Interrogating Nigeria-South Africa Xenophobic Discourse: An Analysis of Socio-Economic Implications

Abbah Umaru

School of Arts and Social Science Niger State College of Education, Minna Niger State Nigeria

Umar Mohammad Audu

School of Arts and Social Science Niger State College of Education, Minna Niger State Nigeria

Abstract

The paper examines Nigeria-South Africa xenophobic attacks by examining the socio-economic implication through qualitative and quantitative analysis. Xenophobia manifest as one of the fallouts of increased human migration. It is a discriminatory practice in which the host community perceive immigrant as aliens which in turn fuels hostilities and violence. South Africa presents a vivid case study. Xenowatch monitoring data reveal that between 1994 and 2021, there have been 796 cases of xenophobic attacks that have resulted in 121, 945 total displacements, with a total shop of 4, 693 shops looted and total death of 588. Given the magnitudes of these attacks, the paper evaluates the effect of xenophobia on the socio-economic relations between Nigeria and South Africa. A survey research design was employed for the study alongside a simple random sampling technique which was used to select 384 respondents. The study finding reveals that xenophobia attacks in South Africa have a great implication on Nigeria-south Africa economic and political relationship. Hence, the paper, therefore recommends that Nigeria and South Africa government and policymakers should initiate a liberalised and robust migration management capacity towards enhancing the strategic role of Nigeria in the diaspora as a development partner and factoring their contribution to the overall Africa development agenda for sustainable peace and security.

Keywords: Xenophobia, Apartheid, African Relations, Foreign Nationals

Introduction

The migration of people across state boundaries has continued to dominate global discourse. The reality has led to the conclusion of describing the twenty-first century as an age of migration. While the United Nations noted that there were 173 million international migrants in the year 2000 by 2015, this had







¹ Bauder, H., Labour movement: How migration regulates labour markets, New York: Oxford University Press, 2006; Chaichian, M., Empires and walls: Globalisation, migration and colonial control, Leiden: Brill, 2014.Yemisi, O.I., Engaging Migration-Led Development Strategies in Africa: Some Aspects of Africa (Under)-Development in Migration since 1980, in David L. Imbua, Patrick O. Od, and Nneka S. Amalu, West Africa and the Europeans since the 15th century, Galda Verlag, 2021.

increased to 244 million² and by 2019, it has increased 272 million. Africans have without doubt contributed to the mainstream migration discourse because of their involvement in the intensive internal and international migration process. Such intensity has also led to its description of Africa as a 'mobile continent'.3 However, despite the socio-economic, political push, and pull factors that have characterised migration patterns in the continent, the display of hostilities and hatred against migrants based on the assumption that they may increase competition for resources have generated concerns. These hostilities, which often degenerate into violence and destruction against the foreigner is termed xenophobia.

Xenophobia or xenophobic attack in Africa is not a twenty-first-century phenomenon. Beginning from the 1950s and 1960s which marked the independence of several African states, xenophobic crises characterise the postindependence nation-building crises. From Ghana in 1969 to Nigeria in 1983 to Zambia and now South Africa, the xenophobic attack has attracted the attention of government, non-governmental organisations, and policymakers.⁴ This is understandable. Given its destructive nature, the implication for Pan-Africanism, peace, security, development, and multilateralism in Africa. While there is a rich literature on the violent manifestation of xenophobia in Africa, few studies have explored the socio-economic implication of xenophobia in migrant-sending and host states. Hence, this article captures both the violence and effects of xenophobia on the state and economy.

While subtle forms of xenophobia have been a consistent feature of several states in Africa, the South Africa-Nigerian experiences with xenophobia and xenophobic cases have attracted continental and global attention. Despite both countries' relationship which dates back to the period of colonial rule and apartheid government, the political economy crisis has strained both countries' relationship since 1994. On the cause of xenophobia, scholars like Ajulu, attribute xenophobia to struggle over limited economic resources and opportunities, owing essentially to the increasing marginalisation of Africa in a globalised world⁵ while others argue that these violent attacks are products of narrow Nationalism, Pan-Africanism, and product of elite politics.⁶ Irrespective of the cause of xenophobia, the spill-over effects are often of grave concern.

