



Psychosocial pathways to xenophobic attitudes among South Africans: A mediating study

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CERTIFICATION

I certify that this research was carried out by Ufuoma Patience EJOKE (Student Number 24435589) of the Department of Psychology, North-West University (Mafikeng Campus), South Africa under my supervision.

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DATE

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis, titled “Psychosocial pathways to xenophobic attitudes among South Africans: A mediating study”, has not been submitted by me for any degree at this or any other university; that it is my own work in design and execution, and that all materials contained in this work have been duly referenced and acknowledged.

Ufuoma Patience Ejoke

2018/11/11

.....

.....

Name and Signature

Date

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to God Almighty, because to Him I owe my life. I also dedicate this thesis to my most adorable and understanding children (Chukwuka, Onyebuchi and OnyeKachi), and my sweet mother (Mrs R.O. Useh) for their prayers, care and words of encouragement.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AMOS	Analysis of Moment Structure
ATCKs	Adult Third Culture Kids
BPI-10	Big Five Personality Inventory
CoRMSA	Consortium for Refugees and Migrants of South Africa
CPF	Community Police Forum
DF	Degrees of freedom
EASS	East Asian Social Survey
EU	European Union
FDS	Frustration Discomfort Scale
FFM	Five Factor Model
GSS	General Social Survey
HRW	Human Rights Watch
IA	Intergroup Anxiety
ICE	Intercultural communication emotions
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IPTS	Inter-Personal Tolerance Scale
ISSP	International Social Survey Program
ITT	Integrated Threat Theory
KGSS	Korean General Social Survey
PI	Psychological-security and interpersonal tolerance
QDI	Quick Discrimination Index
RMSEA	Root Mean Square Error of Approximation
SAMP	Southern African Migration Project
SEM	Structural Equation Modelling

SDO	Social Dominance Orientation
SPSS	Statistic Package for Social Science
SSA	Statistics South Africa
UN	United Nations

PUBLICATIONS

These are academic papers published from this thesis and conference presentations:

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ABSTRACT

Xenophobia, particularly the hatred and killings of foreigners from African countries, has been a source of political and social concerns for South Africa and African governments in general. Yet, limited research attention has focused on how psychological security and interpersonal tolerance may affect the extent to which psychological factors and social conditions are related with xenophobic attitudes. These connections have implications for decreasing the level of xenophobic attitudes, particularly in South Africa. The study therefore investigated the extent to which psychosocial factors (psychological factors and social conditions) are related to xenophobic attitudes in South Africa. Likewise, the study examined the mediating roles of psychological security and interpersonal tolerance on the relations of psychological factors and social conditions to xenophobic attitudes.

The study was anchored on a cross-sectional survey research design. Employing a systematic randomisation sampling technique, 1100 South Africans (555 females; 545 males) with age range of 18-65 years ($M = 26.26$; $SD = 7.73$) were randomly selected by a systematic random selection of every household from six communities in three provinces of the country. The study instruments were xenophobia scale, Big Five personality scale, self-esteem scale, psychological security, Frustration Discomfort Scale, social dominance orientation, interpersonal tolerance. Seven hypotheses were tested using a series of statistics, such as Pearson product moment correlation, structural equation modelling statistics (SEM), independent samples t-test, and analysis of variance (ANOVA)

Results showed negative correlations between openness to experience and xenophobic attitudes ($r = -0.08$, $p < .05$), extraversion and xenophobia ($r = -0.18$, $p < .01$), and agreeableness and xenophobia ($r = -0.14$, $p < .01$), while neuroticism reported a positive correlation with xenophobic attitudes ($r = .18$, $p < .01$). Conscientiousness showed no statistical significance relationship with xenophobic attitudes ($r = 0.016$, $p > .05$). In addition, the results showed that self-esteem increased as level of xenophobic attitude increased ($r = 0.19$, $p < .01$). While self-esteem indicated a negative correlation with psychological security ($r = -0.17$, $p < .01$). Besides, frustration was found to be negatively correlated with psychological security, interpersonal tolerance but positively correlated with xenophobic attitudes. Specifically, the three dimensions of frustration (emotional intolerance, discomfort intolerance and achievement) showed a negative correlation with psychological security ($r = -.31$, $p < .01$; $r = -0.25$, $p < .01$; r

= -0.24, $P < .01$); interpersonal tolerance ($r = -0.11$, $p < .01$; $r = -0.09$, $p < .01$; $r = -0.08$, $p < .05$), while a positive correlation was reported for xenophobia ($r = 0.36$, $p < .01$; $r = 0.39$, $p < .01$; $r = 0.35$, $p < .01$). Also, intercultural contact increased psychological security ($r = 0.10$, $p < .01$) and interpersonal tolerance ($r = 0.15$, $p > .01$), while decreasing xenophobic attitudes ($r = -0.22$, $p < .01$).

The results of the mediation analysis, using SEM, showed that psychological security and interpersonal tolerance enhanced the extent to which psychological factors and social conditions decreased the level of xenophobic attitudes in South Africa. Significant variables are: age, frustration (i.e. emotional intolerance, emotional stability, achievement, openness to experience and intercultural contact). The study further revealed significant gender difference in xenophobic attitudes, with males reporting higher.

Findings of the study revealed that psychological security and interpersonal tolerance are significant variables relevant in addressing the case of xenophobia in South Africa, therefore, to decrease xenophobic attitudes in South Africa, it is recommended that the government of South Africa should provide psychosocial training programmes addressing psychological security, and interpersonal tolerance. This in turn will facilitate the development of an integrated society, and guarantee the satisfaction of psychosocial conditions among South Africans.

Key words: Psychosocial; Xenophobia; attitudes; Migrants; South Africa

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1. Introduction

Post-Apartheid South Africa has been struggling with the problem of xenophobia for over two decades (Gordon, Fokou, Davids & Bohler-Muller, 2018). Within this period, tens of thousands of foreign migrants have been attacked, gruesomely murdered, displaced or deprived of their property in what have been regarded as xenophobic attacks, which continue to happen in most parts of the country (Ojedokun, 2015). The recurrent widespread xenophobic attacks in South Africa have been remarkable, a situation which, if not addressed, has the potential to present national and regional political consequences, constrain South Africa's international relations, particularly within Africa, and increase violation of human rights (Misago, 2017a; Pijoos, 2018).

The new democratic South Africa focused on the importance of human rights, tolerance, and inclusiveness (Adjai & Lazaridis, 2013) and marked the end of over three centuries of colonialism, segregation and white minority rule (Eriksen, 2016), making South Africa an attractive and desirable destination for immigrants. Unfortunately, the increased immigration into the country was accompanied with xenophobic attitudes. Xenophobia (as an attitude) describes negative views held against a group of individuals because they belong to a different nationality while Xenophobia as a behaviour consists of physical acts directed towards a group for belonging to a different nationality. It is important to include actual behaviour because xenophobic violence (behaviour) is just one of many forms of manifestation of xenophobia (attitudes) (Misago, 2016a).

It is crucial to note that attitudes are needed for behaviours or actions to take place, likewise attitudes are relevant for explaining why people behave the way they do. This makes attitude very important, particularly when addressing xenophobia. People who perceive the objects of the given attitudes as highly important are more likely to act in accordance with these attitudes (Fazio & Zanna, 1978; Krosnick, 1998). Attitudes can exist without behaviour, but behaviour cannot exist without attitudes; this makes attitude a predictor of behaviour. Krech and Crutchfield (1948: 152) define an attitude as "an enduring organization of motivational, emotional, perceptual, and cognitive processes with respect to some aspect of the individual's world"

With the above understanding, xenophobic attitude (that is, intense fear and dislike of or prejudice against people from other countries, cultures, or strangers), is a recurrent social maladaptive behaviour in different parts of the globe (Georgiadou, Kafe & Lialiouti, 2017; Idemudia, 2017). This unreasonable fear and dislike of foreigners or strangers, referred to as xenophobia, has become a source of political and social concern for the world in general, and specifically for the African governments (Brodziak, Różyk-Myrta & Wolińska, 2016; Fabricius, 2017; Pillay, 2017).

In South Africa, this fear or hatred has evolved into and manifested as harmful attacks ranging from burning tyres, barricading streets, looting and burning shops, stabbing people, shooting or burning to death immigrants, particularly black Africans, who are chased away from their homes and businesses by mobs (Wilkinson, 2014). While these actions differ in intensity and severity, they share one thing in common; they are all types of behaviour that involve acting on prejudicial attitudes.

These attitudes developed by some people which prompt them towards xenophobic behaviour, and the concern as to what makes people prone towards xenophobic violence ignited the rationale for this study. Many (e.g. Fabricius, 2017; Galariotis, Georgiadou, Kafe & Lialiouti, 2017; Mamabolo, 2015; Okyere-Manu, 2016; Pillay, 2017; Shenasi, 2015; Tafira, 2018) have tried to give explanations about xenophobia in South Africa; they have linked it to South Africa's historical past, social behaviour and socio-economic factors. Likewise, Ejoke and Ani (2017) have argued that one of the reasons advanced for xenophobic attitudes is the relationship between an increase in illegal migration and the rising rate of unemployment among South Africans. In all explanations stated, however, what remains constant in South Africa is a legacy of negative attitudes towards people considered as different (Lefko-Everett, 2008). Xenophobic attitudes pervade all economic, racial and educational strata of South African society.

Xenophobia in South Africa is not always limited to violent manifestation. Many foreigners have experienced xenophobic comments and attitudes from South Africans, and this intolerance is not limited to ordinary citizens. Government officials, some government departments, the media and the police have embraced similar attitudes (Tella, 2016). It is thus not surprising that

Neocosmos (2008) observes that xenophobia has become hegemonic in the post-apartheid South African society. More so, a report after the much publicized 2008 xenophobic attack revealed that 44 % of South Africans said they would report foreigners to the police, 32% admitted that they would report foreigners to their employers, 36% said they are ready to report foreigners to local community associations, while 16% said they would willing arrange for people to force foreigners to leave, and 9% agreed that they could use violence against foreigners (SAMP, 2008).

In support of the SAMP (2008) findings, after the 2015 xenophobic attacks, Afrobarometer (2016), an African-led series of national public attitude surveys, found that more than one in every five South Africans would demand the deportation of all foreigners, irrespective of their legal status in the country, and that more than one out of every ten South Africans within the time period 1997-2011 were “very likely” to take part in any action to stop foreigners from moving into their neighbourhood or even operating a business in their locality (Krönke, 2015). It is highly unlikely that all people who indicated willingness to partake in xenophobic actions actually have. But, this raises the concern that the violent attacks have the potential to become more widespread.

At the very least, the implications of both the SAMP and Afrobarometer data indicate that xenophobic attitudes are indeed leading to action, and a considerable minority of South Africans would approve of the xenophobic actions of others. Although only a few reported that they would use violence against foreigners, given the right situation it seems that many more would be inclined to violence. It is evident that some South Africans do not want foreign nationals in their country and are prepared to take action against them (Crush & Ramachandran, 2017). The continuing threat that these attitudes pose, in terms of the probability of action, are a huge concern for South Africa. There are several studies (e.g. Mamabolo, 2015; Okyere-Manu, 2016; Pillay, 2017; Shenasi, 2015; Tafira, 2018) on xenophobia, however, not enough has been done to curb these attitudes.

Past studies (e.g. Amnesty International, 2015; Crush, Ramachandran & Pendleton, 2013; HSRC, 2010; Landau, 2011; Misago, Freemantle & Landau, 2015, Saurer, 2016) on xenophobia indicate that the phenomenon constitutes an intensely rooted, widespread, on-going and evolving socio-economic problem in South Africa, and one that is difficult to address. In an attempt to address xenophobic attitudes in the country therefore, this thesis investigates psychosocial

variables (i.e., openness to experience, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, neuroticism, self-esteem, frustration, intercultural contact, negative stereotypes, gender and age) with xenophobic attitudes among South Africans. Likewise, the mediating roles of psychological security and interpersonal tolerance were examined. This mediation study is employed as an attempt to arrive at means by which xenophobia in South Africa can be addressed. The thesis concludes with practical recommendations for interventions that may significantly eliminate xenophobia in South Africa.

1.2. Background to the study

From the period of the “Atlantic slave trade” (16th to the 19th century), South Africa has been subjected to white power, racial discrimination and segregation (Eriksen, 2016). The segregation developed into another level with the introduction of apartheid in 1945. Although apartheid was grounded on earlier laws, segregation approach was more aggressive (South African History Online, 2016). In this regard, apartheid presented a separation between races on a general basis, translating to mean white domination and black subordination in South Africa. Apart from economy and labour segregation, several laws were passed during the 1950s, mainly to enforce racial separation and to expand an unequal social order. Examples of some Acts during this period were *The Population Registration Act* (demanding South Africans to register by race), the *Group Areas Act* (producing extensive forced relocations of certain races to change a city’s social geography), and the *Reservation of Separate Amenities Act* (which dealt with placing signs, e.g. “White people only!”, in reserved places such as parks, beaches, movie theatre, malls and restaurants, to mention a few).

The response to these laws was series of protests from South Africans. But the apartheid economy had many faults, and opposition grew both nationally and internationally (Eriksen, 2016). Additionally, the gap between the white rich and the poor black majority was huge; for example, Ian and Kahreen (2015) noted co-existence between poverty, income and racial inequality, and statistics indicated a rate of 24% of South Africa’s population living below the poverty level (Seekings, 2007).

With democracy in 1994, under the leadership of Nelson Mandela, the challenging task of political normalization began. South Africa’s new Constitution of 1996 became one of the most

liberal worldwide. The Constitution granted equal rights in the country (Eriksen, 2016). Likewise, the concept of *Ubuntu*, seen as the counterpart of apartheid, was one of the core values of the democratic transition, signifying reconciliation, community and togetherness. The goal was to create a united South Africa (Eriksen, 2016). Additionally, the new government had an uphill task to ensure that it addressed the imbalance created as a result of race, poverty and inequality. As such, the reception of the democratic dispensation in South Africa brought a wave of expectations of a better life for South Africans. This was accompanied by high hopes for a great change, especially for the marginalized poor, an end to a segregated nation, and hopes that income inequality and poverty would be reduced (Adjai & Lazaridis, 2013). Unfortunately, income inequality and poverty was still on the increase (Seekings, 2007).

Research shows that democracy in South Africa was accompanied by cross-border migration, which was consequently followed by a xenophobic attitude and its manifestations of violent attacks, killings and lootings (Idemudia, 2017; Neocosmos, 2010). A majority of South Africans directed verbal abuse towards foreigners (Crush & Ramachandran, 2009; Chinomona & Maziriri, 2015), evidently, xenophobic attitudes in South Africa became the highest on the African continent (UNHRC, 2014). These attitudes seem to be submerged in the thoughts and perceptions that foreigners are to blame for societal ills including crime, corruption, disease, and high levels of unemployment (Ejoke & Ani, 2017). A 1998 survey found a large majority of South Africans (72%) supporting policy proposals requesting foreigners to carry identification at all times (Crush, 2008). Similarly, Krönke (2015) found that over 20% of South Africans approved the deportation of all foreigners, irrespective of whether they possessed legal documents.

Democratic South Africa became characterised by the use of social exclusion, scapegoating, isolation and violence as a means to solve problems when expectations were not forthcoming, with the failure of the government to solve the social problems inherited from the apartheid system. Worse still, since 1994, the migration patterns in the country became complex and diverse, attracting particularly blacks from sub-Saharan African countries (Matsinhe, 2011). Many migrants exploited the asylum system for legal status in South Africa. The overwhelming influx of migrants remains a challenge as they try to settle in the country; and the constant complaint is that the immigration policy is poor and seeks to control rather than to regulate migrants in the republic.

The implication of this is that government has failed to handle the issue of foreigners in the republic.

This failure of government to address migrants' issues, the supposedly poor immigration policy, the isolation of South Africa from the rest of the world during the apartheid years, and the influx of migrants made worse by immigration policy reform (Crush, 2008) became so complex, that the majority of South Africans have begun blaming the unattainable entitlement promised under the democratic dispensation to migrants in the country. It is perceived from the side of South Africans that the country embraces foreigners who have become successful in South Africa on the one hand, while South Africans themselves feel betrayed by their democratic government.

In trying to resolve the concerns raised by the majority of South Africans, the African National Congress (ANC) government used a slightly aggressive nation-building project to overcome the divides of the past, according to a report from the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) in 2004; a disturbing finding was the growing intolerance towards outsiders (Crush & Pendleton, 2004).

De la Rey (1991) noted that in creating a new South Africa, developing in people a national pride, and instilling a sense of belonging, South Africa consciously or unconsciously created an exclusionary national identity. This strength of national identity is well documented in the SAMP (2008) survey. The report showed that a majority of South Africans (80%) across racial groups indicated an identity of being a South African. According to Social Dominance Orientation Theory, such a strong national identity ego sets the stage for inter-group-based discrimination and attitudes, whereby a group feels obliged to dominate and oppress another group on the basis of superiority and feeling of entitlement (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

Today, democratic South Africa has become marked by a steadily increasing attitudinal and behavioural undercurrent of xenophobia (Gordon, Fokou, Davids & Bohler-Muller, 2018). For example, a 1998 survey showed xenophobic sentiments among a majority of South Africans (66%), saying that South Africa's border fence should be electrified (Crush, 2008). In 2006, after eight years, xenophobic attitudes were just as prevalent. A survey conducted that year found almost half of the South African sample wanted foreigners deported, irrespective of their legal status (Southern African Migration Project, 2008). The results of this same survey indicated that antipathy to

immigrants is not limited to any particular South African in-groups, or to national out-groups, the proportion holding a favourable view of immigrants did not go beyond 26%, regardless of whether the sample was limited to blacks or whites, or whether the sample responded about immigrants from Africa, Europe, or North America.

In addition, Hopstock and de Jager (2011) claim that the attitudes towards immigrants, especially those held towards blacks from Africa, increased, a survey conducted by SAMP from 2001 shows 21% of South Africans supported a complete ban on immigration, while 64% wanted strict limits on entry. The authors argued that xenophobic attitudes seem enshrined in South Africa and exceed the fear and dislike of foreigners, because fellow citizens have been attacked. This implies that the fear of the 'other' in South Africa is extreme and may express itself in violent behaviour.

In 2007, seven killings were reported (HSRC, 2010). Reports from documents from the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) (2014) show that approximately three serious xenophobic attacks were documented every week across South Africa between 2008 and 2013; consequently, an average of 150 deaths were recorded annually. In addition, the Consortium for Refugees and Migrants of South Africa (CoRMSA) (2011) reported that between 2008-2011 4,000 foreign nationals were displaced. The attacks gradually escalated in brutality. The May 2008 xenophobic attack was different and memorable for South Africa; though the attacks started in Alexandra, they spread rapidly throughout the country (Hadland, 2008), leaving over 60 dead, several injured, tens of thousands displaced, numerous foreign-owned properties completely damaged, and 342 shops looted and 213 burnt down (Adam & Moodley, 2013; Crush, 2008).

The May 2008 attacks continued to shock the country in the years that followed. More so, the May 2008 xenophobic attack did not only affect foreign nationals, but South Africans who appeared to be foreigners as a result of skin colour and other physical characteristics were attacked in at least 135 locations across the country. Unpublished data from UNHCR additionally indicates that the frequency of xenophobic attacks actually increased in the period between 2012 and 2014. According to UNHCR (2014, 2015), over 140 deaths and 250 serious injuries were recorded in 2012, with some of the victims being burnt alive.

The trend of xenophobic attacks continued into 2013, where 88 foreign nationals were killed (Siegfried, 2013). More so, the Jesuit Institute of South Africa (JISA) reported that a total of 240 foreigners were killed in xenophobic attacks in 2013; some were murdered in the most gruesome circumstances (Misago, Freemantle & Landau, 2015). In 2015, it was no longer a hidden fact that foreigners are totally unwelcome in South Africa, as a number of nation-wide xenophobic attacks occurred. Many believed that King Goodwill Zwelithini of Zululand fuelled the violence based on his public speech calling for all foreigners to leave the country (Times Live, 2015). Consequent upon the King's utterance, the wave of xenophobia spread like wildfire across KwaZulu-Natal, resulting in the displacement of over 2000 foreign nationals originally from Malawi, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Burundi, shops burnt and five people killed (Hans, 2015). In 2017, Misago (2017b) noted the resurgence of xenophobic violence in parts of Johannesburg and Pretoria, where homes of foreigners were looted and burnt down.

The hostility towards foreign nationals continued in 2018, and is still on-going in the country; it continues to result in looting of foreign-owned shops. For example, in January 2018, xenophobic violence erupted in Rustenburg, North West. In this process, foreigners' homes were burnt and shops looted. With this situation, Gordon, Fokou, Davids and Bohler-Muller (2018) question the state of social cohesion within the country. More so, the April 2018 political protest in North-West was an avenue for some South Africans to raid and loot foreign-owned shops. Several shops in Mahikeng were closed, with owners fearful and saying that their businesses would be looted or destroyed. A majority of the closed shops were owned by foreign nationals, and the fear by foreigners was linked to the violence in the previous weeks in Mahikeng, which left 1,000 shops destroyed and some 800 foreign nationals homeless (Pijoos, 2018).

The above situation makes xenophobia appear as a well-established part of the South African socio-political setting, despite the world's recognition of South Africa's constitution as one of the most progressive that advocates values such as cosmopolitanism, universal justice and equality for all residing within its borders. Yet, xenophobic attitudes continue to be on the rise across most regions of South Africa (HRW, 2015; Mabera, 2017), thus, placing South Africa as the most hostile destination in the world, particularly for African migrants (UNHRC, 2014). South Africa was rated as the most xenophobic country globally, followed by Germany and Canada (Adam & Moodley, 2013). Scholars (e.g. Crush, 2008) have noted that while xenophobia is a

global phenomenon, the South African attacks are exceptional, because the hostility towards foreign nationals is extremely widespread as well as accompanied by violent attacks.

Various factors have been implicated in the formation of hostility or xenophobic attitudes towards foreigners in past studies. For example, a systematic review of literature on xenophobic attitudes conducted by Ejoke and Ani (2017) noted that formation of xenophobic attitudes towards 'others' is discussed on the lines of socio-economic deprivation. According to Ejoke and Ani (2017) a majority of South Africans are of the thought and opinion that foreigners are to blame for societal ills. Moreover, foreigners are seen to be competing for scarce resources, including employment. Likewise, a summation of reviewed literature on xenophobic attitudes indicated various triggers to the series of attacks; these are subsumed under political, cultural and socio-economic factors. Some of the speculations include: the mythology that foreigners, predominantly African immigrants, 'steal' jobs and even 'women' from South Africans (Ejoke & Ani, 2017; Mamabolo, 2015); socio-economic deprivation and deep economic inequality; frustration with foreign policy failures; poor leadership styles; inadequate service delivery; the country's isolation in the past, and insufficient training to teach the values of human rights; tolerance issues, democracy and international understanding (Akinola, 2018; Crush & Tawodzera, 2014; Pillay, 2017).

Based on the above mentioned factors causing xenophobic attitudes, specific psychosocial factors (e.g. personality traits, frustration, self-esteem, stereotypes, intercultural contact, psychological security and interpersonal tolerance) were selected for inclusion in the present study; this is because the majority of South Africans might be experiencing a wide range of psychosocial sequelae that might arise as a result of issues related to interpersonal tolerance and psychological security (Roux, 2017), which are variables of interest in the present study. Among some of the psychosocial factors that South Africans are struggling with are: frustration, hopelessness, social mobilization and relative deprivation (Claassen, 2017; Wilson & Magam, 2018), stereotypes, inter-group anxiety and poverty (Mothibi, Roelofse & Tshivhase, 2015). Unfortunately, the aforementioned studies in South Africa have not considered other psychosocial variables that could predict xenophobic attitudes. The next section looks into these psychosocial variables.

1.3. Variables of the study:

This section introduces all study variables and briefly addresses their relationships. Psychosocial variables are the independent variables in the study, and they consist of psychological factors (personality traits, self-esteem and frustration) and social factors (intercultural contact, stereotypes, gender and age). The mediator variables are psychological security and interpersonal tolerance, while the dependent variable is xenophobic attitude.

Personality is what makes an individual that particular individual; it comprises all the traits, and characteristics which make one person different from another. In psychology, personality, according to American Psychological Association (2017), is “*individual differences in characteristic patterns of thinking, feeling, and behaving*”. Revelle (2013) refers to personality as: “*the coherent pattern of affect, cognition, and desires (goals) as they lead to behaviour*”. Personality consists of various traits but in this study, personality was assessed from the Big Five traits, which is discussed in section 1.3.1

Research has shown that some individuals’ personality traits such as conscientiousness, agreeableness and openness to experience are associated with attitudes towards immigrants (Gallego & Pardos-Prado, 2014). More so, in order not to exhibit xenophobic attitudes, it is important for an individual to have a positive self-esteem (Miklikowska, 2017), because this gives that person a feeling of confidence, self-satisfaction, value and worth (Rosenberg, 1979). Contrarily, low self-esteem predisposes people to self-criticism and lack of self-confidence, a situation that can make them vulnerable to challenging situations (Spencer, Josephs & Steele, 1993). This is because people with low self-esteem easily feel more troubled and over-exaggerate events. They are more prone to experience social anxiety because they do not have confidence in themselves, which means that in a situation of social lack, for example, employment issues, people with low self-esteem may easily get frustrated, because both concepts originate from feelings of uncertainty, insecurity and loss of self-confidence.

According to the Dollard-Miller Frustration-Aggression theory (1939), aggression is a consequence of frustration; this is because it is expected that frustrated people may become aggressive especially when cognitively they think, perceive or blame other people for their problems (Fedorenko, Skutina, Kalinovskaya & Potapova, 2018). As such, frustrated individuals

are more likely to become stereotypic when their needs get delayed or blocked; such situations make frustrated people uneasy and insecure. As a result of this insecurity, they are less likely to have good intercultural contacts, especially with foreign nationals (Glorius, 2017; Hadarics & Kende, 2018), more so, when people's needs are constantly unsatisfied, the frustration-aggression theory submits that anger, loss of self-confidence, annoyance, aggression, and sometimes violence are likely to follow (Dollard *et al.*, 1939).

1.3.1. Personality traits and xenophobic attitudes

Gosling, Rentfrow and Swann (2003) conceptualized personality traits into the Big Five Traits namely: openness, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism which are known as higher order traits. Each of these traits comprise lower order traits, for example, agreeableness includes traits like generosity, amiability, and warmth (on the positive side) and aggressiveness and temper (on the negative side). These characteristics and many more make up the broader trait of "agreeableness".

These personality traits differentiate people who can exhibit xenophobic attitudes from those who cannot. This is because a person having a positive side of agreeableness is expected, according to the Five Factor Model of personality, to be warm and less aggressive and as such less likely to exhibit xenophobic attitudes, compared to those that are characterized by the negative side of agreeableness. This is an implication that personality traits may impact xenophobic attitude. Despite this, little is known about the influence of the Big Five personality traits in relation to xenophobic attitudes, particularly in South Africa. Below is the breakdown of the Big Five personality traits.

Agreeableness concerns orientation towards others and how well individuals get along with other people. It is a construct that rests on how people generally interact with others. The lower order traits associated with agreeableness are trusting, patient, kind, unselfish, helpful and considerate. Individuals high in agreeableness are likely to be respected, and sensitive to the needs of others. They rarely have enemies, rather, they appear more sympathetic and affectionate to friends and loved ones, more so, and they are more sympathetic to the plights of strangers (Lebowitz, 2016).

Contrarily, those low on the agreeableness spectrum are less likely to be trusted and liked by others. They are more likely to be callous, blunt, rude, ill-tempered, antagonistic, and sarcastic. Past studies (e.g. Carney, Jost, Gosling & Potter, 2008; Gallego & Pardos-Prado, 2014; Gosling *et al.*, 2003) have documented the significant relationship between agreeableness and xenophobic attitude. This may be because a more agreeable person is an individual who is more trusting, helpful and kind; such a person's attitude is likely to be less xenophobic because due to the composition of their traits they are more likely to perceive foreigners with sympathy and less likely to behaviourally engage in any kind of conflict, including inter-group conflict. Therefore, an individual who scores low on the agreeableness scale is expected to be more xenophobic than a high scorer during challenging situations, such as unemployment issues in the country and service delivery delays. This proposes that the trait of agreeableness may be a pathway to xenophobic attitude among South Africans. Another exogenous variable of interest in this study is openness to experience.

Openness is a higher order trait comprising lower order traits such as curiosity, creativeness, independent mindedness, intellectual as well as individuals who are often having a complex mental and experiential life. Moreover, openness is linked to universalism values, which involve promoting peace, tolerance and seeing all individuals as equals (Douglas, Bore, & Munro, 2016). Past studies (e.g. Carney *et al.*, 2008; Freitag & Rapp, 2015; Murray, 2014) in different countries reported a negative relationship between openness to experience and anti-migrant sentiments. This may be because such individuals tend to be more understanding and fully diversified (John, Robins, & Pervin, 2008). More so, they have greater motivation to want to get more accurate information rather than draw conclusions simply on what others are saying. In the case of South Africa, South Africans who are likely to score high on openness to experience will be more anxious about the effects of immigration and they will be attentive to information that discounts stereotypes. This will serve to reduce discriminatory attitudes. Thus, such a person's attitude is likely to be less xenophobic compared to people who are low scorers on openness to experience.

In addition, individuals who are open to experience have more liberal political behaviours and they may also be more attracted to different cultures and more susceptible to make friends with people from an immigrant origin (Jackson & Poulsen 2005; Zimmermann & Neyer, 2013). Therefore, individuals with a low score on openness to experience may be more xenophobic than

those with a high score. This is because Gosling, Rentfrow and Swann's (2003) personality trait theory posits that an individual who is low on the openness to experience scale is expected to be intolerant towards people considered as 'others' and will not make contact with them. This implies that openness to experience may be a variable of interest in relation to xenophobic attitudes.

Extraversion describes a more energetic individual. For example, Gallego, and Pardos-Prado (2014) revealed that low extraversion is associated with negative behaviour which influences attitudinal intentions towards immigrants. This may be because extraverted individuals are characterised by traits like sociability, assertiveness and experiencing positive emotions. In this regard, poor social relations may define individual differences regarding attitude during challenging situations. Such an individual may lack trust in those considered as 'other'. Therefore, an individual who is low in the scale of extraversion may be more of a xenophobe compared to the individual who is high on extraversion scale. This is because Gosling, Rentfrow and Swann's (2003) personality trait theory submits that a highly extraverted individual is generally sociable and excitable while a low scorer is unsocial. As such, it is expected that the latter will exhibit poor social relations.

Conscientiousness describes a high level of control over the impulses focused at facilitating task and goal-oriented behaviours. It is characterised by responsiveness, dutifulness and organisation. Across countries, conscientiousness is connected with more conservative attitudes (Carney *et al.*, 2008), which may predict anti-immigrant attitudes. Soldz and Vaillant (1999) found a relationship between conscientiousness and adjustment to life's challenges and the maturity of one's defensive responses, implying that those people high in conscientiousness are those that are well-prepared to tackle any obstacles that come their way. Conscientiousness is negatively correlated with depression, smoking, and substance abuse. Based on these negative correlates it is unlikely for a conscientious person to exhibit xenophobic attitudes drawing from Five Factor Model (FFM).

The trait of neuroticism intensifies the salience of personal threats and the propensity to react to them. Since neurotic individuals are more sensitive to certain threats, Gallego and Pardos-Prado (2014) found that neuroticism is moderately related with attitudes towards immigrants. Neuroticism, however, is not recognised to be a consistent correlate of prejudice. Though, drawing from FFM a highly neurotic person displays anxiety, depression, shyness and low self-esteem.

These characteristics, according to Deci and Ryan (2008) define individual differences in degrees of internalized self-regulation during challenging situations, which are orientations towards stable tendencies in cognition, affect and behaviour, therefore suggesting that neuroticism may be a pathway to xenophobia.

1.3.2. Frustration and xenophobic attitudes

Apart from personality traits, frustration is another psychological variable that may have an association with xenophobic attitudes in South Africa, as it has been implicated in past studies (e.g. Claassen, 2017; Fedorenko, Skutina, Kalinovskaya & Potapova, 2018; Gomes, 2014; Hardy, 2017; Hatemi, McDermott, Eaves, Kendler & Neale, 2013; Waghid, 2004; Wilson & Magam, 2018). Frustration is defined as interpersonal thwarting of ongoing goal-directed behaviour (Baron & Richardson, 1994; Berkowitz, 1993). Harrington (2005) operationalized frustration into four dimensions, namely, emotional intolerance, discomfort intolerance, entitlement, and achievement frustration. These dimensions reveal different underlying cognitive processes.

For example, the emotional intolerance dimension reflects the belief that emotional suffering is intolerable and needs an urgent relief, or must be avoided (e.g. “I absolutely must be free of distressing feelings as quickly as I can. I can’t bear for them to continue”). The discomfort intolerance dimension expresses beliefs and thoughts that life must be free of daily hassles, effort, and inconvenience (e.g. “Tasks that I attempt absolutely must not be too difficult. Otherwise, I can’t stand doing them”), while the entitlement dimension includes the demands for justice, fairness and immediate gratification (e.g. “I absolutely must not be taken for granted. I can’t stand being unappreciated”). The theme of this dimension may be summarized as “I must get what I want” (Dryden & Gordon, 1993: 23). As a matter of fact, it is a strong sense of entitlement, which often pushes people towards attaining their desires. Such desires must be met at all cost and other individuals should indulge and not frustrate these desires, otherwise they are to blame for such frustration. Finally, the achievement dimension expresses demands, rather than preferences, for high standards, and intolerance of these standards being frustrated (e.g. “if a job is worth doing, I absolutely must not fall short. I cannot accept lower standards”). Thus, this dimension is directed towards assessing achievement beliefs linked to frustrated intolerance as conflicting with those associated with self-evaluation.

The dimensions of frustration are important to the individual as they differentiate individuals who will become frustrated from those that will not, depending on the dimension related to them (Enns & Cox, 2002; Rabkin, 2015). There is evidence that individuals differ in their ability to delay gratification, and these differences can be stable over time and across different situations (Mischel, 1996). More so, when people's needs get delayed or blocked in any of the four dimensions, such a situation provokes feelings of uneasiness and insecurity. Hence, frustration intolerance signifies a demand that reality should be how people want it to be (Dollard *et al.*, 1939). According to the frustration-aggression theory, constant unsatisfied needs and thwarted goals in a society are expected to lead to anger, aggression, and sometimes violence (Dollard *et al.*, 1939). People experiencing such frustration may be motivated to show negative xenophobic attitudes especially when they perceive that 'others' are responsible for their misfortunes (Glorius, 2017; Hadarics & Kende, 2018). Moreover, Bekker (2015) states that the discharge of aggression is a satisfying experience for frustrated people. This is because the frustration-aggression theory concludes that frustrated people are inclined to seek a 'scapegoat' for their situation; however, in the absence of this, the individual may respond with some sort of overt aggression. Consequently, this may begin to have an effect on their self-esteem.

1.3.3. Self-esteem and xenophobic attitudes

Self-esteem refers to the way individuals perceive or evaluate themselves (Kille, Eibach, Wood & Holmes, 2017). The evaluation could either be positive or negative. This evaluation is significant to the individuals as it determines how they will deal with challenging circumstances, making it an imperative factor in overseeing unfriendly occasions. For example, high self-esteem acts as a defence during frustrating and challenging situations for the individual (Miklikowska, 2017; Ommundsen, Yakushko, Van Der Veer & Ulleberg, 2013), in that, self-esteem assists to build a person's self-worth and confidence, and it is recognised as an influential predictor of happiness and satisfaction which may withstand challenging situations (Orth & Robbins, 2014).

Inversely, during challenging and difficulty circumstances, people with low self-esteem may likely exhibit a xenophobic attitude, because low self-esteem makes people feel more troubled and they tend to negatively interpret challenging situations. Likewise, people with low self-esteem will have feelings of uncertainty, lose self-confidence, indicate feelings of insecurity and easily

feel threatened. The feeling of threat can make them show intolerant behaviour which may in turn be indicative of a xenophobic attitude. Stephan, and Stephan's (2000) Integrated Threat Theory (ITT) posits that an individual's attitude is a function of some fundamental threats perceived in the environment. For example, inter-group anxiety of ITT is a situation whereby people feel threatened and insecure due to intercultural interactions because of a fear of being rejected, embarrassed, or exploited by members of the out-group (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). Low self-esteem in this regard may occur because of the fear of being considered as inferior, and/or rejected by the out-group and this may in turn lead to the formation of xenophobic attitudes (Soldatova & Makarchuk, 2006). This may affect people's security needs, leading to the next variable of the study - intercultural contact.

1.3.4. Intercultural contact and xenophobic attitudes

Intercultural contact is defined as the experience that occurs between people of different cultures, including people of different national origins (Genkova, 2016). Intercultural contact differentiates between people who can utilize their personal intercultural contact experiences to cope with stressful situations and those who do not have contact experience. People who experience the culture of others are likely to tolerate foreigners because intercultural contact makes people develop trust, feel more secure, be more tolerant and accommodating and as such they will be less likely to develop feelings of inter-group anxiety (Dalglish & Chan, 2005; Stephan, Diaz-Loving & Duran, 2000). This is because Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis suggests that contact with people from an out-group is expected to reduce prejudice and improve attitudes toward that group.

In addition, attitudes towards out-groups can be improved as Allport (1954) argues that opportunity to communicate with others through inter-group contact will lead to understanding and appreciation of different points of views involving the way of life of 'others'. As a result of new appreciation and understanding, issues such as prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination commonly found between rival groups are expected to diminish. This indicates that intercultural contact may have an association with xenophobic attitudes in South Africa relating to Allport submission. More so, intercultural contact and xenophobic attitudes have been implicated in past studies (e.g. Genkova, 2016; Jolly, & DiGiusto, 2014; Mak, Brown & Wadey, 2014; Pettigrew &

Tropp, 2006; Ward, Masgoret, Newton & Crabbe, 2005) in which intercultural contact significantly predicted anti-migrant attitudes.

1.3.5. Stereotype and xenophobic attitudes

Apart from intercultural contact, several studies (e.g. Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014; Matthes & Schmuck, 2017; Niwa, Boxer, Dubow, Huesmann, Landau, Shikaki & Dvir Gvirsman, 2016; Smith, 2014; Stephan, Renfro, Esses, Stephan & Martin, 2005; Stephan, Ybarra & Bachman, 1999) have implicated the association between stereotypes and xenophobic attitudes. Stereotyping is a way of demarcating one group from an alien ‘other’ and implicitly asserting its superiority (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth & Malle, 1994; UNESCO, 2009, 2014). This feeling of superiority and a generalized wish to dominate those considered as inferior emerges from fears of diminished economic resources, rapid demographic changes, and diminished political influence (Suarez-Orozco, 1995). Thus, difficult cultural and economic transitions often result in psychological insecurity of citizens, an attitude of intolerance (Wilson & Magam, 2018), and negative perceptions of the out-group increase anxiety about inter-group encounters (Stephan, 2014).

This is because, according to the Integrated Threat Theory, it is expected that individuals in the in-group will experience feelings of threat when interacting with members of the out-group because they feel that their self-image and self-esteem is challenged (e.g. being embarrassed when in contact with something unfamiliar), and this threat perception may result in anxiety (Stephan & Stephan, 1996, 2000; Stephan *et al.*, 1999). In this regard, Social Dominance Orientation Theory (SDO) explains that people who generally perceive that their group is more superior are more likely to portray foreigners in very stereotypical ways, for example, they tag foreigners to be lazy, criminal, disease carriers and uneducated and at the extreme, foreigners become targeted as convenient scapegoats during difficult periods, agreeing with the scapegoat theory of xenophobia (Morris, 1998).

1.3.6. Socio-demographic variables and xenophobic attitudes

The socio-demographic variables under consideration in the study are: gender, age, marital status, employment status and Province. The inclusion of these variables are linked to their implications in past studies; for example, gender differences with regards to gender roles were found to exert an influence over men and women's xenophobic attitudes (e.g. Chimbga & Meier, 2014; Pratto *et al.*, 1994). Age is connected to variations that exist in individual perspectives which could be related to certain periods of life (Svensson & Edblad, 2015). In addition, there is evidence showing the role of marital status (single, cohabiting, married, separated, divorced and widowed) in xenophobic attitudes (Raijman, Semyonov & Schmidt, 2003). Likewise, xenophobia in South Africa has been repeatedly linked to poverty (e.g. Chimbga & Meier, 2014; van Rensburg, 2017), motivating the inclusion of employment status to find out if indeed xenophobia is informed by employment status. Additionally, the inclusion of Province in the study was to establish which province is most prevalent in xenophobic attitudes, as past studies (e.g. Crush, Ramachandran & Pendleton, 2013; Kang'ethe & Wotshela, 2016; Mabera, 2017) have argued that there are hot spot zones in South Africa.

Gender is defined as the roles and responsibilities of men and women created in families, societies and cultures (UNESCO, 2003). These gender roles influence how different sexes (male or female) are affected by challenging situations in a society, because gender is used to denote a range of identities. For example, in relation to a xenophobic study like the present one, females are more likely to be friendly to migrants given the stereotypes that women are often kind and supportive while men are domineering and aggressive. This possibility is based on Pratto *et al.*'s (1994) Social Dominance Orientation Theory (SDO), which posits that gender roles exert influence over men's and women's behaviour. Thus, the link between gender and xenophobic attitudes is argued along gender effects as regards xenophobic attitudes, because there is a gender gap that induces different levels of intolerance for men and women within an environment populated with migrants. Moreover, there is gendered sensitivity, meaning men and women react differently to contact or competition with immigrants (François & Magni-Berton, 2013).

The connection of age to xenophobia may be because an individual perspective is often related to a certain period of life; for example, children are often not hostile to differences, as xenophobic tendencies are usually tied to negative stereotypes that exist among adults

(Diamantopoulou, 2013). Besides, Níkleva and Rico-Martín (2017) confirmed the association between age and xenophobic attitude by concluding that a lower age determines a lower rejection, and at the same time enhances higher empathy towards immigrants. In addition, marital status has been found to be associated with xenophobia (Raijman, Semyonov & Schmidt, 2003). Marital status is defined as any of several distinct options that describe an individual relationship with a significant other. Single, married, cohabitating, divorced and widowed are such examples of marital status. The connection of marital status to xenophobic tendencies may be because the marital group to which an individual is affiliated has the potential to satisfy the human need for love/belonging, as argued by Maslow's (1943) theory of human motivation.

Thus, an individual's marital group will predict xenophobic attitude during frustrating situations, especially when the need for love/belonging is not satisfied. This is because frustration-aggression theory links uncertainty in the societal order to aggressive behaviour (Dollard, Miller, Doob, Mowrer & Sears, 1939). In a similar manner, employment status has been implicated in xenophobic attitudes (Crush, Ramachandran & Pendleton, 2013), because the employment status of individuals often dictates the state of mind of people, whether they are content with the status quo regarding equality of employment opportunity in the country which usually may lead to frustration for people who are not content with their employment status. This is because Stephan and Stephan's (1999, 2000) Integrated Threat Theory (ITT) assumes that every individual attitude is a function of some fundamental threats in the environment.

