Xenophobic Violence in South Africa and the Nigerians' Victimization: An Empirical Analysis

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ABSTRACT

The issue of xenophobia has become a common phenomenon in South Africa, where significant numbers of innocent lives have been lost, properties worth millions of dollars destroyed, and many people displaced. The victims of these attacks were majorly black Africans. Surprisingly, the molestation and attacks originated from Africans and targeted at fellow Africans particularly the blacks. The ugly trend which has been linked to the parochial mindset among South Africans with the belief that the foreign nationals in their land are the cause of unemployment, poverty rate and spreading of deadly diseases in the country. Given this fact, it has become a notion within the country that foreigners have hijacked the socio-economic sector of South Africa and the solution was to frustrate the migrants out of the society. However, the attacks on Africans and Nigerians in particular is a barbaric and disturbing scenario which definitely has implications on the external relations of both countries (Nigeria and South Africa). Thus, it is cogent to explore the xenophobic violence in South Africa with special focus on Nigerians. The paper infers that Africans need to embrace tolerance and treat foreign nationals in their countries, irrespective of race or gender, with high sense of brotherliness to promote cooperation among the African States as well as enhance peace and development of the continent.

Keywords: Diplomacy, negrophobia, Nigeria, South-Africa, violence, xenophobia

INTRODUCTION

> "I can understand how this might brew animosity and resentment but let us remind South Africa that the most prosperous Nations of the world are the ones who open their arms, doors and hearts to talents from all over the world."

> Olushola Adeyeye[1]

South Africa is one of the most advanced countries in Africa with great infrastructure. The country attracts visitors from different nations and climes who visit for vacation, business, tourism and other activities. With a robust economy and a favourable political and social climate, South Africa has also become a choice destination for most African asylum seekers (Akinola 2018a; Gordon, 2017; Oloruntoba, 2018). South Africa's diverse culture and identity as well as relatively high standards of living is another pull factor for immigrant from different countries.

Despite its viable economic, political and social climate, negative attitudes by some of the citizens of South Africa towards foreign residents in the country have influenced some African countries, particularly those whose nationals have suffered the mayhem, to review their relationship with South Africa (Akinola,

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2018a, 2018c; Tella, 2016). The ill treatment meted on other nationals by some South Africans is to evict the foreigners from their land whom they claimed to have taken away their businesses, land, wives, among others (Adjai & Lazaridis, 2014; Fagbadebo & Ruffin, 2018; Wilson & Magam, 2018). These actions have resulted in series of killings, massacre, burning and destruction of properties owned mostly by African nationals residing in the country.

Similarly, the history of xenophobia in Africa has become a general phenomenon. This is because a number of countries in Africa have witnessed the xenophobia in their various countries (Akinola, 2018a, 2018c; Oloruntoba, 2018, Oni & Okunade, 2018; Tella, 2018). However, the rate at which South Africa experiences the xenophobic violence in Africa is more frequent and alarming compared to other countries where the incidence had occurred in the past (Gordon, 2017; Ruedin, 2018). This frequent recurrence of xenophobia in South Africa needs to be addressed among the African states. This is because whenever there is xenophobic attack in South Africa, the foreigners who are mainly Africans resident in the country are the prime target (Fagbadebo & Ruffin, 2018). Thus, this calls to question the ability to guarantee security and safety of Africans in the African continent. Therefore, there is need for countries like Nigeria among others whose nationals have been victimized in one form or the other by some aggrieved South Africans to take measure on how to prevent its future occurrence.

In the same vein, the study is aimed at bringing to the awareness of the public on the likely consequences of the negative acts of the South African citizens on other foreign nationals living in the country. This is also to sensitize the South Africa citizens, particularly those who are involved in the ill-treatment of foreign nationals residing in the country on the likely danger they are exposing South African nationals who are living in other countries. Therefore, this study is aimed at highlighting the need for Africans to imbibe the spirit of brotherhood among fellow Africans irrespective of their colour or race in order to encourage cooperation and promote stability in Africa continent.

STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

Xenophobia is a common phenomenon in Africa that has been experienced in countries like Angola, Botswana, Ghana, Nigeria, Zambia, Zimbabwe among others (Akinola, 2018b; Benyera, 2018; Carciotto, 2016; Oni & Okunade, 2018; Shulika & Sabi, 2018; Tella, 2016, 2018). However, the recurring event of xenophobia in South Africa has become a burning issue in Africa. This has been canvassed for by several literature found on the xenophobic violence in South Africa.

Hence, Nigeria like many other African countries has cordial relationship with South Africa government which has made it easy for the duo to work things out together in the African continent such as the contribution to Africa's peace, stability and development (Colliers, Schunemann, & Moyer, 2015;

Obi, 2015). On the other hand, the rate at which the incessant xenophobic violence through assaults and attacks on Nigerians living in South Africa calls for a serious concern. Although, the xenophobic violence in South Africa recorded massive attacks on foreigners who are predominantly Africans, but this study is focused on the frustration and victimization experienced by Nigerians in the country.

