Xenophobic Attacks and Nigeria – South Africa Relations, 2008-2018

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Abstract

Purpose: This research aimed at examining the dynamics of bilateral relations between Nigeria and South Africa, despite violent attacks against Nigerians in South Africa.

Methodology: The research design adopted in this study was descriptive, that depended on judgmental sampling technique. Secondary source of data collection (books, journal articles, monographs, internet materials among others) were sourced from Nigerian libraries and internet. These materials were subjected to content validity before analyzed qualitatively into the study. In order to deepen the understanding of xenophobic attacks against Nigerians in South Africa, relative deprivation theory served as an explanatory tool.

Findings: Findings revealed that unemployment in Nigeria fostered unnecessary migration of Nigerian youths to South Africa, thereby, triggering the xenophobic attacks against them by South African youths who are also searching for job opportunities. Though, Xenophobic attacks have not resulted in diplomatic row between Nigeria and South Africa, there are possible implications for political, economic and trade relations between the two states, according to findings.

Recommendations: The paper recommends job creation for Nigerian youths in both public and private sector, strengthening of Nigeria–South Africa Bi-National Commission, which has been moribund, as well as internationalization of South Africa domestic environment. These are panacea for xenophobic attacks in South Africa against Nigerians.

Keywords: *Bilateral Relations, Bi-National Commission, External Relations, Youth Unemployment, Xenophobic Attacks, Xenophobia.*

Introduction

The term Xenophobic is an adjective of the word Xenophobia. Xenophobia is a concept that is originated from two Greek words – Xenos and Phobos. The word Xenos refers to strangers, foreigners or alien while Phobos means fear or insecurity. The combination of the two words can be translated to mean extreme dislike or hatred for strangers or foreigner. Fanon (1967) cited in Ijisakin and Fakanbi (2019) described "Phobia", as a neurosis that is characterized by… an object that is outside of the individual….. it could also be seen as an intense dislike, hatred, fear of those perceived to be strangers. It could be expressed through prejudiced attitudes and remarks, institutional and social segregation, harassment as well as blatant form of inter personal and collective violence. "Foreigners in South Africa have been harassed, attacked and even killed. The attitudes toward immigrant held by sections of the South African population have become more hostile" (Kinge, 2016, P.1). Misago, Freemantle and Landau (2015) posited that, "while there are cases of hospitality, tolerance and South Africans defending the rights of non nationals, there is convincing evidence that South Africans are generally uncomfortable with the presence of Black and Asian non-nationals in their country" (P.18).

Arguably, the hope of the founding fathers (Nnamdi Azikiwe, Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, Jomo Kenyatta among others) of the Organization of African Unity (now African Union) in 1963 was to transform the entire African continent into a single state, named United States of Africa (USA). States that would be occupied by people of integrity who are willing to ensure that peace, security, prosperity as well as financial mobility are abound. Regrettably, Kinge (2006) lamented that, "Xenophobic attacks ruined the chances of the 54 African countries coming together to form a robust and diversified United States of Africa… "The inhuman act on the part of some South Africans has caused negative impacts on Africa as a whole" (P 52).

It should be recalled that in 2000 a Nigerian was attacked and killed in Cape Town. "Since then attacks on Nigerians have become norms for South Africans" (Bello &Tunde, 2017, P.120). Similarly, in 2014 about 60 Nigerians were killed in different cities in South Africa while 20 Nigerians were reported killed in 2016. The most sympathetic ones was the extra judicial killing of Tochukwu Nnamdi, a 34 year old Nigerian. Added to this, it is on record that on 18th February, 2017, Nigerians living in Pretoria West were attacked by the South Africans. Mr. Ike Chukwu Ayene, the President of Nigerian Union in South Africa, officially reported this incident to the government of both Nigeria and South Africa. (Adebisi, 2017). Bello and Tunde (2017) recalled that:

> During the attack, 5 buildings occupied by Nigerian businessmen, a church belonging to Nigerians and a garage with 28 cars under repair were looted and burnt by South Africans, leading to the injuries sustained by a Nigerian pastor. One common feature of the attack on Nigerians was that their shops and businesses were looted before being set ablaze. (P.120).

Nigerians are not the only target of the xenophobic attacks in South Africa. In 2008, widespread xenophobic attacks resulted in the death of 62 foreigners which incidentally led to the death of 21 South African citizens while 100,000 people were displaced, 670 wounded and 1,300 arrested (Monson & Arian, 2011). Landau (2011) explained further that, "during that incident, a Mozambican, Ernesto Mhamugue, was set alight in Ramaphosa at the East Land… Shops, homes and other businesses of foreigners were destroyed" (P.1). In 2009 Zimbabwean Community that

were settling in a rural area popularly known as De Dooms in the Western Cape were attacked and forcefully chased out from their homes. This led to the displacement of 3,000 people (Ker & Durrheim, 2013, cited in Kinge, 2016, P.18). Kinge (2016) also recorded that in 2013, a Mozambican taxi driver died in police custody, after being handcuffed and dragged behind a police van. In that same year, violent attack broke out in the Eastern Cape against foreigners, following the death of 19 year old South African, whose death was attributed to Somali immigrants.