Furthermore, the connection between residential province (e.g. Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal, North West, Free State, and Western Cape) and xenophobic attitudes may be explained from Bandura's social cognitive learning theory (1986) which submits that imitation and observation form the basis of the behaviour of people. This is why some provinces in South Africa may be considered as hot spot zones for xenophobic behaviour (Kang'ethe & Wotshela, 2016; Mabera, 2017). Likewise Functional Attitude Theory explained further that an attitude is shaped because people want to establish compliance with in-group solidarity as such compliance and identification becomes important because developing anti-immigrant attitudes may help some citizens to maintain their self-esteem (Kelman, 1953).

The psychosocial dynamics in this study refer to a combination of psychological variables (e.g. personality traits - openness to experience, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness,

neuroticism, self-esteem and frustration) and social conditions (e.g. intercultural contact, stereotypes, gender and age). Gender is classified as social factors based on societal role expectations from males and females. Likewise, age as a social factor is argued from age differential to anti-migrant sentiments. The psychosocial dynamics has a footing in the social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1986) and Five Factor Model (FFM) of personality. Social cognitive theory refers to how attitudes and behaviour are shaped by local dynamics. It matches individual and group-based levels of analysis in connection to social behaviour. The theory is based on cognitive processes which offer explanations for human behaviour by integrating mental (cognitive) factors in learning. Similarly, all study variables (with the exception of personality traits) are driven by cognitive processes; for example self-esteem and frustration as study variables are concepts originating from thoughts. Additionally, the Five Factor Model (FFM) of personality is an umbrella for dividing the main dimensions of individual differences in social and emotional life into five factors in analytically derived categories. These categories (openness to experience, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism) have unique trait characteristics which serve to form human personality influencing attitudes (McCrae & Costa, 2008; Ruedin, 2018).

However, psychological variables are dispositional factors required to shape attitudes. Dozortseva and Malantseva (2010) and Wagner (2017) established a connection between behavioural manifestations of xenophobia and personality traits.

1.3.7. Psychological security as a mediator between psychosocial factors and xenophobic attitudes

Researchers (e.g. Di Masso, Castrechini & Valera, 2014) have reported that psychological security serves as a contributing factor in shaping xenophobic attitudes of people. In the present study, psychological security is investigated among South Africans to establish its mediating role in the relationship between personality traits, self-esteem, frustration, intercultural contact, negative stereotypes and xenophobic attitude. A thorough understanding of psychological security is of paramount importance in the development of relevant intervention strategies necessary to improve attitudes towards immigrants, particularly in South Africa.

Individuals whose psychological factors and social conditions are challenged alongside perceived psychological insecurity, may manifest xenophobic attitude (Inglehart, 1990).

Psychological security is a path that may intervene in the influence of psychological variables (personality traits, frustration and self-esteem) and social conditions (intercultural contact, stereotypes, gender and age) on individuals' xenophobic attitudes (Inglehart, 1990, 1977). Psychological security is defined as when people depend on themselves, are self-confident, internally-strong as well as self-reliant. However, the absence of these conditions may result in feelings of insecurity. For example, when people's income becomes small or they are uncertain about their savings, they might experience economic or financial insecurity; when conditions surrounding their health and safety are absent they worry about catching diseases. Likewise, individuals might become socially insecure when personal relationships are unstable, or even non-existent; in such cases people tend to feel emotionally and psychologically insecure (An & Cong, 2003).

According to Pekrun and Perry (2014) secure people will be more tolerant than less secure ones and when people become too conscious about their safety and security, they may tend to suspect others and feel threatened by their very presence (Greenaway, Louis, Hornsey & Jones, 2014). A situation described as perceived psychological insecurity by Abbott (2000) and Wilkinson (2001) linked concepts such as fear and risk to psychological insecurity, and they argue that fear and insecurity help to understand the content, characteristics, and experiences of security and insecurity. Fear and insecurity are concepts also implicated as causes of frustration and self-esteem issues; likewise these concepts have been implicated as reasons why many people become stereotypic and avoid intercultural contact because of the irrational perception that the foreigners are responsible for their problems. Besides, An and Cong (2003) found that psychological insecurity can produce difficulty in interpersonal relationships and obsessive-compulsive tendencies, but psychological security can buffer this situation (Maslow, 1943).

Thus, psychological security may enhance the influence of psychological factors and social conditions on individuals' xenophobic manifestation. This may be because the need for safety-security is basic and necessary for human survival (Maslow, 1943). Psychologically secure people perceive the world as safe, and see life itself as a security sphere (Maslow, Hirsh, Stein & Honigmann, 1945). Consequently, during challenging situations, an individual with a high score on psychological security may not be vulnerable to intense fear, may not experience increased perceived threats by the presence of others; such an individual will exhibit high tolerance and trust

in others, whereas people with low scores on psychological security are more likely to show high levels of psychological insecurity and be vulnerable to intense fear (Stephan & Stephan, 2000).

Based on the above conceptualization of psychological security and on its strength, it is expected that as a mediator in the present study it should mediate in the associations between psychosocial variables and xenophobic attitudes, on the basis that past studies (e.g. Genkova, 2016; Sibley & Duckitt, 2008; Simonovits, 2016; Mak, Brown & Wadey, 2014) have noted the effect of perceived psychological security on personality traits, particularly the trait of neuroticism. Moreover, it was found that neurotic individuals, due to perceived psychological security, report less xenophobic tendencies. Additionally, studies (e.g. Gordon & Maharaj, 2015; Pekrun & Perry, 2014) indicate that perceived security plays a vital role in anti-immigrant behaviour.

Furthermore, Spencer, Josephs and Steele (1993) stated that psychosocial factors such as self-esteem and frustration are concepts grounded on cognitive feelings of uncertainty, insecurity and loss of self-confidence. Individuals going through such negative feelings may be vulnerable to challenging situations and may become stereotypic and avoid intercultural contact with foreigners especially, because they are perceived to be responsible for societal ills (Greenaway, Louis, Hornsey & Jones, 2014). To avoid showing xenophobic attitudes, however, psychological security may assist to develop self-confidence and promote internally strong security in people. In this light psychological security is expected to mediate between psychosocial and xenophobic attitudes.

The mediating role of psychological security may be explained from theoretical foundations of self-esteem theory. This theory's emphasis is on self-worth, self-confidence and self-satisfaction (Rosenberg *et al.* 1995). These positive evaluations are very vital characteristics of psychological security, because positive self-evaluation does not only act as a defence for the individual, but provides a sense of meaning and security that buffers anxiety and threat-like situations (Greenaway, Louis, Hornsey & Jones, 2014; Rosenberg *et al.*, 1995; Smith & Mackie, 2007). Apart from psychological security, interpersonal tolerance is another mediator in this study.

1.3.7. Interpersonal tolerance as a mediator between psychosocial factors and xenophobic attitudes

Researchers (e.g. Choce, 2014; Strohmeier, Kärnä & Salmivalli, 2011) have reported that interpersonal tolerance serves as a contributing factor in shaping xenophobic attitudes of people. Based on this knowledge, the present study investigates interpersonal tolerance among South Africans to establish its mediating role in the relationship between personality traits, self-esteem, frustration, intercultural contact, negative stereotypes and xenophobic attitude. A thorough understanding of interpersonal tolerance is of paramount importance in the development of relevant intervention strategies necessary to improve attitudes towards immigrants, particularly in South Africa.

Interpersonal tolerance is referred to as out-groups' perception and appraisal without prejudices and opinions based on in-group criteria (values, norms, traditions) as well as the acceptance of human differences (cultural, gender, age, and opinions) that are not harmful to other groups' members (Breslavs, Ābele, Derjabo, Pišinska & Roze, 2008). Interpersonal tolerance is significant to the individual as it differentiates between people who can cope with inter-group differences and those who cannot. This coping is important to the individuals as it determines how they manage and judge out-group's differences. If the judgement is non-normative and inferior, then discrimination, hostility and perceived inequality are likely responses towards the out-group.

According to Cote and Erickson (2009), knowledge of the principle of equality can help the development of tolerance, promote more satisfying and effective interpersonal relationships, and lead to diminish xenophobic attitudes. Tolerance is not only having positive feelings toward migrant groups but also the cognitive understanding and endorsement of equality between members of host and migrant groups. This may be because tolerant individuals are those in whom ethnic attitudes have no salience at all. To tolerant individuals, group distinction is not their interest, rather, they perceive everyone equally, and to them a person is a person (Allport, 1954). Therefore, attitudes based on negative stereotypes such as racial discrimination may rarely arise during challenging situations, because tolerant people feel comfortable even with migrant groups (Ekström & Östman, 2012). Consequently, individuals with low levels of interpersonal tolerance are more likely to exhibit xenophobic attitudes towards the migrant groups (Allport, 1954). Unfortunately, research on the predictors on xenophobic attitudes are scarcely reported in psychological literature and where they are reported, the concept of interpersonal tolerance has not been taken into account, particularly in South Africa, therefore creating knowledge gaps.

As a mediator in this study, it is expected interpersonal tolerance should mediate in the associations between psychosocial variables and xenophobic attitudes. This is because previous studies (e.g. Gallego & Pardos-Prado, 2014; Sibley & Duckitt, 2008; van Zalk, Kerr, Van Zalk & Stattin, 2013) found that the personality of people predicted positive attitudes towards migrants as a result of the significant influence of interpersonal tolerance, especially in individuals who are open-minded.

Likewise, studies (e.g. Gordon, 2016; Hagensen, 2014) found the relevance of interpersonal tolerance for frustrated individuals, a situation that might have comprised their anti-immigrant attitudes. In South Africa, Waghid (2004) submitted that xenophobic attitudes can be significantly mediated by tolerance towards foreigners in spite of the level of frustration of people.

Further studies (e.g. Denny & Gráda, 2016; Gordon, 2018; Stephan & Stephan, 1985) found that interpersonal tolerance is a beneficial mediator expected to increase empathy towards foreigners.

A theoretical explanation for the mediating role of interpersonal tolerance can be situated in the inter-group contact perspectives, which propose that inter-group relations promote tolerant attitudes towards immigrants (Allport, 1954). This is because cross-group associations are expected to reduce inter-group threats and bias (Pettigrew, 1998). More so, issues related to self-esteem, frustration, intercultural contact, stereotypes and gender are expected to be minimised on the basis that positive inter-group contact decreases inter-group anxiety (Hewstone, 2003; Voci & Hewstone, 2003). Moreover, contact weakens stereotype, especially with out-group members seen as typical and who also act against the stereotype (Wolsko, Park, Judd & Bachelor, 2003).

From the aforementioned, psychological security and interpersonal tolerance (PI) are expected to mediate the extent to which psychological variables and social situation conditions are related with xenophobic attitudes of people. This is because PI reflect the extent to which they provide strength to people's psychological variables and social conditions that could help mitigate the adverse conditions of a challenging situation. The presence of PI may reduce people's xenophobic attitudes in spite of high psychological variables and negative social conditions

(Allport, 1954; Stephan & Stephan, 2000; Dollard, Miller, Doob, Mowrer & Sears, 1939). Roux (2017) claimed that dissatisfaction with life in general in people, which may threaten their psychological security, may be of significant relevance for their mental health, especially in an unpleasant situation, where they may compromise their good attitude and be involved in a xenophobic attack. In addition, Roux (2017) concluded that interpersonal tolerance is beneficial as this will predict whether or not people will be xenophobes, arguing that interpersonal trust is crucial to interpersonal tolerance.

Despite Roux's (2017) submission, there is no straightforward empirical evidence showing the mediation effects of PI on the connections of psychological factors and social conditions to xenophobic attitude, although literature shows that PI was negatively related with social conditions, but positively related with xenophobic attitudes (Denny & Gráda, 2016; Li, Li & Niu, 2016; Stephan & Stephan, 1985; Yu, 2015). Other studies (e.g. Breslavs, 2014; Cashman, 2013; Gallego, & Pardos-Prado, 2014; Kaya, 2015) indicated a positive association between PI and psychological variables.

Against this background, PI may be possible mediators of the relationships of psychological variables and social conditions to xenophobic attitudes. When the results of the above study are synchronised, they appear to faintly confirm Baron and Kenny's (1986) conditions for establishing mediation. However, there is a need to empirically demonstrate the mediation roles of PI on the linkage of psychological variables and social conditions to xenophobic attitudes, a lacuna the present study was designed to fill, in order to extend research in this neglected area and address xenophobia in South Africa.

1.4. Statement of The Problem

Despite South Africa's transition to democracy, studies (e.g. Gordon, Fokou, Davids & Bohler-Muller, 2018; Idemudia, 2017; Neocosmos, 2010) have shown that xenophobic attitudes continue to be widespread across the country for over two decades. Within this period, xenophobia has evolved from discrimination and prejudice to outright violence and intimidation; verbal abuse aimed towards foreigners is sadly familiar in several townships in South Africa (Crush & Ramachandran, 2009). Over the years, the verbal abuse has transitioned from mere name-calling and harassment into more physical and violent acts including beating, stabbing, torture, chasing

foreigners from homes and business places, burning down shops and actual killing (Misago, 2017a).

Furthermore, a number of nation-wide xenophobic attacks continue to happen in most parts of the country, including attacks in 1995, 2005, 2008, 2015, 2017, 2018, and the xenophobic attitudes are still on-going (Gordon, Fokou, Davids & Bohler-Muller, 2018; Masweneng, 2018). These violent attacks have been recorded over tens of thousands of foreigners, with many gruesomely murdered, displaced or deprived of their property leading to mental health issues for many migrants (Idemudia, 2017).

In addition to the above, it is estimated that a majority of South Africans (64%) support policies of strict limits on immigration (Hopstock & de Jager, 2011; Krönke, 2015), implying high levels of xenophobic attitudes in the country. Besides, Crush (2009) reported a daily pattern of xenophobic attacks and attitudes against foreigners in Cape Town townships, where refugee communities were intimidated, displaced and their properties looted by South Africans. Likewise Crush and Ramachandran (2017) noted that a xenophobic attitude is a feature of South African citizens, which is commonly practiced by government officials, the police and private organisations (Du Toit & Kortze, 2011; Gordon, 2015). The recurrent widespread xenophobic attacks in South Africa have been remarkable, a situation which if not addressed could tarnish the image of South Africa, continue to endanger lives of foreign nationals and even those of South African citizens (Misago, 2017a; Pijoos, 2018).

In spite of the many xenophobic attacks in the country, previous studies on xenophobic discourse in South Africa have merely identified a multiplicity of causes of xenophobic violence which has persisted intermittently for over two decades. A review of these studies (e.g. Brunsmas Smith & Gran, 2015; Fabricius, 2017; Galariotis, Georgiadou, Kafe & Lialiouti, 2017; Mamabolo, 2015; Okyere-Manu, 2016; Pillay, 2017; Shenasi, 2015; Tafira, 2018) shows the connection of xenophobia to political and economic factors, indicating that there is no significant study that has investigated the psychosocial predictors such as the extent to which psychological variables and social conditions may predict xenophobic attitudes among the South African population. To close this gap, this present study investigated the psychological factors (openness to experience, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, neuroticism, self-esteem and frustration) and social

factors (intercultural contact, negative stereotypes, gender and age) which lead to xenophobic attitudes among South Africans.

Furthermore, available evidence (e.g. Akinola, 2017; Alarape; 2008; Schippers, 2015; Tella, 2016) focuses largely on descriptive and narrative rather than empirical investigations; for example, Tella (2016) narratively employed levels of xenophobic attitudes from individuals at the state and inter-states levels, likewise Alarape (2008) narratively emphasized globalization challenges and xenophobic attitudes in South Africa, while Schippers (2015) employed a descriptive analysis in assessing xenophobic attitudes in South Africa between 1996 and 2013. Moreover, the existing empirical studies (e.g. Claassen, 2015; Van der Merwe, 2010) have their own shortcomings; for example, in a quantitative study explaining South African xenophobic attitudes, Claassen (2015) tested existing theories of poverty, relative deprivation and frustration in relation to xenophobic attitudes, the shortcoming of this study is that, firstly, it is not a mediation study and secondly it did not consider the mediating roles of interpersonal tolerance and psychological security. To close these gaps, the present study is novel as it empirically examined the mediating roles of psychological security and interpersonal tolerance (PI) in the relationship between psychological factors, social factors and xenophobic attitudes, particularly in South Africa.

In addition, various methodological limitations exist in a majority of the past studies. For example, the methodology employed by Bekker (2015) was a content analysis technique in comparing xenophobic events of 2008 and 2015 with the aim of showing similarities and differences between these events and those undertaken earlier. Additionally, previous studies (e.g. Claassen, 2016; Van der Merwe, 2010; Misago, 2016a) examining xenophobia in South Africa generalized results using small sampling sizes. For example, Misago (2016a) interviewed only a total of 105 participants, and 532 respondents were surveyed by Van der Merwe (2010).

Moreover, previous studies (e.g. Claassen, 2016; Van der Merwe, 2010; Misago, 2016a) adopted convenience samples and limited their analyses to either univariate or bivariate summaries, which are inadequate to analyse causal explanations for xenophobia (Southern African Migration Project, 2008). Finally, evidence on South African xenophobia does not directly investigate public attitudes, but depends on interviews with security forces and community leaders as well as civil society actors (Muswede, 2015; South African Human Rights Commission, 2010), or inquiry into

media coverage. Scholars like Jacobs (2014) focus more on sensational media accounts through framing analysis from newspapers and magazines, arguing that xenophobic sentiments and attitudes are shaped from media information. Thus, this present study is different from previous studies because data is not only acquired from a large representative sample, but structural equation modelling, a high breed statistical analysis, was employed, thereby extending the methodological domain in xenophobia.

Therefore, psychosocial pathways to xenophobic attitudes among South Africans have not been adequately studied. The present study seeks to critically consider xenophobic attitudes in South Africa from a psychosocial perspective, with a view that the findings of the study will be of paramount importance in the development of relevant intervention strategies necessary to re-orientate the South Africa population on perception of foreigners.

1.5. Purpose of the study

The study aimed to investigate the psychosocial paths to xenophobic attitudes among South Africans, and the mediating roles of psychological security and interpersonal tolerance in the relationships between psychosocial factors (personality - openness to experience, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness and neuroticism), self-esteem, frustration, intercultural contact, negative stereotypes, gender, age, and xenophobic attitudes.

1.5.1. Objectives of the Study

1. To determine the relationship between psychosocial factors (i.e., openness to experience, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, neuroticism, self-esteem, frustration, intercultural contact, negative stereotypes, gender and age) the mediating variables (psychological security, interpersonal tolerance) and xenophobic attitudes among South Africans.
2. To examine the mediating role of psychological security in the relationship between each of the psychosocial factors (openness to experience, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism, self-esteem, frustration, intercultural contact, negative stereotypes, and age) and xenophobic attitudes of South Africans.

3. To examine the mediating role of interpersonal tolerance in the relationship between each of the psychosocial factors (openness to experience, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism, self-esteem, frustration, intercultural contact, negative stereotypes, and age) and xenophobic attitudes of South Africans.
4. To compare the xenophobic attitudes of males and females among South Africans.
5. To ascertain whether there is a group difference based on marital status and xenophobic attitudes of South Africans.
6. To determine whether there is a group difference based on Province and xenophobic attitudes of South Africans.
7. To analyse whether there is a difference based on employment level and xenophobic attitudes of South Africans.

1.6. Scope of the study

The study focused on psychosocial pathways to xenophobic attitudes among South Africans so as to address xenophobia in South Africa. The research covered adult South Africans from three provinces in South Africa (North-West, KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng provinces); specifically, data were collected from six communities, namely: Alexandra Township; Johannesburg; Durban; Kwa-Mashu; Mafikeng, and Rustenburg with a total population of six million three hundred thousand, four hundred and fifty-eight South Africans (SSA, 2011). These communities were selected because of their history of xenophobic violence. The study population were South Africans, where a total number of 1100 participants were randomly selected to participate in the study. Data collection was done using a standardized questionnaire and the administration process took a space of four (4) months.

1.7. Relevance and expected contribution of the study

The relevance of this study is evaluated from three extensive areas: i) theoretical significance, ii) methodological significance and, iii) practical significance.

1.7.1. Theoretical relevance

This study constitutes an empirical investigation into a neglected area of research, the psychosocial pathways to xenophobic attitudes among South Africans. It is striking how literature on the causes of xenophobia is large and yet extremely limited as regards psychosocial paths, and how even explanatory theories of xenophobia focused more on socio-economic models and political factors (Adjai & Lazaridis, 2013; Gordon, 2016; Mabera, 2017; Misago, 2017b). These scholars explain xenophobia from the angle of poverty and poor service delivery without taking into account other psychosocial variables that could predict xenophobic attitudes.

The present study addresses the above gap by considering psychosocial variables, thus challenging the mainstream assumption that xenophobia is poverty-related. This gives grounds for an empirical exploration. Theoretically, this study will add significantly to literature on xenophobia in South Africa from the psychological perspective. The inclusion of psychosocial variables in a single study deepens the knowledge in xenophobic literature and also would provide a psychosocial theoretical explanation of xenophobia.

Furthermore, to the researcher's knowledge, this study will be one of the first attempts to critically analyse psychosocial paths to xenophobic attitudes. This thesis is novel, as it is the first to investigate the role played by deep-seated psychological predispositions in developing xenophobic attitudes, not in isolation from, but rather together with, other recognised accounts of anti-immigrant behaviours. This study advances the integration of psychological and social perspectives in relation to xenophobic attitudes, and the mediating roles played by psychological security and interpersonal tolerance in the relationship between psychological factors, social conditions and xenophobia. To be clear, however, it provides a detailed comprehensive empirical investigation of how both dispositional and situational variables are related. The relationship is due to the involvement of many factors, (personality traits; self-esteem; intercultural contact; negative stereotypes; gender; age; frustration; psychological security, and interpersonal tolerance). This is quite complex to discuss in a single study. But, this study is a first step in this research agenda. Hence, this study contributes to the current theoretical knowledge.

1.7.2. Methodological relevance

Due to dearth of research on xenophobia as regards solutions to this phenomenon in South Africa, this study would have implications for intervention studies, which hopefully would be conducted across more provinces in the country, and also use greater sample size.

The study would provide methodological benefits, given that the study investigates the mediating roles of psychological security and interpersonal tolerance in the relationship of psychological variables and social conditions to xenophobia using a more robust statistical analysis known as structural equation modelling (SEM), a hybrid statistic that allows researchers to specify and estimate the fitness of the model using the mediator variables to predict the relationship between the predictor variables and the outcome variable (Hox, 1995). More so, Analysis of Moment Structure (AMOS), a software that analyses hybrid causal relationship and vice-versa of variables that are complex in nature was used in the study. Thus, the results in this study would be an eye-opener to other researchers, as they will be better informed by the methods applied in this study, with the hope of exploring even more sophisticated statistics in future research of this nature.

1.7.3. Practical relevance

With the increasing rate of xenophobia in South Africa, and the concerns of not knowing what triggers this phenomenon, nor how to curb or stop future occurrences, the results in this study would be of enormous benefit to other researchers working on peace and migrant studies. This is because the results from the mediating roles of psychological security and interpersonal tolerance would provide a missing link in the connections of psychological variables and social conditions to xenophobia in South Africa; a model that has not been obviously investigated by prior studies. This would provide the needed understanding about South African xenophobia, as a deep understanding is crucial for reducing the increasing occurrence. In addition, the study would benefit the government in terms of implementation of projects that cater for the basic needs of South Africans, so as to alleviate poverty, and also benefit government with regard to future policies and programmes to promote educational awareness of the impact of xenophobic behaviour on the nation at large. Furthermore, the study would impact on the legislature in orientation of immigration policies and legislation and specifically in terms of mechanisms to prevent and counter xenophobia.

Clinicians and psychologists would benefit, as study findings would assist in directing them to intervention methods. Therefore, this study will contribute to the body of research knowledge. Finally, the study would be of significant benefit to schools and institutions of higher learning, as the findings will not only bring about re-orientation and education but would reveal the economic consequences of xenophobia. Thus, the study would assist society to have a deeper understanding of the impact of xenophobic attacks on all stake holders (nationals, society, government) and generally, this would strengthen interactions across the globe; more specifically, it would encourage mutual respect and tolerance, interaction and co-operation between nationals and non-nationals, lastly protecting and preserving human lives.

1.8. Chapter outline

This study will be presented in six chapters, each of which contributes to addressing the research objectives and overall purpose of the study, which is to investigate the psychosocial pathways to xenophobic attitudes among South Africans.

The first chapter, as set out above, serves as a background and introduction to the study; the chapter details the problem statement, relevance and expected contribution, as well as the rationale why this study needed to be undertaken.

Chapter two provides a comprehensive explanation of the theoretical framework and perspectives. This chapter will detail suitable theories on social learning; inter-group threat; personality traits; xenophobia; self-esteem; inter-group contact; frustration-aggression; attitude; social dominance orientation, and group dynamics.

Chapter three details a comprehensive analysis of the literature on xenophobia within the international and the South African context. Occurrences of xenophobic violence in South Africa will be highlighted as this will be crucial to the understanding of xenophobic attitudes in the country. Additionally, related reviews on psychosocial factors and xenophobic attitudes will be extensively detailed. This is undertaken for the purpose of understanding trends covered in existing studies so as to identify literature gaps.

In chapter four, discussion will include the methodology and design employed in this study. The chapter aligns the research objectives, research hypotheses, and data analysis. The chapter will also present the socio-demographics of participants. Likewise, the research methodology will

explain in detail the procedures used in data collection and its techniques, as well as the application of ethical considerations.

Chapter five will detail data carpentering, where data are screened for missing values and response rate. Thereafter, results will be presented and interpretation of results directed by the goal of seeking to address the study research objectives. The interpretation of findings will include a summation of the overarching findings of this study while also placing the findings, specifically psychological security and interpersonal tolerance, in the context of finding a solution toward addressing xenophobia in South Africa.

The final chapter, chapter six, will provide a detailed discussion of the findings and give a summary of the key findings of the study, including recommendations for future studies. Furthermore, this chapter will clearly show the relevance and contribution of the study as it will detail an overview of the implications of the findings and strength of the study towards the contribution to knowledge in areas of migrant and xenophobia studies.

1.10. Summary of the chapter

The chapter contextualised the case of xenophobia in South Africa. It also detailed the problem statement while highlighting and identifying gaps in past studies. This was important for introducing the significance of the present study, where study relevance was accessed from three broad domains namely: theoretical, practical and methodological areas. The chapter ended with study limitations. Chapter Two below will discuss the theoretical formulations and detail relevant theoretical perspectives applicable for the explanation of each variable employed in the study.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS AND PERSPECTIVES

2.1. Introduction

This section addresses theoretical framework and perspectives. Theories assist to explain why things happen the way they do and they act as a route to understanding complex phenomena. Many theories have been proposed over the years to explain various human behaviours and interactions in the social context. These theories, however, differ in the conceptions of human nature and the basic causes and mechanisms of human motivation and attitudes in daily life. The analysis in this chapter is concerned with explanations of individual differences in social interaction because humans vary in their personality traits makeup, and in the experiential conditions needed to enhance and sustain them. All theories analyzed in the present chapter help to conceptualize and explain study variables in a logical and scientific way.

In contextualizing relationship between study variables, this section explains individual attitudes from the perspective frameworks of social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1986) and the Five Factor Model of personality. Likewise, various theoretical perspectives will be analyzed to explain all study variables, theories such as the integrated threat theory; theories of xenophobia; self-esteem theory; inter-group contact theory; frustration-aggression theory; Functional Attitude Theory (FAT); social dominance orientation theory, and group dynamics. The chapter ends with summaries of all the theories.

2.2. Theoretical framework

The study is anchored on both social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1986) and the Five Factor Model of personality (1976) as theoretical framework models. Social cognitive theory is relevant to the study as it explains the significant role of cognitive processes in predicting human behaviour and development. Similar cognitive processes have been implicated in study variables (self-esteem, frustration, inter-cultural contact, stereotypes, gender and age, psychological security, and interpersonal tolerance). Personality is not catered for in social cognitive theory, hence the inclusion of the FFM. Social cognitive theory and the Five Factor Model are compared to depict the relationship between psychosocial factors and xenophobic attitudes, and the mediating roles of

psychological security and interpersonal tolerance. It is argued that these two models partially overlap and are both essential.

2.2.1. Social Cognitive Theory (SCT) (Bandura 1986)

Bandura's (1986) social cognitive theory (SCT) is chosen to synchronise individual and group-based levels of analysis in connection to social behaviour. SCT evolved from Social Learning Theory (SLT) and posits that learning occurs in a social context with dynamic and reciprocal interaction of the individual, environment, and behaviour. SCT assumes that people can learn a new behaviour by observing others, and human thought processes are fundamental to understanding personality. Likewise one learns depending on the consequences of the behaviour (i.e. if behaviour is rewarded or punished). One exceptional characteristics of SCT is the stress on social influence, external and internal social reinforcement. SCT considers the exceptional way in which people acquire and maintain behaviour, while considering the social environment in which individuals perform the behaviour.

SCT further considers an individual's past experiences, which factor into whether a certain behavioural action will take place or not. These past experiences influence reinforcements, expectations, and expectancies, all of which shape whether an individual will participate in a particular behaviour and the reasons why an individual takes part in that behaviour. The goal of SCT is to explain how individuals regulate their behaviour through control and reinforcement to achieve goal-directed behaviour that can be maintained over time. What this means is that individuals do not just engage in a behaviour observed, rather, they watch for the consequences of the behaviour. Depending whether that behaviour is rewarded or punished, only then will they decide to replicate the behaviour.

Bandura (1986) argues that there are five basic learning assumptions guiding SCT, namely: reciprocal determinism, behavioural capability, observational learning, reinforcements, expectations, and self-efficacy. These concepts resemble the study's psychosocial variables (e.g. self-esteem, frustration, inter-cultural contact, stereotypes) and interpersonal tolerance and psychological security, because these variables are focused on cognitive processes just as SCT, whereby these cognitive processes are the motivational and emotional drive influencing human attitudes and development. For example, self-esteem depends on how people evaluate themselves,

which is dependent on human thoughts about the self. Likewise, frustration arises from an irrational perception of lack of confidence and security. Besides, the mediator variable, psychological security, is driven by cognitive process, whereby an individual's thought processes as regard security predict how the individual will trust people considered as 'others' and decide how to behave and tolerate them.

Moreover, of the five basic learning assumptions guiding SCT, reciprocal determinism is the central concept of SCT which explains human behaviour from a triadic reciprocal determinism, whereby behaviour, cognition, personal factors, and environmental influences all interact to influence each other bi-directionally.

As relevance to this study, social cognitive theory can be used to explain how xenophobic attitudes might be transmitted through observational learning (Bandura, Ross & Ross, 1961), and reciprocal interaction of the individual and the environment (Bandura, 1986). In this instance, people's attitudes are grounded on the choices made by them, because they are able to influence what they become in the environment. Deciding to develop xenophobic attitudes becomes an individual decision even after having observed xenophobic behaviours from others. Thus, drawing from this theory, it is expected that individuals may decide to replicate the behaviour because xenophobia in South Africa often goes unpunished (Human Rights Watch, 2014).

The major strength of this theory is that it provides a more comprehensive explanation of human learning by recognising the role of mediational processes, while a short-coming of this theory is that the theory only offers an explanation of human behaviour by integrating mental (cognitive) factors in learning (Bandura, 1986). Less attention was given to dispositional factors such as personality traits. The next theory attempts to fill this gap.

2.2.2. The Five Factor Theory of Personality

Costa and McCrae's (1976) FFM provides a basic explanation of individual differences in personality traits, and Goldberg (1990, 2013) extended FFM to explain how a person would react to challenges in the environment as a result of his personal traits. This theory provides the basis for associating personality traits with a xenophobic attitude by emphasising distinct characters

associated to each personality trait and how these traits influence attitudes. Traits regarded as the big five or five factors are: Extraversion, Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, Neuroticism, and Openness to Experience (Winter, 2003). These traits have unique characteristics from which attitude may be predicted. For instance, extraversion (a measure of dynamism and activity versus introversion and passivity) is a higher order trait comprising lower order traits of sociability, assertiveness and experiencing positive emotions. It is expected that an extraverted person will be more sociable, having more positive emotions. Thus, such a person is more likely to befriend strangers and immigrants, so, in this regard, such a person's attitude is likely to be less xenophobic compared to people that are not extraverted.

Emotional Stability (Neuroticism) is characterised with uneasiness and an anxious nature. Therefore, high scorers on this trait are expected to show negative attitudes towards migrants because they may perceive migrants as a disturbing and potentially threatening factor that reinforces their "dangerous worldviews" (Muswede, 2015; Saurer, 2016).

Agreeableness probes the extent to which individuals tend to accept or agree with external stimuli, in terms of credulity and trust, or scepticism and distance. Higher scorers on this trait hold pro-immigration attitudes because of their trusting, tolerance and pro-social orientations towards other people and are therefore less likely to exhibit xenophobic attitude. Conversely, lower scorers who are less concerned about the well-being of others and society in general, would tend to be more sceptical of migrants, who to them are perceived as potential competitors for scarce resources (Muswede, 2015; Saurer, 2016).

Conscientiousness involves the level of impulse control that is socially prescribed and is manifested in a general preference for order and certainty (Schoen, 2007). A high scorer on conscientiousness may therefore fear that the presence of migrants will undermine the existing social order—either because migrants threaten the welfare state, or their lack of compliance to societal cultural norms. Due to these reasons, higher scorers are expected to show more xenophobic attitudes.

Finally, the openness to new experiences trait measures the extent of curiosity and willingness to embrace other cultures, novel ideas, and positive response to unconventional and complex stimuli as against rigidity of thought and, at its extreme, intolerance towards difference. The theory hypothesizes, therefore, that individuals scoring high on this scale, because of their

composition named above, are expected to show more favourable attitudes towards migrants. Therefore, an open-minded person is an individual who is more curious to explore other cultures. It is expected, according to FFM, that such a person should be friendlier and be less xenophobic. Conversely, individuals with low scores on Openness will cherish unambiguous moral precepts and traditional customs and values for worldviews; as such they are likely to be more sensitive to threats to the existing social order, including out-groups which embrace different values compared to theirs.

Of most relevance to this study is that traits are perceived by personality psychologists as dispositions or reaction norms for specific cognitive processes and behaviour, contingent on the situation (Canli, 2008). Personality forms the likelihood of response to situational features as well as the intensity of the response. FFM makes for an attractive explanation of individual differences with regards to social behaviours and attitudes because it is internal to the individual. And as such, basic personality characteristics of an individual do affect an individual's motivation, goals, and values, thereby providing criteria to evaluate external stimuli (Schoen, 2007). According to this model, personality traits condition how individuals would respond to conflicts in the environment.

2.3. Theoretical perspectives

This section deals with various theoretical perspectives which were used to explain study variables and their relations to xenophobic attitudes.

2.3.1. Theories of xenophobia

Theoretical explanations of xenophobic attitudes are generally based on otherness (Rydgren, 2003), identification (Taras, 2009), ethnocentrism (Gurr, 2000), scapegoating (Harris, 2002), cultural compatibility (Hopkins, 2011), isolation hypothesis (Morris, 1998); the threat hypothesis theory (Stephan, Stephan & Gudykunst, 1999, 2000), scapegoating, and the bio-cultural theory of xenophobic attitudes (Morris, 1998) are the most relevant to this study because these four theories take into account, the historical isolation of apartheid South Africa, post-apartheid socio-economic situations, the distinct influx of immigrants in the country and the dominant superiority nature of South Africans. The four theories are discussed below.

2.3.1.1. The Isolation Theory

Xenophobia is related to the historical past of South Africa. Morris (1998) contends that while the apartheid period secluded South Africans from the nations beyond Southern Africa, the demise of apartheid ended the seclusion, but it opened the borders, subjecting citizens to overwhelming exposure to the world. The consequence is xenophobic sentiments and behaviours from sudden and intense exposure to strangers. Furthermore, the theory assumes that foreigners represent the unknown to South Africans. This theory opines that violence and hostility are a result of the interface created between previously isolated South Africans and those regarded as unknown foreigners. Moreover, the isolation theory suggests that suspicion and hostility channelled towards foreigners in South Africa is as a result of *international* isolation. Additionally, contemporary xenophobia is explained by recourse to *internal* isolation, (i.e. the isolation of some South Africans from other South Africans, as a sequel to apartheid). 'There is little doubt that the brutal environment created by apartheid with its enormous emphasis on boundary maintenance has also impacted on people's ability to be tolerant of difference' (Morris, 1998: 1125). The creation of strict boundaries during the Apartheid regime resulted in inability of South Africans to accommodate, and *tolerate* difference. As a matter of fact, the theory proposes that South Africans find difference threatening and dangerous (Morris, 1998).

Complementing this theory is the views of Hobsbawm (1996) where he conceptualizes the phenomenon within contemporary European societies as change and a product of social transition. For him, xenophobic behaviour is seen as the defence against the anxiety induced by 'the unknown'. He notes that the 'old ways of life [in Europe] have changed so drastically since the 1950s that there is very little of them left to defend' (1996: 264). He argues that xenophobia, separatism and fundamentalism 'are comprehensible as symptoms of social disorientation, of the fraying, and sometimes the snapping, of the threads of what used to be the network that bound people together in society...' (1996: 264-5). The major strength of this theory is the fear of the unknown (Hobsbawm, 1996). A shortcoming of this theory is that it does not account for the socio-economic realities of South Africans which makes the majority to be intolerant of foreigners. This limitation however is addressed by the scapegoating theory.

2.3.1.2. Scapegoating Theory

The scapegoating theory locates xenophobic attitudes in South Africans' tendency to blame foreigners for societal ills. The Post-apartheid government promised better lives and opportunities. Yet the majority of South Africans remain poor amongst growing unemployment. In this reality and out of frustration, many South Africans channel this frustration towards black African migrants (Ogunnubi &, Tella, 2014).

The theory further explains xenophobia from sociological and psychological perspectives. Originally scapegoating emerged from a sociological explanation, which locates xenophobia from the viewpoint of social transition and change. Morris (1998) and Tshitereke (1999) state that negative behaviour towards foreigners is described in relation to limited resources, such as employment, education, housing, health care, and coupled with high expectations during transition. Morris posits that the scapegoat model is the loathing of foreigners and blaming them for social ills such as: crime, unemployment, the spread of diseases and HIV/AIDS, which is the pointer of frustration by unemployed and poor citizens. In a similar vein, Tshitereke (1999) supplemented the sociological interpretation with psychological perspective, where he conceptualized xenophobia to frustration and relative deprivation. Relative deprivation was made popular by Merton (1938) and Gurr (1970).

Relative deprivation theory gave a psychological explanation for scapegoating. Here, social unrest is assumed to happen when an individual has a great sense of relative deprivation. This is a psychological situation arising from a subjective feeling of discontent grounded on the belief of a mismatch between aspirations and reality. This made Tshitereke on the one hand to claim that violence is not an unavoidable consequence of relative deprivation, while on the other, frustration and aggression are construed as subjective. Arguing that the anger caused by a perceived or real threat from foreigners and deprivation do not directly cause nationals to commit violence, but rather frustrate them. Frustration-Aggression theory attributes xenophobia to frustration that is either experienced or imagined by members of the in-group for which the out-group is held accountable (Soyombo, 2008). In this manner, frustration is channelled towards the vulnerable out-group using them as a scapegoat. This is usually done when the agent of the frustration is too powerful to confront. Frustration-Aggression theory is explained later on in this section.

Tshitereke's relative deprivation theory suggests therefore that the ideal situation for xenophobia to take root and flourish is the dissatisfaction and frustration with the inadequacy as well as slowness of rectifying the inequalities of apartheid. In this regard, Osman (2009) hints that scapegoating takes place when individuals sometimes use prejudice and discrimination to express hostility rising from frustration. The frustration is linked to the inability to achieve a desired goal, which leads to expressions of aggression. As the source of the frustration is not known or too powerful to challenge, a substitute is created to release the aggression. Mokoena (2013) states that people release their anger on that 'frustration-scapegoat', usually non-national minorities.

Tshitereke (1999) concludes that there is a 'causal link between relative deprivation, xenophobia and collective violence' (1999:4). The link is forged through scapegoating others regarded as foreigners.

Moreover, communities where the May 2008 attacks took place were sites where protest over many issues were raised, for example inadequate service delivery problems, competition over jobs, inadequate service provision in their informal settlements, and poor service delivery to their neighbourhoods (Coplan, 2009). According to past studies (e.g. Bekker 2008; HSRC, 2008) complaints were made by poor black urban dwellers that government's lack of communication on the identified issues is a big problem. This has led to frustrations of the urban dwellers because their desires and needs are unmet. Based on this frustration, the most vulnerable are targeted. In this case, issues of service delivery are blamed on perceived competitors and those perceived to be doing "better" than local residents (Bekker, 2008). Blame is deflected from those responsible (government, the African National Congress government and the new multiracial economic elite) to deliver promised services to the deprived poor, and foreigners are blamed and targeted (Du Toit & Kotzé, 2011).

Furthermore, Du Toit and Kotzé (2011) argue that perpetrators of xenophobic attacks are those groups who are unable to effectively compete in civilized society whereas targeted groups are those who are able to. Violence becomes a desperate behaviour and tool applied by perpetrators to compensate for their limitations. Moreover, Steinberg (2008) noted that dwellers in the townships believe that democratic South Africa means gaining access to largesse and resources that the state is able to distribute. Likewise, wealth is considered as a measure of success where its distribution is seen as a zero-sum game. The implication is, if the nation's wealth meant for deserving citizens

goes to a foreigner, then South Africans have lost the possibility to acquire this wealth while a foreigner gains it. Moreover, democracy is seen as a system based on patronage, thus, if a foreigner prospers without state access, it offends the conception of the state and it upsets the concept of being South Africans living in a democracy as well as the entitlements meant only for them (Steinberg, 2008).

A major shortfall of this theory is seen in the argument made by Mokoena (2013) who argues that although frustration breeds anger, yet angry people do not necessarily always commit violence. They could turn their anger inwards and commit suicide. This is an indication that the claim that violence is related to xenophobia, but it is yet to be well substantiated. What is crucial to this theory in reality is that, in South Africa, it is those individuals who are relatively deprived and frustrated who are more likely to engage in xenophobia. More so, the scapegoating theory could not identify how foreigners are identified by locals. This is due to the theory's inability to identify migrants and ultimately scapegoat them. The next theory closes this gap.

2.3.1.3. The Bio-cultural Theory of Xenophobia

The Bio-cultural theory explains xenophobia from biological and cultural differences. These differences are means used by South Africans to identify foreigners for easy target. As such, language, dress, stature, birth marks and other characteristics are markers used to recognise foreigners and create a notion of 'us and them'.

The Bio-cultural Theory of Xenophobia gives an explanation for the disproportionate targeting of African foreigners by South Africans, based on the physical biological factors and cultural differences exhibited by these African foreigners. This theory situates xenophobia at the level of visible difference, or otherness. For example, Morris (1998: 1125) suggests that Nigerians and Congolese, "are easily identifiable as the 'Other'. Because of their physical features, their bearing, their clothing style and their inability to speak one of the indigenous languages, they are in general clearly distinct and local residents are easily able to pick them out and scapegoat them."

