

THE IMPACT OF XENOPHOBIC ATTACKS ON NIGERIA-SOUTH AFRICA RELATION

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Abstract

It was projected that the post-apartheid South Africa would usher in a new state that is free of racial segregation but, what ensued was the constriction and prejudice against foreigners (particularly black Africans) living in South Africa. At these hazardous and perilous moments in South Africa, xenophobic attacks have inevitably caused a lot of fears and worries in the mind of people living within and outside the country. In fact, pathetically and emotionally, it has drastically discouraged Nigerians and many other foreign investors to come to South Africa. It is on this backdrop that this paper critically takes a look at the impact of xenophobic attacks on Nigeria-South Africa relations. This study would empirically be explored using the qualitative method of data collection. Also used were the historical approach to the study and the Rational Choice Theory as the theoretical framework.

Keywords: Xenophobia, Apartheid, Nigeria, South Africa

Introduction

The post-apartheid South Africa which was inaugurated in 1994 presented a new state of racially free and de-segregated society which was a fundamental departure from the highly constricted and polarized society dominated by white minority in the past. This dramatic twist introduced a new dimension to the segregation, discrimination and prejudice that dominated the history of South Africa. This time around however, the victims became foreigners living in South Africa. Regrettably, occurrences suggest institutional connivance as the causal effect of this prejudice (Isike and Isike, 2012). The new South Africa christened “Rainbow Nation” was believed to herald the birth of “Africa Renaissance” which would usher in cross-cultural boundlessness in Africa and foster regional cohesion. In contrast, the feeling about what “African Renaissance” would bring was lost and replaced with Africa Crucifixion by the virtue of the perpetual racial intolerance and dislike for Nigerians living in South Africa and foreigners.

This perpetual racial intolerance and violent attacks on Nigerians living in South Africa has generated local and international condemnation. Advertently, this study thus brings to the fore the core issues of racial intolerance and dislike for foreigners, particularly Nigerians in South Africa, within the broader historical framework of the apartheid regime and the post-apartheid socio-economic relations which have over time shaped the existential notions of false community, vague entitlement and vague sense of belonging amongst a number of black South Africans. Indeed, the issue of xenophobia in contemporary South Africa in my view is profound psychosomatic carryovers and the negative product of the apartheid regime that cannot be wished away from the collective consciousness of the people of the rainbow nation. This was as a result of a re-orientation of black South Africans sequel to the post apartheid era. This is even more so, given the attendant dispossession of their heritage and personal pride by the despicable and repugnant apartheid regime, which exploited and segregated them in their own lands. The reality of these historical facts has continued to obstruct the wheel of progress and development especially within the black communities in South Africa; considering the fact that “xenophobia” is a vice that often manifests into a show of aggression against black foreigners by black South Africans. Furthermore, the political crisis of that dark era led to social dislocation, which in turn affected their economic, educational and socio-cultural advancement and developing the required skill sets that would have prepared them for high-level jobs and proper integration into a new South Africa promising a brighter future.

That being said, while xenophobic violence is not a new phenomenon in post-apartheid South Africa, the sudden explosion of violence has been attributed to a combination of factors which include local political pressures over time, increases in prices of basic goods, high levels of unemployment estimated at 25 percent and growing concerns and frustrations at the inability of the South African government under erstwhile President Jacob Zuma to provide essential services to poor people and the resultant economic hardship and tensions surrounding crime and competition over scarce resources by non-national population. The continued socio-economic issues are pushing the average Black South African into extreme

poverty in the midst of plenty and there is a high level of dissatisfaction with the scheme of things after the fall of the apartheid regime.

It would be recalled that between May and June 2008, there were 135 separate violent incidents that left people dead, at least 670 wounded and unfortunately, dozens were carnally assaulted and many properties destroyed and looted. At this junction, it would be justifiable to add that the South Africa domestic environment has not been helping matters as it is has not kept privy that it has been hostile to non- nationals particularly, undocumented migrants; and there is implicit culture of impunity – which encourages mob justice in most communities. Interestingly, South African state security institutions such as the police and immigration service show no sympathy to black settlers from other African countries - from the aforementioned, it appears that xenophobia is institutionalized and systemic in South Africa. This attitude generated the questions which include: To what extent can South Africa's inconsistent immigration policy be blamed for xenophobia? Do foreigners really 'steal' South African jobs? Do foreign-owned small businesses have an unfair advantage over those owned by South Africans? What South African government and state security institutions have to comprehend with is that people migrating in search of safer and more prosperous living conditions is as old as man and the right for any person to leave any country is enshrined in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the 1965 International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

