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Review Article

Fear of the Stranger: Confronting Xenophobia in a Globalized World

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Abstract
Human migration has shaped society throughout generations as a result of interactions, trade and exchanges. Nevertheless, although beneficial in numerous ways, migration elicits fear, hostility, and sometimes violent reaction to foreigners or migrants. This paper defines xenophobia, which denotes the fear and hatred directed towards people who do not belong to one particular community, tribe or culture. It discusses the origins of xenophobia within the context of globalization and explains the phenomenon of migration in terms of its evolution over time, including the different forms it assumes. Particular emphasis is placed on South Africa and its recurrent xenophobic tendencies that contradict the country's democratic values and history. Indeed, South Africa's reputation as an inclusive nation has been tarnished by xenophobic attitudes towards immigrants who play an important role in its economic development. Thus, the negative effects of globalization include heightened interdependencies among people from different parts of the world and a parallel increase in the feeling of insecurity and xenophobia, especially in developing countries like South Africa. Lastly, xenophobia is a clear breach of human rights, and is an infringement on the dignity and equality of individualsThe solution to xenophobia necessitates a response from society that upholds universal human rights principles and inclusivity.
Keywords: Migration, Xenophobia, Globalization, Human Rights

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1. INTRODUCTION

Migration has always been a hallmark of civilization throughout the history of man.[1] Long before the existence of modern nation-states, mankind was migrating from one place to another in search of food, security, business, freedom of religion, and a better way of life.[2] The history of mankind itself can be described as a journey. Over hundreds of years, the interactions between different groups of people led to the rise of the cities, empires, and nations.[3] While this has been the case historically, migration has often caused mistrust and enmity.[4] Outsiders have been seen as the source of all kinds of societal ills. This sentiment has been around since time immemorial, although in recent times it has been more pronounced through xenophobia.

Xenophobia is derived from two Greek words, xenos meaning stranger or foreigner, and phobos, which means fear.[5] Thus, xenophobia can be loosely defined as fear, prejudice, hatred, or discrimination against foreigners or people who appear alien to society. Despite varying levels of xenophobia in different societies, its consequences can be dire,

[1] F Obeng-Odoom, *Global Migration Beyond Limits: Ecology, Economics, and Political Economy* (Oxford University Press, 2022), 134.
[2] *Ibid*
[3] *Ibid*
[4] M.J. da Silva Rebelo, M. Fernández and C. Meneses, 'Societies' hostility, anger and mistrust towards migrants: A vicious circle' [2021] (21)(5) *Journal of Social Work* 1142–1162.
[5] Rebecca M. Kulik, 'Xenophobia' [2025] *Encyclopedia Britannica*https://www.britannica.com/science/xenophobia accessed 1 June 2026.

ranging from social isolation, hate speech, discriminative legislation, mobbing, forced resettlement, and even genocide in extreme cases.[6]Present-day xenophobia manifests itself in various parts of the world. In Europe, xenophobic political movements have emerged as a result of refugee and immigration debates.[7] Immigration is a very sensitive and political issue in the USA. In Asia, minorities and internally displaced communities have been systematically discriminated against.

In Africa, outbreaks of xenophobic violence have occurred in the past, especially in South Africa.[8] Attacks on immigrants from other African countries and a new wave of xenophobia in South Africa has once again brought this phenomenon into public attention.[9] Paradoxically, the victims of such attacks often come from states which had actively helped South Africa during the fight against apartheid.[10] Thus, many critical issues relating to African solidarity, human rights protection, regional integration, and peaceful coexistence of people in culturally diverse societies arise. These phenomena, of course, are not confined to South Africa. They reflect certain trends and challenges that affect global community as a whole. These also require governments, international organizations, and civil society organizations to craft an effective response that considers both the interest of states as well as human dignity and human rights.

1.1 Globalization, Migration and Human Mobility

Globalization is one of the characteristics of the twenty-first century. Transportation development, advances in communications, international commerce, and the Internet have brought humanity closer together like never before.[11] In today's world, people can communicate with each other regardless of location, transfer money overseas almost immediately, and travel around the globe with greater ease.[12]Businesses are based in multiple States, colleges do not discriminate between international students, and economies depend on international migration.[13] In this manner, globalization has ensured the free movement of people around the world. They move from country to country for employment, studies, family reunification, profit, or to escape the risks in their home country.[14] International migration statistics claim that hundreds of millions of people reside in other countries than their own.[15]

However, there are critical issues surrounding globalization. Globalization has resulted in unequal distribution of wealth, and in economic imbalances. It is a fact that innovations

[6] M.B. Doğan and R. AyataKüçükbükücü, 'Silent prejudices: exploring xenophobic attitudes and predictors among university students' [2025] (25)(1) *BMC Public Health* 3086.
[7]DilshodMuydinov, 'The Main Problems of Today's Migration Processes in Europe: Migration as a Political Tool' [2020] (1)(11) *Vergentis. Revista de Investigación de la CátedraInternacionalConjuntaInocencio III* 47–60
[8] Emmanuel Ochogwu, Shaibu Umar Abdul and Ruth Caleb Luka, 'Xenophobic Attacks on Nigerians in South Africa and Their Implication for Nigeria–South Africa Diplomatic Relations: An Exploratory Study, 2008–2024' [2025] *International Journal of Research and Innovation in Social Science (IJRISS)*https://dx.doi.org/10.47772/IJRISS.2025.908000077
[9]*Ibid*
[10]*Ibid*
[11] N. Alkharafi and M. Alsabah, 'Globalization: An Overview of Its Main Characteristics and Types, and an Exploration of Its Impacts on Individuals, Firms, and Nations' [2025] (13) *Economies* 91
[12]*Ibid* 92
[13]*Ibid* 92
[14] L Daiyabu and M Hassan, 'Developmental Diplomacy in a Globalized World: The Imperatives of Soft Power in Nigeria's External Relations under the Transformation Agenda of President Goodluck Jonathan', *Journal of International Affairs and Global Strategy*, [2015], 28 6.
[15] 'International Migrants: Numbers and Trends' [2024] *World Migration Report, Chapter 2*https://worldmigrationreport.iom.int/what-we-do/world-migration-report-2024/chapter-2/international-migrants-numbers-and-trends accessed 1 June 2026.

have transformed labour markets.[16] The rise in global temperature has resulted in environmental disasters and mass migrations. Millions of people continue to flee their homes as a result of wars leading to increased waves of migration, frequently with repercussions for host countries.[17]Migrants are often perceived as job takers, criminals, and excessive users of public services and as a threat to national identity.[18]These myths are however far from reality, but are nonetheless influential politically. Economic difficulties and unemployment create a fertile breeding ground for anti-migration ideologies.

