‘The Scarlet Letter F’: Foreign Nationals Struggle for Inclusion in South Africa and Against Hate Crimes

Londeka P Ngubane*

School of Applied Human Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa

*Corresponding author: Londeka P Ngubane, School of Applied Human Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa

Received: June 12, 2020
Published: June 30, 2020

Introduction

Xenophobia continues to be on the rise even though foreign nationals residing in South Africa are protected in the South African constitution and by the United Nations High Commission for refugees, against xenophobic violence [1]. The constitution’s preamble unequivocally promises that, "South Africa belongs to all those who live in it," with no unambiguous reference to place of birth or citizenship status [2]. South Africa has signed or sanctioned many policies for the South African state to act in accordance with universally accepted norms which are directed at all individuals within its national boundaries, including documented and undocumented persons. The following research paper will further elaborate and discuss the reasons and the extent of negative and hostile sentiments towards foreigners within South Africa in particular, and the possible reasons that lead to such negative attitudes resulting in the perpetration of hate crimes against foreigners.

Abstract

‘Nkosi sikelel’ iAfrica’-God bless Africa, ‘O fedise dintwa le matshwenyeho’-end all wars and tribulations. South Africa’s national anthem venerates all of Africa in its very first verse, the anthem dispels attitudes of war and disunion, yet South Africa still closes its doors to foreign nationals, particularly foreign nationals from other African countries. The South African constitution has been designed to uphold equal rights, freedom, fairness, and righteousness, however the implementation of these rights and responsibilities has been meagre. Xenophobia in South Africa remains a constant and grave problem. Xenophobic sentiments have been fuelled by stereotypes supported by false assumptions which stem from political leaders, media reports and feelings of entitlement. Foreign nationals are subject to hate crimes and are excluded due to the stereotypes levelled against them and are subsequently victimized. This treatise aims to create awareness about the extent of ill-treatment that foreign nationals face once they enter into the country, the research is meant to highlight the two leading stereotypes levelled against foreign nationals, namely, the assumption that foreign nationals are responsible for the high crime rates and level of unemployment in the country and how hate crimes against foreign nationals have been consistently rising due to negative, false perceptions. Xenophobic sentiments are unpacked in this study, it is hoped that this research and particularly the research findings will be informative and will encourage responsiveness to the beginning of the end of xenophobia.

Keywords: Xenophobia; hate crimes; stereotypes; exclusion

Literature review

The term Xenophobia has been defined as a mistrust of foreigners or strangers, or a deep aversion towards strangers. “For Kollapen [3] Xenophobia is an inextricable link of violence and physical abuse, xenophobia is not just an attitude but an activity, it is not just a dislike or fear of foreigners or strangers but a violent practice that results in bodily harm and damage” [3]. Xenophobia may be "latent" or “obtrusive”, latent forms of xenophobia represents feelings of dislike of foreigners and prejudicial opinions or views of foreigners that are not acted upon but are still in the minds of nationals within a country, however, with obtrusive xenophobia, these views and thoughts are acted upon and expressed openly towards foreigners [4]. For the purpose of this article the following explanation of the concept, provided by Matshunu [4], Xenophobia, shall be used: "xenophobia is based on existing racist, ethnic, religious, cultural or national prejudice, a xenophobic attack is a result of human nature
to protect certain interests, which can be social, economic or and political.”

**Legislation and Policies linked to foreign nationals in South Africa**

‘Ubuntu’ is a term used within South Africa that denotes togetherness and the recognition of humanity in others, Ubuntu plays a role in every sphere of the country right up to the government, as political leaders strive to keep the positive message of Ubuntu within policies in the country. “South Africa is a multifaceted, multicultural and multiracial country that embraces the concept of Ubuntu as a way of defining who we are and how we relate to others, we affirm our humanity when we affirm the humanity of others; the infusion of Ubuntu in the South African identity shapes our foreign policy”. Although members of parliament and policies within South Africa aim to increase the protection of foreigners and create a shared sense of humanity, the implementation of policies and programs still prove to be problematic and challenging especially in terms of the actions of certain politicians and citizens. Ubuntu is not always remembered in interactions with foreign nationals.

