

Causes and Effects of Xenophobic Attacks on Nigeria – South Africa Relations

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Abstract: *The study examined the causes of the worrisome recurring xenophobic attacks by South Africa against fellow Africans in general and Nigeria in particular and its effects on Nigeria-South Africa relations. It is Qualitative Research oriented. Thus, secondary source of data cum data gathering which is usually library based and include books, journals, newspapers, unpublished works, the internet, as well as conference papers especially those focusing on Nigeria-South Africa Relations in general and xenophobic attacks in particular were used. Political Realism is the theoretical framework that guided the study. Recommendations were proffered based on findings. The study reveals that colonial cum apartheid culture, social-economic deprivation, institutional/structural factors and avariciousness were the major causes of xenophobic attacks on Nigeria and other nationals. It also found that the xenophobic attacks have adverse diplomatic, economic and socio-psychological effects on Nigeria South Africa relations. The study recommended among other things that Nigeria in its relations with South Africa should proactively pursue to achieve its set foreign policy objective (national interest) which in this context is the protection of lives and property of her nationals in South Africa; South African youths should be empowered with skills that would enable them to redirect their intelligence to productive activities to compete with foreign business counterparts rather than resorting to envy-oriented violence; perpetrators and sponsors of attacks should be prosecuted and held accountable regardless of their social status while victims should be compensated by their assailants or the government of South Africa to serve as deterrent against further onslaught.*

Keywords: Xenophobia, Bilateral Relation, Foreign Policy, National interest.

Introduction

Diplomatic relations are predicated on national interests. It is a calculative and mutual undertaking or exercise. States go into bilateral or multilateral relations with other states being driven by their respective national interests. Right from independence, Nigeria has been on the vanguard of fighting the course of Africa; as a result, it championed the struggle against Apartheid rule with her hard earned human and material resources. Accordingly, Niworu (2018) reveals that Nigeria spent sixty-one Billion US Dollars in fighting apartheid in South Africa. This led to the collapse of Apartheid rule in 1990 and the eventual ushering of South Africa into comity of nations in 1994 as a democratic State. Presently Nigeria plays host to numerous South Africa's investments. Unfortunately, for over two decades now what she gets in return is the wanton killing of her citizens; destroying and looting of the properties of those who escaped death under the guise of xenophobic violence by South Africans despite this show magnanimity. In line with the foregoing, Niworu, (2018) bemoans that South Africans have forgotten so soon, the enormous amount of money Nigeria spent to fight apartheid and institute democratic governance in South Africa, thereby bringing her to the main fold of independent nations.

The South Africa's Constitution incorporated fundamental human rights of citizens and foreign nationals as guaranteed in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). In Chapter 2, for example, everyone is equal before the law and has the right to equal protection and benefit of the law and the right to life in accordance with the Bill of Rights. This is to say that the Constitution protects all people within the borders of South Africa, guaranteeing basic human and legal rights to everyone living in South Africa (Preamble to the South African Constitution 1996, cited in Hågensen, 2014:6). But, this is far from being observed as it is only in theory.

Available data reveal that 117 Nigerians have been extra judicially killed between 2013 and 2018 for one flimsy reason or the other ("Killings: Nigeria can't sever ties with S. Africa," 2018). Sahara reporters' timeline on xenophobic attacks reveals that about 10 Nigerians were killed in xenophobic violence between February and July, 2019 (Sahara Reporters, 2019). This makes the figure of Nigerians extra-judicially killed in South Africa between 2013 and 2019 to amount to 127. The most disheartening being that 13 out of these were reportedly killed by South African police who exists to protect lives and property. Extrajudicial killings carried out by the operatives of South African Police Service (SAPS) are unbridled (Sahara Reporters, 2019).

The most recent of these attacks was the September, 2019 xenophobic violence where Nigerians and other nationals living in Johannesburg, Pretoria and its surrounding were brutally assaulted. Many suffered the loss of their businesses and homes, while others lost their lives or that of their loved ones following the death of a taxi driver (SABCNews, 2019). About 50 businesses predominantly owned by Nigerians from the rest of the continent were reportedly destroyed or damaged during the incident.

Consequently, 640 Nigerians signed up to take free flights to Nigeria courtesy of Air Peace, amidst attacks on foreigners (Breton, 2019).

The government of the Rainbow country is doing virtually nothing to contain this dastardly act; human cruelty to fellow humans; which is so disheartening when it is coming from the person whom you have so much contributed in fighting his course. If eventually arrests are made, the suspects would be released and the case dies naturally. For instance, Sahara Reporters (2019) reported an arrest and prosecution in October 2017 following the killing of one Badmus Olalekan from Lagos State by officers of the South African police. His death led to the arrest and arraignment of eight policemen in Vanderbijl Park, near Johannesburg but nothing substantially was made out of it.

The pervasive and reoccurring nature of xenophobic attacks in South Africa impinges on the ethos of African Renaissance, making the African project and Nigeria's Afrocentric benevolent foreign policy objects of ridicule. It is in view of the foregoing that this study investigates xenophobic attacks on Nigerians by the South Africans, its causes and effects on Nigeria – South Africa relations, the strength of Nigeria foreign policy to protect her nationals abroad and the way forward.

Statement of the Problem

The attacks, wanton destruction of properties and killings of Nigeria nationals by South Africa citizens have continued unabated in spite of the enormous contributions by Nigeria to the liberation of South Africa from her period of apartheid and numerous South Africa's investments being hosted in Nigeria. African Renaissance or Africa project has not been able to curb this xenophobic violence for better relations between Nigeria and South Africa.

Greed, rapacity, unemployment and racial discriminatory background mostly, among the black have remained unabated in South Africa thereby giving rise to all sorts of criminal activities including attacks, violence, armed banditry and killing of innocent foreigners especially, Nigerians at the slightest or even no provocation.

There had been anti South Africa demonstrations in Nigeria as well as violent attacks on South African investments such as MTN, Shoprite in Lagos and Abuja. This development when allowed uncontained, may jeopardize Nigeria – South Africa cardinal relations.

The above worrisome situation therefore, propelled this painstaking and thorough examination of the causes of the xenophobic attacks on Nigerians by the South Africans and its effects on the bi-lateral relations of the two countries as well as the way out of the logjam.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Political Realism

We found Political Realism a veritable tool to analyse causes and effects of xenophobic attacks on Nigeria - South Africa Relations. Political Realism emerged on the American scene after 1930 as a stern reaction against idealism. Its root is traceable from the works of Thucydides, particularly his work on 'history of Peloponnesian war, which raged between 431 and 404 BCE (Antunes & Camisao 2018). Thucydides pointed out that in the realm of politics, the strong must rule over the weak (Oluwaseyi & Segun, 2019). Hobbes states that "Men are equal, they interact in anarchy, they are driven by competition, difference and anarchy" (Donnelly, 2000:32). Hans Morgenthau, the most outspoken representative of Realist school emphasizes the importance of National interest, defined in terms of power in the determination of a countries foreign policy and its diplomacy. By power he meant, man's control over the minds and actions of other men. (Johari 2009). Put succinctly, a state can only guarantee its survival if its national interests are achieved, which must be through the instrumentality of power" (Jervis, 1994).

