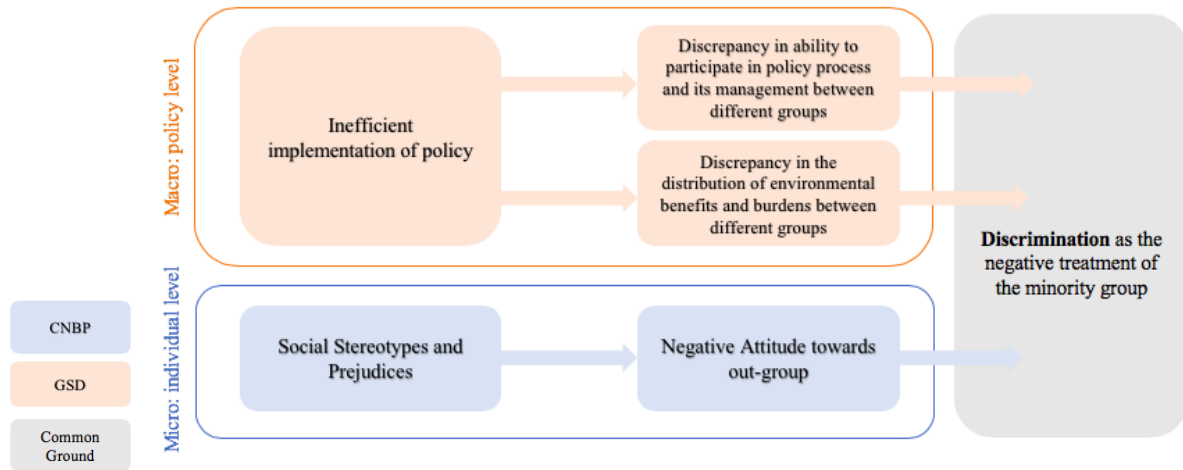
Figure 4.1: organisation of the concept 'discrimination'.

5. More Comprehensive Understanding

In the previous chapter, *common ground* is created by identifying and reconciling overlapping and conflicting disciplinary concepts, assumptions and theories. The aim of this chapter is to further integrate the disciplinary insights, using the created common ground, in order to provide an answer to the main question. The product of the integration forms, as Repko and Szostak (2017) refer to as, a *More Comprehensive Understanding* (MCU): "the integration of insights to produce a new and more complete and perhaps nuanced understanding". The disciplinary insights each explain different components that either directly or indirectly relate to the linkage between socio-economic inequality and the adversarial relationship between migrants and locals in South Africa. However, these different perspectives should not be approached as isolated explanations for the relation between socio-economic inequality and the adversarial relationship. Rather, these different perspectives and components are interrelated.

❖ 5.1 Integration of Insights

Within the context of South Africa, the adversarial relationship between locals and migrants may be explained by following a succession of different causal relations. Repko and Szostak (2017) mention different strategies to achieve causal integration. A combination of *horizontal* and *sequential integration* are used to understand the complex situation in South Africa.

In order to understand the influence of socio-economic inequality on the adversarial relation between migrants and locals in South Africa, the causes and consequences of socio-economic inequality need to be established. This may be achieved by using the strategy of horizontal integration. South Africa's low socio-economic class has limited access to several resources (World Bank, 2019; Dodson, 2010). These resource scarcities manifest themselves in limited access to basic human needs, and employment. The limited access to basic human needs is maintained as a cause of the existence of a policy-practice gap. Simultaneously, high unemployment rates in South Africa are, on the one hand, reinforced by the process of urbanisation, and on the other hand, reinforced by the inflow of unskilled migrants who are in search for work (Kok et al., 2006).

In South Africa, there is competition for basic human needs and employment, since there is not enough supply to meet the demand. In addition, this existing competition is strengthened given that unskilled, and unemployed migrants, accept low-income jobs under harsh conditions

(Peberdy, 2000). As a consequence, locals are 'forced' to accept these lower working standards in order to compete on the labour market.