The South African Human Rights Commission states that under the ‘ICCR’, even undocumented migrants (i.e. not refugees or legal migrants) have constitutional rights to fairness before the courts and tribunals (s10) and the right to be treated with humanity and respect (s9), including the right against arbitrary deportation (s16). However, as demonstrated by the violent xenophobic attacks and negative attitudes towards foreign nationals, these rights are often ‘forgotten’. The ‘Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination’ Act 4 of 2000, ‘Refugees Act 130 of 1988’, ‘Protection of Harassment Act’ 17 of 2011 and the ‘Immigration Act’ 13 of 2002 all prohibit things such as hate speech, discrimination and harassment [5]. However, more recent policies go against most of the speeches delivered to the country in promotion of a welcoming environment for foreign nationals, for example, President of South Africa, Jacob Zuma, in his first State of the Nation Address in 2015 stated that, “foreigners would not be able to own land and would be forced to lease the properties” [6]. After this statement came the introduction of the draft of ‘The Regulation of Agricultural Land Holdings Bill 2017’ in March 2017, if this Bill is to be enacted as it is currently, it will create conflict amongst foreign nationals currently residing and owning agricultural land in South Africa [6].

Minister of Rural Development and Land Reform, Gugile N [7] in March 2017 stated that, “The Regulation of Agricultural Land Holdings Bill is to reverse the legacy of colonialism and apartheid and to ensure a just and equitable distribution of agricultural land to Africans” [6]. This will essentially ban foreigners from procuring agricultural land and oblige them to enter into long-term leases, foreign nationals who already own land will not be able to own more than 12 000 hectares, if they do own more, they will be forced to sell their extra land to ensure that it is redistributed appropriately [6]. This in turn may be an unjust practice as matters of land ownership is complicated and deeply rooted in South Africa’s historical unjust past, foreign nationals will be largely disadvantaged and in certain cases, even if they rightfully and legally own land in South Africa, it will be stripped from their ownership and redistributed if they ‘own too much’.

‘South Africa’s immigration policy’ has resulted in the creation of a South African national identity and simultaneously the construction of ‘others’ who are migrants and foreigners with no shared South African identity, this adds fuel to xenophobic violence and attacks against foreign nationals in the country which indirectly leads to exclusion in terms of race and national identity [8]. For example, “a 1997 survey conducted by the South African Migration Project, concluded that 25% of South Africans wanted a total prohibition of immigration and 22% wanted the South African government to return all foreigners presently residing in South Africa to their own countries, also 45% of the sample called for strict limits to be placed on migrants and immigrants” [1].

**Anti-foreigner sentiments in South Africa**

Attitudes towards foreign nationals differ amongst the population of South Africa, however anti-foreigner feelings and actions remains widespread and notorious throughout societies in the country. The reasons for anti-foreigner attitudes stem from individual psychology, socio-economic conditions such as instability and poverty. Within South Africa there is a unique yet also worldwide problem, in terms of history continuing to influence contemporary societies and forms of thinking, the turmoil of the past overflows into the present and underlies many of the xenophobic outlooks [2]. Foreign nationals are often, in contradiction to widespread assumptions, the victims of crimes and not the perpetrators. Foreign nationals are used as a scapegoat by politicians to distract the public from the transgressions and failures of the government, and in turn draw attention to issues of migration and movement across borders [2]. “The South African Migration Project revealed that the media produces/reproduces three stereotypes, that of migrants stealing jobs, creating crime and being illegals” [9].

It is migrants who are in fact more prone to becoming the victims and not perpetrators of violent crime, not only because of xenophobic attitudes, but because African foreigners are often faced with the problem of not being able to seek help from officials and are exposed to secondary victimization, foreigners are faced with the complexities of being in a country in which they are made to feel that they do not belong and are brutally punished simply for not having a so-called South African identity [10]. At the core of stereotypical attitudes towards foreigners in South Africa are the Nigerian non-nationals, who are often thought of as wealthy and entrenched in circles of drug dealers and other types of criminals,
this particular population of foreign nationals are often found to be victims of robbery, assault and murder [10]. The two main stereotypes against foreigners will be discussed below.

Common Stereotypes Levelled Against Foreigners within South Africa

Foreigners as a threat to economic security

In many countries, including South Africa particularly, a common reason for xenophobia is the assumption that non-nationals are regarded as a threat to things that are valued by individuals to earn a living and sustain themselves economically, accordingly securing employment and the access to various social services. The assumption is that as long as migration into the country increases, then so shall national development decrease, foreign nationals are in turn blamed for the lack of jobs and facilities for citizens [11]. In particular, black migrants from Africa are usually regarded as competitors and the reason for the poor economic conditions faced by many citizens [12]. However, even though this is a common view of many South African’s, many do admit that these are false allegations that stem from unsupported and irrational opinions due to the fact that many citizens acknowledge that migrants possess better skills and qualifications than themselves [4]. Many of the foreigners are creative and display entrepreneurial skills which created job opportunities for the local citizens [4].