Prof. F.L. Schuman, (in Johari,2009) advises each state, to maintain its autonomy, by competing with others; and extinguish all possible threats from the side of its rivals as moral principles are of mere propaganda value; they have no place in the game of national power. (Johari, 2009:192). Machiavelli concurs when he avers:

Where the safety of one's country is at stake, they must be no consideration of what is just or merciful or cruel, or glorious or shameful; on the contrary everything must be disregarded save the course which will save her life and maintain her independence. (Johari, 2009 : 187).

South Africa understands the nitty gritty of international politics and maximizes every available means, including using xenophobic violence as a strategy to remain in power. International politics is driven by self interest (national interest) which must be prosecuted through the instrumentality of power (moral or immoral). National interests create necessary condition for international conflict as it increases the chances for different states interests to run at cross-purposes. International politics is a conflict of interest

and a struggle for power. Nigeria and South Africa being the two giants in the continent, each is trying to control the soul of Africa. South Africa employs xenophobic violence as a strategy (that is why SA government and its agencies always deny xenophobia when it happens), while Nigeria toes the path of international benevolence (Africa big brother) sentimental, declaratory and non-retaliatory foreign policy.

The recurring attacks on Nigeria in South Africa has shown that Nigeria's foreign policy has not been able to guarantee the protection of her primary national interest which in this context refers to the lives and properties of her nationals in South Africa. Realist theory argues that the actions of states which are implemented through foreign policy in the realm of international politics must be guided by their pursuit towards protecting and achieving set objectives (national interest). This is buttressed by Machiavelli (cited in Johari, 2009:187) when he asserts that "where the safety of one's country is at stake, there must be no consideration of what is just or merciful or cruel, or glorious or shameful; on the contrary everything must be disregarded save the course which will save her life and maintain her independence". This is corroborated by Prof. Schuman, who admonished in (Johari, 2009:187) that for each state to maintain its autonomy; it must compete with others to extinguish all possible threats from the side of its rival. It must have sufficient power to deal with the opponents.

South Africa's employment of xenophobic violence is aimed at protecting the interest and wellbeing of its citizens and intimidating other African states, including almighty Nigeria. On the side of Nigeria, the lives and properties of its nationals in South Africa have been at stake owing to the incessant xenophobic attacks on them thereby threatening the independence and autonomy of Nigeria. Nigeria should rise to this threatening occasion, see South Africa as a rival, which they are in the international arena and extinguish the threat posed by South Africa's un-abating xenophobic attacks on her citizens.

Operating foreign policy of international benevolence is part of moral principles which is of mere propaganda value; it has no place in international politics, and does not in any way guarantee the interest of Nigeria. For instance, Nigeria's roles in the anti-apartheid struggle and its hosting of South Africa many investments have not guaranteed the safety of Nigerians in South Africa. Accordingly, Nigeria's foreign policy can be classified as being subjective and weak.

To secure her interests in the sphere of international politics, Nigeria's foreign policy must translate from benevolence to a power driven foreign policy, which consciously and aggressively seeks to protect her interests and objectives. The only language that international politics hears and respects is the language of 'power' motivated by national interest.

THE CHARACTER OF NIGERIA – SOUTH AFRICA RELATIONS

Prior to the collapse of Apartheid rule, Nigeria and South Africa had no bilateral relations as South Africa was regarded as a pariah state in the international community due to her apartheid stance. At the dawn of democracy in South Africa and Nigeria, there was a dramatic turnaround; the duo saw her selves as two emerging African giants that will reposition the African continent for sustainable development and economic growth (Ebegbulem, 2013). This resulted into the establishment of South Africa-Nigeria Bi-national Commission (BNC) which aims at increasing the amount of trade and investments between South Africa and Nigeria.

Nigeria since her flag independence has pursued with enthusiasm the decolonization of the African continent and eradication of racial discrimination and domination. Onouha (2008) captures the first opportunity for Nigeria to implement her foreign policy on anti-colonialism as being provided by the Shapeville massacre of 21st March 1960. This incidence witnessed the brutal attack of South African blacks protesting against racial discrimination and domination by the white South African police. The consequence was the death of 72 blacks with many others wounded. This marked the beginning of Nigeria's diplomatic confrontations with South Africa (Onouha 2008). This and other racial and heinous inhuman treatment against fellow blacks in South Africa by their white counterparts provoked Nigeria to champion the call for political and economic sanctions against the apartheid South Africa at the International Community. Accordingly, Chibuzor, Ajah, Onyedikachi, and Chukwuma, (2017) remark that Nigeria contributed to the liberation struggle by employing two major strategies, which include: a. Resentment and condemnation of the apartheid policy; b. the use and sponsorship of sanction against the racist government.

The Tafawa Balewa government (1960-1966) upon assumption of office instituted measures to check South Africa's apartheid policies. His administration championed the call for complete isolation of South Africa by the International Community by banning the importation of South African goods into the country and mobilizing for political and economic sanctions against the racist regime in the international community (Ebegbulem, 2013). Gambari (1989) captured the view of the leader of the opposition party at the Nigerian Federal House of Parliament, Obafemi Awolowo after the massacre. Awolowo condemned the dastardly act and called for a swift and effective action against South African interest in Nigeria. He maintained that Nigeria should force South Africa out of the Commonwealth because the Pretoria regime had displayed sadism and barbarism, which is rare in the annals of man.

Consequently, South Africa was suspended from the Commonwealth in 1961 and trade embargo imposed through the instrumentality of the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U) now AU. Subsequent Nigeria governments continued the fight against apartheid regime. For instance, the recognition and support accorded to the MPLA regime in Angola by Murtala Mohammed regime in 1975 was another strategy to collapse the racist regime. The recognition was extended immediately South Africa military invaded Angola to boost the fortunes of FNLA-UNITA alliance, and frustrate the MPLA (Onuoha 2008). Speaking at the OAU extraordinary summit in January 1976, at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, General Murtala Mohammed declared:

First, we call the attention of all to the diabolical role of apartheid. The main elements of that criminal doctrine are too well known to this Assembly to necessitate any detailed analysis. Suffice it to say that the whole rationale behind this doctrine, which the United Nations had aptly condemned as a crime against humanity, is the perpetual subjugation of the African man, in order to create a paradise on earth for the whites. When I contemplate on the evil of apartheid, my heart, and am sure the heart of every true-blooded African bleeds (Garba, 1987:94).

The pressure from Nigeria and other nations of the world paid off when in 1991 the apartheid regime collapsed. This development provided a leeway to South Africa for diplomatic interactions with Nigeria and other nations of the world. Accordingly, Ebegbulem (2013) succinctly declared that:

the degree of the solidarity, support and sacrifice which the government and people of Nigeria exhibited in the quest for the elimination of apartheid and the enthronement of democracy and majority rule in South Africa was such that Nigeria, not minding the geographical distance, became identified as a frontline state. At the dawn of democracy in South Africa, Nigerians, especially the professionals, were part of those that started to migrate to South Africa. Part of the philosophy of those early migrants was to contribute to the much needed nation building in post apartheid South Africa. (Ebegbulem 2013:33).