1. Statement of the Problem

South Africa's domestic environment has been hostile to non-nationals, particularly, undocumented migrants and as such, there is an implicit culture of impunity, which encourages mob justice in most communities. Incontrovertibly and indubitably, this unfriendly disposition towards non-nationals has subsequently established South Africa as one of Africa's most dangerous countries to live in. Hence, Nigerians and foreign business owners are usually attacked during xenophobic attacks. At these hazardous and perilous moments in South Africa, xenophobic attacks have inevitably caused a lot of fears and worries, negative feelings in the minds of people living within and outside the country. In fact, pathetically and emotionally, it has drastically discouraged Nigerians and many other foreign investors to come to South Africa. This has subsequently put strain in the relationship between and Nigeria and South Africa; and the country's economic development. It has also put the country itself in a state of perplexity, bewilderment and puzzlement. Despite the country having vibrant, brilliant policies and a framework that can handle criminal offences or perpetrators of various attacks – these virtues have not been effectively transformed into reducing xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa. One major problem that arises out of this ineffectiveness is a strenuous relationship between Nigeria-South Africa partnerships over years. Beyond this strenuous relationship is lack of mutual diplomatic and tactful reciprocity on the part of the South Africa government and the country's non-state actors for the strategic role Nigeria played in the struggle against apartheid. It is therefore pertinent to assess the pitfalls or effects of xenophobic attacks on South Africa's economic state of

affairs; and imperative to explore whatsoever diplomatic crisis between Nigeria and South Africa.

2. Theoretical Framework

According to the Rational Choice theory, the rivalry between foreign migrants and locals for scarce resources leads to xenophobia (Wimmer, 1997). Xenophobia, not only in South Africa but also in other countries, is commonly justified on the grounds of economic necessity. According to Steinberg (2008), the economy is conceptualized as a finite lump: the assumption then is that access to resources is a zero-sum game and this breeds conflict. Relating this to foreigners, Steinberg (2008) explains that successful foreigners are perceived to prosper by benefiting unrightfully from national resources that belong to South Africans. Consequently, seeing foreigners prosper without any assistance from the state “upsets one’s conception of one’s own relation to the state and what one’s sentiments are” (Steinberg, 2008).

South Africans perceive foreigners as “competing with them for jobs, housing and other resources to which they themselves feel entitled to” (Dodson, 2010). This is played out against a background of poverty, high unemployment and high income inequality between the rich and the poor. Fears of perceived foreign domination in the job market create conflict and make people feel that labor immigration should be limited and that the government is not doing enough to reduce the number of foreign migrants. The perceived competition for economic opportunities is associated with unskilled and casual jobs in the domestic sphere, on farms, construction sites, in the hospitality and informal sectors. It is believed that migrants undercut citizens in these sectors where they are willing to work for less pay and for longer hours. In so doing, they also encourage employers to get away with unfair labor practices.

Rational choice theory is widely accepted as an explanation for xenophobia in South Africa both at the individual and collective levels. This is supported by the results of a 2009 survey conducted by the Gauteng City-Region Observatory (2009). The survey, which investigated satisfaction and quality of life among 6,636 Gauteng residents and those of selected areas in neighboring provinces, uncovered xenophobic attitudes that cut across race, class and sex. A total of 69% of the respondents were in agreement that foreigners are taking benefits that are meant for South Africans. However, the relationship between xenophobia and a drop in wages or rising unemployment - both economic indicators of intensive competition in the labor market has not been scientifically tested in South Africa. Therefore, rational choice theory is not based on indicators of intensive competition in the economy but on perceptions of illegitimate competition, which has led to resentment of Nigerians and other migrants. While the rational choice theory has laid into explaining the hostile treatment unleashed by South Africans towards non-nationals and the purported institutionalized xenophobia in South Africa, it does not yet explain the conditions which gave rise to the negative perception of migrants given that other countries welcome migrants into their societies because of the positive contributions they make to the economy.

3. An Historical Overview of Nigeria-South Africa Relations

The history of the Nigeria-South Africa relations could be traced to events arising from the Sharpeville massacre of 21st March, 1960, when the South African police shot and killed 72 blacks and wounded 184 (Zabadi and Onuoha, 2012; Akinboye, 2013). This event which occurred even before Nigeria's independence marked the beginning of Nigeria's confrontation against white South Africa. The Tafawa Balewa government (1960-1966) upon assumption of office in October 1, 1960 was faced with overwhelming pressure from both domestic and external sources to institute measures to check South Africa's apartheid policies. Consequently, Nigeria banned the importation of South African goods into the country and was instrumental to the political and economic sanctions passed against the racist regime. Furthermore, Balewa went to the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in March 1961 in London, where he spearheaded the move that led to the withdrawal of South Africa from the Commonwealth (Aluko, 1982). By 1962, Nigeria terminated all the privileges of Commonwealth membership which South Africans enjoyed in Nigeria. The Nigerian government's anti-apartheid policy continued until the first republic was ousted by Major Nzeogwu's-led military coup in January 15, 1966. The military coup of January 15, 1966 which seized power from the Balewa's regime brought Aguiyi Ironsi's transition to the helm of affairs. The brief administration of General Ironsi between January-July 1966 did not record any substantial policy against the apartheid regime in South Africa, due largely to the volatile security situation in Nigeria that was precipitated by the coup (Ademoyega, 1981).