The differences with regard to certain biological-cultural features such as dress styles, accents, hairstyles, vaccination marks, and physical figures and appearance can be read as markers or signifiers. They signify difference as well as point out foreignness in a very visible way. Thus, these features play a significant role in quick identification of foreigners and instigating quick xenophobic actions. Osman (2009) cited bio-cultural factors e.g. shade of the skin, as a crucial

determinant of prejudice in an investigative study examining xenophobia as experienced by immigrant learners in Johannesburg. This view was earlier identified by Harris (2001:71) as the bio-cultural hypothesis, which claims that because foreigners are easily identified by their visible differences, this triggers anti-immigrant sentiments. In the South African context, colour of the skin is classified under race. At university level, race has been identified as the most important determinant of discrimination.

The applicability of the above theories to this study is demonstrated by the contention of Inglehart and Welzel (2005) that existential insecurity produces intolerance and xenophobia. They explained that a period of lack due to scarcity of resources results in strong in-group solidarity, as well as a prevalent insider favouritism. It becomes a question of which group would survive. As such, when threats to survival dominate people's lives, xenophobia becomes pervasive. This explains why an individual may feel frustrated because of relative deprivation and decide to vent anger on 'others' perceived or assumed to be the reason for this deprivation. The case of South Africans, with regard to their historical past of seclusion and isolation, change and political transition, tolerating and accommodating people from other nationalities may be difficult, as foreigners are seen as a threat, as well as different. Therefore, xenophobic behaviour towards foreigners during challenging periods is a result of the very foreignness of foreigners, also because foreigners are seen as different and 'unknown'.

2.3.1.4. The Integrated Threat Theory (ITT)

Stephan, Stephan and Gudykunst (1999, 2000) propounded the ITT. ITT provides an explanation for xenophobic attitudes in South Africa. The theory proposes an integrated structure for analysing challenging inter-group relations, drawing on practical examples of tensions between two groups who come into regular contact. In particular, this theory has been used effectively and is claimed to be a valuable tool in analysing a range of inter-group situations as well as understanding threat, anxiety and the use of stereotypes across continents, for example, in USA (Stephan, Ybarra & Bachman, 1999), Australia (Schimmack, Oishi & Diener, 2005) and in the Netherlands (Gonzalez, Verkuyten, Weesie & Poppe, 2008). According to Stephan, Stephan and

Gudykunst (2000), individual behaviour is a function of some fundamental pressures or threats in the environment.

Stephan, Ybarra, Martinez, Schwarzwald and Tur-Kaspa (1998) classified these threats into 4: realistic threat, symbolic threat, negative stereotypes and inter-group anxiety. To Stephen *et al* (1999, 2000) realistic threats are tangible threats arising as a result of competing for scarce resources seen to endanger the material safety and well-being of a group, which comes with fear of harm and/or a decline in quality of life. For example, threats on economic assets and employment opportunities may plunge many people into misery. Unemployment situations may lead to a decline of standard of living, resulting in intense mistrust, dislike, intolerance and hatred of foreigners by some locals because of the irrational feeling that the foreigners are responsible for their problems.

Symbolic threats constitute threats directed towards the worldview of the members of host group (Jungkunz, Helbling & Schwemmer, 2017). These are perceived threats seen to be threatening the groups' culture. For instance, threats arising particularly from challenging or undermining the group's accepted norms, values and beliefs, may make some citizens of the country to develop anti-immigrant sentiments towards foreigners because of the irrational perception that foreigners want to dilute the highly valued societal norms.

Likewise, Stephan, Ybarra, Martinez, Schwarzwald, and Tur-Kaspa (1998) explain negative stereotyping as ingrained behaviours towards other groups and this does not only mediate contacts, but it sets expectations and hampers the process of individuation (Harrison & Peacock 2010), and often leads to perceived threats, which in turn cause prejudice (Stephan & Stephan, 1996).

Finally, inter-group anxiety as explained by Stephan and Stephan (1985) occurs when two different groups in contact are faced with fears relating to efficient and positive communication. In this regard, people feel threatened in connection with intercultural interactions as they fear being rejected, embarrassed, ridiculed or exploited by members of the out-group (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). Reality threats that bring about frustration and affect psychological security and interpersonal tolerance, and inter-group anxiety that results in low self-esteem are variables of interest to the researcher.

The relevance of this theory to this study is that it is expected that during challenging periods, an individual's attitude may be predicted when frustration and reduced psychological security arises from a perceived threat of sharing or competing for available scarce resources with members of the out-group, as well as when self-esteem becomes low because of fear of being considered as inferior, and/or embarrassed, or rejected by the out-group, which may result in the formation of negative attitudes towards them. Besides, the theory shows how foreigners are perceived to be threatening the in-group position, particularly the feelings of natural rights to entitlement to social goods, which may be seen in the associations between the "in-group" and the "out-group". This is exposed in attitudes like '*They are taking our jobs*'. A major strength of this theory lies in its successful application in a variety of explanations of inter-group interactions (Riek, Mania & Gaertner, 2006).

2.3.2 Self-Esteem Theory.

Self-esteem is a concept used to describe how people value themselves. It refers to an individual's overall positive evaluation of the self (Rosenberg *et al.*, 1995). Self-esteem is a subjective judgment that is more strongly related to perceptions of others' evaluations of oneself than to seemingly objective indicators of one's ability or goodness. Significantly, self-esteem is an affectively laden self-evaluation, where assessment of one's behaviour is along evaluative dimensions (e.g. good-bad, positive-negative, valuable-worthless). The role of self-esteem in xenophobic attitudes has been argued along lines of self-evaluation (Alarape, 2008). For example, for people with low self-esteem, especially those who are less successful, and at the base of the social hierarchy, embracing a xenophobic attitude will tend to be more important because this may assist in boosting their ego (Boehnke, Hagan & Hefler, 1998). Because low self-esteem is associated with feelings of uncertainty, loss of self-confidence, insecurity and inferiority, depending on age and developmental status of people, xenophobia can serve the function of reducing feelings of inferiority (e.g., in Stage 4 of Erikson's 1963 ego development sequence).

Although a contrary perspective on the role of self-esteem in violence was argued by Baumeister, Smart and Boden (1996), according to these authors high self-esteem is also a source of violence, and individuals who entertain a high self-appraisal or "egotism" indicate the highest probability of the need to defend the self-image against a downward revision. Such defensive

behaviour facilitates the use of violent force. This explanation may relate to verbal violence and xenophobic attitudes.

Researchers concerned with self-esteem focused mainly on individual differences in dispositional or trait self-esteem. Trait self-esteem is a person's long-term, typical, affectively laden self-evaluation, or what James (1890) aptly described as the "average tone of self-feeling" that each person carries around. As a person's typical or summary self-evaluation, trait self-esteem may or may not reflect a person's self-esteem in a particular situation. State self-esteem, also called self-esteem feelings, refers to a person's affectively laden self-evaluation in a particular situation. Self-esteem comprises two distinct dimensions, namely: competence and worth (Gecas & Schwalbe, 1983), while the competence dimension (i.e. efficacy-based self-esteem) deals with the degree to which people see themselves as capable and efficacious. The worth dimension (i.e. worth-based self-esteem) concerns the degree to which people perceive that they are individuals of value. Conceptualization of self-esteem in research could be categorized into three. Firstly, self-esteem is investigated as an outcome; scholars in this domain have investigated self-esteem focusing on processes that produce or inhibit self-esteem (Rosenberg, 1979). Secondly, self-esteem has been examined as a self-motive, stating the tendency for an individual to behave in ways that maintain or increase positive evaluations of the self (e.g. Marcia, 2017). Thirdly, self-esteem has been investigated as a buffer for the self, providing protection from experiences that are harmful (Spencer, Josephs & Steele, 1993).

Synthesizing all three conceptualizations of self-esteem becomes imperative, particularly for this study so as to locate the role of self-esteem in the process of self-verification within groups, since xenophobia is generally assumed to be a group issue. According to identity theory, Stryker (1980) said that the self is made up of multiple identities which reflect various social positions representing the social positions that an individual occupies in the larger social structure. Meanings in an identity reflect an individual's conception of the self as an occupant of that specific position. Self-verification occurs when meanings in a social situation match or confirm meanings in an identity. Thus, when individuals enact and verify an identity, they instantaneously produce and represent the social structural arrangements that are the original source of those meanings. In this regard, Cast and Burke (2002) suggest that verification of an identity results in feelings of competency and worth, and this lead to high self-esteem.

Just as Freud (1922) assumed that identification is the foundation that children use to bond with and imitate their parents, identification with a group also prompts an individual member to bond with as well as take on group characteristics. According to social identity theory (Turner, 1981), identification with a group gives individuals a sense of self change. Unique beliefs, individualistic qualities-traits, and skills make up an individual's personal identity. Qualities emerging from membership in social groups (e.g. families, neighbourhoods, tribes, cities, countries, and region) make up the collective self or social identity. Identity theory, as believed by Taifel and Turner (1986) consists of those aspects of an individual's self-image that derive the social categories to which he perceives himself as belonging. To these authors, group members differentiate their own group from other groups and evaluate their own group more favourably as a means of enhancing their self-image. Thus, an individual's identity as a member of a group is seen as an important source of global self-esteem. Additionally, this theory explains self-esteem from the psychological domain, social biases and prejudices, and views behaviour to be caused as a result of identity and categorization. The theory offers a broad and inclusive umbrella for research on inter-group relations, which makes it applicable for the phenomenon under study. The theoretical perspective permits the examination of both direct and interactive effects of status, contact, threat, relative deprivation, and permeability on inter-group relations.

Verification of group-based identities by changing or maintain meanings in the situation that match the meanings in their identities is also likely to produce self-esteem. For example, the individual activity of joining a xenophobic uprising is a way of verification of group identity, and the meaning of such association may produce high self-esteem in such an individual seeking identity. This becomes what Burke and Stets (1999) refer to as confirmation of identities within the group. According to them, it further signifies approval and acceptance of the self. Conversely, a lack of self-verification within a group is likely to leave the individual feeling inefficacious and unaccepted by the group.

Furthermore, it is assumed that self-esteem works like a buffer, a kind of defence mechanism. When people are unable to verify their identities, the self-esteem produced by previous successful efforts at self-verification 'buffers' or protects individuals from the distress linked with a lack of self-verification (when self-verification processes are disrupted), thereby preserving threatened structural arrangements (Burke, 1996). In protecting the self against distress while the

situation is resolved (Thoits, 2013), however, self-esteem is used up or diminished. Cast and Burke (2002) note that like any other resource, it is possible to build up self-esteem, however once used, it is lost. It is argued that the reservoir of self-esteem is filled up by successful self-verification and used up when the self-verification process is disrupted. Like other aspects of the self, self-esteem is considered highly stable; nonetheless it is responsive to changes in social situations (Samuel, 1977). For instance, during challenging situations, an individual's self-esteem is likely to decline even more as the energy reservoir is depleted. In the case of South Africa, in times of unemployment crisis and foreigners assuming some positions at work due to better educational qualifications, low self-esteem may result among South Africans.

Given that high self-esteem is connected with positive feelings, and low self-esteem may cause many problems in life, e.g. juvenile delinquency, crime, and violence (Shaniya & Sharma, 2012), it is expected that individuals having low self-esteem may desire to reduce the negative effect linked with relational devaluation resulting in behaviours that are maladaptive. As such, low self-esteem is a co-effect of unfulfilled needs for social inclusion rather than causally related. Thus, self-esteem of an individual is built up as long as during periods of disruption and change there is interaction and continuity in structural arrangements maintaining both the individual and the group. This helps to lift the individual's self-esteem. To this extent, identification with a group is very important during conflict periods.

2.3.3. Inter-group contact theory

Also known as contact hypothesis, this was first proposed by Allport (1954). Allport's theory suggests that inter-group contact is expected to affect inter-group relations; positive inter-group contact has the ability to improve inter-group relations, but, on the other hand, negative contact will harm inter-group relations (Forbes, 2013). The theory explains that increased contact and interactions with people from the out-group will reduce prejudice, enhance tolerance and improve attitudes toward that group. The assumption is that, during the processes of interactions between in- and out-groups of people with common goals, the differences in cultural, ethnic and xenophobic attitudes would be weakened whilst developing "understanding, integration, and peaceable relations" (Jolly & DiGiusto, 2014: 465). Contact theory places stress on groups' commonalities rather than on disparities, and "relative status and goals" which drive mistrust,

anxiety, “distorted images” and “negative stereotypes” that precipitate xenophobic attitudes (Ha, 2010; Hopkins, 2010; Jolly & DiGiusto, 2014).

Furthermore, the theory opines that under appropriate conditions, interpersonal contact is one of the most effective ways to decrease prejudice between in-group and out-group members. The conditions proposed are: equal status, inter-group cooperation, common goals, and support by social and institutional authorities, and these conditions are regarded as very vital for sustaining inter-group contact (See table 2.1).

In this regard, Allport stated that these conditions must exist to some level of degree in any contact situation if reducing prejudice is to be guaranteed. Alluding to this, Pettigrew (1998) demonstrated the unique importance of cross-group friendships in reducing prejudice. Pettigrew concluded that what holds friendship is equal status; in a similar vein, achieving shared goals is only attained when people work together, and friendship is customarily absent from strict societal and institutional limitations. In this light, laws against intermarriage ensure the prevention of romantic relationships in organizations, and segregation laws, or differential statuses, ensure working relationships.

However, Inter-group theory is not without criticism. The criticism is seen in the arguments put forward by Pettigrew and Tropp (2006), who argue that Allport’s proposed contact conditions should be seen more as facilitating contact rather than essential for prejudice reduction; according to them, even unstructured contact reduces prejudice as well. However, the theory is employed in this study, due to the theory’s chief strength, which lies in its ability to reduce inter-group prejudice (e.g. Voci & Hewstone, 2003).

Therefore, as relevant to the study, during demanding and challenging periods, individuals who are in good contact with out-group members may perceive less threat from them, because experience of contact will bring understanding and appreciation of the views of others, and others will not be seen as a threat. Allport’s inter-group contact theory posits that issues such as stereotyping, prejudice and discrimination are reduced under appropriate conditions and Allport’s proposal emphasizes that properly managed contact between the groups should diminish these challenges and lead to better interactions.

Table 2.1: Showing Allport’s conditions for intergroup contact

Condition	Meaning	Example	Evidence
Equal Status	Members of the contact situation should not have an unequal, hierarchical relationship.	Members should not have an employer/employee, or instructor/student relationship.	Evidence has documented that equal status is important both <i>prior</i> to (Brewer & Kramer, 1985) and <i>during</i> (Cohen & Lotan, 1995) the contact situation.
Cooperation	Members should work together in a non-competitive environment.	Students working together in a group project.	Aronson’s ‘jigsaw technique’ structures classrooms so that students strive cooperatively (Aronson & Patnoe, 1967), and this technique has led to positive results in a variety of countries
Common Goals	Members must rely on each other to achieve their shared desired goal.	Members of a sports team.	hu and Griffey (1985) have shown the importance of common goals in interracial athletic teams who need to work together to achieve their goal.
Support by Social and Institutional Authorities	There should not be social or institutional authorities that explicitly or implicitly sanction contact, and there should be authorities that support positive contact.	There should not be official laws enforcing segregation.	Landis’ (1984) work on the importance of institutional support in reducing prejudice in the military.

Adapted from Allport (1954) intergroup contact theory.

2.3.4. Frustration-aggression theory

Dollard, Miller, Doob, Mowrer, and Sears (1939) propounded this theory. The Dollard-Miller theory sees aggression as a consequence of frustration. It is assumed that frustration occurs only when an instigated goal is interrupted or interdicted. It is argued that the individual may find a substitute response for the prevented goal-response; nonetheless, if that does not take place, then the individual may respond with some level (e.g. overt or covert, externally or internally directed) of aggression (Dollard *et al.*, 1939). The form of the aggression however, is dependent upon the individual's perception of the likelihood of being punished. In light of this, Dollard *et al.* (1939: 37) elucidated that ‘the inhibition of any act of aggression varies directly with the strength of the punishment anticipated for the expression of that act’. Therefore, linking this to the situation of xenophobic occurrence in South Africa, overt or covert expressions of aggression through xenophobic attitudes/attacks may be expected to be associated with the perception that individuals could 'get away with it' without being caught or punished.

Extending frustration-aggression to the phenomenon of xenophobic attitude, the theory analyses the sequence of frustrated events and emotional reactions to behavioural and attitudinal reactions in the social environment. Frustrated events may be construed as situational constraints in the immediate environment that prevent people from attaining and achieving their desired goals (e.g. failure to secure job opportunities, failure to be able to cater for family needs as a result of poverty). Emotional frustrated events are understood as perceived or imagined frustration by one group which is believed to have been caused by another group (Storms & Specto, 1987) and the subsequent negative emotional state comprises of aversion and arousal (Spector, 1978). Affective reactions are dissatisfaction, feelings of stress and frustration (Chen & Spector, 1992). Attitudinal reactions in the environment may include mistrust, dislike, intolerance and hatred of foreigners and isolation. A major limitation of the theory is seen in the criticism by Spielberger, Reheiser, and Sydeman (1995), who noted that the model neglected the mediating role of the arousal of negative affect on the association between frustrations and fight or flight behaviour. Also it ignores cognitive and dispositional processes and does not consider the effects of belief-based variables such as personality disposition.

Despite the above limitation, the theory is of relevance to this study as it situates the South African case. Thus, frustration as a result of not achieving a certain goal of an individual may occur due to challenges mounting up in the environment (Mothibi, Roelofse & Tshivhase, 2015), and this can result in venting of anger towards vulnerable people because of their presence at a challenging period and also due to the perception that their act may go unpunished. As a matter of fact, they respond to this frustration by engaging in aggressive acts (e.g. violence) and often the target is the group who is believed to be responsible for their predicament. The aggression is assumed to be designed to remove the barrier to their goals.

2.3.5. Functional attitude theory (FAT)

Due to the fact that xenophobia is construed first as an attitude before the overt manifestation, it is also necessary to consider a theory on attitude, hence the Functional attitude Theory. Functional attitude theory (Katz, 1960) opines that beliefs and attitudes are important to various psychological functions. The theory considers how attitudes and efforts are related to the motivational structure of the individual. And the theory focuses on two vital things, the meaning of the influencing situation in terms of both the kinds of motives that it arouses and the individual's

method of coping and achieving his goals. This theory proposes that attitudes are held by individuals because they are important and integral to psychological functioning. The function of an attitude is more important than whether the attitude is accurate or correct.

Attitudes serve four main functions for a person; (a) adjustments function, (b) ego defensive function, (c) value expressive function (d) knowledge function. These functions are known to serve people's desire to protect and heighten the image they hold of themselves. More so, attitudes may be influential on several processes such as being utilitarian (useful), social, linking to values, or a decrease of cognitive dissonance. Moreover, attitude is beneficial and helpful in assisting people to interact with the world. In the late 1950s, from the psychoanalysis and behaviourism perspectives, Katz (1960) derived attitude functions deductively. Katz developed typologies of human attitudes in relation to the functions which they believed the attitudes served (Carpenter, 2013).

For Katz (1960), the goal was to describe attitude functions as a means of increasing the efficacy of persuasive appeals. Katz claimed that if a persuasive appeal targeted the function an attitude served for a particular individual, then that persuasiveness is more likely to change, shape or reinforce the attitude in the direction that the person desired. For example, in the case of xenophobic attitudes in South Africa, for some unemployed South Africans, the persuasive appeal of developing a xenophobic attitude will be that foreigners are getting jobs and getting more successful (Idemudia, 2017, Misago, 2016b). This situation becomes a persuasive appeal that reinforces or shapes attitudes of some Africans, and so, as such, the attitudes of unemployed South Africans are more likely to be affected compared to the employed South Africans in this regard. Likewise, within the employment environment, if foreigners are getting high-level posts and receiving more promotions, this situation becomes a persuasive appeal that targets the function of attitude formation for the employed South Africans. In light of this, the persuasiveness environment is likely to shape or change attitudes of the employed South Africans compared to the attitude of the unemployed.

The understanding of the functions served by attitudes is relevant for attitude change procedures. This is because a method may produce different changes in individuals. For example,

a method may produce attitude change in people whose attitudes serve one particular function, yet for other individuals whose attitude serves a different function, it may produce no change.

In addition, Kelman (1953) distinguished three processes of attitude formation and change, namely compliance, identification and internalisation. Compliance happens when people form an attitude so as to gain a favourable impression from another individual or group. Identification involves forming or changing an attitude because this adoption assists people to establish or maintain a positive self-defining relationship with the influencing agent, while internalization occurs because it is congruent with one's overall value systems. Kelman's approach makes a significant contribution towards understanding conditions that impact the maintenance and stability of attitude change.

The relevance of functional attitude theory to the study is that with the processes of attitude formation suggested by Kelman (1953), some South Africans develop xenophobic attitudes so as to establish compliance with in-group solidarity. Besides, the identification process becomes important because developing anti-immigrant attitudes may help some citizens to maintain their self-esteem. Additionally, the state of the country, in relation to the unemployment rate may serve as an influencing situation that persuades the formation of xenophobic attitudes in many South Africans. This theory further assists in explaining that xenophobic attitudes will be formed based on different reasons for different people, depending on the meaning of the function of the attitude at a particular point in time for different people.

2.3.6. Social dominance orientation theory

Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) proposed by Sidanius and Pratto, (1999) uses a personality trait which predicts social and political behaviours. This theory is used to explain stereotypes in this study. SDO claims that historical group hierarchies matter, with the dominant group regarding itself as having a pre-eminent right to ownership of the nation, its resources, and its symbols (Sidanius, Feshbach, Levin & Pratto. 1997). Thus, it is expected that dominant groups will develop negative stereotypes toward out-groups that differ from subordinate groups. SDO is theorized as a measure of individual differences in levels of group-based discrimination, and this is an individual's preference for the hierarchy that exists within any social system as well as domination over lower-status groups. It is a tendency toward anti-egalitarianism within and between groups.

The notion of SDO as a measurable individual difference is a product of social dominance theory. Social dominance theory combines social psychological theories of inter-group relations with the social process of ideology and the legitimization of social inequalities which makes people discriminate against others. The psychological aspect of social dominance theory is found in the individual difference variable called social dominance orientation (SDO), otherwise known as the generalized desire to dominate out-groups. Such attitude is expected to be positively associated with out-group aggression and warfare (Pratto *et al.*, 1994; Sidanius, Pratto & Mitchell, 1994).

Social dominance orientation (SDO) expresses the extent to which individuals desire that their in-group should dominate and be superior to an out-group, because of the assumption that all members of society should not be equally socialized into hierarchical behaviours (Sidanius, Pratto & Mitchell, 1994). Additionally, the theory is defined as the degree to which people support generalized hierarchical associations among groups in society. The groups involved can be demarcated in any arbitrary yet socially salient manner (e.g. racial groups, national groups, religious groups, or minimal groups).

SDO is a general attitudinal orientation toward inter-group relations, reflecting a superior-inferior dimension of intergroup interactions. According to the theory, it is expected that people who are more social-dominance oriented will favour hierarchy-enhancing ideologies and policies, while those lower on SDO will not. As such, SDO expects a person's acceptance or rejection of numerous ideologies and policies pertinent to group relations. Moreover, SDO enhances social equality or inequality, particularly social roles that either enhance or attenuate inequality. In this regard, Sidanius and Pratto (1999) hinted that it is easy for people to legitimize their beliefs, because a constant belief that minority groups are inferior often leads to formation of prejudice and persistent ideological myths, which in turn become codified and institutionalized and serve to convince people that existing structures of inequality are just and desirable, despite their unequal outcomes with respect to low-status groups.

The main weakness of the theory is seen in its methodological differences, as social dominance theory is largely quantitative, replicating a tradition of positivistic psychology less central to critical theory. It is said by critical scholars that the theory overly “psychologizes” social and structural systems of oppression, by often addressing dominance structures based on questions of reproduction of beliefs. In spite of this criticism, the theory attempts to bridge psychological and

social perceptions on the legitimation of dominance; its strength lies in its ability to build natural affinities with concepts from critical theory such as hegemony and ideology.

In light of the above, the theory is of great relevance to this study, in that the extent to which individuals' desire that their in-group is superior and must dominate out-groups may be reflected during challenging situations as in the case of xenophobic manifestation in South Africa. Since SDO is a general attitudinal orientation toward inter-group relations, it may explain the firm belief of South Africans that other nationals are not equal to them and hence a demarcation line needs to be drawn, particularly when it comes to competition that exists during scouting for limited resources in the country. This is because SDO theory postulates that individuals who are high in SDO will tend to have a dominant-superior behaviour favouring hierarchy-enhancing ideologies and policies, justifying social practices that enhance social inequality, whereas those low on SDO tend to favour hierarchy-attenuating ideologies and policies, justifying social practices that decrease inequality (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

2.3.7. Group dynamics: theoretical understanding

Group dynamics as a field of study has its roots in both psychology and sociology and it is concerned with the attitude and behavioural patterns of the group. A majority of the theories on groups focus principally on interpersonal collaboration drawn from interpersonal theory, social psychology as well as research on collective behaviour. The interpersonal focus is significant as it draws attention to exchanges and behaviour in the present and past (Connors & Caple, 2005).

Group dynamics deals with formation, structure, functions and processes of a group. As such, it deals with the interactions and forces operating within groups (intra-group dynamics) and between groups (inter-group dynamics). Group dynamics is fundamental in understanding issues such as xenophobia, racism, sexism, and other forms of social prejudice and discrimination. Dynamics are influenced by the relationship between group members through members' internal or expressed thoughts and feelings, and nonverbal communication. Group dynamics assists in understanding individual actions and how this makes sense in the context of the group.

The epistemological premise of group dynamics is 'the whole is greater than the sum of its parts'. Gestalt psychologist, Wertheimer, acknowledged this fact, affirming 'There are entities where the behaviour of the whole cannot be derived from its individual elements nor from the way these elements fit together; rather the opposite is true: the properties of any of the parts are

determined by the intrinsic structural laws of the whole' (Wertheimer 1924: 7). Wilhelm Wundt (1832–1920), recognised as the originator of experimental psychology, had a specific interest in the psychology of communities, and he recognized groups' phenomena that could not be described through a study of the individuals. From a sociological perspective, Émile Durkheim (1858–1917), influenced by Wundt, similarly believed in collective phenomena, such as public knowledge. Other important theorists (Gustave Le Bon, 1841–1931) assumed that crowds possessed not only 'racial unconscious', but they have primitive, aggressive, and antisocial instincts and William McDougall (psychologist) believed in a 'group mind,' which had a distinct existence born from the interaction of individuals. Eventually, Kurt Lewin (1890–1947), a social psychologist, coined the term 'group dynamics' to describe the positive and negative forces within groups of people which forms system theory (Aron, 2017).

Consistent with the existentialism stance is the phenomenology of the concept of intersubjectivity and how this explains an individual behaviour within the group. According to Merleau-Ponty (1964a) and expressing his philosophical mind, he argued that emotions such as anger, shame, hate and love exist, rather than being psychic facts are hidden at the bottom of another's consciousness. For Merleau-Ponty, experiential life is directly accessible only to the individual who owns it (Merleau-Ponty, 1964b), while access to the psyche of another is indirect and mediated by his or her bodily appearance. Although, Merleau-Ponty claims that one's experiential life is a relation to the world, but he discards the idea that an individual's experiential life is a system of internal states that are inaccessible to anyone but that individual.

From the aforementioned, systems theory describes individuals' attitude within a system. Systems theory helps in the understanding of group dynamics as a more complex process and not just summing up the individual characteristics of each group member. Rather, group dynamics is the combining of the characteristics of each group member, and how each group member's actions affect the group, and how the group interactions affect each group member. This generates a cyclical and reciprocal feedback loop which simultaneously impacts all group members and all group members' relationships.

In 1922, from Freud's perspectives in *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*, he expounded that adult association is influenced by the attachment in infancy formed in earliest life. He wrote that 'identification is known . . . as the earliest expression of an emotional tie with another

person', and individuals who have substituted one and the same object for their ego-ideal and have consequently identified with one another in their ego' (Freud, 1922: 60). For Freud, these psychological processes are at the basis of group cohesion and collusion.

2.4. Summary of the chapter

Xenophobia, conceptualized as hatred for foreignness and killing of black foreigners in South Africa, has received various theoretical contestation and debate. This study employed Bandura's social cognitive theory and the Five Factor Model of personality (FFM) as the theoretical frameworks mainly due to their focus on elucidating individual and group-based levels of analysis in connection to social behaviour and explaining individual differences through personality traits. The focus on the individual is important as it draws attention to the individual as the main subject of an action.

Social cognitive theory assists in emphasising that the individual is responsible for his actions through means of observation, identification and modelling happenings in the system, and a decision made by the individual to replicate the observed behaviour. Drawing from Bandura's Social Cognitive Theory (1986), the individual perceptions, opinions and behaviours towards members of the out-group become a function of observation from watching the behaviour of significant others within an in-group towards a particular phenomenon. Linking this to the South African case, watching violence on media; observing parents' behaviours; mythologies of the apartheid era, and isolation of South Africans from South Africa and other countries may become a bench mark for shaping and formulation of xenophobic attitudes.

The Five Factor Model of personality (FFM) explains individual differences based on a set of five trait dimensions and how an individual would react to challenges in the environment as a result of his/her personal traits. As such, FFM provides the basis for linking personality traits to xenophobic attitude by emphasising distinct characters associated with each personality trait and how these traits influence attitude.

Theories employed in this study are scapegoating; relative deprivation; isolation theory; the Bio-cultural theory of xenophobia; integrated threat theory; self-esteem; inter-group contact theory; frustration-aggression theory; functional attitude theory; social dominance orientation theory, and group dynamics. It is argued in most of these theories, that individuals may develop xenophobic attitudes as a result of how they evaluate themselves and the desire for group

verification and identification to boost their worth as humans. Additionally, perceived feeling of psychological security and interpersonal tolerance are critical factors that necessitate paths to xenophobia.

Xenophobia was explained through several theoretical perspectives e.g. scapegoat theory, relative deprivation, isolation theory, bio-cultural theory and integrated threat theory. The perspectives trajectory adopted in the study synchronised xenophobia by problematizing it from individuals relating it to the group dynamics. In this light, scapegoat theory explained xenophobia as the loathing of foreigners and blaming them for social ills, while relative-deprivation theory gave a psychological explanation for scapegoating. Here, social unrest is assumed to happen when an individual has a great sense of relative deprivation - a subjective feeling of discontent grounded on the belief of a mismatch between aspirations and reality. Furthermore, the Isolation theory explained violence and hostility as a result of the interface created between previously isolated South Africans and those regarded as unknown foreigners. The Bio-cultural Theory of Xenophobia locates xenophobia at the level of visible difference and gives an explanation for the disproportionate targeting of African foreigners by South Africans, based on the physical biological factors and cultural differences. Lastly, integrated threat theory explained xenophobic attitudes by relating it to 4 classifications of environmental threats namely: realistic threat, symbolic threat, negative stereotypes and intergroup anxiety.

Self-esteem Theory elaborated the categorization of the self into three, i.e. outcome, self-motive and buffer, and importantly the role of the individual for evaluating the self and identification with the larger society and verification of membership to the group. Group acceptance enhances how an individual reacts to the group and also the role played by the society.

Inter-group Contact Theory explains how contact with people predicts the type of relationship that will exist among them. The contact will predict attitude towards the out-group. Significant to attitudinal formation is functional attitude theory, this theory proposes that attitudes are held by individuals because they are important and integral to psychological functioning. The function of an attitude is more important than whether the attitude is accurate or correct. This explains why some individuals will develop an attitude towards a situation, events, or towards other people whereas others might not develop such an attitude.

In South Africa, in connection to apartheid, seclusion and isolation, change and political transition, tolerating and accommodating people from other nationalities may be difficult for some South Africans, particularly when other groups are perceived as inferior. This is because social dominance orientation theory assumes dominance over lower-status groups.

The epistemological premise of group dynamics is 'the whole is greater than the sum of its parts.' However, dynamics are influenced by the relationship between each individual member of the group through individual member's internal or expressed thoughts and feelings and nonverbal communication. Thus, group dynamics enhance the understanding of individual actions and how this makes sense in the context of the group.

Chapter three below will provide an overview of xenophobia in South Africa and the detailed examination of the literature on psychosocial factors and xenophobic attitudes in past studies so as to identify literature gaps and showcase the significance of the present study.

CHAPTER THREE

REVIEW OF RELATED EMPIRICAL STUDIES AND HYPOTHESES

3.1. Introduction

Xenophobia is of great global and local concern and has attracted much public and academic attention around the continents. As a sequel to this, enormous scholarship exists in this area (e.g. Adjai & Lazaridis, 2013; Akinola, 2018; Gallego & Pardos-Prado, 2014; Gordon, 2016; Misago, 2017a; Pillay, 2017; Tafira, 2018). Yet some gaps exist. This chapter critically examines scholarly works that have investigated xenophobia both internationally and locally. Based on the empirical review, gaps in literature are identified and hypotheses are presented. However, the chapter starts by situating xenophobia and its multifaceted implications. This is done so as to highlight the relevance of the study. Thereafter, the relationship between the mediating roles of psychological insecurity and interpersonal tolerance, psychosocial variables and xenophobic attitudes are discussed and the chapter closes with a chapter summary.

3.2. Review of related empirical studies

3.2.1. Understanding xenophobic attitudes in South Africa

Given the problems associated with xenophobia, it is no wonder that scholars have devoted a great attention to understanding xenophobic attitudes. Xenophobia is universal throughout many parts of the world (Achieme, 2014; Akinola, 2018; Benček & Strasheim, 2016; Brobbey, 2018; Svensson & Edblad, 2015; Pillay, 2017; Tafira, 2018). Recently, global concern was expressed for the increasing rise of xenophobic attitudes. It was reported that anti-immigrant sentiments worldwide increased in the fifteen years since the adoption of the Durban Declaration Programme of Action. Additionally, xenophobia resurgence was noticeable in public discourse, media and political rhetoric, and delegates recounted that xenophobic attitudes are often channelled towards refugees, people of African descent and migrants (UN, 2016). Xenophobic attitudes and immigration are some of the domains currently receiving most attention from social scientists. This concern of the scholarly community is not limited only towards the rights of millions of immigrants

scattered around the world but, what is equally at stake, is the quality of liberal democracy in these nations.

Xenophobia remain an ambiguous term. Its origin is traced to the Greek words *xenos* and *phobia* meaning “stranger” and “fear ” It is defined as “an unreasonable fear or hatred of foreigners or strangers or of that which is foreign or strange” (Dictionary.com, 2016). Crush and Ramachandran (2009) noted conceptual vagueness of the term as similar terms such as ethnocentrism, nativism, xeno-racism, anti-immigrant prejudice and immigration-phobia are used to explain the phenomenon. Political researchers have attempted to conceptualize xenophobia in several ways. For example Nyamnjoh (2006:5) refers to xenophobia as an “...intense dislike, hatred or fear of others”. It has also been defined as “hostility towards strangers and all that is foreign” (Stolcke, 2002:28), and “fear of difference embodied in persons or groups” (Berezin, 2006:273). All conceptualizations above are adopted in this study because the various approaches refer to xenophobia as a set of attitudes and practices regarding people’s origins.

The focus on xenophobic attitudes is because attitudes are essential for behaviours to take place; more so, attitudes assist in explaining why people behave the way they do. People who view the object of the attitudes as highly vital are more likely to act in accordance with these attitudes (Fazio & Zanna, 1978; Krosnick, 1998). Attitudes can therefore exist without behaviour, yet behaviour cannot exist without attitudes. In explaining xenophobic attitudes in South Africa, Allport’s (1954) scale of intensity helps to explain how South Africans’ xenophobic attitudes gradually translate into actions. The scale describes the different degrees of prejudicial actions. The stages are ranked from the mildest to the strongest. They are: 1) Antilocution, which is the mildest; it consists of mere talking about the hostile attitudes with other individuals. The xenophobic attitudes in South Africa of labelling foreigners with derogatory names would be in this category. 2) The Avoidance stage is more intense; people avoid members of the out-group they dislike. The important notion here is that the burden of withdrawal lies with the person who is having the prejudice but the person however, does not directly inflict harm on the disliked group. 3) The Discrimination stage involves action; the person actively excludes all the members of the disliked groups from certain areas in the country. Segregation might be a perfect example here. 4) Physical attacks take place when prejudicial emotion becomes so intense that it leads to actual violence, or semi-violence. The xenophobic attacks in South Africa are in this category, with the

manifestations of stabbing, chasing, beating, violence, burning shops and houses, and killing. 5) Extermination is the strongest expression of prejudice consisting of pogroms, lynching and massacres. Hitler's genocide pogrom towards the Jews falls in this category.

The relevance of the five-point scale is that it directs attention to the range of activities activated by prejudicial attitudes. Although many people might not move from antilocution or avoidance, it is significant to note that activity on one level makes transition easier to the next intense level of prejudice (Allport, 1954). Because of this easy transition from one level to another on the five-point scale, South African's xenophobic attitude is of great concern because South African's xenophobic attitudes against fellow black Africans have been reported globally to be the worst in the world (Crush & Ramachandran, 2017; Pillay, 2017). Besides, Crush and Ramachandran (2017) hinted that xenophobia is a feature of a South African citizen and these attitudes are as common among citizens as they are common and practised by government officials, the police and private organisations (De La Rey, 1991; Du Toit & Kortze, 2011).

In a survey of residents in Johannesburg (2004), 64.8% of South African citizens expressed the wish that African refugees and immigrants must leave the country (Misago *et al.*, 2015). Similarly, a survey conducted by SAMP from 2001 shows that South Africans supported prohibition of foreigners from the country; in fact the percentage increased from 16% in 1996 to 37% in 2006. The opinion that foreigners should be permitted to enter the country when jobs are available dropped from 29% in 1995 to 23% in 2006. Additional results showed an increase in the electrification of South African border fences, which rose from 66% in 1999 to 76% in 2006. The demand for all foreigners to carry identification documents remained at 72% from 1999 to 2006 (SAMP, 2006). In analysing these results from the SAMP study, Hussein and Kosaka (2013) found that South Africans promote xenophobic discourse because a majority of South Africans support a policy of deportation. Clearly, South Africans' xenophobic attitudes have risen, with a strong desire to keep foreigners out at all costs, a situation which, if not curtailed, may transition into the fifth level of extermination as described on Allport's (1954) scale of intensity.

Xenophobia has played a distinctive role in a number of countless conflicts, perhaps because of the strong feelings connected to nationality and identity (Herrera & Butkovich Kraus, 2016). Findings from SAMP in 2006 showed that the majority of South Africans (80%) prided themselves on being South Africans; such a strong national identity, according to De La Rey

(1991), is a stage for an 'us' versus 'them' mentality. However, one would expect a reduction in exclusion tendencies through globalization as well as attendant diversity, as campaigned through the rhetoric of global world leaders, the media, researchers and the significant others (Banda & Mawadza, 2015).

Acts of xenophobia date back to 1994, after South Africa's first democratic elections marked the end of apartheid, a state where racism and apartheid were widespread. Hostility towards immigrants from sub-Saharan Africa is still evident in discriminating and anti-immigrant comments, resulting in South Africa being classified as one of the most xenophobic countries in the world (Crush & Ramachandran, 2017; Human Rights Watch, 2015; Landau, 2011; Zihindula, Meyer-Weitz & Akintola, 2017). The rapid influx of immigrants into post-apartheid South Africa was accompanied by waves of xenophobic attacks (Lee, 2017; Saleh, 2015).

One of the first reported instances of xenophobic violence in South Africa occurred in 1998 where three non-South Africans were attacked and killed by a mob in a train. They were two Senegalese and one Mozambican. These three individuals were killed in the most gruesome way; it was speculated that while one of the victims was pushed out of a moving train the other two were electrocuted on the roof top as they sought refuge (Zvomuya, 2013). Likewise, four Mozambicans were attacked by South African police dogs during a training exercise that same year (1998); it was noted that this was a deliberate act (Zvomuya, 2013).

In the above period, occurrences of xenophobic attacks were minimal, as the targets were mainly non-nationals who owned shops in the locations (Jost, Popp, Schuster & Ziebarth, 2012). However, a decade after the 1998 incidents, South Africa experienced the height of violence against non-nationals in 2008, claiming no less than 67 lives, with hundreds wounded, and more than 100,000 displaced (Landau, 2011; Okyere-Manu, 2016). Since then, reports of xenophobic attacks and killings against immigrants from sub-Saharan Africa continue to be on the rise with a progressive increase each year (Sika, 2017).

In 2009 more incidents were documented across the country. For example, in early 2009, two Zimbabwean nationals died during an attack on immigrants at a refugee hostel in Durban (Holborn, 2010). By mid-2009, further attacks were targeted at some Somali and Ethiopian nationals in Cape Town and Mpumalanga. In October, reports of xenophobic attitudes were reported in Gauteng (Holborn, 2010). In 2011, over 100 immigrants were killed (Landau, 2013);

included in these deaths were five foreigners who were burnt alive. In 2012, approximately 140 immigrants were killed, while 250 foreigners sustained serious injuries (Landau, 2013). Furthermore, Indian South African shopkeepers also fell victim to threats of violence in Rustenburg. These anti-immigrant sentiments spread across the whole country, and non-South Africans, particularly black immigrants, were all referred to as 'makwerekwere', a derogatory term used to debase foreigners (Landau, 2013; Moagi, Wyatt, Mokgobi, Loeb, Zhang & Davhana-Maselesele, 2018).

In a systematic review of the historical and theoretical analysis of xenophobia in South Africa, Ejoke and Ani (2017) found that of all the discriminatory perceptions towards black African immigrants, the term 'makwerewere' is mostly used to belittle black immigrants; in like manner, black immigrants are perceived to be stealing jobs and wives from South Africans. These negative perceptions, according to Solomon and Kosaka (2013), have fuelled hostilities towards black immigrants.

In 2013, attacks on black immigrants became more rampant. It was documented that major violence against foreigners was being reported weekly (Landau, 2013). In May and June, hundreds of foreign nationals were displaced due to attacks on their homes and businesses in Gauteng Province, while over 60 foreign-owned shops were forcefully closed down in the Diepsloot and Orange Farm areas, because of excessive looting and destruction of properties (Human Rights Watch, 2014).

Similar attacks were publicised in KwaZakhele and New Brighton in the Eastern Cape in June and September, as the shops of Somali nationals were looted and burnt, in all these cases, according to Human Rights Watch (2014) individuals were only charged with public violence, and there were no arrests on xenophobic violence. The anti-immigrant sentiments and violence continued in 2014. Attacks were made against Somali shopkeepers by South African youth in June 2014 in Mamelodi East, Pretoria. This incident recorded the killing of two Somali nationals and the forced displacement of approximately 100 immigrants from their homes and shops (Fabricius, 2014).

2015 recorded more displacement of black immigrants during xenophobic violence made popular by King Goodwill Zwelithini of Zululand, the king of South Africa's 10 million Zulu individuals, South Africa's largest ethnic group. In his anti-immigrant speech, King Goodwill Zwelithini proclaimed, '... head lice should be squashed and foreigners should pack their

belongings and leave the country' (Lee, 2017). In 2017, xenophobic attacks took place in Pretoria and are still ongoing (Sika, 2017).

These rather widespread xenophobic acts raise critical questions about the attitudinal state of South Africa as a nation towards foreigners. In a Satisfaction Survey conducted among 27 493 South Africans in Gauteng Province, Ispas (2014) found that xenophobia in South Africa was on the increase, especially in Tshwane. The findings indicated that 35% of the respondents want all foreigners to be sent back to their home countries. While tracking respondents' levels of satisfaction with the government, results showed that respondents reported low levels of satisfaction with South Africa governance and the government.