In 1994, when the majority rule and democracy was fully enthroned in South Africa, it becomes the turn of the Rainbow country to use its position as emerging Africa's superpower to campaign for sanction and suspension of Nigeria from Commonwealth and United nations. This was orchestrated by the many human rights abuses by Nigerian government occasioned by protracted military rule antecedent. The triggering event that placed Nigeria in a pariah status in the international community was the tragic and inhuman hanging of the environmentalist, Ken Saro Wiwa and eight other Ogoni activists (popularly referred to as Ogoni Nine) on November 10, 1995 by General Sani Abacha's detestable regime. The Ogoni-Nine were hanged after they were 'convicted' for the murder of four traditional chiefs in Ogoni Land in 1994. Consequently, at the 1995 Commonwealth Summit in Auckland, the then South African President, Nelson Mandela vigorously campaigned for the expulsion of Nigeria from Commonwealth (Adeleke & Ademola 2019). The campaign by Nigeria for the suspension of South Africa because of apartheid rule and that of South Africa against Nigeria as a result of military rule and its attendant human right abuses, project the relations between these two African giants as confrontational.

However, the return to democratic government in Nigeria in 1999 opened a new page of relations. Nigeria - South Africa relations became less confrontational but friendly and cordial. From that point on, the South African State built a strong relationship with the Nigerian government under the leadership of Obasanjo and Yar'Adua. Dubow (2000) in Ebegbulem (2013) corroborated when he avers that, the relations was helped by the fact that Thabo Mbeki had formed a strong friendship with Obasanjo and Yar'Adua when he was in exile in Nigeria from 1976 to 1979. Nigeria and South Africa being emerging giants of Africa became cooperative in a range of continental projects like the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). They add their voices in appreciating the new commitment to African development programmes by the developed world by ensuring that engagement with the developed world meets African union (AU) objective of extricating the continent from underdevelopment. They worked closely on conflict prevention and resolution, the establishment and operationalisation of the African Union, and put forward a detailed blueprint for sustainable development for Africa.

Nigeria-South Africa relations under the leadership of President Jonathan and Zuma, experienced a nosedive. In 2011, Nigeria and South Africa held different positions on two key regional issues. The first issue was on Côte d'Ivoire presidential election where South Africa supported President Laurent Gbagbo who refused to step down after he lost to Alassane Ouattara at the polls in the November 28, 2010, run-off election. Gbagbo's position was opposed by Nigeria. The second issue was on the embattled Libyan leader, Colonel Muammar Gaddafi. During the Arab Spring in the North African country, Nigeria recognised the National Transitional Council (NTC) as the government of Libya while South Africa stood by Colonel Muammar Gaddafi (Kirchick, 2011).

A new development arose in Nigeria – South Africa relation when in March 2012, South Africa deported 125 Nigerians for possessing ‘fake’ yellow fever vaccination cards. Nigeria responded by deporting 84 South Africans (Adeola and Ogunnoiki, 2015). The misunderstanding was quickly cleared up by South Africa and a letter of apology was tendered to Nigeria (Adeola and Ogunnoiki, 2015). Few months later, Nigeria and South Africa competed in the continental body – AU. This was at the election for the AU Commission chair; Nigeria on the one hand supported the incumbent AU Commission Chairperson, Jean Ping from Gabon, for a second term in office while South Africa on the other hand, stood behind its Home Affairs Minister, Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, who emerged the winner of the keenly contested election on July 15, 2012. She (the ex-wife of President Zuma), became the first female to head the Commission (Maasho, 2012).

Following the victory at the polls by ANC on 7th May, 2014, President Jacob Zuma was re-elected as the president of the country by the ANC-dominated parliament in Cape Town. Zuma’s second five-year term was another opportunity for South Africa to reset positively her relations with Nigeria. Unfortunately, that was not to be, owing to two events that cast a shadow over both countries relations. Firstly, in the third quarter of 2014 precisely, on September 5th, \$9.3 million was smuggled on a private plane owned by former President of the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), Pastor Ayo Oritsejafor, into South Africa for the purchase of arms by the federal government to combat the Islamic terrorist group, Boko Haram, (Adeola & Ogunnoiki, 2015). Secondly, a week after the arms money was flown into South Africa, a six-storey guesthouse belonging to the Synagogue Church of All Nations (SCOAN) in Ikotun-Egbe, Lagos State, collapsed; killing over 80 South Africans out of the 116 death toll on September 12, 2014 (Adeola & Ogunnoiki, 2015). These events further perpetrated the nosedive relations between the two countries.

The defeat of PDP led government after 16 years in power by the opposition party APC and coming to power of General Muhammadu Buhari (rtd) did not so much improve the nosdive Nigeria-South Africa relations. For instance, Shapshak, (2016) in Adeleke, & Ademola, (2019) remarks that in the economic front, the Nigerian Communications Commission (NCC), the telecom regulatory body, in October 2015, slammed a \$5.2 billion fine on the South African-owned telecom giant, MTN, for failing to adhere to the directive to disconnect unregistered Subscriber Identification Module (SIM) cards. The dilatory of MTN to deactivate the SIMs posed a security threat to Nigeria; as such SIM cards could have aided the covert operations of the Islamic terrorist group, Boko Haram. The fine was later reduced to \$1.671 billion i.e. 330 billion naira after President Jacob Zuma two-day State visit to Nigeria from March 8 to 9, 2016 (Adeleke & Ademola 2019:9). During the visit, President Zuma was given the seldom honour of addressing the joint session of Nigeria’s National Assembly.

Jacob Zuma, amidst corruption allegations resigned. His deputy, Cyril Ramaphosa, a businessman and former chairman of MTN was elected by the parliament to replace him. Few months after his assumption of office on February 15, 2018, precisely on July 11, 2018, Ramaphosa met with his Nigerian counterpart, President Muhammadu Buhari at the Presidential Villa, Abuja to strengthen the bilateral relations between both countries (Burke, 2018).

2019 witnessed general elections both in Nigeria and South Africa. Muhammadu Buhari the incumbent president of Nigeria was returned and his South African counterpart Cyril Ramaphosa was as well returned by his ANC dominated parliament after South Africa’s general election on May 08, 2019, was won by the ruling party ANC. Following the re-elections of duo, many Nigerians and South Africans became hopeful that both leaders would urgently treat the festering wound in Nigeria-South Africa relations which has been occasioned by the incessant and unabating xenophobic attacks on Nigerians domicile in South Africa. Unfortunately, this was not to be as such hope was dashed by the resurgence of xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals in South Africa which Nigeria is one of the hardest hit.

Sahara Reporters (2019) reveals that between February and July, 2019 10 Nigerian nationals were gruesomely killed in different location of South Africa for one flimsy reason or the other traversing from the killing of one unidentified Nigerian at his mid-20s who just travelled to South Africa on January 14, 2019 by the South Africa Police Service (SAPS) to Obianuju Ndubuisi-Chukwu, a Nigerian insurance chief, in her hotel room after attending a meeting of the African Insurance Organisation in the South African commercial capital (Sahara Reporters 2019). The most recent is September, 2019 xenophobic attacks on Nigerians and other nationals living in Johannesburg, Pretoria and its surrounding. Many suffered the loss of their businesses and homes, while some lost their lives. This attracted reactions from Nigeria’s National Assembly, other well meaning Nigerians, some international bodies and the eventual voluntary and free evacuation of willing Nigeria nationals by Chief Allen Onyema of Air Peace from South Africa. Over 300 Nigerian who indicated interests benefitted from this magnanimity (Africanews, 2019).