² Kaluba, A., Zambia: Tackling xenophobia in Zambia, Times of Zambia, 2016. Available online at: http://allafrica.com/stories/201604251739.html

³ Malte Steinbrink, Hannah Niedenführ, Africa on the Move Migration, Translocal Livelihoods and Rural Development in Sub-Saharan Africa, Springer Nature Switzerland,

⁴Adeoye O.A, Introduction: Understanding Xenophobia in Africa Adeoye O.A., The Political Economy of Xenophobia in Africa, Springer, 2020

⁵Ajulu, E., Introduction: A region in transition: Towards a new integration agenda in East Africa, In R. Ajulu (ed.), A region in transition: Towards a new integration agenda in East Africa, Trust Africa and Institute for Global Dialogue: Midrand, 2010

⁶Neocosmos, M., From 'foreign natives' to 'native foreigners': Explaining xenophobia inpost-apartheid South Africa: Citizenship and nationalism, identity and politics, Dakar: CODESRIA, 2010; Nyamnjoh, F.B., Insiders and outsiders - Citizenship and xenophobia in contemporary Southern Africa. Dakar: CODESRIA, 2016; Oloruntoba, S., Pan-Africanism, knowledge production and the third liberation of Africa, International Journal of African Renaissance Studies, 10(1), 2015, 7-24.

Despite migrants' contributions to the development of these economies, they have been consistently blamed for inadequate infrastructure, increasing unemployment, and underdevelopment. This chapter examines the Nigeria-South Africa xenophobia discourse with the framework of socio-economic analysis and quantitative data. The chapter begins with an introduction, followed by a conceptual clarification. The chapter further provides a historical perspective to Niger-South Africa's relationship and incidence of xenophobia attacks. The fourth section deals with quantitative analysis data and the last section contain the findings of the study and conclusion.

Conceptual Clarification: Xenophobia

Xenophobia like other social-science concepts has received significant attention from scholars and policymakers to provide perspective as regards its understanding. The origin of the concept can be traced to Greek society. In Greek, the word 'Xenos' means strange or foreign which denotes a guest, stranger, or in common parlance a foreigner while 'Phobos' means phobia.⁷ As a concept that permeates global socio-economic and political affairs, it has been conceptualised by several scholars through different case studies.8Yakushko defines xenophobia as a form of attitudinal, affective, and behavioural prejudice toward immigrants and those perceived as foreigners.9 Masenya also sees Xenophobia as an "attitude, prejudice, and behaviour that reject, exclude and often vilify people's base on the perception that they are outsider or foreigners to the community, society or national identity.^{10"} From the above two definitions, it can be deduced that xenophobia entails fear, a psychological and behavioural attitude that is depicted through discrimination and violence

Scholars such as Licata and Klein¹¹ and Schirmer¹²conceptualised xenophobia as intricately tied to notions of nationalism and ethnocentrism, both of which are characterized by belief in the superiority of one's nation-state over others. In other words, Xenophobia thus means the 'fear of a stranger or foreigner'. 13 In

⁷ Hussein, S., Hitomi, K., Xenophobia in South Africa: Reflections, narratives and recommendations. Southern African Peace and Security Studies, 2(2), 2013 8 See, Harper, M., Somalis in Kenya: "they call us ATM machines", African Arguments, 2010, 7.; Peil, M., Ghana's aliens. International Migration Review, 8(3), 1974; Marsella, A. J., Ring, E., Human migration and immigration: An overview. In L. L. Adler & U. P. Gielen (Eds.), Migration: Immigration and emigration in international perspective, Westport, CT Praeger, 2003, 3-22; Aremu, O. J., Ajayi, T.A., Expulsion of Nigerian Immigrant Community from Ghana in 1969: Causes and impact. Developing Country Studies, 4(10), 2014, 176. 9Yakushko, O., Xenophobia: Understanding the roots and consequences of negative attitudes toward immigrants, educational psychology papers and publications, paper 90, 2009. Available online at: http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/edpsychpapers/90 ¹⁰ Masenya, M., "Afrophobia in South Africa: A General Perspective of Xenophobia." Bangladesh e-Journal of Sociology. Vol. 14, No. 1. 2017, 81-88.

