

## *Xenophobic Attacks on African Immigrants: The conflict profile in the South Africa Case*

Emmanuel Micheal Massay<sup>1\*</sup>, Novri Susan<sup>^</sup>

\*Mwalimu Nyerere Memorial Academy Department of Social Studies, Tanzania,

<sup>^</sup>University Airlangga, Indonesia

*emanuelmichael81@gmail.com*

---

### Abstract

Since the country's xenophobic violence in 2008, the 2019 xenophobic assaults are a new reminder of South Africa's anti-immigrant prejudice. Xenophobia threatens refugees, asylum seekers, economic migrants, and other designated geographical "outsiders," including internal migrants and minority ethnic groups. This study will provide an overview of xenophobia in South Africa and insights into its occurrence by examining the conflict profile, including the background, actors, causes, and the present dynamic of the conflict. In this qualitative study, the exploratory analysis concentrates on a thorough examination of available secondary data. Issues regarding economic tensions, hatred, and hate speech surfaced as a reality of conflict. The Generalized Deterrence Theory (GDT) will support this research and explain why certain people behave criminally, oddly, or anti-socially. Thus, this study argues that measuring economic improvement and improving land policy is a potential treatment for xenophobia. Until the problems of unemployment and poverty are resolved, xenophobia will decrease proportionately. Nevertheless, political games, which tend to take the form of hate speech, have proven to impact disputes and should be avoided.

Keywords: Xenophobia, Conflict, hate speech, economic tension, South Africa



Copyright © 2023 by Author(s)

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0

International License. All writings published in this journal are personal

views of the authors and do not represent the views of this journal and the author's affiliated institutions.

### **HOW TO CITE:**

Massay, E. M. & Susan, N. (2023). Xenophobic Attacks on African Immigrants: The conflict profile in the South Africa Case. *Journal Of Contemporary Sociological Issues*, 3(2), 203-224. doi:10.19184/csi.v3i2.25327

Submitted : July 09, 2021

Revised : August 11, 2022

Accepted : March 02, 2023

Publish : August 31, 2023

---

<sup>1</sup> Correspondent Author

## I. INTRODUCTION

South Africa made headlines again in early September 2019, but this time for all the wrong reasons. At least 12 people were killed, and hundreds were imprisoned in early September 2019 when crowds stormed foreign-owned establishments in Johannesburg and Pretoria. The riots were xenophobic, with foreigners from various African countries targeted. In the same month, another xenophobic event erupted in Johannesburg and Pretoria, targeting Nigerians, Zimbabweans, and other African immigrants. In these two South African cities' violence, this time, they targeted foreign-owned businesses and citizens.

Consequently, at least ten people, including two foreigners, were killed, and more than 400 others were taken into custody. The atrocities drew widespread condemnation across Africa and provoked retaliatory attacks in other parts. As a direct consequence of the violence, Nigeria started moving some of its residents out of the country, removed its high diplomatic commissioner, and decided not to participate in the World Economic Forum on Africa conference held in Cape Town.

The most recent outbreak of xenophobic violence is predicated on the idea that South Africa's social and economic issues are caused by foreigners, specifically migrants from other African nations who have moved to the country's core regions. Moreover, even though a sizeable section of the population harbors anti-immigrant sentiments, the statistics demonstrate that the nation faces far more severe challenges than simply the challenge of accommodating visitors from other countries. Moreover, what is Xenophobia? According to the definition of UNHCR, Xenophobia is a concept with many different connotations. The word "xenophobia" originates from the Greek words "Xenos," which means "foreigner" or "stranger," and "Phobos," which means "fear." Together, these words form the word "xenophobia." Thus, xenophobia is defined as extreme hate or hatred of persons who are considered foreigners, outsiders, or strangers to a particular community or nation concerning their religion, ethnicity, social, gender, origin, race, color, sexual orientation, or other grounds.<sup>2</sup>

In Africa, Xenophobia is growing more widespread. According to the sources from global media, bias against immigrants, mainly Africans, is rising from Kenya and throughout Southern Africa. Over the years, Somalis, Zimbabweans, and Mozambicans have all been victims. The increase in attacks in 2019 has strained relations between South Africa and Nigeria, the continent's two largest economies that have long battled for regional influence. In addition, the attack led to more than 600 Nigerians flying back to their country by free air flight or an Air Peace by wealthy Nigerian business people. According to Tagwirei, there is a need for the awakening of responsible authorities for the violent attacks on foreigners in South Africa, particularly in light of the violent breakouts that occurred in several areas of the country in September 2019.

---

<sup>2</sup> United Nations Human Rights, 'When Does Xenophobia Increase?', no. September (2013): 1-2.

The 2019 attacks appeared to target foreign-owned businesses, according to Johannesburg Mayor Herman Mashaba, and follow a string of similar riots this year that have been part of a more significant trend of hatred toward outsiders. However, since independence, exclusion based on being a "non-native" has prevailed in Africa. Moreover, during colonization, it was formalized. As a result, Africa has had restricted citizenship conceptions for two centuries, and modern xenophobia is one of the most recent manifestations of this feature.<sup>3</sup>

The conflict profile includes the background that shapes the conflict, actors, causes, and the current dynamic of the conflict, which is the central part that is elaborated in this research, especially to see how the problem of conflict is formed in socioeconomic access that is being contested. Scientific research aims to identify a solution to a specific issue that has been recognized, and this article used a qualitative method based on a comprehensive assessment of secondary data. Researchers focus on learning about people's experiences, and the qualitative approach assists us in understanding what is essential to people. This approach involved gathering and analyzing non-numerical data to gain insight into thoughts, opinions, or experiences.

To gain in-depth knowledge of a subject or to generate new research ideas, the survey raised concerns about conflict analysis by focusing on the factors equally important in igniting the 2019 Xenophobic attacks. It was crucial to utilize a qualitative method since it allowed opinions and arguments related to the root causes of the conflict to be easily measured. Only this goal influenced our choice of a qualitative approach as this study's investigation method.

The study gathered information from secondary sources such as websites, articles, books, speeches, and news. With in-depth interpretation and data evaluation methodologies, this research comprehends the causes and invents possible significant reasons for the dispute. The created narratives were thoroughly studied to identify the underlying causes and the best solution to present the conflict profile.

Directed by correct data extraction strategies, potential data is collected using reference and citation methods. However, researchers investigated data using textual analysis, which includes analyzing and interpreting the language used, noting symbols, and taking pictures to learn how the facts are related to the studied phenomena. This research will give insight into the general picture of Xenophobia in South Africa, provide insights into the actual causes of this conflict, and construct the results relevant to understanding the 2019 Xenophobic attacks in South Africa.

---

<sup>3</sup> Oluyemi Fayomi, Felix Chidozie, and Charles Ayo, 'A Retrospective Study of the Effects of Xenophobia on South Africa-Nigeria Relations', 2004.