Following the take-over of the reins of government in Nigeria in July 29, 1966 by the military-led administration of Yakubu Gowon after the assassination of General Aguiyi Ironsi, a slightly modified policy towards South Africa was adopted. The new policy which was based on boycott and confrontation with white minority regime in South Africa led to a proclamation declaring white South Africans prohibited immigrants in Nigeria. The Nigerian civil war of 1967-1970 further deepened the crisis on the Nigeria-South Africa relations, upon realization that South Africa was sabotaging the efforts of Nigeria in the war. Yakubu Gowon thus strengthened his anti-apartheid policy, and this continued after the war when Nigeria became even much more financially buoyant as her oil resources contributed enormous foreign currency to her coffers than before. The country was hereby able to play a confident and much more dynamic role in world affairs (Ajala, 1993).

The Murtala Mohammed government (1975-1976) that ousted the Gowon administration through a coup was, right from the outset, prepared to take radical measures in Africa's decolonization process. The Angolan crisis of 1975 provided an opportunity for the Nigeria government to demonstrate her commitment to the anti-apartheid struggle by resolving the political stalemate in the former (Fafowora, 1984; Gambari, 2008). Following the killing of General Muhammadu in the abortive coup led by Colonel Buka Dimka in July 1976, General Olusegun Obasanjo continued the same radical approach in the country's foreign policy relations with South Africa. Thus, General Olusegun Obasanjo's administration was widely perceived as a continuation of Murtala Mohammed administration (Garba, 1987).

Thereafter, in the 80s, Nigeria-South Africa relations witnessed the following phases: the civilian administration of Shehu Shagari, and the succeeding military administrations of Muhammadu Buhari and Ibrahim Babangida. Yet there was hardly any difference in their pursuit of Nigeria-South Africa relations. For instance, the second republic administration of Shehu Shagari (1979-1983) was encumbered by a number of domestic challenges which bordered on its inability to deliver on his electoral promises, coupled with a sharp decline in oil revenues. These two factors largely affected the pursuit of Nigeria's Afrocentric policies which had serious implications on the Nigeria-South Africa relations. This was evident in the administration's inability to contribute financially to the fight against apartheid in South Africa. While in the short-lived regime of Muhammadu Buhari (1983-1985), the Afro-centric foreign policy of the Nigerian government toward South African apartheid regime was revitalized, but not without serious opposition from domestic pressure groups, which clamoured for improved standard of living for citizens rather than rendering assistance to other African countries. Therefore, the only appreciable impact of Nigeria-South Africa relations under Buhari regime was the hosting of the second international conference on apartheid, tagged "Legal Status of the Apartheid Regime" held in Lagos, Nigeria, August 1984. In the conference, apartheid was declared illegal and the result further heightened the pressure on apartheid regime in South Africa, and reinforced Nigeria's determination to eradicate all vestiges of racist regimes in Africa.

Apartheid regime in South Africa would appear to have been effectively tackled under Babangida's regime (1985-1993). The UN Anti-Apartheid Committee which had enjoyed Nigerian headship for the better part of its existence continued its vigorous campaigns against apartheid. At the level of the Non-Aligned Movement, the dying tempo of decolonization was revived with a resolution for the establishment of an African Fund at the Harare Conference in 1986, to assist the liberation of Southern Africa as a whole, and at the Paris International Conference for sanctions against apartheid in 1987. Nigeria, in addition to her usual financial support, opted for tougher sanctions against the apartheid regime in South Africa (Saliu, 2006). However, it is important to note that the requirements of economic diplomacy compromised Babangida's famous stand on apartheid. For instance, Nigeria hosted the then apartheid President Frederick De Klerk in Abuja in 1992 despite the reversible steps taken by the apartheid state towards reforms. In essence, Babangida regime's rhetorical approach was a mere ploy to redeem the discredited image of his regime (Saliu, 2006).

