

NIGERIA-SOUTH AFRICA RELATIONS IN THE POST-APARTHEID ERA 1993 - 2019

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Abstract

Nigeria-South Africa relations date back to the era of Nigeria independence. At the Independence Day address, Nigeria made it clear that Africa is the centerpiece of her foreign policy and the elimination of apartheid in South Africa her greatest challenge. The then South Africa government saw that as an affront and regarded Nigeria as a threat and enemy. Such frosty relationship continued till 1992 when President De-Klerk and his entourage stormed Nigeria to embrace each other. Consequently, bilateral relations that could benefit both countries based on their national interest, was initiated. This relation and diplomatic policies were however, threatened during the administrations of Nelson Mandela and Nigeria's dictator, General Sani Abacha but normal relation was restored during the Mbeki and Obasanjo regimes. However, the era of Zuma and Jonathan respectively has been filled with diplomatic challenges. Occasionally, their policies and relations are cordial and at some other times, frosty. The relationship between the two countries deteriorated due to series of xenophobic attacks on Nigerians living in South Africa in 2017 and the resent one in September, 2019. It is on this backdrop that this paper examines this core issues of racial intolerance, dislike for foreigners particularly Nigeria-South Africa relation in the Post-Apartheid Era. This study is anchored on the realistic Conflict Theory, and also adopted secondary sources of data such as books, journal articles, newspaper and internet sources. Also used were the historical approach in its analysis. Reports obtained from these sources formed the bulk of this Research's tool of assessment.

Keywords: xenophobia, Implication, Nigeria, South Africa

Introduction

The relationship between Nigeria and South Africa, date back to 1960s during the apartheid era. The History of South Africa is plagued by its apartheid regime. The country experienced horrifying tales of Apartheid prior to 1994. Scholars highlight that the white- settlements who were the minority sort to oppress and marginalize the black settlements who were the majority (Kinge & Tiobo, 2016). According to Human Rights Commission (HRC) an estimated 14,000 people were killed during the apartheid era as a result of agitations for

the end of the apartheid regime (Coleman 1998). Former president Nelson Mandela was one of those arrested by the regime and it was not until 1994 that then country eventually freed itself from apartheid rule (Fayomi, Chidozie & Ayo 2015).

Nigeria, one of the giants of Africa in terms of economy, population and military strength was instrumental in helping the South Africans rid themselves of the oppressive rule of the apartheid regime. Since independence in 1960, Nigeria has opposed apartheid in South Africa. On October 7, 1960, just six days after gaining independence, Nigeria went on record as one of the nations in the United Nation Organization who were committed to the elimination of apartheid in South Africa and restoration of the dignity of man (Obiazor, 1985:63). Akinboye (2013) highlights that Nigeria's intervention began largely as a result of the Sharpuille Massacre of 1960, which saw 72 black killed and about 184 wounded. This saw university students in Nigeria voluntarily contribute to the liberation of the South Africans by skipping their lunch for a month to make donations was duly called a Mandela tax to first apartheid. The 1976 Olympics and common wealth games of 1979 were boycotted and Nigeria refused to sell oil to the apartheid regime (Nwosu, 1993). Nigeria intensified when the white minority government caved into pressures and finally abolished apartheid.

With the abolition of apartheid, it was expected that Nigeria's external relations with the Black majority improve, and move from the initial pattern of confrontation to a post-apartheid era of mutually beneficial co-operation in a context of collective regional self-reliance. Also, it was expected that the pan-Africanist interest, which Nigeria pursued in its relations with South Africa during the apartheid era, would have solidified Nigeria's relations with the black majority government of South Africa. This is particularly true when one considers the facts that it was the leadership of the liberation movements, which enjoyed total and unreserved support from Nigeria that took control of the South Africa government. Thus, the leaders of the post-apartheid South Africa were expected to lead the country to a virile and friendly relations with Nigeria since both government perceive the liberation of the Black Africa as a common interest.