Even though past studies such as Obi (2015), Fayomi, Chidozie, and Ayo (2015), Ogunnubi (2016), and Ogunnubi and Amusan (2018), had been conducted on the Nigeria-South Africa hegemonic influence in the African continent. There are scanty studies on the effects of the ill-treatment meted out on Nigeria's nationals in South Africa on the economic relations and diplomatic ties of the two countries. The victimization of Nigerian nationals by South Africans can destabilize the long-term relationship between the two countries. It is against this backdrop that the study examines how xenophobia in South Africa is affecting the Nigeria-South Africa relations, in order to prevent any disengagement between the two countries.

METHODS

The study employs a systematic review of literature majorly on xenophobia in Africa with emphasis on South Africa. The study is equally qualitative in nature which is based on the use of secondary data sources. This study used literature on different xenophobic violence recorded on books, journal articles, Newspapers and experiences of Nigerian

returnees from South Africa who were victim of xenophobic attacks on foreigners in the country.

Moreover, the study makes use of frustration-aggression theory as a good theory is hypothetical set of norms where facts will be derived from the body of knowledge (Asika, 1991). Hence, the theory of frustration-aggression best fits the explanation of the xenophobic violence on foreigners living in South Africa, particularly the influence of such ill-treatment on Nigeria's nationals. The frustration-aggression theory can also be referred to as the frustration-aggression-displacement theory. The theory was formulated by Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer and Sears in 1939, before it was later developed by Miller et al. and Berkowitz in 1941 and 1969 respectively (Berkowitz, 1989). The theory stipulated that, "….aggression is always a consequence of frustration and, contrariwise ……the existence of frustration always leads to some form of aggression" (Dollard et al., 1939). Similarly, aggression has been described as "the result of blocking, or frustrating, a person's efforts to attain a goal" (Friedman & Schustack, 1999).

According to Zillmann (1979), the responses to frustration could involve "supplementary factors such as personal attacks or the instrumental value of aggressive reactions" (Zillmann, 1979). He stressed further that "the blockage of a goal reaction, in and of itself…..generally will not induce interpersonal hostility or aggression" (Zillmann, 1979). However,

Baron (1977), on his own suggested that, "frustration is not a very common or important (antecedent of aggression) and is probably far less crucial in this respect than has widely and persistently been assumed" (Baron, 1977). He argued further that "barriers to goal attainment would produce aggressive reaction only when they were unexpected" (Dill & Anderson, 1995). Hence, the aggression theory emphasizes that, frustration always leads to aggression, but if the frustration act is not well curbed, the resultant effect of it will be disastrous which can lead to inflicting unnecessary pains and attacks on the innocent target (Pastore, 1950).

The relevance of the theory to this study is that the xenophobic attack on foreign nationals is capable of disorganizing the existing cordial relationship between countries in Africa. For instance, Nigeria's foreign policy ensures the protection of rights and properties of its citizens both within the country and outside, any infringement on rights or properties of its citizens by any country without a reasonable cause can affect Nigeria's relation with the country. As Nigerians are in other countries carrying out different forms of activities, other countries' nationals are also in Nigeria for a purpose. It becomes the responsibility of the host country to ensure the safety of lives and properties of both its citizens and foreigners residing legitimately in their country.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The term Xenophobia is two Greek words "xenos" and "phobos" meaning "strange" and "phobia" respectively (Chinomona & Maziriri, 2015). The Xenophobia as a concept can be defined as actions, attitudes, behaviours and perceptions that discriminate individuals on the assumption of not being an indigene, outsiders or people from other community different entirely from theirs. According to Akindès (2004), xenophobia is the hatred of foreigners that is characterized with all sorts of abuses, violations and discrimination of the highest order. The literature has shown that several factors are responsible for the cause of xenophobia. These include; the anxiety of loss of identity and social status, fear of success on the part of the economy, superiority feeling among the indigenous, fear of boundaries in a national crisis and misinformation from the culture (Danso & McDonald, 2001). According to Crush and Ramachandran perceived xenophobia as "highly negative perceptions and practices that discriminate against non-citizen groups based on their foreign origin or nationality" (Dassah, 2015). Xenophobia originally emanates from the beliefs and perceptions of a group of people categorizing the non-natives as being inferior to them in terms of socio-economic and political affiliation of the land where they are residing (Akindès, 2009).

The issue of xenophobia can be attributed to a higher rate of the number of unemployment, poverty and above all when the government of a country is not showing concern for the protection of individual rights and freedom (Masenya, 2017). The terms xenophobia and racism share similar attributes in the literature, but the latter is a branch to the former. Racism is a form of discrimination focused on biological or skin pigmentation, while xenophobia comprises all forms of segregation or discrimination against those categorized as non-nationals (Akinola, 2018a). A typical example of this was demonstrated by South Africans when, "locals seem to accommodate citizens from Ghana and Senegal, while displaying acute hostility to those from Nigeria, Zimbabwe and Somalia" (Akinola, 2018a).

According to Kaluba (2016), the relationship between the racism and xenophobia is that:

> In countries where people of different races live, xenophobia and racism often overlap although they are distinct phenomena since unlike xenophobia racism usually entails a distinction based on physical characteristic differences such as skin colour, hair type, facial features, while xenophobia implies behaviour based on the idea that the other is foreign to or originates from outside the community or nation (Kaluba 2016).