## II. VIOLENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA XENOPHOBIA

Before 1994, immigrants faced prejudice and sometimes violence in South Africa. Directly opposed to expectations, xenophobia increased when the majority government assumed power in 1994. Between 2000 and March 2008, at least 67 individuals were murdered in xenophobic incidents. A sequence of attacks in May 2008 killed 62 people, 21 South African legal residents.

The attacks fueled xenophobia and targeted black immigrants. As a result, xenophobia endangers the lives and livelihoods of refugees, asylum seekers, economic migrants, and other localized "outsiders," such as ethnic minorities and internal migrants. In light of the dangers posed by xenophobia, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Southern Africa (UNHCR ROSA) has issued a series of programs to protect victims from the effects of the phenomenon's manifestations. Nevertheless, the context of the xenophobic incident that occurred in 2019 has adverse implications.<sup>4</sup>

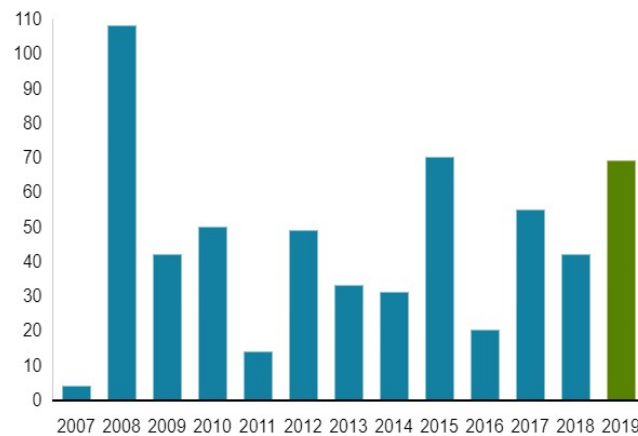
Following a spike in xenophobic violence against immigrants across the state in 2015, some foreign countries began resettling their residents. Furthermore, "62% of South Africans considered immigrants to be a drain on society by stealing employment and social benefits, and 61% of South Africans believed immigrants were more responsible for crime than other groups," according to a Pew Research study conducted in 2018. Between 2010 and 2017, the immigrant population in South Africa expanded from 2 million to 4 million.

The wave of xenophobic attacks in South Africa that began in 2008 and ended in 2015 raised questions about the causes and potential solutions. The notion of a global village emerges from mass media narratives, as readers, listeners, and viewers get informed of events even when they are far away. On June 20, 2008, a woman refugee spoke at a Parliamentary Seminar on Migration and Xenophobia to commemorate World Refugee Day. She said she came to South Africa seeking peace and safety but found only "pain in the heart and sorrow in the head."<sup>5</sup> This woman had heard that South Africa was a democratic refuge where she could be safe from persecution, but she discovered that her vision was inaccurate. President Thabo Mbeki recognized xenophobic violence as "an utter shame" in his statement on Africa Day.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> Jean Pierre Misago, Iriann Freemantle, and Loren B. Landau, 'Protection from Xenophobia: An Evaluation of UNHCR's Regional Office for Southern Africa's Xenophobia Related Programmes', *Unhcr*, 2015.

<sup>5</sup> 'Identity and Migration Studies', *Sociology The Journal Of The British Sociological Association* 2, no. 2 (2008).



**Fig 1:** The figure above shows the rates of attacks, threats, and actual foreign homicides in South Africa in 2019. (Source: *Xenowatch, African Centre for Migration and Society*).

**NB:** The above data recorded for 2019 (until late September) showed that the prevalence of xenophobic attacks was almost about to reach the 2015 levels.

Migration in South Africa dates back to the middle of the nineteenth century. Except for Angola, the region's economy was intertwined with South Africa's as suppliers of low-cost commodities and services, such as water, electricity, and labor, or as buyers of its manufactured goods. Contrary to popular belief, foreign work was welcomed when South Africa needed it, but today's prevailing discourse is anti-immigrant. Foreigners elicit negative emotions verging on xenophobia, described as a "gloomy hatred for foreigners." Migration is a contentious issue due to its magnitude, which has implications for the labor market and formulating a national immigration policy.

Migration in Southern Africa has always been bidirectional. The National Party's implementation of apartheid policies caused South Africans to flee the country. Anti-apartheid activists sought refuge in neighboring countries. In response, the racist dictatorship attempted to economically and politically destabilize them by supporting anti-government rebel organizations in the region.

Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and Lesotho accounted for approximately 70 percent of South Africa's foreign residents 2019. Thirty percent of the participants are from Malawi, Eswatini, Namibia, India, and the United Kingdom. As shown by a representative from the country's national statistics authority, South Africa has an estimated 3.6 million migrants out of a population of well over 50.<sup>6</sup> The looting and

<sup>6</sup> BBC News Reality Check Team, 'South Africa: How Common Are Xenophobic Attacks?', *BBC News*, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-47800718>.

burning of Nigerian businesses in South Africa by irate locals have heightened diplomatic tensions between Africa's sub-regional heavyweights, Nigeria and South Africa.<sup>7</sup>

### III. THE SOUTH AFRICAN XENOPHOBIC: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

Philosophers Jeremy Bentham and Cesare Beccaria invented the General Deterrence Theory (GDT). The GDT investigates why people participate in antisocial, criminal, or deviant behavior to explain crime and a method for eradicating corruption. GDT explains that people are naturally rational for conforming and non-conforming behaviors and can sometimes opt for an unusual behavior based on a realistic cost-benefit analysis.<sup>8</sup> Bad decisions that result in individual acquisition or desire can be curtailed by increasing the aggregate price of such behaviors through punishments and raising the chance of apprehension since individuals naturally prefer utility-maximizing actions. As a result, in GDT, the essential components are the speed, severity, and predictability of penalties.

The basic principle of GDT is that when a person or group of people sees or experiences punishment as a consequence of an unlawful act, which is harsh and even categorized as heartbreaking, then it creates the perception of feeling afraid not to take similar action. This logic means that the experience of seeing others suffer the consequences of an offense can have a powerful deterrent effect on society at large.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, the assumptions raised lie in the connectedness between individuals in a social system in which information or disinformation has the effect of subduing destructive desires.

The importance of effective oversight and law enforcement was emphasized because of the belief that absence or weakness in law enforcement would reduce the impact of this theory. In other words, if a strict and swift punishment does not follow a violation, its deterrent effect will be diminished. Binary oppositions between individuals, practices, or representations of power and control issues become the totality of social formations. However, this theory also gets criticism because of the argument that aspects such as economic conditions, social factors, and opportunity are other factors that must be considered in the analysis of criminal behavior.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, there is debate about the deterrent effect of harsher sentences being effective in reducing crime rates or whether other elements such as education, employment, and rehabilitation matter more.