Conversely, anti-foreigner sentiments still remain rife in societies and in statements made by members of parliament, for example, a bold statement made by the former minister of Home Affairs. In his first speech to parliament in 1994, following his appointment as Minister of Home Affairs, Dr. Mqosuthu Buthelezi proclaimed that, "If we as South Africans are going to compete with scarce resources with millions of aliens who are pouring into South Africa, then we can bid goodbye to our Reconstruction and Development Program" [8]. "Immigrants are in fact net contributors not parasites, many pay tax and through their entrepreneurship, make a positive injection into local economic development" [2]. It is not deniable that more strain is placed on a country’s economy and its resources if there are an increasingly growing number of people migrating into the country, even if they are refugees and asylum seekers, however these populations remain still, greatly below the local population of the host country and they do not exhaust nearly as much of the services as the citizens, furthermore, many foreigners contribute positively to the economy so it would not be reasonable to single them out as a liability and blame them for the lack of resources [10].

Foreigners as a threat to physical security

“The increase in crime rate since 1994 is usually blamed on immigrants without any justifiable proof, the perpetual negative stereotyping of foreign nationals in the South African media and popular public figures as ‘drug peddlers’, ‘hijackers’ and ‘job stealers’, fuels the negative perceptions and victimization of foreigners” [13]. In Johannesburg, South Africa, residents were convinced of the fact that foreign nationals were the reason for the propelling crime rates in that area, as is the common assumption across the country in areas particularly where foreign nationals reside or work. It would not be objective to consider the fact that foreigners do contribute to the rising crime rate and serious security issues within the country, however empirical data suggests the opposite, that in fact, foreign nationals represent a small threat as a sub-population of a country that has existing crimes committed by citizens.

“National police statistics published in 1998, for example, show no areas in which foreign nationals contributed more than 2% of the numbers of arrests. Within Hillbrow, Johannesburg, an area with one of the highest densities of foreign nationals, foreigners make up just 7% of those arrested” [2]. In February 2017, an ‘anti-foreigner’ march was organized and carried out in Pretoria, South Africa, overall the organizers and participants claimed to have peaceful and impartial motivations for their actions, to achieve ‘the greater good’, nevertheless their demands and hostilities mirrored a past of xenophobic attacks in which businesses and homes were torched in the name of propagating for an end to crime committed by foreigners [7]. Nicolson [7] argues that, “the actions have been fueled by both the sentiment that foreigners are committing crime in South Africa and that they have been able to economically prosper where locals have not, the planned march against foreign nationals sends a divisive message to our society as a whole and has the potential to counter the ongoing efforts to build a socially cohesive and inclusive South Africa.”

‘Lindela’ is a unique facility in which migrants are detained and held prior to being deported back to their country of origin, illegal migrants are held sometimes under inhumane conditions, which brought on the assistance of the ‘South African Human Rights Commission’ [14]. In August 2014, the Johannesburg High Court ruled that the detention of migrants in ‘Lindela’ was “unlawful and unconstitutional” as the institution’s practices went against ‘The Immigrations Act 13 of 2002’ since migrants were held longer than the duration appropriate by the law and resulted in the victimization of many migrants [14]. “Reports of sexual abuse, violence and bribery within Lindela are common while extortions are a normal part of journeys to and from the center. The immigration system, border posts, the Police, Lindela and deportation, provide opportunities for exploitation, corruption and extra-legal violence” [2]. “The violence and corruption which foreigners experience is giving rise to shadow economies that effect the security of South Africans. Although popular, the kind of policing leveled against non-nationals threatens the security and rights of South African citizens” [2].
The corruption and unlawfulness that has been too often associated with ‘Lindela’ and similarly the deportation process, does little to affirm South Africa’s international veracity or to safeguard the country from those who wish to commit illegal acts. Rather, it merely leads to human rights exploitations and systems of corruption [2]. The widely held view of a large amount of citizens (85%) firmly hold the beliefs that if it were possible, unauthorized migrants should have no rights to freedom of speech or to freedom of movement, not even police protection [10]. This is a predominantly alarming indication, considering the country is still relatively fresh out of the long struggle for the rights of all those in this country which is plagued with a history of turmoil and unrest, again the fact that individuals fail to recognize the shared sense of humanity in “the other” has made such negative sentiments and attitudes much easier to foster in an atmosphere of conflict [10].