But this expectation was to be Nigeria's relationship with South Africa again became frosty, soon after apartheid was abolished. A diplomatic row broke out between the two countries over military rule and the execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other Ogoni environment activists by the then Nigeria. Government under the then Nigerian government under General Sani Abacha.

South Africa led a concert of other countries to improve sanctions and diplomatic isolations on Nigeria. South Africa felt justified for its action based on the promise that execution of the nine Ogoni men, without fair trial by the Nigerian government, was a violation of human right on area that Nigeria championed in South Africa and where a standard of behavior was expected from Nigeria. The Nigeria government on its part interpreted South Africa's action as a group up and a malicious campaign against Nigeria.

This way, the stage was set for rivalry between Nigeria and South Africa. Nigeria's external relations with South Africa in the aftermath of apartheid became characterized by competition. Each of the two countries strove to prove that it upholds human rights and democratic principles as its interest, and as such they sought to pursue it in their external relations. Thus while Nigeria championed the cause of black liberation and fought the apartheid government on the promise that the system was a violation of human right, the South African black majority government led other countries to oppose Nigeria's military government for its human rights violation and inability to return to democratic government.

Conceptual Clarification of Xenophobia

Xenophobia is the dislike or fear of that which is unknown or different from one. It comes from the Greek words (xenos), meaning "stranger" or "foreigner" and (phobos), which means "fear". (Petkon, 2005), the term is typically used to describe a fear or dislike of foreigners significantly different from oneself, usually in the context of visible difference. A 2001 review by Wicker; explained xenophobia as one among several possible forms of reaction generated by atomic situation in the societies of modern states (as cited in Sichrone, 2008:257). According to South Africa Human Right Commission (SAHRC), xenophobia can be defined as the "deep dislike of non-nationals by nationals of a recipient state" (Bekker and Carlton, 2010:127). Indeed its manifestation is abusive and violates the constitution.

(Nyamnjoh, 2006) argues that xenophobia in South Africa is not generally directed at all people perceived to be foreign nationals, but it is Africanised as Afrophobia with black African foreigners being the exclusive target for xenophobic attacks and violence. This assertion is evident in the way and manner South Africa has treated other African nations, including Nigeria. While (Landan, 2015) notes that "xenophobia takes place within the context of crime, poverty, inequality and unemployment". Be it as it may, one basic factor we need to note, is the fact that in South Africa for instance, xenophobia

variably manifests itself through tribalism and ethnic superiority, racism and sexism pathologies.

(Ogbonnaya, Ajah, Madueke and Chukwuma, 2017) are of the opinion that in this conceptualization: fear, prejudice and violence are common denominators. Therefore, xenophobia disposition is social/psychological anomies that negate the principles of accommodation and tolerance. It is aimed at fragmenting society into "we" and "them", creating a model of social division upon which all forms of contestations are premised. The aggregated psychological discontents are often ventilated as outburst of nationalistic expression; it is upon this premise that sympathy is drawn from the "we" against "them".

Theoretical Framework

The theory on which this work stands is Realist Conflict Theory. The theory was propounded by Donald Campbell but was expounded by other scholars during the 20th century (Campbell, 1965) criticized psychologists like John Thibant, Harold Kelley, and George Homans, who emphasized theories that place food, sex, and pain avoidance as control to all human processes: Shrief, Harvey, White, Hood and Sherif (1961) suggests that competition of access to limited resources results in a conflict between groups, Okasana (2008) noted that prior to Campbell; social theorists ignored the essence of social psychology and the importance of interchanges between groups. Contrary to other theories, the Realist Conflict Theory takes into account the sources of conflict between groups, which include incompatible goals and competition over limited resources (Shrief et al, 1961) the theory is used to explain the conflict, negative prejudices, and discrimination that occur between groups of people who are in competition for the same resources. The Realist Conflict Theory states that "whenever there are two or more groups that are seeking the same limited resources, this will lead to conflict, negative stereotypes, beliefs and discrimination between groups" (Okasana, 2008:46). The conflict can lead to increasing animosity towards the groups and can cause an on-going feud to develop. Conversely, conflict, negative stereotypes, beliefs and discrimination between groups can potentially be reduced in situations where two or more groups are seeking to obtain some super ordinate goals. Super ordinate goals are mutually desirable goals that cannot be obtained without the participation of two or more groups. Because of its emphasis on group behaviours and conflict, the realistic conflict theory is also referred to as the realistic group conflict theories.