GDT has undergone constructive development, focusing on understanding the interactions between punishment, criminal behavior, and contextualization in

---

<sup>7</sup> Adeleke Olumide Ogunnoiki, 'Xenophobic Violence in South Africa and the Reactions in Nigeria', *Covenant University Journal of Politics & International Affairs* 7, no. 2 (2019).

<sup>8</sup> Williams, K. R., & Hawkins, R. (1986). Perceptual Research on General Deterrence: A Critical Review. *Law & Society Review*, 20(4), 545–572. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3053466>

<sup>9</sup> Quackenbush, S.L. (2011). Understanding General Deterrence. In: *Understanding General Deterrence*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York. [https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230370791\\_1](https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230370791_1)

<sup>10</sup> Stephen L. Quackenbush (2010) General Deterrence and International Conflict: Testing Perfect Deterrence Theory, *International Interactions*, 36:1, 60–85, DOI: 10.1080/03050620903554069

sociocultural settings. Developments in the concept of punishment have led to a more mature analysis of the types of punishment that are most effective in inducing a deterrent effect. In addition, a greater emphasis on strong and accurate law enforcement has also increased researchers understanding of how to ensure that consequences follow punishments.

Along with these developments, GDT increasingly integrates understandings of how crime is socially constructed, such as social, economic, and opportunity factors. This contextual understanding provides a more holistic view of why individuals might engage in criminal behavior. Then, how can deterrence be built, considering these diverse aspects.

Criticism of this theory reflects constructive attempts to understand the dynamics of crime better and identify more effective strategies to prevent criminal acts. This approach leads to better-integrating theory and practice, focusing on building thoughtful policies and comprehensive solutions. By combining research, empirical analysis, and adaptive responses to social complexities, the development of the GDT can significantly contribute to minimizing crime rates and promoting peace in society.

To conclude, the development of the GDT reflects efforts to develop a more comprehensive understanding of the factors influencing its effectiveness in preventing offenses. This theory continues to be explored and developed to create more effective strategies for overcoming crime and building a safer society. Although controversial and not always entirely accepted, this theory has provided the basis for criminal law policies in various countries to reduce crime rates.

Amid a landscape rife with social tension and conflict, GDT provides insight to help quell the flames of disagreement and avoid a destructive escalation of conflict. In its implementation, firm law enforcement becomes a pillar that sends a strong message to those tempted to take the path of violence. A skillful education campaign can stretch prevention policies, making people aware of the negative consequences of conflict actions. However, more than just threats of punishment, this approach also looks for alternative ways to resolve disputes.

Dialogue, reconciliation, and mediation form the stage where both parties can get closer to finding a generic solution. Inclusive policies lay the foundation, respect, and accommodate multiple perspectives, creating pathways to harmony. Equitable distribution becomes a counterweight that can potentially prevent small wars in conflicts fueled by resource competition.<sup>11</sup> When conflict remains unavoidable, a rehabilitative approach allows individuals engaged in destructive behavior to shift onto a more positive path. By integrating aspects of prevention with efforts at reconciliation, the application of GDT in settings of social conflict strikes a balance between assertiveness and recovery, embracing lessons from the past to forge a more purposeful path toward peace and harmony.

---

<sup>11</sup> Joel H. Garner, Christopher D. Maxwell, and Jina Lee, The Specific Deterrent Effects of Criminal Sanctions for Intimate Partner Violence: A Meta-Analysis, *III J. CRIM. L. & CRIMINOLOGY* 227 (2020). <https://scholarlycommons.law.northwestern.edu/jclc/vol111/iss1/4>

Regarding the GDT theory and the South African Xenophobic trend, a traditional positivist criminology study explores broad explanations, including poverty, a lack of education, and psychological problems, to a considerable extent, which were the causes of the 2019 assaults. GDT puts a particular emphasis on criminal ways of deciding and the environmental influences that come with it. The GDT defined the 2019 Xenophobic onslaught as the conflict is highly associated with sluggish economic growth, resulting in an uprising of South African citizens fighting for foreigners accused of stealing all employment and commercial possibilities. It also includes measures to help offenders recover, such as job training and medical treatment. On the other hand, the theory helps better understand why the assaults occurred in the context of the 2019 Xenophobia occurrences.

As a result, the situation of a criminal and the environmental context are both essential factors in this decision-making process. Thus, rather than rehabilitating criminals and preventing future criminal behavior, GDT focuses on making illegal activities less desirable and preventing crimes. The "target hardening" measures, such as installing self-defense mechanism skills, legal restrictions such as stopping bail for certain crimes, the "three strikes law" and the death penalty, and increasing the probabilities of apprehension through methods like neighbor monitoring, are being implemented. This concept has intriguing ramifications for both traditional and current white-collar crime.

#### IV. EXPLAINING SOCIAL CONFLICT ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN XENOPHOBIC

This research grouped the conflict actors into three categories: primary actors, which are South African citizens. Moreover, the Secondary actors and third actors are immigrants from other African nations, known as "kwere kwere" (plural "amakwerekwere"), which means "foreigner." Also, politicians as secondary actors were classified since they were at the forefront of the conflict, influencing citizens to act against immigrants. Finally, the government, political leaders, non-governmental organizations, and human rights organizations are classified as third parties in the conflict.

As secondary participants in the war, political officials aided people by holding harsh press conferences, mass assemblies, and social media platforms. Then, South African residents are led to think that their troubles, such as a lack of jobs, inadequate living standards, and inadequate health care, are all due to their high immigration rates. Furthermore, the rise in crime and thievery is blamed on outsiders, who incite rage and hatred in native South Africans toward any immigrant from any African nation.

The third party, the government, launched a campaign in March 2019 to increase awareness and access to discrimination against the victims. It was spearheaded by human rights groups, who praised the measure but urged the government to label the situation immigrants face as a xenophobic assault. The Democratic Alliance, the most



prominent opposition party in South Africa, referred to the African National Congress (ANC) as a "scourge of xenophobic violence" in an October 2018 remark. Lindiwe Sisulu, the South African Minister of Human Settlements, Water, and Sanitation, ordered the police to take action against those who target outsiders.

"Xenophobia" is "a strong aversion to people from other countries." The definition states that a secret system of beliefs can manifest itself in the actions of the media, the general public, and the government. This concept is unquestionably true in South and Southern Africa, where xenophobia is distinct and pervasive. There are many possible causes of xenophobic and anti-immigrant sentiments in South Africa. Conflicts have roots in socio-environmental factors, while others have origins in psychological reasons. The primary causes may include misunderstanding of miscommunication, personality conflicts, a lack of cooperation, annoyance, irritability, issues of duty and authority, differences in value and objectivity, noncompliance with rules and procedures, and competition for limited resources.<sup>12</sup>

According to Matunhu J, most factors point to the inability of both South African and international governments to control society. Nonetheless, South Africa is mentioned as one of the unequal countries. Moreover, half of the population is impoverished. Because of the country's colonial and apartheid racial past and post-1994 failures to rebuild the economy and society, most South Africans suffer from inequality and poverty.