However, the expectation is that South African government who is a signatory to the United Nations Charter and African Union should do the needful, by protecting the lives and property of foreigners and citizens equally, regrettably, the adverse is the case. Eze and Agena (2017) recorded that "law enforcement agents in South Africa, most especially the Police, appear to be slow in responding to distress calls by victims, whenever they are in danger. It is for this reason that many observers believe that police officers often take sides to the advantage of South Africans…"(P7). Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa (2010) also added that, "Police are very quick to dismiss attacks on foreign nationals as simply "criminal" rather than "xenophobic," they have limited ability to detect prejudice motive in criminal incidents… when police arrest or bring perpetrators to justice, which they rarely do, the focus is almost exclusively on those caught in the act rather than on instigators behind the scenes" (cited in Kinge, 2016, P.32). Senior citizens of South Africa are not helping matter. Jacob Zuma, the immediate past President of South Africa commented once, that South African blacks should not behave as if they were "typical" blacks from Africa in the same vein, Gwede Mantashe, the African National Congress Secretary General blamed foreigners for causing unrest in South Africa Platinum belt. The worse of all, was hate speech of Zulu King, Goodwill Zwelithini in 2016, during an event in Pongola, Kwazulu Natal Province. King Goodwill Zwelithini openly declared that, "African migrants should take their things and go because they are changing the nature of South African society with their goods and enjoying wealth meant for the locals". (Khoza, 2016, cited in Kinge, 2016, P.36). Pertinent questions that need immediate answers in this research are;

   i.   Which theoretical framework can adequately explained xenophobic attacks and Nigeria – South Africa relations, 2008 – 2018?
   ii.   Did youth unemployment trigger xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa?
   iii.   How did Nigeria and South African government and people react to xenophobic attacks in South Africa?
   iv.   What are the implications of xenophobic attacks for Nigeria – South Africa relations, 2008 – 2018.

Relative Deprivation Theory

The theory of relative deprivation is derived from the field of social psychology and is widely used in the entire social sciences. It helps to a great extent in offering explanations to inter-group issues. Indeed, great Social Psychologists such as, Gur (1970), Runciman (1966) Stouffer (1946), Merton (1938), among others had used this theory extensively to explain the social relationship that exists between two groups, "have and have not". Stouffer (1946) developed the relative deprivation theory to explain the disappointment that existed in American military immediately after the Second World War in 1939 between the African American soldiers in the Southern camp who were more satisfied than African American soldiers in the Northern camp (Pettigrew,

2015). Pettigrew (2015) described relative deprivation "as a judgment that one or one's in-group is disadvantaged compared to a relevant referent and that this judgment invokes feelings of anger, resentment and entitlement" (P.12). It has been used mainly to explain injustice and inequity among inter-group.

Ans and Elirea (1996) explained further that relative deprivation arises from a subjective feeling of discontent among groups or even individual, based on the belief that a particular group or individual is getting less than what its perceived to have entitled to "…when there is a gap between aspirations and reality, social discontent is likely to result… Relative deprivation is determined by perceptions of inequality (the cognitive element) as well as feelings of discontent (the affective element)" (Ans et al., 1996, P.381). The basic assumptions or propositions of relative deprivation are that, an individual or group's satisfaction is not related to their objective circumstance, rather to their condition relative to other individual or group. "This implies, for example, that objectively disadvantaged people, may feel less deprived than objectively advantaged people because of the chosen target for their social comparisons "(Dambrun, McDonald, Crush, Taylor & Meot, 2000, P.1032). Pettigrew (2015) also maintained that there are three requirements for relative deprivation to occur: (1) an individual or group must make cognitive comparisons (2) there must be cognitive appraisals that they or their groups are disadvantaged and (3) an assumption that these disadvantages are seen as unfair and arouse angry resentment. "if any one of these three requirements is not met, relative deprivation is not operating (Smith et al., 2012 cited in Pettigrew, 2015; P.12). Indeed, relative deprivation theory suggests that objectively disadvantaged people are frequently comparing themselves to others in their same condition or worse than-them, while objectively advantaged people are frequently comparing themselves to those who enjoy even more advantages than they possess. In other words, comparism is endless processes in any inter group relations. This is why Kenda (2005) opined that relative deprivation may also be temporal, that is, a group that experiences economic growth or an expansion of rights, followed by stagnation or recession of those processes may experiences relative deprivation. Kenda explained further that such phenomena are also known as unfulfilled rising expectations.

Added to this, Runciman (1966) noted that there are four preconditions for relative deprivation (of object x by person A). (i) A does not have x (ii) A knows of other persons that have x (iii) A wants to have x (iv) A believes obtaining x is realistic. Relative deprivation can lead to social dissatisfaction, thereby resulting in conflict. Gurr (1970) had citied relative deprivation (especially temporary relative deprivation) as the potential cause for social movements and deviance that could lead to extreme political violence; such as rioting, terrorism, civic war as well as social deviance like crime. Rose (1982) also posited that social movements arise when people feel deprived of what they perceive as their "fair share" while Merton (1938) argued that individuals engages in deviant behaviours when their institutional means do not match cultural goals.

Relating the theory to the subject matter, Gurr (1970) had speculated that Black people in South Africa would experience a gap between their rising expectations and changes that are actually taking place in South Africa, In his view, "when more or less constant reforms lead to expectations of further reforms or improvements, but these reforms are slow in the making or do not materialize at all… relative deprivation results" (P.56). South African government had adopted classical liberal economy since the end of apartheid regime in 1994. The classical

ideology opens up the economy to both foreign investors and labour migrants. Regrettably, the foreign investors who are mainly in manufacturing and mining sectors need skilled workers which South Africa (citizens) is lacking due to the long period of apartheid regime. Foreigners who are from Nigeria, Malawi, Ghana, Zimbabwe, and Gambia among others that possess the necessary qualifications are now target of xenophobic attacks. According to Carien (2009) cited in Eze and Ajena (2017):

> Local residents claim that foreigners took job opportunities away from local South Africans and they accept lower wages, foreigners do not participate in the struggle for better wages and working conditions. Other local South Africans claim that foreigners are criminals and they should not have access to services and police protection. Foreigners are also blamed for their businesses that take away customers from local residents, engage in drugs and the spread of disease such as HIV/AIDS (p.7).