One of the earliest example of realistic conflict theory is the Robber's Cave experiment conducted by social psychologist Muzafer Sherif in the 1960s. Based

on a field experiment conducted at Robber's Cave state park in Oklahoma using 22 adolescent males. Sheriff (1966) noted that each of the twenty-two participants was 12 years old, they came from a two - parent home, and could be traced to a white middle-class background. None of the participants knew each other before the experiment. Sheriff divided the males into two separate groups: the Eagles and the Rattlers. Neither of the groups was aware of the other's existence during the first stage, of the experiment. During the first stage of the experiments were involved in several activities with their group numbers such as hiking and swimming. These activities allowed participants to form attachments with their group and create their own group culture, norms, and expectations. Once the participants had become attached to their own groups, sheriff introduced the groups to each other and arranged for competitive games and other activities between the groups. For example, one of the competitive games required the Eagles and the Rattlers to play each other in a baseball game. The winning group received a trophy and individual medals for the group members, while the losing group received nothing. He began to notice that the groups became increasingly hostile. For example, the Eagles set the Rattlers' flag on fire and the Rattlers destroyed the Eagles' cabin. Eventually, the groups became so hostile with one another that they had to be physically separated. Remember that the participants were 22 well-adjusted males. They were not criminals, nor did they have a history of aggressive or destructive behaviour. However, once conflict and competition were introduced, their behaviours became discriminatory and hostile. This theory captures the nature of xenophobia in Africa, and how its reoccurrence has made the African project an object of caricature. The Realist Conflict Theory applies to the situation facing Nigeria and South Africa. Owing to the competition that exist over limited resources in South Africa the nationals perceive non - nationals especially Nigeria as the enemy. Nevertheless, both nation do not view their relationship from the mutual standpoint and is equally not interested in participating in supper ordinate goods which cannot be achieved without the input of each state. South Africans may not be hostile in nature, but the issue of xenophobia that is reoccurring amongst them is traceable to the conflict that existed them and the foreigners. Little wonder they accused foreigners of taking away their jobs.

Post-Apartheid Nigeria- South Africa Relations

With a democratic and majority rule in place in 1994, South Africa quickly switched over the Pariah Status in the International Community with Nigeria (Ebegbulem, 2013). However, the new democratic regime in Pretoria, the popular government of national unity (GNU) led by the antiapartheid icon,

President Nelson Mandela, quickly established bilateral relations with Nigeria in 1994, though the latter was under the military leadership led by late General Sani Abacha. Banjo (2010) noted that the move was in recognition of Nigeria's role in the liberation of apartheid South Africa. Pretoria's assumption of moral authority to advise on democracy and the advancement of human rights was based on what South Africa had adopted as her pillars of foreign policy after 1994, but was misinterpreted by Nigeria's military junta as an attempt by Pretoria to set up competition between the two countries which Nigeria claimed she was not interested in (Banjo, 2010). Nigeria's side of the argument was in itself a distortion of the facts. For example, military involvement in politics was already out of fashion in the world. The relationship between the two countries was tense because of Abacha's desire to hang onto power, and gross abuse of human rights in Nigeria (Banjo, 2010). Provisions were quickly replaced by arbitrary decrees, which paved the way for the junta to embark on gross human rights abuses in disregard of the judiciary. The regime soon faced unprecedented opposition from human rights groups and crusaders for democracy because Abacha was seen by many as an insider of the Babangida's military junta, who could only extend Babangida's agenda in the Aso-rock (Abuja), Nigeria's sit of power. With the hunter being hunted, Nigeria's foreign policy towards South Africa became apologetic. World opinion swelled up against Nigeria. Onuoha (2008) noted that Nigeria - South Africa confrontations reached its zenith in 1995 when the then South African President, Nelson Mandela vigorously campaigned for the expulsion of Nigeria from Commonwealth during the Commonwealth Summit in Auckland. This was in protest of the execution of the "Ogoni Nine". According to Orji (2001), most western nations, alongside South Africa, imposed a number of sanctions against Nigeria, after she withdrew her High Commissioner from Nigeria in protest. One of which was a ban on issuance of visas to senior military officers and senior government officials and their families, particularly those who actively formulated and implemented or, benefited from the policies that impeded Nigeria's transition to democracy. As Banjo and Omidiran (2000) noted that Abacha responded by refusing to let the Nigerian Super Eagles defend their African Cup of Nations gold medal (which the Nigerian team had won in 1994 in Tunisia) in South Africa in 1996. In Nigeria's calculation, the first indication that South Africa intended to use sports as a weapon was when South Africa withdrew the invitation of Nigeria's Super Eagles to the four-nation tournament organized by South Africa. The South African Football Association alleged that it was because of the hanging of the "Ogoni nine" that the invitation was withdrawn. The Nigerian sports authorities protested to FIFA asking for South Africa to be punished for mixing sport with politics.