For instance, in a society where there is high unemployment, people will be likely to notice the emergence of many enterprises owned by foreigners. Instead of looking at deeper issues regarding why there is such high unemployment such as lack of good governance, weak education policies, corruption, or even economic instability, individuals might think that the foreigners have caused all their problems. Such a feeling could very easily escalate into hatred or hostility.[19] It becomes much worse when politicians manipulate the situation by playing into these fears.This explains the paradox of globalization. Even though globalization has been hailed for promoting interdependence between people, it has also led to situations where fear about identity, belonging, and competition emerges. Grasping this paradox is imperative to understanding modern xenophobia.

2. UNDERSTANDING XENOPHOBIA IN A GLOBALIZED WORLD

2.1 Conceptual Clarification of Xenophobia

Across many nations, South Africa included, immigrants are frequently subjected to prejudice, discrimination, hostility, and even violence.[20] Despite official denials,[21] xenophobic attacks remain a persistent and destabilizing challenge to human security in post-apartheid South Africa, with black African migrants bearing the brunt. Xenophobia (understood as prejudice, exclusion, and at times outright hostility toward those perceived as outsiders) is often directed at immigrant communities.[22] Although migration has historically been central to regional integration and economic survival, migrants in South Africa continue to encounter exclusion and hostility, expressed both in everyday discrimination and in periodic violent outbreaks.[23] These episodes, often portrayed as spontaneous unrest or criminal activity, are in fact rooted in structural inequality, governance shortcomings, and identity-based tensions. Major waves of violence in 2008, 2015, and 2019 led to deaths, displacement, and severe disruption of livelihoods, exposing deep vulnerabilities in urban governance and national security systems.[24]Although xenophobia is commonly referred to in the context of hostility to foreigners, the reality goes far beyond. Specifically, xenophobia refers to fear, mistrust, discrimination, or hostility towards those who are considered to be aliens in a certain

[16] Bart Los, 'Globalisation and labour market inequalities' [2025] *Technology*, *Globalisation and Migration* in *Economics 2025* 36–51
[17] *Ibid* 40
[18] *Ibid* 40
[19] A.M. Adejo, 'Poverty in the Land of Plenty' [2006] (1)(2) NUBESS Journal of Contemporary Issues. 'Afro Asian Journal of Social Sciences' [2012] (3)(3.4) Quarter IV ISSN: 2229–5313.
[20] C.K. Musuva, 'International migration, xenophobia and the South African State' [2015] Doctoral dissertation, Stellenbosch University 23
[21] S. Gordon, 'Citizens' preferences for tackling xenophobic violence in an African context: A South African case study' [2022] (28)(1) *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* 63.
[22] M.J. Masenya, 'Afrophobia in South Africa: A general perspective of xenophobia' [2017] (14)(1) *Bangladesh Sociological Society* 81.
[23] T.T. Chingono and C. Mbohwa, 'Xenophobia in South Africa: Preparedness, disaster and responses' [2018] *Proceedings of the International Conference on Industrial Engineering and Operations Management*, *Bandung*, *Indonesia*, *March 6–8, 2018*.
[24] United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 'South Africa xenophobia factsheet – 2022' [2022] *UNHCR*.

community, society, or state.[25] Importantly, those who are victims of xenophobia are not necessarily foreigners from a legal perspective. In other words, it is enough that a person is viewed as an outsider by virtue of language, accent, nationality, ethnicity, looks, or lifestyle for being discriminated against.

The main feature of xenophobia is alienation; it is based on the fundamental perception of differences between "us" and "them." Once this difference is established in society, any minor social difference is amplified, and a boundary is drawn.[26] Thus, an outsider ceases to exist as an individual and becomes an alien in his or her own right. In essence, xenophobia occurs on two levels.[27] On an individual level, the phenomenon involves stereotyping, exclusion, verbal attacks, discrimination at work, and the unwillingness to interact with foreigners. At the same time, xenophobia affects the social process at large by influencing policies, politics, mass media, and social movements.[28] In its most violent manifestations, xenophobia involves violence against foreigners, their displacement, destruction of property, and persecutions.

One of the factors for the prevalence of xenophobia remains today is that it often presents itself under the guise of a legitimate discussion on the economic threat, national security concerns, cultural preservation, and immigration policies.[29] It is not a crime to discuss issues on immigration laws, borders, and labor force. Each sovereign nation has the right to control immigration and to take care of its own interests.However, the moment this legitimate discussion turns into hatred towards a particular group of individuals without any reasonable ground and sound policy making, then the issue has already become one of xenophobia.[30] This may be best exemplified by the prevalent day-to-day business activities. Suppose a foreign entrepreneur establishes a small business in a community through sheer effort, determination, longer work hours, and fair pricing schemes. When other businessmen start claiming that foreigners are ruining the local economy, therefore all immigrants must be driven out of town, then this matter has evolved beyond mere economic rivalry and is now considered xenophobia.[31] The problem is not about the behavior of one single person anymore; rather, it's about the negative stereotyping of the entire group of people.

It is clear that xenophobia goes beyond the sphere of personal biases. It is a social reality which may influence laws, institutions, and politics. It has implications for decisions on who will be included in societies and who receives which resources among different social groups.[32] To gain insight into xenophobia, it is important to realize that it does not come up immediately. It takes a long time to grow and is created through the repetition of stories, beliefs and fears, which are eventually introduced into the discourse. In the age of globalization, xenophobia poses serious challenges.[33] The closer different communities become in terms of their contacts with one another, the more often their members meet people who come from other places. Encounters like these can lead to understanding, tolerance, and cooperation; however, they can also give rise to fear and aggression

[25] L.D. Nemakonde, O. Kunguma and J.A. Belle, 'Reframing xenophobic violence as a human security threat: Integrating social conflict into disaster risk governance in South Africa' [2026] *African Security Review* 2
[26] *Ibid* 3
[27] *Ibid* 3
[28] *Ibid* 4
[29] *Ibid* 5
[30] *Ibid* 5
[31] *Ibid* 4
[32] C. Chisadza, 'Xenophobia and quality of life: Evidence from South Africa' [2025] (52)(2) *The Review of Black Political Economy* 257–297.
[33] *Ibid* 259

towards those perceived as foreign elements.[34] Therefore, a study on xenophobia should include considerations of individual attitudes, but also the broader societal, economic and political factors which shape notions of inclusion and exclusion.