On the other hand, many politicians believe it is all the fault of immigrants, which fuels anti-immigrant sentiment. However, the NC-led government and the Democratic Alliance (DA), on the other hand, want to strengthen border walls to keep foreigners out and jeopardize South Africa's socioeconomic success and security. Politicians blame immigrants for South Africa's high crime rates, the issues that more impoverished South Africans confront, and the overcrowding of the country's cities.

The underlying causes of xenophobia are numerous and complex. Xenophobia is a fear of the unfamiliar, also referred to as individuals from various countries and cultures. Underemployment and deepening poverty among South Africans at the bottom of the economic ladder have fueled fear of competition from foreigners with more experience and education.<sup>13</sup>

Akinrinde went on to say that the nature of certain foreigners' physical attributes or visual appeal, resentment of their economic progression, fear of immigrants bringing diseases into the country, concerns that they may start a family with South Africans, crouching in particular areas, failing to pay taxes while engaging in unofficial business, and involvement in illegal actions are all factors that can influence the manifestations of xenophobia. However, from our specific study, the following have

---

<sup>12</sup> OO Ilesanmi, 'Xenophobic Attacks And Other Violence In South Africa: A Challenge To World Peace', *IFE Psychologia* 16, no. 3 (2008), <https://doi.org/10.4314/ifep.v16i3.23793>.

<sup>13</sup> O. Fayomi, F. Chidozie, and C. Ayo, 'A Retrospective Study of the Effects of Xenophobia on South Africa-Nigeria Relations', *International Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, 2004.

been noted as some of the crucial factors that contributed to the beginning of the attacks:

#### *A. Political Involvement*

Misago (2019) added two ways: Create a political environment conducive to xenophobic violence. First, authoritative community leadership regularly uses their position and legitimacy to motivate residents to commit violent acts. Likewise, under which official leadership is absent, violent alternative governance by non-state actors establishes new forms of social influence and control, viewing violence as a lawful means of protecting or restoring threatened local socioeconomic and political orders, as opposed to merely a means of consolidating their power and legitimacy. Extant studies on xenophobia in South Africa have, as per their diverse perspectives, focused more on how to approach the xenophobic reality than on why the politics of xenophobia have survived. According to Akinrinde's research, any attempt to comprehend the manifestations of xenophobia in South Africa must include "politics".

#### *B. A large number of non-national immigrants*

In discussions about migration, one of the topics that receive the most significant attention in the media is the size of the immigrant population in the countries considered "host" countries. It has been noted that South African politicians have long talked about the extreme inflowing of foreigners, claiming that it strains various areas, most notably the country's healthcare system. Economic opportunities, political unrest, and, progressively, environmental threats push migration to and from Southern African nations.

Nations function as the economic pillars of the region, with an expected population of 363.2 million people and 6.4 million foreign migrants by mid-2020. The administration has also increased its attempts to discourage migrants from entering the country, intending to reduce their numbers eventually. Foreign investors have been drawn to South Africa's industrial and mining accomplishments.

Migrants from the Horn of Africa have long been drawn to South Africa, and the southern route must be explored to know how many people are still using it in 2017. Ethiopia and Somalia, in particular, are seeing rapid growth. In 2009, 17,000 - 20,000 refugees and migrants from these two nations were predicted to relocate to South Africa through the Great Lakes and some neighboring South African countries. Ethiopians made up the bulk, although there were also 6,000 Somalis.<sup>14</sup>

#### *C. Feeble economic progress*

The study shows that following a brief contraction in the 2019 first quarter, the economy of South Africa avoided a downturn in the second quarter, increasing by 3.1 percent. However, despite the comeback, the situation remained unstable. The country has a robust infrastructure, critical mining and industrial industries, and well-developed financial institutions, as Africa's second-largest economy. However, progress

---

<sup>14</sup> Christopher Horwood, 'Smuggled South', no. March (2017).

has been hampered by structural barriers such as corruption, low investment levels, and a scarcity of high-end talent. As a result, some experts predict that the economy will stagnate later on, even the time when President Cyril Ramaphosa faces growing pressure to turn around the country's struggling economy.

#### *D. Poverty*

South Africa has a per capita income comparable to Malaysia, Brazil, Botswana, and Mauritius. Despite their relative prosperity, many South African households are impoverished or on the verge of homelessness. Moreover, South Africa's significant income distribution may be the most unequal in the world. Despite substantial improvements over the past five years, many South African households still lack access to potable water, electricity, health care, and education. As in many other nations, multiple factors contribute to the inability of many people to meet their basic needs, while a small minority enjoys excessive wealth. In South Africa, the impact of institutionalized prejudice was essential in this scenario. Worse, the disadvantage cycle begins much earlier in childhood, highlighting poverty's complexity, systemic nature, and disadvantage.

Poverty resulting from a weak economy is the most significant problem in the world. One of poverty's most apparent universal characteristics is that a lack of voice and power characterizes the lives of people experiencing poverty. The President of Brazil, Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva, stated in one of his speeches at a three-day United Nations conference in Italy that extreme poverty is the most destructive weapon of mass destruction on earth because it kills innocent people, including infants as young as one year old.

#### *E. Elevated Unemployment Condition*

For a long time, work, war, and trade have all pushed foreign migrants into southern Africa, which led to fewer job availability.<sup>15</sup> We discovered that unemployment is another significant problem in South Africa. Many people criticize immigrants for stealing jobs and contributing to high unemployment rates. Nonetheless, joblessness is so widespread in South Africa that South Africa's unemployment rate increased to 34.9 percent in the third quarter of 2021, up from 34.4 percent in the previous quarter. Following the July unrest and the still-enforced lockdown, it was the highest unemployment rate since comparable statistics began in 2008.<sup>16</sup>

South Africa is having difficulty attracting residents to the labor market. The assaults are focused on the expanding unemployment situation. This dilemma should be considered ethical, requiring a moral response that politicians cannot handle alone. To borrow Hobbes' phrase, we believe that the current state of conflict is only a

---

<sup>15</sup> Christopher Changwe Nshimbi and Lorenzo Fioramonti, 'The Will to Integrate: South Africa's Responses to Regional Migration from the SADC Region', *African Development Review* 26, no. S1 (2014): 52–63, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8268.12092>.