Kinge (2016) did not accept Gurr's view (1970) that the gap between the expectation and fulfillment causes attacks on foreigners as illustrated by Eze and Ajena (2017), rather viewed xenophobic attacks as an effect of globalization, economic hardship, migration, ethnic conflict, and the plight of indigenous people, which affect all countries in Southern Africa. Currently, there is no country in Southern Africa that does not have problem with education, access to services, economy, migration among others. Regrettably, instead of blaming their government for poor leadership, "local black inhabitants blame foreign black individuals who are in the country (either legally or illegally) for taking their jobs, resulting indiscriminate practices that lead to violence and aggression towards foreigners" (Kinge, 2016, P.19). Soyombo (2008) argued further that democratic dispensation has failed South African people. Government should prioritize job creation, till today, unemployment is still high. Soyombo (2008) equally posited that:

> … Job opportunities are very limited amid significant increase in demand. The locals feel threatened because they have to compete with the out-group, as foreign nationals are more than ready to take up jobs at a cheaper pay rate compared to their South African counterparts. As such, the locals use the foreign nationals as "scapegoats" to vent out their frustration (pp. 99 – 100).

It is unfair to completely discredit the government of South Africa, as if nothing has been done to reverse this unfortunate trend. It should be recalled that in 2000 the government of former President Thabo Mbeki initiated, Growth, Employment and Redistribution Programme (GEAR) as well as Black Economic Empowerment Programme (BEEP), regrettably, these programmes were attacked by the White South African, thereby thwarting government genuine efforts towards economic recovery in South Africa. Due to this failure, United Nations Development Programme (2003) lamented that:

> Human Development Index has worsened (from 0.73 in 1994 to 0.067 in 2003), poverty still engulfs 48.5% of the population (21.9 million in 2002) income inequality has increased (from 0.60 in 1995 to 0.63 in 2001), the majority of households have limited access to basic services, and the official unemployment rate has sharply increased to more than 30% in 2003 (cited in Fayomi, Chidozie, & Ayo, 2016 P.2).

Bad governance is the crux of the matter in South Africa not the foreigners whom they transfer their relatively disadvantaged position to. The foreigners whom they describe as Amakwerekwere (implies separation of South African nationals from other African members) are also suffering from shortages of basic amenities, such as housing, transport, electricity, health services, schools which supposed to be provided by the government. Instead of blaming the government, they are having "mindset that foreigners are the hurdles occupying and hijacking limited resources in the country" (Bello & Tunde, 2017, P.118). Confirming this point, Kinge (2016) maintained that:

> Faced with the reality of unrealistic promises made to them, some poor black South Africans become frustrated and remained on lookers rather than participants to the rich lifestyles of some black South African elites… the end result was the violent attacks towards foreign nationals and blaming them for being responsible for the poor black South Africans predicament (P.32).

Like most African countries (Nigeria, Kenya, Equatorial Guinea, Cameroun among others), South Africa is known globally as a corrupt society (Landau, 2011). Even the immediate past President, Jacob Zuma has series of cases involving corruption in South African courts. Corruption was one of the factors that led to his unceremonial exist in 2018 and the subsequent replacement of his vice, Cyril Ramaphosa as President in 2018 by the African National Congress (ANC). The fact is that there is unequal distribution of resources in South Africa, thereby affecting their economy, negatively not foreigners as portray by the locals. Warner and Finchelescu (2003) lamented that;

> The unequal distribution of resources between and amongst black South Africans has created a hostile environment not conducive for cohabitation for both the black locals and foreign immigrants living in the country. Local black South Africans from the economically disadvantaged communities had it that foreign nationals compete with them for employment opportunities and to make matter worse, accept cheaper pay package… Xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals become the only way to vent frustration… (PP 36 – 44).

Materials and Methods

This journal article entitled "Xenophobic attacks and Nigeria – South Africa Relation, 2008 – 2018" has descriptive design that depended on secondary sources (books, journals articles, manuscripts, internet materials, conference papers etc) of data collection. These data were sourced from Nigerian libraries and internet, subjected to content analysis before analyzing it qualitatively into the study. The qualitative method of analysis assisted the researcher to embark on an in-depth study of xenophobic attacks against Nigerians in South Africa and how these attacks affect Nigeria – South Africa relations.

Furthermore, Nigeria, South Africa, Ghana, Gambia, Côte d'Ivoire, Senegal, Zambia among others, constitute the population of this study. Citizens of these countries have been attacked in South Africa severally, however, the frequency Nigerians experienced xenophobic attacks in South Africa is unprecedented. The choice of South Africa as a sample of this study was judgmental, in view of the fact that Nigeria contributed more than any other African country towards the emancipation of South Africa from the apartheid regime. Nigeria merits respect from

South Africa, regrettably, Nigerians residing in South Africa are the target of xenophobic attacks. The study would unravel the cause and propose solution for xenophobic attacks.