2.2 Distinguishing Xenophobia from Racism, Nationalism, and Ethnocentrism

Xenophobia shares some similarities with racism, nationalism, and ethnocentrism, and while these terms can overlap, there should be clear distinctions made between them, which helps prevent confusion and make addressing the issues more effective.

Racism is based on an assumption that one particular race of people is better or worse compared to another one.[35] This idea centers on biological or physical features of races in question. Throughout history, racism was used to justify such practices as slavery, colonialism, and segregation, among other discriminating acts that resulted in subordination of certain races by others. One may become a victim of racism solely due to his or her skin color, facial appearance, or ethnic origin irrespective of nationality or citizenship status.[36] Xenophobia focuses mainly on foreigners and their supposed inferiority to natives of a particular territory.[37] There is certainly a possibility of overlap between these terms, but not all migrants who are targeted are racists' targets simultaneously. For instance, African immigrants in South Africa have suffered from xenophobic violence, where attackers and their victims happen to belong to the same race.[38] This discrimination does not have to do with racial differences per se, but focuses on the nationalityissue. It means that foreign migrants in general, regardless of their race or ethnicity, are potential targets of xenophobia.

Nationalism is quite different from xenophobia despite frequent intersections of these ideas. This term is used to refer to feelings of connection with one's native nation.[39] Moderate nationalism encourages patriotism and civic engagement, but problems arise when nationalist ideas are developed too far and define nations too narrow, which excludes everyone else as outsiders or threats.[40] Xenophobia generally occurs when nationalist attitudes are translated into antagonism towards others that do not appear to be part of the nation.

Ethnocentrism is the assumption that one's culture or social group is better than any other culture. An individual's ethnocentrism involves comparing other societies' cultures with those of one's own society's cultures.[41] The ethnocentric person compares cultures with the values of his or her own culture. Although ethnocentrism may result in xenophobic behavior, it does not always mean hostility towards foreigners, but the problem arises when cultural pride turns into hatred for others.The following examples can be used to explain the difference between these terms: a belief that some races are genetically inferior to other races is racism. When a person thinks that only those citizens who are born in a country deserve to be granted opportunities of earning, this may represent exclusionary nationalism. When someone assumes that other cultures are less advanced since they do not resemble his culture, then that person may be showing

[34] *Ibid* 260
[35] J. Crush and S. Ramachandran, 'Xenophobic violence in South Africa: Denialism, minimalism, realism' [2014] *Migration Policy Series No. 66 (Southern African Migration Programme)* 12.
[36] *Ibid* 11
[37] N. Duncan, 'Reaping the whirlwind: Xenophobic violence in South Africa' [2012] (3)(1) *Global Journal of Community Psychology Practice* 255–271.
[38] *Ibid* 256
[39] D. Mupotsa and D. Kreutzfeldt, 'Xenophobia, nationalism and techniques of difference' [2016] (30)(2) *Agenda* 13–20
[40] *Ibid* 17
[41] M. Yousaf, M. Ahmad, D. Ji, D. Huang and S.H. Raza, 'A cross-cultural comparison of ethnocentrism and the intercultural willingness to communicate between two collectivistic cultures' [2022] (12)(1) *Scientific Reports* 17087

ethnocentrism. When someone wants to expel or harm foreigners just because they are foreigners, he would be acting on his xenophobic tendencies. In practice, however, all these problems tend to be interrelated; racists can be xenophobic, nationalists can discriminate against migrants, etc. However, understanding the differences between these terms is very important for addressing them through different legal means.

2.3 Historical Evolution of Xenophobic Attitudes

Xenophobia is not a new phenomenon of the modern day. Throughout history societies have sometimes been suspicious of outsiders. The phenomenon of splitting up the world into those who belong and those who do not belongs to ancient civilizations, though its manifestation was different from era to era.[42] In ancient civilizations, people usually relied on their identity as a factor that would help them survive. Belonging to tribes and clans, being protected by borders and having strong identities ensured the security of individuals. Strangers were always perceived as a threat because they were unfamiliar and dangerous to society.[43] Although such approach could be helpful in primitive and insular communities, the exclusion from the social environment remained in practice over many generations.[44] With the emergence of civilization and its further development via trading and conquests, various peoples started meeting each other, forming connections andengaging in conflicts. Strangers played an important role in shaping the economy and culture of societies but were often distrusted.

A period of imperialism brought another element of xenophobia. The colonization process was characterized by the hierarchical differentiation between people based on ethnicity and cultural differences.[45] Colonized people were considered inferior and uneducated, lacking the necessary level of civilization for governing themselves. These ideas served as an ideological basis for domination and oppression of colonizers over colonized people.[46] As colonialism and xenophobia are separate notions, the former could contribute to the development of xenophobia because of attitudes towards others that were different. But xenophobic values persisted in the twentieth century, culminating in persecution, deportation, ethnical cleansing and genocide. Xenophobic ideas led to horrific events of World War II, which motivated the international community to establish the modern human rights approach.[47] However, even with all the lessons learned from this experience, xenophobia persisted and continued playing an important role in society. The period after World War II was characterized by various episodes of xenophobia, as economic crises resulted in increased hostility towards immigrants, refugees, and other minorities.[48] People experiencing unemployment blamed foreigners for economic issues and lack of jobs.