The existing competition for scarce resources within the low socio-economic class is exacerbated by the perception amongst local South Africans that migrants are stealing their jobs, houses and other resources "to which they themselves feel entitled" (Dodson, 2010; Landau, 2004, in Graf, 2011). These concerns are characterized as realistic threats by the intergroup threat theory (Landmann, Gaschler & Rohmann, 2019). As a reaction to these perceptions of realistic threats and competition, feelings of anger amongst South Africans may arise. Moreover, feelings of anger may also be triggered by the perception of injustice (Ellsworth & Scherer, 2003). When feelings of anger arise, people are more likely to rely on negative stereotypes (Bodenhausen, Sheppard & Kramer, 1994). These reinforced negative stereotypes, combined with negative emotions, ultimately lead to *intergroup categorisations* (Rydgren, 2004). In addition, intergroup categorisations are strengthened by physical, and circumstantial traits (Amodio, 2014). In the case of South Africa, the in-group comprises local South Africans, who are the majority group sharing the same physical traits. On the contrary, the out-group comprises immigrants, who are a minority group with deviating characteristics of those of the in-group.

Also, the exact amount of migrants contains an unknown number, caused by illegal migrants. As a consequence of this inability to provide exact numbers of migrants, South Africans fear that the country is being overrun by migrants, a form of realistic threat (Landau, 2004; Valji, 2003, in Graf, 2011). These feelings of fear stimulates even more intergroup categorisation. Moreover, this type of threat evokes strong feelings of competition and anger (Landmann, Gaschler & Rohmann, 2019).

Intergroup categorisations—based on both objective physical traits, circumstantial traits, and subjective perceptions of these traits—stimulate the formation of negative attitudes. In the case of South Africa, these categorisations result in the formation of negative attitudes of local South Africans towards immigrants. In conclusion, as a consequence of unjust distribution of resources, adverse environmental circumstances are created regarding the disadvantaged. These disadvantaged are locals who are part of the lower socio-economic class of the population. Simultaneously, these locals are more confronted with migrants, since migrants often end up housing and employing in the low socio-economic class. As a consequence, locals perceive migrants as having houses, employment and access to other resources, which evokes feelings of

competition within the locals. In this, the out-group members, which are migrants since they physically, psychologically and circumstantially devy from the local population, are believed to form realistic threats. Locals fear that these migrants take their jobs, houses and ultimately will overrun the country. These threats evoke feelings of fear, disgust and anger which are associated with the out-group. As a consequence, locals rely more on stereotypical information, mingled with negative emotions, which leads to the formation of negative, and aggressive attitudes towards migrants. An overview of the findings of the disciplinary insights, common ground and organisation is provided in figure 5.1.
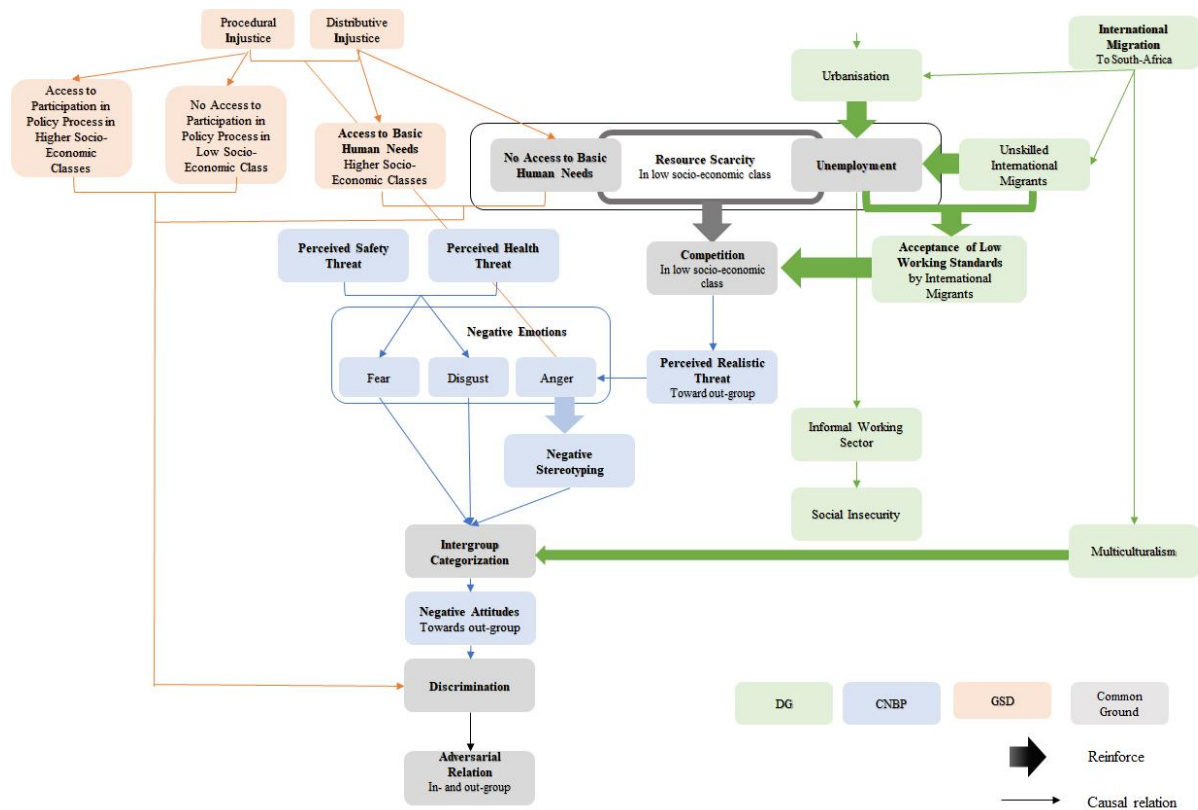