In retaliation, some youth carried out a protest at Shoprite premises around Jakande Estate, Lekki area of Lagos. This would have led to a full blown reprisal attack safe for the timely intervention of the Nigerian Police who dispersed the protesters (Vanguard (2019). Consequently, the Nigerian government withdrew its participation from the World Economic Forum (WEF) hosted by South Africa that kick-started on Wednesday September 4th 2019 and temporarily recalled its Ambassador to South Africa, Kabiru Bala in protest of the attacks on its citizens in South Africa. However, to stem the tide of further attacks and forestall total breakdown in Nigeria – South Africa relations, President Muhammadu Buhari sends special envoy to South Africa on September 5th, 2019 to interface with the South African government on the lingering attacks on Nigerian and register the Country’s displeasure on the matter. (Pulse_Nigeria, 2019). His South African counterpart, President Cyril Ramaphosa reciprocated, when he on September 16th,

2019 dispatched envoys to Nigeria and six (6) other African countries to deliver messages of pan-African unity and solidarity following xenophobic attacks in South Africa. (Vanguard, 2019). The special envoy to Nigeria, Mr. Jeff Radebe, conveyed Cyril Ramaphosa's apologies to Nigeria. Addressing the state house correspondence after a closed door meeting with President Buhari, Radebe revealed:

We met a short while ago with President Muhammadu Buhari to convey our President Ramaphosa's sincerest apologies about the incidents that have recently transpired in South Africa. Those incidents do not represent what we stand for as constitutional democracy in South Africa and the President has apologized for these incidents and he has also instructed law enforcement agencies to leave no stone unturned so that all those involved must be brought to book so that the rule of laws must prevail in South Africa. (Pulse, 2019).

President Ramaphosa, according to the envoy, said Nigeria and South Africa must continue to play a critical role in rebuilding of Africa to attain the Agenda 2063. (Pulse, 2019). To consolidate this move, President Buhari of Nigeria paid a 3 day official visit to South Africa amid tensions. He and Ramaphosa discussed political cooperation and trade and Buhari met with members of the Nigerian business community and took part in a Nigerian-South African business forum. The two leaders of Africa's mightiest economies touched briefly on the problem of xenophobia in South Africa at a press conference in Pretoria. Buhari condemned the violence, saying that both Nigeria and South Africa were committed to addressing the challenges. "It's a question of competition at a very low level – whether they are barbers or have small shops, where they feel it should belong exclusively to the indigenous people, or it is open to all people," he said.

Ramaphosa on his part said he wanted to reiterate South Africa's "deep regret" over the violence. "We would like to assure to you that South Africa is committed to the ideas of African unity and solidarity, to respect the human rights of others and to ensure that South Africa is ruled by the rule of law," he said. Through the statements of both leaders, it is unclear as to how they are planning to address the tensions. Buhari and Ramaphosa by their statements are interested on how to implement measures which would lead to the better understanding of the two sides. Ramaphosa spoke of more interaction between members of the South African and Nigerian business community, more cohesion and the two government's commitment to promote the best of values and "encourage people to people contacts that are of a positive nature." (DW LIVE TV 2019)

The two leaders also spoke about increasing policing and sharing intelligence. "It means the respective police forces must be very alert – they must infiltrate the communities, know what they are thinking and make sure they don't allow violence to escalate," Buhari noted, with Ramaphosa adding that all residents must of course abide by the law of the country they live in. (DW LIVE TV 2019). Be that as it may, it was very unfortunate that the two leaders did little or no concrete measures in their discussions to ease the tension and curb the xenophobic violence. Instead, they majored on trade deals and hopes of increased bilateral ties. Nigeria, Ramaphosa said, is one of South Africa's largest trading partners. "We noted with appreciation the increasing presence of South African companies in Nigeria and agreed on the need to promote greater investment by Nigerian companies in South Africa,". They forgot that recurring xenophobic attacks on Nigerian nationals in South Africa is capable of sabotaging and undermining whatever strategy they may put in place to foster bilateral and trade relations which is their interest.

With the foregoing, we can understand that Nigeria and South Africa have a lot to do in common as they are the perceived hope for growth and development in Africa. They stand to enjoy the benefits of cooperation, commerce from trade investment, military collaboration etc. However, their relations since independence have been characterised by the mixture of confrontations, nosedive and symbiotic. The confrontational aspect has further been aggravated by the incessant and wanton xenophobic violence of South Africans against Nigerians. South Africa has investment edge over Nigeria while Nigeria has expansive market advantage over South Africa. The duo needs each other to boost their respective economy. But it is very unfortunate that if these scenarios of xenophobic attacks keeps going on unchecked, the two countries even the entire Africa by extension would be robbed of the maximal benefits of symbiotic relations.

CAUSES OF XENOPHOBIC ATTACKS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The root causes of recurrent xenophobic attacks in South Africa lie in a complex mix of cultural, socio-economic, political/institutional factors and avariciousness. Therefore, to explicate or understand South Africa xenophobic violence, it must be viewed through the aforementioned variables which we have critically discussed here.

1. Inherited Colonial and Apartheid Culture

This explanation argues that the root cause of deep-seated xenophobic sentiments in South Africa revolves around its inherited history or culture of colonialism, apartheid and racism. Ordinarily, Africans are very hospitable and receptive. But the interruption of Europeans introduced hostility in Africa to achieve their selfish interest. Colonialism is not possible without employment and deployment of violence, terror and brutality. In their desperate effort to enthrone their subjugation project, they

introduced racism which sees other people as both sub-human and non-human and only fit for perpetual enslavement and coerced labour. Once you are perceived to be non-human, brutalities like genocides, epistemicides, dispossession, rape and murder and, consequently, colonialism are applied. The violence introduced by colonial conquerors seeps into the being and the psyche of the colonised. This explains the banal black-on-black violence common in black communities. The 2008 anti-immigrant violence is according to Mngxitama (2010) not fear and hatred of “foreigners” but fear and hatred of black people which he calls Negrophobia/Afrophobia.

Xenophobic violence in South Africa is a perpetuation of colonial and apartheid violence against black people which they have systematically internalised. Mngxitama adds that the security and privilege of South African whites and the new black elite is fed by the everyday structural violence of poor blacks—who are trapped in that reality. In fact, whites are never considered foreigners but tourists, investors and employment creators. Ironically, South African whites who constitute 10 per cent of the population own more than 80 per cent of the country’s wealth. The Johannesburg township of Alexandra which was the theatre of 2008 anti-immigrant violence is only a few kilometres from Sandton, the richest suburb in Africa and the epicentre of South African capital (Mngxitama, 2010).