Youth Unemployment Triggers Xenophobic Attacks in South Africa

Unemployment is a global phenomenon. It does not confine to a specific continent of the earth. For instance, despite economic growth and development in the United States of America, its unemployment rate increased from 5% in 2007 to 9% in 2011. Spain had an increase from 8.6% to 21.52% while United Kingdom experienced an increase from 5.3% to 8.1% in that same years. Similarly Ireland also had an increase from 14.3% to 4.8% while Latvia experienced 5.4% increase to 16.5% in 2011. In the same vein, Greece had an increase from 8.07% to 18.4% while Italy experienced an increase from 6.7% to 8.3% in the same year (Nigeria's 2011 Annual Socio-Economic Report). Still, 2011, unemployment rate in South Africa was 25%, Angola 25%, Botswana 17.5%, Egypt 11.8%, Kenya 11.7%, Namibia 51% while Nigeria recorded 23.9% (National Bureau of Statistics 2011, cited in Adesina, 2013). This statistics which mostly affected youths confirmed that unemployment is now a major issue affecting both the developed and developing world. This is why Alexander Chikwanda, the former Zambia Finance Minister lamented that, "youth unemployment is a ticking time bomb for all of us" (cited in Idris, 2016, P.6.). According to International Labour Organization (2012) youth can be defined as a person that is aged between 15 and 29 years. Surprisingly, this age bracket (15-29) constitutes the largest population segment of any given society. The International Labour Organization (2012) went further to define unemployed population as, "members of the economically active population who are without work but available and seeking work, including people who have lost their jobs or who have voluntarily left work". (cited in Nwagwu, 2014, P.26).

The National Bureau of Statistics (2011) hinted further that between 2006 and 2011, at least 1.8 million Nigerians constituted new entrants into active labour market per year. Salami (2013) also added that 23.9% Nigerians were unemployed in 2013. In his (Salami, 2013) analysis, Bayelsa constituted (38.4%), Katsina (37.3%) Bauchi (37.2%) Akwa Ibom (34.1%), Gombe (32.1%), Adamawa (29.4%) Borno (27.7%) Kano (27.6%), Yobe (27.3%), Taraba (26.8%), Jigawa (26.5%), Imo (20.8%), FCT (21.5%) while Plateau recorded 7.1 as the lowest figure (cited in Adekola, 2016). There are many reasons that account for the high unemployment rate in Nigeria. Scholars (Adesina, 2013, Salami, 2013, Adebayo, 1999, Alanana, 2003, Echebiri, 2005, Aynde, 2008, Murphy 2008, among others) identified neglect of agricultural sector, rural urban migration, rapid population growth, low economic growth, leadership and managerial problem, low investment, lack of political will, outdated school curriculum, lack of adequate youth development programme, gradual collapse of manufacturing sector, to mention but few. Among all these factors, the gradual collapse of the manufacturing sector is the major hindrance to job creation in Nigeria. Adesina (2013) confirmed that:

> There are over 800 collapsed industries in Nigeria and over 37 factories closed shops in 2009. About half of the remaining operating firms have been classified by Manufacturing Association of Nigeria (MAN) as "ailing", a situation that poses a great threat to the survival of manufacturing in the country. The banking sub-sector due to the ongoing reforms and consolidation has sent young men and women's back into the labour market. Instead of the sector generating employment, it is shrinking (cited in Adekola, 2016, P.5).

Furthermore, Okafor (2011) cited in Adesina (2013) lamented that in 2009, a total number of 176 firms were declared sick and eventually collapsed in Northern Nigeria. Similarly, 178 companies were shutdown in that same period in Southern Nigeria. The South-South region that attracted Foreign Direct Investment experienced shutdown of about 46 companies while the South West lost 225 companies before the end of December 2009. Lagos the commercial capital of Nigeria lost 214 manufacturing firms in that same year, due to government liberal policy and high interest rate. Indeed, it is as a result of high unemployment rate at home that prompted young Nigerians to involve in risky migration to foreign land, especially South Africa, even when the host nationals are hostile to foreigners. Nigerian government has claimed that it has embarked on some poverty alleviation measures; such as establishment of National Directorate of Employment (1986), People's Bank of Nigeria (1989), Better Life for Rural Women and Family (1986), National Economic Empowerment and Development (NEED) (2003), Family Support Programme (1985), Youth Enterprise and Innovation in Nigeria (2011), Subsidy Re-investment and Empowerment Programme (SURE-P) (2012), N-power (2016), National Homegrown School Feeding Programme (2016), Government Enterprise and Empowerment Programme (GEEP) (2018) among others. "Though some of these programmes were completely without merits, the truth is that they did not generate a significant, lasting and sustainable positive effect on unemployment in Nigeria" (Adekola, 2016, P.3).

Regrettably Nigerians that traveled to South Africa, in search of Jobs are not finding it easy. In 2011, South Africa had a population of about 53.9 million people, with 25% of that population being unemployed. Gumede (2014) decried that:

> The challenge of unemployment, poverty and inequality continues to hamper progress in uplifting the majority of Southern African citizens from economic hardship. Statistics and research demonstrate that despite high growth rates, and the presence of increasing middle class, unemployment, poverty and inequality may have worsened in the past decade (P.16).

It should be recalled that 1994 Independence which South Africa got, did not immediately translates into growth and development. Prior to the independence, education was mainly for the white. Only few Africans that lived in urban areas (Johannesburg, Pretoria, Cape Town and Duban) were opportune to receive western education. Crankshaw and Parnell (2000) posited that, "instead of using education as an instrument to facilitate economic growth, the apartheid government used it as a way of securing white supremacy in the workplace… The shortage of skills was, and still is, a serious obstacle to productivity and economic growth" (P.6). Therefore, late President Nelson Mandela had a challenge of rebuilding the post apartheid government based on equality, social justice, growth and development. The first programme introduced by the post apartheid government of African National Congress (ANC) in 1994, was Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). This programme assisted in addressing the economic injustice and imbalance that prevailed in South African society during the apartheid regime. The late Nelson Mandela's government provided infrastructure especially housing, hospital, schools as well as services to both urban and rural Africans. Francis (2016) recalled that:

> The South African government, unusually for a developing country, makes universal pension. In 1994, the new government raised African pensions to the same level as that provided for other population groups. These elderly people (the large majority) who

received pension thus have a regular source of income, weakening the link between the old age and extreme poverty. A small minority of Africans gaining highly paid job in the public and private sectors or taking advantage of support for emergency businesses (P.6).