Figure 5.1: The organisation of disciplinary insights; a more comprehensive understanding.

6. Discussion and Reflection

❖ **6.1 Strengths and Limitations**

This interdisciplinary study aimed to obtain an in-depth insight within the nature of the conflictual relationship between the local population and migrants in South Africa.

Socio-economic inequality is maintained by discrimination on a macro-level as a consequence of several policy-practice gaps. In addition, resource scarcities and the inflow of international migrants strengthen—the feeling of-—competition within the low socio-economic class in South Africa. Resulting from these types of competition, negative attitudes towards migrants are formed, leading to discrimination on a micro-level. Ultimately, these processes reinforce the adversarial relationship between migrants and locals. Although a clear answer to the research question has been formulated, several limitations were identified.

The disciplines within the research had different levels of analysing relationships in South Africa. By this we mean, that CNBP analyses relationships between individuals and small groups of people, this is called micro-level. DG analyses relationships on meso-level, namely between ethnic groups, communities and organisations. GSD analyses relationships on macro-level, namely of nations and the government, in relation with groups of people. This distinction of different levels of analyses brought some difficulties when integrating disciplinary insights. At some points the disciplines complemented each other, which could amplify a description of a difficult relationship within the research. Instead of a consent or conflict between two disciplines, they complement each other. This sometimes created trouble for integration, however it gave more insight into the complexity of the problem. In the end, a combination of multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary research was constructed in order to give an answer to the main research question. Multidisciplinary research could complement insights of the disciplines, while interdisciplinary research was integrated by combining those complementaring insights in combination with integration of consenting or conflicting assumptions.

❖ **6.2 Further Research**

The study of this paper gives an understanding for the adversarial relationship between immigrants and locals, however while studying the conflictual relation, we noticed that further research is

recommended. First of all, the historical context of South Africa, in particular the Apartheid, nowadays still has significant influence on the livelihoods of South Africa's population. Feelings about this history are collectively shared among South Africa's local population. Also, the way in which locals perceive migrants might be highly influenced by South Africa's history. For example, research has assumed that South Africans feel threatened by migrants, because they experience high feelings of fear that the country will relapse into the tremendous situation during the Apartheid. Therefore, further interdisciplinary research might also include disciplinary insights from the research field of Historical Sciences (in explaining the negatives attitudes towards migrants and why they are perceived as threats by the local population).

Moreover, within the scope of the included disciplines, no research is done on the international relationship between South Africa and the countries of which the migrants originate. These international relationships and contacts might have sufficient influence on lower scale (levels) and explain intergroup attitudes and relations. Therefore, disciplinary insights from the field of Conflict studies also needs to be included in further research.

Bibliography

Abdi, C. M. (2011). Moving beyond xenophobia: Structural violence, conflict and encounters with the 'other' Africans. *Development Southern Africa*, *28*(5), 691-704.

Amodio, D. M. (2008). The social neuroscience of intergroup relations. *European review of social psychology*, *19*(1), 1-54.

Amodio, D. M. (2014). The neuroscience of prejudice and stereotyping. *Nature Reviews Neuroscience*, *15*(10), 670.