Governance was the issue raised from the study conducted by the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR). The results from the study linked xenophobic attacks to a series of policy failures and failure to address the issue of immigration by the South African government (Cronje, 2008). Blaming the situation on poor and ineffective governance, the Institute asserted further that ineffective governance has created a tinder box of unmet expectations resulting in a xenophobic explosion in Alexandra, spreading also to several other areas. Fundamentally, SAIRR hinted that the policy failures contributed in creating a perfect storm of not only lawlessness, poverty, and unfulfilled expectations but which has also erupted into violence.

Alluding to the above assertions, Akinola (2018) concludes that governance failure explains xenophobic attacks in most countries, for example, the recent cases of Botswana and Zambia. Pillay (2017) argued that the failure of the South African government to implement an integration policy plan taking cognisance of both local population and immigrants resulted in the 2008 and 2015 xenophobic outbursts in South Africa.

In line with the above, Landau and Misago (2016) note the connection between leadership style and xenophobic attitudes, emphasizing leadership style as an impact factor on whether or not xenophobic attacks would occur in some communities in South Africa, talking directly to the issue of governance. The issue as indicated by them is not limited only to foreigners and their rights, but about the security of all who live in South Africa. These authors state that during xenophobic attacks, foreigners from different nationalities, as well as everyone not belonging to a dominant ethnic group in the main cities, for example, Zulu or Xhosa, all suffer attacks. The reason given by these authors was that the minorities are viewed as foreigners by fellow South Africans and very dark skinned people are also seen as immigrants.

Other studies on xenophobia in South Africa stressed the geographical aftermath of xenophobic attacks (Mutanda, 2017), with theories of xenophobia in South Africa emphasising more on historical divisiveness; the exclusionary apartheid past; failed post-apartheid projects; economic disparity, and poor immigration policy and strategy (Huq, 2017; Neocosmos, 2010). Unfortunately, these explanations have not addressed xenophobia in South Africa.

Furthermore, immigrants are viewed as a problem rather than an opportunity in South Africa (Aydin, Krueger, Frey, Kastenmüller & Fischer, 2014; Serumaga-Zake & Unisa, 2017). This has been shown in various public opinion data in Southern Africa, revealing anti-immigrant sentiments. For example, research conducted by the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) in 1997, 1999 and 2006, Crush and Pendleton (2007), and Amnesty International (2015) all found similar results indicating the following: firstly, immigration is considered rather a problem than an opportunity, secondly, immigrants are not viewed as a homogenous group, as immigrants from North America and Europe are regarded more favourably than foreigners from sub-Saharan Africa, thirdly, immigrants are perceived as threats in the job market and viewed as responsible for society's ills. Fourthly, Southern Africa citizens tend to exaggerate the number of foreigners living in their country. Lastly, negative attitudes towards foreigners in South Africa cut across class, gender and racial lines.

Supporting the last finding above, using the World Value Survey data, Du Toit and Kortze (2011) found that restrictive anti-immigration sentiments cut across the country's different socio-demographic groups. In other words, irrespective of social economic status (i.e. rich or poor), or race (i.e. black or white), all conveyed similar xenophobic attitudes.

However, Holborn (2010) noted that the cause of xenophobia in South Africa is because of desperation and frustration which is associated with joblessness, poor service delivery as well as crime rates. According to Holborn, frustrated individuals tend to blame vulnerable scapegoats in their communities. Linking this to economic motivations, Majavu (2014) concludes that both economic and non-economic motivations account for xenophobia in South Africa. For Majavu, the economic perspective could be assessed from two opposing conceptions by foreigners and South Africans. From the angle of foreigners, South Africa is viewed as "an island of prosperity and privilege" (Majavu, 2014: 19). It is this motivation that pulls foreigners into South Africa. On the other hand, from the angle of South African citizens, foreigners are viewed as a threat to the privileges of locals (Majavu, 2014). This perception of foreigners as depriving locals of their

privileges, resources and benefits launched the 2008 xenophobic attacks as well as other sequences of attacks on black immigrants in the country.

The non-economic perspective is concerned with the belief that the overwhelming population of black immigrants in South Africa threaten and will undermine the “black South Africanness” (Majavu, 2014). Likewise, Laher (2009) contends that possible causes of xenophobia in the country are: negative beliefs, stereotypes, threat to national and cultural identity, religious doctrine as well as competition for basic resources such as housing, health care and employment.

Despite the various viewpoints offered for the explanation for xenophobia, the HSRC Report (2010) confirmed that a lasting reduction of the prevalence of xenophobia is yet to occur. Rather, a rise in xenophobic attacks has been recorded, with a majority of migrants continuously losing property, being injured or even killed (Misago, 2017b). Significantly ignored in literature however, are the mediating roles of psychological security and interpersonal tolerance (PI). For this reason, this study was carried out to investigate psychosocial paths to xenophobic attitudes among South Africans, as this may not only permit the analysis of potentially societal general views, but may also assist in addressing xenophobia from the grass roots.

3.2.2. Personality traits and xenophobic attitudes

Sibley and Duckitt’s (2008) meta-analysis revealed that agreeableness and openness to experience are predictors of various types of prejudice. The bivariate correlations of the meta-analysis showed a negative to moderate result of openness and agreeableness with prejudice, while the relationship of extraversion, neuroticism and conscientiousness with prejudice was negligible (Sibley & Duckitt, 2008).

Although the associations of personality–prejudice correlations can vary across the prejudice domains (Ekehammar & Akrami 2007; Sibley & Duckitt 2008), few studies have reported the association of personality traits and anti-immigrant prejudice. For example, Akrami, Ekehammar and Bergh (2011) found correlation between the traits agreeableness and openness with anti-immigrant prejudice in Sweden. In Belgium, Onraet *et al.* (2011) found openness to be strongly correlated with racism. Bergh, Akrami and Ekehammar (2010) reported moderate correlations of openness and agreeableness with anti-immigrant prejudice. Several other studies found significant but weak correlations of anti-immigrant prejudice with openness (Dinesen,

Klemmensen & Nørgaard 2016; Ekehammar Akrami, Gylje & Zakrisson, 2004) and agreeableness (Ekehammar *et al.*, 2004; Gallego and Pardos-Prado, 2014; Ackermann & Ackermann, 2015; Dinesen, Klemmensen & Nørgaard, 2016).

The general outlook of the aforementioned findings might mislead one to conclude that only openness to experience and agreeableness relate to anti-immigrant prejudice; few studies however show that other personality traits also play relevant roles in anti-immigrant attitudes towards foreigners. For example, Ekehammar *et al.* (2004) reported low correlation of modern racial prejudice with conscientiousness. Ackermann and Ackermann (2015) and Dinesen, Klemmensen and Nørgaard (2016) found similar results. Besides, Gallego and Pardos-Prado (2014) showed that all Big Five factors were significantly associated to attitudes towards immigrants. However, with the exception of agreeableness-prejudice correlation, the rest of the correlations were rather low and irrelevant. The authors identified the unexpectedly low correlation of openness and anti-immigrants attitudes.

Likewise, Freitag and Rapp (2015) reported a similar low and non-significant association between openness and anti-immigrant attitudes on a Swiss sample. In their investigation of personality relationship with political tolerance, they found agreeableness and extraversion to be predictors of attitudes towards migrants, while openness and extraversion were precursors supporting immigrants' voting rights. Satherley and Sibley (2016) found agreeableness, honesty-humility, openness, neuroticism and extraversion to have weak but significant correlation with New Zealanders' warmth to Chinese immigrants ($r = .16, .14, .12, -.10$ and $.07$, respectively). Finally, Matic, Löw and Bratko (2018) found extraversion and openness to exert direct effects on anti-immigrant prejudice in Croatia. Indirect effects via right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) were found for the traits of extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness and openness, and indirect effects via social dominance orientation (SDO) were indicated for agreeableness, neuroticism and openness. Surprisingly, indirect effects of agreeableness on prejudice via RWA and SDO operated in opposite directions.

Using data from the South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS) 2013, Ruedin (2018) investigated negative attitudes to immigrants in South Africa; findings showed that individual personality is associated with differences in attitudes, although individuals in vulnerable positions

and those lacking a personal support mechanism are more likely to oppose immigrants. The weakness of this study is that personality was approached through individual beliefs and ideology; the study did not test whether psychological factors such as the Big Five Personality traits could be implicated in xenophobic behaviour.

Psychological factors, for example the Big Five personality traits, have been linked with xenophobia. For example, Gallego and Pardos-Prado (2014) tested the direct relationship between the Big Five personality traits and behaviours towards immigrants among a large and representative sample of the Dutch population, employing personality theory as a predisposing factor. They found out that some personality traits (e.g. conscientiousness, extraversion and neuroticism) are linked to behaviours towards foreigners, and their study clearly confirms the importance of agreeableness. As much as these authors established a connection between the Big Five and xenophobic attitudes, the study is a European research, which makes generalization of the results to an African setting a bit problematic due to the diversity that exists with regard to culture and environment. Another weakness of the study is the theoretical approach employed in their analysis. In any socio-psychology study, eclectic theories maximise validity of the claims.

To close the above theoretical gap in literature however, in Nebraska, Ceballos and Yakushko (2014) examined behaviours toward immigrants by applying a comparative effect of three theories of prejudice, namely: perceptions of threat, contact with foreigners, and a cosmopolitan outlook. They found that perceived threat was the reason for xenophobic behaviours toward foreigners whereas constant contact with immigrants as well as a cosmopolitan outlook led to favourable behaviours. Additionally, the presence of a perceived threat of foreigners is more likely to increase negative behaviours toward foreigners than contact with foreigners or a cosmopolitan behaviour do in increasing positive behaviours toward. Lastly, the results indicated that the absence of perceived threat has a stronger consequence on behaviours (positively) than does its presence (negatively). This study has shown that eclectic theories augment explaining behaviours towards immigrants. But it did not test whether the Big Five personality traits could determine individual xenophobic behaviour.

Evaluating the Effects of Personality Traits on Ideology and Vote Choice was studied by Ie (2013) using Canadian samples. The finding of his study indicated that personality traits could account for individual differences with regard to ideological self-placement and vote choice. This

study only focused on individual differences mainly from the framework of political xenophobia. Xenophobic attitudes may also be discussed from psychological perspectives, for example exploring the link of xenophobia and the Big Five personality traits.

The influence of the Big Five Personality Factors on ideology, partisanship, and political efficacy was investigated by Cooper, Golden and Socha (2013). Mass politics was also measured as ideology and social indicators like xenophobia in their study among 750 people at a midsize state university. The authors submitted that personality traits (openness, agreeableness, conscientiousness, and extraversion) give an explanation of public opinion and political behaviour. According to these authors, neuroticism is the only trait that shows no impact on political life and xenophobic reactions. The study only tested political efficacy in relation to individual political attitudes. Xenophobic attitudes can also be examined in relation to the traits of neuroticism, agreeableness, conscientiousness, extraversion and openness.

To examine the influence of the above five personality traits on attitudes toward immigration using a Danish survey, Dinesen, Klemmensen and Nørgaard (2016) carried out their study among 400,000 Danes (a representative sample of an Internet panel) in Denmark. Their findings indicated that apart from the openness trait having an unconditional impact on attitudes towards immigration, the scores on traits such as agreeableness and conscientiousness influence individual reactions to economic threat. More specifically, lower scorers on agreeableness and higher scorer on conscientiousness are more sensitive to the skill level of migrants.

Personality Traits and South Koreans' Behaviours toward North Korea was examined by Ha (2013). Using the Ten Item Personality Inventory (TIPI) to measure South Koreans' attitudes towards their neighbours (North Korea), the findings from statistical analysis of two nationally representative surveys show that people who are high on the conscientious scale are less likely to feel close to North Korea, and more likely to believe North Korea is a hostile nation, whereas those individuals that are high on openness reveal more positive attitudes toward North Korea. Apart from openness and conscientious traits, other personality traits (extraversion, neuroticism, and agreeableness) may have an impact on xenophobic behaviour.

In investigating the role of personality traits and direct democracy in explaining participation in a political protest, Ackermann (2017) conducted a sub-national comparative analysis of the Swiss cantons. Findings indicated that openness to experience and extraversion

predicted protest behaviour. Likewise, relationships between openness to experience and protest participation was moderated by direct democracy. Although this study was carried out to examine participation in political protest, it can still be linked with xenophobic attitudes because they belong to the same protest-bracket as dissatisfaction is common to both. This study has established that political contextual factors have an influence on political protest behaviour. Apart from political contextual factors, individual contextual factors can determine xenophobic attitudes among individuals.

In a sample of 16,935 individuals nested within 30 localities, which were additionally nested within 14 European countries, Mieriņa and Koroļeva (2015) examined which individual or contextual factors are related with a higher inclination among young people towards being xenophobic. The finding revealed that despite comparatively low immigration rates, youths in Greek locations, as well as post-socialist locations, tend to be more xenophobic and exclusionist towards foreigners compared to youths in Western European locations. Further analysis showed that xenophobic behaviour towards minorities is rooted in ethnic nationalism. In the same vein, resource stress, low social and political trust, lack of or little contact with individuals from other ethnic backgrounds significantly determine xenophobic behaviour among people. Apart from these factors, psychological variables could also be important factors that can determine xenophobic attitudes among people.

Using 50 students of the Humanitarian College in Russia, Litvinova and Tarasov (2012) investigated the psychological determinants causing a tendency to xenophobia attitudes among Russian students. Their findings indicated that xenophobic attitudes are determined by some external and internal determinants. According to these authors, the external determinants are cultural levels of fellow students, and personal and psychological characteristics of teachers, while the internal determinants are, traditional cultural values (for example, interesting work, sense of duty, irreconcilability) and application of socially approved ways of a goal-setting. Even if these external and internal factors influence xenophobic attitudes, the sampling frame may not be representative, and the approximations obtained using non-representative samples may be biased. As such, examining the external validity of past results via nation-wide representative samples becomes worthwhile.

Using a wide sample across different years, Facchini, Mayda and Mendola (2013) used the World Values Surveys of 1996, 2001 and 2007 to determine what drives individual attitudes

towards immigration in South Africa, and they found that ethnic background and religious affiliation significantly influence xenophobic attitudes towards immigrants. However, in addition to cultural factors as main drivers of individual xenophobic attitude, shared societal values may also be significant as drivers of xenophobic attitude.

In a research on the impact of societal values on attitudes towards immigrants, Arikan and Ben-Nun (2013) argued that conflicts amongst individuals and societal values results not only in exposure to frames and opinions contrary to individual values, but also arouses competing considerations, creates attitudinal ambivalence and unpredictability. Using data from the first wave of European Social Surveys, the authors tested their argument concurrently for 18 European countries. They found that deviations from society's conservation and self-transcendence values lead to greater ambivalence in xenophobic attitudes towards immigrants. While social context and society's shared values are important indicators in influencing xenophobic behaviour, immigrants' ignorance and closed-mindedness may also be important.

Among a sample of 520 Italian high school students, Miglietta, Gattino and Esses (2014) investigated causes of prejudice against immigrants. Findings showed that Italian respondents were especially likely to link the causes of ethnic prejudice to immigrants' ignorance and closed-mindedness. Apart from immigrants' ignorance and narrow-mindedness, a major criticism of this study is that social contact may also play a significant role in determining xenophobic attitude.

Supportive of the contact theory, but using a French sample, Jolly and DiGiusto (2014) synthesized public view, economic, and demographic data from France and they tested the influence of social contact relationship between the presence of immigrant populations and xenophobic sentiments. Their findings showed that larger immigrant populations decrease xenophobic attitudes. Apart from the number of immigrants influencing xenophobic attitudes, psychological variables such as tolerance of citizens of host countries may play a significant role in xenophobic attitudes.

Among a sample of 1869 Swedish adolescents, who participated in a study that ran for three years between 2014- 2016, Björklund and Dahlberg (2017) investigated tolerance attitudes and their development over time among Swedish adolescents. The study specifically focused on how subgroups of intolerance and intolerant attitudes may be related to psychosocial factors. Their findings show that adolescents are tolerant, with girls reporting more tolerant behaviours than boys, who are more exposed to violence either as victims or perpetrators. In addition, their findings

suggested a complex association between tolerant behaviours, intolerant behaviour as well as psychosocial variables. Although psychological variables such as psychopathic traits, negative emotions, impulsivity, anger and self-esteem were found to have a link with tolerant and intolerant behaviour, psychological factors such as personality traits of the Big Five could also influence individual tolerance levels. A major pitfall of this study is that it focused mainly on adolescents, which might limit the generalization of results. Of importance also is friendship influence in predicting xenophobic attitude.

As for the examining of friendship influence towards exhibiting xenophobic attitude, van Zalk, Kerr, Van Zalk and Stattin (2013) investigated cross-influence processes within friendships among 1,472 adolescents from junior high schools in Sweden. Findings showed that friends' tolerance does not only predict increases in adolescents' tolerance but also friends' xenophobia predicts increase in adolescents' xenophobia. Interestingly, friends' tolerance anticipated a lower likelihood of adolescents' xenophobia increasing. While this study looked at xenophobia from peer influence, using adolescents as a sampling frame for the study may not mirror the larger population across a host of demographic, political and social indicators. Inclusion of an adult population may provide a better sampling frame for psychological and social research. Apart from peer influence, equal opportunities could also determine individual xenophobic attitudes.

A study on personality traits and attitudes toward immigrants in connection to equal opportunities was investigated by Ackermann and Ackermann (2015) among 1259 Swiss citizens. They found out that openness to experience and agreeableness are positively connected to a preference for equal opportunities between nationals and foreigners; however, conscientiousness is negatively related to these attitudes. Additionally, their results show a link between conscientiousness and behaviours toward equal opportunities, although this is significantly moderated by the perceived share of foreigners in the neighbourhood. This study only looked at the extent to which personality traits and attitudes toward immigrants is moderated from the socio-structural perspective. Meanwhile, other psychological variables may be important influences on predicting people's xenophobic attitudes.

3.2.3. Self-esteem and xenophobic attitudes

Literature has revealed an association between self-esteem and xenophobic attitudes. For example, some forms of high self-esteem, specifically inflated and unstable high self-esteem, can lead to xenophobic behaviour, aggression and violence against those perceived as a threat (Neff, 2009).

In a longitudinal study on the development of anti-immigrant behaviours among 517 adolescents in Sweden, Miklikowska (2017) investigated the influence of socialization context on xenophobic behaviour. The study focus was the role of parents, peers, inter-group friendship and empathy. The findings reveal that in addition to the role of parental prejudice, parents, peers, intergroup friendships and socio-economic background significantly influence youths' anti-immigrant attitudes as well as being mediated by adolescents' empathic concern. Apart from socialisation factors, perception of out-group may also be a determining factor that may also influence xenophobic tendencies.

In a sample of 264 students from Norway, Ommundsen, Yakushko, Van Der Veer and Ulleberg (2013) explored the association between a new construct termed "entitativity"; this is the extent to which out-group members are perceived to be knitted together, and social contact in relation to xenophobic attitudes. Their findings did not only show that xenophobia is moderated by perceived out-group entitativity but the influence of entitativity was strongest when social contact was low. Besides, their result revealed that the influence of valence contact was partially mediated through perception of entitativity. Apart from the moderating effect of entitativity, the study did not take into consideration implicit and explicit techniques which could also determine individual xenophobic attitudes.

In a quantitative and qualitative research, Fyfe (2013) investigated explicit and implicit models of behaviour and the extent to which these influence in-group favouritism, and positive and/or negative attitudes towards those considered as 'others'. The study utilized a combination data collection method from two small European countries; one hundred and thirty-one Maltese children were compared with one hundred and twelve Scottish children. The results indicated self-regulation of overt negativity and clearly demonstrated some disquieting outcomes. Less emphasis was placed on relational skill assets.

Lee and Lee (2015) examined the extent to which relational skill assets account for anti-immigrant sentiments among American citizens. The study was carried out using the 2004 national

identity module of the General Social Survey. The researchers built a theoretical framework stressing the role of occupational skill requirements in the explanation of anti-immigrant sentiment in which they utilized two specific occupation measures (interpersonal skill requirement and instrumental skill requirement) to hypothesize an explanatory factor (relational skill specificity), and this was tested on anti-immigrant attitudes and on foreign-born workers in occupations. The results indicated that employees possessing higher interpersonal skill assets relative to instrumental skill assets are less likely to express anti-immigrant attitudes. The weakness of this study is the lack of a prevention measure for antisocial outcomes.

Lüders, Jonas, Fritsche and Agroskin (2016) investigated how antisocial outcomes could be prevented; by examining dispositional and situational moderators, their results reveal that, apart from personal and contextual factors being critical factors during threat situations, numerous studies show antisocial defence such as xenophobic attitudes against out-group members, particularly when self-esteem, belonging, epistemic equilibrium, and control are threatened.

3.2.4. Frustration and xenophobic attitudes

Fedorenko, Skutina, Kalinovskaya and Potapova (2018) tested the problem of xenophobia among young people in Russia. The findings revealed that, among various factors influencing xenophobic attitudes, tendency to frustration is vital. However this might be not be significant to the present study, as the study was conducted in Russia.

In closing the above gap in literature, Wilson and Magam (2018) investigated the causes of xenophobia in South Africa and found that a psychosocial effect of corruption engenders frustration amongst the masses. They argued that the frustration is translated into aggression towards the foreigners. The weakness of this study is that it looked at xenophobia from the political perspectives; explaining everyday hate in a multicultural context may also be relevant.

Among a sample of youth in London, Hardy (2017) investigated explaining everyday hate in a multicultural context. Findings shows that 43.9% routinely hear racially and religiously prejudiced views, and that approximately one-quarter had either verbally or physically expressed xenophobic attitudes on the basis of someone's ethnicity or religion. The shortcoming of these

data is their inability to shine a light on daily contexts in which targeted hostility takes place. Explaining South African xenophobia may be significant in this case.

Claassen (2017) investigated explaining the case of South African xenophobia by using individual-level Afrobarometer survey items and municipal-level census indicators, a rich quantitative dataset, as determinants of South African xenophobia were produced. The findings show a mechanism of scapegoating, where frustrations and hopelessness produce aggression that is targeted at African immigrants. Apart from this, the relationship between behaviours towards migrant and life satisfaction is vital.

Using data from the 2013 South African Social Behaviours Survey, Gordon (2016) examined the relationship between behaviours towards immigrants and life satisfaction, focusing entirely on the behaviours of the black South African majority. The findings show that there is some evidence of ‘outsider solidarity;’ for example some ethnic groups like isiTsonga speakers were found to be more pro-immigrant in sentiment than other groups. Furthermore, life satisfaction, which could be a proxy for frustration, anxiety and social alienation known to influence xenophobic sentiment, did not have a strong relationship with pro-immigrant sentiments. Even if life satisfaction has no strong influence on xenophobic attitude, contextual factors may exert some influence on xenophobic attitudes.

To understand the contextual factors that trigger xenophobia in South Africa, Hagensen, (2014) investigated the causes of the phenomenon through the case of De Doorns, and found that the triggers can be summarized as twofold; external contextual factors characterised by casual work, job insecurity and (often) poor living conditions, and underlining factors found to be locals’ frustration with and perceptions of foreigners, which led to the development of xenophobic attitudes. In addition, labour brokers were found to have worsened the situation by encouraging casual work and by skimming off workers’ payments. Government insufficiencies were also an underlying condition: there was lack of an early warning system and there were service delivery failures. These underlying conditions gave a breeding ground for the triggers of the violence to operate. A major factor that can also determine xenophobic attitude apart from contextual factors and perceptions of immigrants is social fear.

From a genetic and environmental perspective, Hatemi, McDermott, Eaves, Kendler and Neale (2013) investigated social fear as a disposition and an emotional state predicting anti-

immigration and xenophobic attitudes using a large sample of related individuals. It was found that individuals with a higher degree of social fear tend to have more negative out-group opinions, which, in this study, manifested as xenophobic attitudes. These authors, however, stressed social fear being very critical in xenophobic attitudes. Feelings of disillusionment and abandonment may also be important factors determining xenophobic attitudes.

In Gomes' (2014) empirical study titled "Xenophobia online: Unmasking Singaporean behaviours towards 'foreign talent' migrants," Gomes examined xenophobic attitudes among Singaporeans, and the study concluded that anti-immigrant sentiments by Singaporeans is an indication of the feelings of disillusionment and abandonment from the government of Singapore. Arguing further that the presence of foreign talent migrants was an occasion for Singaporeans to emotionally express their disappointment in their government, the study showed that a feeling of disappointment is a crucial factor in determining xenophobic behaviour among individuals. Yet one main weakness of the study is tolerance towards immigrants.

Among a sample of six hundred Swiss citizens, Freitag and Rapp (2013) investigated intolerance towards immigrants in Switzerland. Their study focussed on how to diminish threat through social contacts. While the findings showed that contact with immigrants may moderate the feeling of threat, it further indicated that a group setting may affect how citizens perceive threats, and not all types of social contact are able to foster tolerance towards immigrants. A major shortfall of this study is that emphasis is placed more on social contact as a significant factor for predicting citizens' tolerant attitude towards immigrants, whereas variables like threats and fears could serve as vital factors that can influence citizens' attitudes towards immigrants.

In order to determine factors that matter in understanding xenophobic attitudes, Ackermann and Freitag (2015) conducted a study among 564 Swiss respondents. Their findings show that the threats and fears induced by immigration as well as the will to conserve sovereignty and autonomy are factors particularly relevant for the formation of xenophobic attitudes. On the other hand, education and economic conditions are only weakly linked to the immigration issue. Other psychological factors like frustration may be relevant for formation of xenophobic attitudes. In addition to perceived threats and fear, the economic well-being of people may also determine xenophobic attitudes.

Mocan and Raschke (2016) investigated the extent to which economic well-being and anti-Semitism influenced xenophobic and racist attitudes in Germany. They found that hate and identity in the utility function are the main triggers of xenophobia in Germany. A qualitative study on exploring the perceptions of xenophobia was carried out by Coetzee (2012) among 127 respondents with the majority of the respondents being Afrikaans speaking (53%) and white (68.5%) in South Africa. Data on perception, xenophobia, related xenophobic violence and causes were collected. Findings indicated that seventy-four percent (74%) of respondents disapprove of xenophobic attitudes, with twenty percent (20%) of the respondents empathising with South Africans on xenophobia. Six percent (6%) of the respondents were non-committal about xenophobia. Respondents linked xenophobia to unemployment, poverty, poor governance, a lack of education and involvement in crime.

In a South African study, it was found that South Africans exhibit high levels of xenophobia towards black African immigrants, totally subjecting them to diverse forms of prejudice and discrimination. The racialization of African migrants and xenophobic sentiments are linked to politics of access; a struggle for political and socio-economic resources (Adjai & Lazaridis, 2013). Extending on this, in a quantitative study, Angen (2016) used data provided by Afrobarometer in 2011 in South Africa. The result showed that individual factors such as race, job scarcity and ethnic discrimination significantly influence the likelihood for South Africans to be involved in xenophobic actions. In addition to South African blacks being more likely to be perpetrators than their white counterparts, those who perceived foreigners as taking their jobs, and those that felt discriminated against by the state as a result of ethnicity, are also more likely to be more involved in xenophobic acts.

Employing a mixed method approach, Rannou (2017) used an original cross-national dataset to test the determinants of ethnic xenophobic activity, across seventy-eight host countries (across both developed and developing) from 1990 to 2014. The findings indicated that elites- across both developed and developing countries- exploit native anxieties in the aftermath of structural crises and events to provoke and mobilize hostilities toward migrants. Additional, it revealed similarities in the pattern of trends of ethnic xenophobia and anti-migrant intolerance across different country contexts.

3.2.5. Intercultural contact and xenophobic attitudes

A survey conducted by the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) from 1999 to 2006 examined contacts between South Africans and foreigners; the survey results showed that little to no contact exists across the board. According to Hjerm and Bohman (2012), intercultural contact with foreigners decreases xenophobic attitudes. Jolly and DiGiusto (2014) explored this in their study by investigating xenophobic attitudes in France. By assessing patterns in social attitudes, findings revealed that communities with dense immigrant populations are less likely to perceive that there are many foreigners staying in the area. For Jolly and DiGiusto (2014) there is no clear link between xenophobic attitudes and dense immigrant areas.

However, Denny and Gráda (2016) argue that frequent social interaction with foreigners might be expected to increase empathy for them, with Gordon (2018) arguing that such contact is beneficial for opening of social networks, as when people experience the culture of ‘others’ (e.g. through friendship, marriage, work, and/or travelling) during challenging situations, they are expected to be more tolerant towards migrants.

Glorius (2017) investigated the challenge of diversity in rural regions among German samples; the findings suggested that the lack of experience with diversity accounted for xenophobic attitudes. Likewise, contacts with migrants supported the acculturation process and consequently improved public attitudes towards migrants. Apart from these contextual factors, international experience might also account for xenophobic attitudes.

In the above context, among a sample of 435 youths in Germany, Genkova (2016) investigated xenophobia and international experience regarding their association to personality dimensions and intercultural effectiveness. It was found that a person who have already lived abroad for a certain time and has therefore experienced numerous intercultural interactions is more open-minded due to the experiences gathered abroad.

The 2005-2007 systematic survey of Russian migration behaviours examining attitudes towards migration among ethnic-Russians versus ethnic non-Russians, and also attitudes across selected ethnic non-Russian groups was carried out by Alexseev (2010). The result of the study indicated that ethnic Russians were constantly more hostile and less tolerant toward migrants than ethnic non-Russians. The result revealed one of the most striking pointers of anti-migrant exclusionism and inter-ethnic hostility, as the proportion of ethnic non-Russian respondents who

supported deportation of both legal and illegal migrants from Russian was significantly lower compared with those of ethnic Russians. About 27 per cent of non- Russians were completely or partially in support of the policy as against 49 per cent ethnic Russians. Apart from exclusionism, contact with migrants may also predict and influence xenophobia.

Synthesizing public opinions, economic and demographic data in the United Kingdom, Jolly & DiGiusto (2009) explored xenophobia and immigrant contact and how this influenced xenophobic attitudes in Britain. The finding showed that a larger immigrant population diminishes xenophobic attitudes, supportive of the contact theory. A result that was replicated in France employing a follow-up study was conducted in France by the same authors in 2014, to test hypotheses concerning the association between the presence of immigrant populations and xenophobic attitudes. The same results were found (Jolly & DiGiusto 2014). As much as these research findings challenge other country-level research on immigrant concentration and xenophobia, as well as suggesting some hope for those who are critically concerned about the rise of xenophobia and the radical right in the midst of diverse European polities, the weak link is the theoretical framework underpinning their studies. The studies emphasized contact theory as predicting xenophobic behaviour among citizens, whereas receptivity towards migrants could serve as a vital factor that can determine xenophobic attitudes.

Using data from the 2008 Taiwan Social Change Survey, Chen and Yi (2013) examined the receptivity of Taiwanese society towards migrants. The authors used social distance as an index to compare several behaviours that were expressed toward foreign migrants from different countries. The finding indicated that among the six countries of origin—Japan, South Korea, Mainland China, Southeast Asia, Europe and North America—Taiwanese are incline to be friendlier toward those from Japan, Europe and North America, while multinomial logistic regression models results suggested that the net effects of socio-demographic characteristics (cultural contact and cultural ideology) are fundamental determinants in shaping positive behaviour toward foreign immigrants. The study concluded that social exposure is a major mechanism accounting for positive behaviours, although, results on incidences of xenophobia towards people from developing countries infer that both cultural proximity and economic developmental status contribute to the social distance between the Taiwanese and migrants. Apart from social distance, intercultural sensitivity can account for xenophobic attitudes.

Chocce (2014) investigated freshmen's level of intercultural sensitivity and compared it based on the following factors found in literature: gender, nationality, field of study, foreign language abilities, international travels, study abroad, and foreign friends. Employing convenience sampling, freshmen students were drawn from an International College in Bangkok, Thailand. The result suggests that international college freshmen show a high level of intercultural sensitivity. Further analysis indicated there is a statistically significant difference in the level of intercultural sensitivity which is based solely on two factors, namely, nationality, and international friendships.

The extent to which the level of exposure predicts levels of prejudice was investigated by Melles and Schwartz (2013) among 196 Adult Third Culture Kids (ATCKs) in America. Level of exposure was measured as number of years spent abroad as well as number of countries lived in, while level of prejudice was measured on scales of Quick Discrimination Index and the Social Dominance Orientation. The analysis showed that only the number of countries lived in significantly predicted scores on the Affective subscale of the Quick Discrimination Index (QDI). In addition, a higher level of prejudice was reported among American ATCKs than non-American ATCKs. Although this study demonstrated that travelling can influence xenophobic attitude, the study ignored other factors that can predict tolerance of immigrants.

Factors related to tolerance of immigrants was investigated by Tanaka, Matsunaga, Noguchi, Shibayama, Ishibashi, Akinaga and Shinchi (2016) among 109 nurses in Japan. The study was aimed to explain factors related to Japanese nurses' tolerance level toward Indonesian nurse trainees. Methodologically, a self-administered questionnaire survey was employed targeting Japanese nurses that were accepting Indonesian nurse trainees. Results showed that apart from overseas travel experience, the length of education, the number of countries travelled to, period of stay in that country as well as foreign language learning experience were significantly related to tolerance of immigrants, although foreign language learning experience had a greater significant influence on increasing tolerance as compared to governmental policies and agreement on introducing foreign nurses.

Using German data from 1996 and 2006, Mocan and Raschke (2016) tested, on the one hand, the determinants of racist and xenophobic feelings towards foreigners in general, and against specific groups such as Italians, Turks, and Asylum Seekers. On the other hand, racist and anti-Semitic feelings towards German citizens who differ in ethnicity was also tested. The finding did

not only reveal the negative association of perceived (or actual) economic well-being to the strength of these feelings, but also indicated that contact with foreigners lessens racist, anti-Semitic and xenophobic feelings.

Mak, Brown and Wadey (2014) examined the impact of intercultural contact between nationals and international students in Australia. Survey was collected from 247 Australian students based on the following: quantity and quality of contact towards international students, levels of intergroup anxiety (IA), intercultural communication emotions (ICE), and behaviours toward international students. Findings indicated that quality of intercultural contact, less IA, and more positive ICE were all associated to positive behaviours toward international students. Additionally, ICE mediated the associations between positive quality of contact and behaviours, and between IA and behaviours. Quality of contact exerted both direct and indirect effects (via IA and intercultural communications emotions) on inter-group behaviours. Apart from highlighting the importance of communication barriers and the emotions associated with these, the connection of interpersonal contact may be vital predictor of xenophobia.

Simonovits (2016) confirmed the connection of contact to xenophobia. Using survey data from the Social Research Institute research, Simonovits tested the different components of anti-migrant-related fear based on Stephan, *et al.*'s (1999) integrated threat theory. Findings indicated that personal contact with migrants, social trust, political activity, and affiliation were also directly associated with perceived threat from an influx of immigrants, both in the European and the national context.

3.2.6. Stereotypes and xenophobic attitudes

In a phenomenological study conducted in Louis Trichardt in Limpopo Province, South Africa, Mothibi, Roelofse, and Tshivhase (2015) interviewed immigrants to find out their lived experiences as regards xenophobic attacks. Results showed that the contributory factors to xenophobic attacks towards street vendors and immigrants is not only associated with competition over limited resources, and inter-group anxiety, but also to negative stereotypes. Maistry (2015) and Harrison (2015) argued that foreigners are often targeted as convenient scapegoats during stressful cultural and economic transitions, agreeing with the scapegoat theory of xenophobia. Common examples of such threats often reported in literature are that foreigners are taking jobs from native workers and stealing women from citizens (Ejoke & Ani, 2017). Foreigners are likely

to be portrayed in very stereotypical ways, for example, lazy, criminal, disease carriers and uneducated. Thus, Watts (1996: 97) “hypothesized that xenophobia is a discriminatory potential, linking it to negative stereotypes, which is activated when ideology, such as ethnocentrism, is connected to a sense of threat on a personal or group level”.

Moreover, Hadarics and Kende (2018) investigated negative stereotypes as justification for moral exclusion among 441 Roma, Jewish, and Muslim individuals in Hungary. Their findings show a mediating effect of negative stereotypes on social dominance orientation and right-wing authoritarianism, while negative stereotype is established as a justification for xenophobic responses. The weakness of the study however, is that its findings were generated utilizing small sample size.

Using a more representative sample of the Spanish population, Prats, Deusdad and Cabre (2017) closed the above gap. Among a large sample of 2196 secondary school students, they investigated the relationship between stereotypes and xenophobic attitudes, and how teachers address a multicultural classroom. Additionally, in-depth interviews were used to gather data from 54 secondary school teachers, while questionnaires were administered to the students. Results revealed that relationships are formed among peer groups of the same ethnicity, whereas students from other ethnicities were rejected. However, teachers are unaware of students' stereotypes or of their own. The limitation of this study is that it is a Eurocentric study.

Closing the above gap in literature, in South Africa, Isaacs-Martin (2017) investigated minority identities and negative attitudes toward African immigrants among 214 coloured people. The study aim was to determine whether there exists a significant social distance attitude between the Coloured population and African immigrants. Findings show that discrimination against a particular group is not uniform, rather, this behaviour toward other Africans is informed by persistent reference to group racism. The shortcoming of this study is that it focused only on a specific racial group (i.e. the Coloureds) in South Africa.

In a cross-national analysis study, Coenders and Martinovic (2014) examined differences in perceptions among immigrants in Europe. In addition to prominent theories in the wide-ranging integration, inter-ethnic relations and discrimination literature, the study combined data from the European Social Survey, the International Social Survey Programme, policy indicators from the

Migrant Integration Policy Index, and Hofstede's cultural dimension scores. Hypotheses were tested using logistic multilevel models, whereby individual characteristics, immigrant groups' characteristics and national factors were all incorporated in the countries of destination. Findings revealed that immigrants perceive more group discrimination as compared to natives in all these countries. Apart from individual characteristics, group stereotyping may be crucial in predicting xenophobia.

In testing stereotypical attitudes amongst 274 black students in South Africa, Mensele, Nel, Nel and Louw (2015) obtained data on group stereotyping by race employing a semi-structured questionnaire. By means of discourse analysis, findings showed that geographical origin is significant in the development of stereotypic behaviours. Black students from a rural background origin stereotyped those from urban centres, saying they lack African culture and are overly westernised. Equally, Blacks from urban settings stereotyped individuals from rural areas as too respectful, over-cultured and materially poor. In addition to geographical origin, language was an indicator for being stereotyped. For instance, while English-speaking Whites are perceived as competent as well as friendly, Afrikaans-speaking Whites were discriminated as racist, aggressive and hardworking.

Contrarily, a Botswanan study that tested the influence of urbanism on xenophobic behaviour carried out by Campbell, Kandala and Oucho (2016) indicated a different result. From June to July 2001, by means of random sampling, and using data from the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP), individuals across three urban areas in Botswana (Gaborone, Francistown and Kanye) were interviewed. The result showed no significant difference was found between xenophobia level in relation to city and rural dwellers. While historical background and geographical location may be relevant in formation of stereotypic attitudes, culture may also predict predominant behaviours towards migrants.

To evaluate the predominant behaviours and cultural stereotypes towards migrants, Níkleva and Rico-Martín (2017) examined future teachers in Spain to find out the sources of information that impact them the most. The mental associations associated with the words 'foreigner' and 'immigrant', as well as the ranking of the immigrant nationalities in connection to positive or negative attitudes towards them, were considered. The authors explained stereotype functions by analysing an opinion survey of 151 students at the University of Granada. Using a 41-item

questionnaire, results did not only indicate the relevance of inter-group contact but showed that the formation of attitudes depends on the source of information that has greatest influence. Nonetheless, there was no connection between geographical locations of students and opinions towards them. In other words, the attitudes of Spanish students toward immigrants were informed by family, and not linked to the place where they lived. Descriptive analysis also revealed that the word 'immigrant' is related to poverty, need and an illegal stay. This will explain the basis of stereotypes against immigrants.

In a longitudinal study, Niwa, Boxer, Dubow, Huesmann, Landau, Shikaki & Dvir Gvirsman (2016) investigated negative stereotypes of ethnic out-groups among 600 Palestinian, 451 Israeli-Jewish, and 450 Israeli-Arab youth over 3 years. Age and exposure to ethno-political violence were included as covariates for these trajectories. The authors employed cohort sequential longitudinal data. They found important ethnic differences in trajectories of negative stereotypes about ethnic out-groups, as well as variation in how such trajectories are shaped by prolonged ethno-political conflict. Apart from ethnic differences, motivation of the in-group may be a vital factor predicting xenophobia.

Emmenegger and Klemmensen (2013) examined preference for motivation and anti-migrant attitudes. The result indicated that individuals who are self-interested and strongly reciprocal are those who experience a tension between immigration and redistribution, but egalitarian individuals do not experience this tension. However, humanitarians express a willingness to assist people seen as worse off, immigrants included; interestingly, this motivation does not disturb their preferences for redistribution. Apart from motivation, trust towards migrants can also be a vital factor determining xenophobic attitude.

Using a representative sample of the Swiss population, Freitag and Kijewski (2017) investigated the evaluation of the formation of trust toward immigration. Findings showed an association between violation of trust by negative experiences in the workplace and lower levels of trust toward immigrants accordingly. Additionally, the result emphasized the issue of trust, arguing that individuals who tend to have high levels of trust among their national group are those individuals who often exhibit negative experiences and trust towards immigrants. Apart from trust as a significant factor for predicting xenophobic attitudes, issues of ethnic threat and economic insecurity may be a vital factor in the explanation of xenophobic attitudes.

With the data from Russia, Bessudnov (2016) investigated labour market competition and immigrant ethnic groups' threats. Result showed that, on the one hand, Russians accept Ukrainians and Moldovans as their possible neighbours, on the other, they show hostile behaviour towards immigrants from the Caucasus and Central Asia. This ethnic hierarchy is shared by all large ethnic groups populating Russia. Further analysis of regional-level covariates of anti-immigrant sentiment indicated the reason for the negative behaviours; it was found that immigrants' size determine xenophobic attitude. The regional-level covariates show that the higher concentration of immigrants the more negative behaviours exhibited towards most immigrant groups, except Ukrainians. In addition, it was indicated that poorer regions are more xenophobic, and anti-immigrant prejudice is significantly lower in Russia compared with Western European countries.

Apart from the noted factors above determining xenophobic attitude, the power of the media to create powerful images can also predict stereotypic xenophobic attitudes. In this light, Kamenova (2014) investigated how media discourse affects society's tolerance toward migrants. According to Kamenova, the ability of media to create powerful images, which leak into the cognition of the audience, is very significant and delicate, especially when linked to questions regarding the attitude towards the 'other' and the perception of Otherness.

Vandeyar and Vandeyar (2017) utilized a case study approach to examine discrimination experienced by immigrant students in South African schools. Results of their findings show that the discrimination experiences are clustered into four wide themes, which include: categorisations and prototypes; practised stereotypes; academic and social exclusion; and work ethic.

3.2.7. Socio-demographic variables and xenophobic attitudes

Related literature review on socio-demographic variables discussed in this section are gender, age, marital status, employment status and Province.