<sup>16</sup> Trading Economics, 'South Africa Unemployment Rate | 2021 Data | 2022 Forecast | 2000-2020 Historical', 2021, <https://tradingeconomics.com/south-africa/unemployment-rate>.

symptom of the crisis and dissatisfaction most South Africans, particularly Black people, are experiencing.<sup>17</sup>

It is critical to remember that most foreigners were on their own when South Africans were provided the social safety net and basic facilities. Although employment and government housing rivalry is commonly suggested as xenophobia drivers in South Africa, the data is equivocal. Post-secondary education reduces xenophobia, but withdrawal from the job market during peak working years increases it, but only among black respondents. On the other hand, our findings support the mobilization concept through people's social and collaborative networks, which has been mainly overlooked in previous research. On the other hand, participation in politics and attendance at community assemblies are linked to greater xenophobia.<sup>18</sup>

#### *F. Foreigners and crime*

Despite the absence of evidence to support such assertions, crimes in South Africa have been linked to undocumented immigrants for numerous years. It is nothing new to blame illegal foreign immigrants for corruption in South Africa. According to Gauteng Provincial Commissioner Lieutenant-General Delive de Lange of the South African Police Service (SAPS), over sixty percent of those detained for severe offenses are illegal immigrants. For example, murder and aggravated robbery are the most severe violent crimes affecting the citizens of Gauteng. Due to their higher reporting rates than other violent crime categories, they are statistically the most reliable types of violent crime. Police report aggravated robberies when an armed offender threatens or employs violent behavior against a complainant to get their property.

According to Claassen C, the frustration-aggression mechanism underpins all of the beliefs supported by this study: relative deprivation, absolute deprivation, and anger with the government. Being destitute, whether whole or close, and feeling the government is distant, inattentive, or underperforming can contribute to irritability. It appears that dissatisfaction is one of the effects of being unemployed while still working, which he suggested as a test for the theory of labor market competitiveness.

Foreigners, particularly illegal immigrants, have been accused of violence in the main cities of South Africa with police and politicians. With the record of more than 21,000 people being murdered in 2019, the country has a serious crime problem. Sexual crimes, assaults, and robberies have grown in recent years, as has public awareness of violence against women. Notwithstanding this, experts believe that it is hard to conclude that foreigners perpetrate most of these violent crimes as police did not disclose the complete information on the actual nationalities of those detained and, in most of the cases, it is not apparent who the perpetrators are.<sup>19</sup>

---

<sup>17</sup> Mojalefa Lehlohonolo and Johannes Koenane, 'Xenophobic Attacks in South Africa : An Ethical Response - Have We Lost the Xenophobic Attacks in South Africa : An Ethical Response – Have We Lost the Underlying Spirit of Ubuntu ?', no. September 2013 (2015).

<sup>18</sup> Christopher Claassen, 'Explaining South African Xenophobia', *SSRN Electronic Journal*, no. 173 (2017), <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2974065>.

<sup>19</sup> Claassen.

## V. XENOPHOBIA REALITY IN OTHER AFRICAN NATIONS

Conflict related to immigrants in Africa is a complex phenomenon involving various social, economic, political, and cultural factors. In some areas of Africa, large-scale movements of immigrants have occurred, which can trigger tensions and conflicts. One example is the conflict in Libya, where immigrants from various Sub-Saharan countries attempted to cross the Mediterranean to reach Europe. They often face challenging conditions, including torture, illegal detention, and inhumane treatment.

Immigrant problems can also be related to limited resources, economic competition, and threats to jobs for residents. Economic reasons can trigger complex conflicts in Africa as the region often faces ongoing challenges of poverty, inequality, and limited access to resources. High levels of economic inequality, where a small number of individuals or groups own significant wealth while a large proportion of the population faces economic hardship, can generate feelings of discontent that have the potential to trigger protests and demonstrations.

In addition, low levels of decent employment and limited economic opportunities lead to livelihood insecurity, creating conditions prone to frustration and anxiety.<sup>20</sup> Fierce competition over natural resources such as land, water, and minerals can also create conflict between groups competing to control these resources. Inequalities in access to public services such as education and health can also create gaps between groups in society, resulting in dissatisfaction with and resistance to the government. In the face of this challenge, broad and coordinated efforts are needed to address the economic issues underlying the conflict, emphasizing reducing inequalities, creating inclusive economic opportunities, and improving access to social services.

These factors can trigger social reactions, including protests and confrontations between immigrant groups and local communities. In this context, handling immigrant conflicts in Africa requires a comprehensive approach, including efforts to protect the human rights of immigrants, address the causes of mass movements, and promote dialogue and understanding between different groups. On the other hand, the reality in Africa marks how racial equality should be the basis for integration and harmony in society. Still, ironically, in some cases, racial equality can lead to conflict. This condition is especially the case when people experience economic, social, or political threats that make them feel threatened by other racial or ethnic groups.

In the African context, for example, this problem sometimes arises when there is a large-scale movement of immigrants from Sub-Saharan countries to North African countries. Despite physical racial similarities, cultural, language, and social background differences can create perceptions of inequality and competition. Political issues are complex in creating conflicts in Africa because this region often faces governance, government stability, and fair political participation challenges. Political instability,

---

<sup>20</sup> Chisadza, C., & Clance, M. (2021). Conflict heterogeneity in Africa. *South African Journal of Economics*, 89(4), 459-479. <https://doi.org/10.1111/saje.12297>

frequent changes of government, and weak governance issues can create loopholes in which conflict can grow and develop. When power is contested or an unfair distribution of power occurs, this can trigger competition between political groups, potentially leading to larger-scale conflicts.

In addition, unequal access to political participation and disconnection between the government and civil society can also create a sense of discontent and alienation among the people.<sup>21</sup> When certain groups feel left out in the decision-making process or feel that their aspirations are not well represented, this can create a catalyst for political conflict. Another factor exacerbating political problems is the uncertainty in law implementation and lack of transparency in governance. Lack of law and order and rampant corruption can result in distrust of government and institutions, leading to conflict between communities and government.

In this context, conflicts related to political issues require comprehensive efforts to build strong democratic institutions, increase governance transparency, and ensure fair participation for all groups in society. By creating an inclusive and just political environment, the potential for conflict can be minimized, and stability and peace in Africa can be increased. However, with Africa's current political economy system, good governance must be seen as an alternative without eliminating cultural locality.

The cultural diversity in Africa needs to be deeply reflected on: as a source of invaluable wealth; it can also exacerbate the reality of conflict in various ways. Differences in ethnicity, cultural identity, and tradition often create boundaries that sometimes trigger tensions between groups in society. The solid ethnic sentiments and nationalism often associated with cultural identity can quickly trigger conflict, especially in political uncertainty or economic inequality.

Religious differences can also create friction and tension, even religious conflicts that often deepen significant social conflicts. Political manipulation of cultural differences, such as nationalist rhetoric or exclusionary identities, can also exacerbate tensions.<sup>22</sup> Concrete examples of conflicts formed due to cultural differences in Africa illustrate the complexity and impact on regional stability.<sup>23</sup> The feud between the Dinka and Nuer ethnicities in South Sudan, colored by cultural and historical differences, has led to prolonged conflict. Competition over political power and access to resources has deepened tensions between these groups, resulting in armed conflicts that have far-reaching effects on civilian populations.