Today xenophobia continues developing in another way. With rapid advancement in technology and transportation, the number of migrants grows steadily while the pace of interaction between cultures is increasing.[49] Although the phenomenon has positive implications for society, it has intensified debates on identity, citizenship and integration, which in pre-pandemic times were already intense. Changing demographics may become

[42] L. Fourchard and A. Segatti, 'Introduction of xenophobia and citizenship: The everyday politics of exclusion and inclusion in Africa' [2015] (85)(1) *Africa* 2–12.
[43] *Ibid* 4
[44] *Ibid* 10
[45] S. Maliehe and J. Schraten, 'The roots of xenophobia in 19th century imperialism' [2022] (54)(2) *ActaAcademica (Bloemfontein, Online)*https://doi.org/10.18820/24150479/aa54i2/5
[46] B. Arneil, 'Colonialism versus Imperialism' [2024] (52)(1) *Political Theory* 146–176.
[47] *Ibid* 150
[48] *Ibid* 149
[49] S.L. Gordon, 'Understanding xenophobic hate crime in South Africa' [2020] (20)(3) *Journal of Public Affairs* 1–9

the source of xenophobia when certain population groups think that economic or cultural heritage of their communities is at stake. Interestingly enough, the evolution of xenophobia over centuries has resulted in a very consistent pattern.[50] No matter what era is being discussed and how xenophobia developed, the foreigner has been accused of being the cause of all social problems. It does not matter whether the issue concerns employment, crime, security, religion, or culture; it is always easy to make the foreigner an object of blame for everything.

2.4 Xenophobia and Contemporary Migration Dynamics

One of the major factors that characterize globalization today is migration. People migrate because of many different reasons such as work, education, family ties, environment issues, violence, war, political problems, and persecution, among other issues.[51] Modern societies tend to be more and more diverse, which entails certain advantages but also disadvantages. Migrants play a key role in promoting economic development by providing a workforce that fills certain labor needs and by establishing businesses and bringing new ideas.[52] Many sectors of national economies depend onmigrant labor force. For instance, hospitals, universities, construction industry, agriculture businesses, and technology sector often benefit from the contribution of migrants. Even though migrants contribute greatly to the development of a country, migration is quite controversial in most cases.[53] In some cases, the perception of migrants among the general public is mostly determined not by reality, but rather by emotions. During economically challenging times, migrants are seen as rivals in search of employment opportunities, homes, healthcare services, and other benefits.[54] Such stereotypes persist regardless of the fact that migrants usually provide more than they take according to various economic analyses.

Situations may get even more complicated if many people migrate in a relatively short period. It can happen that rapid migrations negatively affect public services, provoke certain political conflicts, and lead to uncertainty in host countries.[55] All of these factors increase the likelihood of negative attitudes towards migration and migrants, especially if governments are not transparent and do not respond to citizens' concerns. When immigrants are depicted in the media and social media as criminals or security threats, it can have the same impact.[56] This is particularly harmful because of the rapid spread of misinformation via social networks.

Politicisation of migration is another key concern. Indeed, in many countries, it has been found by political players that an anti-migration stance is a successful electoral tactic.[57] Through the use of migrants as scapegoats, politicians may win popular support and divert attention away from their own shortcomings in the management of the country. This will lead to a discourse where fear reigns supreme and the discourse is not informed by facts but rhetoric. Thus, migration occurs in a larger socio-political context which shapes its perception in a particular way.[58] The problem in modern societies is the

[50] *Ibid* 2
[51] AAubry, M Burzyński, and F Docquier, 'The Welfare Impact of Global Migration in OECD Countries', *Journal of International Economics*, [2016], 101 1-21.
[52] *Ibid* 3
[53] *Ibid* 4
[54] JF Hollifield and N Foley (eds), *Understanding Global Migration* (Stanford University Press, 2022) 1
[55] *Ibid* 2
[56] *Ibid* 1
[57] S. Hutter and H. Kriesi, 'Politicising immigration in times of crisis' [2022] (48)(2) *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 341–365
[58] *Ibid* 347

management of migration without demonizing immigrants and their experiences. Otherwise, xenophobic sentiments may become prevalent. In this regard, the case of South Africa presents one of the most critical instances today, and this needs careful examination.

2.5 The South African Experience and the Current Resurgence of Anti-Migrant Sentiments

No discussion on xenophobia is complete without addressing South Africa. In fact, South Africa plays a special role both in Africa and globally.[59] The nation's democratic identity arose amidst the resistance to the regime of apartheid, one of the worst cases of institutionalized discrimination of the twentieth century. In this fight, the African states played an active part, offering support in terms of politics, diplomacy, money, and providing a sanctuary for those who were forced to flee the country.[60] Thus, South Africa, the victory of democracy in 1994 meant not only the end of national oppression but the triumph of equality and respect among Africans.[61]

It is not surprising that the recurrence of xenophobia in South Africa has alarmed all of Africa deeply. As one of the most prosperous economies of the continent, it attracts migrants coming there for work, education, safety, and a better life.[62] Coming from various countries including Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Mozambique, Malawi, Ethiopia, Somalia, DRC, and others, they created their own businesses, helped fill labour shortages, pay taxes, contribute, and become indispensable to local economic development.However, sometimes hostility towards foreign citizens turned into xenophobic violence. This is evidenced by the mass assault of 2008, when foreigners were beaten, chased, and even killed in different neighbourhoods. Xenophobia repeated itself in 2015 and 2019, demonstrating that the phenomenon has become a routine.[63]

Nevertheless, there have been intermittent incidents of violence against migrants. In 2008, foreign nationals were attacked, displaced and killed in several communities, which shocked the world.[64] There were also other xenophobia-related incidents in 2015 and 2019, pointing to the fact that xenophobia had become a persistent social issue and not a stand-alone event.[65]This is again a topical issue in present times in 2026. Throughout some areas of Johannesburg, Cape Town, Pretoria and other cities, stories of organized anti-migrant activism movements and groups calling on foreigners to leave South Africa have been reported.[66] According to some accounts, activists have reportedly gone around neighborhoods, business districts, and slums asking alleged foreigners to "go back home" since "South Africans are fixing their country now."[67]Social media platforms have also served as platforms for promoting the idea that immigrants from other African nations