Such sentiments lead to disorder and conflict in an effort to drive foreigners out of the country with the hope that South Africa’s problems concerning crime, politics and socio-economic tensions will be resolved, the acts of xenophobic violence and ‘hate crimes’ in South Africa have been witnessed by the world and threaten to tarnish the image of the country as a welcoming nation with one of the most liberal constitutions. Examples of attacks include very recent small to large scale crimes such as an incident on 27 February 2013 in Daveyton, East of Johannesburg, in which eight South African law enforcement officials bound a Mozambican male to the rear of a police van and hauled him down the road, leading to his subsequent death [15]. On 26 May 2013, two Mozambican men were murdered by a South African mob in xenophobic violence in Diepsloot [15]. In March 2015, xenophobic attacks occurred in Limpopo province, protesting villagers threatened to burn foreigners alive and then robbed them [16]. On 21 March 2015, King of the Zulu Nation, Goodwill Zwelithini made comments to give possible reasons for why foreign nationals struggle for inclusion in South Africa.

For the purpose of this paper, the dimensions of two theories will be explored, namely Realistic group conflict theory and Strain theory, which will be linked to the research problem, Strain Theory will be used to aid an understanding about why individuals or groups may turn to xenophobic attacks and hate crimes against foreign nationals. Realistic group conflict theory will be explained to give possible reasons for why foreign nationals struggle for inclusion in South Africa.

**Merton’s (1938) Strain Theory**

Strain theory was developed by Robert K Merton in 1938. This theory traces the origin of deviance to society itself and the fact that there exists traits of society deemed socially acceptable, people are encouraged and are placed under pressure by society to achieve certain goals in their lifetime but there may not be legitimate means to do so and because of their deprivation and need to attain social goals such as employment, individuals will turn to crime to
ensure that their livelihoods are intact. ‘Strain theory’ provides a framework to highlight the possible reasons for why individuals turn to crime. Merton [25] argued that, “deviant behaviour results from a disequilibrium borne out of the gap between culturally prescribed goals and the means and opportunities of attaining these legitimately.”

In a Capitalist society like South Africa, there exists inequality, which is entrenched in every sphere of the country, in which an imbalance of capital, resources and power and social classes are formed, with the wealthy maintaining power and resources. Such imbalances foster poverty, unemployment, and tension. This ‘forces’ some individuals to turn to illegitimate ways of acquiring material possessions for themselves, including violence [25]. This is evident in many instances in which foreign nationals were attacked during the many xenophobic attacks in South Africa, the most prominent being the 2008 and 2015 violent xenophobic attacks, and blamed for the unequal conditions in the country, foreign nationals were perceived as the reason for the strains which are placed upon citizens.

Agnew [26] expanded on Merton’s theory and asserted that people may in turn threaten and physically assault those with the possessions that they themselves require. Local citizens often attempt to drive out foreigners from their homes and places of business to take back resources and money that does not “rightfully” belong to them. Foreign nationals reside in South Africa and are most often, employed and receive social benefits, rumors are spread that foreigners receive more social benefits and advantages than local citizens and this causes social unrest exploding in incidents of hate crime and xenophobic attacks [27,28]. People may be fearful that foreigners are invading their land and depriving them of autonomy and their goals to be successful or to earn a living, the more demands that society creates tends to increase an individual’s perceptions of inadequacy and deprivation as they feel entitled to the possessions owned by foreign nationals [29]. As a consequence of such feelings, minority groups turn into scapegoats for the anguishes felt by indigenous members of society [30]. The media tends to amplify the strains faced by citizens and fuel negative attitudes against foreign nationals thereby making the claims seem more legitimate and this drives citizens to the commission of hate crimes, due to the negative attitudes fostered by xenophobia, to decrease their own levels of frustration of not feeling socially and economically secure [31].

“Frustrations can weigh heavily on the minds of many individuals, for some, their frustration is internalized as negative feelings about the self but quickly resurfaces as a feeling of anger which is then directed towards outsiders who are seen as the source of the offender’s own problems” [31]. For this particular reason, certain types of offences, like hate crime is committed due to the offender’s own disadvantages in a society which are then blamed on others, in this case, foreign nationals who are seen as a threat and barrier to achieving society’s constructed goals [28]. Therefore, Strain theory has been used to explain the possible reasons for xenophobia and specifically, hate crimes against foreign nationals within South Africa.