Hence, xenophobia covers all forms of hostility and intolerance meted on those categorized as non-nationals or foreigners. This could manifest through several forms such as racephobia (racism), ethnophobia (ethnic conflict), genophobia

(genocide), afrophobia (hatred among Africa's nationality), foreignphobia (hatred for foreign things) (Akinola, 2018a). The term xenophobia can be described as "a social psychological, attitudinal, either overt or indirect, hostility and tension towards foreigners manifesting as physical violence, social conflict or a mere latent dislike or foreigners" (Fungarai, 2015). The act of nursing or keeping grudges for foreigners without any course is known as xenophobia. This can be equally regarded to as the illogical worry or foreigners' hatred (Harris, 2002; Williams, 2008).

Similarly, according to Benyera (2018), "the forms of xenophobia range from the use of derogatory language to physical violence such as necklacing, setting foreigners alight, assault and arson". In the same vein, Gomo (2010) equally viewed xenophobia as a way by which:

Foreigners are often perceived in a negative, derogatory and dehumanizing manner that categorizes them as inferior people, enabling them to be subjected to unfair treatment……. characterizd by extreme nationalism, expansive economic protectionism, identity formation, blatant intolerance and hostility towards the others and violent acts against non-locals (Gomo, 2010).

This means that any act meted on other nationals or foreigners either in form of attack or assault, foul or abusive language, and other forms of hatred attach to foreign nationals living in a particular country is to be described as xenophobia.

Therefore, the theory of frustration-aggression adopted by this study is relevant to explain the Nigeria-South Africa relations in many ways, particularly in relation to xenophobic attacks on Nigeria's nationals in the country. One of such is that the theory is useful to describe the likely repercussion of the South Africa's xenophobia on the country's relations with Nigeria. Nigeria - South Africa relations have been cordial due to some similarities in two countries' foreign policies (Ogunnubi & Isike, 2015; Webber & Smith, 2014). This has made the duo to have been in good term with each other and have a common vision for the African continent (Colliers, Schunemann & Moyer, 2015; Obi, 2015).

Similarly, South Africans' attitudes towards the foreign nationals residing in South Africa, particularly Nigerians, may lead to frustration to Nigerians after they might have returned to their native land. Harms can be done on South Africa's investments in Nigeria as a way of retaliating the attacks meted on them while in South Africa. This is similar to assertions made by Whitley and Kite (2010) that the humiliation and disrespect at work that one failed to respond to, due to the fear of losing one's job, such frustration and anger may be transferred to one's family at home. Such transfer of aggression can occur among Nigerians over South African investments in the country such as MTN, DSTV, Nandos, Shoprite, Pep among others in retaliation to what the country's nationals have experienced under the aggrieved South

African indigenes during xenophobia, if adequate measure is not taken (Unah, 2017).

Furthermore, as part of the assumptions of the frustration-aggression theory, the aggression of the frustration experienced by the African nationals residing in South Africa can cause disharmony and lack of cooperation among the African countries. Countries whose nationals were molested or frustrated in South Africa may adjust its foreign policy relations toward South Africa (Piazza, 2017; Wang, 2014). Hence, this may breed disunity among States in Africa.

Therefore, literature has revealed that the xenophobic acts in Africa has become a general phenomenon in which most of the States in Africa have experienced one in form of or the other (Akinola, 2018a, 2018b; Benyera, 2018; Shulika & Sabi, 2018; Tella, 2018). Despite the experience of xenophobia in Africa, none of the incidence has recorded the assault or violence meted on foreign nationals the way the South Africa's xenophobic attacks did (Tella, 2016, 2018). Although, the traces of xenophobia in the African continent is linked to the impacts of Europeans domination in the Africa's affairs during the imperialist rule (Brobbey, 2018; Oni & Okunade, 2018). Hence, this has made the xenophobia history in Africa to be traced to their experiences or heritage from the colonial rule.

History of Xenophobia in Africa

The colonial experience and the discrimination which African countries have witnessed canvass for the negative attitudes of some Africans against their fellow Africans. According to Osoro (1993) and Maathai (2009), the colonization of Africa by the Europe has led to the disappearance of Africa's identity. Although, there may be some traces of conflicts among Africa during the precolonial era as a result of competing for scarce resources among African people (Ki-Zerbo, 2005). These scarce resources may arise as a result of land disputes, power and water. Invariably, the colonization or imperialism has worsened the situation through the introduction of the colonial administration which led to the destruction of the existence of the traditional rule in Africa (Mamdani, 1996).

According to Mamdani (2012), the colonial system of administration incapacitates a well-structured traditional system of administration met in Africa to introduce the imperialist rule. Colonialism introduced new identities for African ethnic and tribes in order to make Africans play against one another for the colonialist's objectives to be achieved. This has manifested in a series of misunderstandings, conflict and in time war over issues such as boundaries, power struggle among groups. This has led to wars in such instances like the Rwanda genocide, Ivory Coast civil war, Nigeria civil war, and war in Liberia, Sierra Leone and many other countries in Africa (Oloruntoba, 2018).