 $^{^{\}rm 11}$ Licata, L., Klein, O., Does European citizenship breed xenophobia? European identification as a predictor of intolerance towards immigrants. Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology, 12, 2002, 323-337.

¹² Schirmer, D., Introduction. In Finzsch, N., Schirmer, D., (eds.), Identity and intolerance: Nationalism, racism, and xenophobia in Germany and the United States, Washington, DC: Cambridge University Press, 1998, xix-xxix

¹³ Bordeau, J., Xenophobia: The violence of fear and hate, New York: Rosen Publishing Group, 2010, 4

the context of globalization, migration, and Nigeria-South Africa relations, xenophobia means mean the fear expressed by citizens of host or receiving countries against foreigners or citizens from other homelands over the competition on resources they have hitherto been enjoying solely. Esses et al., state that migration of large groups of people across borders can threaten the security (physical and economic) of the local population because of perceptions of economic strain or cultural dissimilarity. 14

Xenophobia has also been conceptualised based on the mode of manifestation, types, and practice. For instance, in terms of practice, it could be based on economic or political motivations. Political motivation refers to situations where resentment of immigrants is rooted in the nationalism of an ethnic group while economic motivation "refers to the effect of national economic recession on hostility toward immigrants".15while on modes, it could be hinged on prejudices, attitudinal orientations and behaviours against a foreigner, which can be prompted by political incitements, declining economic conditions or concerns relating to national security, particularly in the current era of terror attacks.16The nature and the victims of these attacks have also been used to define the issue of xenophobia in what Keohane et. al, simply describe as Afrophobia. Afrophobia simply means "black-on-black conflict and violence directed at other Africans". ¹⁷In other words, Afrophobia rather than xenophobia is a more accurate term because it involves violence directed at African nationals in an African country. Mamabolo also states that there is a link between the acts of xenophobic violence and the colourof the victim's skin. Mamabolo suggests that "it is Afrophobia.18The study largely examined the concept of xenophobic attacks in South Africa within the framework of political economy.

Nigeria-South Africa Bilateral Relations: A Historical Perspective

Nigeria and South Africa have a rich history dating back to the colonial and post-colonial periods. South Africa's colonial history was different from what was obtainable in West African sub-region. Hence, while Nigeria like several other African states secured its independence in the 1950s and 1960s, South Africa did not become independent until 1994. Colonialism in South Africa was based on racial discrimination popularly referred to as the apartheid system. The apartheid is a system of administration in which the White minority government in South Africa separated South Africans into racial groups and

¹⁴ Esses, V. M., Dovidio, J. F., Jackson, L. M., & Armstrong, T. L., The immigration dilemma: The role of perceived group competition, ethnic prejudice, and national identity, Journal of Social Issues, 57, 2001, 389–412.

¹⁵ Campbell, E., "Attitudes of Botswana Citizens towards Immigrants: Signs of Xenophobia?" International Migration Vol 41, No. 4. 2003, 71-111.

¹⁶ International Labour Organisation. International migration, racism, discrimination and xenophobia (p. 2). Geneva: International Organization for Migration and Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2001, 2

 ¹⁷ Keohane M.L.J. Maphunye K.J., Afrophobia, Moral and Political Disguises: Sepaleholoke a moeti. The Journal for Transdisciplinary Research in Southern Africa, 11(4), 2015, 83–98
 ¹⁸ Mamabolo, M.A., Drivers of Community Xenophobic Attacks in South Africa: Poverty and Unemployment. The Journal for Transdisciplinary Research in Southern Africa, 11(4), 2015, 143–150.

deprived non-Whites of political, economic, and many basic human rights. 19In a bid to challenge the dominance of racial discrimination and the total emancipation of African states that Nigeria contributed significantly to the independence process of South Africa. Between 1960 and 1966 which marked the Tafawa Balewa regime, Nigeria embarked on a cautious approach to the liberation movement in South Africa. Nigeria coordinated the affairs of other states Zambia, Namibia, Angola, Zimbabwe, and Mozambique in an attempt to topple the apartheid regime.