The Realistic Group Conflict Theory

The theory was officially named by Donald Campbell in 1960 but has been articulated by others since, such as Muzafir Sherif [32], in his attempt to explain realistic group conflict theory in a social experiment. Sherif’s [32] findings and explanations regarding this particular theory shall be used within this paper. The underlying propositions of realistic group conflict theory as postulated by Sherif [32] is that conflict is bound to occur between groups and the conflict is said to arise due to resources that are valuable to both groups and inter-group conflict stems from such a desire to be the possessor of the valued resources. Sherif conducted research called the ‘Robbers Cave Experiment’ based on these premises, two groups of twelve year old boys were set up in a camp without each group knowing the existence of the other group, eventually the two groups, after forming solid bonds and intra-group solidarity, were then made to compete against each other. Consequently, the groups developed hostile feelings towards each other; the last phase of the experiment involved activities aimed at fostering unity between the groups in which both groups had to cooperate and work together to complete the designated tasks, called ‘superordinate goals’ however Sherif noted that even after successful completion, the conflict between groups was never completely resolved.

Foreign nationals face a continuous struggle within South Africa as they are excluded and prevented from accessing the country freely, they are stigmatized and perceived as a threat to the developing nation rather than an asset which contributes positively to the country as a whole. This is why ‘Realistic group conflict theory’ is ideal in demonstrating the conflict between local citizens and foreign nationals. Realistic group conflict theory asserts the challenges faced by the ‘out-group’, (which in this particular research study will refer to foreign nationals) for inclusion within the ‘in-group’ (local citizens) which can be adequately related to the phenomenon of xenophobia in South Africa. “The basic thesis of realistic group conflict theory is that intergroup hostility is produced by the existence of conflicting goals [i.e. competition] and reduced by the existence of mutually desired superordinate goals attainable only through intergroup cooperation” [33]. Sherif and Sherif [32] claimed that in-group values, norms and customs are determinedly affected by relationships with other groups and that the general favourability of intergroup relations is established by the mutual or shared interests and goals of the groups involved. Such factors can include issues of safety, economic prosperity, political conflict, and threats to social status [33].

The above-mentioned factors and challenges all contribute to conflict and competition over scarce resources which further
emblazes prejudiced attitudes and beliefs levelled towards the out-group, according to ‘realistic group conflict theory’, when groups are engaged in competition and conflict over scarce resources, resulting in the acquisition of such resources by the out-group, the out-group is subsequently unfavourably stereotyped [33]. The theory also notes that as solidarity increases for the in-group, so too does negative perceptions of the out-group [34]. This solidarity is seen in the many marches and protests against foreign nationals, in which the dislike of foreigners creates stronger bonds between citizens who share the same beliefs and negative perceptions regarding foreigners. “Group hostility depends not only on competition and perceptions of threat, but also on the extent to which self-identity and perceptions of individual interests are based on group membership” [35]. Aggression towards the out-group may arise if the identity, wellbeing, possessions or standing of one’s group is endangered, intergroup conflict surges due to the subjective assessments of threats by out-group members [33]. Citizens are misguided by negative perceptions that foreigners pose a threat to the country and therefore hostility is fostered based on perceived rather than actual, real threats. Crush [19] found that many South African citizens firmly believe that there exists a link between the economic and security problems of the country, and the rise in the number of foreign nationals within South Africa. As was found in the literature review section of this paper, foreign nationals are perceived to be either the root cause or part of the serious economic, political and physical security issues that the country faces continuously.

The prejudice that arises as a consequence of conflict between opposing groups is more severe towards the group that is the weaker group or the group that is more vulnerable, therefore, in the case of xenophobia, it is the immigrants who will be more exposed to prejudice than the South Africans, as the immigrants are away from home and are in the minority. In other words, foreigners residing in South Africa are the minority out-group and are utilizing resources for which they are stigmatized, they reside in a country where any proprietorship over capital and resources is frowned upon due to the negative perceptions that shadow foreign nationals for not belonging to the country. These prejudiced opinions emblaze the dislike of the out-group. Realistic group conflict theory is therefore explained to contribute to the reasons for which foreign nationals struggle for inclusion in South Africa.