[59] S.L. Gordon, 'Immigration policy in South Africa: public opinion, xenophobia and the search for progress' [2022b] in P. Rugunanan and N. Xulu-Gama (eds), *Migration in Southern Africa: IMISCOE Regional Reader (IMISCOE Research Series)* (Cham: Springer) 57–76
[60] *Ibid* 59
[61] *Ibid* 61
[62] G. Houston, Y. Muthien and S. Mottiar, 'Explaining xenophobic violence in democratic South Africa' [2019] in M.B. Ndlela and W. Mano (eds), *Social Media and Elections in Africa, Volume 1: Theoretical Perspectives and Electoral Impact* (Palgrave Macmillan) 155–172.
[63] *Ibid* 159
[64] *Ibid* 160
[65] S.A. Olofinbiyi, 'Anti-immigrant Violence and Xenophobia in South Africa: Untreated Malady and Potential Snag for National Development' [2022] (14)(2) *Insight on Africa* 193–211.
[66] N. Mwangi, 'South Africa: Anti-Immigrant Protests and Violence Escalate in South Africa' [2026] *AllAfrica (People's Dispatch, Johannesburg)* 14 May https://allafrica.com/stories/202605210691.html Accessed 1 June 2026
[67] H. Khalil, 'African migrants warned to close shops during South Africa anti-migrant march' [2026] *BBC News* 28 April https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/c7v9572ne0loAccessed 1 June 2026

are hindrances to national development and economic revival, even as immigrants' property and establishments have been harassed by activist groups.

The issue is with the message being conveyed. What is being stated is not simply that immigration ought to be managed but that immigrants from other African states do not have a legitimate claim in the South African state irrespective of the amount of time they have spent in the country, their contributions to the country and their legality. Such an approach makes fellow Africans outcasts in whose eyes they are seen not as neighbors but as competitors.The allegations made hold true for most South Africans because they come on the back of some of the problems faced by the country such as unemployment, income disparity, poverty, rising cost of living and disgruntled youth. In situations like this, it becomes easy for migrants to become scapegoats to all the woes of the society. It must be noted that structural problems including corruption, lack of good governance, economic stagnation, poor delivery of services, etc. can never be blamed on immigrants.[68] Ironically, the individuals that are currently being told to leave South Africa were in many ways the allies of South Africans through the period of apartheid.[69] Governments, communities, and institutions within Africa gave up considerable amounts of resources and political support for South Africa's fight towards freedom. Some of the descendants of those that offered their support to South Africans in these times find themselves being asked to leave today.Migrants cannot be blamed for the socio-economic problems facing South Africa.[70] Various research papers demonstrate that migrants play an important role in the economic activity and growth of a country, participating actively in entrepreneurship and investment.[71] Foreign enterprises are often operating in areas where no other big commercial companies can reach, thus bringing additional value to local communities, whereas migrant workers bring skills and services into the economy.[72] A significant element of the South African experience is thus the conflict between the xenophobic tendencies that exist and the values on which the democracy of South Africa is based. The Constitution of South Africa 1996 is based on the values of equality, dignity, liberty and non-discrimination.[73] All these values are universal in nature and apply to everyone residing within the ambit of the state, including migrants. Such conflict poses ethical, legal, and political questions as follows:

i. How is it possible for a community that has been discriminated against to discriminate against others?
ii. How can a country whose independence depended on the solidarity of other countries now deny solidarity to its fellow African nations?
iii. Can a constitution that guarantees human dignity and equality allow for migrant drives out of the country?

These questions render the experience of South Africa more unique and represent a strong indication that xenophobia is not exclusive to migration alone, but extends to the

[68] I.S. Okolie and O.O. Joseph, 'Examining the Triggers of Xenophobic Attacks in Republic of South Africa' [2021] (7)(2) *Journal of Political Science and Leadership Research (IIARD – International Institute of Academic Research and Development)* 1.
[69] *Ibid* 1
[70] *Ibid* 1
[71] C Nweke and FMO Enyosiobi, 'A Philosophical Analysis of the Impacts of Migration on Nigeria Development', *AJAP-AMAMIHE Journal of Applied Philosophy*, [2023], 21(3) 23; NV Doorn, F Ferrari, and M Graham, 'Migration and Migrant Labour in the Gig Economy: An Intervention', *Work, Employment and Society*, [2023], 37(4) 1099-1111.
[72] *Ibid* 1010
[73] Constitution of South Africa 1996, s 1: The state is established on human dignity, equality, and the advancement of human rights and freedoms.

response of societies to diversity, poverty and change.[74] Lessons learned from South Africa prove how economic discontent, political speech, and social anxiety together result in hostility towards foreign-looking individuals. The experience of South Africa is a reminder that the true criterion of democracy lies not in the way in which a society behaves towards the mighty, but towards the poor and foreign ones.

3.0 LEGAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS DIMENSIONS OF XENOPHOBIA

3.1 Xenophobia as a Human Rights Concern

Despite being commonly addressed from the viewpoint of either sociology or politics, xenophobia is ultimately an issue of human rights. Xenophobia is essentially rooted in the idea of denying individuals equal treatment based on their country of origin, place of birth, and nationality.[75] In other words, xenophobia directly challenges the very foundations of the modern human rights law. Modern human rights law was created in recognition of the fact that all humans have equal inherent dignity, regardless of their citizenship, race, religion, ethnicity, and class.[76] This is undoubtedly one of the greatest achievements of our time and society. It denies any attempts to claim that rights can be granted exclusively based on the nationality of the person who requests them. Instead, it recognizes and confirms that all people should have certain rights solely due to the fact that they are humans.[77] Therefore, by dividing people into those with higher and lower levels of entitlement, xenophobia violates the principle mentioned above.[78] For example, when migrants are denied access to jobs as a result of their nationality, their right to equality is violated. If refugees are discriminated against due to their origins, it is a breach of their right to security and dignity.

Xenophobia does not only harm the victims of discrimination but also destroys the unity and integrity of a society and, as a result, affects the human rights culture as well.[79] Once society starts practicing discriminatory policies towards one group, all members start feeling the effects. Therefore, when xenophobia leads to the denial of access to various opportunities to migrants, it harms not only them but also the legal institutions and political processes within a state.[80] Human rights considerations become particularly evident in the case of violent acts caused by xenophobia. Typically, victims of xenophobic violence experience numerous rights violations including the right to security and the right to freedom from violence, discrimination, property damage, and deprivation of housing etc.[81]In addition, the presence of xenophobia often results in a situation in which migrants are afraid to report crimes or seek medical treatment. Even when such mechanisms are legally in place, the fear of being discriminated against often deters people from seeking any type of help.[82] Although such consequences of xenophobia may be less obvious, they can prove equally harmful.