In an empirical study with 279 Spanish adolescents of mean age of 12.10 years during first assessment, Ferragut, Blanca, Ortiz-Tallo & Bendayan (2017) examined changes in sexist attitudes and beliefs. They were able to show in the longitudinal analysis that hostile sexism did not vary over time, while scores on benevolent sexism, sexist beliefs and justification of violence fell between the ages of 12 and 14, revealing an equivalent decline in boys and girls. However, boys scored significantly higher on hostile sexism and sexist beliefs. Apart from illustrating gender

differences from an early age, the relationship between gender difference and xenophobia may be relevant.

The relationship between gender differences, socio-demographics and xenophobia among 513 individuals from six Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries was examined by Al-Kubaisi and Soliman (2017). Firstly, the findings showed that xenophobia negatively correlated with age, parents' educational level, and type of father's job. Secondly, females from the six GCC countries exhibited more xenophobic attitudes than males. Apart from these identified factors, it may be vital to indicate people that participated in this violence.

Claassen (2014) investigated people who participated in communal violence using data from a representative sample of Alexandra residents in South Africa, a township where the popular 2008 nation-wide xenophobia attacks began. In contrast to the conclusions of past studies, the findings indicated a significant number of participants to be female and they were not particularly young, as participants ranged from 34 years and above. While Claassen showed a rather contradictory result, gender behaviour may be critical in assessing xenophobia.

Among the sample of 3071 derived from individual data in France, François and Magni-Berton (2013) investigated gendered attitudes towards immigrants, arguing that three gendered effects exist on intolerance, namely: the gender gap that induces different levels of intolerance for men and women; gendered sensitivity, meaning men and women react differently to contact or competition with immigrants; and the relative sex ratio related to the demographic gender changes in the environment due to immigrants. All three hypotheses were analysed using the French World Values Survey (WVS) data as well as three different intolerance measurements. The findings showed that the gender gap seen in literature may be partly accounted for by gendered sensitivity as well as relative sex ratio. Also, findings confirm the hypothesis of gendered attitudes towards immigrants defined by three dimensions. Apart from sex ratio and gender-driven, economic and cultural indicators may also account for xenophobic attitudes among people.

In analysing xenophobic attitudes in the Russian Federation as well as cross-nationally, Kraus (2015) tested hostility-prejudice and fear-prejudice using both economic and cultural indicators of prejudice among approximately 10,000 non-Muslim ethnic Russians. The findings indicated two vital points; firstly, the result showed that gender did not matter in predicting

prejudice and secondly, overall, dominantly situated individuals are expected to report more hostility-prejudice while subordinate groups are prone to report fear-prejudice.

Further findings indicated that Russian youth recounted higher fear and hostility prejudice in the first empirical chapter; employing a unique dataset of approximately 3,300 Russians aged 16 to 29 years in the second chapter, the author examined the effects of key life events and social dominance on xenophobia toward Americans, Roma, and Chechens. The result showed that young Russian females are more likely to report fear while young males report hostility. Apart from this, there was no other meaningful gendered interaction. However, on the average, among young people, while marriage lessens hostility and fear-prejudice, having children increases both. Apart from marital status influencing xenophobic attitude, other demographics such as age can also play a significant role in determining xenophobic attitude.

Simonovits (2016) confirmed the connection of age to xenophobia. Using survey data from the Social Research Institute research, Simonovits tested the different components of anti-migrant-related fear based on Stephan *et al.*'s (1999) integrated threat theory. Findings indicated that respondents' age played an important role in the perception of threat.

Similarly, among Greek pupils aged 11- and 12-years-old, Diamantopoulou (2013) investigated whether age and gender could affect acceptance of other foreign nationals in the classroom. Using Likert-type questionnaires, sixty-six elementary school pupils were asked to indicate their behaviours towards other foreigners in their class. The finding did not only show that boys appear to be more welcoming, open-minded and tolerant compared to girls towards foreigners, but that age also accounts for this difference. The younger in age the pupils, the less racist and xenophobic they are. Apart from age, the role of parents, peers and inter-group contact may be vital predictors.

In closing this lacuna in literature, Miklikowska (2017) investigated the role of parents, peers, inter-group contact and empathy in a longitudinal study among 517 adolescents while controlling for the effects of socio-economic background. Findings revealed significant effects of parents, peers, intergroup friendships, and socio-economic background on changes in youth behaviours. This result highlighted the role of parental prejudice. In addition, adolescents who have contacts and are friends with migrants were less affected by parents' and peers' prejudice compared

to youth without immigrant friends. Lastly, results indicated the effects of parents, peers, and intergroup friendships to be mediated by adolescents' empathic concern.

Likewise, Degner and Dalege (2013) investigated the role of family in the formation of prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination. This meta-analysis study covered the past 60 year's empirical evidence on the current state of knowledge in relation to parental socialization of intergroup behaviours. Through a random-effects model analysis from 131 studies across over 45,000 parent-child dyads, the result showed a significant medium-sized average effect size (AES) for the association between parental-child similarities in inter-group behaviours. AES was linked to study-specific variables, (e.g. the source of parental attitude report, the theoretical overlap between measures, and the privacy of assessment). In addition, in-group status, size and child age were significant moderators. However, child age was moderated by measurement overlap. Lastly, there was no significant difference between effect size and components of inter-group attitudes, nor to child or parent gender. Although this study clearly established that parents play a significant role in the formation of anti-migrant attitudes in the 'child', the study did not emphasize a biological connection.

A biological and social psychological analysis on gender differences was investigated in a 4-study meta-analysis by Dozo (2015). The thesis tested eclectic multiple theories to offer explanation for gender differences in prejudice with a meta-analysis as well as three lab studies evaluating the biological and social components of any effect. Study 1 provided the report of a meta-analysis on assessing the link between gender differences and prejudice in psychological literature. Over 50 years of research and 772 datasets were covered in the meta-analysis. The result of study 1 revealed a small effect ($r = .101$) of gender was found, with men indicating to be more prejudiced than women.

Informed by the above result, study 2 investigated how the effect can be explained from a biological viewpoint, precisely hormonal differences, by testing basal levels of testosterone, and its interaction with cortisol, also evaluating a dual hormones hypothesis, as well as the role of prenatal testosterone contact through the dimension of digit ratio (2D:4D) and facial width to height ratio (fWHR). The results showed no significant relationship between gender, testosterone, cortisol, or fWHR and prejudice. An unexpected result indicated that women having higher 2D:4D ratios demonstrated greater negative attitudes.

This finding is an indication of the limited role played by hormonal differences for the explanation of gender differentiation in prejudice. Thus, analysing literature based on Australian and American samples, Study 3 examined the underlying motivations for female prejudice. It was hypothesised that prejudice will correlate with an increase in fertility and conception risk. Study 3 did not find support for this effect. Lastly, Study 4 analysed a social component to gendered prejudice. The motivation towards prejudice was compared between men and women and its influence on outgroup attitudes. The results showed that, while men and women differ in their motivations, the initial differences in motivations were not continually predictive of self-reported behaviours.

Conclusively, men demonstrate more prejudice compared to women in psychology literature, but this 4-study meta-analysis found that hormonal explanation cannot account for this difference. In addition, female prejudice cannot be explained from ovulatory cycle shifts. However, differences in motivations appear to demonstrate a more social nature to this overall difference.

Contrarily, Denny and Ó Gráda (2014, 2016) found a rather interesting result in relation to gender and anti-migrant sentiments. Using Rounds 1 to 7 of the ESS, they investigated Irish behaviours to immigration before (Rounds 1 and 2), during (Rounds 3 and 4), and after the downturn of 2007-08 (Rounds 5 to 7). Results showed that Irish females are inclined to be more hostile to immigration throughout than Irish males. Additionally, in Ireland, age was positively correlated to prejudice; older individuals were found to be more anti-immigration in the early 2000s, nevertheless not thereafter. Lastly, higher education and living in a big city were related with being more pro-immigrant, and progressively so over time.

Similarly Hatton (2011) submitted similar results in his analysis on the responses to questions on refugees and asylum seekers in Round I of ESS in Europe. Using country-level fixed effects, the results showed older people and women tend to be less sympathetic to migrants, although more sympathetic to asylum seekers. The implication is an interesting one, even if the differences are small.

Van Zalk, Kerr, Van Zalk and Stattin (2013) investigated tolerance towards immigrants among 1,472 adolescents to find out to what extent adolescents and their friends socialize each others' attitudes toward immigrants. While controlling for age, gender and immigrant background, selection and influence procedures concerning tolerance and xenophobia were

distinguished with longitudinal social network analyses. Findings exposed that friends' tolerance predicted a rise in adolescents' tolerance, with friends' xenophobia predicting increases in adolescents' xenophobia.

In South Africa, evidence has shown that South African women rarely display xenophobic attitudes towards men of foreign nationalities. A report reveals “that South African women and men perceive ‘foreign’ men in particular ways, ways indicating a link between xenophobic attitudes, gender and sexuality” (Nadia, nd). Specifically, “men in the 26 to 33 age group in particular and from 33 upwards, appear to be the most overtly antagonistic toward foreign nationals, suggesting a connection between particular constructions of South African masculinity and xenophobic attitudes, leading to violence” (Nadia, nd)

The media is packed with images of mostly male South Africans, protesting and brutally attacking foreign nationals in the 2008, 2015 and 2017 xenophobic violence in Cape Town, Johannesburg, Alexandra, Durban and Pietermaritzburg. While local men have conspicuously placed themselves as custodian of South African xenophobia, Maluleke (2015) hint that the local women have also had their fair share in the xenophobic occurrences. For example, sexual crimes, like “rape is therefore used against South African women as a way of controlling their agency in choosing foreign men and as a punishment for their waywardness” (Fuller, 2008: 10). In addition, South African women married to immigrants are targets of attacks and sexual violence. Majority of these women live in fear for their lives and that of their spouses. Many are displaced because they had to relocate from their immediate environments and live in the outskirts or move to completely different cities to prevent such attacks.

South African society regards women men's property (Nobrega, 2014), and “as possessions to be used by men as they see fit” (Maluleke, 2015). Maluleke asserts that women are treated as being men's property, and their voices against immigrants are not properly documented. This may be related to the patriarchal nature of the South African society (Fuller 2008). South African societies including other African societies are historically patriarchal in nature that explains the relegation of women to the background. In this, Akinola (2017) concludes that xenophobia in South Africa, is gendered face when the author explored the gendered character of xenophobia in South Africa. Findings revealed that the gender constructions of anti-immigration movement in the country is manifested in two folds, the first is related to local women's involvement in xenophobia

which is different from their male counterparts. The second fold include foreign women who are at the receiving end of xenophobia and are treated differently from male migrants. Apart from gender predicting xenophobic attitudes, marital status may have some influence.

The role of marital status has been scantily examined in past studies. Though, there is evidence that married individuals are less prejudiced than unmarried persons; for example Raijman, Semyonov and Schmidt (2003) investigated attitudes towards minorities in Germany and Israel using a national representative sample. The results did not only show that anti-immigrant attitudes are more pronounced in Israel but that single people reported more prejudiced attitudes than married people.

Contrary to the findings of Raijman, Semyonov and Schmidt (2003), Jackson, Brown, Brown and Marks (2001) found married people to be more xenophobic when they investigated contemporary immigration policy orientations among 15 Western European countries. The reason for the contrary results was that married people are more likely to want to protect and preserve a society that remains economically viable and culturally stable. More so, married people may be acting in the interests of their children or in the interests of extended family members to maintain the status quo in the numbers of immigrants. Further findings showed that married individuals were very willing to endorse immigration policy to send back migrants to their respective countries, as marital status was significantly associated to immigration policies. Married people compared to singles and other levels of marital status (separated, divorced and widowed) were found to express higher levels of willingness to send back immigrants to their countries. Acculturation may be a crucial factor also.

In Greece, Papadopoulos, Karasavvoglou, Geranis and Violitzi (2015) explored the effect of demographic variables, (e.g. marital status) on aculturation. Findings revealed that immigrants integration in Greece is affected by female gender. Immigrants' old age was found to lead to spation in Greece, while the long stay lead to assimilation. Further findings indicated that, 2nd generation immigrants experienced more assimilation and less spation and marginalization than the 1st generation immigrants. In connection to the effect of marital status, Nauck (2007) holds that inter-ethnic and bi-national marriages are often used as an especially "strong" indicator for the state of inter-ethnic relationships in a society and for the degree of assimilation of immigrant

minorities. Apart from marital status, employment might be a significant predictor of xenophobia in South Africa.

In South Africa, Misago *et al.* (2008) recognized deprivation indicators like high unemployment as one of the drivers of conflict between locals and non-locals. Though, Fauvelle-Aymar and Segatti (2012) found that ward-level absolute poverty was not associated with 2008 xenophobic outbreaks (at ward-level) signifying that subjective deprivation may be a more important indicator than objective deprivation.

In a qualitative study, Chimbga and Meier (2014) found that the issue of employment is one of the causes of xenophobic attitudes in South Africa. Explaining further, van Rensburg (2017) noted that immigrants living in South Africa are faced with victimisation for several reasons, including the fact that they represent competition with South African locals for employment. However, Fauvelle-Aymar and Segatti (2012) noted that employment was not a cause for the 2008 xenophobic violence in Gauteng province. The findings of their study, aimed at identifying factors related with the youth where the 2008 xenophobic attack occurred, indicated that unemployment and absolute poverty were not significantly found to play a decisive role. In this regard, Schippers (2015) noted that scarcity of jobs give room for people to exhibit xenophobic attitudes. More so, in investigating the relationship between tolerance attitude and employment priority, Kleemans and Klugman (2009) found that during job scarcity, nationals tend to be more favoured over non-nationals in receiving employment opportunities. Additional results indicated that people who value tolerance are those who are more positive about migration in relation to employment preference and they also permit foreigners to compete for jobs. Trust may be critical in predicting xenophobic attitudes,

Regarding trust in foreigners, Krönke (2015) found that poorer South Africans (i.e. the unemployed) feel more threatened by foreigners operating businesses in their area, as the levels of distrust were reported more among the poor. Warner and Finchilescu (2003) explained that the apartheid period created a country wherein black South Africans were deprived of access to employment opportunities. The deprivation has led to a population who has neither the prerequisite skills nor training to compete for jobs. In light of this, foreigners are unwelcome because they are perceived to be in competition for scarce employment opportunities. Beside, foreigners are resented

because they are seen to be reaping fruits meant for South African citizens. According to Zajec (2017) this is the significant factor in predicting xenophobic attitudes in a country. A high level of xenophobic attitudes was indicated by participants in Warner and Finchilescu's (2003) study because foreigners in South Africa were perceived to be in possession of good employment and others are considered to be prospering illegitimately in the country.

Besides, the survey conducted by Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) from 1999 to 2006 reported that the most publicized attitudes are those relating to the generic ideas that foreigners are criminals, disease-carriers and, more significantly, foreigners steal jobs. In 1999, South Africans (49%) saw migrants as a criminal threat, with 24% concluding that they bring disease into the country, while 56% perceived them to be a threat to jobs and the South African economy. Though in 2006, only a few South Africans indicated knowing people who have lost jobs to foreigners, yet the belief that foreigners are a threat to job security did not change. The only recorded change was related to the economy, because an increase from 58% in 1999 to 64% in 2006 was noticed of foreigners making a valuable contribution to South Africa. Apart from employment issues, geographical location is critical in predicting xenophobic attitudes.

For example, in investigating trends of attitudes towards non-nationals pertaining to geographical location in South Africa, Krönke (2015) found differences in support for deportation policy according to province. Based on participants' responses, South Africa's nine Provinces were categorised into three clusters. The first cluster (Eastern Cape, Limpopo, Mpumalanga, and North West) indicated a 10% decrease in support for this policy option between 1997 and 2008, the second group (Free State, Gauteng, and KwaZulu-Natal) showed a slight increase within this period. The third cluster (Northern Cape and Western Cape) showed substantial increases. It was noted that the Northern Cape indicated 34% supporting the deportation option, followed by Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal reporting a score at 25% or more for this option in 2008.

While it was indicated that Gauteng Province showed a score consistently above the national average demanding for a strict policy option ("all these people should go") in 1997 and 2008, the AfroBarometer study further revealed that residents from Free State, Gauteng, and North-West Province consistently gave an above-national-average hostile answer against foreigners moving into their neighbourhood. Besides, further findings showed that Gauteng residents were

totally hostile in their response for foreigners to operate a business in their neighbourhood (Krönke, 2015).

In addition, Chingwete (2016) found geographical differences with regards to xenophobic attitudes and attacks; provincially, a connection to political parties was established. For example, Western Cape Province, historically a Democratic Alliance (DA) region, recorded 34% as the least tolerance for asylum seekers, Gauteng showed 36%, with North West at 38%. By contrast, Northern Cape displayed the most tolerance (66%), followed by Eastern Cape (60%), then Free State (57%), and Limpopo (55%). Additional findings showed that rural South Africans tend to be more welcoming towards asylum seekers compared to the urban settlers, 48% vs. 44%.

Moreover, South Africa is considered as one of the least tolerant countries as surveyed by Afrobarometer in 2014/2015, although countries like Lesotho (42%), Zambia (34%), Mauritius (34%), Morocco (33%) and Madagascar (33%) reported higher percentages of dislike in having foreigners as neighbours. In South Africa, however, Chingwete (2016) claimed that one third (32%) of South Africans dislike having foreigners as neighbours; half of these would strongly dislike living next door to a foreign worker.

In investigating what shaped Europeans' anti-migrant attitude across 22 European countries, Economidou, Karamanis, Kechrinioti, and Xesfingi (2017) found that age and region of residence predicted anti-migrants attitudes. Findings showed that younger individuals are less likely to endorse exclusionary policies against migrants. In particular, the results from the data collected from 2002-2014 indicated that neither gender, region of residence nor marital status have any significant effect on exclusionary attitudes.

Economidou, Karamanis, Kechrinioti and Xesfingi's (2017) additional results indicated that marital status of a person is critical in predicting xenophobic attitude. Their result reported a minimal role in affecting attitude, due to the statistically insignificant coefficients in all specifications except for the case of quality of living. It was argued in this study that people who are married are more likely to be xenophobic and less friendly to migrants because of safety and security issues. In the same study, employment status was a crucial predictor of xenophobic attitudes. It was found that unemployed people and those in blue-collar jobs were more likely to indicate xenophobic sentiments as well as support restriction policies for immigration (Herreros

and Criado, 2009). Further results showed that about 16.7% of jobless people expressed a negative stance on immigration because of the perceived feeling of threat from increased job competition (Gorodzeisky, 2011). Likewise, unemployed persons may also feel a generic threat from new comers; this situation may promote negative attitudes toward immigrants.

Moreover, high income provides financial security; good health status makes an individual feel psychologically better, while in turn, it will decrease competition for social security benefits, foster positive feelings and promote equal treatment towards mankind. In contrast, gender (e.g. a woman), age (older), marital status (married), employment status (unemployed) of a person appear to be related with xenophobic attitudes. According to Economidou, Karamanis, Kechrinioti, and Xesfingi (2017), women are more likely to be less favourable to immigration than men (17.2%) which, according to literature, explains that women feel more economic threat from immigration than men (Hainmueller & Hiscox, 2007), whereas men tend to express feelings of cultural threat.

3.2.8. Interpersonal tolerance and xenophobic Attitudes

The lack of exposure to diverse cultures has been recognised as a cause of intolerance issues towards migrant groups (Alesina, Giuliano & Nunn, 2013; Clobert, Saroglou & Hwang, 2017). The authors state that the lack of exposure to multiplicity, experience with diverse cultures and encounters with individuals from different cultures are some of the reasons indicated for ignorant and intolerant attitudes. They argue further that exposure to different cultures assists to shape anti-immigrant attitudes and the shaping of attitude is linked to the level of intercultural contact. Contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954) posits that intercultural contact can promote interpersonal tolerance and enhance positive attitudes towards out-group members. The theory expects positive attitudes because such individuals are more likely to develop trust, feel more secure, be more tolerant and accommodating and less likely to develop feelings of inter-group anxiety (Dalglish & Chan, 2005; Pettigrew, 1998; Voci, & Hewstone, 2003; Stephan, Diaz-Loving & Duran, 2000). In Germany, Mocan and Raschke (2016) found that contact with foreigners diminishes racism and anti-Semitism, and promotes interpersonal tolerance, which in turn assists to decrease xenophobic feelings.

Supportive of the contact theory, Jolly and DiGiusto (2009; 2014) investigated how contact influences xenophobic attitudes in Britain and France; results from the studies in both countries showed that a larger immigrant population diminishes xenophobic attitudes due to interpersonal tolerance developed from social contacts and associations between host and migrant groups.

Inversely, social distance may affect interpersonal tolerance. For example, using data from the 2008 Taiwan Social Change Survey, Chen and Yi (2013) examined the receptivity of Taiwanese society towards migrants. The authors used social distance as an index to compare several behaviours that were expressed toward migrant groups from different countries. The finding indicated that among the six different countries, across Asia, Europe and America, Taiwanese are inclined to be friendlier toward people from Japan than people from Europe and North America. Further findings suggested that cultural contact and cultural ideology are fundamental determinants in shaping positive behaviour toward foreign immigrants. The study concluded by agreeing with Alesina, Giuliano & Nunn (2013), that social exposure is a major mechanism accounting for positive behaviours.

Previous studies (Gordon, 2016; Maberu, 2017; Misago, 2017a; Fedorenko, Skutina, Kalinovskaya & Potapova, 2018) on xenophobia towards African migrants in South Africa infer that both cultural proximity and economic developmental status contribute to the social distance between South Africans and migrant groups. In investigating intercultural sensitivity in Bangkok, Thailand, Chocce (2014) found a high level of intercultural sensitivity among Bangkok college students. Additional findings showed significant difference in the level of intercultural sensitivity, which was based solely on two factors, namely, nationality, and international friendships.

International experience and foreign language learning may have a significant influence on increasing tolerance. In a study conducted in Japan, Tanaka, Matsunaga, Noguchi, Shibayama, Ishibashi, Akinaga, and Shinchu (2016) found that the number of countries travelled, period of stay in that country as well as foreign language learning experience were significantly related to tolerance of immigrants. In fact, foreign language learning experience had a greater significant influence on increasing tolerance compared to governmental policies on immigration. Tanaka, Matsunaga, Noguchi, Shibayama, Ishibashi, Akinaga and Shinchu's findings were replicated in Germany by Genkova (2016) who investigated xenophobia and international experience among

samples of 435 youths. It was found that a person who has already lived abroad for a certain time and has therefore experienced numerous intercultural interactions is more open-minded due to the social interaction and experiences gathered abroad (Gallego & Pardos-Prado, 2014; van Zalk, Kerr, Van Zalk & Stattin, 2013).

Social interactions with people develop unity, and togetherness while diminishing fear, hatred and inter-group anxiety. Denny and Gráda (2016) pointed out that frequent social interaction with foreigners might be expected to increase empathy for them, with Gordon (2018) arguing that such contact is beneficial for opening of social networks, personal development, and growth as well as acquiring diverse experiences.

Glorius (2017) added that the lack of experiences with diversity accounted for xenophobic behaviour. Moreover, tolerance is improved through contacts with migrant groups and consequently improves public attitudes towards them.

3.2.9. Psychological security and xenophobic attitudes

Using South Africa as a case study, Gordon and Maharaj (2015) investigated the effect of social trust and social bonds on xenophobic attitudes towards foreigners. The results indicated that social capital is a more crucial predictor of xenophobic attitudes than economic status. Furthermore, social bonds between neighbours and sense of community were more relevant determinants of xenophobic attitudes compared to social trust. Apart from social cohesion, perceived threats may also exert some influence on individual behaviours towards immigrants.

Using a nationally representative face-to-face survey of the 2010 Korean General Social Survey (KGSS), a survey similar to that of the United States General Social Survey (GSS), as well as the International Social Survey Program (ISSP) and the East Asian Social Survey (EASS), Ha and Jang (2015) investigated the relationship between perceived threats from immigration and definition of national identity in South Korea. Results revealed that an individual's responses to immigration are basically ethnocentric, stressing that South Koreans who perceive immigrants to undermine their longstanding cultural unity are likely to be xenophobic and to embrace the national in-group. Additionally, public safety of South Koreans was affected due to immigrants. Apart from cultural factors predicting xenophobic attitude, security as a psychological variable may also be a significant predictor of xenophobic attitude.

Di Masso, Castrechini and Valera (2014) conducted a qualitative study of everyday opinions about urban security-insecurity among ordinary citizens in Barcelona. The research used an analytical framework to explore how xeno-racist ideas, claims, as well as positions are metonymically worked through everyday opinions about 'urban insecurity' as a crime-related construct. The analysis showed that the position of a 'threatening other', typically afforded by the insecurity narrative, is pervasively created in xeno-racial terms, whether openly or by implication, but is rhetorically rejected on the narrative grounds of its alleged criminal acts. The study noted that xeno-racist behaviour is warranted based on structural privileges of 'natives' vis-a-vis 'immigrants', as such legitimizing native supremacy. Apart from stressing socio-cultural factors being very crucial in shaping public meaning of xenophobic attitude, psychological security may be a significant determining factor for xenophobic attitudes.

To investigate attitudes toward immigration, Ackermann and Freitag (2015) carried out a study among 1011 Swiss citizens in Switzerland. Their findings showed, on the one hand, that 53% of the sample interviewed demanded strict immigration policies, and on the other, xenophobic behaviours towards immigrants are triggered by threats and fears and also the will to maintain autonomy. Apart from these factors, psychological insecurity may also significantly determine xenophobic attitudes.

Pekrun and Perry (2014) explained insecurity from the theory of value change, which implies that relatively secure people will be more tolerant than less secure ones, and vice versa. Inglehart (1977, 1990) indicated a link between security issues, particularly economic and physical insecurity, and xenophobic attitudes, this only means that individual's facing economic challenges, or family related issues might have security problems, feel threatened by the presence of others and exhibit low tolerance during challenging situations. However, social economic status may be vital in indicating psychological security and predicting xenophobic attitudes in people.

In closing this lacuna in literature, Helbling (2011) investigated the reasons why Swiss-Germans dislike Germans. The study considered education, social economic status, geographically and culturally disparate nations. The findings revealed that well-educated people in high positions and/or individuals seeking to improve their job positions feel threatened and insecure by new arrivals who are likewise well-educated. As such, the findings support the classic argument that working-class individuals are xenophobic borne out of the fear that foreigners are taking their jobs.

Furthermore, findings showed that Swiss-Germans perceive German immigration as a cultural and ethnic threat.

The association between ethnic threat and economic insecurity and xenophobia was examined by Billiet, Meuleman and De Witte (2014) using data obtained from 23 European countries. Their findings revealed that psychological insecurity resulting from job insecurity and income deprivation effected perceived ethnic threat at the micro-level. The effect was noted to be small. Among contextual factors, it was further revealed that perceived threat is significantly higher in countries where GDP growth is lower. Apart from job insecurity and income deprivation being critical in predicting behaviours towards immigrants, social comparisons with relation to income can determine xenophobic attitude.

The extent to which social comparisons determine behaviours towards foreigners was investigated in Germany by Schneider and Hyll (2016); the aim was to analyse whether individuals who had concerns from social comparisons in terms of income disclosed more negative behaviours towards foreigners. It was found that East Germans who worried about their economic status released strong negative behaviours towards foreigners compared to those who did not worry, in West Germany. Their analysis further shows that the adverse effect of upward social comparisons is however more prominent towards foreigners coming from low-wage countries. Apart from these factors, nationalism may play a significant role in the determinants of xenophobic attitudes.

Among a sample of 11,202 16-19 year-olds Herrera and Kraus (2012) investigated the association between xenophobic attitude and nationalism in Russia. From the sample size, 89, 7 per cent were ethnic Russian and 10 per cent non-ethnic. Testing the data from individual attitudes collected in 2003-04, the findings revealed that national identity in itself is not a reason for xenophobia, meaning that pride does not simply equal xenophobia. Fear was associated with xenophobic hostility.

3.2.10. Psychological security, psychosocial factors and xenophobic attitudes

Xenophobic attitudes of South Africa may depend greatly on psychological security (i.e. a state of having self-confidence and a positive feeling of security). Secure people are expected to be self-confident, internally-strong as well as self-reliant; the absence of these conditions may result in feelings of insecurity (An & Cong, 2003). For example, a person experiencing economic or financial insecurity may have fears relating to satisfying basic needs; such fear may lead to feelings of insecurity, so it is expected that such an individual is more likely to be socially insecure (An & Cong, 2003). Individuals whose psychological factors and social conditions are challenged alongside perceived psychological insecurity may manifest xenophobic attitudes (Inglehart, 1990). It is further expected that people who score high on psychological security will have more self-confidence, feel less threatened and thus be less likely to exhibit xenophobic attitudes compared to those who score low on the psychological security scale. In this regard, psychological security may be a path that may intervene in the influence of psychological variables and social conditions on individuals' xenophobic attitudes (Inglehart, 1990, 1977). Many researchers have studied the relevance of psychological security and its influence on psychosocial factors and xenophobic attitudes.

For example, the antecedents and outcomes of psychological insecurity and interpersonal trust was tested by Taormina and Sun (2015) among 301 Chinese adults. Psychological insecurity and interpersonal trust were analysed in association with numerous personality and social measures as antecedents, and to interpersonal associations and feelings of life satisfaction as outcomes. Results indicated that psychological insecurity is significantly and positively correlated with neuroticism and dependency, while negatively related to family emotional support, emotional intelligence, openness, and agreeableness. Likewise, it was indicated that neuroticism was the strongest predictor of psychological insecurity. Apart from neuroticism predicting psychological insecurity, the role of psychological security is significant as to whether people will be xenophobic or not.

In investigating the influence of personal values and social trust on multicultural acceptance among 1243 Korean people, Jung, Kim and Moon (2017) found that when psychological security is enhanced, levels of prejudice become reduced and the level of hospitality is high. In a laboratory experiment, Rieger, Frischlich and Bente (2017) extended the work of Jung, Kim and Moon (2017) by examining how psychological uncertainty and authoritarian attitudes are shaped in an

unstructured world. The study was carried out among German students; findings showed that the interaction between psychological uncertainty and authoritarianism traits predicts xenophobic attitudes. Further results revealed that psychological uncertainty (which signifies psychological insecurity) increased the identification with participants' German nationality, irrespective of authoritarian attitudes. This implies that psychological insecurity is a critical factor found to shape people's reactions towards those considered as threatening. Under conditions of uncertainty, therefore, people's attitude may improve significantly, if they have feelings of psychological security.

Chebotareva (2014) investigated the psychological factors of ethnic extremism manifestation between ethnic identity and some personal traits among 420 young individuals across 6 regions of the world (Russia, China, South America, Africa, the Middle East and Central Asia). Results indicated that those inclined to ethnic bigotry were intolerant to other ethnic groups, and exhibited manifestations of individuality, egocentricity, inability to adjust themselves to different situations and people, and were unable to control their negative emotions. Likewise, they were insecure and less flexible in their activity control. Further results showed that ethnic bigotry inversely correlated with positive self-image, social and emotional intelligence, egocentrism and apartness in interpersonal relations. The results imply that, generally, ethnic extremism correlates with rather controversial and conflict styles of self-realization and interaction. Individuals with xenophobic attitudes towards others do not believe in their approachability and they exhibit social stereotypes, and hostility to other groups because of frustration.

In a study in Latvia, Breslavs (2014) compared aggression, hate, and satisfaction among ages 43–50 years old and 18-25 years old. Findings indicated that there is the existence of intergenerational distinctions in these variables; distinctions were reported in the predisposition to aggression and satisfaction with life. All these variables were reportedly higher in the younger generation, which was explained by age-specific features rather than general changes in the social-economic and social-political circumstances.

In an educational research, Litvinova (2012) investigated personal characteristics and the tendency to xenophobia among 50 students. Results showed that the tendency for xenophobia depended on some factors such as cultural values, personal and psychological characteristics of teachers, and psychological safety of the educational environment (which implies psychological

security). This is to say that psychological security will have an influence on personality factors, self-esteem of students and their tendency to show xenophobic attitudes.

In South Africa, Gordon (2018) evaluated the relationship between xenophobic attitudes and life satisfaction (which implies psychological security in life) at the individual level in the country. Findings reveal that apart from life satisfaction having a strong relationship with pro-immigrant sentiments, other factors such as intercultural contact, interracial attitudes and perceptions about the consequences of immigration were predictors of pro-immigrant sentiment rather than life satisfaction. Gordon noted that improving psychological security among South Africans is a worthwhile policy.

Similarly, Weldon (2006) confirmed that psychological security has been shown to have an impact on anti-immigrant attitudes. This research argued that during low self-esteem, and perceived frustration of people, psychological security will assist people to develop self-confidence and reduced xenophobic tendencies. Besides, Hjerm and Nagayoshi (2011) argued that people who feel insecure with their own lives, together with other factors, will be more xenophobic than individuals who are secure. Additionally, Weldon (2006) states that those who were insecure with their own lives tended to see immigrants as not only a threat to their country and economic status, but also to their personal security.

In a qualitative study in Limpopo, South Africa, Singh (2013) investigated the experiences of Zimbabwean teachers as foreign teachers in South Africa. 14 Zimbabwean Teachers were purposively selected and interviewed. The finding showed firstly that Zimbabwean teachers experience xenophobia daily; secondly, whenever there are uproars about xenophobia in the school community or within the country, teachers are attacked; thirdly, teachers experience xenophobia during times of challenging moments and job insecurity, particularly when local teachers' jobs are threatened, and they begin to have feelings of psychological insecurity. Psychological security therefore is expected to improve teachers' xenophobic attitudes even when frustrated due to job insecurity or when they have developed low self-esteem.

Utilizing data from a qualitative study in 2011 on Zimbabwean teachers in KwaZulu-Natal, Manik (2013) interviewed 13 Zimbabwean teachers with the aim of examining their experiences and thoughts on xenophobia in South Africa. The findings of the analysis showed that a majority of Zimbabwean teachers experience xenophobic prejudices, at the workplace as well as

in the larger society, in a number of different contexts. Moreover, both self-imposed disconnection by immigrant teachers and professional disconnection levied by the management exist in certain schools and by certain colleagues in Higher Education Institutions (Manik, 2013)

Noting the relative role played by perceived insecurity due to economic strain and racial prejudice in forming attitudes towards immigrants, Peiwei (2017) evaluated basic psychological needs satisfaction influences among Singaporeans in a two research study in Singapore. The study adopted integrated threat and basic psychological Needs Theory so as to understand what triggers Singaporean's attitudes towards immigrants. In both studies, participants were asked to rate how they perceived foreigners with regard to i) inter-group threat, (this affected levels of frustration, self-esteem, intercultural contact), ii) instrumental to citizens' need for autonomy, relatedness, and competency, ii) warm and competent (i.e. personality traits influencing attitudes towards immigrants).

Undergraduate samples participated in study 1 and samples from the general Singaporean population were utilized in study 2. Two important findings were found to be consistent across both studies: (1) The more foreigners affected locals' competence needs satisfaction, the more foreigners are perceived as competent (2) The more foreigners' hindered locals' relatedness needs satisfaction, the less warm immigrants were perceived to be and this association was mediated by the amount of symbolic threat (i.e. psychological insecurity based on perceived threat to local worldview) locals perceived immigrants to pose. Against this background, psychological security is expected to improve xenophobic attitudes in the midst of challenged psychosocial factors.

3.2.11. Interpersonal tolerance, psychosocial factors and xenophobic attitudes

Xenophobic attitudes of South Africans may depend greatly on a stable interpersonal tolerance level (i.e. the state of having positive feelings toward migrant groups and the cognitive understanding). LLikLewise, interpersonal tolerance is the endorsement of equality between members of host and migrant groups, the perception and appraisal without prejudices and opinions based on in-group criteria (values, norms, traditions) (Alesina, Giuliano & Nunn, 2013; Cote & Erickson, 2009; Ekström & Östman, 2012). Based on these positive outcomes (equality and

positive feelings towards others) past researchers have studied interpersonal tolerance among people.

For example, in Sweden, Van Zalk, Kerr, Van Zalk and Stattin (2013) examined xenophobia and tolerance toward immigrants among 1472 adolescents. What the researchers wanted to aim was to examine a relationship between friends' positive attitudes toward foreigners and adolescents' negative attitudes toward foreigners, and do friends' negative attitudes decrease adolescents' positive attitudes? Findings revealed that friends' tolerance predicted increases in adolescents' tolerance. Likewise, friends' xenophobia predicted increases in adolescents' xenophobia. Besides, friends' tolerance predicted a lower likelihood of adolescents' xenophobia increasing. But there is a need to examine how intercultural competence and communication may affect xenophobic attitudes among people.

In a 4-year longitudinal study, Krott, Krott, and Zeitner (2018) investigated how intercultural competence and communication may affect xenophobic attitudes among young German police officers in school, by assessing whether police officers held xenophobic attitudes in a four year bachelor degree program. The results showed that, at the start of the first year (year 1), after main study (year 2), and in the first year of professional practice (year 4), there was a significant decrease in xenophobic sentiments during the 3 years of professional education, compared with an increase in the first year of professional practice. It was noted that xenophobic attitudes decreased within the 4-year period significantly, therefore pointing to the effectiveness of intercultural communication, which has permitted interpersonal tolerance to develop. However, this study did not take into account factors like self-identification (self-esteem), which can also determine peoples' xenophobic attitudes.

Based on 905 Swedish samples, Welander and Özcan (2018) tested the extent to which adolescents' self-identification with peers at school was associated to attitudes towards immigrants. The findings showed that affiliation with certain peers was found to be linked to tolerant attitudes (otherwise known as interpersonal tolerance) towards immigrants. Further findings indicated that, when young people perceived themselves as a part of peer crowds (i.e. intercultural contacts) they are more likely to have higher tolerance towards immigrants. Additional findings indicated no significant effects with regard to adolescents who perceived themselves to belong to peer crowds within a counterculture. More so, no significant relationship was found between affiliation with

peer crowds and prejudice towards immigrants. The results highlight the important role of intercultural tolerance as a potential determinant of attitudes towards immigrants. This study however, did not consider the impact of multicultural personality. This may also predict xenophobic attitudes.

Among 245 Portuguese university students, Korol, Gonçalves and Cabral (2016) examined the impact of multicultural personality on tolerance towards diversity, by means of correlation analysis. Findings showed that all multicultural personality categories (e.g. cultural empathy, open-mindedness, emotional stability, social initiation, and flexibility) highly correlated with tolerance of diversity, illustrating an association between multicultural personality and tolerance to different cultural backgrounds. Besides, only open-mindedness, a trait of personality, was revealed to be a positive predictor of tolerance in an intercultural context. Nevertheless, Glorius (2017) added that the lack of experience with diversity accounted for xenophobic behaviour. Glorius (2017) argued that xenophobic attitude is improved through interpersonal tolerance with migrant groups. This is because tolerance toward immigrants promotes positive feelings, understanding, and endorses equality between immigrants and non-immigrants (Cote & Erickson, 2009).

Freitag and Rapp (2015) examined the psychological foundations of anti-migrant attitudes through evaluating the role of the Big Five personality traits in the formation of political tolerance. Utilizing Swiss samples, the two-step Heckman selection models showed negative anti-migrant attitudes were found among extroverted individuals and those who scored low in agreeableness. However, individuals with a high score on openness to experience were more likely to grant immigrants the right to vote. This study laid more emphasis on formation of political xenophobia, whereas gender could be critical in predicting xenophobic attitudes.

In Sweden, Demker (2014) found that men are more likely than women to be xenophobic, particularly because in the past, in Sweden women were seen as minorities, thus they are sympathising now with other minorities. However in France, Jolly and DiGiusto (2014) found the opposite; women were more xenophobic. Although gender may affect xenophobic attitudes, personality, and intercultural contacts may play a role in predicting attitudes towards migrants.

Lundberg (2018) investigated the extent to which personality traits and intercultural contact within the school context play a role in tolerance among Swedish students between the ages of 14

and 20. Findings showed that factors at the school level (e.g. contact with international students) are related with tolerance. Although other socio-economic factors and social networks were indicated, the overall conclusion of the study draws attention to the role of schools as a mechanism for fostering intercultural contact between different ethnic and social backgrounds. The study's shortcoming is its inability of addressing a way of improving tolerance in a multi-ethnic environment.

In closing this gap, Voronchenko and Vinogradova (2016) examined ways of improving teenagers' tolerance in a multi-ethnic environment in Russia where over one hundred nationalities cohabit. By means of correlation analysis and a systematic method of interpreting results, findings showed that a multi-ethnic environment assists in providing an effective context for teenagers to shape and improve tolerance through intercultural contact, as this will reduce stereotypes. Likewise, special pedagogical strategies in schools may contribute to improving cultural awareness and peaceful coexistence. This implies the significant role of interpersonal tolerance towards improving xenophobic attitudes. Below is the conceptual framework.

3.3. Conceptual Framework Model of the study

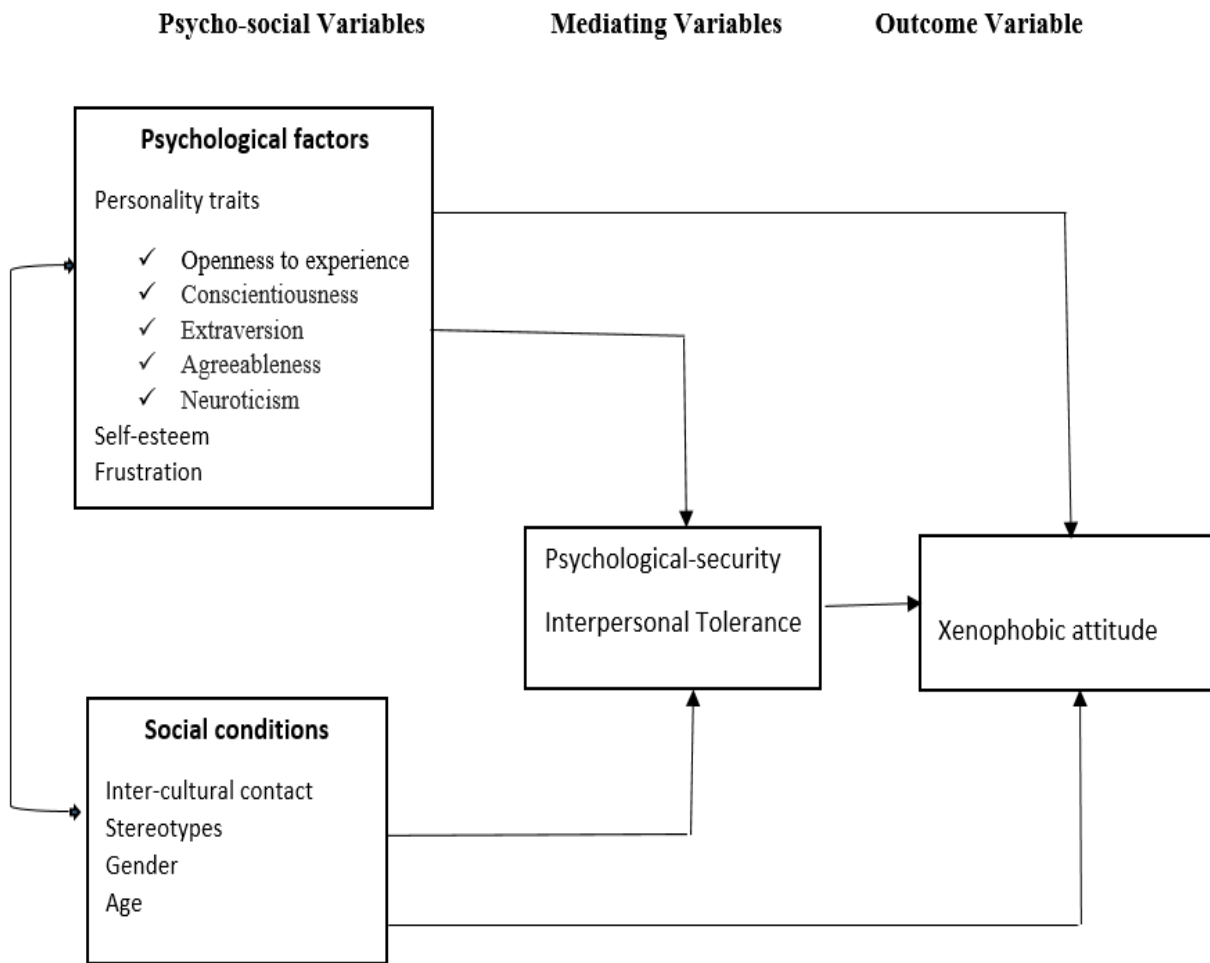


Figure 3.1: Mediation pathways between psychosocial factors and xenophobia via the possible mediating roles of psychological security and interpersonal tolerance.