**Research methodology**

A desktop study was undertaken from March to September 2017 to explore why and how foreign nationals struggle for inclusion and against hate crimes in South Africa. Since this study was written according to the outlines of desk research, the various sources of information utilized included the internet, specifically online library databases, accredited sites, e-journals/articles obtained from accredited sources such as ‘Sabinet’ as well as Google Scholar. South African news articles related to the topic of xenophobia, academic journal articles and books were also utilized. The steps taken to initiate research was first to identify a gap in the previously conducted research papers on the topic, which included reviewing academic research papers obtained from online library databases, which led to establishing the route of the study after finding a gap in previous research. This then guided the collection of further data from the above-mentioned sources, the purpose was to add to the continuously growing body of research in order to create a cohesive blend of information in order to meet the aims and objectives of the research study on xenophobia within the South African context.

The articles sourced were not completely challenging to find as they were readily available, the only difficulty the researcher encountered (as xenophobia is broad topic) was having to sift through the great quantity of information and articles to find a research topic, that is not only different to all previous studies, but also enabled data collection from similar articles which are in abundance to draw out information that ensures the richness of content within this treatise. The articles sourced were always readily available and after narrowing down the topics researched in the articles to match the topic of this study, the choice of selecting the final set of articles was made for the simple reason that it related to the topic at hand.

**Discussion**

This study is an attempt to add to the growing body of knowledge on xenophobia as a social and legal problem that plagues Southern Africa. As the title of the study implies, the study has two purposes, firstly to delve into a deeper understanding of how foreign nationals residing in contemporary South Africa face challenges of inclusion within the society and the country as a whole, and how these foreign nationals are victimized for belonging to a different nationality are victims of hate crimes. The researcher, after examining many studies within the country, found that it is evidently valid foreign nationals do in fact face great challenges of inclusion. Foreign nationals are continually targeted and excluded from being a part of the growing and ‘united’ country called South Africa.

Findings obtained in this study have revealed that not only in South Africa but in many other countries, xenophobia is due to a few common stereotypes that are then heightened by groups within the country, this in turn leads to false information being distributed between citizens who in turn begin to foster negative attitudes about immigrants. Individuals in power have the ability to influence large amounts of people, numerous political leaders around the world have repeatedly spoken out against foreign nationals and these leaders do not only implicitly encourage the exclusion of immigrants but also explicitly call for their removal. Political leaders have presented information that depicts migrants as parasites with nothing beneficial to add to a country, such sensitive information, wrong as it is, still was capable of igniting
nationals were blamed for the strains placed upon citizens. As prescribe goals or individuals and when these goals aren’t achieved, imbalance of power, resources and capital but society continues to Africa is a capitalist society and in such a society there exists an will turn to crime to ensure that their livelihoods are intact. South not be legitimate means to do so and because of their deprivation by society to achieve certain goals in their lifetime but there may acceptable, people are encouraged and are placed under pressure and the fact that there exists facets of society considered socially economic sectors. These findings comply with the Strain theory which argues that the origin of deviance is linked to society itself greater ability to build or destroy the country’s security and were due to the same stereotypes discussed by the researcher foreign nationals were only two of over twenty outbreaks in 2017 especially Somali nationals. These attacks levelled against as asylum facilities and drive out foreign nationals as they are believed to destroy the American culture to the extent that many inhabitants are feeling like aliens in their ‘own land’ which shows a sense of entitlement. In South Africa, xenophobic statements were made by political leaders, in 2014, President Jacob Zuma asserted that “blacks should not behave as if they were typical blacks from Africa” and in 2014, the African National Congress general secretary, Gwede Mantashe, blamed foreign nationals for the unrest in South Africa. Two common stereotypes, namely that foreign nationals are a threat to physical security and economic security were tested through previous studies and the researcher found many incidents, reports and statistics which indicate that these stereotypes are in fact existing opinions of many citizens. Such stereotypes united with false information from leaders, in turn leads to xenophobic propaganda.

The researcher determined that the negative attitudes excluding foreigners from belonging to democratic South Africa and the explosion of hate crimes committed against non-nationals due to such a large scale exclusion is rooted in the false premises of the two prominent stereotypes mentioned above. The validity of these stereotypes were tested extensively in many previous studies and they were proven to be invalid, official crime statistics determined that foreign nationals comprised a very small percentage of the crime rates within the country and in terms of economic security, the researcher found that the majority of foreign nationals contribute positively towards the growth of the economy and country.