From the foregoing, it is clear that Nigeria's policy towards South Africa between 1960 and 1993 was characterized by the former's disdain of the latter's apartheid policy. Although Nigeria, from independence, maintained a hostile attitude towards South Africa for more than thirty years until the early 1990s, both countries established formal diplomatic relations on the 21st February 1994 following the termination of apartheid policy, the release of the African National Congress (ANC) leader, Nelson Mandela and the conduct of general elections in South Africa. Prior to this time, Nigeria's Mission was operating through the

Angolan High Commission in Pretoria. Subsequently, an exchange of High Commissioners was done by the two countries, with each acutely conscious of the fact that both countries need each other's support in the mutually advantageous conduct of their bilateral relations and multilateral diplomacy in Africa (Akindele, 2007).

The post-1994 Nigeria-South Africa relations began with a major disagreement over Nigeria's domestic policy. General Sani Abacha's dictatorial military regime (1993-1998), and its decision to hang Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight Ogoni men on the 10th of November 1995, provided the first occasion for an open diplomatic strain in the relationship between Nigeria and South Africa at the aftermath of the apartheid era. Consequently, upon the alleged role of South Africa in the suspension of Nigeria from the Commonwealth at the Auckland Summit in November 1995, the Nigerian state retaliated for the diplomatic offensive by severing diplomatic relations with South Africa (Ibeanu and Nwachukwu, 2004; Akinterinwa, 2009). The frosty relationship between the two countries was consequently amended by the military regime of Abdusallam Abubakar whose reconciliatory trip to South Africa marked the beginning of a relatively new relationship between the two countries.

By the year 1999, Nigeria and South Africa began to redefine their bilateral and multilateral relationships, more so as this period coincided with democratic transitions in both countries. In essence, the period since 1999, ushered in an era of strategic bilateral dealings which herald the formation of Nigeria-South Africa Bi-National Commission (BNC), inaugurated in October 1999 (Akinboye, 2005). Indeed, the period between 2000 and 2005 witnessed a more focused and active articulation of a strategic partnership between Nigeria and South Africa due largely to the perceived challenges of Africa in a rapidly globalizing world. The personality of Nigeria's President at that time, Olusegun Obasanjo and his South African counterpart, Thabo Mbeki, was a major contributing factor to the emerging and cordial relationship between the two countries. Obasanjo and Mbeki perceived the urgent need for Africa's re-birth and they shared equal passion for the realization of such goal (Adebajo and Landsberg, 2003).

Keying into the re-awakening of Pan-Africanism and regional role conception by Nigeria and South Africa after the end of the Cold War in 1989, there were concerns in policy and scholarly circles on the need for the two countries to play major roles in conflict mitigation and peace building in war-torn African countries. This was moreover in view of the fact that Western countries and the United Nations began to challenge African governments to help resolve regional conflicts in the continent. This new stance was fuelled by the repeated complaint at the United Nations about the shortage of funds to finance peace-keeping operations (Benneh, 2001). Another major collaborative effort by Nigeria and South Africa in promoting continental renaissance was the facilitation of the diplomatic process that transformed the Organization of African Unity (OAU) into the African Union (AU) in 1999. Nigeria and South Africa were also instrumental to the formation of Africa's new development initiative, the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) in 2001, and its governance tool; African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) in 2003. The expectations

by the international community, since the year 2000, is that Africans and the continental political leadership would look inward themselves towards solving their problems: no doubt this expectation made those initiatives very important and timely (NEPAD, 2001).

However, in a more recent time, Nigeria-South Africa diplomatic relations has deteriorated on many fronts, prompting the visit of President Goodluck Jonathan to South Africa where he addressed the latter's joint parliament. The Presidential visit was prompted by the yellow card fever certificate saga that involved both countries. The South African government had on March 2, 2012 deported 125 Nigerians (75 aboard South African Airways) and (50 aboard Arik Air Ways) for possessing fake yellow cards fever vaccination (The Guardian Editorials, March 5, 2012:3). The Nigerian government immediately retaliated what was generally perceived as unfair treatment of Nigerians, indeed an affront to diplomatic norms, by deporting a total of 128 South Africans within two days, citing 'lack of proper documentation' as reasons for shutting them out (The News Editorials, March 19, 2012:50). In a related development, the arms deal that involved both countries which came on the heels of the collapse of a building at the Synagogue of All Nations Church, Lagos, a Nigeria-based religious centre, claiming the lives of about 84 South African nationals became the latest in the ranks of diplomatic embarrassment that has bedeviled the Nigeria-South relations. According to Kayode (2014) failure on the part of the Nigerian government to officially declare the cash of 9.3 million USD, loaded into a Nigerian-owned jet to the South African Customs as required by the latter's law attracted negative diplomatic reaction from the South African government. Kayode (2014) argued that the seizure of the cash in the custody of the Nigerian intelligence officials who had attempted to purchase arms through the "black market" allegedly for the prosecution of war on terror and insurgents did not violate any international practice in the field of security and intelligence. Kayode (2014) concluded that the diplomatic row engendered by the incident in Nigeria-South Africa relations only portrayed the hypocrisy in the international security structure as well as its institutions. From the aforementioned analysis, it is evident that the history of Nigeria-South Africa relations has vacillated between cooperation and conflict, necessitated by each country's foreign policy, regime type, domestic intricacies and international diplomacy.