[74]A.D. Umeh, S.A. Olofinbiyi and N. Gopal, 'Institutionalised Xenophobia: African Migrants' Experiences and Perceptions of Service Delivery at a Selected South African Department of Home Affairs' [2024] (16)(2) *Insight on Africa* 166–191.
[75]S.A. Olofinbiyi, 'Anti-immigrant Violence and Xenophobia in South Africa: Untreated Malady and Potential Snag for National Development' [2022] (14)(2) *Insight on Africa* 193–211.
[76]*Ibid* 199
[77]M.N. Anyabolu, 'The Nature of Human Rights' [2021] (1) *Journal of International Human Rights and Contemporary Legal Issues (JIHRCLI)* 53.
[78]International Labour Office (ILO), International Organization for Migration (IOM), and Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), *International Migration, Racism, Discrimination and Xenophobia* [2001] (World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, Durban) https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/international_migration_racism.pdf Accessed 26 May 2026
[79]*Ibid*
[80]*Ibid*
[81]*Ibid*
[82]*Ibid*

As a result of the above facts, xenophobia must be considered a serious problem in terms of human rights protection, and it requires certain solutions on the part of the international community. This means that overcoming xenophobia cannot simply boil down to fostering tolerance. It is about the protection of fundamental human rights and the dignity of all people.

3.2 International Human Rights Standards Against Discrimination

The establishment of a general regime against discrimination is one of the most significant innovations in the practice of international law today. This regime is founded on the principle that equality is essential to justice, peace and human progress.[83] Non-discrimination has become an integral part of international human rights law and is mentioned in many international conventions, declarations, treaties, and regional documents.[84] While formulations may vary, their meaning is essentially the same: individuals must not be deprived of any rights and advantages due to attributes like race, nationality, ethnicity, religious or other beliefs, or place of origin.

This issue is especially relevant for the problem of xenophobia as discrimination is often used as a method of its manifestation. Xenophobia is usually more than just an attitude of distrust towards strangers.[85] Discriminatory practice can manifest itself at work, in school, in hospitals, housing complexes, politics, and courts. According to international human rights standards, states are expected to abstain from discriminatory behaviour and adopt certain measures to counteract discrimination by private parties. This responsibility acknowledges that human rights need more than state's neutrality to be secured.[86] Effective protection often demands an interventionist approach to tackle the barriers and discriminatory actions.

A ban on discrimination also stems from a wider appreciation of the principle of equality. Modern human rights jurisprudence requires that an action not necessarily occur under all circumstances.[87] On the contrary, it aims to guarantee the equal status and equal chances for each individual. This is especially relevant since migrants and refugees tend to have particular vulnerabilities calling for special treatment.[88] Thus, the need for legal aid, temporary accommodation, and protection against refoulement of a refugee who was fleeing war does not amount to an act of privilege. Such measures merely follow the logical application of principles of equality to persons exposed to exceptional situations.[89] In addition, human rights instruments acknowledge the possibility of direct or indirect discrimination. The former is discrimination when an individual receives unfavorable treatment based on his/her nationality or origin.[90] The latter takes place when neutral rules and policies lead to a disadvantage for specific people and are associated with xenophobic exclusion.[91]The inability to curb xenophobia through extensive legal provisions shows the ineffectiveness of legislation in itself. However, human rights standards still offer vital means for social change and victim empowerment.

[83] *Ibid*
[84] Americans for Democracy & Human Rights in Bahrain (ADHRB), Briefing Paper: Migrant Rights and the Kafala System in the United Arab Emirates [2024] (Briefing Papers, UAE) 27 May https://www.adhrb.org/2024/05/briefing-paper-migrant-rights-and-the-kafala-system-in-the-united-arab-emirates/ Accessed 29 May 2026
[85] A.E. Pally, 'Implications of Xenophobia on African Unity' [2021] (6)(1) *Wukari International Studies Journal* 53.
[86] *Ibid* 54
[87] *Ibid* 55
[88] *Ibid* 55
[89] M. Abosief, *The Right to an Effective Remedy for Asylum-seekers before the European Court of Human Rights* [2024] (Master's Thesis, International Humanitarian Action, DiVA Portal, Uppsala University) https://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1846272/FULLTEXT01.pdf Accessed 30 May 2026
[90] *Ibid* 4
[91] *Ibid* 5

3.3 State Obligations Toward Migrants, Refugees, and Foreign Nationals

The obligations of states become central in the discussions about migration and xenophobia. Every state enjoys the sovereign powers to control immigration and border crossing and establish certain conditions for entry into and stay within its territory for foreigners.[92] Nevertheless, sovereignty cannot be interpreted absolutely since it is subject to certain limitations associated with international law and international human rights law obligations.[93] The core obligation deriving from the latter lies in guaranteeing fundamental freedoms to everyone residing on the territory of a certain state regardless of their citizenship. Migrants, refugees, asylum seekers and foreigners thus retain their right to be protected from any form of harm including torture, discrimination, unlawful arrest, and persecution.[94] This becomes especially relevant in light of the vulnerability that non-citizens usually experience due to various factors, including the fact that they may lack the language and financial skills to overcome social difficulties.[95] Therefore, state obligations become the key tool in preventing such problems.

Some of the state obligations include the protection of life and physical integrity. It means that governments have to do everything possible to ensure safety from attacks motivated by xenophobia.[96] Moreover, it is necessary to investigate any cases of violence towards foreigners and to prosecute those responsible for it. Otherwise, the atmosphere of impunity will develop and contribute to more abuses committed. Also, states need to fulfill their obligations regarding access to justice for victims of xenophobia.[97] It includes making the process of complaints and reporting possible without risks and threats, and ensuring equal treatment and effective investigation of each case. Besides, states have certain responsibilities in respect of the content of public debate.[98] Although freedom of expression cannot be constrained, certain lawful actions related to hate speech and acts of discrimination may be taken. Political leaders have a heightened responsibility in this regard.

The obligation to ensure protection for migrants and refugees does not limit states to impose regulations and enforcement actions.[99] However, what it calls for is ensuring the regulation takes place under the rule of law and through the prism of human rights. The question is not whether or not a state can regulate migration, but how to do so whilst maintaining the dignity of the human person.