Angie, A. D., Connelly, S., Waples, E. P., & Kligyte, V. (2011). The influence of discrete emotions on judgement and decision-making: A meta-analytic review. *Cognition & Emotion*, *25*(8), 1393-1422.

Bandura, A. (1986). Social foundations of thought and action: A social cognitive theory. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice- Hall, Inc.

Bartholow, B. D. (2018). The aggressive brain: Insights from neuroscience. *Current opinion in psychology*, *19*, 60-64.

Beall, J., Crankshaw, O., & Parnell, S. (2000). Local government, poverty reduction and inequality in Johannesburg. *Environment and Urbanization*, *12*(1), 107-122.

Beall, J., Crankshaw, O., & Parnell, S. (2014). *Uniting a divided city: Governance and social exclusion in Johannesburg*. Routledge.

Bénit-Gbaffou, C. (2008). Are practices of local participation sidelining the institutional participatory channels?: Reflections from Johannesburg. *Transformation: critical perspectives on Southern Africa*, *66*(1), 1-33.

Blair, R. J. R. (2012). Considering anger from a cognitive neuroscience perspective. *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Cognitive Science*, *3*(1), 65-74.

Blair, R. J. R. (2018). Traits of empathy and anger: implications for psychopathy and other disorders associated with aggression. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences*, *373*.

Bodenhausen, G. V., Sheppard, L. A., & Kramer, G. P. (1994). Negative affect and social judgment: The differential impact of anger and sadness. *European Journal of social psychology*, *24*(1), 45-62.

Boudon, R. (1989). 'Subjective Rationality and the Explanation of Social Behavior.' *Rationality and Society 2*, 173–96.

Boudon, R. (1994). The Art of Self-Persuasion. The Social Explanation of False Beliefs. Oxford: Polity Press.

Brown, R. (1995). Prejudice. Its Social Psychology. Oxford: Blackwell.

Burgoyne, M. L. (2008). *Factors affecting housing delivery in South Africa: A case study of the Fisantekraal housing development project, Western Cape* (Doctoral dissertation, Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch).

Burke, J. (2019, September 10). 'We are a target': wave of xenophobic attacks sweeps Johannesburg. Retrieved September 12, 2019, from https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/sep/10/we-are-a-target-wave-of-xenophobic-attacks-sweeps-johannesburg

Cannon, C., Goldsmith, K., & Roux, C. (2019). A self-regulatory model of resource scarcity. *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, *29*(1), 104-127.

Chang, L. W., Krosch, A. R., & Cikara, M. (2016). Effects of intergroup threat on mind, brain, and behavior. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, *11*, 69-73.

Chappelow, J. (2019, September 18). Gini Index Definition. Retrieved November 13, 2019, from https://www.investopedia.com/terms/g/gini-index.asp.

Chopra, M., & Sanders, D. (2004). From Apartheid to Globalisation: Health and Social Change in South Africa. Hygiea Internationalis : An Interdisciplinary Journal for the History of Public Health, 4(1), 153–174.

City of Johannesburg. (2018). Draft Integrated Development Plan: 2018/19 Review. Retrieved September 28, 2019, from https://www.joburg.org.za/documents_/Documents/Intergrated%20Development%20Plan/idp%20documents/IDP%20for%20Council%20(2).pdf

Collinson, M., Tollman, S., Kahn, K., & Clark, S. (2016). Highly prevalent circular migration: Households, mobility and economic status in rural South Africa. Agincourt Health and Population Unit: University of the Witwatersrand, 1–30.

Contreras, J. M., Banaji, M. R. & Mitchell, (2012). J. P. Dissociable neural correlates of stereotypes and other forms of semantic knowledge. *Soc. Cogn. Affect. Neurosci. 7*, 764–770 .

Cottrell, C. A., & Neuberg, S. L. (2005). Different emotional reactions to different groups: a sociofunctional threat-based approach to "prejudice". *Journal of personality and social psychology*, *88*(5), 770.

Crouch, C. (1999). Social Change in Western Europe. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Crush, J., Chikanda, A., & Skinner, C. (2015). Mean streets migration, xenophobia and informality in South Africa. Waterloo, Ontario: Southern African Migration Programme

Crush, J., Chikanda, A., & Tawodzera, G. (2016). The Making of a Southern Diaspora: South-South Migration and Zimbabweans in South Africa. Diasporas, Development and Governance Global Migration Issues, 221–238.