Note: This framework was based on Baron and Kenny's (1986) mediation theory.

The study aims to examine the relationship of psychological factors (openness to experience, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, neuroticism, self-esteem and frustration), social conditions (intercultural contact, negative stereotypes, gender and age), and xenophobic attitudes among South Africans. The mediating role of psychological security and interpersonal tolerance were also investigated.

Thus, this model proposes that a relationship exists between psychosocial variables, mediating variables and the outcome variable. Therefore, it is expected that psychological factors (e.g. openness to experience, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, neuroticism, self-

esteem and frustration) will directly predict xenophobic attitudes among adult South Africans. It is also expected that social conditions (e.g. intercultural contact, negative stereotypes, gender and age) will directly predict xenophobic attitudes. Likewise, psychological security and interpersonal tolerance are expected to mediate in the relationships between psychosocial factors and xenophobic attitudes.

Based on the identified gaps in literature the following hypotheses were tested.

Hypotheses

1. There will be a significant relationship of psychosocial factors (openness to experience, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, neuroticism, self-esteem and frustration, intercultural contact, negative stereotypes, gender and age) and the mediating variables (psychological security, interpersonal tolerance) with xenophobic attitudes.
2. Psychological security will mediate the relationship of psychosocial factors (openness to experience, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism, self-esteem, frustration, intercultural contact, negative stereotypes, and age) with xenophobic attitudes of South Africans.
3. Interpersonal tolerance will mediate the relationship of psychosocial factors (openness to experience, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism, self-esteem, frustration, intercultural contact, negative stereotypes, and age) with xenophobic attitudes of South Africans.
4. There will be a significant difference in xenophobic attitudes of males and females in South Africa.
5. There will be significant group differences in xenophobic attitudes as a function of marital status.
6. There will be significant group differences in xenophobic attitudes of South Africans based on province.
7. There will significant differences in xenophobic attitudes of South Africans based on employment level.

3.4. Operational definition of terms

3.4.1. Xenophobic attitude:

Xenophobic attitude is described as views held against a group of individuals and intense fear and dislike of or prejudice against such a group because they belong to other nationality. In this study, Xenophobia was measured on a 9-item xenophobic scale. The mean score ($M = 29.75$) and standard deviation score ($SD=10.84$) of the scale was used to dichotomize between participants who score high or low. Thus, individuals whose scores fall at the mean and above reported more tendencies of xenophobic attitudes, and vice-versa.

3.4.2. Psychological factors:

This is operationalized as those psychological variables that could influence an individual's attitudes. Variables like extraversion, neuroticism, openness to experience, conscientiousness, agreeableness, extraversion, self-esteem and frustration were psychological variables in this study. Extraversion, neuroticism, openness to experience, conscientiousness, agreeableness, extraversion, were measured on BPI-10. Self-esteem was evaluated on Rosenberg self-esteem scale while frustration was measured using Harrington (2005). Harrington's Frustration Discomfort Scale has four subscales: discomfort intolerance, emotional intolerance, achievement frustration, and entitlement (Harrington, 2005). For individuals whose scores fall on and above the mean score (M) on each of these scales is an indication that the individual is high on the scale, whereas the individuals with scores below the mean score (M) is an indication of a low level on the scale.

3.4.3. Social conditions:

Social conditions refer to those social variables that have an influence on an individual's attitudes, (e.g. negative stereotypes, intercultural contact, gender and age). Stereotype was measured using the Social Dominance Orientation scale developed by Pratto *et al.* (1994). This scale has four dimensions namely: pro-trait dominance, con-trait dominance, pro-trait anti-egalitarianism, con-trait anti-egalitarianism. Intercultural contact in this study refers to experiences obtained as a result of one-on-one interaction with people of other cultures as well as experiences engendered due to travelling to other countries. In this study, the term intercultural contact is used to express those of different cultural backgrounds interacting with each other, i.e. experiences of

people that cut across working together; travelling to see and experience different cultures, religion and customs of other countries; communication and interaction with people from cultural backgrounds different from theirs, as well as engaging people to learn from, and listen to how various ethnic group negotiate and translate their histories, differences and voices within and across an over-arching polity.

Intercultural contact was measured as the frequency of travels, how many countries had been lived in and years spent in those countries. Gender was assessed based on male and female dichotomy and operationalised as the socially assigned sex roles. The gender or sex of the participant was measured on a two point scale: 1=Male and 2= Female. Age refers to the chronological age with regards to the participants' last birthday as at the time of research. Marital status was assessed on a 7-scale response format, 1= single; 2= cohabiting; 3 = married; 4 = separated; 5 = divorced; 6= widowed. Finally, employment status was measured on a two point scale. Participants were asked, are you employed? Response categories were 1=Yes (employed) and 0=No (unemployed). Participants were to tick the Province where they stay; North-West, Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal were coded 1, 2, and 3 respectively.

3.4.4. Psychological security:

Psychological security is a mediating variable in this study and it refers to a state when an individual is self-dependent, and the individual is self-confident, internally-strong and self-reliant. Psychological security was tested using Taormina and Sun's (2015) Psychological Security Scale. Individuals whose scores fall at the mean score ($M=16.02$) and above reported high tendencies of psychological security, and vice-versa.

3.4.5. Interpersonal tolerance:

Interpersonal tolerance, the last mediating variable in the study, refers to individual tolerance associated to contacts with immigrants. Interpersonal contact was analysed using the Inter-Personal Tolerance Scale (IPTS). Individuals whose scores fall at the mean score ($M=118.87$) and above reported high tendencies of interpersonal tolerance, and vice-versa.



Figure 3.2: Summary of identified gaps in literature on psychosocial paths to xenophobia

3.5. Summary of the chapter

Reviews on psychosocial paths to xenophobic attitudes among South Africans have been established through literature cited above. It was indicated that nearly all the existing literature on xenophobia has one shortcoming or another (see figure 3.2). Therefore, the present study represents an attempt to fill the gaps not addressed in past studies.

The reviews have presented six major areas open to development. Firstly, past studies on xenophobic attitudes have overwhelmingly concentrated on generalised prejudice and/or on specific prejudice types, e.g. racism, sexism and political xenophobia (e.g. Ackermann, 2017; Ferragut, Blanca, Ortiz-Tallo and Bendayan, 2017; Ceballos & Yakushko, 2014; Cooper, Golden & Socha, 2013). However, these reviews have only infrequently examined xenophobic attitudes. This is germane, because the degree of influence of personality traits varies across prejudice domains (Sibley & Duckitt, 2008). Thus, the results applicable to other prejudice domains may or may not be applicable to xenophobic attitudes.

Secondly, past literature (e.g. Björklund & Dahlberg, 2017; Fyfe, 2013; Miglietta, Gattino & Esses, 2014; Prats, Deusdad & Cabre, 2017; van Zalk, Kerr, Van Zalk & Stattin, 2013) have submitted that association between psychosocial variables and prejudice is greater among student samples compared to adult convenience samples (See Figure 3.2). If population sizes vary across subgroups, and it is assumed that these groups predicts the likelihood of inclusion in convenience samples, then the approximations obtained by means of non-representative samples may be subjective and biased (Druckman & Kam, 2011). Consequently, scrutinising the external validity of past results via nation-wide representative samples like the present study becomes worthwhile.

Thirdly, past studies (e.g. Cooper, Golden & Socha, 2013; Di Masso, Castrechini & Valera, 2014; Gordon, 2016; Gordon & Maharaj, 2015; Hagensen, 2014; Mocan & Raschke, 2016; Ommundsen, Yakushko, Van Der Veer & Ulleberg, 2013) have scantily investigated psychological factors (e.g. personality traits, self-esteem, frustration, psychological security, and interpersonal tolerance) as paths to xenophobic attitudes.

Fourthly, in analysing the psychosocial paths in the context of causes of xenophobic attitudes, a majority of the literature was Eurocentric (see Figure 3.2). For example, Herrera and Kraus (2012) investigated the association between xenophobic behaviour and nationalism in Russia, while the extent to which social comparisons determine behaviours towards foreigners was investigated in Germany by Schneider and Hyll (2016); likewise the association between ethnic threat and economic security and xenophobia was examined by Billiet, Meuleman and De Witte (2014) using data obtained from 23 European countries, and lastly, using a representative sample of the Swiss population, Freitag and Kijewski (2017) investigated the evaluation of the formation of trust toward immigration, to mention but a few.

Fifthly, theoretical gaps were identified in some of the past evidence (e.g. Dozortseva & Malantseva, 2010; Litvinova & Tarasov, 2012). In as much as these scholars concluded that relationships exist between psychosocial variables and xenophobic attitudes, these scholars' theoretical approach was the weak link in their analyses. In any psychosocial study context, individual, society, culture and ideology are always intricately intertwined, therefore, drawing from the study theoretical frameworks and various theoretical perspectives as employed in the present study, the study closes this gap by adopting an eclectic approach to integrate individual, society, cultural, philosophical and contextual underpinnings.

Lastly, a stringent evaluation of the reviewed studies above indicated that they did not clearly analyse the extent to which psychological security and interpersonal tolerance (PI) may affect the influence of psychological factors and social conditions on xenophobia, particularly among South Africans, using mediation analysis. Based on the identified gaps therefore, this study investigated the extent to which psychological factors and social conditions were related to xenophobic attitudes in South Africa and whether psychological security and interpersonal tolerance (PI) mediate the relationships. Chapter four below will discuss the methodology of the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

The methodology and design employed in this study aligns the research objectives, research hypotheses, and data collection methods and data analysis. The chapter is organised in the following sections; research design; research setting; participants, sampling technique; methods of data collection; research instruments; ethical considerations; procedure; data analysis, and summary of the chapter. The chapter begins with the research design.

4.2 Research design

The study was anchored on a cross-sectional survey design because data was collected across different participants at a given point in time (Sobol, 2014). The independent variables were psychosocial factors (e.g. openness, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, neuroticism, frustration, self-esteem, negative stereotypes, intercultural contact, gender and age). The dependent variable was xenophobic attitude. The mediating variables were psychological security and interpersonal tolerance.

4.3. Research setting

Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal and North-West Provinces in South Africa were the provinces purposively selected to be the research settings for the study because of the recurrent outbreaks of xenophobia in these Provinces, and their geographical spread to the rest of the country. Gauteng is located in the north-east of the country, KwaZulu-Natal is situated in the south-east, and North-West is located to the West. The three provinces selected have a total population of twenty six million and fifty thousand (26,050,000) (Statistic South Africa, 2011). Six communities were selected in these provinces with population as follows: two communities in Gauteng, (Alexandra Township =179 624; city of Johannesburg =4 434 827), two communities in KwaZulu-Natal (Durban 669 242; Kwa-Mashu =175 663) and two communities in North-West (Mafikeng =291 527; Rustenburg =549 527).

The relevance of the communities in Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal as research settings for this study is borne out of some common characteristics directly linked to the recent outbreaks of xenophobia. These characteristics include: crime levels (real or perceived), hubs of economic activities, heightened ethnic divides and tensions, open opportunities for all dwellers to compete for available economic resources and a pronounced history of organized violence. In addition, migrants are attracted to these communities because of their cosmopolitan nature. As regards the motivation of including North-West province in the study, the reported scanty nature of xenophobic attacks in the province necessitated finding out if predictors of xenophobia in the other provinces (i.e. Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal) are the same as in the North-West province.

South Africans may display tensions on immigration issues which are most pronounced in times of economic hardship, and because of the structural features of an economy which marginalizes economic inequality. The psychological variables and social conditions of many South Africans may become affected as well as the extent to which they are able to manage perceived psychological security and interpersonal tolerance level, and this will determine whether or not they will manifest xenophobic tendencies.

4.3. Participants

A total of one thousand one hundred (N= 1100, 555 females, 545 males) of the adult population of South Africa, with age range of 18-65 (M = 26.26, SD = 7.73) were randomly selected by a simple random selection from every household from six communities in three provinces of the country (see section 4.4 below for more clarity). Mean for male participants was 31.41, SD = 10.74, and females was 28.10, SD = 10.70. The communities were Alexandra Township and the city of Johannesburg (Gauteng Province), Durban and Kwa-Mashu (KwaZulu-Natal Province), and Mafikeng and Rustenburg (North-West Province). These communities were chosen because of their history of xenophobic violence.

Inclusive criteria for research participation include that the person must be (i) 18 years or above (ii) able to speak and communicate in English at least at grade 4 level and (iii) must be a South African citizen with proof of a South African identity document. Those ineligible for the research exercise were strictly foreigners

Data on participants' age, gender, marital status, educational background, employment status, travel exposure and province were obtained from participants (see table 4.1.below).

Table 4.1. Sample descriptive

Demographics	N	%
Gender		
Male	545	49.8
Female	555	50.2
Marital status		
Single	809	76.7
Cohabiting	76	5.8
Married	141	13.4
Separated	35	1.9
Divorced	37	2.0
Widowed	2	.2
Level of education		
None	62	5.9
Primary education	29	2.7
Some secondary school	108	10.2
Matric	412	39.1
College diploma	56	5.3
Undergraduate	283	26.8
Post-graduate	105	10.0
Employment status		
Unemployed	698	66.2
Employed	402	33.8
Travelling experience		
No	805	74.4
Yes	295	25.6
Province		
North-West	147	12.8
Guateng	805	73.6
KwaZulu-Natal	148	13.6

4.4. Sampling technique

By means of individual administration of questionnaires, participants were sampled in their homes. A systematic random sampling technique was adopted in the study. By means of a systematic sampling, every 5th house was chosen for the study. A starting point was chosen from the sampling frame, thereafter, choices made were at regular intervals. For example, on a street with 40 houses, the researcher decided to sample 8 houses ($k = N/n$), where N = population size

and $n =$ is sample size. Then $40/8 = 5$, so every 5th house was chosen after a random starting point between 1 and 5. If the random starting point is 1, (which usual was the case in this study) then the houses selected were 1, 6, 11, 16, 21, 26, 31, and 36. After the systematic selection of houses, members of the household were sampled based on convenient sampling technique; participants were selected within the houses based on their availability and willingness to participate in the study. Thus, by a systematic random selection from every household from six communities in three provinces of the country, one thousand and one hundred (1100) respondents were randomly selected.

A proportional sampling method was used in the selection of the number of participants, who were selected from these six communities. This was necessary, because the statistics obtained from the last national census by the Statistic South Africa (SSA) 2011, show uneven populations in these cities, indicating that the six communities selected reported variance in population size. For example, the total population of the six communities was 6 300 458, out of which Alexandra had 179,624, and 31 participants were proportionately selected, Johannesburg had 4 434 827 and 774 were proportionately selected, Durban had 669 242 and 117 were selected, Kwa-Mashu had 175 663 and 31 participants were selected, Mafikeng had 291 527 and 51 participants were selected and Rustenburg had 549 527 and 96 were selected (see the proportional distribution in page 120-121). The implication of this is that equal numbers of participants would not be available for sampling from these cities, therefore, there was a need for a proportional sampling method which gave the opportunity for selection based on the number of people in a particular city.

Hence, participants were selected through convenient sampling technique based on the proportionate number per community. The Yamane (1967) method of proportionate sampling technique was used to select participants from the six communities in the three provinces in South Africa. Below is the Yamane sample size formula.

Yamane (1967) sample size formula was used in selecting the sample size in the study.

The formula is
$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2} .$$

This formula is used in determining the minimum sample size for any given population (Yamane, 1967).

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

Where n = Sample size

N = Population size

1 = constant,

e = 0.05 level of significance or sampling error

Therefore N= 6 300 458, 1= 1 and e = 0.05

Substituting this into the formula, it becomes:

$$n = \frac{6\,300\,458}{1 + 6\,300\,458(0.05)^2} = \frac{6\,300\,458}{15751.1475} = 399.9 = 400$$

The minimum sample size using Yamane's method is 400. However, in research like this, there is a tendency to have respondents who may not fill in their questionnaire correctly; moreover, it may not be possible for the retrieval of all the distributed questionnaires. Thus, there is a need to adjust the sample size. The researcher projected 1100 so as to make the sample size more representative and to further cater for non-response.

The proportionate sampling technique formula of Yamane (1967) was used to adjust the sample size and to calculate the number of questionnaires to be distributed in each community. The analyses of the proposed numbers of questionnaires to be distributed per community are presented below.

$$\text{Alexandra Township} = \frac{179\,624}{6\,300\,458} \times 100 = 2.85\% \text{ of } 1100 = 31$$

$$\frac{6\,300\,458}{6\,300\,458}$$

$$\text{City of Johannesburg} = \frac{4\,434\,827}{6\,300\,458} \times 100 = 70.38\% \text{ of } 1100 = 774$$

$$\frac{6\,300\,458}{6\,300\,458}$$

$$\text{Durban} = \frac{669\,242}{6\,300\,458} \times 100 = 10.6\% \text{ of } 1100 = 117$$

6 300 458

$$\text{Kwa-Mashua} = \frac{175\,663}{6\,300\,458} \times 100 = 2.788\% \text{ of } 1100 = 31$$

6 300 458

$$\text{Mafikeng} = \frac{291\,527}{6\,300\,458} \times 100 = 4.627\% \text{ of } 1100 = 51$$

6 300 458

$$\text{Rustenburg} = \frac{549\,575}{6\,300\,458} \times 100 = 8.72\% \text{ of } 1100 = 96$$

6 300 458

$$31 + 774 + 117 + 31 + 51 + 96 = 1100$$

4.5. Methods of data collection

This section focused on the instruments used in collecting data for this study. A standardized questionnaire was used to collect data; below is the description of all research instruments applied in this study.

4.5.1. Research instruments

Data collection was done using a questionnaire consisting of two sections, Sections A and B. Section A consisted of the social variables such as age; gender; province; marital status; religious affiliation; educational qualification; ethnicity; employment, and intercultural contact of the respondents. Section B comprised seven parts, part A to G; these parts measured xenophobic attitude; personality traits; self-esteem; frustration; psychological security, stereotypes (measured by social dominance orientation), and interpersonal tolerance.

4.5.1.1. Xenophobia Scale

Xenophobic attitudes were assessed using the xenophobic scale developed by Veer *et al.* (2013). It is a 9-item scale developed to measure fear-based xenophobia. In particular, it is a screening tool to detect those that are xenophobic. The instrument is rated on a 6-point scale (Disagree strongly =1; Agree strongly = 6). Sample items are: “Immigrants take jobs from people who are here already”, “interacting with immigrants makes me uneasy” (fear). Veer *et al.* (2013) obtained a reliability coefficient ranging from 0.77 to 0.87 in the Netherlands. It was recently revalidated by Kunc (2016), who obtained a Cronbach’s alpha of 0.925 when the scale was tested

amongst a sample in the Czech Republic. The present study had a Cronbach's alpha of 0.88 in a test-retest of two weeks with a sample of 30 South Africans. Scores at the mean and above showed that the individual has a xenophobic attitude, while individuals whose score falls below the mean ($M=29.75$) indicated a low level of xenophobic attitude.

4.5.1.2. Big Five Inventory (BFI-10)

Personality trait was measured using the Big Five Inventory (BFI-10) developed by Gosling, Rentfrow, and Swann (2003). It is a 10-item scale developed to measure five basic personality traits of individuals. The instrument is rated on a 7-point scale (disagree strongly =1; agree strongly = 7). BFI-10 has four subscales which include: extraversion (2 items); agreeableness (2 items); conscientiousness (2 items); neuroticism (2 items), openness to experiences (2 items). Sample items are: "Extraverted, enthusiastic" (extraversion), "Critical, quarrelsome" (agreeableness), "Dependable, self-disciplined" (conscientiousness), "Anxious, easily upset" (neuroticism) and "Open to new experiences, complex" (openness to experiences).

The items consist of both standard and reverse worded item; the reverse items are 2, 4, 6, 8, and 10. The scoring format is to re-code the reverse-scored items and take an average of the two items (standard item and the re-coded reverse-scored item). Gosling *et al.* (2003) obtained a reliability coefficient of 0.85 and Taylor (2008) obtained a reliability coefficient of 0.94 for Extraversion; 0.94 for Neuroticism; 0.94 for Conscientiousness; 0.88 for Openness to Experience and 0.88 for Agreeableness in South Africa,. The present study had a Cronbach's alpha of 0.64. Score at the mean and above showed that the individual is high on specific personality trait. Individuals whose score falls below the mean indicated a low level on personality scale.

4.5.1.3. Rosenberg Self-Esteem

Self-esteem issues were assessed with the Rosenberg scale developed by Rosenberg (1965). The instrument is a 10-item scale developed to assess a global self-esteem factor, which measures both positive and negative feelings about the self. It is rated on a 4-point scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree). 5 of the items are positively worded and 5 negatively worded. A positively worded item is, for example, "I feel good about myself;" a negatively worded item is, for example, "I certainly feel useless at times". Kelly, Vimalakanthan, and Carter (2014) obtained a Cronbach's alpha of 0.81 among a Canadian sample, while in South Africa, Petersen, Louw, and Dumont (2009) obtained a Cronbach's alpha of 0.83 among tertiary students. The present study indicated a Cronbach's alpha of 0.64. The scale was scored such that a score that fell

at the mean and above ($M = 19.12$) tallies with a high level of self-esteem and a score below the mean corresponds to a low level of self-esteem.

4.5.1.4. Psychological Security Scale

Psychological security was measured using the Psychological Security Scale, a 10-item scale developed by Taormina and Sun (2015). This scale is designed to measure fear and anxiety related issues. It is rated on a 3-point scale (yes, no, cannot say). The scale is a combination of items from different scholars. One item came from Maslow *et al.*'s (1945) Security-Insecurity Scale i.e., "It is very easy for me to become emotionally upset." Two items were from Griffin and Bartholomew's (1994) Relationship Scales Questionnaire, namely, "I find it easy to get emotionally close to others" and "I worry that I will be hurt if I allow myself to become too close" and the other seven were added by Taormina and Sun (2015). Among Chinese samples, Taormina and Sun (2015) obtained a reliability coefficient of 0.79. A Cronbach's alpha of 0.74 was obtained in the present study in a test-retest of two weeks. Scores at the mean and above showed that the individuals have a high level of psychological security. Individuals whose scores fall below the mean ($M = 16.02$) show a low level of psychological security.

4.5.1.5. Harrington's Frustration Discomfort Scale (FDS)

Frustration was measured using Harrington's Frustration Discomfort Scale. It is a 28-item scale developed by Harrington (2005). It is designed to assess frustration intolerance beliefs using four subscales: discomfort intolerance, emotional intolerance, achievement frustration, and entitlement (Harrington, 2005). Each subscale consists of 7 items which are answered on a 5 point Likert-type scale (absent = 1; mild=2; moderate=3; strong= 4 and very strong = 5). Sample items are: 'I need the easiest way around a problem'; 'I can't bear to have certain thoughts', 'I can't bear disturbing feelings', 'I can't tolerate my lapse in my self-discipline'. Items are designed to tap "common thoughts and beliefs people may have when they are distressed or frustrated." Questions are phrased to refer to general reactions, not a specific situation.

Reliability and validity studies were reported for both student and clinical samples. Harrington (2005) obtained a Cronbach's alpha of 0.94 among Turkish samples for the full scale. Cronbach's alpha for frustration sub-scales in the present study are $\alpha = 0.78$ (emotional

intelligence), $\alpha = 0.79$ (entitlement), $\alpha = 0.83$ (discomfort intolerance), $\alpha = 0.85$ (achievement). Scores that fall at the mean and above indicate a high level of the particular subscale, while a score below the mean ($M = 23.34; 20.06; 23.57; 24.59$) indicates a low level of the particular sub scale.

4.6.1.6. Social Dominance Orientation (SDO)

Stereotype was measured using the SDO scale developed by Pratto *et al.* (1994). It is a stereotyping measure designed to assess social dominance and it is an individual-difference variable used in expressing preference for unequal relationships among categories of people and contexts. The 16-item SDO scale is rated on a 7-point scale (Strongly favour =7; Somewhat favour = 6; Slightly favour = 5; Neutral = 4; Slightly oppose = 3; Somewhat oppose = 2, and Strongly oppose = 1). The scale is divided into pro-trait dominance, con-trait dominance, pro-trait anti-egalitarianism and con-trait anti-egalitarianism. The scale elicits agreement-disagreement with statements such as: “Inferior groups should stay in their place” and “No one group should dominate in society [reverse-scored]” (Pratto *et al.*, 1994; Ho, Sidanius, Kteily, Sheehy-Skeffington, Pratto, Henkel, Foels & Stewart, 2015). Items 9-16 are reverse scored.

A reliability analysis of the scale in a Canadian sample yielded an excellent internal consistency, $\alpha = 0.92$ (Sinclair, 2017). Similarly, it yielded the same excellent internal consistency in South Africa, when Heaven, Greene, Stones, and Caputi (2000) tested the scale among Black South Africans, obtaining 0.76 Coefficient alphas. The Cronbach’s Alphas (α) for the sub-scales of social dominance orientation in the present study are: 0.64, 0.89, 0.88 and 0.76 for pro-trait dominance, con-trait dominance, pro-trait anti-egalitarianism, and con-trait anti-egalitarianism respectively. Scores that fall at the mean and above ($M = 15.65; 13.94; 14.34; 24.26$) indicate a high level of the particular subscale, while a score below the mean indicates a low level of the particular subscale.

4.6.1.7. Interpersonal Tolerance Scale (IPTS)

The IPTS (Thomae, Birtel & Wittemann, 2016) is a thirty-four-item tolerance scale designed to identify how people can tolerate interpersonal encounters. Scores range from 1-7 points. Across two studies in Warsaw Poland, Thomae, Birtel, and Wittemann (2016) reported a robust psychometric analyses, obtaining a Cronbach’s Alpha between 0.77 and 0.86. The present study had a Cronbach’s alpha of 0.84 in a test-retest of two weeks with a sample of 30 South

Africans. Individuals whose scores fall at the mean and above ($M = 118.78$) reported high tendencies of interpersonal tolerance, and vice-versa.

4.6. Procedure

After an ethical clearance from North-West University, Mafikeng Campus and permission from Buy-In stakeholders such as the Police Community Forums, and Ward Councillors from all six communities which were purposively selected, the researcher then proportionally assigned questionnaires to communities according to their population constructs. The study was supported by six trained research assistants who were Masters and PhD students from the Faculty of Humanities at the North-West University Mafikeng Campus. The role of the research assistants were to distribute questionnaires along side the researcher and to further assist in translating the scales to participants that struggle to understand English language.

Data was collected from participants' homes within the six communities selected. During data collection, once rapport was established and the targeted people had expressed interest in participating in the study, study participants were given consent forms which were attached to the questionnaires to read and fill in. Participants were allowed ample opportunity to ask questions and it took an average of 30 minutes to complete a questionnaire. The major challenge encountered during data collection process was in Kwa-Mashu in KwaZulu-Natal Province, where targeted people were reluctant to participate in the study; for their time, however, a R50 meal voucher was given for their participation.

Following SSA (2011) provincial populations' statistics and the Yamane (1967) formula, 1100 questionnaires were to be distributed, but 1300 questionnaires were proportionately distributed amongst all six communities. This is because the researcher is aware that not all questionnaires distributed would be returned. Thus, of the 1300 questionnaires, only one thousand one hundred and forty five (1145) were retrieved, out of which forty five questionnaires were incorrectly completed and were not usable. One hundred and fifty five were not returned despite constant reminders. Only one thousand one hundred (1100) questionnaires were found usable for the study. From these figures, a response rate of 100% was obtained. The distribution of correctly completed questionnaires was as follows: (Alexandra Township= 31; City of Johannesburg =774; Durban =117; Kwa-Mashu = 31; Mafikeng = 51, and Rustenburg = 96), and these met the sample size calculation and city population distribution.

Participants were happy to take part in the study. Ethical considerations were adhered to during data collection process as the questionnaire had no identifiable information; participants' personal information such as names and ID numbers were not requested. Likewise, confidentiality and anonymity was guaranteed. Data administration process was completed within four months, which was between August and November, 2017.

4.7. Data analyses

In order to know the extent and direction of relationship among study variables, Pearson Product Moment Correlation was used to inter-correlate all study variables. The following variables were coded: gender (male =1, female =2); province (North-West =1, Gauteng =2, KwaZulu-Natal =3); marital status (single =1, cohabiting =2, married =3, separated =4, divorced =5, widowed =6); level of education (none/no education = 1, primary education =2, some education = 3, matric =4, college diploma =5, undergraduate degree =6, post graduate degree =7); ethnicity was coded (Zulu =1, Xhosa =2, Sotho =3, Pedi =4, Venda =5, Tswana =6, Tsonga =7, Swazi =8, Ndebele =9); religious affiliation (Christianity =1, Islam =2, African tradition =3); employment (yes =1, no=0); ever travelled was coded (yes =1, no = 0) frequency of travelling was coded (never travelled = 1, once =2, few times =3, frequently =4).

To test hypothesis 1, Pearson Product Moment Correlation statistic was conducted. This is to show the strength and direction of relationship. Hypothesis 2 and 3 were analysed with structural equation modelling statistics (SEM). The advantage of using SEM over other statistics is that it allows the analysis of causal relationship and it is more confirmatory than exploratory. Besides, it permits for the possibility of modelling complex dependencies and latent variables. Apart from these, it allows the estimation of fitness of model by the use of moderating variables to calculate relationship between dependent and independent variables, and lastly, SEM provides a unifying framework under which several linear models may be fitted via flexible and powerful software (Byrne, 2016).

Since SEM allows the researcher to test a set of regression equation simultaneously, all the paths in affected variables were analysed simultaneously using maximum likelihood method (MLM) (Bollen & Long, 1993) to examine the mediating roles of psychological security and

interpersonal tolerance (PI) on the relationship of psychological variables and social conditions to xenophobia.

As a guiding rule to use SEM, some assumptions must hold, e.g. it assumes that mediating variables (i.e. endogenous variables in SEM parlance) are continuously distributed, as they are in this study, and a reasonable sample size is required (Bentler & Chou, 1987). These assumptions were satisfied in the present study. SEM allows a test of Goodness of Fit; in this regard it allows for working on models that are over-identified. Thus, positive degree of freedom is guaranteed. This imposes restrictions on the model so that the researcher can test the stated hypotheses. SEM further allows for analyses of fit statistics, e.g. the chi-square statistic (χ^2), its degrees of freedom (DF), its probability value (P), and the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA), its lower and upper confidence interval boundaries and Tucker-Lewis Index values. These evaluations however will work because the χ^2 test of absolute model fit is sensitive to sample size, which is one of the guiding rules of SEM. Additionally, there are various rules of thumb for each of these fit statistics indicating whether or not a model is having goodness of fit, for example, χ^2 test is an absolute test of model fit If P is $< .05$, the model is said to be rejected. The other measures of fit are descriptive. Hu and Bentler (1999) recommend RMSEA values to be below $.06$ and Tucker-Lewis Index values of $\geq .95$ for a model to be considered as having good fit.

Independent Samples T-test statistics was used to test hypothesis 4. The relevance of this is to establish whether the difference in means between male and female participants is statistically significant. Hypotheses 5 and 6 were analysed by means of univariate Analysis of Variance statistics; this was necessary in order to determine the power and effect size. Finally, hypothesis 7 was tested using independent t-test.

Data was analysed using both SPSS version 25 and Analysis of Moment Structure (AMOS). AMOS is an extension of SPSS, specifically designed to measure hybrid causal relationship, and vice-versa, of variables. This is quite significant for a study of this nature which entails variables related to psychosocial pathways to xenophobia of the participants' experiences. AMOS has been chosen because of its strength of allowing multi-interrelationship of variables such as direct and indirect causality associations between independent variables and the dependent variable.

4.8. Ethical considerations

The following ethical considerations were well-thought-out during this study. After the initial oral presentations at departmental and faculty higher degree committee levels, permission to conduct the study was sought and obtained from the ethics committee of the North-West University, Mafikeng Campus, South Africa. The ethics certificate number is NWU-00478-16-A9. The researcher obtained permission to conduct the study from ‘*research setting Buy-in*’, stakeholders; these are relevant authorities within the research setting whose permission to collect data in their locale is important for a smooth data collection process. The first port of call was at the Community Police Forums (CPF’S); this was significant for security reasons because of the sensitive nature of the investigation. The second port of call was at the local chieftaincy; this was also relevant because the targeted participants are under the leadership of local chiefs and Ward councillors, and permission from them will enhance the smooth data collection process in the community.

Furthermore, participation in the study was voluntary, therefore, participants who indicated willingness to participate in the study read and signed the Informed Consent Form. The form specified the purpose of the study, and described the core fundamental principles of ethics. In this regards, the principle of respect of autonomy was adhered to, as participation was not only voluntary but participants had the right to withdraw their participation from the research whenever they felt uncomfortable with any aspect of it. More so, the principle of beneficence which covered the aspect that this study had significant benefit to both participants and the society at large was noted, likewise the principle of non-maleficence, which allows for no harm to come to participants was considered. Lastly, the principle of justice which had great consideration to respect all participants equally was adhered to. In light of this, study participants were assured of confidentiality of their responses. Names and identification numbers were not required.

4.9. Summary of the chapter

The chapter has presented a detailed comprehensive research methodology of how data was collected for the study. The research methodology approach guides the research process and the kinds of tools and procedures used in order to achieve the aim of the study. This process involves research design and methods, data gathering methods and data analysis. Likewise the chapter presented the demographic variables of all study participants who added quality to the study by

generating quantitative data. This data was not only collected but analysed. The next chapter will present the main results of this research detailing all statistical tests used in analysing the stated hypotheses.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESULTS

5.1. Introduction

In this chapter, reports on the findings from the analysis of the data are presented. The chapter opens with a step-by-step presentation of the steps taken in screening and treatment of the data. This includes screening of the data for missing values, and assessment of normality. Thereafter, the correlational results among the study variables are presented. Following this, the chapter presents the structural equation model, including its model fit, power and effect, and multivariate assumptions. Thereafter, the hypotheses are tested. Hypothesis 1 is tested using Pearson Product Moment Correlation statistics in order to show the extent of the relationship among variables in the study. Then, Hypotheses 2 and 3 are analysed with structural equation modelling statistics (SEM). The significance of this is to know the mediation effects of psychological security and interpersonal tolerance on the connections of psychosocial factors and xenophobic behaviour. Independent Samples T-test statistics is used for Hypothesis 4. This is used in order to know the statistical differences between the means of male and female participants of the study. Univariate Analysis of Variance statistics was used to test Hypotheses 5 and 6. This was necessary in order to determine the power and effect size. Hypothesis 7 was tested using independent t-test.

5.2. Preliminary analysis

Prior to the main analysis, some tests of major assumptions were undertaken. First, the data were screened for missing values. Out of the 1145 participants that completed the questionnaire, it was observed that a total of 45 cases had missing values of more than 5% response rate. These cases were therefore removed from the analysis. Other cases with less than 5% response rates were replaced with mean and median values depending on whether the variable concerned was a continuous variable or an ordinal variable. For the variables, it was also observed that some variables had more than 5% missing values on them. These variables were therefore removed from the analysis. Thereafter, individual variables were scanned for normality by determining their skewness and kurtosis. Some of the variables were excessively non-normal and were

therefore removed from the analysis. For xenophobia, items one and ten were removed; for self-esteem, item 10 was removed; for psychology security, item 13 was dropped; for tolerance, items 1, 2, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 31, and 32 were dropped.

The reliability analysis of the variables showed that all the scales are reliable with $\alpha = .88$ for xenophobia, $\alpha = 0.74$ for personality, $\alpha = 0.64$ for self-esteem, $\alpha = 0.74$ for psychological security: for frustration sub-scales, $\alpha = 0.78$ (emotional intelligence), $\alpha = 0.79$ (entitlement), $\alpha = 0.83$ (discomfort intolerance), $\alpha = 0.85$ (achievement). The Cronbach's Alpha (α) for the sub-scales of social dominance orientation are: 0.64, 0.89, 0.88 and 0.76 for pro-trait dominance, con-trait dominance, pro-trait anti-egalitarianism, and con-trait anti-egalitarianism respectively. Interpersonal tolerance has α of 0.84.

5.3. Hypotheses Testing

5.3.1. Hypothesis 1

The first hypothesis proposed that there will be a significant relationship between psychosocial factors; personality (openness to experience, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism), self-esteem, frustration, intercultural contact, negative stereotypes, age; the mediating variables (psychological security, interpersonal tolerance) and xenophobic attitudes.

The results (see Table 5.1) showed that openness to experience is significantly and positively correlated with interpersonal tolerance ($r = 0.12, p < .01$) and xenophobia ($r = -0.08, p < .05$); conscientiousness is significantly and negatively correlated with interpersonal tolerance ($r = -0.14, p < .01$); extraversion is significantly and positively correlated with psychological security ($r = 0.22, p < .01$) and significantly but negatively correlated with xenophobia ($r = -0.18, p < .01$); agreeableness is significantly and negatively correlated with xenophobia ($r = -0.14, p < .01$); neuroticism is significantly and positively correlated with psychological security ($r = 0.21, p < .01$) and significantly positively correlated with xenophobia ($r = 0.18, p < .01$); self-esteem is significantly and negatively correlated with psychological security ($r = -0.17, p < .01$) but significantly and positively correlated with xenophobia ($r = 0.19, p < .01$).

Table 5.1 Correlations for study Variables (N = 1100)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Openness to Experience																			
Conscientiousness	.595**																		
Extraversion	-0.010	-0.031																	
Agreeableness	.322**	.152**	-.101**																
Neuroticism	.364**	.274**	.113**	.313**															
Self Esteem	-.387**	-.361**	-.126**	-.274**	-.336**														
Emotional Intolerance	-.066*	0.000	-.139**	-.134**	-.219**	.137**													
Entitlement	.070*	.089**	-0.049	0.050	-0.035	-0.054	.607**												
Discomfort Intolerance	-.131**	-.074*	-.160**	-.091**	-.203**	.187**	.651**	.571**											
Achievement	-0.057	-.073*	-.063*	-0.050	-.156**	.123**	.631**	.542**	.721**										
Intercultural contact	.227**	.237**	-0.059	.118**	.109**	-.134**	0.006	-0.030	0.037	0.033									
Pro-trait Dominance	0.002	-.076*	.085**	-.117**	-.103**	.099**	.112**	0.050	.162**	.169**	-0.008								
Con-trait Dominance	-.157**	-.240**	0.035	-.063*	-0.049	.094**	-.121**	-.092**	-0.043	-0.040	-.180**	-.169**							
Pro-trait anti-egalitarianism	0.036	.110**	-.141**	.076*	0.032	-.079*	-.068*	-.105**	-.105**	-.128**	.065*	-.649**	.100**						
Con-trait anti-egalitarianism	.164**	.285**	-.102**	.129**	.108**	-.142**	0.054	0.053	-0.055	-.066*	.190**	-.465**	-.735**	.435**					
Respondent's age	-.268**	-.217**	-.078*	-.199**	-.167**	.240**	.262**	.100**	.233**	.254**	-.251**	.129**	.091**	-.104**	-.177**				
Psychological security	-0.012	-0.058	.220**	0.059	.206**	-.167**	-.313**	-0.027	-.245**	-.240**	.099**	-.098**	.244**	0.007	-.191**	-.087**			
Interpersonal Tolerance	.121**	-.136**	0.043	-0.008	0.046	0.047	-.107**	-0.012	-.089**	-.076*	.150**	-.592**	.457**	-0.018	-.162**	0.011	.190**		
Xenophobic attitude	-.075*	0.016	-.177**	-.141**	.180**	.187**	.360**	.136**	.385**	.350**	-.216**	0.018	-.090**	.069*	.091**	.137**	-.258**	-.101**	

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Note: *Frustration has four subscales, namely: discomfort intolerance, emotional intolerance, achievement frustration, and entitlement. *Stereotypes was measured using Social Dominance Orientation scale four dimensions namely: pro-trait dominance, con-trait dominance, pro-trait anti-egalitarianism, con-trait anti-egalitarianism.

Also, emotional intolerance is significantly and negatively correlated with psychological security ($r = -0.31, p < .01$), interpersonal tolerance ($r = -0.11, p < .01$), significantly and positively correlated with xenophobia ($r = 0.36, p < .01$); entitlement is significantly and positively correlated with xenophobia ($r = 0.14, p < .01$); discomfort intolerance is significantly and negatively correlated with psychological security ($r = -0.25, p < .01$), interpersonal tolerance ($r = -0.09, p < .01$), significantly and positively correlated with xenophobia ($r = 0.39, p < .01$).

Furthermore, the results show that achievement is significantly and negatively correlated with psychological security ($r = -0.24, P < .01$), interpersonal tolerance ($r = -0.08, p < .05$), significantly and positively correlated with xenophobia ($r = 0.35, p < .01$); intercultural contact is also significantly but positively correlated with psychological security ($r = 0.10, p < .01$), interpersonal tolerance ($r = 0.15, p > .01$), significantly and negatively correlated with xenophobia ($r = -0.22, p < .01$); pro-trait dominance is significantly and negatively correlated with psychological security ($r = -.10, p < .01$) and interpersonal tolerance ($r = -0.56, p < .01$); con-trait dominance is significantly and positively correlated with psychological security ($r = 0.24, p < .01$), interpersonal tolerance ($r = 0.46, p < .01$), significantly but negatively correlated with xenophobia ($r = -0.90, p < .01$). Meanwhile, pro-trait anti-egalitarianism is significantly and positively correlated with xenophobia ($r = 0.70, p < .05$); con-trait anti-egalitarianism is significantly but negatively correlated with psychological security ($r = -0.19, p < .01$), interpersonal tolerance ($r = -0.16, p < .01$), significantly and positively correlated with xenophobia ($r = 0.09, p < .01$). Lastly, age is significantly but negatively correlated with psychological security ($r = -0.09, p < .01$), significantly and positively correlated with xenophobia ($r = 0.14, p < .01$).

5.3.2. Hypotheses 2 and 3

Hypothesis 2: Psychological security will mediate the relationship of psychosocial factors with xenophobic attitudes.

Hypothesis 3: Interpersonal tolerance will mediate the relationship of psychosocial factors with xenophobic attitudes.