Indeed a black subject sees another black as a mortal foe, a rival and a competitor who at certain circumstances must be verbally and physically assailed, expelled and eliminated. Here Mngxitama’s analysis is revealing: colonialism was crucial in creating a black subject preoccupied with labour, jobs and seeking employment at the white man’s employ and content with scrambling for crumbs from the white man’s table. Corroborating that xenophobic violence in South Africa is the consequence of colonialism and apartheid culture, Tafira (2018) argues that poverty, unemployment, competition for scarce resources are not the root causes of xenophobic attacks in South Africa. Rather, South Africa’s long history of settler colonialism has endured the long-lasting effect of racism and ethnicism which have become ghosts that continues to haunt contemporary society.

From the inception of the Union of South Africa in 1910, SA has been a deeply divided society characterized by discrimination, legalised apartheid, racism and exclusion in its political and social fabric (Adjai, & Lazaridis, 2013). As a result successive governments entrenched racist ideology and, from 1948 when the National Party took over power in the country, apartheid was the official government policy (Adjai, & Lazaridis, 2013 cited in Muchiri 2016:50). Misago, Landau and Monson (2009) associate the current culture of communal violence and xenophobic attacks to apartheid era of brutal government system, which they describe in the following words:

During the Apartheid era, the threat of violence, whether ‘vertical’ (State against citizens) or ‘horizontal’ (citizens or rival political and social factions against each other), saturated the lives of South Africans residing in the volatile, tightly policed townships... The effects of this historical fabric can be seen in the recent xenophobic attacks, when violence was justified by reference to the politics of housing and employment allocation as well as defending access to ‘our women’, and where criminal opportunism in some cases masqueraded under the evidently more acceptable guise of anti-foreigner initiatives. (Misago et l. 2009:10)

Under apartheid, blacks in South Africa were turned into ‘foreign natives’ in their own country, as soon as they went outside of their Bantustans or ‘independent homelands’. The law ensured that their presence in urban locations was only temporary. Their stay in the cities could not be longer than their usefulness there: they were there to build the city, care for gardens and pools, and nurture white children (Landau 2011: 3-5).

Throughout the history of South Africa the mobility of people has been controlled. In their book, *Exorcising the Demons Within* (ed. Landau 2011) the authors examined the issue of mobility and found that mobility was perceived as a threat to the insider community; they found that geographical and cultural belonging have been factors that determine one’s usefulness and citizenship. The enclosed, isolated nature of apartheid society dictated where one should live on the basis of skin colour and created a society that was unable to deal with strangers (Harris 2002). A former Minister of Home Affairs, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, expressed this in 1997 as he avers:

South Africa is faced with another threat, and that is the SADC ideology of free movement of people, free trade and freedom to choose where you live or work. Free movement of persons spells disaster for our country (Landau 2011: 6)

The stress created by Colonialism and Apartheid regimes in South Africa can be overwhelming; as a result, it leads to xenophobic attacks. The two regimes introduced violence and isolation which are still playing out in the present South Africa. However, to blame the xenophobic attacks on an inherited culture takes agency away from the people who committed these attacks. Therefore, Hopstock and Jager (2011) argue that while inherited culture might explain some of the xenophobia in South Africa, it is not enough to explain the frequent occurrence of such attacks. In addition this is a problematic argument in the light of South Africa’s long history of migrant labour from other southern African countries like Botswana and Mozambique, and also in the light of the liberation movement’s interactions with nationals of other countries whilst in exile. Zimbabweans, who come from a southern

African country, are often targets of xenophobia – indicating again that isolation can be contested as a sufficient explanation (Hagensen, 2014).

2. Socio-economic Causes of Xenophobic Attacks

Socio-economic variables are another factor that explains the persistent xenophobic violence in South Africa. Several studies have shown that the xenophobic attacks of May 2008 were mainly located in parts of cities characterised by shack settlements, high levels of poverty and unemployment, overcrowding, deteriorating services and competition for scarce resources (Muchiri, 2016). A number of scholars believe that socio-economic deprivation is a major cause of hostility towards foreigners living in SA. Accordingly, Morris, (1998) and McKnight, (2008) in their different studies argue that a major cause of persistent xenophobic violence in South Africa is the fact that foreigners are perceived as a threat to SA jobs, housing, education, healthcare and other economic benefits which are in short supply.

Citizens see other nationals as competing with them over access to limited services like healthcare, employment and other social services in their host communities. This leads to resentment towards foreign nationals who have the potential to excel in their professions or fill available jobs or push down the price of labour for those who are working. Concurring, Landau succinctly posits:

That many non-nationals are, in fact, better trained, more experienced, and willing to work for lower wages than the South Africans with whom they compete, provides some empirical justification for such sentiments (Landau 2011).

Harris (2002) agrees with this argument when he expresses the view that the poor socio-economic situation among Black South Africans has given rise to their hostile attitudes towards black African migrants and other foreigners living in their country who they view as rivals or competitors. The competition for scarce resources between poor South Africans and foreign nationals including Nigerians living in the townships and informal settlements is therefore being seen to be responsible for the persistent xenophobic violence in South Africa. A baseline survey conducted by the IOM and the Forced Migration Studies Programme at the Wits (FMSP) in 2009 established a close relationship between the prevalence of xenophobic sentiments and economic competition between nationals and foreigners running businesses in the various townships of SA (Muchiri, 2016). According to Muchiri, the survey noticed that there were existing socio-economic tensions, jealousy by nationals towards successful foreign small business owners, high levels of impunity, institutionalised discrimination against foreigners, and high levels of vigilantism in the townships which might easily lead to a fresh country-wide outbreak of xenophobic attacks if the underlying factors that trigger xenophobia are not urgently addressed (Muchiri, 2016).

Muchiri, (2016) cited an empirical study conducted by the FMSP in 2010, in which most South African respondents identified the presence of foreign nationals in SA communities as the primary cause of challenges to their economic well-being and as a trigger to their antipathy towards them. The South African nationals who participated in this survey cited the ability of non-nationals to work and flourish in business activities in their communities as the reason for this hostility. Some respondents also mentioned their perception that foreign nationals are involved in criminal activity and their role as “disease carriers”, among others, as the main source of their anti-immigrant prejudice and revulsion (Muchiri, 2016).

Consequently, foreigners have become scapegoats, often blamed for the failure of businesses owned by locals and, by extension, a target to blame for increasing poverty and deprivation in SA. Studies have also found that in many cases, xenophobic violence is organised by South African business owners, intent on eliminating foreign competitors. Studies by Morris, (1998) McKnight, (2009) and the IOM concur that foreigners living in SA are seen as a threat to scarce social services including housing, healthcare, jobs and education. According to Morris, a majority group that is living in a perilous economic position is likely to feel threatened by minorities, especially if the minorities are foreign, and this may lead to xenophobia and violence. (Morris 1998).

Other scholars have established that employment of foreign nationals in certain sectors in SA is an important issue that motivates nationals to be xenophobic towards them. Muchiri (2016) observes that a study carried out on the East Rand area near Johannesburg, researchers found that immigrants were specifically resented because of their better education and higher qualifications which gave them an edge in a competitive job market (Muchiri, 2016). He further observes that a 2008 survey of 2000 South African nationals in Johannesburg established that the main reason for their xenophobic attitudes towards foreigners was that qualified foreigners had been accepting employment at lower salaries than their national counterparts. South Africans generally believe that every job given to a foreign national translates to one less job for a citizen; this view is exacerbated by high unemployment rates. (Muchiri, 2016).