Furthermore, xenophobia in African continent has been described as the postcolonial heritage to the continent. Countries like Ghana, Nigeria, Botswana,

Zimbabwe, Namibia, Guinea, Gabon, Angola, South Africa among others have experienced one form of xenophobia or the other (Oloruntoba, 2018). Like Ghana in 1969, under the administration of Kofi Busia deported 20,000 to 500,000 Nigerians in less than three months under the pretence of Aliens Compliance Order (Gocking, 2005; Owusu, 2012). Similarly, in 1983 and 1985, Nigeria equally deported Ghana citizens residing in the country through Alien and Immigrants laws, same in Angola, Uganda, Gabon, Chad, Kenya, Cote d'Ivoire, South Africa among others (Neocosmos, 2010; Romola, 2015). The xenophobic actions in countries like Ghana, Angola, Nigeria, Uganda and South Africa were attributed to the economic issue. The reaction of xenophobia in Kenya and Chad were caused by war on terror. Also, the xenophobic prejudices in Cote d'Ivoire, Equatorial Guinea and Gabon were attached to politics and economic considerations. The deportation of Angolans by the Congo Kinshasa was attributed to political issue of the country then (Aremu & Ajayi, 2014; Oni & Okunade, 2018; Romola, 2015).

Therefore, the idea behind the deportation or expulsion of foreign nationals among African countries is to create opportunities for the indigenes in their native land (Hart, 2016). This has formed part of the arguments in those countries where xenophobia has taken place, having forgotten that, other nationals who residing in their country are contributing either directly or indirectly to the economic development of the country where they are living (Hickel, 2014; Zwane 2014). Nevertheless, the country whose nationals is being rejected or expelled for no reason than xenophobia, may not likely be in a good term with each other.

Hence, the act of xenophobia is totally condemned in African continent, particularly the hatred of Africans by Africans (Brobbey, 2018; Ogunnubi & Amusan, 2018; Tafira, 2018). Specifically, the frequency at which the xenophobia in South Africa is taking place, calls for a serious concern among African States. It is important to stress that, the xenophobia in Ghana, Nigeria, and some other countries like that did not record violence (Hart, 2016; Oni & Okunade, 2018). Meaning that, none of the xenophobia occurrences in Africa has exhibited violence, the way the South Africa's xenophobic attacks was launched on foreign nationals living in the country. Therefore, xenophobic acts by South Africans on other nationals can be better examined in history of xenophobia in the country.

Genesis of Xenophobia in South Africa

South Africa has been faced with rapid influx of both legal and illegal foreign immigrants entering and living in the country. It has been on record that, more than 2.2 million immigrants were residing in South Africa from the 53 African States (Molatlhwa, 2012). In 2011, the South African statistical records showed that Zimbabwe had the largest immigrants in South Africa, followed by Mozambique among other foreign nationals (Molatlhwa, 2012).

Similarly, South Africa is one of the countries in Africa where foreigners or immigrants love to visit and perhaps stay due to its industrialized setup and conducive atmosphere (Dyson, 2015). The country is one of the most industrialized countries, if not the first of its kind in Africa. In fact, the buoyant nature of the South African economic has attracted people from all walks of life to migrate into the country (Adeogun & Faluyi, 2018).

Since the nineteenth century when gold was discovered in Witwatersrand in South Africa, the country has started employing foreign nationals (Adam & Moodley, 2013; Adeogun & Faluyi, 2018). This has made the country to have experienced an influx of foreign immigrants from different parts of the world and mostly from African countries. The black immigrants were employed to the mining industries even during the apartheid era in South Africa. Since then, the native of South Africa, particularly, the black South Africans mostly referred to the foreign immigrants as a threat in their land (Fayomi et al., 2015). Hence, the industrialized nature and comfortable environment in South Africa, attract the influx of migrants to the country.

These particular attributes made foreigners from all walks of life to troop in for the purpose of seeking refuge from economic crises, poverty, unfavorable government policies and wars in their various native lands (Solomon & Kosaka, 2013). In fact, the refugees and asylum seekers prefer to reside in South Africa. According to the report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR ROSA, 2015), over 310,000 refugees and asylum seekers are in South Africa in July, 2014. Meaning that in 2015 upward, the number of refugees will have increased beyond, while 60,000 to 80,000 asylum seekers come into the country yearly. This made the population rate of South Africa to be increased daily. Noticing this increase in the population of South Africa, the South Africans assumed most foreigners or immigrants in their country particularly the black Africans illegally entered the country. This perception as noted by Gumede (2015) was the primary cause that triggers other factors in the xenophobic or Afrophobic or negrophobic attacks in South Africa.

The incidence of discrimination in South Africa could be traced back to its apartheid experience which had inculcated some element of racism in South Africans (Kalitanyi & Visser, 2010). Evidence had shown that illicit discrimination meted on foreigners or immigrants in South Africa had not just started but dated back to 1994. The South Africans reportedly threw some foreigners out from moving trains, simply because they believe that foreigners were those taking their jobs and bringing diseases to South Africa (Misago, 2015). Nonetheless, the 1994 transition from apartheid rule into a democratic system of government in South Africa betrayed all expectations as the xenophobic attacks increased.