Nigeria based her argument on the ground that suspension of Nigeria from the Commonwealth because of the killing of the “Ogoni nine” was a political issue which should not have influenced sports decisions. The Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) agreed but only warned South Africa, promising, however, to punish her if there were any future occurrence of mixture of sport and politics (Banjo & Omidiran, 2000). Abacha’s untimely death on June 8, 1998, turned events around between the two countries. With the emergence of democratic government in place in Nigeria, Nigeria - South Africa relations became less confrontational but friendly and cordial. On May 29, 1999, the military formally stepped aside and that gave birth to civilian rule.

The Impact of Xenophobic Attacks on Nigeria-South Africa Relations

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

Political and Diplomatic Impacts: Politically, the incessant wave of xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa has a lot of impactful implications if the two governments fail to muster enough political will to deal with this unbecoming situation. It can mar the ties between both countries. In diplomatic circles, once there is a severe row between countries the next option is recalling ambassadors and whenever there exist any breakdown of relationship between countries, it usually take time for such to be restored and taking into cognizance the position of Nigeria and South Africa in the African continent, it will be also to the detriment of the progress of other African countries. Xenophobic attacks in South Africa has received staunch criticism within and outside Africa, following the April 2015 xenophobic attack in South Africa, the United Nations Security Council was quick to condemn the attacks, as did her neighbours, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Malawi, followed suite in denouncing and criticizing these acts (Claaassen, 2015). Nigeria on the other hand, went a step further by recalling her ambassadors from South Africa. The xenophobic attacks thus increased tensions between the two countries, as the Nigerian government felt the South African government was not doing enough to protect her citizens in South Africa, who she felt were the primary target of the attacks. Another dimension to this is its prospect to arouse loss of African

solidarity - Africans usually regard each others as brothers and in so many circumstances speak with one voice in the international arena, it is reasoned that a break in relationship between Nigeria and South Africa will lead to a divided Africa thereby limiting their chances in making wave in international politics. Tough visa policies and restrictions also have impactful implications on people migrating in search of safer and more prosperous living conditions. The act of people migrating in search of greener pasture is as old as man and as a matter of fact - it is the right of any person to migrate in search of safer and more prosperous living conditions; as this is enshrined in the 1984 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the 1965 International Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination. This clearly depicts people's freedom to seek better, safer and more prosperous living conditions in any part of the world. However, this freedom can be restricted through stringent visa policies and it is envisaged that xenophobic attacks is capable of making Nigeria and South Africa to adopt stringent visa policies thereby killing the spirit of African brotherhood and making nonsense the new Pan-African Passport and ultimately dampening the seeking and searching of safer and more prosperous living conditions of Africans.