3. Institutional/Structural Factors

Government institutions, structures or agencies are another factor that breeds xenophobic violence in South Africa. This has to do with the role of the state, attitudes and statements from state representatives denying xenophobia, or laying blame on foreigners for crime, could generate xenophobia (Bekker 2010:126). The government of South Africa and its agencies which are expected to be proactive by using its instrumentality of law enforcement to identify the bad eggs and deal with them accordingly while using same to protect the law abiding foreign nationals are not helping matters. Rather, it has been seen one time or another fanning the embers of violence, either directly or through its body language. Take for instance, the statement made by the former

South African President, Jacob Zuma while in office, in his reaction over the 2015 xenophobic violence in the country. He stated that:

Our brother countries contribute to this. Why are their citizens not in their countries? It is not useful to criticize South Africa as if we mushroom these foreign nationals and then ill-treat them...Everybody criticizes South Africa as if we have manufactured the problem. Even if people who are xenophobic are a minority, but what prompts these refugees to be in South Africa? It is a matter we cannot shy away from discussing (Mkandawire, 2015)

The above statement is capable of instigating or encouraging the natives of South Africa, who have or have not actively participated in the act to join the group to unleash mayhem (Ogunnubi & Amusan, 2018; Oloruntoba, 2018; Wilson & Magam, 2018). Consequently, the impact of such on South Africa with other African countries such as Nigeria whose relationships are cordial may be affected.

The 2015 xenophobic attacks were ignited after Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini was quoted to have said that “foreigners should go back to their countries” (Masenya, 2017). The pronouncement aggravated the attacks on immigrants and their properties. In fact, some relevant government departments and the South African Police Service (SAPS) who are supposed to be protecting lives and properties were reportedly in support of the attacks on foreigners (Misago, 2016). Thus, these energized government of some countries such as Nigeria to start repatriating its citizen (Gumede, 2015).

There is also the belief that the government is not doing enough to solve the ‘problem’ of immigrants (Landau 2011: 13). One can also look at the policies that affect migration into the country. There is a big gap between policy and practice in South Africa, and this also worsens the xenophobic phenomenon (Bekker 2010: 14). Furthermore Misago (2011) argues that a key trigger for violence against foreign nationals and outsiders in specific locations is localised competition for political and economic power. In addition mistreatment of foreigners by border control officials, by the police and by detention centres has led to a norm where foreigners receive xenophobic treatment. This also reinforces xenophobia in South Africa (SAHRC 2006: 32; 35). The way the many branches of the state behave when it comes to foreigners creates and reinforces xenophobia in South Africa. (Hågensen, 2014:5, 6).

The South African leadership has continued to deny that xenophobia exists in the country. For instance, after a 2007 APRM report warned that xenophobia against other Africans was rising in SA and should be “nipped in the bud”, President Thabo Mbeki said the report’s assessment was “simply not true” (Muchiri 2016). After the 2008 attacks, President Mbeki denied that xenophobia was the motivating factor and blamed criminality for the attacks.

More worrisome is the fact that government officials in crucial departments such as the South African National Intelligence Agency (SANIA) have made overtly incorrect statements to deny xenophobia in critical moments. This was the case during the 2008 outbreak of xenophobic attacks in SA when the then Director General of the SANIA, Manala Manzini, insisted that the 2008 xenophobic violence in SA was orchestrated “by internal and external racist elements bent on destabilising the 2009 general election in the country” (Muchiri 2016). In 2010, the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) quoted Gauteng premier, Nomvula Mokonyane on the country’s leadership’s perception of xenophobia when she declared: “We don't actually believe South Africans are xenophobic. We see that as a pure act of criminality” (SAIRR 2010).

The way the state allows human rights violations and legal breaches to continue when it comes to immigrants has created conditions where the “proof of a criminal charge is a redundant complication- at least as far as foreign refugees are concerned” (Landau 2011: 9). This can be seen in statements made by government officials such as that by Defence Minister Joe Modise in 1997:

As for crime, the army is helping the police get rid of crime and violence in the country. However, what can we do? We have one million illegal immigrants in our country who commit crimes and who are mistaken by some people for South African citizens. That is the real problem (Landau 2011: 9).

This statement reflects the way immigrants are equated with crime; in addition it is feared that they will blend into South African society. Furthermore, in 2002 the then Director-General of Home Affairs, Billy Masetlha, stated:

Approximately 90 per cent of foreign persons who are in RSA with fraudulent documents, i.e., either citizenship or migration documents, are involved in other crimes as well... it is quicker to charge these criminals for their false documentation and then deport them than to pursue the long route in respect of the other crimes that are committed (Landau 2011:10).

These statements show that some government officials believe that outsiders can and should be alienated (Landau 2011:10). The bad reputation that government has given to mobile populations and the practical impossibility of controlling this mobility have made migration and migrants both an official and popular obsession; foreigners have been turned into convenient scapegoats for problems relating to poor service delivery, crime and other social pathologies (Landau 2011: 10-11). 2009 SAHRC report exposed a widespread lack of knowledge about foreign nationals and their rights, which the South African government has done little to remedy (Muchiri, 2016). This ignorance, Harris (2012) alleges, prevents South Africans from understanding xenophobia as a phenomenon. Harris further argues that the net impact of denying xenophobia is to undermine its seriousness by diminishing the

scale of xenophobic attacks; making them appear isolated and unplanned; manageable and less alarming. It also insinuates that the conventional and established methods of response, such as the use of the existing criminal justice system approaches, are appropriate and sufficient to address the issue Harris (2012).

Another implication of denying xenophobia according to Harris is that the responses to xenophobic attacks are the same responses as to other forms of crime with a complete disregard for the discriminatory aspect of such violence, its patterns or victims. In the 2011 APRM report on South Africa's denial of xenophobia, painted a worrying picture of the SA government's handling of xenophobic violence in the country. The report gave SA a red rating, which is the worst possible rating a country can get on any issue assessed (Muchiri, 2016). Importantly, the report highlighted that xenophobia was a major problem in the country; and that the government was not doing enough to address it, with senior government officials actually denying or ignoring the phenomenon (Muchiri, 2016). Further, in a January 2015 open letter to the President of SA, the Africa Diaspora Forum (ADF) urged the leadership of SA to recognise that persistent attacks against foreigners in the country are xenophobic in nature, and not "crime" as the government had been claiming "since 2008" (Muchiri, 2016).

The SAHRC (2008) has depicted the denial of xenophobia by senior figures in the government as hypocritical at best, since certain departments have acknowledged it as a social problem that has existed in SA since 1994. It is also important to note that constant denial of xenophobia by the political class of SA presents other challenges, including being an impediment to the re-integration of displaced victims, after the violence abates. Re-integration requires resource allocation, which depends on the political will of the political class which cannot prioritise a phenomenon whose existence they deny. Consequently, re-integration of those affected by xenophobic violence has not been an effective remedy in SA (Muchiri, 2016).