The Democratic Republic of the Congo is also a stage for conflict fueled by cultural differences. Competition over abundant mineral resources, such as tantalum and gold, has fueled confrontations between ethnic groups. This conflict was exacerbated by political instability and legal uncertainty, creating an environment

---

<sup>21</sup> Ityavyar, D. A., & Ogba, L. O. (1988). Violence, conflict and health in Africa. *Social Science & Medicine*, 28(7), 649-657. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0277-9536\(89\)90212-8](https://doi.org/10.1016/0277-9536(89)90212-8)

<sup>22</sup> Eghosa E. Osaghae (1994) The persistence of conflict in Africa: Management failure or endemic catastrophe?, *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 2:1, 85-103, DOI: 10.1080/10220469409545119

<sup>23</sup> Sigmann, Clayton E. (2019) "Analysis of Causal Factors to Conflict in Africa," *McNair Scholars Research Journal*: Vol. 12, Article 6. Available at: <https://commons.emich.edu/mcnair/vol12/iss1/6>

susceptible to further escalation. Meanwhile, conflict between Christian and Muslim religious groups in Nigeria has created a complex situation. Attacks by the terrorist group Boko Haram, which seeks to apply a radical interpretation of Islam, have sparked violence between religious communities. This cultural and religious tension is detrimental to national stability and undermines the social order in various regions. These three examples underscore how cultural differences can fuel and deepen African conflict.

In other parts of Africa, South Africa has been in the limelight for a long time regarding xenophobia toward fellow Africans. Still, other countries, such as Lesotho, Zimbabwe, and Angola, have also been highlighted as having xenophobic behaviors. Due to Zimbabwe's political and economic conditions, Botswana is experiencing an influx of migrants. The inflow of Zimbabweans has strained surrounding nations' resources, resulting in unfavorable energy exchange between residents and visitors. On one side, Botswana accuses Zimbabweans of stealing local employment and contributing to wage stagnation by accepting poor pay. Some Botswana have even blamed immigrants for the rise in crime rates. Regular and high-ranking government officials have stated these opinions, occasionally reflected in official papers.<sup>24</sup>

On the other hand, foreigners are accused of introducing and increasing crime in Lesotho. Involvement in various illegal activities, including laundering money, drug smuggling, and acquiring counterfeit passports, has given immigrants a terrible national and international reputation. Due to drug trafficking, fraudulent transactions, and deceptive economic practices, Nigerians are viewed with mistrust and suspicion.

Between January and December 2002, eighteen Nigerians were deported, primarily for illegally obtaining Lesotho passports to travel to the United States, the United Kingdom, and other European countries. South Africa and Botswana suggest that globalization and citizenship are highly hierarchical and inequitable processes that affect individuals and communities differently based on race, ethnicity, class, gender, and geography as modern accumulation centers in a continent beset by severe economic recessions and uncertainties.

In contrast with other Nations in Africa, particularly Angola, immigrants from West Africa have been subjected to a bombardment of violence, stigmatization, and human rights abuses. The arrests may be linked to ethnic and religious discrimination because most of those detained are Muslims from Guinea, Mauritania, Mali, and Senegal. According to witnesses, immigration services have encircled mosques. On the other hand, Human Rights Watch was reported to have instructed the Angolan government to immediately refuse to return migrants from the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and to conduct an impartial investigation into complaints of state security personnel mistreatment.

---

<sup>24</sup> Gwen N Lesetedi and Tirelo Modie-Moroka, 'Reverse Xenophobia: Immigrants' Attitudes Towards Citizens in Botswana', *African Migrations Workshop: Understanding Migration Dynamics in the Continent*, no. 267 (2007): September 18-21, 2007.

In October 2018, 400,000 people were forcibly repatriated or expelled from Angola during an operation targeting illegal diamond mining in the Lunda Norte region. According to the United Nations, at least six Congolese were shot and killed by Angolan security officials and Tshokwe youth allies during the operation in the neighboring Lunda North district. According to witnesses, humanitarian agencies, and media reports, many migrants and refugees who crossed the border into Congo accused Angolan security forces of beatings, sexual assault, burning down homes, looting and destruction of property, illegal taxation, arbitrary detention, and other abuses. At Lunda Norte, they also reported a horrifying and dangerous environment.

Even now, some components of hate speech are ongoing, which will most likely fuel the attack again. Human rights experts issued a statement in which "Operation Dudula" was cited as an example of hate speech. Operation Dudula began as a social media campaign but has since evolved into an overarching concept for organizing violent rallies, thug violence, arsons against foreign businesses and homes, and even the murder of foreign individuals.

The experts warned that the ongoing xenophobic movement is expanding and becoming more ubiquitous and has become the primary campaign strategy for several political parties in the country. However, prominent government leaders' anti-immigrant rhetoric has stoked the flames of violence. Government actors have failed to prevent future violence or hold criminals accountable for their acts.<sup>25</sup>

In South Africa, xenophobia has been reignited due to the August 2022 rape of eight women in mine waste in Krugersdorp. The women were shooting a music video when they were attacked by a large group of men, robbed, and sexually assaulted. The incident caused widespread outrage among the general populace. Mobs in Krugersdorp and the surrounding areas assisted the police in identifying and apprehending more than one hundred offenders during raids. Blaming crime on migrants, some perpetrators are unauthorized immigrants from Lesotho and other countries in the region. In Krugersdorp, mobs burnt shacks inhabited by African immigrants from neighboring areas. Others were stripped naked and paraded through the streets while others were beaten.<sup>26</sup>

The past few years have been very risky for African immigrants in South Africa. Furthermore, if history is any indication, things will get worse. People claiming to be members of the African National Congress's Umkhonto we Sizwe Army Veterans Association pulled out the most vicious assault in January 2021. According to the report, the perpetrators demanded that undocumented immigrants leave the country and that jobs and companies be reserved for South Africans.

In the first week of February 2021, many spaza shop owners protested after five Somali store owners were shot in suspected robberies in Nelson Mandela Bay over one week. All four of them were deceased. According to the store owners, law enforcement

---

<sup>25</sup> UN News, 'South Africa "on the Precipice of Explosive Xenophobic Violence", UN Experts Warn', 2022, <https://news.un.org/en/story/2022/07/1122612>.