4. The Impact of Xenophobic Attacks on Nigeria-South Africa Relations

Since the inauguration of the post-apartheid South Africa in 1994 hardly did any year go by without an incidence of xenophobic attacks on fellow blacks from other African countries by South Africans. This inevitably brought about destruction in human and material resources which can hardly be quantified. This ugly development unavoidably pitched South Africa against other African countries especially Nigeria. The impacts of such attacks against Nigerians in South Africa can be viewed from political/diplomatic, socio-cultural and economic angle.

4.1 Political and Diplomatic Impacts

Politically, the incessant wave of xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa has a lot of impactful implications if the two governments fail to muster enough political will to deal

with this unbecoming situation. It can mar the ties between both countries. In diplomatic circles, once there is a severe row between countries the next option is recalling ambassadors and whenever there exist any breakdown of relationship between countries, it usually take time for such to be restored and taking into cognizance the position of Nigeria and South Africa in the African continent, it will be also to the detriment of the progress of other African countries. Xenophobic attacks in South Africa has received staunch criticism within and outside Africa, following the April 2015 xenophobic attack in South Africa, the United Nations Security Council was quick to condemn the attacks, as did her neighbours, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Malawi, followed suite in denouncing and criticizing these acts (Claassen, 2015). Nigeria on the other hand, went a step further by recalling her ambassadors from South Africa. The xenophobic attacks thus increased tensions between the two countries, as the Nigerian government felt the South African government was not doing enough to protect her citizens in South Africa, who she felt were the primary target of the attacks. Another dimension to this is its prospect to arouse loss of African solidarity - Africans usually regard each others as brothers and in so many circumstances speak with one voice in the international arena, it is reasoned that a break in relationship between Nigeria and South Africa will lead to a divided Africa thereby limiting their chances in making wave in international politics. Tough visa policies and restrictions also have impactful implications on people migrating in search of safer and more prosperous living conditions. The act of people migrating in search of greener pasture is as old as man and as a matter of fact – it is the right of any person to migrate in search of safer and more prosperous living conditions; as this is enshrined in the 1984 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the 1965 International Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination. This clearly depicts people’s freedom to seek better, safer and more prosperous living conditions in any part of the world. However, this freedom can be restricted through stringent visa policies and it is envisaged that xenophobic attacks is capable of making Nigeria and South Africa to adopt stringent visa policies thereby killing the spirit of African brotherhood and making nonsense the new Pan-African Passport and ultimately dampening the seeking and searching of safer and more prosperous living conditions of Africans.

4.2 Socio-Cultural Impact

Having suffered from the ordeal of colonialism from the Europeans, Africans believes after gaining of independence and the dismantling of apartheid in South Africa that they (Africans) are brother with common history and descent. However, the upsurge of xenophobic attacks by South Africans towards their fellow African brothers depicts a renaissance of past apartheid ordeal and inhumanity of colonialism. Besides the aforementioned, other socio-cultural impactful implications of such ordeal and inhumanity is identity crisis. Identity conflict is one of the worst forms of distress and disorientation resulting from conflict pressures (e.g. colonialism and apartheid) and uncertainty about one's self and one's role in society as it affects the psychology of the victims thereby making them not to realize and achieve their self esteem and full potentials. Another form of social impact of xenophobic attacks is African disunity. When Africans begin to see the fellow brothers and sisters as strangers and subsequently treating them as one: the impact of such state of

disunity is obviously disunity in a continent of brothers and sisters that regards each other with common history and descent. The implication of this is the obvious fear that Africans will have when in other African countries other than their own country of birth. Insecurity also is an impactful implication of xenophobia for when one suffered and got humiliated socially and culturally from one's brothers and sisters, the bad thought arising from such alienation and humiliation may lead them into joining bad gangs which might obviously lead to increase in security challenges within the African continent.