The South Africa's Xenophobia was described by Nyamnjoh (2006), as an effect

of globalization. He stressed further that, "globalization exacerbated insecurities occasioned by borderless flow of capital, goods and information in a large scale. This brought about an obsession with citizenship and belonging and the re-actualization of boundaries through xenophobia" (Nyamnjoh, 2006). Similarly, Sichone (2008) equally corroborated Nyamnjoh's view that, the South Africa's xenophobia is:

> One among several possible forms of reaction generated by anomic situations in the societies of modern states. The new South Africa is a good candidate for a society in a condition of anomie … and we should therefore not be surprised to find unusual levels of moral confusion among the citizenry (Sichone, 2008).

The perception of the South Africans toward xenophobia was that, the immigrants who entered the country legally were depriving them of employment (job and services), while the illegal immigrants in South Africa constituted to the level of corruption among the security agents (Crush & McDonald, 2001). It is because of this that South Africans developed hatred, hostility and intolerance toward foreigners residing in South Africa. Hence, the actions of South Africans toward immigrants can be linked to what Crush and McDonald viewed as "their experiences of apartheid which culminated in their suffering, discrimination, and denial and any attempt by foreigners to compete with them on benefits accruable to local

nationals after apartheid would be resisted" (Crush & McDonald, 2001).

The anti-immigration attack on foreign nationals living in South Africa started on May 2008 in Alexandra township of Johannesburg (Tafira, 2018). The attacks which was launched on the foreigners claimed the lives of about 64 immigrants, while thousands were displaced, many sustained severe injuries (Tafira, 2018). The incident was related to 1835 and 1846 wars where it was declared that:

> Let war be made against the kaffir huts and gardens. Let all these be burnt down and destroyed. Let there be no ploughing, sowing or reaping. Or, if you cannot conveniently, or without bloodshed prevent the cultivation of the ground, take care to destroy the enemy's crops before they are ripe, and shoot all who resist. Shoot their cattle too wherever you see any. Tell them the time has come for the white man to show his mastery over them (as cited in Magubane 1986).

The South Africans were so much passionate about their campaign tagged "Buyelekhaya" meaning "go back home" calling immigrants with series of odd names. In that same 2008 xenophobic violence in South Africa, attacks were carried out on foreigners living in all parts of South Africa where 670 immigrants were wounded, dozens were raped, properties worth millions of Rands were either looted or destroyed and

more than 100,000 displaced (Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa [CORMSA], 2009; Nyar, 2009; Tafira, 2018). Furthermore, the xenophobic attacks did not end there, similar attacks were lunched between 2009 and late 2010 where almost 20 foreigners were hacked to death, above 40 were critically injured, over 200 shops owned by foreigners were looted and over 4000 immigrants were displaced for their safety (CORMSA, 2011).

While trying to calm the situation during the 2008 South Africa xenophobia, one of the parliamentarians of the country, Motsoko Pheko described the actions of the natives of South Africa as a barbaric when he described the term xenophobia:

> What is called "xenophobia" in South Africa is brother hating or disliking brother. This signals that the colonial mentality is too deep-seated in this country, if this is not the work of hooligans or a "third force" to derail the Pan-African agenda, which fathers of the liberation struggle in Africa such as Kwame Nkrumah, Sekou Touré, Julius Nyerere, Robert Sobukwe, Patrice Lumumba, Marcus Garvey, W.E.B. Du Bois, George Padmore, Malcolm X and many more embraced (cited in New African Magazine 2015).

Immediately after the attack incidents of 2010, the South African government under the leadership of the former President Thabo

Mbeki was reported to have addressed the nation on the need to desist from assaulting or killing of foreigners particularly the Blacks who are Africans. He was quoted that:

> When I walk down the streets of Johannesburg and this other black person approaches me, there is no way [of] my telling that they are Zimbabwean or Mozambican. There is nothing there that says, 'ah, this is the enemy I must hate'. But if a white person comes up, they are different. So I am saying that if there was xenophobia, I would expect it to be expressed against people who might stand out as being different from me and also, given our history, these are the people that oppressed us. But you don't have any evidence of racism among our people (Ncana, 2010).

The declaration made by Thabo Mbeki to condemn xenophobia in South Africa was a bit relief to the African continent with the hope that peace has returned to the country. However, in the year 2011 another series of attack on foreigners were carried out where over 120 people were killed and some burnt alive, 100 were seriously wounded, 120 businesses / shops owned by foreigners were closed and not less than 1000 immigrants were displaced (UNHCR ROSA, 2014). Similarly, in the years 2012, 2013 and 2014, there were weekly frequent attacks on foreign nationals. In fact, between

January 2014 to March same year, estimated 300 incidents of violence meted on foreign nationals were recorded, over 200 shops owned by foreigners were either looted or destroyed and 900 persons were displaced (UNCHR ROSA, 2014).

Similarly, in 2015, another attack was launched by the South African native on foreign nationals living in the country (Gordon, 2017). The violence started in April 2015 in EThekwini and Johannesburg cities. Many casualties were recorded on both human and properties (Egan, 2015; Gordon, 2017). The xenophobic attacks were launched on foreigners after Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini was quoted to have said that "foreigners should go back to their countries" (Masenya, 2017). The pronouncement aggravated the attacks on immigrants and their properties. In fact, some relevant government departments and the South African Police Service (SAPS) who are supposed to be protecting innocent lives and properties were reportedly to be in support of the attacks on foreigners (Misago, 2016). Thus, these energized government of some countries such as Nigeria to start repatriating its citizen back home (Gumede, 2015).