These hypotheses were tested using structural equation modelling (SEM) where the conceptual model of the study was tested. According to Baron and Kenny (1986), mediation study

assumes a three-variable system whereby there are two causal paths leading to the outcome variable. These are the direct effect of the independent variable on the dependent variable, and the effect of the mediator in the association between the independent variable and the outcome variable. Among other conditions stated by Baron and Kenny (1986) is that both the independent variable, the mediator and the dependent variable must correlate with one another. It is on this basis that only variables with significant association were included in the analysed model. The result of the hypothesized model is presented in figure 5.1 below. Evaluation of the fit indices showed an acceptable CMIN/DF of 3.75, comparative fit index (CFI) = .996, Standardized root mean square residual (SRMR) = .010, root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) = .051, Close = .426. These showed an excellent model fit measure (Hu & Bentler, 1999). The author therefore saw no need for model re-specification/adjustment. The outcome model is presented in figure 5.1 model. This model shows both the direct (as in table 5.2) and indirect (mediating) effect of psychosocial variables on xenophobic attitude through psychological security and interpersonal tolerance (as in Table 5.3). The result shows that extraversion has a direct significant effect on psychological security ($\beta = .15, p < .05$), con-trait anti-egalitarianism has direct (but negative) significant effect on psychological security ($\beta = -.37, p < .05$), self-esteem has direct (negative) significant effect on psychological security ($\beta = -.10, p < .05$), neuroticism has direct significant effect on psychological security ($\beta = .12, p < .05$), emotional intolerance has direct (negative) significant effect on psychological security ($\beta = -.17, p < .05$), pro-trait dominance has direct (negative) significant effect on psychological security ($\beta = -.24, p < .05$). All other paths to psychological security are not significant.

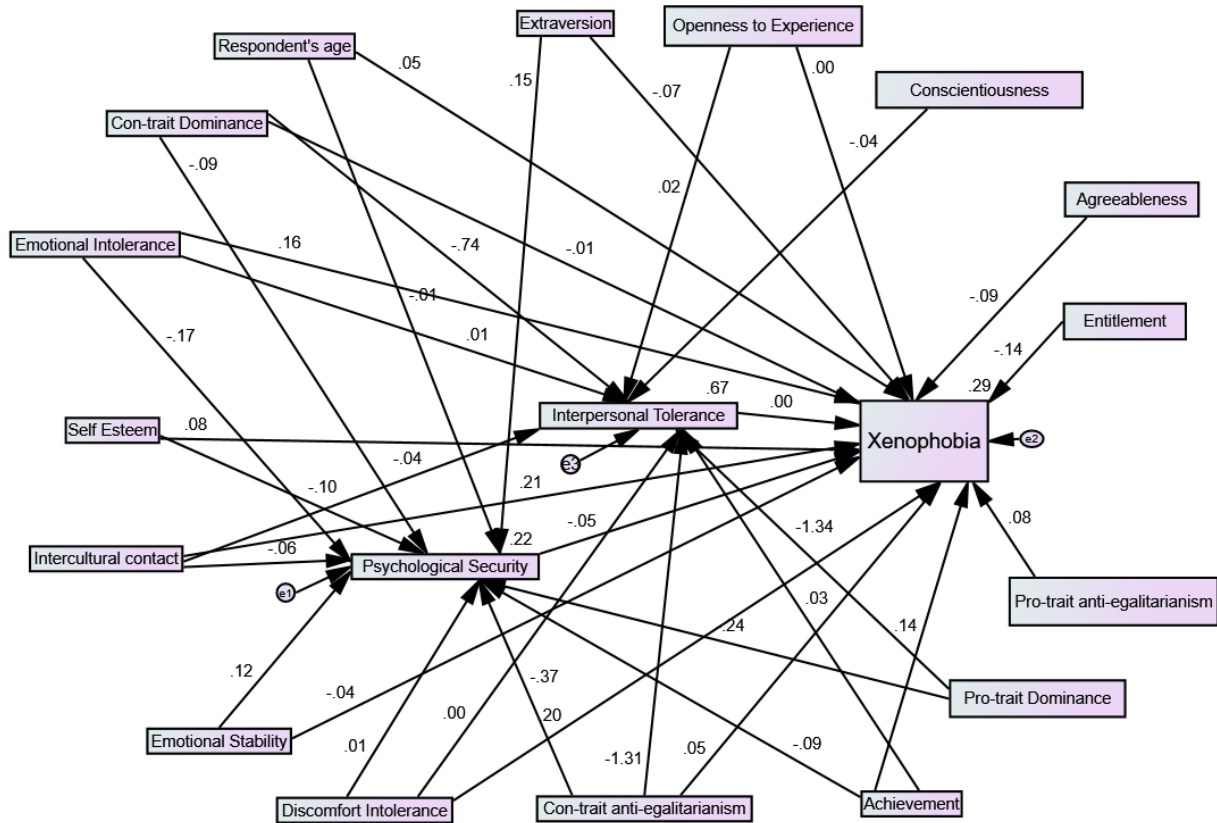


Figure 5.1: Direct and Mediating Effects of Psychosocial Factors on Xenophobia through Psychological Security and Interpersonal Tolerance

On the paths that lead to interpersonal tolerance, only three are significant. Con-trait dominance has direct (but negative) significant effect on interpersonal tolerance ($\beta = -.74, p < .05$), con-trait anti-egalitarianism has direct (negative) significant effect on interpersonal tolerance ($\beta = -1.31, p < .05$) and pro-trait dominance has direct (negative) significant effect on interpersonal tolerance ($\beta = -1.34, p < .05$). On xenophobic attitudes (the dependent variable), five paths are significant. Interpersonal contact has direct significant effect on xenophobic attitudes ($\beta = .21, p < .05$), entitlement has direct (negative) significant effect on xenophobic attitudes ($\beta = -.14, p < .05$), discomfort intolerance has direct significant effect on xenophobic attitudes ($\beta = .20, p < .05$), achievement has direct significant effect on xenophobic attitudes ($\beta = .14, p < .05$) and emotional intolerance has direct significant effect on xenophobic attitudes ($\beta = .16, p < .05$).

Table 5.2: Regression Weights showing the direct effects of psychosocial factors (IV) on psychological insecurity, interpersonal tolerance (MVs) and xenophobic attitudes (DV)

	Estimate	S.E.	C.R.	P
Psy_security <--- Extraversion	.149	.041	5.279	***
Psy_security <--- Discmfort_Intolerance	.015	.027	.339	.734
Psy_security <--- Con_trait_anti	-.371	.075	-4.340	***
Psy_security <--- Con_trait_Domi	-.093	.033	-1.229	.219
Psy_security <--- Contact	-.065	.253	-2.237	.025
Interp_toler <--- Openness	.018	.083	.801	.423
Psy_security <--- Self_Esteem	-.102	.024	-3.436	***
Interp_toler <--- Conscientiousness	-.043	.088	-1.874	.061
Psy_security <--- Emotionalstab	.123	.046	4.167	***
Psy_security <--- Emot_Intolerance	-.166	.025	-4.301	***
Interp_toler <--- Discmfort_Intolerance	-.002	.050	-.073	.942
Interp_toler <--- Achievement	.029	.046	1.064	.287
Psy_security <--- Achievement	-.087	.025	-2.083	.037
Interp_toler <--- Contact	-.040	.467	-2.138	.032
Psy_security <--- Pro_trait_Domi	-.244	.048	-4.168	***
Interp_toler <--- Con_trait_Domi	-.743	.061	-15.000	***
Interp_toler <--- Con_trait_anti	-1.310	.140	-23.450	***
Psy_security <--- Age	-.010	.015	-.321	.748
Interp_toler <--- Pro_trait_Domi	-1.336	.089	-34.826	***
Interp_toler <--- Emot_Intolerance	.010	.046	.383	.702
Xenophobia <--- Extraversion	-.071	.115	-2.559	.010
Xenophobia <--- Psy_security	-.052	.086	-1.719	.086
Xenophobia <--- Con_trait_anti	.045	.174	.642	.521
Xenophobia <--- Con_trait_Domi	-.009	.084	-.128	.898
Xenophobia <--- Contact	.209	.702	7.391	***

	Estimate	S.E.	C.R.	P
Xenophobia <--- Openness	.004	.114	.133	.894
Xenophobia <--- Self_Esteem	.081	.069	2.681	.007
Xenophobia <--- Interp_toler	-.003	.035	-.075	.940
Xenophobia <--- Agreeableness	-.087	.140	-2.978	.003
Xenophobia <--- Emotionalstab	-.039	.134	-1.291	.197
Xenophobia <--- Entitlement	-.141	.077	-3.753	***
Xenophobia <--- Discmfort_Intolerance	.199	.076	4.660	***
Xenophobia <--- Achievement	.140	.069	3.435	***
Xenophobia <--- Pro_trait_anti	.081	.113	1.782	.075
Xenophobia <--- Age	.045	.041	1.527	.127
Xenophobia <--- Emot_Intolerance	.159	.076	3.880	***

Table 5.3: Indirect (mediating) effects of psychosocial factors on xenophobic attitudes through psychological insecurity and interpersonal tolerance

Independent variable	Mediator	Dependent variable	β	<i>p</i>
Age	Psychological security	Xenophobic attitude	.04	.00
Extraversion	Psychological security	Xenophobic attitude	-.03	.11
Con-trait dominance	Psychological security	Xenophobic attitude	.14	.12
Emotional intolerance	Psychological security	Xenophobic attitude	.05	.00
Self-esteem	Psychological security	Xenophobic attitude	.61	.00
Intercultural contact	Psychological security	Xenophobic attitude	-.08	.07
Neuroticism	Psychological security	Xenophobic attitude	-.03	.00
Discomfort intolerance	Psychological security	Xenophobic attitude	-.01	.46
Con-trait anti-egalitarianism	Psychological security	Xenophobic attitude	.05	.09

Achievement	Psychological security	Xenophobic attitude	.01	.07
Openness to experience	Interpersonal tolerance	Xenophobic attitude	-.43	.00
Con-trait dominance	Interpersonal tolerance	Xenophobic attitude	.00	.98
Emotional intolerance	Interpersonal tolerance	Xenophobic attitude	.83	.00
Intercultural contact	Interpersonal tolerance	Xenophobic attitude	-.56	.00
Discomfort intolerance	Interpersonal tolerance	Xenophobic attitude	.00	.87
Con-trait anti-egalitarianism	Interpersonal tolerance	Xenophobic attitude	.01	.97
Achievement	Interpersonal tolerance	Xenophobic attitude	-.48	.00

The mediating effect of psychological security and interpersonal tolerance in the association between psychosocial factors and xenophobia was presented in table 5.3 above. The results in the table show that psychological security mediated the association between age and xenophobic attitude ($\beta = .04$, $p < .05$), emotional intolerance and xenophobic attitude ($\beta = .05$, $p < .05$), emotional instability and xenophobic attitude ($\beta = -.03$, $p < .05$). Also, interpersonal tolerance mediated the relationship between openness to experience and xenophobic attitude ($\beta = -.43$, $p < .05$), emotional intolerance and xenophobic attitude ($\beta = .83$, $p < .05$), intercultural contact and xenophobic attitude ($\beta = -.56$, $p < .05$), achievement and xenophobic attitude ($\beta = -.48$, $p < .05$).

5.3.3. Hypothesis 4

There will be significant gender differences in xenophobic attitude. This hypothesis was tested using independent samples t-test. The result is shown in table 5. 4 below.

Table 5.4: Independent t-test showing the showing the difference in xenophobic attitudes between males and females

Variable	Gender	N	Mean	Std.		t	p
				Deviation	Df		
Xenophobic attitude	male	545	31.41	10.738	1053	5.01	.000
	female	555	28.10	10.704			

The results revealed a statistically significant mean difference xenophobic attitude $t(1053) = 5.01, p = .000, Cohen's d = .28, Power = .99$ indicating a large effect size between men and women. These results indicate that males ($M = 31.41, SD = 10.74$) reported significantly higher levels of xenophobic attitude than females ($M = 28.10, SD = 10.70$).

5.3.4. Hypothesis 5

There will be significant group differences in xenophobic attitudes depending on marital status. To test this hypothesis, Univariate Analysis of Variance was used instead of One-Way ANOVA so as to be able to determine the power and effect size. The result is shown in table 5.5 below.

Table 5.5: Univariate ANOVA showing group differences in xenophobic attitudes as function of marital status

Dependent Variable: Xenophobic attitude

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial	
						Eta Squared	Observed Power ^b
Corrected Model	5315.960 ^a	5	1063.192	9.404	.000	.043	1.000
Intercept	53600.439	1	53600.439	474.102	.000	.311	1.000
Marital status	5315.960	5	1063.192	9.404	.000	.043	1.000
Error	118596.476	1049	113.057				
Total	1057579.000	1055					
Corrected Total	123912.436	1054					

a. R Squared = .043 (Adjusted R Squared = .038)

b. Computed using alpha = .05

The results showed a significant difference in xenophobic attitudes based on marital status $F(5, 1049) = 9.40, p < .01, \eta_p^2 = .043$, indicating a large effect size and a power of 1.0. Because the results indicated a statistically significant difference in xenophobic attitude due to marital status, there is

a need to compute a post hoc test. The Tukey post hoc test was selected to compare the mean differences.

Table 5.6: Post-Hoc multiple comparisons analysis showing group differences in xenophobic attitudes due to marital status

Variables	Marital status	N	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6
Xenophobic attitude	1. Single	809	28.77	10.63	-					
	2. Cohabiting	76	34.33	7.91	5.56*	-				
	3. Married	141	34.21	12.01	5.44*	0.12	-			
	4. Separated	35	28.65	8.09	.12	5.68	5.56	-		
	5. Divorced	37	25.36	9.89	3.41	8.96*	8.85*	3.29	-	
	6. Widowed	2	31.00	.000	2.23	3.33	3.21	2.35	5.64	-

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

The outcome of post hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the mean score on xenophobia among the singles ($M = 28.77$, $SD = 10.63$) is significantly lower compared to those who are cohabiting ($M = 34.33$, $SD = 7.91$), indicating a significant difference. Also, there is a significant difference in xenophobic attitude between the singles and the married with the married having significantly higher mean scores ($M = 34.21$, $SD = 12.01$) than the singles ($M = 28.77$, $SD = 10.63$). Results of the post hoc comparison further showed significant difference in xenophobic attitudes between the divorcees and those that are cohabiting, with those cohabiting having higher mean scores ($M = 34.33$, $SD = 7.91$) than the divorcees ($M = 25.36$, $SD = 9.89$), and

between the divorcees and the married with the married having significantly higher mean scores ($M = 34.21$, $SD = 12.01$) than the divorcees ($M = 25.36$, $SD = 9.89$)

5.3.5. Hypothesis 6

There will be significant group differences in xenophobic attitudes based on province. Univariate ANOVA was also used in testing this hypothesis and the results are as presented in table 5.7 below

Table 5. 7: Univariate ANOVA showing group differences in xenophobia attitudes based on Provinces

Dependent Variable: Xenophobic attitudes

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared	Observed Power ^b
Corrected Model	2542.793 ^a	2	1271.397	11.020	.000	.021	.992
Intercept	558529.020	1	558529.020	4841.182	.000	.821	1.000
Province	2542.793	2	1271.397	11.020	.000	.021	.992
Error	121369.643	10	115.370				
Total	1057579.000	10					
Corrected Total	123912.436	10					

a. R Squared = .021 (Adjusted R Squared = .019)

b. Computed using alpha = .05

The results showed a significant difference in xenophobic attitudes based on the province $F(2, 1052) = 11.02$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .021$, indicating a medium effect size and a power of 1.0. Because the results indicated a statistically significant difference in xenophobic attitude based on respondents' provinces, there is a need to compute a post hoc test. The Tukey post hoc test was selected to compare the mean differences and the result is as displayed in table 5.8 below.

The outcome of the post hoc comparison using the Tukey's HSD test showed that there is significant difference between North West dwellers and Gauteng dwellers, Gauteng dwellers and KwaZulu-Natal dwellers. North West dwellers have significantly higher mean scores ($M = 32.08$, $SD = 9.86$) than the Gauteng dwellers ($M = 28.82$, $SD = 11.04$). Also, KwaZulu-Natal dwellers have significantly higher mean scores (32.56 , $SD = 9.86$) than the Gauteng dwellers ($M = 28.82$, $SD = 11.04$) (see table 5.8).

Table 5.8: Post-Hoc multiple comparisons analysis showing group differences in xenophobic attitudes based on the provinces

Variables	Provinces	N	Mean	SD	1	2	3
Xenophobia	1. North West	147	32.08	9.86	-		
	2. Gauteng	805	28.82	11.04	3.26*	-	
	3. KwaZulu-Natal	148	32.56	9.86	.48	3.74*	-

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

5.3.6. Hypothesis 7

There will be significant differences in xenophobic attitudes based on employment status. This hypothesis is tested using independent t-test and the result is contained in table 5.9 below.

Table 5.9: Independent t-test showing group difference in xenophobic attitudes among the employed and the unemployed

Variable	Employment status	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	df	t	P
Xenophobia	Unemployed	698	29.18	10.50	1053	-2.34	<.05
	Employed	402	30.87	11.42			

The results revealed a statistically significant mean difference in xenophobic attitudes, $t(1053) = -2.34, p < .05, \text{Cohen's } d = .29, \text{Power} = .99$ indicating large effect size between the unemployed and the employed. These results indicate that employed individual ($M = 30.87, SD = 11.42$) reported significantly higher levels of xenophobic attitudes than the unemployed individual ($M = 29.18, SD = 10.50$).

Table 5.10. Means, Standard Deviations

	Mean	SD
Openness to Experience	10.00	2.97
Conscientiousness	10.64	2.84
Extraversion	7.79	2.64
Agreeableness	8.90	2.26
Neuroticism	8.89	2.44
Self Esteem	19.12	4.76
Emotional Intolerance	23.34	5.86
Entitlement	20.06	5.26
Discomfort Intolerance	23.57	6.12
Achievement	24.59	6.41
Intercultural contact	.74	.44
Pro-trait Dominance	15.65	4.72
Con-trait Dominance	13.94	8.88
Pro-trait anti-egalitarianism	14.34	4.35
Con-trait anti-egalitarianism	24.26	4.38
age	26.26	7.73
Psychological security	16.02	3.83
Interpersonal Tolerance	118.78	10.94
Xenophobic attitude	29.75	10.84

5.4. Summary of the chapter

The chapter presented results for all seven stated hypotheses as well as their various interpretations. This was directed by the goal of seeking to address the study research objectives. The interpretation of findings included a summation of the overarching findings of this study. Chapter six will provide a detailed discussion of the findings of the study presented above. The discussion will not be in isolation but will align findings with literature while also making reference to theoretical implications. Moreover, the chapter will provide possible explanations for findings reported. Thereafter, the conclusion of the study will be clearly stated in addition to making recommendations for future studies.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1. Introduction

The study investigated the psychosocial paths to xenophobic attitudes in South Africa. It also examined the mediating roles of psychological security and interpersonal tolerance on the relationship of psychological factors and social conditions with xenophobic attitudes of South Africans. The study analysed seven hypotheses which are discussed below.

6.2. Discussion

From the analysis reported, hypothesis one, which assumed a relationship between psychosocial factors, mediating factors with xenophobic attitudes among South Africans was confirmed. The correlations between personality traits and xenophobic attitudes in this present study are slightly different compared to the correlations found in studies of prejudice; the most similar result is openness to experience. Three of the Big Five personality dimensions are correlated with a positive attitude toward immigrants. This is clear evidence of direct connections between the Big Five personality traits and xenophobic attitudes of South Africans. When an individual reports a high score on openness to experience, that individual's level of xenophobic attitude will decrease. This may be because such an individual tends to be more understanding owing to their nature of open-mindedness, curiosity, interest in intercultural exchange and new experiences. The results agree with past studies for different countries (e.g. Dinesen, Klemmensen & Nørgaard, 2016; Freitag, & Rapp, 2015; Murray, 2014). They found a negative correlation between openness to experience and attitude towards migrants.

Furthermore, the results showed that high extraversion will reduce xenophobic attitude. This result was in contrast with findings of past studies (e.g. Ackermann & Ackermann, 2015; Galeg & Pardos-Prado, 2014). These authors reported no statistical significant relationship between extraversion and attitudes toward immigrants.

The negative correlation of extraversion and xenophobic attitudes in the present study is in line with theoretical expectations, as Goldberg's (1990) Five Factor Model of Personality (FFM) assumes that high scorers on the extraversion scale are more concerned with positive

emotions, excitement, stimulation, and sociability, and, as such, scoring high on extraversion therefore decreases xenophobic attitudes; a low score on the scale increases xenophobic attitudes. Likewise, the results of this study indicate that agreeableness is significantly and negatively linked with xenophobia. This negative link of agreeableness is contrary to the findings of past studies (Ackermann & Ackermann, 2015; Dinesen *et al.*, 2016; Gallego & Pardos-Prado, 2014). These authors found no significant relationship between agreeableness and xenophobia.

A possible explanation why the result of the present study was contrary to past studies is that persons with agreeableness characteristics are more inclined towards interpersonal relationships. Higher scorers on this trait therefore are expected to hold pro-immigration behaviours because of their trusting, tolerance and pro-social orientations towards other people; this is in line with Goldberg's (1990) five factor model of personality.

Neuroticism was found to be positively associated with xenophobic attitudes. The result was contrary to results of past research (e.g. Sibley & Duckitt, 2008). The authors did not find any significant relationship between neuroticism and anti-immigrant behaviour. However, the result of the present study is in consonance with the findings of Gallego and Pardos-Prado (2014) and Genkova (2016). These authors reported a significant association with attitudes towards immigration.

It is observed that neuroticism is not known to be a consistent correlate of prejudice (Gallego & Pardos-Prado, 2014). The possible positive correlation between neuroticism and xenophobic attitudes among South Africans in the present study might be explained through two possible ways. Firstly, the significant positive correlation may be due to the fact that a dynamic approach to social situations as well as the ability to stay calm in stressful situations are two main characteristics that elucidate that an individual is not unsettled by differences. Possibly, this behaviour is owing to a high self-focus and a strong self-appreciation, indicating that a person's background and home country, are considered as a reference point. As a result of this ethnocentric perception, there is less appreciation for individuals of other cultures (Jungkunz, Helbling & Schwemmer, 2017). This finding aligns with the study's theoretical framework and expectation – Bandura's (1986) social cognitive theory - which assume environment and historical myths to be fundamental in modelling behaviour.

Secondly, the trait neuroticism makes people to be more prone to detect and react negatively to immigrants, since neuroticism is characterized with uneasiness and an anxious nature. High scorers on this trait are expected to show negative attitudes towards migrants because they may perceive migrants as a disturbing and potentially threatening factor that reinforces their “dangerous worldviews” (Muswede, 2015; Saurer, 2016).

Conscientiousness indicated no statistical significance. This result did not confirm the findings of past studies (e.g. Ackermann & Ackermann, 2015; Dinesen *et al.*, 2016; Gallego & Pardos-Prado, 2014). These authors reported that conscientiousness has a highly statistical significant relationship with prejudice. The fact that conscientiousness did not show a significant correlation to xenophobic attitude in the present study is an implication for future research to establish whether this non-existent relationship is a characteristic of South Africans, sampling variability or context specific. This is because conscientiousness may predict attitudes for some types of prejudice, and not others. The present study focused on xenophobic attitudes and not on generalized prejudice or other specific domains of prejudice. Therefore, the conclusions that apply to one domain of prejudice may not necessarily apply to others.

The present study adds to literature. Its main contribution to literature is that, for the first time, it has tested whether personality traits concurrently with other psychological variables and situational factors generate xenophobic attitudes. Gerber, Huber, Doherty, Dowling and Ha (2010) claim that personality traits are as relevant predictors of variation in social behaviours as sociological, political or economic factors. The focus of the present study on pathways to xenophobia confirms that psychological understanding of social phenomena is a meaningful endeavour. With the exception of one trait, conscientiousness, the relationship with the dependent variable is of significant magnitude. In addition the present results expand on the social cognitive theory and five factor model of personality (Bandura, 1986; Goldberg, 1990, 2013). Social cognitive theory posits that behaviour is learned from the environment, and the theory assists in de-individualising and generalising behaviour to group dynamics, while the five factor model of personality explains how a person would react to challenges of the environment as a result of one’s personal traits. Since individual differences during challenging situations is a function of one’s traits and ethnocentric perspective, then exhibiting xenophobic attitude will depend on the extent to which an individual is high or low on a particular trait.

As regard correlation between personality traits with mediator variables (psychological security and interpersonal tolerance [PI]) in this study, only agreeableness is found not to have a statistical significance to PI.

As expected, openness to experience is significantly related to interpersonal tolerance. The results of the present study supported the findings of Genkova (2016) and Ackermann and Ackermann (2015). The authors concluded that open-mindedness predicts a positive attitude towards people with a migrant background. The positive relationship of openness to experience with psychological security and interpersonal tolerance in the present study could be associated to the fact that an individual with this trait is more motivated to seek knowledge of other cultures. As such, multicultural personalities as a whole embrace tolerance and are often feeling secure, according to Allport's (1954) contact theory. This is because the more people embrace and experience other cultures and values due to their open-mindedness, the more they tend to be empathic, tolerate and develop trust in others (Allport, 1954; Ekström & Östman, 2012).

The results of the present study find conscientiousness to be negatively related to interpersonal tolerance. An individual scoring high on conscientiousness will lead to that individual exercising a low level of interpersonal tolerance. This result confirmed the findings of past studies (Ackermann & Ackermann, 2015; Dinesen, Klemmensen & Nørgaard, 2016; Gallego & Pardos-Prado, 2014).

The possible explanation for the present result could be due to the characteristics of conscientious people, because higher levels of conscientiousness are related with conservatism and conformism and thus a preference for South African norms and values. In this light, high scorers on this scale see immigration as a threat to traditional values, which is why they may lack trust in others and as such tolerate them less. This is consistent with Stephan, Stephan and Gudykunst's (1999, 2000) Integrated Threat Theory (ITT) which submits that an individual's attitude is a function of some fundamental pressures or threats in the environment and as such, symbolic threat, (which is one of the 4 components of ITT) is the reason why people will not tolerate others because they constitute threats to the in-groups' worldview and are perceived as threatening the groups' culture.

The results of the present study find both neuroticism and extraversion to be positively related to psychological security. While the results partly offer support for the findings of Ackermann and Ackermann (2015) on neuroticism and psychological security, the results did not confirm the findings of previous studies (e.g. Dinesen *et al.*, 2016; Gallego & Pardos-Prado, 2014; Sibley & Duckitt, 2008). The authors reported that extraversion is uncorrelated with psychological security.

The positive correlation of neuroticism and psychological security in the present study may be associated with the fact that increased familiarity with members of an out-group can increase psychological security of people. This is consistent with contact theory that assumes that frequent inter-group relations build trust and feelings of security. Likewise, the possible explanation for the results of the positive correlation between extraversion and psychological security may be associated with the fact that highly extraverted individuals tend to report increased feelings of security even during stressful and threatening situations.

Taken together, the results of the correlation between personality traits (openness to experience, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, neuroticism) and mediator variables (psychological security and interpersonal tolerance [PI]) show that there is significant negative correlation between conscientiousness and interpersonal tolerance, while openness to experience, neuroticism and extraversion appear to be positively related to psychological security.

It is important to note that, although personality dimensions are said to be generally stable, and not likely to change within a short period of time, however, multicultural inter-group relations may represent a special situation. This is because it is seen as a critical period that has the potential to promote personal development because of the several and multifaceted intercultural interactions (Zimmermann & Neyer, 2013).

Findings from the present study revealed that self-esteem is negatively correlated with psychological security. The results corroborated with the findings of Ommundsen, Yakushko, Van Der Veer & Ulleberg (2013). The authors found significant relationship between self-esteem and psychological security. In addition, findings from the present study indicated that high self-esteem increases xenophobia. The results of the present study confirmed the findings of past studies (e.g.

Fein & Spencer, 1997; Neff, 2009). The authors found a positive relationship between self-esteem and prejudice.

The possible reason for the negative relationship between self-esteem and psychological security in the present study and the positive relationship between self-esteem and xenophobia in the present study could be linked with the fact that, when well-being is compromised, individuals act to re-establish a psychological equilibrium. One way to do this is to heighten self-esteem, which may lead to an inflated ego. An inflated ego is often associated with a decreased feeling of psychological security, which in turn can lead to aggression and violence towards people seen as a threat. Little wonder that Neff (2009, 2011) concludes that the aggressors feel very good when they bully others.

Furthermore, the results of the present study indicated significant relationship between frustration, PI and xenophobia. For example three out of the four subscales of frustration (i.e. emotional intolerance, discomfort intolerance and achievement) indicated negative relationship with the mediator variables (psychological security and interpersonal tolerance [PI]). The result of the present study was somewhat contrary to the result of past studies (e.g. Hagensen, 2014; Hatemi, McDermott, Eaves, Kendler & Neale, 2013). These authors indicated a positive significant relationship between emotional intolerance, discomfort intolerance, achievement and PI.

One possible explanation for the negative correlation of the present study is a link to the frustration-aggression theory of Dollard, Miller, Doob, Mowrer and Sears (1939). This theory assumes members of the out-group to be responsible for in-group frustration; against this assumption therefore, interpersonal tolerance as well as having feeling of security around such members become decreased. Again, this is consistent with integrated threat theory, which concludes that four basic types of threat account for inter-group relations, of which realistic threats may have explained the negative relationship between frustrations, psychological security and interpersonal tolerance in the present study. Realistic threat is conceptualized in economic, physical, and political terms, and frustration is rooted in a clash of interests over materials. As indicated in the findings, the dimensions of emotional intolerance, discomfort intolerance and achievement have been implicated because, emotional intolerance dimension reflects the belief that emotional suffering is intolerable and needs an urgent relief. The presence of 'others' due to competition of basic resources, makes emotional suffering intolerable. More so, discomfort

intolerance dimension express beliefs and thoughts that life must be free of daily hassles, effort, and inconvenience, the presence of foreigners may give another definition to life against the world view of individuals within the discomfort intolerance dimension. Besides, achievement dimension expresses demands for high standards, and intolerance of these standards being frustrated. Therefore, for individuals that fall within achievement frustration dimension, they will not settle for low standards, when people's needs and wants get delayed in any of these dimensions (emotional intolerance, discomfort intolerance and achievement), such a situation provokes feelings of uneasiness and insecurity (Berkowitz, 1993), and such people are more likely to show issues of psychological security and interpersonal tolerance. This is on the ground that such individuals cannot accept lower standards and they get easily frustrated when they perceive that 'others' are blocking their goals. Enns and Cox (2002) argue that the dimensions of frustration are crucial as they differentiate between people who will become frustrated from those that will not.

The fundamental issue is (perceived) competition over scarce resources, for example, houses and jobs, and the perception that these resources are threatened by members of the out-group. Therefore, the desire to protect the in-group interests becomes a psychological security issue and this will lead to intolerant behaviour towards them (Stephan & Stephan, 1996, 2000). The fact that the present study reported a contrary finding is an implication for the relevance of future research to substantiate the validity of the present results findings employing specifically the four subscales of frustration in relations to PI.

Furthermore, the results of the present study revealed a positive relationship between emotional intolerance, discomfort intolerance and achievement and xenophobia; likewise the last subscale (entitlement) showed a significant positive relationship to xenophobia. The results of the present study resonated with results of previous studies (Angen, 2016; Fedorenko, Skutina, Kalinovskaya & Potapova, 2018; Wilson & Magam, 2018).

The explanation of the above results could be linked to the study's theoretical perspective. It is expected that frustration should increase the likelihood of xenophobic manifestation, because Dollard, Miller, Doob, Mowrer, and Sears' (1939) frustration-aggression theory claims that aggression is a consequence of frustration. When individuals needs get blocked in any of the four dimensions (emotional intolerance, discomfort intolerance, achievement and entitlement) such a

situation provokes negative feelings, frustration intolerance signifies a demand that reality should be how people want it to be (Dollard *et al.*, 1939). According to this theory, it is assumed that people with high frustration are inclined to seek ‘scapegoats’ for their situation, and such individuals may find a substitute response for the prevented goal-response. However, in the absence of this, individuals may respond with some sort of overt aggression.

In addition, findings of the relationship between study variables in the present study indicated that increased intercultural contact of people increases their level of psychological security and decreases xenophobic attitude. The results of the present study supported the findings of past studies (e.g. Alesina, Giuliano & Nunn, 2013; Genkova, 2016; Simonovits, 2016; Mak, Brown & Wadey, 2014). The authors found that positive intercultural contact increases psychological security among people. Likewise, their findings indicated that constant intercultural contact is related to positive behaviours toward international students.

The positive relationship between intercultural contact and psychological security and negative relationship with xenophobic attitudes in the present study could be associated with the fact that *contact* with people from other cultures increases psychological security and in turn reduces negative stereotypic formulations towards them. This confirms Allport’s (1954) inter-group contact theory. The theory includes a possibility that positive inter-group contact has the ability to improve inter-group relations (Allport, 1954). This is relevant because *contact* gives people the ability to explore other groups. It further allows the opportunity to engage in idea-related endeavours (e.g. learning, thinking about different cultures), social endeavours (e.g., socializing, entertaining in diverse cultural groups), resulting in social gains (e.g. new cross-cultural friends and allies) (Gordon, 2018). Hence, this might have affected the level to which people react to threatening situations and tolerance towards immigrants. An implication of this result is that South Africans in this study might have developed friendships with people from other cultures, either through the working and school environments and/or marriage relationships, which could have decrease their xenophobic attitudes (Freitag & Rapp, 2013).

In the case of negative stereotypes, the result of the present study showed significant relationship between negative stereotypes, psychological security, interpersonal tolerance [PI] and xenophobia. To be more explicit, the social dominance orientation scale (SDO) used in measuring negative stereotype in the present study revealed that people high in SDO-pro-trait dominance

tend to have decreased PI, while those high in SDO-con-trait dominance are equally high in PI, but low on xenophobic attitudes. These results confirm the outcomes of past studies of negative stereotypes, SDO and inter-group behaviours (e.g. Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014; Matthes & Schmuck, 2017; Ho, Sidanius, Kteily, Sheehy-Skeffington, Pratto, Henkel, Foels & Stewart, 2015; Niwa, Boxer, Dubow, Huesmann, Landau, Shikaki & Dvir Gvirsman, 2016; Smith, 2014).

The possible explanation of the negative correlation of pro-trait dominance and psychological security in the present study could be linked to the fact that when people experience high levels of pro-trait dominance, they tend to report an ethnocentric behaviour (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Ethnocentric orientation decreases psychological security because of the perception that the presence of the other group is seen as symbolic threat to traditional values and beliefs. The implication of this result is that it confirms SDO theory, which submits that those that are high on SDO will tend to have dominant-superior behaviour and will justify social practices that enhance social inequality, compared to those that are not (Pratto *et al.*, 1994).

Likewise, the negative correlation between pro-trait dominance and interpersonal tolerance in the present study could be explained by stronger conservatism and ethnocentric characteristics seen among high scorers on pro-trait dominance scale. This in turn decreases trust and tolerance in the other group. The result is in line with Bandura's Social Cognitive theory (1986), which assumes that behaviour is a function of one's ethnocentric perspective.

However, the results of the findings of positive correlation between con-trait dominance and psychological security in the present study confirms the study of Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco (1995), which showed a significant (positive) relationship between people's insecurity and anti-migrant behaviour.

The positive relationship of con-trait dominance and psychological security in the present study may be associated with evaluation of the self. This is because a positive self-evaluation is effective at increasing psychological security (Pekrun & Perry, 2014).

In addition, the positive relationship of con-trait dominance and interpersonal tolerance in the present study is probably due to the intrinsic religiosity which is associated with values like tolerance and respect for members of other groups. Furthermore, the results of the present study revealed a positive relationship between con-trait dominance and xenophobic attitude. The results of the present study collaborate the findings of previous studies (Coenders & Martinovic, 2014;

Hadarics & Kende, 2018; Isaacs-Martin, 2017; Níkleva & Rico-Martín, 2017; Prats, Deusdad & Cabre, 2017; Mensele, Nel, Nel & Louw, 2015). These authors submitted that con-trait dominance was positively related with xenophobic behaviour.

The main reason for the positive relationship of con-trait dominance and xenophobia in the present study could be associated with the fact that highly con-trait dominant individuals tend to be characterized by support for overt oppression and aggressive intergroup behaviours designed to maintain the subordination of one or more groups (Ho, Sidanius, Kteily, Sheehy-Skeffington, Pratto, Henkel, Foels & Stewart, 2015).

Hypothesis 2 was partially confirmed, as psychological security partly mediated the relationships between psychosocial factors and xenophobic attitudes among South Africans. More specifically, the findings of the present study shows that psychological security mediated the association between neuroticism and xenophobic attitudes, emotional intolerance and xenophobic attitude, age and xenophobic attitudes. Most importantly, the indirect relationships (mediation hypothesis), which help to understand why and how psychological security explains xenophobic attitudes, was established.

Psychological security mediated the relationship between neuroticism and xenophobic attitudes of South Africans. This implies that South African's levels of xenophobic attitudes may be enhanced when they are perceived to have psychological security in addition to a stable neuroticism trait. This finding of the present study lends credence to the findings of past studies (e.g. Genkova, 2016; Sibley & Duckitt, 2008; Simonovits, 2016; Mak, Brown & Wadey, 2014), in their observation they found that perceived psychological security does help individuals who are highly neurotic, especially when they find themselves in a threatening situation that may compromise their xenophobic attitude.

Likewise psychological security mediated the relationship between frustration (i.e. emotional intolerance) and xenophobic attitudes of South Africans. The relevance of this result is that the level of perceived psychological security applied by South Africans cushions the effect of emotional intolerance, thus improving their level of xenophobic attitudes. This finding of the present study aligned with the findings of previous studies (Gordon & Maharaj, 2015; Pekrun & Perry, 2014). The authors concluded that perceived security plays a vital role in anti-immigrant behaviour. Likewise, psychological security mediated the relationship between age and

xenophobia. This finding is in line with the findings of Níkleva and Rico-Martín (2017). The authors found an association between age, xenophobia and feeling of security.

In theoretical relevance, the findings of the present study could be interpreted in the light of basic functions of self-esteem theory, such as engaging in a positive psychology mechanism through self-evaluation, especially in challenging situations. This is because positive self-evaluation is a vital characteristic of psychological security, because positive self-esteem acts as a defence for the individual, provides a sense of meaning and security that buffers anxiety and threat situations (Greenaway, Louis, Hornsey & Jones, 2014; Rosenberg *et al.*, 1995; Smith & Mackie, 2007). The importance of perceived psychological security becomes germane especially when related to attitudes. Therefore, perceived psychological security might have been a buffer, to the extent that it accounts for the relationship between frustration and neuroticism and xenophobic attitudes among South Africans.

Hypothesis 3 was also partially confirmed because the results of the present study showed the mediating roles of interpersonal tolerance in relation to some psychosocial factors and xenophobic attitudes of South Africans. Specifically, the analysis of the present study shows that interpersonal tolerance mediated the relationship between openness to experience and xenophobic attitudes, emotional intolerance and xenophobic attitudes, achievement and xenophobic attitudes, intercultural contact and xenophobic attitudes.

Interpersonal tolerance mediated the relationships between openness to experience and xenophobic attitudes of South Africans. This finding supported the findings of past studies (e.g. Gallego & Pardos-Prado, 2014; Sibley & Duckitt, 2008; van Zalk, Kerr, Van Zalk & Stattin, 2013). The authors reported open-mindedness predicted positive anti-migrant attitudes as a result of the significant influence of interpersonal tolerance. The association of interpersonal tolerance to openness to experience and xenophobic attitudes in the present study might be associated to interpersonal ties to immigrants; more precisely, this is seen in the direct significant effect of interpersonal contact on xenophobic attitudes in the study model (see figure 5.1). Likewise, the fact that South Africa is a multicultural country where the possibility of tolerance is feasible might have affected people's trait characteristics that culminated in reduced xenophobic attitudes.

Likewise, interpersonal tolerance mediated the relationships between frustration, particularly the dimension of emotional intolerance and achievement, and xenophobic attitudes of

South Africans. This indicates that the xenophobic attitudes of South Africans may be curbed when people start to recognise the value of interpersonal tolerance in addition to the Government's provision of basic services required to avoid the state of frustration (i.e. emotional intolerance and achievement). These findings agreed with the result of past studies (Gordon, 2016; Hagensen, 2014). The authors submitted that interpersonal tolerance is vital, especially when people find themselves in a frustrating threatening situation that may compromise their anti-immigrant behaviour. Additionally, Waghid (2004) submitted that xenophobic attitudes in South Africa can be significantly mediated by tolerance towards other groups in spite of the level of frustration of people.

A possible explanation for the connection of interpersonal tolerance to frustration and xenophobic behaviour in the present study may be the direct significant effect of entitlement (a dimension of frustration) on xenophobia as indicated in the mediation model; this might have highlighted the relevance of the notion of interpersonal tolerance, which not only promotes the capacity of citizens to 'put up with' others they dislike, but to tolerate as well as try to accommodate them.

Deploying a psychoanalytic logic, another reason for this result may be that South Africans might have perceived immigrants' presence to be positive rather than threatening. This translated to self-control and an expression of self-love as well as acceptance of South Africa as a rainbow nation. Hence the positive interface between interpersonal tolerance and frustration might have enhanced their level of xenophobic attitudes.

Interpersonal tolerance mediated the relationships between intercultural contact and xenophobic attitudes of South Africans. Findings from the study are an indication that the level of interpersonal tolerance applied by South Africans cushions the effect of intercultural contact thereby improving their level of xenophobic attitudes. This result supported the findings of previous studies (e.g. Denny & Gráda, 2016; Gordon, 2018; Stephan & Stephan, 1985) who concluded that interpersonal tolerance is a beneficial mediator expected to increase empathy towards foreigners. Interpersonal tolerance might have been a buffer that reduced xenophobic attitudes of South Africans especially during the economic meltdown and when there is a xenophobic violence situation.

The findings of the present study can also be situated in the inter-group contact perspectives, which proposed that inter-group relations promote tolerant attitudes towards immigrants (Allport, 1954). Firstly, cross-group associations are effective at reducing inter-group threat and biases (Pettigrew, 1998). Secondly, positive inter-group contact decreases intergroup anxiety (Hewstone, 2003; Voci & Hewstone, 2003). And lastly, contact weakens stereotype, especially with out-group members seen as typical and who also go against the stereotype (Wolsko, Park, Judd & Bachelor, 2003). The implication of these results is that South African xenophobic attitudes may be reduced when people's level of interpersonal tolerance is high in addition to an open-minded personality in spite of the extent of an individual's frustration and intercultural contact.

In line with the prediction of hypothesis 4, males reported higher levels of xenophobia than females in South Africa. Findings from the present study corroborated the results of Dozo (2015) who found that men demonstrated more prejudice than women. However, the result of the present study is in contrast to the findings of Kraus (2015), who reported no significant difference in gender and prejudice behaviour. In addition, the findings of previous studies (e.g. Al-Kubaisi & Soliman, 2017; Claassen, 2014; Denny & Ó Gráda, 2014, 2016; Diamantopoulou, 2013) submitted that females exhibited more xenophobic attitudes than males.