4.3 Economic Impact

The economic impact of the recurring xenophobic attacks in South Africa on Nigerians is very enormous. Fundamentally, one of the principal reasons for xenophobic attacks in South Africa is tied to the economy i.e. foreigners and locals competing for scarce resources. It is the idea of South Africans to believe that citizens from African countries are taking over their jobs and businesses leading to high rate of unemployment especially among locals. While this argument appears to be correct but it is relatively weak as these people are doing genuine and legal businesses in South Africa. Equally, taking cognizance of the fact that South Africans are also doing businesses in other African countries, it will be better imagined of there exist reprisal attacks on South Africans in residing and doing businesses in other African countries. The implications for the overall economy of Africa should this scenario play out were clearly depicted by the Nigerian-South African Chamber of Commerce. The chamber holds the view 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. It will be equally instructive to note that attacks on businesses in Nigeria and South Africa will obviously bring about job losses, a development which might make the attack victims to be easy prey to terrorist organizations thereby aggravating the already worst security situations in both countries and Africa at large. Today in Nigeria and South Africa most of the crimes committed are usually perpetuated by the youths with the high rate of unemployment as a major factor.

Indisputably, the South African state of xenophobic attacks is disturbing and worrying the minds and feelings of many people not only those residing in South Africa or outside the country but also the citizens themselves (Mistry 2004). As it is often seen and regularly observed that the South Africans themselves were largely living in perpetual fear as they feel they could be the next victims of attacks by the foreign nationals or fear that the foreign nationals could retaliate terribly, and have massive support from the other powerful nations. If care is not taken, it might lead to war among nations. Claassen (2015) cites that some South Africans were victims of xenophobic attacks, some for not participating in the movement, while other victims were mistakenly judged as foreigners. As regards investment, Oyelana (2015) also reveals that, the majority of foreign investors have lost confidence in the police and the judiciary that fail to protect them. In this regard, the majority of foreign investors lack community security. Consequently, this increases foreign investors' exposure to abuse, crime and extortion by individuals and community leaders as revealed by Charman

et al. (2012). Foreign investors were therefore, forced to rely almost completely on the authorized institutes of justice and they are hindered by lack of trust and faith in the police and courts aggravated by cultural and language barriers. Charman *et al.* (2012) revealed that the police and prosecutor statements usually focus specifically on foreign investors. Regarding the lengthy justice process and foreign investors' victims of crime, it is often seen that the prosecutors and police also faced difficulties in communicating and keeping them engaged during court processes. Hence, according to Charman and Piper (2012), the study revealed there were various forms of violence feared by foreign investors during xenophobic attacks, following the categories used by the South African Police Service (SAPS) which includes: murder; attempted murder; robbery; theft; assault.

Besides, in reality, every country is aware of how powerful investments are to their economies. Candidly speaking, any country that does not consider foreign investments as one or part of her economic growth and development priority, is definitely digging for her economic collapse. Observably, some African countries such as Nigeria, Ghana and Zimbabwe have previously implemented xenophobic attacks and this definitely reflected on their economies after sending foreign investors back to their countries. In fact, they regretted their actions and undiplomatic decisions taken against foreign nationals residing in their countries. In addition, the execution of impromptu xenophobic attacks by Nigerians, Ghanaians and Zimbabweans against foreign investors residing in their countries have, however, largely dissuaded many who may wish to invest in their economies (Atsenuwa and Adepoju, 2010; Posen and Ross, 2012). This incontrovertibly implies that xenophobic attacks negatively affect the countries' direct foreign investments. Since xenophobic attacks victimize those who fall casualties of the observable fact, this devastatingly, tremendously and overwhelmingly prompts the need to question the government in the areas of its country's policy and its legislative environment for possible gaps, and also assess how the victims of xenophobic attacks are compensated or treated (Crisp, 2010; Laubeova, 2012). This is because every citizen, whether South African citizens or foreign nationals, in fact, irrespective of any country one comes from has inalienable rights to be protected and live successively in such a country, provided that one has legal rights to stay either temporarily or permanently. More importantly and constitutionally, no one should take laws in his or her hands to send anybody back to his or her country unless such person(s) has (have) been tried and found guilty by a competent law court of such country for committing an offense that warrants the verdict of the court on deportation. South Africa being one of the fast developing countries in the world, the rights of all citizens is gallantly and courteously well established in the country's bill of rights and supreme constitution (Republic of South Africa 1996). However, recent evidence suggests that the South Africa economic situation or state of affairs is uneven and fluctuating due to inhospitable government policies designed to safeguard foreign investments and as a result, this has hindered huge investment opportunities. There is a need to encourage other investors from different countries such as Ethiopia, Bangladesh, Somalia, Pakistan, Nigeria and Ghana among others to invest in her economy.