This glorious moment did not last long. In 1996, South African government abandoned Reconstruction and Developing Programme and introduced a liberal capitalist principle tagged "Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) programme". "The shift of emphasis was intended to make the South African economy more attractive to foreign direct investment, expand exports, make the public finances more sustainable and stimulate economic growth" (Francis, 2006, P6). However, since the local investors were not strong to compete and the foreign investors were not also having confidence in the new regime, the GEAR was not successful. This affected the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) negatively. Rodrik, (2006) regretted that:

> Since trade becomes more liberalized in the early 1990s, South Africa's manufacturing sector has failed to compete in global manufacturing export markets. Increased import competition, and the level and volatility of the real exchange rate have been shown to be important drivers of South Africa's manufacturing decline. (Cited in Bhorat, Naidoo, Oosthuizein & Pillay, 2016, P.3).

Ordinarily, majority of workers in South Africa engage in mining and manufacturing sectors. The decline has affected employment opportunities in manufacturing and mining sectors negatively. In 2005, the Government Labour Force Survey indicated that unemployment in South Africa was 26.7%, and the worse hit was North West Province with 27.4% of the entire number. Meth and Dias (2004) cited in Francis (2006) lamented that in 2002, about 22 million people in South Africa were living in poverty. This is unfortunate, especially in a population of 53 million people. In the same vein, Bhoratet'al (2016) decried that, "the exclusivity of South Africa's growth path is only further emphasized by an unemployment rate of 25 percent… one of the world's consistently highest unemployment rate" (P.4).

It is now known, why foreigners; Nigerians, Zimbabweans, Ghanaians, Mozambicans, Zambians, Malawans, Somalis among others are target of xenophobic attacks. It is a transfer of aggression from bad government who cannot create jobs for the teaming youths, but rather ginger sentiments against foreigners in their midst. As Bayo (2017) decried that:

> South Africans have been attacking foreigners who they accuse of stealing their jobs and women. In my opinion the accusations are preposterous. How could one steal a woman when relationship between two adults is supposed to be consensual? It also does not make sense that foreigners have been depriving South Africans of job. If South African employers find those from abroad better qualified than South African counterparts, why blame foreigners (P.7).

Though Bayo (2017) saw the xenophobic attack as scapegoating phenomenon, Ijisakin and Fakanbi (2019) attributed the cause to competition over scarce resources, such as jobs, housing among others. According to Ijisakin and Fakanbi (2019), "these xenophobic attacks against non-South Africans can be seen from the prism of struggle for scarce economic resources. South Africans feel that they are being denied of their right to jobs" (P.7). Dodson (2010) also agreed with Bello and Tunde (2017), Kinge (2016), Ayo and Fayomi (2016), that, "South Africans feel

that Nigerians are competing with them for jobs, housing and other resources to which they feel they are entitled to (cited in Ijisaken & Fakanbi, 2019, P.7). Similarly, Gamer (2015) cited in Idris (2016) also maintained that ''…unemployment trigger participation in insurgencies, prompts people to join violent gangs, drives people to extremism, and that it is a primary reason behind domestic violence" (P.6). Expanding the argument on youth unemployment and xenophobic attacks in South Africa, Mclean and Fraser (2009) concluded that:

> Without access to employment or livelihood opportunities, most young people cannot afford a house or a dowry, cannot marry and their transition to adulthood is effectively blocked. Menial jobs with little prospect for advancement may also be a cause of youth frustration, embarrassment and social separation… This can cause conflict or lead to youth involvement in criminal activities that offer livelihood opportunities (P.15).

The situation in South Africa is not different from the above explanations. In the light of this, reaction to xenophobic attacks in South Africa is next focus of this research paper.

Reactions to Xenophobic Attacks in South Africa

Arguably Nigeria has lost at least 137 citizens, between 2014 and 2016 in South Africa, through xenophobic attacks. Regrettably, the people and government of South Africa refuse to admit that xenophobic attack exist in their soil. They rather attribute the attacks on the foreigners to criminality. Ramaphosa, the South African President attested to this, during his official visit to Nigeria on 12th July, 2018. He said;

> Yes, South Africans have been exposed to unsafe environments. They have been exposed to criminality and we have historically had a number of challenges in this regard. But to overlay on this, we have also had a huge challenge of unemployment, and people tended to react in a way, where they want to safeguard their interests…" (cited in Matlala, 2018, P.2).

In other words, the President admitted that xenophobia exists in South Africa, but perpetrated by criminal elements that lack jobs. Nigeria cannot pretend as nothing happens and watch its citizens being slaughtered in South Africa. Tornyi (2015) recalled that the dreaded Islamic terrorist group, Boko Haram had issued warning to the government and people of South Africa to stop attacking Nigerians living in South Africa, or they should expect a reprisal attacks on its citizens residing in Nigeria, Niger and Chad. Niger Delta militants operating in the South South region of Nigeria also issued a stern warning to the youths of South Africa to desist from the xenophobic attacks on Nigerians else its citizens and their investments in South South region of Nigeria would suffer repercussions (Kinge, 2006). The South African investments, especially Mobile Telecommunication Network (MTN) were the target of most Nigerians' non-state actors. All Progressive Congress (APC) the ruling party, for instance, had threatened South African government (through memorandum) to take immediate action that aimed at stopping the xenophobic attacks on foreigners, especially Nigerians, or its companies, MTN and Shoprite would be shut down without further notice. Even the Nigerian student body, National Association of Nigerian Students (NANS) also issued a severe warning to MTN in 2016 to leave Nigeria within 48 hours or mount severe pressure on its government in South Africa to stop the xenophobic attacks on Nigerian citizens.