Socio-Cultural Impact: Having suffered from the ordeal of colonialism from the Europeans, Africans believes after gaining of independence and the dismantling of apartheid in South Africa that they (Africans) are brother with common history and descent. However, the upsurge of xenophobic attacks by South Africans towards their fellow African brothers depicts a renaissance of past apartheid ordeal and inhumanity of colonialism. Besides the aforementioned, other socio-cultural impactful implications of such ordeal and inhumanity is identity crisis. Identity conflict is one of the worst forms of distress and disorientation resulting from conflict pressures (e.g. colonialism and apartheid) and uncertainty about one's self and one's role in society as it affects the psychology of the victims thereby making them not to realize and achieve their self-esteem and full potentials. Another form of social impact of xenophobic attacks is African disunity. When Africans begin to see the fellow brothers and sisters as strangers and subsequently treating them as one: the impact of such state of disunity is obviously disunity in a continent of brothers and sisters that regards each other with common history and descent. The implication of this is the obvious fear that Africans will have when in other African countries other than their own country of birth. Insecurity also is an impactful implication of xenophobia for when one suffered and got humiliated socially and culturally from one's brothers and sisters, the bad thought arising from such alienation and humiliation may lead them into joining bad gangs

which might obviously lead to increase in security challenges within the African continent.

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

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

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

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

of all citizens is gallantly and courteously well established in the country's bill of rights and supreme constitution (Republic of South Africa 1996). However, recent evidence suggests that the South Africa economic situation or state of affairs is uneven and fluctuating due to inhospitable government policies designed to safeguard foreign investments and as a result, this has hindered huge investment opportunities. There is a need to encourage other investors from different countries such as Ethiopia, Bangladesh, Somalia, Pakistan, Nigeria and Ghana among others to invest in her economy.

The observable fact remains that those perpetrators who actually participate in these acts of xenophobic attacks have undoubtedly contributed to the downfall of the economic development of South Africa either directly or vice-versa. Devastatingly in South Africa, as soon as these perpetrators are arrested and sentenced, they are often not allowed to serve the appropriate jail term for the nature of the crimes committed; and after a short while, they are often released to walk free in the country. This is a pointer to the fact that South African laws are very lenient on these perpetrators and in fact there is a need for the South African government to review her judicial system and amend some laws as this could be one of the best ways or strategies to improve and strengthen her economic development. Seemingly, either the system is too compassionate, sympathetic, empathetic and merciful to the offenders, uncaring and unsympathetic to follow all the professionally, lawfully and legitimately due process to ensure fairness to the victims, and do justice to the culprits of the crime, or is disregarding the rights of the offenders (DeVilliers, 2006; Jaishankar, 2014). Prominently, recent evidence suggests that South African citizens alone cannot do all by themselves to enhance their current economic state of affairs. Apparently, the fact remains that for any country to improve or maintain success or progress economically in this Global economic dispensation, there is a substantial or considerable need to be in good accord with other nationals residing in the country, investing one another's economy and welcoming foreign nationals into their country with passion; in peace, tranquility and to learn how to live with different people in harmony. In fact, it is very important to emphasize at this juncture that any country executing xenophobic attacks would definitely have a propensity to experience poverty. It is very sad to state clearly that many African countries do not have a deep knowledge or clear understanding of what poverty means. In fact, some African leaders believe that embarking on xenophobic attacks would solve their identified economic problems, make them self-reliant and have full control of all their economic resources (Kasochi 2013). Considering a popular saying that "a tree cannot make a forest" it thus suffices to assert that a country cannot grow or develop on its own; seeing that no state; no matter how technologically

advanced, financially buoyant or blessed with natural resources is self-sufficient. But must be able and willing to accommodate new opportunities such as foreign investments, new technologies from abroad, billion dollar innovations and ideas, good vision and mission, as well as the basics such as the labour that foreign nationals bring into the country. It should also be noted that different foreign investments would bring about new and brilliant business ideas, which would invariably bring about empowerment to South African natives and as a result, there would be many employment opportunities to accommodate huge numbers of local citizens who are unemployed as well as the unskilled workers in South Africa. These are potentials that tend to revolutionize the economy of a nation considered South Africa is able to channel the values, labor and the education of these foreign nations which will in turn create ripples of development, productivity and stability to her Economy.