Four reasons might account for the possible explanation of the results of the present study. The first is that the gender effect may vary across different settings, contexts and motivation. It may not be wrong to say that males reporting higher xenophobic attitudes as compared to females in South Africa may be linked to the fact that males are at the receiving end of some of the factors that trigger xenophobia in South Africa; as an example, males in South Africa are the ones who complain that foreigners are taking their women and wives (Chimbga & Meier, 2014), hence, they are motivated in this regard to report more xenophobic tendencies. A second possibility is linked to social learning principle which aligns present findings to the study's theoretical expectations, where Bandura's (1986) Social Cognitive theory submits that behaviour is learnt from observation and imitation of others' behaviours in close relationships, especially when the consequence of such behaviour is not negative. In light of this, it is a possibility that during xenophobic outbreaks in South Africa, the male population will imitate close friends (male gender) and do likewise; in the case of South African xenophobic episodes, punitive measures connected to perpetrators of xenophobic attacks are minimal or even absent.

The third possibility is based on Pratto *et al.*'s (1994) social dominance orientation theory, (SDO) which posits that gender roles exert influence over men and women's behaviour, and the fact that men and women have physical differences (e.g., size, hormones). In addition, SDO theory suggests that a generalized desire to dominate out-groups is one of the psychological dimensions expected to be positively related with out-group aggression and warfare. Warfare, however has been found to be an almost entirely and universally male movement throughout recorded human history (Rodseth, Wrangham, Harrigan & Smuts, 1991). As such, social dominance theorists have proposed that, irrespective of social system or cultural tradition, males should have higher SDO scores than women (Pratto, Sidanius & Stallworth, 1993; Sidanius, Pratto & Bobo, 1994), and having a high SDO scores is translated into being more xenophobic.

Lastly, males might have reported higher xenophobic attitudes than females because of the gender differences within the socio-political context, which is reflected in the bi-polar dimension of male and female. The male end of the bi-polar continuum can be viewed as a ranking orientation that holds features such as proclivity toward violence, general out-group hostility, and power and dominance-orientation, with the female end of the bi-polar continuum linking orientation to characteristics such as nurturance, empathy with and concern for others' welfare, and relatively liberal social values. Hence, a strong argument can be put forward that women have a more pro-social orientation while men have a more competitive one. Therefore, males may report higher xenophobic attitudes in South Africa during frustrating situations, given the stereotypes that women are often kind and supportive while men are domineering and aggressive.

Hypothesis 5, which stated that a significant group difference in xenophobic attitudes depending on marital status will exist, was supported. The findings of the present study showed a statistical marital group significance in relation to xenophobic attitudes in South Africa, with cohabiting group reporting higher xenophobic attitudes. As expected, the findings reported differences as regards marital status, although, unexpectedly, the cohabiting group indicated the highest xenophobic attitudes as compared to the other marital groups (i.e. single, married, separated divorced and widowed). The results are somewhat in contrast with the findings of Raijman, Semyonov and Schmidt (2003) who concluded that singles are more prejudiced than married people. However, there is scant evidence on the role of marital status and xenophobic attitudes.

Cohabiting couples reported high levels of xenophobic attitudes, this may be because the individuals in this group of relationships feel some kind of insecurity and have self-esteem issues,

since they are neither married nor single (Rosenberg *et al.*, 1995). In theoretical terms, the findings of the present study supported the notion of frustration-aggression in individuals, such as managing marital uncertainty or threat on the one hand, and sustaining stability in societal order on the other, especially during a threatening situation (Dollard, Miller, Doob, Mowrer & Sears, 1939). Therefore people who perceive themselves as unsafe may exhibit frustration and aggression at the slightest provocation. The results of the present study contribute to knowledge on marital status and xenophobic attitudes.

Likewise, in line with hypothesis 6, the results showed a significant difference in xenophobic attitudes based on Province. As expected, KwaZulu-Natal dwellers reported higher levels of xenophobic attitudes compared to Gauteng and North-West province. This result aligned with the findings of past studies (e.g. Crush, Ramachandran & Pendleton, 2013; Kang'ethe & Wotshela, 2016; Mabera, 2017). The authors concluded that xenophobic violence is high in hotspot areas like Durban.

One possible explanation of the results of the present study is linked to province profile; for example, KwaZulu-Natal is a province characterised by high economic activities, a greater concentration of lower working-class population, employment level, informal settlements, shack-dwellers and high migrant rates. KwaZulu-Natal indigenes may feel slightly less satisfied with their personal and general economic situations, particularly made worse with a perceived high level of economic deprivation. Therefore xenophobic attitudes may be explained by poverty, unemployment or even the presence of large numbers of immigrants and perceived competition for limited resources.

The findings of the present study are consistent with xenophobic theoretical perspectives of the scapegoating theory and the bio-cultural theory of xenophobia. While scapegoating is the loathing and the blaming of foreigners for societal ills, for example, crime, unemployment and the spread of disease (Morris, 1998; Tshitereke, 1999), the bio-cultural theory situates xenophobia at the level of visible difference, or otherness (Morris, 1998). This indicates that when KwaZulu-Natal dwellers are faced with poor economic conditions or poor service delivery, through visible difference, foreigners are easily identified and are scapegoated for societal ills.

In the case of North-West province reporting a higher level of xenophobic behaviour compared to Gauteng province, while this is a surprising result, there are a number of explanations

for this result. First, it may be noted that previous studies have submitted that xenophobic sentiments in South Africa are not only shared by a considerable proportion of South Africans, but across the whole country (Amnesty International, 2015; Crush, 2008; HSRC, 2010; Landau, 2011). A second explanation is that the relationship found between North-West and xenophobic attitudes may be idiosyncratic to the North-West province or even to this particular sample due to sampling variability. The third possibility is that the result may be explained through social learning views. The theory assumes that behaviour is a result of observation and imitation (Bandura, 1986).

The implication of the present results is that if people (e.g. North-West dwellers) are exposed to watching xenophobic attacks, on the media for example, they are likely to imitate what they have observed, and exhibiting such a role will only be a matter of time according to Bandura's (1986) Social Cognitive theory. However, further research is needed to clarify xenophobic tendencies in provinces other than the 'hotspot' zones in South Africa. Given the high quality of this study sample, it is believed that the results presented are significant and establish a starting point for further research.

In support of hypothesis 7, a statistical significant difference was established in regards to xenophobic attitudes based on employment status. The results of the present study showed that employed South Africans reported higher levels of xenophobic attitudes than the unemployed. The findings of this present study support the findings of previous studies on the relations of employment and xenophobia (e.g. Crush, Ramachandran & Pendleton, 2013). These authors found that the levels of xenophobia are increased amongst employed individuals. Likewise, in identifying factors related to 2008 xenophobic violence, Fauvelle-Aymar and Segatti (2012) found that unemployment and absolute poverty were not significantly found to play a decisive role. However, the findings of the present study were at variance with the findings of Chimbga and Meier (2014) and van Rensburg (2017). These authors reported a relationship between employment issues and xenophobic attitudes in South Africa.

The implication of the findings in the present study, is that, as income is increased so also are xenophobic attitudes. This is an inference that xenophobia cannot be totally tied to poverty because the level of xenophobic attitudes may be high even during employment.

The reason for the results of the present study may be due to heightened competition from migrants within the employment sector, which might have increased anxiety among employed

individuals. Likewise this result may be situated within the theory of self-esteem. Positive self-evaluation is a useful tool for self-security and job security especially during challenging situations (Rosenberg *et al.*, 1995). The lack of self-confidence might be dangerous for the employed individuals who might always feel that the foreigners are taking their jobs (Ejoke & Ani, 2017). Again, the results are consistent with Stephan, Stephan and Gudykunst's (1999, 2000) Integrated Threat Theory which assumes that an individual's attitude is a function of some fundamental threats in the environment.

6.3. Conclusions

From the findings discussed above on the psychosocial paths to xenophobic attitudes among South Africans, fourteen overarching conclusions can be drawn.

1. Openness to experience, extraversion and agreeableness have positive relationships with South African xenophobic attitudes.
2. Neuroticism was found to be positively related with xenophobic attitudes
3. Conscientiousness showed no statistical significant relationship with xenophobic attitudes.
4. Four of the Big Five personality traits (i.e. openness to experience, conscientiousness, neuroticism and extraversion) revealed a significant relationship with psychological security and interpersonal tolerance.
5. Self-esteem was found to increase the level of xenophobic attitudes and at the same time was negatively correlated with psychological security.
6. A significant negative relationship was found between frustration, psychological security, and interpersonal tolerance. Specifically, the three dimensions of frustration (emotional intolerance, discomfort intolerance and achievement) showed a negative relationship with psychological security and interpersonal tolerance, while frustration, especially the dimensions of emotional intolerance, discomfort intolerance and achievement, led to increased levels of xenophobic attitudes in South Africa.
7. Findings showed that increased intercultural contact of people increases their level of psychological security which in turn will decrease xenophobic attitudes.
8. In the case of negative stereotypes, study findings showed significant relationships between negative stereotypes, psychological security, interpersonal tolerance [PI] and xenophobic attitudes. Specifically, using the social dominance orientation scale in measuring negative

stereotype in the present study, it was found that people high on SDO-pro-trait dominance tend to have decreased PI, while those high on SDO-con-trait dominance are high in PI, but low on xenophobic attitudes.

9. Psychological security mediated the relationships between neuroticism and xenophobic attitudes, emotional intolerance and xenophobic attitudes, age and xenophobic attitudes. It was concluded, therefore, that irrespective of the age of the individual, the levels of neuroticism or frustration (emotional intolerance), xenophobic attitudes of South Africans can be reduced, if the individual has a sense of psychological security
10. Interpersonal tolerance mediated the relationship between openness to experience and xenophobic attitudes, emotional intolerance and xenophobic attitudes, achievement and xenophobic attitudes, intercultural contact and xenophobic attitudes. Thus, it can be concluded that regardless of an individual's level of openness, frustration (emotional intolerance and achievement), and intercultural contact experience, xenophobic attitudes of South Africans can decrease, if there is interpersonal tolerance.
11. Males reported higher levels of xenophobic attitudes than females in South Africa.
12. Findings indicated a statistically significant marital group difference in relation to xenophobic attitudes, with cohabiting group reporting higher xenophobic attitudes compared to the single, married, separated, divorced and widowed group.
13. A significant difference in xenophobic attitudes based on Province was found. As expected, KwaZulu-Natal dwellers reported higher levels of xenophobic attitudes compared to Gauteng and North-West province.
14. Lastly, findings of the present study showed that individuals who are employed reported higher levels of xenophobic attitudes than the unemployed. This is an implication that xenophobia cannot be totally tied to poverty. As such, the level of xenophobic attitudes may still be high even during employment.

6.4. Recommendations

Based on study findings above, psychological security and interpersonal tolerance are indices towards positive attitudes towards immigrants. Thus, it is recommended that the government of South Africa should attempt to promote programmes designed by trained professionals that facilitates xenophobic attitude reduction periodically so as to educate people on

how to develop psychological security and improve their interpersonal tolerance level. Training programmes such as self-esteem workshops, training on culture and diversity, and/or equality, inequality and social justice are significant in this regard because such programmes could help individuals to build up personal feelings of security as well as promote intercultural learning and development. Through this training it is expected that the level of South African xenophobic attitudes will decrease significantly.

Likewise, because good intercultural contact assists to develop psychological security, which in turn will decrease the level of xenophobic attitudes, it is suggested that the Department of Education in South Africa should promote cross-cultural engagement through international excursion activities in the curriculum of high schools, whereby learners will be exposed to early inter-group relations with neighbouring countries. This strategy will enrich intercultural encounters and promote tolerance. This is important, because it has been implicated in the study that intercultural contact diminishes the consequences of culture shock and in turn decreases xenophobic attitudes, as constant contact with people of another culture decreases stereotypic tendencies and improves tolerance towards people regarded as others.

In like manner, at the community level, it is recommended that community leaders and councillors should organise education training programmes aimed at orientating perceptions of South Africans towards black African migrants. This is relevant because it will promote unity and understanding and diminish xenophobic attitudes.

Lastly, the study established that frustration in South Africa accounted for xenophobic attitudes; as such, psychological intervention programmes aimed at targeting and challenging irrational beliefs should be organized at district level in the country. This is because such programmes will help people to recognize irrational beliefs that sustain intolerance as well as assist to alter these irrational beliefs. In addition, at the provincial level, it is recommended that premiers should take public demands seriously into considerations by addressing service delivery issues and by creating job opportunities for South Africans. This can reduce frustration of host members, help the development of tolerance, promote more satisfying and effective interpersonal relationships, and lead to diminished xenophobic attitudes.

6.5. Implications of findings

The findings of this study have many implications which can be grouped into the following heading:

6.5.1. Practical Implications

Practically, the study will contribute to existing literature on xenophobia by providing an opportunity and a reliable method of investigating xenophobic behaviour among South Africans. Therefore, the present endeavour might be the first effort at addressing xenophobia through the mediating roles of psychological security and interpersonal tolerance (PI). The fact that the study established the contributing roles of PI is an indication that the level of xenophobic behaviour may be decreased through the satisfaction of psychological security and interpersonal tolerance. This can be achieved by formulation of friendly immigration policies and regular provision of personal development training programmes at district level, which may help balance the effect of psychosocial factors and reduce people's xenophobic behaviour. It is expected that through these training programmes, South Africans will be able to work on certain psychosocial variables; for example, they will be able to build up positive self-esteem, work on inter-group relations, negative stereotypes as well as control of frustration. This is important because having adequate control over oneself in a stressful situation may lead to a decrease of xenophobic behaviour despite adverse psychosocial conditions.

6.5.2. Theoretical Implications

Theoretically the findings of this study supported inter-group contact theory (Allport, 1954) which opined that inter-group relations reduce intolerance and promote trust and feelings of personal security. The present study has been able to extend the applicability of the theory to individuals in South Africa. This is because the study has identified psychological security and interpersonal tolerance (PI) as mediators to assist to intervene in the relationship between psychosocial factors and xenophobic attitudes. This has proved that psychological security and interpersonal tolerance are important variables for reducing the level of xenophobic attitudes of South Africans.

In addition to the above, the findings of this study have extended the integrated threat theory perspective, which submits that an individual's behaviour is a function of some fundamental

pressures or threats in the environment. As shown in the present study, when psychosocial factors of South Africans are challenged, this translates to an increased level of xenophobic behaviours, especially during stressful situations. This is relevant because when certain variables are high, frustration for an example, during challenging situations, it will constitute a threat to the in-groups' worldview; such threats are perceived as threatening the group's culture. Because of this situation, such an individual may exhibit xenophobic behaviours towards the out-group.

Lastly, the findings have implications for understanding xenophobia from the viewpoint of Social cognitive Learning theory (Bandura, 1986). The contribution of this study to the existing knowledge on xenophobia is that individuals are motivated to exhibit anti-immigrant sentiments within the context of their environment. This implies that behaviour is formed from observation and imitation of others in the environment. This is important because people do not see anything wrong in repeating behaviours of others within the context of in-group solidarity and ethnocentrism.

6.5.3. Methodological Implications

Past studies have used Baron and Kenny's (1986) mediation test to determine mediation, but this present study investigated mediation roles of psychological security and interpersonal tolerance on the relationships of psychological factors and social conditions and xenophobic attitudes using a more robust statistical analysis known as structural equation modelling (SEM). The importance of SEM over Baron and Kenny's (1986) mediation test is that it allows researchers to specify and estimate the fitness of model using the mediator variables to predict the relationships between the independent and dependent variables (Hox, 1995).

In addition, this study made use of a large sample size (a total of one thousand one hundred participants) selected from different six cities from three provinces in South Africa.

6.6. Suggestions for future studies

It is not possible for any single research to be exhaustive, particularly research of this magnitude, hence there is a need for future research to establish other factors, such as religion, that could also determine xenophobic attitudes. This is because religion may also predict social behaviour. In addition to this, future researchers need to extend the investigation of xenophobic

attitudes to other provinces in South Africa as this might help to identify if similar factors are responsible for the triggers of xenophobic attitudes in the provinces.

Lastly, future researchers should consider translating the instruments of measurement into the major South African languages, as this would ease the data collection processes.

6.7. Strengths of the study

The study's strength lies within the results of its findings. The study has been able to identify specific psychosocial factors, psychological security and interpersonal tolerance as the possible predictors of xenophobic attitudes in South Africa. These findings are significant for intervention studies. This study has suggested that the level of xenophobic attitudes of South Africans can be reduced if their psychological factors and social conditions are in order and their levels of psychological security and interpersonal tolerance are effectively managed.

Furthermore, this study has added to the existing literature by testing a new model on the South African level of xenophobic attitudes. The model made a unique contribution to both the practical and theoretical literature on psychological factors, social conditions, psychological security, interpersonal tolerance and xenophobic attitudes, particularly among South Africans, which past studies did not adequately address.

Lastly, the hybrid statistical method (structural equation modelling) adopted in testing the mediation effect of psychological security and interpersonal tolerance added to the strength of the study. The SEM analysis as employed in this study assisted to determine mediation as well as the strength of mediation. This is important because previous studies (Lacobucci, Saldanha & Deng, 2007; McCuaig Edge & Ivey, 2012) have shown that Baron and Kenny's (1986) method does not effectively determine the strength of mediation. This study, therefore is novel and unique, because of the attempt to address xenophobic attitudes through path analysis, and the combination of both dispositional and situational variables in a single study. It is believed that the study constitutes a genuine contribution to xenophobic literature and social sciences in general.

6.8. Limitations of the study

The research design (cross-sectional survey) used in the present study is a limitation, in that it does not allow for inferences about causal relationships among study variables. Future research could address this limitation by using a longitudinal research design, in order to illustrate the causal mechanisms connecting to resources and authoritarianism, and their associations with xenophobic attitudes. Apart from this, all measures were based on self-reports, which may have influenced the relationship among the variables. This may lead to an increase in the level of common method bias (Conway & Lance, 2010). There is a need for future researchers to use other measures such as focus group discussion and interviews along with self-reporting measures in eliciting information from South Africans.

In addition, as a quantitative study, the survey instruments suffer the limitation of restricting respondents into specific response categories, therefore, forcing the range of categories. As such, respondents were limited to the options provided in the instrument for direction as to instructions for completing the questionnaires as well as where to respond. Future studies should look into a mixed method approach, as this could allow more exploration of the study matter. Furthermore, lack of sufficient and/or reliable literature on some of the variables under study limited this research; as such, there is a need to offer more psychological explanations for the root causes of xenophobia. Access to people, particularly in Kwa-Mashu and Durban, was a limiting factor. Since the topic under investigation is a very sensitive issue in South Africa, getting the required proportional numbers of respondents in KwaZulu-Natal province was problematic.

Besides, there was a language barrier; English is often a second language of South Africans, and this impacted on the researcher's ability to read and interpret in the local dialect. However, the research assistants were multi-lingual (they spoke Setswana and Zulu fluently). Future research should consider translating the questionnaires in the local languages.

Lastly, the present study featured samples from three provinces, the study was carried out in only 3 provinces in South Africa, due to time constraints and logistic factors. Thus, the sample size of 1100 could affect generalization of the results, since South Africa is a country made up of nine provinces. This is not to say, however, that the results generated in this study will not be representative, but future research should consider inclusion of more provinces to ensure better representativeness. Should the psychosocial pathways perspective be more fully validated, it will require analysis among more provinces, possibly in the manner of determining intolerant behaviours unique to each province. It is suggested that future works should attempt to include

more provinces as this might increase sample size, although this is not to say that the results obtained in this study are not generalizable.

7. References

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ANNEXURES

APPENDIX A



Informed Consent Form to Complete a Questionnaire on Psychosocial pathways to xenophobic attitudes among South Africans: A mediating study

Participation in a study on xenophobic attitudes among South Africans

Through randomization method, you have been selected as a possible participant in this study because you are a South African citizen. The study is conducted by Ejoke Ufuoma Patience (Doctoral Candidate) from the Department of Psychology at the North-West University Mafikeng Campus, South Africa.

Purpose of study

The purpose of the study is to investigate the psychosocial predictors of xenophobic attitudes.

Procedures

You will receive with this form a questionnaire requesting you to respond to some statements on your opinion on non-citizens in the country and how you perceive yourself as regards frustrating situations. A section of the questionnaire will focus on personal information namely age, marital status, religion, level of education, travelling experience, ethnic group, etc.

Potential Risks and Discomforts

Participation in this study exposes you to very low emotional risks. However, you are free to discontinue with the study any time you feel uncomfortable to continue.

Potential Benefits to Participants and/or to Society

Based on your responses to the statements on the questionnaire and information given by you will help in the understanding of your feelings, thought and stance towards non-citizens in the country, such understanding will be reflected in the study findings. This will inform policy, necessary recommendations and development of relevant intervention strategies necessary to re-orientate the South Africa population on perception of foreigners. This will be of great benefit to South Africa as a nation, and to the field of psychology, and research on migrant studies.

Confidentiality

The general and specific information provided by you from your participation in this study will be kept confidential. Your responses cannot be traced to you because your name and identifying information is not attached to the questionnaire. Base on this, you are assured on confidentiality as regard your participation in this study.

Right of Research Participants

Participation in this study is voluntary. This means that you shall not be penalized if you decide to withdraw your participation any time during the study. It is not compulsory that you complete any portions of the surveys that you do not wish to complete.

Identification of Investigators

Please contact Ejoke Ufuoma Patience at chucksbuchi@gmail.com or Professor E.S. Idemudia at erhabor.idemudia@nwu.ac.za any time you have questions regards this study

Signature of Research Participant

I, having read and understood the explanation about the study, agree to participate

Signature of participant:

Date:

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE



ETHICS COMMITTEE

North-West University: Mafikeng Campus

Department of Psychology (2018)

Private Bag 2046

Mmabatho

South Africa.

Principal Researcher: Ejoke Ufuoma Patience

Student: 24435589-PhD in Psychology

Contact Details: +27749351029/+27624933519/ chucksbuchi@gmail.com
Department of Psychology, North-West University, Private Bag
2046, Mmabatho, 2735, South Africa.

Promoter; Prof. E.S. Idemudia

Dear Respondent

I am a PhD student at the North-West University, Mafikeng Campus, South Africa, conducting a research on xenophobia. This study specifically is aimed at investigating the psychosocial pathways to xenophobic attitudes in South Africa. Kindly complete the questionnaire which will take about 30 minutes of your time.

All information provided by you shall be treated with utmost confidentiality and strictly used for research purposes only. Your name and identification are not required. The information you give will enhance in the development of an integrative and cohesive society. Please be assured that participation is voluntary and you are free to decline from participation as well as to withdraw your participation at any time. The researcher will be very grateful if you help in completing the questionnaire and participate in the study.

Consent:

Now that the study has been fully explained to me and I fully understand the details of the study protocol, I hereby voluntarily consent to participate in the research with the following topic:

Psychosocial pathways to xenophobic attitudes among South Africans: A mediating study

I realise that:

1. Participation in the study is voluntary.

2. I can withdraw my participation at any time during the study.
3. The purpose of the study is to investigate xenophobic attitudes among South Africans.
4. The whole research protocol is clear to me from the explanations of the aims, methods of the research.
5. Access to the records that pertain to my participation in the study will be restricted to persons directly involved in the research.
6. Any questions that I may have regarding the research, or related matters, will be answered by the researcher.

Signature of the researcher:.....

Signature of respondent:

THANK YOU FOR CONSENTING TO PARTICIPATE IN THE RESEARCH PROJECT

SECTION A

SOCIAL VARIABLES

1. Are you male or female?

Male	1	Female	2
------	---	--------	---

2. Please tick (✓) the province you are presently staying

North- West	Gauteng	KwaZulu-Natal
1	2	3

3. How old are you? (Record age in complete years)

4. What is your marital status?

Single	Cohabiting	Married	Separated	Divorced	Widowed
1	2	3	4	5	6

5. Please indicate the highest level of your education

None/No education	1
Primary education(some or complete)	2
Some secondary education but not matric	3
Matric (Grade 12)	4
A college diploma	5
An undergraduate degree	6
A post-postgraduate degree	7

6. Please tick (✓) your ethnicity

Zulu	1
Xhosa	2
Basotho	3
Bapedi	4
Venda	5
Batswana,	6
Tsonga,	7
Swazi	8
Ndebele	9
Others	10

7. What is your religious affiliation?

Christianity	1
Islamic	2
African traditional	3
Other	4

8. Are you employed?

Yes	1	No	0
-----	---	----	---

9. If YES Please indicate the level of your employment

Unskilled	1
Semi-skilled	2
Casual	3
Skilled	4

10. Please write down your occupation

11. What is your monthly income?

12. Have you ever travelled out of South Africa?

Yes	1	No	0
-----	---	----	---

If **YES**, answer the following questions, if **NO** please go straight to **SECTION B**

13. Please tick (✓) appropriately how often you have travelled out of South Africa

Never travelled	1
Once	2
Few times	3
Frequently	4

14. How many countries have you lived in? Please specify in the box below

15. How many years have you spent abroad? Please specify in the box below

SECTION B

Part A (Xenophobic scale)

Instructions: The following are statements that reflect your opinions about non-citizens. It is not an examination, so there are no right or wrong answers. Please read through carefully and tick (✓) the appropriate boxes.

The numbers stand for:

1 = Disagree strongly, 2 = Disagree somewhat, 3 = Disagree slightly, 4 = Agree slightly, 5 = Agree somewhat, 6 = Agree strongly

S/n	Items :	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	Immigration in this country is out of control						
2	Immigrants cause increase in crimes						

3	Immigrants take jobs from people who are here already						
4	Interacting with immigrants makes me uneasy						
5	I worry that immigrants may spread unusual diseases						
6	I am afraid that in case of war or political tension immigrants will be loyal to their country of origin						
7	With increased immigration I fear that our way of life will change for the worse						
8	I doubt that immigrants will put the interest of this country first						
9	I am afraid that our own culture will be lost with increase in immigration						

Part B (BFI-10)

Here are a number of personality traits that may or may not apply to you. Please tick (✓) a number next to each statement to indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each of the statements. Use the Key as your guide.

The numbers stand for:

1 = Disagree strongly, 2 = Disagree moderately, 3 = Disagree a little, 4 = neither agree nor disagree, 5 = Agree a little, 6 = Agree moderately, 7 = Agree strongly

I see myself as:

S/n	Items	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
-----	-------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

1	Extraverted, enthusiastic.							
2	Critical, quarrelsome							
3	Dependable, self-disciplined.							
4	Anxious, easily upset.							
5	Open to new experiences, complex.							
6	Reserved, quiet.							
7	Sympathetic, warm.							
8	Disorganized, careless.							
9	Calm, motionally stable.							
10	Conventional, uncreative.							

Part C (Rosenberg Self-Esteem)

Instructions: Below is a list of statements dealing with your general feelings about yourself. Please. Indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with each statement.

The numbers stand for:

1 = Strongly agree, 2 = Agree, 3 = Disagree, 4 = Strongly disagree

S/n	Items	1	2	3	4
1	I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal basis with others				
2	On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.				
3	I feel that I have a number of good qualities				

4	All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure				
5	I am able to do things as well as most other people				
6	*I feel I do not have much to be proud of				
7	I take a positive attitude toward myself On the whole, I am satisfied with myself				
8	*I wish I could have more respect for myself				
9	*I certainly feel useless at times				
10	*At times I think I am no good at all				

Part D (Psychological Security Scale)

Instruction: Please tick (✓) as appropriate

The numbers stand for:

1 = Yes, 2 = No, 3 = Cannot say

S/n	Item	1	2	3
1	It is very easy for me to become emotionally upset.			
2	I find it easy to get emotionally close to others			
3	I worry that I will be hurt if I allow myself to become too close to others.			
4	I feel deeply hurt when people reject me,			
5	I am often hurt in my relationships with other people			
6	I do not feel emotionally secure in this world			
7	I am a person who is easily hurt emotionally			
8	I am emotionally troubled by the suffering of other people			

9	I can never be sure what is going to happen to me			
10	emotionally in this world, there is no such thing			

Part E (Harrington’s Frustration Discomfort Scale [FDS])

Instruction: Please indicate as it applies to you. The responses from absent to very strong, means the grade to which you would rate your feelings towards a challenging situation. **Absent would mean no feeling, or careless; Mild = unimportant; Moderate = adequate; Strong = strong feeling, Very strong = very strong**

The numbers stand for:

1 = Absent, 2 = Mild, 3 = Moderate, 4 = Strong, 5 = Very strong

S/n	Items	1	2	3	4	5
1	I need the easiest way around a problem					
2	I can’t stand having to wait for things I would like now					
3	I absolutely must be free of disturbing feelings as quickly as possible; I can’t bear if they continue					
4	I can’t stand being prevented from achieving my full potential.					
5	I can’t stand doing tasks that seem too difficult.					
6	I can’t stand it if people act against my wishes.					
7	I can’t bear to feel that I am losing my mind.					
8	I can’t bear the frustration of not achieving my goals.					
9	I can’t stand doing tasks when I’m not in the mood.					
10	I can’t bear it if other people stand in the way of what I want.					

11	I can't bear to have certain thoughts.					
12	I can't tolerate lowering my standards even when it would be useful to do so.					
13	I can't stand having to push myself at tasks.					
14	I can't tolerate being taken for granted.					
15	I can't stand situations where I might feel upset.					
16	I can't bear to move on from work I'm not fully satisfied with.					
17	I can't stand the hassle of having to do things right now.					
18	I can't stand having to give into other people's demands.					
19	I can't bear disturbing feelings.					
20	I can't stand doing a job if I'm unable to do it well.					
21	I can't stand doing things that involve a lot of hassle.					
22	I can't stand having to change when others are at fault.					
23	I can't get on with my life, or be happy, if things don't change.					
24	I can't bear to feel that I'm not on top of my work.					
25	I can't stand having to persist at unpleasant tasks.					
26	Can't tolerate criticism especially when I know I'm right.					
27	I can't stand to lose control of my feelings.					
28	I can't tolerate any lapse in my self-discipline.					

Part F (Social Dominance Orientation [SDO])

Instructions: Please show how much you favour or oppose each idea below by ticking the number from 1 to 7 on the scale below. You can work quickly; your first feeling is generally best.

The numbers stand for:

1 = Strongly oppose, 2 = Somewhat oppose, 3 = Slightly oppose, 4 = Neutral, 5= Slightly favour, 6 = Somewhat favour, 7 = Strongly favour

S/no	Items	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Some groups of people must be kept in their place.							
2	It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom							
3	An ideal society requires some groups to be on top and others to be on the bottom.							
4	Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.							
5	Groups at the bottom are just as deserving as groups at the top.							
6	No one group should dominate in society.							
7	Groups at the bottom should not have to stay in their place.							
8	Group dominance is a poor principle.							

9	We should not push for group equality.							
10	We shouldn't try to guarantee that every group has the same quality of life.							
11	It is unjust to try to make groups equal.							
12	Group equality should not be our primary goal.							
13	We should work to give all groups an equal chance to succeed.							
13	We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups.							
15	No matter how much effort it takes, we ought to strive to ensure that all groups have the same chance in life.							
16	Group equality should be our ideal.							

Part G (Interpersonal Tolerance Scale [IPTS])

Instructions: Please show how much you agree or disagree with each idea below by ticking the number from 1 to 7 on the scale below. You can work quickly; your first feeling is generally best.

The numbers stands for:

1= Strongly disagree, 2=Moderately disagree, 3= A little disagree, 4 = Neither agree nor disagree, 5 = A little agree, 6 = Moderately agree, 7 = Strongly agree

S/no	Items	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
------	-------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

1	I see differences in people's opinions and beliefs as opportunities to learn from each other.							
2	If I perceive somebody as acting incorrectly or curiously, I try to understand the reasons for their behaviour							
3	If the values and behaviours of another person contradict my own values, I make an effort to understand the other person before judging them.							
4	I embrace other people the way they are, even if we have very little in common.							
5	I can respect another person, even if their beliefs contradict my own beliefs.							
6	I give other people room to be themselves, without trying to change them.							
7	I am able to acknowledge new and unfamiliar things, even if I dislike them.							
8	I am able to reconsider and adjust my opinion if a conversation yields novel viewpoints.							
9	I try to fully put myself into another person's position in order to understand their viewpoint.							
10	I believe that there are multiple accurate viewpoints for most things.							

11	If I am bothered by the attitudes or acts of another person, I can discuss it with them without rejecting them as a person.							
12	I always try to respect another person, irrespective of their beliefs and behaviours.							
13	I accept that other cultural communities may act upon values which I consider intolerant.							
14	I tend to ignore other people's opinions, values and beliefs if I don't understand them.							
15	I think that my values are more correct than those of most others.							
16	I often judge others based on first impressions.							
17	I find it hard to view other people's business without passing my own judgement.							
18	I tend to judge others even if I don't really know anything about their situation.							
19	I try to avoid people who hold values different from my own.							
20	I find it difficult to accept people who are very different from me.							
21	I struggle to appreciate people who do not conform to my personal ideals.							

22	I try to get people to change if they are behaving in a way that I don't approve of.							
23	I find people unpleasant whose lifestyle violates norms which are important to me.							
24	I find it hard to tolerate practices that I consider embarrassing.							
25	If someone provoked or upset me, I would look for opportunities for payback.							
26	I point it out to people when they make intolerant comments.							
27	I challenge those who act aggressively towards weaker people.							
28	I challenge negative generalisations based on a person's identity (e.g., sexual orientation, gender, race, religion).							
29	I challenge intolerance based on incorrect or biased information.							
30	I challenge intolerance whenever I see it.							
31	I challenge intolerance whenever I can think of strong arguments.							
32	The limit of my tolerance is easily achieved when somebody spoils somebody else's experiences in life.							
33	It is important to me to challenge intolerance							

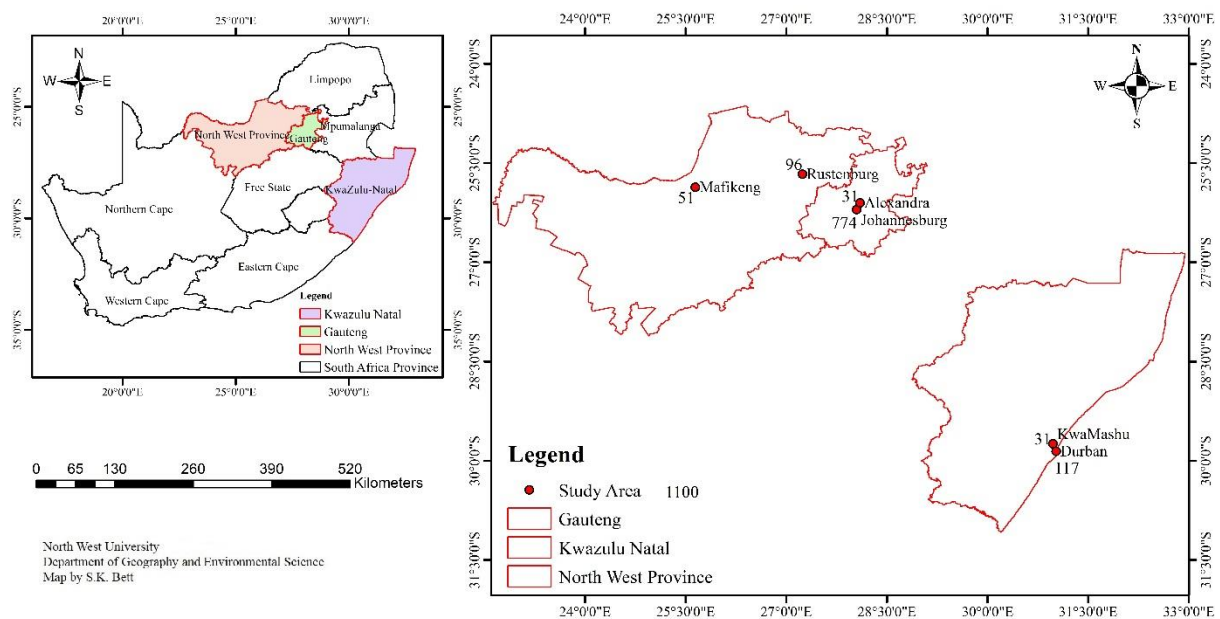
34	My tolerance ends where harm begins.								
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Thanks for participating in this study.

Ejoke Ufuoma Patience

APPENDIX C

Study area of the study



Note: Six communities from three provinces were purposively selected for the study, namely, Gauteng (Alexandra Township = 31; City of Johannesburg = 774), KwaZulu-Natal (Durban = 117, Kwa-Mashu = 31) and North-West (Mafikeng = 51, Rustenburg = 96). Thus a total of 1100 people participated in the study. The variability of numbers of participants across the six cities was due to the different population constructs in these communities (SSA, 2011).

APPENDIX D

Analysis of duly completed number of questionnaires per community

Distributed questionnaire	Retrieved questionnaire	Questionnaire not found usable	Questionnaire found usable
1300	1145	45	1100
Distribution and retrieval of completed questionnaires across selected six communities in South Africa			
Community	Number of questionnaires distributed	Numbers of retrieved and duly completed questionnaires	
Alexandra Township	64	31	From these figures, a response rate of 100% was obtained for the study
City of Johannesburg	806	774	
Durban	150	117	
Kwa-Mashu	65	31	
Mafikeng	86	51	
Rustenburg	129	96	
TOTAL	1300	1100	

Note: Based on the statistics obtained from the last national census by the Statistic South Africa (SSA) 2011, the total population of the selected six communities stood at 6 300 458, out of which Alexandra had 179,624, Johannesburg had 4 434 827, Durban had 669 242, Kwa-Mashu had 175 663 Mafikeng had 291 527 and Rustenburg had 549 527. Since the numbers of the population are not evenly distributed across the selected communities, proportionate sampling technique was used to select South African citizens from each of the communities in North-West, Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal provinces in South Africa.

APPENDIX E

Language editing certificate

1065 Hector Petersen Drive

Unit 5

Mmabatho

07/11/2018

This is to certify that the thesis entitled

**PSYCHOSOCIAL PATHWAYS TO XENOPHOBIC ATTITUDES AMONG SOUTH
AFRICANS: A MEDIATING STUDY**

ORCID ID : 0002-0960-5722

Submitted by

UFUOMA PATIENCE EJOKE

For the degree of

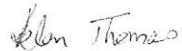
**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
(PSYCHOLOGY)**

At the

**MAFIKENG CAMPUS
NORTH WEST UNIVERSITY**

Has been edited for language by

Mary Helen Thomas (B.Sc. Hons. PGCE)



APPENDIX F

Ethics certificate



NORTH-WEST UNIVERSITY
YUNIBESITHI YA BOKONE-BOPHIRIMA
NOORDWES-UNIVERSITEIT

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South Africa, 2520

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Faks: (018) 299-4910
Web: <http://www.nwu.ac.za>

Institutional Research Ethics Regulatory Committee
Tel: +27 18 299 4849
Email: Ethics@nwu.ac.za

ETHICS APPROVAL CERTIFICATE OF PROJECT

Based on approval by the Human Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HSREC) on 02/11/2016, the North-West University Institutional Research Ethics Regulatory Committee (NWU-IRERC) hereby approves your project as indicated below. This implies that the NWU-IRERC grants its permission that, provided the special conditions specified below are met and pending any other authorisation that may be necessary, the project may be initiated, using the ethics number below.

Project title: Psychosocial determinants of Xenophobia in South Africa: Implications for attitudinal change.																															
Project Leader/Supervisor: Prof ES Idemudia																															
Student: UP Ejoke																															
Ethics number:	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>N</td><td>W</td><td>U</td><td>-</td><td>0</td><td>0</td><td>4</td><td>7</td><td>8</td><td>-</td><td>1</td><td>6</td><td>-</td><td>A</td><td>9</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="3">Institution</td> <td colspan="5">Project Number</td> <td colspan="2">Year</td> <td colspan="5">Status</td> </tr> </table>	N	W	U	-	0	0	4	7	8	-	1	6	-	A	9	Institution			Project Number					Year		Status				
N	W	U	-	0	0	4	7	8	-	1	6	-	A	9																	
Institution			Project Number					Year		Status																					
Application Type: Doctoral application	Risk: N/A																														
Commencement date: 2016-10-26	Expiry date: 2019-10-26																														

Special conditions of the approval (if applicable):

- Translation of the informed consent document to the languages applicable to the study participants should be submitted to the HSREC (if applicable).
- Any research at governmental or private institutions, permission must still be obtained from relevant authorities and provided to the HSREC. Ethics approval is required BEFORE approval can be obtained from these authorities.

General conditions:

While this ethics approval is subject to all declarations, undertakings and agreements incorporated and signed in the application form, please note the following:

- The project leader (principle investigator) must report in the prescribed format to the NWU-IRERC via HSREC:
 - annually (or as otherwise requested) on the progress of the project, and upon completion of the project
 - without any delay in case of any adverse event (or any matter that interrupts sound ethical principles) during the course of the project.
 - Annually a number of projects may be randomly selected for an external audit.
- The approval applies strictly to the protocol as stipulated in the application form. Would any changes to the protocol be deemed necessary during the course of the project, the project leader must apply for approval of these changes at the HSREC. Would there be deviated from the project protocol without the necessary approval of such changes, the ethics approval is immediately and automatically forfeited.
- The date of approval indicates the first date that the project may be started. Would the project have to continue after the expiry date, a new application must be made to the NWU-IRERC via HSREC and new approval received before or on the expiry date.
- In the interest of ethical responsibility the NWU-IRERC and HSREC retains the right to:
 - request access to any information or data at any time during the course or after completion of the project;
 - to ask further questions, seek additional information, require further modification or monitor the conduct of your research or the informed consent process.
 - withdraw or postpone approval if:
 - any unethical principles or practices of the project are revealed or suspected,
 - it becomes apparent that any relevant information was withheld from the HSREC or that information has been false or misrepresented,
 - the required annual report and reporting of adverse events was not done timely and accurately,
 - new institutional rules, national legislation or international conventions deem it necessary.
- HSREC can be contacted for further information via Estie.Emtoch@nwu.ac.za or 018 289 2873.

The IRERC would like to remain at your service as scientist and researcher, and wishes you well with your project. Please do not hesitate to contact the IRERC or HSREC for any further enquiries or requests for assistance.

Yours sincerely

Prof LA

Du Plessis

Prof Linda du Plessis

Chair NWU Institutional Research Ethics Regulatory Committee (IRERC)

Digitally signed by
Prof LA Du Plessis
Date: 2016.11.08
07:48:30 +02'00'

APPENDIX G

Faculty Proposal approval

Faculty of Human and Social Sciences

Tel: 0183892505

Fax: 1083892504

Email: 20560540@nwu.ac.za

28 April 2017

APPROVAL OF RESEARCH PROPOSAL (2016)

Student Name	Ms Ufuoma Patience Ejoke
Student Number	24435589
Degree	Doctor of Philosophy in Psychology
Supervisor Co-Supervisor	Prof E S Idemudia
Registered Research Title	Psychosocial determinants of xenophobia in South Africa: Implications for attitudinal change

The Higher Degrees Committee of the Faculty of Human and Social Sciences has carefully studied your revised proposal and the correction report submitted on 18 April 2017.

I am glad to inform you that the Committee is generally satisfied with the revised version of your proposal and hereby grants you permission to officially proceed with your research. Please note that your registered title cannot be changed without the written approval of the FHDC.

The committee further approved Prof E S Idemudia as your study supervisor.

May I take this opportunity to wish you all the best with your research.

Kind regards

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "B M P Setlalto". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, stylized initial "B".

Prof B M P Setlalto
Executive Dean

Original details: (20560540) C:\Users\20560540\Desktop\Approval of proposal Dzinavatonga.docm
28 April 2017