The nature of the apartheid system in South Africa led to the emergence of indigenous people's political parties and local agitating groups such as the African National Congress, the Socialist Party and some indigenous groups in South Africa mounted fierce protests against the apartheid system. The protest of these groups resulted in the death of 69 protesters in what is referred to as the Sharpeville massacre of 1960. Nigeria, as a newly independent state, showed massive support for the liberation groups in South Africa. At the floor of the Commonwealth Heads of States and Government Meeting (CHOGOM) in 1961, Tafawa Balewa lobbied for the expulsion of South Africa from the Commonwealth Nations organisation. At the global level, Nigeria fought against the apartheid regime on the floor of the United Nations. The effort of the state led to the United Nations General Assembly establishment of a special committee known as the United Nations Anti-Apartheid Special Committee, which had Nigeria as its permanent chair. Nigeria also made efforts too to expel South Africa from the International Labour Organization; Olympic Games; and International Atomic Energy.²⁰

Nigeria not only provides the South African liberation movement with strong political support but also financial support. Aside from political support, Nigerian Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa became the first leader in Africa to provide direct financial aid to the ANC from the early 1960s. At the height of the liberation movement in the 1970s, Nigeria alone had provided \$5 million annual subventions to the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) annually. Also, during General Murtala/Obasanjo's regimes which culminated with the Oil boom years, Nigeria's supported the liberation movement with a quantum of resources.²¹Severally, Nigeria supports the bills of programmes associated with the struggle. In 1976, under the Murtala/Obasanjo's regime, Nigeria set up the Southern Africa Relief Fund (SAFR) destined to bring relief to the victims of the apartheid regime in South Africa, provide educational opportunities to them and promote the general welfare.22

SARF witnessed the contribution of the Federal Government, individuals, civil servants and students. For instance, after establishing the Southern Africa Relief

 $^{^{19}\}mbox{Enuka}$, C., The Commonwealth of Nations: A Study in International Organization. Awka: Giniks Publishers, 2019

²⁰Emmanuel, C.O., Chuka, E., Between Magnanimity and Malevolence: Nigeria's Commitment to South Africa's Political Freedom in the Lens of Reciprocity, UJAH Volume 21 No.2, .2020, 72

²¹Mawuna R.K., "Nigeria's Role in Ending Apartheid in South Africa.

^{2015.}https://www.legit.ng/427645-html

²²Mawuna R.K., "Nigeria's Role in Ending Apartheid in South Africa. 2015.

Fund (SAFR), the Obasanjo military administration donated \$3.7 million to the fund.²³That was aside from the personal contribution of \$3,000 made by the same General Obasanjo, and he equally encouraged every member of his cabinet to make individual donations of \$1,500.24Civil servants and public officers in Nigeria also contribute to their monthly salary to the SAFR. By June 1977, the donations to the relief fund had gotten \$10.5 million.²⁵ It is then referred to as 'Mandela tax'²⁶Nigeria also provided educational support for the South African in terms of scholarships and donated about \$39,040 to the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa.²⁷

Nigeria's commitment to South African politics also spans the economic fronts. Nigeria rejected selling her crude oil to South Africa for many years in a demonstration against the apartheid rule. On the home front, Nigeria established the National Committee Against Apartheid (NACAP) in 1960, with a mission of propagating the vices of the apartheid regime to Nigerians beginning from primary schools to tertiary institutions, in media and public markets, with the aid of artwork, flier sand commercial messages.²⁸ Nigeria was home to many South African leaders at the height of the apartheid system. Mbeki for instance spent about seven years in Nigeria (1977-1984), before going to the ANC headquarters in Lusaka, Zambia.²⁹