However, discussing poverty has a dependent variable, it can be said that its impacts cut across racial lines as it varied effects on the white and black populace. Claassen (2015) explains through a survey research on the subject matter that past experiences of poverty can be seen a causal factor for black respondents as its effects were seemingly less impactful among white respondents, with a lowly 32% percent of white South African respondents, as opposed to an overwhelming 83% percent black respondents who felt the effect is associated to an heightened intensity of xenophobia. In a nutshell, the result of Claassen's survey explicates that individual's encounter of experiences with poverty increases xenophobia. Making poverty not only an effect of xenophobia but also a causal factor of xenophobic attacks in South Africa. This ultimately diminishes the productivity levels of black Diaspora's living in South Africa, which serves as an economic impact of xenophobic attacks in South Africa. Table below further explains the effects of poverty on xenophobia.

Conclusion

It is only tenable to say that reforms at home and aspiration to or actual leadership of the continent are two factors that shape the current phase of Nigeria-South Africa relations. The character of Nigeria-South Africa relations changed with the commencement of multi-racial democracy based on the universal adult suffrage in South Africa and the return to civilian rule in Nigeria. Anti-apartheid and anti-military policies that previously defined their relations became irrelevant. Nigeria and South Africa are regional as well as continental leaders in terms of economy and politics. Their cordial relationship is pivotal to the advancement and all round development of Africa. However,

evidence abounds that relations between the two countries at any given conjuncture largely depends on the pursuit of their objectives and national interests, hence the deep-rooted competition for supremacy.

Again, economic factors have been identified as major causes of the strain in Nigeria and South Africa relations. Competition for scarce resources is a common factor in ethnic conflicts within both states. In Nigeria and South Africa, ethnic communities violently compete for properties, jobs, education, social amenities, healthcare, etc. Both countries have professed an unwavering commitment to the foreign policy of Afro-centricism.

The paper focused on Nigeria-South Africa relations diplomatic, economic and strategic relations in the post-apartheid era. It demonstrated that xenophobia in South Africa is rooted in the nature and character of apartheid and its discriminatory policies against the black majority which incidentally denied them of economic opportunities, ultimately fuelling the attitude of suspicion and hate for foreigners. The paper further suggested that the mercantilist and imperialistic ambition of the apartheid South African government which attracted huge menial labour from the Southern African region to service the growing mining industry in the former accounted for xenophobic violence that has bedeviled the post-apartheid South African society. The paper further observed that the targeted xenophobic attacks by South Africans against Nigerians are borne out fear for the entrepreneurial ambition of the latter and their tendency to dominate a given environment. The paper concludes that the political economy of the post-apartheid South African society is such that the distortions inherent in the deeply divided society will warrant the continuation of xenophobia until this anomaly is addressed.

Recommendations

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

documented (economic) migrants or undocumented migrants it is in the view of the above that the following recommendations were made.

- ❖ Seminars, workshops should be organized by government agencies and nongovernmental agencies to educate the populace on the dangers of xenophobia, the rights of migrants and refugees and gender equality.
- ❖ Programmes and policies that are seek to create employment, control the border as well boost economic advancement should be adopted by the government. The Nigerian government and stakeholders should organize educational seminars to educate, sensitize the Nigerian students on the need to respect the traditions, belief and laws of South Africa.
- ❖ Non-governmental bodies in partnership with the Nigerian South African Commission and the South African government should create an emergency response body tasked with the medical effects of xenophobia.
- ❖ The South African government should adopt policies and legislations that discourage and criminalize xenophobic violence and acts.
- ❖ The Nigerian Government should set up a committee that is tasked to investigate cases of xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa.
- ❖ The South African government should tighten security in communities and locations that are xenophobic violence prone.
- ❖ Campaigns against xenophobia should be introduced where educational materials such as posters, stickers and stories that digitally tackle xenophobia adopted.
- ❖ Media advocacy programmes that involve radio and television interviews, public service announcement that unmask the conditions of refugees and migrants should be made.
- ❖ A complete list and figure of Nigerians living in South Africa should be collected by the Nigerian Commission in partnership with the South African government.

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