However, it was as a result of these threats from the non state actors that prompted Nigerian government to react in order to avoid retaliatory action from its citizens. It should be recalled that Representative Rita Orji, the Chairman, House Committee on Diaspora Matter raised the matter before the floor of the House and decried the lukewarm attitude of Nigerian government towards protection of its citizens abroad. Chibuzor, Aja and Onyedikachi (2017) posited that, "She accused the government of over protecting the businesses and interests of South Africans to the detriment of Nigerians. Orji recounted some of the glory murder of Nigerians in South Africa, Libya and other countries, some of which her Committee had investigated and given the report to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with no visible action taken" (P.67).

Similarly, Senator Gbenga Ashafa, Senate Committee Member on Foreign Affair, in one of his interview with Channel Television in 2017 maintained that, "I don't see us doing anything tangible by way of arresting these attacks, without this government standing up and having some diplomatic reprisal" (cited in Bello & Tunde, 2017, P.123). It was as a result of this blame, which warranted the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to summon the South African High Commissioner to Nigeria, Mr. J. Moroe and officially registered Nigeria's displeasure towards the attacks on its citizens. The House of Representatives had to set up an Ad-Hoc Committee that was led by their majority leader Femi, Gbajabiamila to visit and dialogue with South African parliament on the attacks. The team also met with Theabo Mbeki, the former South African President. Adebisi (2017) stated that the Committee was among others saddled with the tasks of reminding South Africa of the consequences of xenophobic attacks against Nigerians and the likely repercussions… That, Nigeria will not abandon its citizens in South Africa to suffer in the hands of the perpetrators of xenophobic assault" (P.89).

It should also be recalled that in 2015, during the regime of former President Good Luck Jonathan, 15 Nigerians were brutally murdered in Johannesburg. This incidence led to immediate recall of Nigerian High Commissioner to South Africa Mr. Martin Cobham even though he later went back. The Nigerian President, Goodluck Jonathan visited his South African counterpart, President Jacob Zuma and expressed Nigeria's dismay towards such attacks. South African government condemned the attack and apologized accordingly with full promises that such ugly incidence would never repeat itself. Seteolu and Okineye 2017 added that, "Pretoria, however, responded to the withdrawal of Nigerian envoy citing the death of 38 South African nationals in a collapsed building at the Synagogue Church in Ikotun, Lagos. The South African government recalled that the deaths did not elicit harsh reactions by state officials and the populace" (P.5). In other words Nigerian government and its people should endure the loss as they did in 2014. The South African government has been worried that there is a perception that had taken root in Nigeria that South Africa and its people are hostile to Nigerians and that South African law enforcement agencies are not protecting Nigerians against xenophobic attacks. This perception was debunked by South African President Cyril Ramaphosa, during his official visit to Nigerian President, Muhammadu Buhari on 12th July, 2018 at Abuja. Ramaphosa (2018), said;

> Our government has been clear and strong on this. We will act against anyone who seeks to attack anybody on the basis of their race, their origin or the way they look, we are very clear on that…. In terms of safety and security, our safety and security institutions are now taking serious action against people who resort to criminality. (cited in Matlala, 2018, P.4).

Implications of Xenophobic Attacks for Nigeria – South Africa Relations

Though bilateral relations between Nigeria and South Africa have not been marred by the xenophobic attacks, there are possible implications for the following;

i.   Political Relations.

Nigeria is the leading member of Economic Community for West African States (ECOWAS), likewise South Africa being a leading member of Southern African Development Communities (SADC). The two states have demonstrated their leadership in various occasions. They have collaborated in bringing peace and security to the entire African region. Amusan and Wyk (2011) restated that, "the two states identified a myriad of problems related to intra and inter-state conflict… resolution, perhaps because Nigeria had been at the forefront of peace keeping effort in Africa… South Africa relied on Nigeria in this respect" (P.44). For instance, it should be recalled that Nigeria played a leading role in bringing peace to war torn areas in Africa, such as Liberia, Sierra Leone, Cote d'Ivoire, Tanzania, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Sudan, Burundi, Rwanda, to mention but few. Similarly, South Africa has been in international engagements, about 50 years ago before Nigeria got her independence in 1960. Olivier (1975) stated that, "Pretoria's inputs to the formation of the League of Nations and the United Nations (UN) are instructive-South Africa co-drafted the preamble to the UN Charter" (P.295). Indeed it should also be recalled that immediately after the Second World War, South Africa was given the mandate to take over South West Africa (Present Nambia), the former protectorate of Germany. Regrettably, the apartheid policy of South Africa was the only factor that hindered their recognition in world stage and further brought sanction which was later lifted in 1994, immediately Nelson Mandela was sworn in as President Amusan and Wyk (2011) further maintained that:

> Despite the two states' foreign policy incompatibility during the Mandela and Abacha Presidencies, South Africa and Nigeria cooperate in resolving the DRC political log-jam in its neighbourhood, while Nigeria's requested South Africa to join its peace… enforcement efforts in …Liberia and Sierra Leone" (P.45)

In 2003 Nigeria and South Africa, under the leadership of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo and Mr. Thabo Mbeki championed the establishment of Africa Union's Peace and Security Council (PSC), as a replacement of mechanism on conflict prevention management and resolution in Durban, South Africa. The two states in 2004 strengthened their cooperation towards resolving political crisis in Zambabwe. They appointed Adebayo Adedeji and Kgalema Motlantile (former African National Congress Secretary General) to wield into the political crisis between the Late President Robert Mugabe of ZANU –PF and Late Morgan Tsvangirai of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) who was the opposition leader. Though there was little success Akindele (2007) maintained that, "Abuja and Pretoria's aims in doing this were probably to demonstrate to the international community that Africa could handle its own continental crisis, with little or no involvement from extra African state" (P.333).