It is in fact the citizens of the country and not the small population of foreign nationals, as compared to the much larger population of citizens in any area of the country, that have the greater ability to build or destroy the country’s security and economic sectors. These findings comply with the Strain theory which argues that the origin of deviance is linked to society itself and the fact that there exists facets of society considered socially acceptable, people are encouraged and are placed under pressure by society to achieve certain goals in their lifetime but there may not be legitimate means to do so and because of their deprivation and need to attain social goals such as employment, individuals will turn to crime to ensure that their livelihoods are intact. South Africa is a capitalist society and in such a society there exists an imbalance of power, resources and capital but society continues to prescribe goals or individuals and when these goals aren’t achieved, people may turn to illegitimate options to attain such goals, foreign nationals were blamed for the strains placed upon citizens. As outlined in the theoretical framework of this paper, strain theory also asserts that people may in turn resort to violence and physical attacks to threaten and harm those with the possessions that they themselves require.

Local citizens have been found to drive out foreign nationals from their places of residence and businesses in an attempt to take back resources and money that are believed to belong rightfully to the inhabitants of the country rather than to the immigrants. In terms of the struggle for inclusion that has been found to be a current prominent issue faced by many foreign nationals, the ‘realistic group conflict theory’ asserts the findings of this paper. The underlying propositions of realistic group conflict theory as postulated by Sherif is that conflict is certain to arise between groups and the conflict is said to arise due to resources that are valued to both groups, inter-group conflict stems from such a desire to be the possessor of such valued resources. In South Africa, the out-group (foreign nationals) are excluded by the in-group (South African local inhabitants) by possessing resources that are highly valued by the in-group, and they are subsequently stereotyped. As solidarity of the in-group increases, so too does negative perceptions of the out-group.

Violence in democratic South Africa against non-nationals is still found to be a dire problem. “Jeppestown, east of the Johannesburg city centre, has experienced multiple xenophobic incidents over the years, most notably in 2008 and 2015 when residents attacked foreign nationals and looted their shops.” “On Sunday, 26 February, 2017 attacks on shops in Jeppestown owned by foreign nationals took place on Sunday night near the Denver Hostel where large groups of people moved around the area threatening foreign nationals and looting foreign-run shops.” “Since January 2017, 15 murders of foreign shopkeepers have been reported in Cape Town, including Khayelitsha, Makhaya and Philippili. Robberies appear to be targeting foreign nationals, especially Somali nationals.” These attacks levelled against foreign nationals were only two of over twenty outbreaks in 2017 and were due to the same stereotypes discussed by the researcher in this treatise, that foreigners are largely to blame for the security and economic difficulties that plagues South Africa.

Conclusion

This paper draws on several previous studies on the topic of xenophobia, a topic that has been extensively researched worldwide and within Southern Africa. However, the researcher attempted to focus solely on South Africa in order to provide an informative study for the prevalence and dangers of xenophobia in the country. The researcher also attempted to establish a gap in all known research done on xenophobia by providing a holistic paper that discusses the laws and policies condemning xenophobia in South Africa, the xenophobic sentiments of citizens, common stereotypes levelled against foreigners and also how the apartheid
era contributed towards contemporary xenophobic sentiments and violence. The researcher attempted to provide a current and fresh vision of xenophobia in South Africa and also widen the horizons of readers by not focusing on specific areas within South Africa but rather to provide up-to-date analyses of xenophobia in the country as a whole.