4.0 INTERNATIONAL LEGAL FRAMEWORKS ADDRESSING XENOPHOBIA

Today, the normative approach towards combating xenophobia is largely dependent on numerous international and regional conventions developed within the span of several decades. Though, varying in nature and legal character, these documents have a number of common aspects and share common goal, ensuring human dignity and fighting against all kinds of discrimination.

[92]International Organization for Migration (IOM), *Migration and the Right to Health: A Review of International Standards and the Situation in Selected Countries* [2018] (Technical Paper No. 9, Geneva) https://www.iom.int/sites/g/files/tmzbdl2616/files/2018-07/TP9.pdf Accessed 29 May 2026
[93]*Ibid*
[94]Amnesty International, *Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Migrants* [2026] (What We Do, Amnesty International) https://www.amnesty.org/en/what-we-do/refugees-asylum-seekers-and-migrants/Accessed 29 May 2026
[95]*Ibid*
[96]Amnesty International, *The State of the World's Human Rights 2023/24* [2024] (Annual Report, Amnesty International) April https://www.amnesty.org/en/wp-content/uploads/2024/04/IOR4078982024ENGLISH.pdf Accessed 30 May 2026
[97]*Ibid*
[98]*Ibid*
[99]*Ibid*

4.1 The Charter of the United Nations 1945

The UN Charter has been recognized by the international community as one of the most important documents in the history of modern international relations.[100] It was adopted after World War II to ensure that such tragedy would never repeat itself. The main goals of the document were the promotion of human rights, fundamental freedoms, international cooperation, and maintaining harmonious relations between nations. The Charter emphasized the equal value of human life and encouraged respect for human rights regardless of race, gender, language, and religion of individuals.[101]

Although the term 'xenophobia' was not used in the Charter, its principles laid down the normative grounds for future conventions on discrimination and intolerance. The Charter is based on the principles of equality and non-discrimination, which continue to impact international attempts to protect migrants, refugees, and minorities.

4.2 The Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights can be rightfully considered one of the most impactful documents in the history of the legal system in modern times.[102] Adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948, the Declaration has provided the foundation of universal rights, which should be granted to each person irrespective of nationality and citizenship. One of the first articles of the Declaration states that all individuals are born free and equal in terms of rights and dignity.[103]This statement negates the premises of xenophobia, because if everybody has the same level of dignity, then nationality cannot be the reason for their exclusion from the social community, discrimination, or abuse.

Certain provisions of the Declaration refer to migrants and foreign nationals, such as the right to life, freedom from arbitrary arrest, freedom of expression, freedom of association, equality before the law, freedom of non-discrimination.[104] In addition, no form of discrimination of an individual based on certain criteria is prohibited, and the inherent dignity of people should be protected. Even though the Declaration is not a treaty, it still has impacted the development of the legal system of states around the globe. Many of its principles are now considered as basic rules for states' behavior.

4.3 The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination 1965

The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination is considered to be one of the key treaties against discrimination in the world. It establishes the responsibility of states to take all measures needed to combat discrimination and

[100]A.N. Vylegzhanin, T. Potier and E.A. Torkunova, 'Towards Cementing International Law through Renaissance of the United Nations Charter' [2020] (1) *Moscow Journal of International Law* 6–25

[101]United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations (Full Text)* [1945] (San Francisco Conference, United Nations) https://www.un.org/en/about-us/un-charter/full-text Accessed 29 May 2026

[102]United Nations, *Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Full Text)* [1948] (General Assembly Resolution 217 A (III), Paris, 10 December) https://www.un.org/en/about-us/universal-declaration-of-human-rightsAccessed 30 May 2026

[103]UNDR 1948, Art. 1: "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights."

[104] Several provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) directly apply to migrants and foreign nationals, affirming that rights are universal and not limited by citizenship. For example, Article 3 guarantees the right to life, liberty, and security of person, Article 9 protects against arbitrary arrest, detention, or exile, Article 19 ensures freedom of opinion and expression, Article 20 grants the right to peaceful assembly and association, Article 7 establishes equality before the law and equal protection without discrimination, and Article 2 affirms entitlement to all rights and freedoms without distinction of any kind, including nationality.

eliminate any manifestations of racism in the social community.[105]According to the document, discrimination and racial intolerance may adversely affect peace among peoples.[106] Thus, states should prohibit any forms of discrimination, ensure equality, and prevent any racist propaganda and incitement.[107] Xenophobia and racism are two different concepts; however, they often go together in real life. For example, xenophobia is often associated with racial prejudice. That is why the Convention can also be used to solve problems related to xenophobia.

4.4 The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights 1966

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights builds upon various concepts outlined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. These include the right to life, freedom from arbitrary detention, freedom of expression, freedom of association, equality before the law, and non-discrimination.[108]

The importance of this instrument stems from the fact that it applies to all persons within a particular state's jurisdiction instead of only citizens. Thus, migrants, refugees, and foreigners are entitled to many protections under this covenant.[109] It is especially important that it requires states to protect their citizens from any forms of advocacy that promote national, racial, or religious intolerance and incite discrimination, hostility, or violence.[110] Such provisions become highly relevant in regard to xenophobia as they often precede human rights abuses.

4.5 The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights 1966

Although civil and political rights are important, there is also a need to recognize economic, social, and cultural rights that promote social stability. Such human rights include issues of labor, education, health care, social security, and an adequate standard of living. Xenophobia often takes form through the denial of such fundamental elements. Immigrants may struggle with difficulties when it comes to securing employment, accessing quality healthcare, or obtaining housing. The Covenant ensures the ability for individuals to experience basic aspects needed for human dignity.

It is very important because it acknowledges that equality cannot simply mean that everyone is equal under the law but that they also have equal access to certain opportunities in society.