The observable fact remains that those perpetrators who actually participate in these acts of xenophobic attacks have undoubtedly contributed to the downfall of the economic development of South Africa either directly or vice-versa. Devastatingly in South Africa, as soon as these perpetrators are arrested and sentenced, they are often not allowed to serve the appropriate jail term for the nature of the crimes committed; and after a short while, they are often released to walk free in the country. This is a pointer to the fact that South African laws are very lenient on these perpetrators and in fact there is a need for the South African government to review her judicial system and amend some laws as this could be one of the best ways or strategies to improve and strengthen her economic development. Seemingly, either the system is too compassionate, sympathetic, empathetic and merciful to the offenders, uncaring and unsympathetic to follow all the professionally, lawfully and legitimately due process to ensure fairness to the victims, and do justice to the culprits of the crime, or is disregarding the rights of the offenders (DeVilliers, 2006; Jaishankar, 2014). Prominently, recent evidence suggests that South African citizens alone cannot do all by themselves to enhance their current economic state of affairs. Apparently, the fact remains that for any country to improve or maintain success or progress economically in this Global economic dispensation, there is a substantial or considerable need to be in good accord with other nationals residing in the country, investing one another's economy and welcoming foreign nationals into their country with passion; in peace, tranquility and to learn how to live with different people in harmony. In fact, it is very important to emphasize at this juncture that any country executing xenophobic attacks would definitely have a propensity to experience poverty. It is very sad to state clearly that many African countries do not have a deep knowledge or clear understanding of what poverty means. In fact, some African leaders believe that embarking on xenophobic attacks would solve their identified economic problems, make them self-reliant and have full control of all their economic resources (Kasochi 2013). Considering a popular saying that "a tree cannot make a forest" it thus suffices to assert that a country cannot grow or develop on its own; seeing that no state; no matter how technologically advanced, financially buoyant or blessed with natural resources is self-sufficient but must be able and willing to accommodate new opportunities such as foreign investments, new technologies from abroad, billion dollar innovations and ideas, good vision and mission, as well as the basics such as the labour that foreign nationals bring into the country. It should also be noted that different foreign investments would bring about new and brilliant business ideas, which would invariably bring about empowerment to South African natives and as a result, there would be many employment opportunities to accommodate huge numbers of local citizens who are unemployed as well as the unskilled workers in South Africa. These are potentials that tend to revolutionize the economy of a nation considered South Africa is able to channel the values, labor and the education of these foreign nations which will in turn create ripples of development, productivity and stability to her Economy.

However, discussing poverty has a dependent variable, it can be said that its impacts cut across racial lines as it varied effects on the white and black populace. Claassen (2015) explains through a survey research on the subject matter that past experiences of poverty can

be seen a causal factor for black respondents as its effects were seemingly less impactful among white respondents, with a lowly 32% percent of white South African respondents, as opposed to an overwhelming 83% percent black respondents who felt the effect is associated to an heightened intensity of xenophobia. In a nutshell, the result of Claassen's survey explicates that individual's encounter of experiences with poverty increases xenophobia. Making poverty not only an effect of xenophobia but also a causal factor of xenophobic attacks in South Africa. This ultimately diminishes the productivity levels of black Diaspora's living in South Africa, which serves as an economic impact of xenophobic attacks in South Africa. Table below further explains the effects of poverty on xenophobia.

Conclusion

It is only tenable to say that reforms at home and aspiration to or actual leadership of the continent are two factors that shape the current phase of Nigeria-South Africa relations. The character of Nigeria-South Africa relations changed with the commencement of multi-racial democracy based on the universal adult suffrage in South Africa and the return to civilian rule in Nigeria. Anti-apartheid and anti-military policies that previously defined their relations became irrelevant. Nigeria and South Africa are regional as well as continental leaders in terms of economy and politics. Their cordial relationship is pivotal to the advancement and all round development of Africa. However, evidence abounds that relations between the two countries at any given conjuncture largely depends on the pursuit of their objectives and national interests, hence the deep-rooted competition for supremacy.

Again, economic factors have been identified as major causes of the strain in Nigeria and South Africa relations. Competition for scarce resources is a common factor in ethnic conflicts within both states. In Nigeria and South Africa, ethnic communities violently compete for properties, jobs, education, social amenities, healthcare, etc. Both countries have professed an unwavering commitment to the foreign policy of Afro-centricism. However, there exists a wide disparity between the two foreign policy objectives in the sense that while South Africa's foreign policy is dynamically based on reciprocal relations, that of Nigeria is rigidly based on sentiment.