With the immense support the South African leadership received from the Nigerian government, the xenophobic attack has made many Nigerians see South Africa as an ungrateful state. In 1994, South Africa gained its independence and become a full-fledged sovereign state. Since independence, Nigeria's South African relations have been through several phases of diplomatic crisis and cooperation. For instance, Nigeria-South Africa experienced a bitter relationship during Nigeria's Sani Abacha and South Africa's Nelson Mandela administration culminating in Mandela call for oil sanctions against Abacha's regime and its expulsion from the Commonwealth based on the human rights crisis. However, the call yielded results as Nigeria was suspended from the commonwealth.30The administration of Olusegun Obasanjo and Thomas Mbeki as heads of state of Nigeria and South Africa between 1999 and 2008 also witnessed a period of cooperation and crisis. On

²³ Emmanuel C.O., et.al, Between Magnanimity and Malevolence: Nigeria's Commitment to South Africa's Political Freedom in the Lens of Reciprocity

²⁴Mawuna R.K., "Nigeria's Role in Ending Apartheid in South Africa. 2015.

²⁵ Orji, B.I., Xenophobia and the Decline of Pan Africanism: The Case of Nigerian Diaspora in South Africa, in David L. Imbua, Patrick O. Odey, and Nneka S. Amalu, West Africa and the Europeans since the 15th century, Galda Verlag 2021, 562; Mawuna R.K., "Nigeria's Role in Ending Apartheid in South Africa. 2015.

²⁶ Orji, B.I., Xenophobia and the Decline of Pan Africanism: The Case of Nigerian Diaspora in South Africa, 562

²⁷Mawuna R.K., "Nigeria's Role in Ending Apartheid in South Africa. 2015. ²⁸Danfulaani, J., "The End of Apartheid: A Redefinition of Nigeria Foreign Policy". *Journal* Of Humanities and Social Science (IOSR-JHSS) Volume 19, Issue 11. 2014, 53-57.

 $^{^{\}rm 29}$ Orji, B.I., Xenophobia and the Decline of Pan Africanism: The Case of Nigerian Diaspora in South Africa, 563

³⁰Olusola, O., Lere A., Nigeria's Attitude Towards South Africa's Perceived Xenophobia: Exploring a Shared Hegemonic Power for Africa's Development in Adeoye O.A., The Political Economy of Xenophobia in Africa, Springer, 2018, 59

the cooperation level, the formation of the Africa Union is a vivid example of a collaborative effort. There were few hiccups based on ideological perspective to Africa development and continental leadership.31

The administration of Goodluck Jonathan and Jacob Zuma witnessed diplomatic rivalry and the xenophobic crisis. There was a political and diplomatic crisis over international issues relating to regime security and human security as played out in the Côte d'Ivoire and Libya's political turmoil in 2011.32 The highlight of this period, however, was South Africa's deportation of 125 Nigerians who landed at OR Tambo International Airport on 2nd March 2012 over their failure to possess yellow fever vaccination cards. This was followed by Nigeria's reciprocal deportation of 28, 56, and 42 South Africans on March 4, 6, and 7 in retaliation. After six days of diplomatic stand-off, a total of 256 nationals of both countries were carelessly deported to their respective countries without due process.33

Since 2012, there has been an increase in the number of xenophobic attacks in South Africa in which Nigeria has also been a major target. Nigerians in South Africa have offered several reasons for the cause of the xenophobic attack. Crush and McDonald stating the South Africans perspective asserted that native South Africans have a perception that legal immigrants are depriving them (the locals) of jobs and services while "illegal immigrants" allegedly lures the security operatives to corruption; this aggravates crime and denied the locals of accessing scarce resources.³⁴ It is these perceptions that have led to rising hatred culminating into a high level of hostility and intolerance towards immigrants, particularly Africans. The problem emanating from unemployment is another major factor. Nigerians and other foreign nationals Malawians, Somalis Pakistanis, Ethiopians, among others not only dominate the small-scale economy but also menial jobs which many South Africans refused to engage. Hence, South Africans perceive the foreigners' domination in both formal and informal economies as a threat. Hence, any slightest provocation or opportunity, some of these unemployed South Africans attack businesses operated by Nigerians and other foreign nationals.