In view of the aforementioned political relationship that has existed between Nigeria and South Africa, there is a need to preserve it, and continue to maintain the status quo. Reprisal attacks on South Africans by Nigerians could impact negatively on the political relations between the two leading African states. As Eze and Agena (2017) rightly argued that, "Africans usually regard

each other's 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 …international politics" (P.8).

ii.   Economic Relations

Nigeria and South Africa strengthened their economic relations, immediately Chief Olusegun Obasanjo took over the mantle of leadership in Nigeria in 1999. The championing for the formation of New Partnership for Africa Development (NEPAD) was led by Chief Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria, Mr Thabo Mbeki of South Africa as well as Mr Abdelaziz Bouteflika of Algeria. According to Adams (2006):

> Without the leadership of Nigeria and South Africa, the creation of NEPAD would have been more difficult, if not impossible. The creation of NEPAD was predicated on the believe by South African and Nigerian leaders that the regional document will reposition Africa on the path of long term development and reduce her marginalization in international economic relations (cited in Ebegbulem, 2013, P.34).

In 2000 both leaders, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo and Mr. Thabo Mbeki agreed strongly and further lobbied rich nations during the 68 Japan meeting for the forgiveness of Africa's debt. "Both had called for technology and resources transfer from West to Africa, criticizing the gap between promise and delivery on the part of most Western States" (Egbegublem, 2013, P.34). Indeed the major goal of NEPAD is to eradicate poverty in Africa and place African countries on part of sustainable growth and development.

Similarly, in October 1999, the government of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo and his counterpart in South Africa signed an agreement that led to the formation of South Africa – Nigeria Bi-National Commission (BNC). The Vice Presidents of the two countries; Alhaji Atiku Abubakar (Nigeria) and Mr. Jacob Zuma (South Africa) were mandated to chair the Commission. The Commission helps in providing a collaborative framework and cooperative effort that assists in bringing Africa into the mainstream of global political, social and economic development. Ebegbulem (2013) argued further that:

> South Africa-Nigeria Bi-National Commission seeks to create a climate conducive for the creation of better quality of life for all. The Commission is also seen as a platform in which both countries can jointly as partners impact positively, in conjunction with other African countries, on regional peace and security, socio economic development, poverty alleviation, and prevention of crime and corruption (P.38).

In line with BNC framework Nigerians and South Africans have embarked on remarkable investments in each other state. It should be recalled that Oando Plc, a Nigerian oil company was listed in Johannesburg Securities Exchange in 2005. Oando also negotiated with Sasol and Petro SA, South African Oil giants for the purpose of embarking on upstream and downstream oil production in Niger Delta. In the same vein, the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) has partnered with Sasol Oil, to convert the natural gas to liquid in Nigeria. The Corporation has also attracted a lot of foreign investors from South Africa to invest in oil and gas sector in Nigeria. Amusan and Wyk (2011) highlighted further that;

In order to realize this goal, Nigeria created an enabling environment such as free corporate tax, free import duties, 100 percent foreign ownership and long-term lease… the two states also investigated the possibility of creating African branch of the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA) where investment from both states would be secured, in the event of political instability in the host state (P.47).

Dangote group, a Nigerian company has invested 8,378 million dollars in South Africa for the production of cement. On their part, South African firms operating in Nigeria include; Mobile Telecommunication Network (MTN) Shoprite, Stanbic Bank and Digital Satellite Television (DSTV). DSTV had a monopoly of transmitting digital television to Nigerians' home between 2005 to 2009, before other players like MYTV, STARTIMES, CONSAT among others were licensed by National Broadcasting Commission (NBC). Similarly, MTN was the first mobile telecommunication network that came into Nigerian market in 2001, before others networks like ECONET, Globacom were licensed by Nigerian Commutation Commission (NCC). Ebegbulem (2013) also hinted that Entech, a South African construction company was awarded a contract worth R2.1 billion by Lagos State Government in 2001 to redevelop the Bar Beach and Victoria Island. Tom-vest, a subsidiary of Bidvest, the biggest tourism company in South Africa has purchased Touchdown Travels (a hotel) in Tinapa, Cross River State (Omojila, 2006). Therefore close examination of Nigeria-South Africa economic relations, reveals that citizens of the two states invest in each other's state, hence reprisal attack should be the last option. As Ademola (2017) had warned that "if these investments and other small scale ones are threatened by incessant xenophobic attacks, investors from Nigeria may go elsewhere and does not augur well for the speedy transformation and job opportunities, for the South African and African economies in general… (P.90). In the same vein, Eze and Agena (2017) argued that, "…taking cognizance of the fact that South Africans are also doing businesses in other African countries, it will be better imagined, If there exist reprisal attacks on South Africans residing and doing businesses in other African countries" (P.8).