Crush, J., Tawodzera, G., Chikanda, A., Ramachandran, S., & Tevera, D. (2017). South Africa Case Study: The Double Crisis – Mass Migration From Zimbabwe And Xenophobic Violence in South Africa (pp. 1-93, Rep.). Vienna: International Centre for Migration Policy Development and Waterloo, ON: Southern African Migration Programme.

Crush, J., & Williams, V. (2010). Labour Migration Trends and Policies in Southern Africa. Southern African Migration Programme: Samp Policy Brief No 23.

Crush, J., & Williams, V. (2018). Criminal Tendencies: Immigrants and Illegality in South Africa. Southern African Migration Project, 10, 1–17.

Curtis, V., Aunger, R., & Rabie, T. (2004). Evidence that disgust evolved to protect from risk of disease. *Proceedings of the Royal Society of London. Series B: Biological Sciences*, *271*(suppl_4), S131-S133.

Debbané, A. M., & Keil, R. (2004). Multiple disconnections: environmental justice and urban water in Canada and South Africa. *Space and Polity*, *8*(2), 209-225.

De Dreu, C. K. (2012). Oxytocin modulates cooperation within and competition between groups: an integrative review and research agenda. *Hormones and behavior*, *61* (3), 419-428.

Demb, J. B., Desmond, J. E., Wagner, A. D., Vaidya, C. J., Glover, G. H., & Gabrieli, J. D. (1995). Semantic encoding and retrieval in the left inferior prefrontal cortex: a functional MRI study of task difficulty and process specificity. *Journal of Neuroscience*, *15* (9), 5870-5878.

Department of Environmental Affairs. (2017). *Climate Change and Air Quality Branch*. Retrieved September 13, 2019, from

https://www.environment.gov.za/sites/default/files/reports/southafrica_sec
Ondnational_climatechnage_report2017.pdf

Devine, P. G. (1989). Stereotypes and prejudice: their automatic and controlled components. *J. Pers. Soc. Psychol.* *56*, 5–18.

Dinbabo, M. F., & Nyasulu, T. (2015). Macroeconomic Immigration Determinants: an Analysis of 'Pull' Factors of International Migration to South Africa. University of Western Cape, 27–52.

Dixon, J., & Ramutsindela, M. (2006). Urban resettlement and environmental justice in Cape Town. *Cities*, *23*(2), 129-139.

Dodson, B. (2010) 'Locating xenophobia: debate, discourse, and everyday experience in Cape Town, South Africa', *Africa Today,* 56(3), pp. 2-22, Project MUSE [Online]. Retrieved at http://muse.jhu.edu.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/journals/at/summary/v056/56.3.dodson.html

Du Plessis, A. A. (2015). The" brown" environmental agenda and the constitutional duties of local government in South Africa: a conceptual introduction. *Potchefstroom Electronic Law Journal/Potchefstroomse Elektroniese Regsblad*, *18*(5), 1845-1880.

Ellsworth, P. C., & Scherer, K. (2003). Appraisal processes in emotion. In R. J. Davidson, K. R. Scherer, & H. H. Goldsmith (Eds.), Handbook of affective sciences (pp. 572–595). New York: Oxford University Press.

Faulkner, J., Schaller, M., Park, J. H., & Duncan, L. A. (2004). Evolved disease-avoidance mechanisms and contemporary xenophobic attitudes. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, *7* (4), 333-353.

Freemantle, I., & Misago, J.P. (2014). The social construction of (non-)crisis and its effects: Government discourse on xenophobia, immigration and social cohesion in South Africa. In F.M. Lindley, A (Ed.), Crisis and Migration: Critical Perspectives (pp.136-157). London: Routledge.

Gauteng City-Region Observatory: GCRO. (2013). 2013 Quality of Life (QoL) Survey Viewer. Retrieved from http://gcro1.wits.ac.za/qolviewer/ReportHome2013.aspx.

Ghosh, B. (2003). Managing migration: time for a new international regime? Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

Gordon, S. L., & Maharaj, B. (2015). Neighbourhood-level social capital and anti-immigrant prejudice in an African context: an individual-level analysis of attitudes towards

immigrants in South Africa. Commonwealth & Comparative Politics, 53(2), 197–219.