References
1. Gopal N (2013) They Call Us Makwerekwes. Foreign learners speak out against Xenophobia pp. 125-144.
2. Keogh K, Landau B, Singh G (2005) Xenophobia in South Africa and problems Related to it. University of Witwatersrand, South Africa.
3. Kollapen J (1999) Xenophobia in South Africa: The Challenge to Forced Migration. University of Witwatersrand, South Africa.
4. Matuha u J (2011) Revisiting the May 2008 Xenophobic Attacks in South Africa. African Journal of Criminology and Justice Studies 5(1&2).
5. O'Reilly K (2015) The Role of Law in Curbing Xenophobia.
6. Le Cordeur M (2017) New Farm Law to block Foreign Land Ownership.
7. Nicolaou G (2017) Xenophobia: Attacks, now a march.
8. Reitz M (2009) Centre for Policy Studies Report. Policy studies bulletin (10).
9. Danso R, McDonald D (2000) Writing Xenophobia: Immigration and the Press in post-apartheid South Africa. Southern African Migration Project: 34, Cape Town, South Africa.
10. Valji N (2003) Creating the Nation: The Rise of Xenophobia in the New South Africa. Unpublished Master's Thesis, York University.
11. Mattes R, Crush J, Richmond W (2002) Skilled Migrants and Immigration Policy in Post-apartheid South Africa. South African Migration Project, Project Policy. No. 20.
12. Sapa AP (2008) Refugees need help. The Star p. 6.
13. Singh S (2011) Xenophobia and Crime: Foreign Nationals Awaiting trial in A South African Prison. Acta Criminologica 24 (2): 31-47.
14. Sapa (2014) Detention of Migrants at Lindela is Unlawful.
15. Laing A (2015) South African Police Officer’s Guilty of Murdering taxi driver.
16. Cornish J (2015) Xenophobic attacks erupt in South Africa.
17. Hans B (2015) King's anti-foreigner speech causes alarm.
18. Jung C (2000) Then I Was Black. Yale University Press, South Africa.
19. Crush J (2000) The Dark Side of Democracy: Migration, Xenophobia and Human Rights in South Africa. International Migration 38(6):103-131.
20. Nkomo M, Mkwazani-Twala Z, Carrim N (1995) The long shadow of Apartheid ideology: The case of open schools in South Africa. In: Bowser PB (ed) Racism and anti-racism in world perspective. Sage Publications, London, United Kingdom.
21. Landau LB (2011) Introducing the Demons. In: Landau, L. B. (ed.) exercising the demons within: Xenophobia, violence, and statecraft in contemporary South Africa. Wits University Press, Johannesburg, South Africa.
22. Human Rights Watch (1998) “Prohibited persons”: Abuse of undocumented migrants, asylum seekers, and refugees in South Africa.
23. Vale P (2002) Migration, xenophobia, and security-making in post-apartheid South Africa. South African Journal of Political Studies 29: 7-29.
24. Uzeh BC (2014) Conflict Resolution and Management of Inter-group Relations in South Africa: A Study of Black South African Reactions to Other African Immigrants (“Amakwerekwere”). University of Kwa-Zulu Natal, South Africa.
25. Merton RK (1968) Social Theory and Social structure. Free Press, New York, USA.
26. Agnew R (1992) Foundation for General Strain Theory of Crime and Delinquency. Criminology 30: 47-49.
27. Bowling B, Phillips C (2003) Racist victimization in England and Wales. Cambridge University press, United Kingdom.
28. Ray L, Smith D (2002) Hate Crime, violence, and Cultures of Racism. Profile Books, London, United Kingdom.
29. Perry B (2009) The Sociology of Hate: Theoretical Approaches. Praeger, London, United Kingdom.
30. Young J (1999) The Exclusive Society: Social exclusion, Crime and Difference in Late Modernity. Sage Publications, London, United Kingdom.
31. Walters MA (2011) A General Theories of Hate Crime: Strain, Doing difference and Self Control. Critical Criminology 19(4): 313-330.
32. Sheriff M (1966) Group Conflict and Cooperation: Their Social Psychology Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, United Kingdom.
33. Jackson Jay W (1993) Realistic Group Conflict Theory: A Review and Evaluation of the Theoretical and Empirical Literature. Kenyon Paul Psychology Department, USA.
34. Sheriff M, Sheriff CW (1979) Research on Intergroup Relations. Brooks/ Cole, Canada.
35. Bobo L (1983) White's Opposition to Busing: symbolic Racism or Realistic Group Conflict. Journal of Personality Psychology 45(6) 1196-1210.
36. Edsall TB (2017) The peculiar populism of Donald Trump.
37. Gumede W (2015) South Africa must confront the roots of its xenophobic violence.
38. Hironpolous A (2017) Monitoring Xenophobic Violence in South Africa: Special Report, Xenophobic Attacks 2017. African Centre for Migration and Society, University of Witwatersrand, South Africa.
39. Crush J, Williams V (2003) Criminal Tendencies and illegality in South Africa Migration Policy Brief no.10. South African Migration Project Cape Town, South Africa.
40. http://www.theguardian.com/commentsfree/2015/apr/20/south-africa-xenophobic-violence-migrant-workers-apartheid
41. McLeod S (2008) Robbers Cave: Realistic Group conflict Theory.
42. Palmary I (2002) Safety and Xenophobia in South African Cities: The Role of Local Government. Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, Johannesburg, South Africa.