iii.   Trade Relations

Similarly, it should be recalled that the cardinal objective of BNC is to promote trade and investment between Nigeria and South Africa. In 1999, Nigeria and South Africa formally signed bilateral agreements on trade and investment. Ebegbulem (2013) maintained that, "the signing of these agreements witnessed… improved trade relations between South Africa and Nigeria" (P.36). This has manifested in the volume of trade between the two states. Nigeria's export to South Africa is mainly crude oil. For instance, in 2005, South Africa exported goods worth R3.4 billion to Nigeria and imported R4.2 billion worth of commodities from Nigeria. (Tenikin, 2007). The major commodity South Africa depends on Nigeria is crude oil while Nigeria also depends on some agricultural produce from South Africa. Amusan and Wyk (2011) added that, South Africa's agricultural exports to Nigeria include Tobacco, beverages, sugar, daily and milling products. Nigeria's agricultural export to South Africa are cocoa, food industry residue and waste. South Africa also export to Nigeria, important products like machinery, electrical equipment, appliances, wood, paper, prepared food stuffs, beverages, plastics, rubber, chemicals among others, while oil constitute 97% of Nigeria's export to South Africa (Pahad, 2002) Seteolu and Okuneye (2017) highlighted further that, "Nigeria heavily relies on export of oil and human resources to South Africa and South Africa's export to Nigeria include, electrical equipment, machinery, wood, paper, foodstuff, beverages, spirit, tobacco, rubber and plastics"

(P.63). Though Nigeria is a consuming nation, in view of the fact that oil is the major export to South Africa while South Africa exports varieties of products to Nigeria, the fact remains that Nigeria provides a viable business partner to South Africa. Geoffrey Onyama, Nigeria's Minster of External Affairs had said that "Nigeria and South Africa are the pillars of this continent and moving forward, both countries have to work together… both Presidents have to be close" (cited in Adebayo, 2016, P.3). Added to this, is the fact that reprisal attacks from Nigerians would affect trade and investments between the two states negatively. Eze and Agena (2017) also warned that, "it will…bring about job loses, a development which might make the victims to be easy prey to terrorist organizations, thereby aggravating the already worst security situations in both countries" (P.9).

Conclusion and Recommendations

Through this research focuses on Nigeria – South Africa relations, it is worthy to note that Arab spring that affected Tunisia in 2009 was ignited by grievance of the youth over high rate of unemployment and authoritarian style of Ben Ali's government. The youth unemployment also led to the forceful occupation of Tahrir in Cairo, Egypt, that eventually led to the fall of President Mubarak in 2010. A U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), (2005) cited in Idris (2016) maintained that,

> Young people often participate in violence because membership in extremist organizations provides immediate economic benefits, because violence itself offers opportunities for economic gain through direct payment or looting, or because conflict promises to open up longer term economic options, for example, through patronage of "their" ethnic or religious group who captures power (P.11).

South African youths accused Nigerians, Zimbabweans, Mozambicans, Ghanaians, Somalis, Malawans among others of involving in drug trafficking, prostitutions, as well as armed robbery, therefore, they must be forcefully repatriated to their home states.

Regrettably, none of them mention the bad governance that exists there that renders majority of them jobless. They do not also mention the lootings which the protesters embarked upon whenever there is xenophobic attacks. The truth lies on the opinion of Rodgers (2005) who posited that, "in a context of wide spread youth exclusion from paid employment, a minority of the young people' take the opportunity to make a livelihood by becoming involved in criminal activities, such as the local drugs trade, armed groups and other illegal trade" (P.3). Nigerian government, likewise South African government should create job opportunities in both public and private sectors of their economies for the teaming youths. This will discourage young Nigerians from travelling out of the country in search of greener pasture elsewhere. The job creation would also help South Africans to appreciate their government, thereby discouraging them from attacking aliens. In the same vein, their image would improve globally. As Gumede (2015) advised, "African government should pay more attention to improving access to jobs, especially for youths and women through a partnership between government, organized labour and the private sector, including small and medium enterprises" (P.7).

Furthermore, Nigeria – South Africa Bi-National Commission (BNC) should incorporate mechanism for conflict resolution among the two states. It is unfortunate, that the basic objective of the BNC was to promote trade and investments between the two state, though the founders

should not be blamed, because non-anticipated xenophobic attack. However, with the current situation of things, there is a need for the two states to address the issue of peace-keeping and conflict resolution in that agreement. This has become necessary in view of the fact that no meaningful investment or trade can take place in an unsecured environment. As Fayomi, Chidozie and Ayo (2015) confirmed that "….both countries must strengthen the instrumentality of the Nigeria-South Africa Bi-National Commission as a veritable platform to resolve diplomatic impasses speedily, before they degenerate into unavoidable row "(P.9). Similarly, African Union (AU) and Southern Africans Development Community (SADC) should encourage South African government to dismantle the remnants of apartheid regime in their midst. It is a known fact that South Africa had practiced segregation and isolation for centuries, therefore, to integrate in line with, global best practice is difficult. Morris (1998) cited in Kinge (2016) posited that, "when a group has no history of incorporating strangers, it may find it difficult to welcoming them" (P.22). The truth is that South Africa cannot live in isolation in the 21st century. The government must be responsible enough and live up to its expectation. The state institutions (police and judiciary) must be strengthened to deal decidedly with anybody that violates the rights of another. As Kinge (2016) had advised, "the government should in all capacity discourage political propaganda that instill fear but rather encourage the politics of inclusion at all level" (P.59). It is by doing these; African Union and Southern African Development Community would have confidence in Pretoria.

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