Nigeria took practical steps to discourage apartheid and colonial rule in Africa. Sequel to this, Africa became the centerpiece of Nigeria's foreign policy. However, the dynamics of world affairs as regards diplomacy has made it imperative for Nigeria to adopt multilateralism with the welfare of her citizens and the health of her economy as her overriding national interest. While Nigeria remains active in African affairs, the nation should seek to enhance national development and welfare of the citizens. Again, Nigeria at the dawn of the 21st Century still remains largely an amalgam of several groups, language and creeds. It is easy for the foreign commentators to portray her as a highly disorganized country, failing to shed into light the challenges faced by the neo-colonial state. Beset by several social and economic ills. Many Nigerians themselves may speak of the insecurity of lives and property, complain bitterly about some aspect of the country's socio-economic development and decry the wide gaps between the rich few and the miserable millions. But

behind these images of apparent confusion and the public concern over lingering crises in some quarters, lies the reality of a nation more hopeful and promising than it was at its birth. For all their different cleavages, Nigerians are hopeful that the nation's fortunes will be much brighter under President Muhammadu Buhari's new dispensation, than they ever were in the past.

Recommendations

While it is not possible to eliminate social tensions in any country, it still remains expedient on the part of the South African government and its nationals to respect universal and regional treaties, declarations, norms, protocols and conventions rather than resort to barbarous acts that have outraged the conscience of Nigerians and Africans. Indeed the unwholesome politicization of migration as an excuse for xenophobia in South Africa must be addressed by diplomatic means by both countries. The issues and factors of migration that include increased unemployment, poverty and greed must be top in re-tooling the new Nigeria-South Africa partnership. Both countries must promote and sustain protection mechanisms for human rights and conducive environments for decent work by migrant workers and their families whether documented (economic) migrants or undocumented migrants.

- i) Equally, Nigeria has also provided a robust and unrestricted market for South African businesses like MTN and Multichoice. Therefore, Nigeria must also forge strategic business alliance in South Africa to balance the unhealthy business equation. Furthermore, beyond the existing skewed bilateral and economic relations in favor of South African businesses in Nigeria, there is an urgent need for both countries to initiate a liberalized migration regime and a robust migration management capacity towards enhancing and strengthening the strategic role of Nigerians in the diasporas as development partner and factoring their contributions to the overall Africa development agenda for sustainable peace and security.
- ii) The two countries in my view are not exploiting their leadership and governance roles in sustaining the African dream and indeed the drive for poverty eradication through the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Indeed, South Africa and Nigeria, representing the two leading economies in Africa, must play leading roles in driving a sustainable green revolution that would provide food security thereby contributing significantly to overcoming hunger and social tensions that have fueled African emigrations. It is imperative for the government under the leadership of President Muhammadu Buhari to escalate and mainstream key external relations that are mutually beneficial in ties with South Africa, while respecting all treaties and obligations on persons and related matters.
- iii) Crucially, sustained job creation particularly for youths at home and positive image-building abroad would enhance the respectability of Nigerians in the Diasporas and indeed address the negative way the world sees us as a people and a nation. Furthermore, our government at home must understand the relationship between poverty, irregular migration and the overall issues of xenophobia, which is not new in South Africa.

- iv) Nigeria's relevance within the global system depends on relative strength and control at the domestic level and our continued relevance within the Africa continent and indeed the changing world. Against this backdrop, Nigeria's international communication and reputational image-building mechanisms must be hinged on diplomatic caution and decency to safeguard our nationals wherever they are in the globe, beyond the xenophobic realities in South Africa. In addition, the African union (AU) has to be alive to its continental responsibilities for the emancipation of Africans from the clutches of poverty, walking the talk of development for its people across the continent.
- v) Nigeria's international engagement strategy should be done with diplomatic finesse and dexterity and pragmatic efforts should be pursued to improve on our foreign relations mechanisms, particularly on the issues of cross-border migration. Nigeria should desire to play by the rule of international law and its obligations in spite of its visible failings at home in providing basic social welfare and essential services for majority of its people who live on less than one dollar a day.
- vi) The challenge of xenophobic attacks again is wake up call for the Nigerian government to organize its affairs by improving living conditions at home, as well as strengthening its foreign policy objectives. Interestingly, South African state security institutions such as the police and immigration services show no sympathy to black settlers from other African countries; the xenophobia appears institutionalized and as such systemic. Therefore, Nigeria's international diplomacy should not dwell much on the criticism of the recent xenophobic attacks in South Africa, but rather much attention should be placed on understanding the dynamics of international politics, which is a game of selective morality, outrageous paradox and double standard. Hence, concrete efforts should be made at home to culture an enabling environment that would create jobs and livelihoods for the common people in Nigeria. In addition, Nigeria must re-evaluate her diplomatic institutions to engage the South African government.

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