<sup>26</sup> Thuso Khumalo, 'Stubborn Xenophobia in South African Society', *DW*, 18 August 2022, <https://www.dw.com/en/the-stubborn-xenophobia-in-south-african-society/a-62809345>.



has been unable to investigate and prosecute gangs who abuse business owners who refuse to pay protection money.<sup>27</sup>

Refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa continue to dread xenophobic violence in a nation where migrants are frequently targeted based on their nationality. Ahead of the November municipal elections in South Africa, refugees and migrants are concerned that politicians would use them as a scapegoat for inadequate service delivery. They have been accused of committing crimes, depriving indigenous people of opportunities, and straining social services.<sup>28</sup>

South African refugees and asylum seekers continue to dread xenophobic violence in a country where migrants are frequently targeted based on nationality. Ahead of the November municipal elections in South Africa, refugees and migrants are concerned that politicians would exploit them as scapegoats for inadequate service delivery. Refugees and migrants have been accused of committing crimes, robbing natives of their opportunities, and even putting pressure on social services.

Excluding migrant workers from COVID-19 response programs or implementing differential programs to restrict their mobility to protect nationals results from xenophobic sentiments and systems. This situation reinforces public perceptions that migrant workers are a threat rather than a victim. COVID-19 is a virus that has been circulating in the Americas since 2009. This precarious position exposes them to health risks, repeating the cycle of xenophobia and danger. Given the rising levels of xenophobia, violence, harassment, and societal tensions, it is crucial to preserve the human rights of migrant workers and international labor standards during the pandemic.<sup>29</sup>

The United Nations honored the twentieth anniversary of adopting the Durban Declaration and Programme of Action on September 22, 2021, by organizing a meeting of Heads of State and Government and representatives of States and Governments at UN Headquarters in New York. The purpose of the gathering was to remember "United against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia, and associated intolerance." Reiterate that the Durban Declaration and Programme of Action adopted in 2001, the Durban Review Conference result document, adopted in 2009, and their follow-up procedures at all levels, as well as the Political Declaration made to commemorate the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Durban Declaration.

Program of Action provides a comprehensive UN framework and firm foundation for combating racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia, and related intolerance,

---

<sup>27</sup> Godfrey Mulaudzi, Lizette Lancaster, and Gabriel Hertis, 'Busting South Africa's Xenophobic Myths Starts at Grassroots', ISS Africa, 12 April 2021, <https://issafrica.org/iss-today/busting-south-africas-xenophobic-myths-starts-at-grassroots>.

<sup>28</sup> Hassan Isilow, 'Refugees in South Africa Still Live in Fear of Xenophobic Attacks', 2021, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/life/refugees-in-south-africa-still-live-in-fear-of-xenophobic-attacks/2280537>.

<sup>29</sup> Jenna Hennebry and Hari KC, 'Quarantined! Xenophobia and Migrant Workers during the COVID-19 Pandemic', 2020, 1–12.

advancing and defending civil and human rights and fundamental freedoms.<sup>30</sup> The committee claims to be worried about the rise of racism, xenophobia, stigmatization, discrimination, hate speech, stereotypes, racial profiling, violence, and intolerance against various groups, including but not limited to Africans and those descended from Africans, Asians and those descended from Asians, indigenous peoples, and other racial, ethnic, linguistic, and religious minorities.<sup>31</sup>

## VI. LEARN FROM AFRICAN CONFLICT

In the cases in Africa, conflicts can arise for several reasons. First, there is competition for limited resources such as jobs, housing, and social services. Immigrants who come seeking better life opportunities can be perceived as competitors in the competition for these resources, which can trigger a negative response from the local community. Second, economic issues also play a role. Societies already facing economic hardship may feel that immigrants are creating additional pressure on social infrastructure and services, which can lead to tensions. Third, issues of culture and identity can also affect perceptions and attitudes. Local people may be concerned that immigrants are bringing changes in culture or values that have the potential to threaten local identity. Fourth, populist politics and rhetoric can also exacerbate the situation. Political leaders or certain groups can take advantage of public uncertainty and anxiety to mobilize support by blaming immigrants as the source of the problem.

Preventing racial equality and promoting an inclusive approach that recognizes diversity and builds cooperation across groups is essential. This idea involves community education, inclusive economic development, and efforts to reduce stigmatization and stereotypes that can fuel tensions. In addition, international support and regional cooperation can also play a role in overcoming conflicts arising from racial equality, which should bring togetherness and understanding.

It is essential to take preventive measures that include intercultural education, dialogue between different groups, and developing policies promoting inclusion and unity. Through collaborative efforts and a deep understanding of cultural differences, conflicts rooted in cultural aspects can be overcome to create sustainable peace. A solution to addressing the cultural issues that fuel conflict in Africa involves an approach focused on intercultural education, open dialogue, and building policies that respect and integrate cultural differences to promote peace, inclusion, and unity.

This research recommends that land policy reforms are needed to solve these challenges. It is proposed that South Africa and its exporting nations concentrate on informal settlements through systematic land reforms. As opposed to land market

---

<sup>30</sup> Durban Declaration et al., 'High-Level Meeting to Commemorate the Twentieth Anniversary of the Adoption of the Durban Declaration and Programme of Action : " Reparations , Racial Justice and Equality for People of African Descent "', no. September (2021): 1-4.

<sup>31</sup> High-level Conference, 'Protection from Racial Discrimination and Related Intolerance High Level Conference', 2021, 1-4.

reforms, state-assisted land reforms are more likely to aid the shift of the large part of the land owned from the rich to the poor, who constitute the majority of the population.

An exercise like this might benefit people experiencing poverty in informal communities. The legal foundation for the proposed land reforms to South African citizens is based on the notion that the law, in all cultures, can help to stabilize the current social structure and produce the appearance of fairness and respect by requiring the reallocation of resources to the proposed land reforms.

Like any other region, corruption has been a significant roadblock for many African countries, indirectly influencing the 2019 xenophobic incidents. Corruption carries a bad reputation not just in South Africa but also in the exporting nations. Many people view corruption as a moral failure. According to the World Bank, "corruption" is defined as "the misuse of government power for personal gain". Politicians work to create a clientele-based organization where administrative choices are made to benefit their friends. Instead of defending people experiencing poverty, those sworn to protect them have become complicit in organized looting. Poverty and xenophobia are exacerbated by corruption. This analysis has to be addressed as foreigners have been poorly treated by the South African Police Service, who consider them as moving banks from where they may have collected money.<sup>32</sup>

Even though it is impossible to know what would have happened without international agencies, such as UNHCR initiatives, the levels of ongoing violence and the general unsustainability of many programs indicate that the current campaigns have not achieved their maximum impact nor made the best use of available resources. Although it is hard to predict what would have transpired without international organizations, particularly UNHCR activities, this is the case. Even if some individuals use these complaints as an excuse to divert their efforts elsewhere, the United Nations and other international organizations have a pivotal role in permanently ending this problem. More activities and interventions are aimed at assisting them, as well as a demand to reassess its partnerships, the premises on which it operates, and the periods and methods it follows for implementing its policies.<sup>33</sup>

## VII. CONCLUSION

Following this interpretation and discussion of the facts, the study reaches the following conclusions: Firstly, the proposed treatment for solving xenophobia is cost-effective. When unemployment and poverty decreased, and the economic viewpoint improved, there would surely be a corresponding decrease in xenophobia. However, political games and hate speeches significantly influence the conflict's development, and the focus has to be on governance traits that encourage xenophobic violence.