Again, in March 2016, another xenophobic treatments and violence was instigated in Katlehong community of Gauteng where foreign nationals were brutally harassed and labeled as "Makwerekwere" meaning "foreigners in South Africa" with all sorts of condemnation (Mkhize, 2016). All these ungodly attacks on fellow human by South Africans were reported to have occurred due to some conditions the indigenes of South Africa found themselves and believed to have been caused by the foreigners in their land. Hence, if these attitudes are not properly addressed and well handled, it could lead to the law of karma where the nationals of other countries who are victims of South African xenophobia may in turn reciprocate such on South Africans and their properties / investment in their countries as well.

Unlike other xenophobic attacks experienced in other part of African continent, the South Africa's xenophobia therefore, is always accompanied by violence. The evidence to this could be seen from the 2008, 2015 and 2017 xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals residing in South Africa (Tella, 2018). The experience of some victims of the xenophobia in South Africa revealed that, South African government at all levels need to guarantee the safety of all individuals in its country irrespective of where they come from in order to reciprocate such to its nationals in other countries. According to Misago:

> Local residents in these areas have become increasingly convinced that foreign nationals are to blame for all their socioeconomic ills and hardships including poverty, unemployment, poor service delivery, lack of business space and opportunities; crime; prostitution; drug and alcohol abuse; and deadly diseases (cited in Akinola, 2018b).

Therefore, it is obvious that the major root cause of xenophobia claimed by the native of South Africa is the presence of immigrants in the country, particularly, the illegal immigrants entering South Africa (Akinola 2018b; Tella, 2018). However, it has been equally argued that, the South African government encourages its citizens to maltreat other nationals residing in South Africa. The statement made by South African President, Jacob Zuma in his reaction over the 2015 xenophobia in the country is arguably attested to this fact. He stated that:

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

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

Having related the theory of frustration-aggression to the xenophobic act by the natives of South Africa as posited by Dollard et al. (1939), Berkowitz (1989), and Friedman and Schustack (1999), that the aggression is mostly a product or consequence of frustration. The application of this theory is germane to both the South Africa whose natives carried out the xenophobic attacks on the foreign nationals who are residing in their country. And similarly, the resultant effects of such attacks on the immigrants can jeopardize the relationship between the South Africa and other countries in Africa, particularly Nigeria.

In other words, the benefits that the two countries (Nigeria and South Africa), jointly enjoy may be stopped or paralyzed which may have negative impacts on the nationals of the two countries. Mostly, the resultant effects of the xenophobia in South Africa may affect the South Africa's investments in Nigeria (Gaffey, 2017; Mbamalu, 2017). In fact, that was the point made by the Senator Olusola Adeyeye who alluded to the fact that South Africa's companies and investments in Nigeria such the MTN, DSTV, Nandos, Shoprite, Pep and Game and many more are doing well and making exorbitant profits from Nigerians, yet Nigeria's government is protecting them (Babalola, 2017; Unah, 2017). Hence, the resultant effect of the South Africa's xenophobia which resulted in a series of frustrations to Nigeria's citizens in the country can cause or raise the tension

of aggression on Nigerians over both South Africans and their properties in Nigeria.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Scholars have alluded some reasons put forward by the indigenes of South Africa as the cause of xenophobic grievances and attacks launched on foreigners or immigrants residing in their land. Some of these causes could be categorized as follow:

The Economic Factors: Some of the citizens of South Africa perceive foreigners in their land as a threat to their economy. In the course of striving for the scarce resources, the indigenes believed that the immigrants who are in South Africa are there to snatch their jobs or employments and income which they think is leading to the high rate of unemployment, inequality in income and poverty in their land (Masenya, 2017; Mogekwu, 2005). South Africans' perceptions on competitive micro-enterprises handled by the indigenes and those managed by the foreigners where the level of customers' patronage on immigrants' shops or businesses are higher compared to those running by the indigenes is part of the differences in the country's economy posed by foreigners in the country (McDonald & Jacob, 2005).

The imbalances noticed in South African economy triggered the maltreatment meted on the foreigners living in the country. As a result of this, Misago opined that:

> Local residents in these areas have become increasingly convinced that foreign nationals are to blame for all

their socioeconomic ills and hardships including poverty, unemployment, poor service delivery, lack of business space and opportunities, crimes, prostitution, drug and alcohol abuse, and deadly diseases (cited in Akinola, 2018)

It is important to understand that, the people's migration in Africa irrespective of the duration may be either for social, economic or political reasons. Economically, immigrants are found in various countries in search for employment opportunities in order to improve their livelihood (Oni & Okunade, 2018). The desire of immigrants to search for lucrative jobs in Africa was due to the global desire for the increase in the demand for labour. Hence, people move from one location to another to access basic amenities, education, and healthcare among others, which can add value into their lives (United Nations Population Fund [UNFPA], 2015).

The attachment of economic factor as part of the reasons why the natives of South Africa are attacking the foreign nationals accounts for numerous derogatory names given to African by the South Africans. The Magrigamba is a name given to immigrants from West Africa which implies that, the person arrives South Africa with nothing but will go back to their countries with properties, monies and wealth acquired in South Africa (Tafira, 2011). Similarly, the derogatory identities like, MaNigeria or Maforeigner which means the native of Nigeria and foreigners in South Africa,

respectively (Oni & Okunade, 2018; Tafira, 2011).