Agreeably, some of the attacks and hatred in South Africa may be motivated by the criminal tendencies of the foreigners themselves who indulge in illicit business. These criminals and undocumented migrants smuggle themselves into the Rainbow country only to indulge in illicit businesses and crimes like drug trafficking, human trafficking, kidnapping, armed robbery, rape, advanced fee fraud, smash and grab, carjacking, cyber crime and even murder. Unfortunately, few Nigerians who are unscrupulous in nature may be associated with this vice. However, it will be unfair judgment on the part of the South African government to generalize that all foreign nationals are criminals or deny xenophobic violence leading to its agencies and citizens to take laws into their hands by untowardly letting loose violence on innocent and hardworking Nigerians and other foreign nationals.

For the government SA and its agencies to keep denying xenophobia or equating it with crime thereby overtly or covertly encouraging its institutions, agencies and citizens to perpetuate xenophobic violence suggests that xenophobic phenomenon is a coded foreign policy of the rainbow state to prosecute its national interest objective of continental dominance.

4. Rapacity and Avariciousness

Furthermore, data analysis has revealed that the looting, exploiting, killing, vandalism and selective nature of South Africa xenophobic attacks have made it very unique. Thus, suggesting that the evil of xenophobic violence in South Africa is not only fanned by colonial cum apartheid culture, social-economic deprivation and institutional/structural factors but it's also being motivated by greed, rapacity and avariciousness. Undoubtedly, foreign nationals such as Nigerians, Somalis and Ethiopians are running thriving businesses in Townships, and are therefore perceived to be taking customers from South African competitors. The presence of foreign nationals mostly Nigeria in South Africa communities is seen as the primary cause of challenges to the economic well-being of the SA citizens which must be matched with antipathy violence.

Ironically, the acclaimed "economic threat" posed by foreign nationals cannot be substantiated. The Southern Africa Migration Project (SAMP) released results of a national xenophobia survey in 2008 in which over two-thirds of respondents indicated that they did not know anyone who had lost a job to a foreigner (Muchiri, 2016). This implies that foreign nationals are not the problem of South Africa. Rather they contribute immensely in solving the problem of unemployment and poverty. For instance, Nigerians are reputed for their ingenuity, hardworking and enterprising spirit. They go to a place and develop it. Their establishments in South Africa have given a lot of South Africans job; economy of the Rainbow country has been improved by taxes and other revenues paid by those establishments and individuals, thereby reducing poverty and unemployment rates in essence.

Therefore, the assumption that the scant supply of resources, poverty and unemployment ravaging the South African locals are caused by the presence of other African nationals; and can only be solved by looting, vandalizing, destroying properties or even eliminating other nationals may not be correct. Those South Africans who engage in this uncivilized activity of violence, refused to use their God-given intelligence to expose and exploit their talents and the numerous opportunities including resources that abound in their country which attract other nationals, to alleviate their material needs. As a chain reaction, this inability on the part of South Africans has resulted in distortion of values, norms, ethos, ethics and especially their decorum. Hence, the misdirection of their intelligence to counterproductive and envy oriented activities, like looting, violence and killing of their hardworking and productive counterparts from other nationals especially, Nigeria over their daring feasts who they accuse of taking what they assume that belong to them. It is man's greed and rapacity demonstrated through cruelty and inhumanity against his fellow man that account for this selective and reoccurring violence in South Africa. Greed understands only one language; "grabbing to itself even at the detriment of others".

EFFECTS OF XENOPHOBIC ATTACKS ON NIGERIA SOUTH AFRICA RELATIONS

Nigeria has been one of the major victims of xenophobic attacks demonstrated through extra-judicial killings, displacements and property vandalisations/lootings in South Africa. A statement credited to the Senior Special Assistant to the President on Foreign Affairs and Diaspora, Mrs. Abike Dabiri-Erewa, stated that no fewer than 117 Nigerians were extra-judicially killed in South Africa between 2013 and 2018 for one flimsy reason or the other (“Killings: Nigeria can’t sever ties with S. Africa,” (2018). While Sahara reporters timeline on xenophobic attacks reveals that about 10 Nigerians were killed in xenophobic violence between February and September, 2019 (Sahara Reporters, 2019). This makes the figure of Nigerian extra-judicially killed in South Africa between 2013 and 2019 to amount to 127. These egregious killings of Nigerians, looting and wanton destruction of their properties in South Africa have several adverse effects on Nigeria-South Africa relations. However, this study shall be confining itself on three namely, diplomatic, economic and socio-psychological effects.

1. Diplomatic Effect

Since the 2008 xenophobic violence, Nigeria and South Africa have been having flimsy diplomatic relations. Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between the two countries was signed in 2013 to reinforce diplomatic ties and forestall future xenophobic attacks (Babalola, 2017). However, this exercise has not achieved its purpose as attacks on Nigerians have continued unabated. In April 2015 during the Jonathan administration, Channels Television, (2015) reports that Nigeria’s Acting High Commissioner to South Africa, Martin Cobham, and the Consul-General, Uche Ajulu-Okeke, were ‘invited’ for consultation (and not ‘recalled’ as it was falsely reported by some media houses) following the xenophobic attacks in Durban and Johannesburg (Adeleke, & Ademola, 2019). Brock, & Dlodla, (2015) in Adeleke, & Ademola, (2019) remark that the action was not meant to sever Nigeria’s relations with South Africa, however, such diplomatic move was seen by South Africa’s Ministry of International Relations and Cooperation as an “unfortunate and regrettable step” (Adeleke, & Ademola, 2019).

South Africa, on 5th September, 2019 through its Department of International Relations and Cooperation announced the temporary shutdown of its High Commission in Nigeria. The decision came as fallout of uncertainty situation generated by the 2019 xenophobic attacks on Nigerians and some other nationals in South Africa. This was to forestall a reprisal attack on the embassy and its employees (Vanguard 2019). Nigeria on its own part temporarily recalled its Ambassador to South Africa, Kabiru Bala in protest of the attacks on its citizens in South Africa (Vanguard, 2019).

However, to stem the tide of further attacks and forestall total breakdown in Nigeria – South Africa relations, President Muhammadu Buhari sends special envoy to South Africa on September 5th, 2019 to interface with the South African government on the lingering attacks on Nigerian and register the Country’s displeasure on the matter (Pulse Nigeria, 2019; Vanguard, 2019). His South African counterpart, President Cyril Ramaphosa reciprocated, when he on September 16th, 2019 dispatched envoys to Nigeria and six (6) other African countries to deliver messages of pan-African unity and solidarity, following xenophobic attacks in South Africa (Vanguard, 2019). The import being that if xenophobic sentiment continues unchecked, Nigeria – South Africa diplomatic relations stand to collapse totally.

2. Economic Effect

The economic implication of the persistent xenophobic attacks on Nigerians living in South Africa and the looting of their shops and other valuables are numerous. It has led to reprisal attacks on some South African-owned companies in Nigeria. On February 23, 2017, the telecommunications giant, MTN, head office in the Federal Capital Territory (FCT), Abuja, was not only looted by some protesters but, office equipment was vandalized (Adeleke, & Ademola, 2019). Some angry youth carried out a protest at Shoprite premises around Jakande Estate, Lekki area of Lagos. This would have led to a full blown reprisal attack safe for the timely intervention of the Nigerian Police who dispersed the protesters. The offices of South Africa telecommunications giant MTN in the southwest city of Ibadan were set ablaze while the company’s office in Uyo in the south-south was attacked by an angry crowd that vandalized properties. The Lagos outlet of South African clothing retailer PEP in Surulere was also attacked and looted (Associated Press, 2019).