---

<sup>32</sup> Loren B. Landau, 'Urbanisation, Nativism, and the Rule of Law in South Africa's "Forbidden" Cities', 2004.

<sup>33</sup> Jean Pierre Misago, Iriann Freemantle, and Loren B Landau, 'Protection from Xenophobia: An Evaluation of UNHCR's Regional Office for Southern Africa's Xenophobia Related Programmes', *UNHCR*, 2015.

Nonetheless, if the government cared more about its residents and fulfilled its local service delivery duties more efficiently, xenophobic assaults would be reduced, if not eliminated. Africans are one in nature. There should not be this fighting over the owned land; instead, leaders and communities should sit together and discuss the way forward toward the hate and killing of fellow Africans.

Finally, it is time for South African Immigrants to put their words into action; the South African Immigration Act requires that "immigration control is carried out following the highest possible human rights protection standards." Human rights organizations should also directly act against the South African government, pressing them to stop the attacks immediately. Nelson Mandela, who fought for South Africa's independence and is known as the father of the country, once said, "*No one is born hating another person because of the color of his skin, background, or religion. People must learn to hate, and if they can learn to hate, they can be taught to love, for love comes more naturally to the human heart than its opposite*".

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENT

None

#### FUNDING

None

#### CONFLICTING INTEREST

None

#### REFERENCES

- BBC News Reality Check Team. 'South Africa: How Common Are Xenophobic Attacks?' *BBC News*, 2020. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-47800718>.
- Claassen, Christopher. 'Explaining South African Xenophobia'. *SSRN Electronic Journal*, no. 173 (2017). <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2974065>.
- Durban Declaration,, United Nations, General Assembly, Concept Note, Racial Discrimination, South Africa, Member States, and The Durban Declaration. 'High-Level Meeting to Commemorate the Twentieth Anniversary of the Adoption of the Durban Declaration and Programme of Action : " Reparations , Racial Justice and Equality for People of African Descent "', no. September (2021): 1-4.
- Fayomi, Oluyemi, Felix Chidozie, and Charles Ayo. 'A Retrospective Study of the Effects of Xenophobia on South Africa-Nigeria Relations', 2004.
- Hennebry, Jenna, and Hari KC. 'Quarantined! Xenophobia and Migrant Workers during the COVID-19 Pandemic', 2020, 1-12.
- Horwood, Christopher. 'Smuggled South', no. March (2017).

- 'Identity and Migration Studies'. *Sociology The Journal Of The British Sociological Association* 2, no. 2 (2008).
- Ilesanmi, OO. 'Xenophobic Attacks And Other Violence In South Africa: A Challenge To World Peace'. *IFE Psychologia* 16, no. 3 (2008). <https://doi.org/10.4314/ifep.v16i3.23793>.
- Isilow, Hassan. 'Refugees in South Africa Still Live in Fear of Xenophobic Attacks', 2021. <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/life/refugees-in-south-africa-still-live-in-fear-of-xenophobic-attacks/2280537>.
- Khumalo, Thuso. 'Stubborn Xenophobia in South African Society'. *DW*, 18 August 2022. <https://www.dw.com/en/the-stubborn-xenophobia-in-south-african-society/a-62809345>.
- Landau, L., B. 2004. Urbanization, Nationalism and the Rule of Law in South Africa's Forbidden Cities, written submission from Forced Migration Studies Programme, University of Witwatersrand.
- Landau, L, B. and Jacobson, K . 2004. "Refugees in the New Johannesburg" in *Forced Migration Review*. Vol 19:44-46. 1.
- Lehlohonolo, Mojalefa, and Johannes Koenane. 'Xenophobic Attacks in South Africa : An Ethical Response - Have We Lost the Xenophobic Attacks in South Africa : An Ethical Response – Have We Lost the Underlying Spirit of Ubuntu?', no. September 2013 (2015).
- Lesetedi, Gwen N, and Tirelo Modie-Moroka. 'Reverse Xenophobia: Immigrants' Attitudes Towards Citizens in Botswana'. *African Migrations Workshop: Understanding Migration Dynamics in the Continent*, no. 267 (2007): September 18-21, 2007.
- Misago, Jean Pierre, Iriann Freemantle, and Loren B Landau. 'Protection from Xenophobia: An Evaluation of UNHCR's Regional Office for Southern Africa's Xenophobia Related Programmes'. *UNHCR*, 2015.
- Mulaudzi, Godfrey, Lizette Lancaster, and Gabriel Hertis. 'Busting South Africa's Xenophobic Myths Starts at Grassroots'. *ISS Africa*, 12 April 2021. <https://issafrica.org/iss-today/busting-south-africas-xenophobic-myths-starts-at-grassroots>.
- Newham, Gareth. 'Do Foreigners Really Commit SA's Most Violent Crimes?' *ISS Africa*, 29 November 2017. <https://issafrica.org/iss-today/do-foreigners-really-commit-sas-most-violent-crimes>.
- Nshimbi, Christopher Changwe, and Lorenzo Fioramonti. 'The Will to Integrate: South Africa's Responses to Regional Migration from the SADC Region'. *African Development Review* 26, no. S1 (2014): 52–63. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8268.12092>.
- Ogunnoiki, Adeleke Olumide. 'Xenophobic Violence in South Africa and the Reactions in Nigeria'. *Covenant University Journal of Politics & Internationall Affair* 7, no. 2 (2019).
- Parliament of the Republic of South Africa. (2008). Report of the task team of members of Parliament probing violence and attacks on foreign nationals.
- 'Protection from Racial Discrimination and Related Intolerance High Level Conference', 2021, 1–4.

- South African Human Rights Commission. (2010). Report on the SAHRC investigation into issues of the rule of law, justice and impunity arising out of the 2008 public violence against nonnationals.
- Steinberg, J. (2008). South Africa's xenophobic eruption. Institute for Security Studies Paper 169. Institute for Security Studies, Johannesburg.
- Trading Economics. 'South Africa Unemployment Rate | 2021 Data | 2022 Forecast | 2000-2020 Historical', 2021. <https://tradingeconomics.com/south-africa/unemployment-rate>.
- United Nations Human Rights. 'When Does Xenophobia Increase?', no. September (2013): 1-2.
- UN News. 'South Africa "on the Precipice of Explosive Xenophobic Violence", UN Experts Warn', 2022. <https://news.un.org/en/story/2022/07/1122612>.