The literature has revealed that the skill and initiative which the natives of South Africa lack about trading or business is what made them to have assumed that, the foreigners have taken away their jobs from them (Fagbadebo & Ruffin, 2018). This has made Lindiwe Zulu, the South Africa's Minister for Small Business to have posited that:

> Let me tell you why they are better at running shops than the local owners – they have a great network system. And also that is how they live. From the moment they are born, they are introduced to trade. Their mothers, uncles- everyone trades. They started at an early age (Zwane, 2014).

The Minister revealed further that the so called "secret" behind the successful records of foreign nationals business in South Africa is the ability to economize the resources (Fagbadebo & Ruffin, 2018). He stressed further that:

> Our people need to learn what other people are doing. They must ask themselves; how are they able to be successful in a space where we fail? Then they must look, learn and do the same. They must do it; the government cannot, the ministry cannot. We cannot just give money away. We have no money to give (Zwane, 2014).

Similarly, evidence from the literature has shown that the foreign immigrants in South Africa have contributed to the economic and other developments taking place in the country. This is argued by Meintjies that:

> Studies have shown that immigrants are, in fact, net contributors, not parasites. Immigrants are, on average, healthier, more energetic and better educated than people in the host population. Consequently, they draw comparatively less on social welfare and other social services. Many pay tax and, through their entrepreneurship, make a positive injection into local economic development (Maharaj, 2002).

Aside from the claims that the foreign immigrants take the jobs of South Africans, literature has equally argued it that, an average native of South Africa are lazy (Shulika & Sabi, 2018). According to Tafira, (2018), majority of the South African's blacks, who see themselves as native of the country do not considering looking for job an option, rather they utilize their time idling or sitting in township. He posited further that:

> While these South African men are accusing immigrants of taking all the jobs for less pay, immigrants and South African women generally say South African men are lazy, do not like to work, and kill their time drinking, sleeping

and playing dice, where they may win a couple of Rands and then drink with the earnings… Alexandra women are not keen to have relationships with these kinds of men. Unemployed men are seen as both dom Khanda (thick-headed) and omahlalela (loafers) unable to provide and both inadequate and not real men. Women, rather, are looking for men who are either employed or are seen to make money in other ways. This kind of man happens to be the immigrants (Tafira, 2018).

Therefore, the attitudes among some native of South African, particularly the blacks toward their means of livelihood has made their women to always patronize the immigrants (Saleh, 2015; Tafira, 2018). The jealousy among the unemployed South Africans arose the neo-apartheid relations which resulted in the killings and attacks of the innocent immigrants.

Similarly, other reasons for xenophobic violence in South Africa could be grouped as follows;

The Political backup: Scholars have observed that one of the causes of the persistence in the attacks of foreign nationals in South Africa is simply because the perpetrators enjoy the supports of relevant government apparatus or departments in South Africa (Masenya, 2017). As argued by Klotz (2016), and Crush and Ramachandran (2017), the relevant government departments who are supposed to protect the human rights in the State has been found to be biased in its dealing, exposing the immigrants to all sorts of abuses, attacks and discriminations to the point of losing lives and properties. It is important to note at this point that, as long as the government of South Africa does not rise up to curb the menace with full implementation and enforcement of laws or policies prohibiting such acts, the lives and properties of foreign nationals will continue to be unsecured.

The Perception of South Africans on Non-indigenes: Scholars associated xenophobia in South Africa to some of the heritage inculcated in South Africans during apartheid (Kalitanyi & Visser, 2010). The racism in South Africa's history has made the indigenes of the country to have the perception that the foreigners particularly the blacks who are residing in the country are there to hijack their economy, spread deadly diseases, and above all taken over their land from them (Zouandé, 2011). It is the belief of some South Africa's indigenes that the best way to deal with the matter is to make lives uncomfortable for the foreigners who are in the country in order to leave and return to their various native lands.

Cultural Norms and Beliefs: The xenophobic attacks on non-indigenes in South Africa were not only confined toforeign nationals but also to any person that does not belong to the dominant groups in the country. For a South African not to be attacked, the person must be either Zulu or Xhosa. Citizens of South Africa who do not belong to these dominant groups will be seen as foreigners (Gumede, 2015;

Masenya, 2017). The dominant groups in South Africa prevented their children from getting married to people tagged as foreigners and vice versa. This attitude has made it easier for the perpetrators of the evils through xenophobia to carry out their discriminate killings and attacks on foreigners.

Attitude of South African Government towards xenophobia in the country: The whole blame of the xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals in South Africa has arguably apportioned on its government (Fayomi, Chidozie, & Ayo, 2015; Masenya, 2017). The government of South Africa has been accused of nonchalant attitude to enact laws or policies that will bring end to the illicit acts in the country and at the same time its failure to bring the perpetrators to book (Akindès, 2009). In as much as the government of a country is not ready to take the bull by the horn by dealing decisively with the criminally minded people in the society, such environment will not know peace as the hoodlums will take advantage to carry out their nefarious activities.