Greenburg, J., & Polzer, T. (2008). Migrant Access to Housing in South African Cities. Migrant Access to Housing in South African Cities (pp. 1–15). Johannesburg, South Africa: Migrant Rights Monitoring Programme.

Greenwald, A. G. & Banaji, M. R. (1995). Implicit social cognition: attitudes, self-esteem, and stereotypes. *Psychol. Rev. 102*, 4–27.

Halperin, E., Canetti-Nisim, D., & Pedahzur, A. (2007). On the central role of "Threat Perception" in mediating the influence of socioeconomic factors on xenophobic attitudes. *Cultural diversity and empowerment of minorities: perspectives from Israel and Germany*, 121-138.

Hart, A. J., Whalen, P. J., Shin, L. M., McInerney, S. C., Fischer, H., & Rauch, S. L. (2000). Differential response in the human amygdala to racial outgroup vs ingroup face stimuli. *Neuroreport*, *11*(11), 2351-2354.

Hollifield, J. F., (2004). The emerging migration state. International Migration Review 38(3): 885-912

Hollifield, J. F., & Faruk, R. (2017). Governing Migration in an Age of Globalization. Migration on the Move.

Holifield, R. (2001). Defining environmental justice and environmental racism. *Urba geography*, *22*(1), 78-90.

Human Rights Commission. (2014). Report on the Right to Access Sufficient Water and Decent Sanitation in South Africa: 2014. Retrieved September 20, 2019, from https://www.sahrc.org.za/home/21/files/FINAL%204th%20Proof%204%20March%0-%20Water%20%20Sanitation%20low%20res%20(2).pdf

Human Rights Commission. (n.d.). The Right to Water & Sanitation. Retrieved September 17, 2019, from https://www.sahrc.org.za/home/21/files/SAHRC%20Water%20and%20Sanitation%20revised%20pamphlet%2020%20March%202018.pdf

Hungwe, C. (2013). Surviving social exclusion: Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg, South Africa. University of South Africa.

Hutcherson, C. A., & Gross, J. J. (2011). The moral emotions: A social- functionalist account of anger, disgust, and contempt. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 100*, 719–737.

Kahneman, D. and A. Tversky. (1982). 'Variants of Uncertainty.' In Judgment Under Uncertainty: Heuristics and Biases, eds D. Kahneman, P. Slovic, and A. Tversky. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kavaliers, M., & Choleris, E. (2018). The role of social cognition in parasite and pathogen avoidance. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences*, *373*(1751), 20170206.

Kavaliers, M., Ossenkopp, K. P., & Choleris, E. (2019). Social neuroscience of disgust. *Genes, Brain and Behavior*, *18*(1).

Kiwanuka, M., & Monson, T. (2009). (D. Vigneswaran, T. Polzer, & J. Vearey, Eds.) Zimbabwean migration into Southern Africa: new trends and responses (pp. 1–95). University of the Witwatersrand.

Kok, P., & Collinson, M. (2006). Migration and Urbanisation in South Africa. Statistics South Africa, 1–36.

Kok, P., Oucho, J., Gelderblom, D., & Zyl, J. van. (2006). Migration in South and Southern Africa: dynamics and determinants. Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Krosch, A. R., & Amodio, D. M. (2014). Economic scarcity alters the perception of race. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, *111*(25), 9079-9084.

Landmann, H., Gaschler, R., & Rohmann, A. (2019). What is threatening about refugees? Identifying different types of threat and their association with emotional responses and attitudes towards refugee migration. *European Journal of Social Psychology*.

Legislative Sector of South Africa. (2013). Public Participation Framework for the South African Legislative sector. Retrieved November 2, 2019, from http://www.sals.gov.za/docs/pubs/ppf.pdf

Lubkemann, S. C. (2000). The Transformation of Transnationality among Mozambican Migrants in South Africa. Canadian Journal of African Studies, 34(1), 41.

Lucas, R. E. B. (2014). International handbook on migration and economic development. Cheltenham: Elgar.

Maphazi, N., Raga, K., Taylor, J. D., & Mayekiso, T. (2013). Public participation: a South African local government perspective.