The implication of this development to the economy of Africa should it continued unchecked was captured by the Nigerian-South African Chamber of Commerce, when it posits that the outbreak of xenophobic violence in South Africa and the reprisal events in Nigeria, including direct attack on foreign-owned businesses in both South Africa and Nigeria poses a threat to Africa’s fragile economic recovery and development (Ige, K.M. 2018). Apart from MTN, there are over 100 South African companies hosted in Nigeria which transverse telecommunication, manufacturing, aviation, construction, banking, hospitality, entertainment and, oil and gas industry. Some of which are: Power Giant, Eskom Nigeria, South African Airways, South African Breweries (SAB miller), Stanbic IBTC Bank, Multi Choice Africa (operating DSTV/GOTV), Umgeni Water and Shoprite to mention a few (Adeleke, & Ademola, 2019). They are potential targets for reprisal attacks in the future if this barbaric envy oriented anti-foreigner violence against Nigerians in South Africa continues.

Instructively, this development will lead to increase in unemployment rate and societal insecurity. This is true because most South African owned businesses and investments in Nigeria that have Nigerian as employees may be destroyed in reprisal while some others may be shut down. Nigerians working in those companies will be displaced of their jobs and become unemployed. Aside from this; many Nigerians in South Africa who came back as a result of the violence will join the unemployed wagon in the country. Same will be applicable in South Africa as Nigeria and Nigerians close down their investments over there for fear of being attacked.

The unemployed victims may out of frustration become prey to terrorist or banditry organizations; unemployment and frustration breed all sorts of societal crimes. The import will be the grounding of the two Sovereign states' economy, worsening their already precarious security situations and that of the African continent by extension.

Furthermore, as fallout of the 2019 xenophobic violence, the Nigerian government withdrew its participation from the World Economic Forum (WEF) hosted by South Africa that kick-started on Wednesday September 4th, 2019 to register her grievance (Vanguard 2019). If economic relation is severed, it will affect the two countries respective economic investments in each other's geographical domain. It is undisputable fact that foreign investments promote development and economic growth; as such should be given priority by any responsive government.

3. Social and Psychological Effects

Protracted xenophobic attacks in the rainbow country have over the years implanted fear on the minds of some Nigerians. A good number of Nigerians in South Africa find it difficult to socialise freely with the locals as fellow African brothers and sisters with a shared history, values, norms etc., for fear of being attacked if not killed. Jerome Uche, 2019 Air Peace returnee beneficiary, says Nigerians living in South Africa sometimes hide their identity as they conduct their businesses for fear of being attacked. Williams Ibezim, another returnee says most Nigerians in South Africa have started avoiding South African women and night lives for fear of being attacked or murdered. Some of the living Nigerian victims of the xenophobic violence are now suffering from Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) (Adeleke, & Ademola, 2019).

Right here in Nigeria, people are becoming skeptical of anything that has to do with South Africa. Nigerian Afrobeats star Tiwa Savage, withdrew from a concert in South Africa after the 2019 xenophobic bloodbath (Una, 2019). Oshiomhole Adams, former national Chairman of All Progressives Congress (APC) called on Nigeria's federal government after the September, 2019 attack to nationalise some South African-owned businesses, including MTN and boycott all South African goods and services to send "a very strong message to South African authorities and the South African people." He further called for the revocation of the landing rights of South African Airways until these problems are addressed. "Nigeria needs to show that we are not chicken to be molested," he added (Una, 2019).

Nigerian tourists, businessmen, professionals and scholars including this researcher are withdrawing from travelling to South Africa for tourism, business, studies or research as the case may be for fear of the unknown. This is occasioned by the unpredictable horrendous xenophobic serial killings of Nigerians and other nationals residing in South Africa, which local and international media air almost on daily basis. This may translate into continental disunity if not contained. Africans will begin to see their fellow brothers and sisters as strangers and subsequently treating them as such; pan African ideology will be defeated.

Conclusion

Xenophobic attacks against Nigeria and other nationals in South Africa are very unique because of its looting, exploiting, killing, vandalism and selective nature. This study identifies that the evil of xenophobic violence in South Africa is majorly fanned by colonial cum apartheid culture, social-economic deprivation, institutional/structural factors and avariciousness.

Nigeria and South Africa are two African giants that pose as regional and continental leaders in terms of economy and politics. Their relations have been guided by the pursuit of their respective set foreign policy objectives and national interest which include who controls the sole of Africa; this leads to competition of supremacy. Xenophobic violence is seen as one of the strategies (coded foreign policy) employed by South Africa to suppress other African countries especially, Nigeria to achieve its objective of continental supremacy. This explains the attitude of the South African government in denying xenophobia and its police and other government structures like immigration that turn itself as instruments for xenophobic violence. Nigeria's response to these attacks suggests that its foreign policy is more of benevolence, sentimental and declaratory than retaliatory; projecting her as a weak state in the theatre of international politics.

The xenophobic violent approach of South Africa is becoming a cog in the wheel of diplomatic, economic and socio-psychological relational progress of the two powerful countries of Africa and the entire continent by extension. If this development remains untamed, it may translate into loss of diplomatic relations, high rate of unemployment and poverty, continental security threats and its attendant robust terrorist and banditry organizations, fear, social apathy and continental disunity.

Recommendations

1. Nigeria in its relations with South Africa should be guided by her pursuit towards protecting and achieving its set foreign policy objectives (national interest), which in this context represent the lives and property of her nationals in South Africa. Understanding that international politics is a game of power, selective morality, outrageous paradox and double standard, it should through a proactive foreign policy, daringly compete with SA to extinguish all possible threats that perennial xenophobic attacks on Nigerians may pose on its national interest of controlling Africa and protecting her citizens and their interests. The only language that international politics hears and respects is the language of 'power' motivated by national interest.

2. To address poverty and unemployment, South African youths should be empowered with skills that would enable them to redirect their intelligence to productive activities to compete with foreign business counterparts. This would make them friendly with experts from other nationals and reduce rapacity and economic threat that often lead to xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals. As they will learn from experience that outstanding feats are not rocket science. The South African locals should develop interest for business and abhor greed and rapacity against their industrious fellow Africans for their daring exploits; that do result into blaming of African immigrants for their poverty and unemployment.

3. Legislative and other legal mechanisms to protect the fundamental human rights of foreign nationals including Nigeria as guaranteed in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and criminalizing acts of xenophobia should be promulgated and its implementation ensured by South African government.

4. Perpetrators and sponsors of attacks against foreign nationals should be prosecuted and held accountable, regardless of their societal status while victims should be compensated by their assailants or the government of South Africa to serve as deterrent against further onslaught.

5. Political leaders, public office holders, public figures and traditional rulers should refrain from igniting and fueling xenophobic attacks in South Africa with their unguarded, inflammatory and discriminatory remarks.

6. The African union (AU) should live up to its continental primary objectives which include among other things, unity, cohesion, solidarity and acceleration of political and socio-economic integration of the continent. If this is achieved the challenge of South Africa's xenophobic sentiment will dissipate naturally.

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