Therefore, molestation and frustration experienced by Nigerians and other foreign nationals who are residing in South Africa has caused serious havoc to many in the country. Some become widows or widowers, while some children become orphans and many whose properties were destroyed or carted away by thieves under the pretence of xenophobia are subjected to series of financial difficulties. Hence, the country whose nationals have witnessed any of the above conditions or more may be influenced to redefine its foreign policy direction towards South Africa.

To this end, it will not be in the interest of Africa to experience disunity or any act that can cause crisis between and among the African countries. The foreign nationals in South Africa, particularly the Africans, are having their countries contributing to the development of the continent in either stability contribution as the case of Nigeria, others are contributing in the areas of economic socials and political settings of the continent. Therefore, the earlier Africa realizes the need for the continent to avert all forms of racism or discrimination, the better for it to promote the existing cooperation among the African countries for the continent to develop.

CONCLUSION

The reoccurrence of xenophobia in South Africa is capable of breaking the relationship between the country and other African countries, particularly Nigeria whose nationals were among those molested or victimized by the natives of South Africa. Nigeria - South Africa economic and diplomatic ties which have developed through mutual relationship between the two countries in African continent may be affected as a result of the attacks on Nigerians in the country (Koutonin, 2016). If this happens, it will affect the role that the two countries have been playing jointly in Africa towards the development of the continent.

Historically, Nigeria's foreign policy towards Africa which South Africa shared

similar attribute, has made the government of the former in its big brother role in the continent to have favoured the entire Africa in its leadership role and stability commitment in African continent (Chukwuka, 2017; Ifijeh, 2017). The Afrocentric policy of Nigeria influences the country in its stability and developmental contribution to Africa. Nigeria's commitment to Africa has its long history particularly its efforts towards the campaign against apartheid in Africa. This has translated to the creation of United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid through the lobbying by Nigeria's government with some countries. The Committee was overseen by Nigeria as its chair for 30 years. The country equally loss over $41 billion due to its reaction against apartheid by forfeited its trade with South Africa through stop selling oil to the latter for decades in protest against discrimination by white minority in South Africa (Koutonin, 2016). Nigeria was one of the first category in the world to set up the National Committee Against Apartheid (NACAP) as far back as 1960 (Ana-Caj, 2017). The government through NACAP embarked on series of awareness, orientations and sensitization on the evil of apartheid as crime against humanity.

Similarly, Nigeria has been shouldered with the responsibility to bring an end to apartheid since its independence to the level of being given sanctions by the Britain. Between 1960 and 1995, Nigeria alone had spent $61 billion so support the end of apartheid in South Africa (Channels News, 2017). Nigeria even demonstrated its

displeasure over apartheid by boycotting the Olympic Games and Commonwealth Games to the nationalization of British Petroleum assets in 1979. All these contributions by Nigeria to South Africa command respect and gratitude from the latter to the former (Ana-Caj, 2017)

However, the xenophobic attacks in South Africa against the immigrants residing in the country, which Nigeria's nationals were equally affected has been viewed in the Nigeria's perspective that, "South Africa is often considered as an ungrateful" (Ogunnubi & Amusan, 2018). This is because the South Africans' act of shedding blood of innocent immigrants and destroying of their properties under the pretence of taking their jobs, controlling their economy, spreading deadly diseases among others is arguably not convincing for attacks to be launched on foreign national (Unah, 2017). This has influenced Nigeria's government to condemn the illicit act and described such as barbaric in Africa. The South African Government is urged to take decisive measures to protect both Nigerians and other Africans within the country's borders. Similarly, Nigeria's Senior Special Assistant to President on Foreign Affairs and Diaspora, Honourable Abike Dabiri-Erewa urged the AU to intervene in order to find a lasting solution to the ugly incidents in South Africa (Channels News, 2017).

As it has been argued by Senator Olusola Adeyeye that for "every penny a Nigerian made in South Africa, South Africans are making multiple of that in Nigeria", therefore the government of

South Africa and those that involved in the ill-treatment of foreigners in their land should take some caution (Chukwuka, 2017). The assertion by the Senator alluded to the fact that South Africa's companies and investments in Nigeria such the MTN, DSTV, Shoprite and many more are doing well and making exorbitant profits from Nigerians yet Nigeria's government is protecting them (Unah, 2017).

From the foregoing it is arguable that South Africa depends on other African countries for some of the achievements attained in the country. Similarly, as part of the move to promote African economic and development, there is need for cooperation and stability among the African the African states. This can only be achieved in the absence of discrimination and abuse of foreigners by local indigenes of their residing countries. Achieving this will promote the partnership and cooperation among the countries in Africa and at the same time achieve the common goals toward the development of the continent. South Africa like other countries in the Africa has cordial relationship with Nigeria which has involved signing of various agreements and treaties between the two countries in the areas of economic, security and diplomatic ties. Hence, Nigeria's citizen diplomacy as included in the country's foreign policy sought for the protections of Nigerians and their properties both home and abroad. Therefore, if South Africa's xenophobia on foreign nationals continues, there is possibility that the ties between the two countries and with other African countries

may break. It becomes pertinent for Africans to see themselves as one and brothers irrespective of race, colour, gender, and background for the continent to progress.

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