Matsumoto, D., Hwang, H. C., & Frank, M. G. (2017). Emotion and aggressive intergroup cognitions: The ANCODI hypothesis. *Aggressive behavior*, *43*(1), 93-107.

Mbelengwa, N. S. (2017). *Community participation in the Integrated Development Plan of the City of Johannesburg municipality* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Pretoria).

Manomano, T., Tanga, P. T., & Tanyi, P. (2016). Housing problems and programs in South Africa: a literature review. *Journal of Sociology and Social Anthropology*, *7*(2), 111-117.

McDonald, D. A. (Ed.). (2004). *Environmental Justice in South Africa*. Juta and Company Ltd.

Mitchell, J. P., Ames, D. L., Jenkins, A. C. & Banaji, M. R. (2009). Neural correlates of stereotype application. *J. Cogn. Neurosci. 21*, 594–604.

Muanamoha, R. C., Maharaj, B., & Preston-Whyte, E. (2010). Social networks and undocumented Mozambican migration to South Africa. Geoforum, 41(6), 885–896.

Naicker, C. (2016). The languages of xenophobia in post-apartheid South Africa: Reviewing migrancy, foreignness, and solidarity. Agenda, 30(2), 46–60.

Neuberg, S. L. (2008). Intergroup prejudices and intergroup conflicts.

Neuberg, S. L. & Schaller, M. (2008). Intergroup prejudices and intergroup conflicts.

Njwambe, A., Cocks, M., & Vetter, S. (2019). Ekhayeni: Rural–Urban Migration, Belonging and Landscapes of Home in South Africa. Journal of Southern African Studies, 45(2), 413–431.

Obeid, S., Haddad, C., Salame, W., Kheir, N., & Hallit, S. (2019). Xenophobic attitudes, behaviors and coping strategies among Lebanese people toward immigrants and refugees. *Perspectives in psychiatric care*.

Olson, I. R., McCoy, D., Klobusicky, E. & Ross, L. A. (2013) Social cognition and the anterior temporal lobes: a review and theoretical framework. *Soc. Cogn. Affect. Neurosci. 8*, 123–133.

Operario, D. and S. T. Fiske. (1998). 'Racism Equals Power Plus Prejudice. A Social Psychological Equation for Racial Oppression.' In *Confronting Racism. The Problem and the Response*, eds J. L. Eberhardt and S. T. Fiske. London: Sage.

Panzer, A., Viljoen, M., & Roos, J. L. (2007). The neurobiological basis of fear: a concise review. *African Journal of Psychiatry*, *10*(2), 71-75.

Parliamentary Joint Committee (PJC) (2015). Report of the Ad Hoc Joint Committee on Probing Violence Against Foreign Nationals (Cape Town: South African Parliament).

Patel, Z. (2009). Environmental justice in South Africa: Tools and trade-offs. *Social dynamics*, *35*(1), 94-110.

Pauw, K. (2005). A profile of Gauteng: Demographics, poverty, inequality and unemployment. PROVIDE Project Background Paper, 1(7).

Peberdy, S. (2000). Mobile entrepreneurship: Informal sector cross-border trade and street trade in South Africa. Development Southern Africa, 17(2), 201–219.

Peberdy, S. A. (2018). Changing Geographies of Immigration to South Africa. World Regional Geography Book Series The Geography of South Africa, 229–239.

Quadflieg, S., Turk, D. J., Waiter, G. D., Mitchell, J. P., Jenkins, A. C., & Macrae, C. N. (2009). Exploring the neural correlates of social stereotyping. *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience*, *21*(8), 1560-1570.

Ray, B., & Preston, V. (2009). Geographies of Discrimination: Variations in Perceived Discomfort and Discrimination in Canadas Gateway Cities. Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies, 7(3), 228–249.

Reese, G., & Jacob, L. (2015). Principles of environmental justice and pro-environmental action: A two-step process model of moral anger and responsibility to act. *Environmental Science & Policy*, *51*, 88-94.

Republic of South Africa. (1996). *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa.* Cape Town/Pretoria: Government Printer.

Rozin, P., Haidt, J., McCauley, C., & Imada, S. (1997). Disgust: Preadaptation and the cultural evolution of a food-based emotion. In H. MacBeth (Ed.), *Food preferences and taste,* 65–82.