Table 1: Incidents of xenophobic violence in South Africa by province: 1994 - April 202135

Province	Total Number of Incidents
Guateng	343
Western Cape	139

³¹Orderson, C., Smith, P., Nigeria/South Africa: Breaking the cycle. The Africa Report, 74, 2015, 22-29.

³²Olusola, O., Lere A., Nigeria's Attitude Towards South Africa's Perceived Xenophobia, 60 ³³Olusola, O., Lere A., Nigeria's Attitude Towards South Africa's Perceived Xenophobia, 60; Orji, B.I.,Xenophobia and the Decline of Pan Africanism: The Case of Nigerian Diaspora in South Africa, 567

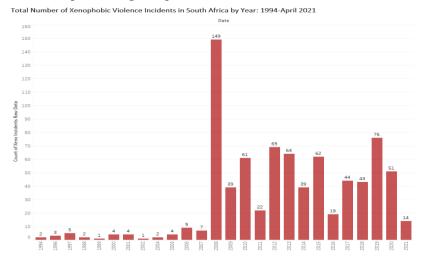
³⁴ Crush, J., McDonald, D.A., Introduction to special issue: Evaluating South African immigration policy after apartheid. Africa Today, 48(3), 2001, 7.

³⁵ Jean, P.M., Silindile, M., Xenowatch Factsheet 2: Incidents of Xenophobic Violence in South Africa: 1994 - April 2021, 3

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KwaZulu Natal	105
Eastern Cape	61
Limpopo	44
Mpumalanga	33
Free State	28
North West	26
Northern Cape	8
Unallocated	9
Total	796

Table 2: Graph Showing Xenophobic Attack between 1994 and 2021³⁶



From the above graph and table, it can be deduced that there is no single year from 1994 since political power was handed over to the blacks in the South, that xenophobic incidents are not recorded in South Africa. Xenophobic attack between 1994 and 2007 was relatively minimal. However, 2008 marked a new dimension of xenophobic attack. The year witnessed high intensity in xenophobic attacks in South Africa. Between 2008 and 2021, there have been several attacks targeted at African migrants. Xenowatch data further reveals that the 796 xenophobic attacks have resulted in 121, 945 total displacements, with a total shop of 4, 693 shops looted and total death of 588.³⁷

Xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa have affected the political and diplomatic relationships between Nigeria and South Africa. This is further compounded by the failure of the South African government to address the situation. A recent xenophobic attack witnessed the destruction of Nigerian-owned businesses led to a series of retaliation protests in Nigeria. Nigerians

³⁶Jean, P.M., Silindile, M., Xenowatch Factsheet 2: Incidents of Xenophobic Violence in South Africa: 1994 – April 2021, 6

 $^{^{37}}$ Jean, P.M., Silindile, M., Xenowatch Factsheet 2: Incidents of Xenophobic Violence in South Africa: 1994 – April 2021, 6

attacked South Africa-owned businesses such as MTN and Shoprite. In February 2017 and September 4, 2019, respectively, the telecom giant, MTN head office in Abuja and Lagos, was not only looted by some protesters but, office equipment was also vandalized. The violence prompted South Africa's diplomatic mission to temporarily close its diplomatic offices in the two Nigeria cities, while the Nigerian government also evacuated four hundred (400) nationals from South Africa in an unprecedented move. Xenophobia attacks in South Africa have also received staunch criticism within and outside Africa, following the April 2015 xenophobic attack in South Africa, the United Nations Security Council condemn the attack, as well as South African neighbours namely Zimbabwe, Mozambique, and Malawi. Nigeria on the other hand went a step further by recalling her Ambassadors from South Africa.