4.6 The Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (1951) and the 1967 Protocol

The Refugee Convention serves as the bedrock of international law regarding refugees. It was established in reaction to the displacement caused after the Second World War and is highly pertinent in the present day.[111] The document not only defines the term 'refugee' but also outlines the conditions under which they should be treated.[112] A major part of the

[105]United Nations, *International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families* [1990] (UN Treaty Series, Vol. 660, A/RES/45/158, entered into force 1 July 2003) https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%20660/volume-660-A-9464-English.pdf Accessed 2 June 2026

[106]*Ibid*

[107]*Ibid*

[108]United Nations, *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (Full Text)* [1966] (General Assembly Resolution 2200A (XXI), adopted 16 December, entered into force 23 March 1976) https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/international-covenant-civil-and-political-rights Accessed 2 June 2026

[109]*Ibid*

[110]*Ibid*

[111]United Nations, *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (1951 Refugee Convention)* [1951] (adopted 28 July, entered into force 22 April 1954, UN Treaty Series Vol. 189, p. 137) https://www.unhcr.org/about-unhcr/overview/1951-refugee-convention Accessed 2 June 2026

[112] The Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (1951) and the 1967 Protocol, Art. 1(A) (1) For the purposes of the present Convention, the term “refugee” shall apply to any person who: (1) Has been considered a refugee under the Arrangements of 12

document requires that states do not return refugees to places where they might be persecuted or put at serious risk; this is called the non-refoulement principle.
The Convention recognizes that refugees have highly vulnerable status due to being affected by conflict, persecution, and violence.[113] Therefore, the provisions within the Convention are aimed at ensuring their safety and respect. In an era marked by large-scale displacement, the Convention becomes a key tool in dealing with the humanitarian repercussions of conflicts and persecutions.

4.7 The International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families 1990

This Convention focuses on the unique vulnerabilities that migrant workers and their families face. It is based on the fact that migrants are exploited, discriminated against, and marginalized while contributing to host nations.[114]The Convention affirms that that migrant workers are entitled to their basic human rights, even when they lack any legal documentation. Working conditions, justice, protection, family reunion are some of the aspects that have been addressed under this Convention.[115] The significance of this Convention is based on its emphasis that economic contribution should not be obtained by dehumanizing human beings. Migrants are not only a source of labour. They are human beings and their rights should be respected and protected.

4.9 Regional Human Rights Instruments

4.9.1 The African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights

The African Charter is at the heart of the human rights framework of Africa. The Charter is focused on the principles of equality, dignity, non-discrimination, and human rights. The principles described are applicable generally and serve to protect migrants and foreigners.

4.9.2 The European Convention on Human Rights

The European Convention offers a powerful regional system that ensures the protection of civil and political rights. With the assistance of case law from the European Court of Human Rights, it has been a great instrument towards the creation of rules concerning equality and non-discrimination as well as the rights of vulnerable groups.

4.9.3 The American Convention on Human Rights

The American Convention seeks to promote respect for human rights in the region. Its provisions can be used to claim remedies for any violation of human rights and even deal with the issue of migration. The above documents clearly show that the outlawing of xenophobia by international laws is not new but rather intentional. Indeed, time and again, the international community has reaffirmed its belief that dignity and non-discrimination are universal values.

May 1926 and 30 June 1928 or under the Conventions of 28 October 1933 and 10 February 1938, the Protocol of 14 September 1939 or the Constitution of the International Refugee Organization; Decisions of non-eligibility taken by the International Refugee Organization during the period of its activities shall not prevent the status of refugee being accorded to persons who fulfil the conditions of paragraph 2 of this section.

[113]*Ibid*

[114]The International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families was adopted on the 18th day of December 1990 by the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 45/158 and came into force: 1 July 2003, in accordance with article 87(1). Available at https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/international-Convention-protection-rights-all-migrant-workers Accessed 20th May 2026

[115]*Ibid*

5. CONCLUSION

The fear of strangers is an ancient human response and over the years, society has viewed strangers with suspicion and discomfort. But throughout the ages, the progress of civilization has depended on exchange and cooperation, which could not have happened without the movement of peoples across borders.[116] The world is more interdependent now than it ever has been, because of globalization. The flows of products, labour, information, capital, and people are unprecedented.[117] In this context, xenophobia is not just morally wrong but a hindrance in achieving peace and development. Through the examples discussed in this presentation, it is possible to draw the conclusion that xenophobia cannot be treated as something inevitable; nor can it be limited geographically.[118] Whether in Africa, Europe, Asia, or America, xenophobic processes manifest themselves almost identically. It is a mixture of economic insecurity, political pressure, propaganda and prejudice.

Of all present-day cases, the South African case is especially significant. And just last week kenya was in the news for the same reason wherein President Ruto ordered migrants small business owners mostly Burundians without Permits to leave the country. There were concerns and apprehensions that such rhetoric could trigger a flurry of chaotic activities in widespread lootings and killings as witnessed in South Africa. The possibility of a further spread to other countries could not be ruled out. All of that poses tough but unavoidable questions to Africa. Can a continent that prides itself on its fight for liberation allow the marginalization of other Africans? How can Pan-Africanism thrive when citizenship is used as a pretext for conflict and brutality against its people? Can one begin to hazard that some African countries are nostalgic of their colonial experiences as it appears they are comfortable with non African migrants?. Can communities that suffered from oppression be oppressive towards other people? Our answer to such questions will affect the future of migration policy making as well as the future of human rights and social integration. The question at hand today is not whether or not there will be migration. There will be. The question is whether societies will respond to the threats with fear or with prudence, with exclusion or with inclusion, with enmity or with benevolence.

In essence, migrants, refugees, asylum seekers, foreign workers, and displaced people are ultimately human beings. There is a story, a family, dreams and aspirations and a need for dignity beyond any label. This is only possible when we realize how much is underneath every label we affix on other human beings.[119] This is given xenophobia arises out of ignorance of the true identity behind every human face. When we remember this, it is possible to achieve justice, peace, and harmony. In other words, the fight against xenophobia is not just about ensuring that other human beings receive their due rights. The fight against xenophobia is also about preserving humanity and civilization, which requires us to be conscious of our own behavior. Ultimately, in this increasingly globalized and inter-connected world, the foreigner is no stranger at all. The stranger is also a human who is entitled to the same rights and privileges that we are entitled to.

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[116]E. Lee, 'The Fear of the Stranger' [2019] *College of Liberal Arts, University of Minnesota* (News & Events, 6 August) https://cla.umn.edu/news-events/story/fear-stranger Accessed 29 May 2026
[117]*Ibid*
[118]M. Neocosmos, *From "Foreign Natives" to "Native Foreigners": Explaining Xenophobia in Post-apartheid South Africa* [2006] (CODESRIA Monograph Series, Dakar) 12
[119]*Ibid*

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