Rozin, P., Haidt, J., & McCauley, C.R. (2000). Disgust. In M. Lewis & J. M. Haviland-Jones (Eds.), *Handbook of emotions* (2nd edn, pp. 637–653). New York: Guilford Press.

Rusinga, O., Maposa, R. S., & Tobias, D. (2012). Contested Alien Spaces and the Search for National Identity: a Study of Ethnicity in Light of Xenophobic Violence on Migrants in South Africa. Migration and Development, 1(2), 206–215.

Schiefenhövel, W. (1997). Good tastes and bad tastes: Preferences and aversions as biological principles. In H. MacBeth (Ed.), *Food preferences and taste* (pp. 55–64). Providence, RI:

Berghahn.

Schlosberg, D. (2009). *Defining environmental justice: theories, movements, and nature*.
    Oxford   University   Press.

Schlosberg, D. (2017). Reconceiving environmental justice: Global movements and political
    theories.   *Environmental*   *Justice*,   29.

Schuerkens, U. (2005). Transnational Migrations and Social Transformations: A Theoretical
    Perspective.   Current   Sociology,   53(4),   535–553.

South African Government. (2019). Back to Basics. Retrieved September 25, 2019, from
    https://www.gov.za/about-government/government-programmes/back-basics

Stangor, C., Sullivan, L. A., & Ford, T. E. (1991). Affective and cognitive determinants of
    prejudice.   *Social*   *cognition*,   *9*(4),   359-380

Statistics South Africa. (2016). Community Survey 2016. Statistical Release. Retrieved
    September   25,   2019,   from
    http://cs2016.statssa.gov.za/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/NT-3
    0-06-2016-RELEASE-for-CS-2016-_Statistical-releas_1-July-2016.pdf

Stephan, W. G., & Stephan, C. W. (2017). Intergroup threat theory. *The International
    Encyclopedia of Intercultural Communication*, 1-12.

Tevera, D. (2013). African Migrants, Xenophobia and Urban Violence in Post-apartheid South
    Africa.   Alternation   Special   Edition   7,   9–26.

The Department of Justice and Constitutional Development. (1996). *The Constitution of the
    Republic   of   South   Africa*.   Cape   Town: RSA.   Retrieved   from
    http://www.justice.gov.za/legislation/constitution/SAConstitution-web-eng.pdf

The Global Economy. (n.d.). South Africa: Political stability . Retrieved October 7, 2019, from
    https://www.theglobaleconomy.com/South-Africa/wb_political_stability/.

The Housing Development Agency. (2013). Gauteng: Informal settlements Status (2013).
    Retrieved   September   17,   2019,   from
    http://thehda.co.za/pdf/uploads/multimedia/HDA_Gauteng_Report_lr.pdf

Tversky, A. and D. Kahneman. (1982). 'Causal Schemas in Judgements Under Uncertainty.' In
    Judgment Under Uncertainty: Heuristics and Biases, eds D. Kahneman, P. Slovic, and A.
    Tversky. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs. Population Division (2019). International Migrant Stock 2019 (United Nations database, POP/DB/MIG/Stock/Rev.2019).

Van der Merwe, C.D., & Patel, Z. (2005). Understandings of urban regeneration, heritage and environmental justice at constitution hill, Johannesburg. In Urban Forum (Vol. 16, No. 2, pp. 244-258). Springer Netherlands.

Vearey, J. (2008). Migration, access to ART, and survivalist livelihood strategies in Johannesburg. African Journal of AIDS Research, 7(3), 361–374.

Walker, G. (2012). *Environmental justice: concepts, evidence and politics*. Routledge.

Ward, J. (2017). Groups and identity. *The student's guide to social neuroscience*. Psychology Press, 263-290.

Wazimap. (2019). Profile: City Of Johannesburg, Gauteng
https://wazimap.co.za/profiles/municipality-JHB-city-of-johannesburg/#citations

World Bank. (2018). Rural population (% of total population). Retrieved October 7, 2019, from https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.RUR.TOTL.ZS?view=chart.

World Bank. (2019, September). Unemployment, total (% of total labor force) (modeled ILO estimate) - South Africa. Retrieved October 3, 2019, from https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.UEM.TOTL.ZS?locations=ZA.

World Bank Group (WBG). (2018). Mixed Migration, Forced Displacement and Job Outcomes in South Africa, 1–62.