Research Question

- What is the citizen's perception of the causes of xenophobic violence in South Africa?
- What is the citizen's perception of how xenophobia could affect the socioeconomic Relationship between Nigeria and South Africa?
- What is the citizen's perception of the possible solutions to xenophobic violence between Nigeria and South Africa?

Research Hypothesis

- **Ho¹** There is no significant difference in the mean response of respondents on the causes of Xenophobia in South Africa.
- Ho² There is no significant difference in the mean response of respondents on the effect of xenophobic violence on the socioeconomic relationship between Nigeria and South Africa
- **Ho³** There is no significant difference in the mean response of respondents on the possible solution of xenophobic violence between Nigeria and South Africa.

Theoretical Framework

Rational Choice theory depicts the rivalry between foreign migrants and locals for scarce resources that lead to Xenophobia. Xenophobia is not only in South Africa but also in other countries, is commonly justified on the grounds of economic necessity. According to Steinberg, the economy is conceptualized as a finite lump: the assumption then is that access to resources is a zero-sum game, and this breeds conflict. 40 Relating this to foreigners, Steinberg explains that successful foreigners are perceived to prosper by benefiting unrightfully from

 $^{^{38}}$ Xinhuanet. South Africa closes in Abuja over fear of xenophobic reprisal, 2019, Retrieved 29^{th} of June, 2021, 3:49 am

³⁹ Claassen, C., *What Explains South African Xenophobia?* A Test of Eight Theories School of Social and Political Sciences University of Glasgow, 2015.; Claassen, C., Explaining South African Xenophobia. Afrobameter Working Paper 173, 2017, 1-22.

 $^{^{40}} Steinberg, J., South Africa's Xenophobic Eruption. ISS Paper 169. Pretoria: institute for Security Studies, 2008$

national resources that belong to South Africans.⁴¹ Consequently, seeing foreigners prosper without any assistance from the state "upsets one's conception of one's relation to the state and what one's sentiments are".⁴²South Africa perceived foreigners as "competing with them for jobs, housing, and other resources to which they feel entitled to". This is played out against a background of poverty, high unemployment, and high-income inequality between the rich and the poor. Fear of perceived foreign domination in the job market create conflict and make people feel that labour immigration should be limited and that the government is not doing enough to reduce the number of foreign migrants.⁴³

Methodology

Three hundred and eighty-four (384) Nigerians are randomly selected from Lagos and Abuja, using random numbers, participated in the study. The age range of participants 21- and above indicates that they are knowledgeable on the phenomenon in discussion. However, it can be deduced that most of the respondents are in their youthful age. (58%) are female while (54%) constitute the male gender, it is also highlighted that 58% of the respondents were married while 32% were single 6% and 4% of the respondents were widow and divorced respondents, the respondents also differ in terms of their academic qualification. More than half of the entire respondents 169(84.5%) have a degree other than O' Levels. Therefore, a conclusion can be drawn that the majority of the respondents were male, in their youthful age, married, NCE/ND and degree holder, and the working-class category.

Method of Data Collection

The study utilised a structured questionnaire to collect quantitative data. The questionnaire was divided into two sections. The first section stressed the biosocio characteristics of the respondents, while the other section contains scales that measure the implication of xenophobia on the socio-economic relations of Nigeria and South Africa.

Measures

Implications of Xenophobia on Socio-Economic Relations (IXSER): this scale was designed by the researchers and contains twenty (22) items to measure the socio-economic implications of xenophobia on Nigeria and South Africa. IXSER is scored on a four-point scale (1=strongly, 4= strongly disagree). Examples of items listed in the scale include 'politicians' inflammatory statements', 'poverty', 'foreigners responsible for more crimes', 'psychological effect of apartheid', 'foreigners taking over south African jobs', 'low education among black south Africans', poor border control'. The scale has a Cronbach's alpha of 0.75.

⁴¹Steinberg, J., South Africa's Xenophobic Eruption.

⁴²Steinberg, J., South Africa's Xenophobic Eruption.

⁴³Dodson, B., Locating Xenophobia: Debate, Discourse and Everyday Experience in Cape Town, South Africa. Africa Today, 56 (3); 2010, 3-22

Chi-square Analysis on the Opinion of Respondents on the Causes of Xenonhobia in South Africa

0	E	О-Е	(O-E) ²	(O-E)
				E
90	200	-110	12100	60.5
84	200	-116	13456	67.28
11	200	-189	35721	178.61
15	200	-185	34225	171.13
				477.52

The calculated Chi-square at 0.05 significant levels at the degree of freedom of 3 equals 477.52 which is greater than the critical X^2 value of 7.82. Therefore, the null hypothesis was rejected. The finding showed that there is a significant difference in the mean response of respondents on the causes of xenophobia in South Africa.

Chi-square Analysis on the Opinion of Respondents onthe effect of Xenophobic Violence on the Socioeconomic Relationship between Nigeria and South Africa

0	Е	О-Е	(O-E) ²	<u>(O-E)</u> E
112	200	-88	7744	38.72
80	200	-120	14400	72
8	200	-192	36864	184.32
-	200	-200	40000	200
				495.04

The calculated Chi-square at 0.05 significant levels at the degree of freedom of 3 equals 495.04 which is greater than the critical X^2 value of 7.82. Therefore, the null hypothesis was rejected, indicating that, there is a significant difference in the mean response of respondents on the effect of xenophobic violence on the socioeconomic in South Africa.

Chi-square Analysis on the Opinion of Respondents on the Possible Solution of Xenophobic Violence between Nigeria and South Africa

0	E	О-Е	(O-E)2	(O-E) E
121	200	79	6241	31.21
79	200	121	14641	73.21
-	200	-200	40000	200
-	200	-200	40000	200
				504.42

The calculated Chi-square at 0.05 significant levels at the degree of freedom of 3 equals 504.42 which is greater than the critical X^2 value of 7.82. Therefore, the null hypothesis was rejected, revealing that there is a significant difference in the mean response of respondents on the possible Solution of xenophobic violence between Nigeria and South Africa.

Discussion of Findings and Conclusion

The study examines the implication of Xenophobia in South Africa and how it has deterred the relationship between South Africa and Nigeria. The findings are consistent with Charman and Piper et al. revealed that the police and prosecutor statements usually focus specifically on foreign investors.⁴⁴ Regarding the lengthy justice process and foreign investors' victims of crime, it is often seen that the prosecutors and police also faced difficulties in communicating and keeping them engaged during court processes. Hence, according to Charman et al., the study revealed there were various forms of violence feared by foreign investors during xenophobic attacks, following the categories used by the South African Police Service (SAPS) which includes: murder; attempted murder; robbery; theft; assault.

It has been concluded that relations between Nigeria and South Africa at any given conjuncture largely depend on the pursuit of their objectives and national interests, hence the deep-rooted competition for supremacy. Although economic factors have been identified as a major cause of the strain in Nigeria and South Africa relations, competition for scarce resources is a common factor in ethnic conflicts within both states. Also, there is an urgent need for both countries to initiate a liberalized migration regime and a robust migration management capacity towards enhancing and strengthening the strategic role of Nigerians in the Diasporas as a development partner and factoring their contributions to the overall Africa development agenda for sustainable peace and security.

The two countries should enhance their leadership and governance roles in sustaining the African dream and indeed the drive for poverty eradication through the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Crucially, sustained job creation particularly for youths at home and positive image-building abroad would enhance the respectability of Nigerians in the Diasporas and indeed address the negative way the world sees us as a people and a nation. There is therefore the need for further study in the psychological implication of apathy, which is deeply rooted in the brutality and xenophobic attitude of the native South Africans

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12

⁴⁴Charman, A.P., Piper, L., From South African Survivalism to Foreign Entrepreneurship: The Transformation of the Spaza Sector in Delft, Cape Town. Transformation, 78: 2012, 47-73.

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