Xenophobic Attacks on Nigerians in South Africa and Their Implication for Nigeria-South Africa Diplomatic Relations: An Exploratory Study, 2008-2024.

Emmanuel Ochogwu, Shaibu Umar Abdul*, Ruth Caleb Luka

Department Political Science and International Relations, Nile University of Nigeria, Abuja

***Corresponding author**

ABSTRACT

This study explores the complex and sensitive issue of xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa, examining the root causes, consequences and implications of these attacks on diplomatic relations between the two countries, 2008-2024. Relative deprivation theory, realism and constructivism postulations were used as frameworks of analysis. However, constructivism theory was adopted in the study. Purposive sampling method was adopted in order to solicit necessary information from respondents who are knowledgeable or familiar with the topical issue under discourse. However, findings reveal that xenophobic attacks in South Africa has produced mixed reactions, some have argued that the situation was not handled as suppose. The study finds that political, economic and socio-cultural diplomacies were negatively affected in the relationship between Nigeria and South Africa due to xenophobic attacks on Nigerian by South Africa. Furthermore, the study discovers that South Africa's xenophobic attacks on Nigerians led to a mistrustful and unpleasant diplomatic relationship between Nigeria and South Africa, a decline in the spirit of African brotherhood, and an externally negative image of South Africa as a xenophobic state. All of these factors influence and shape Nigeria's diplomatic relations and policies towards South Africa. Based on the findings, the research recommended that there should be high level diplomatic engagement between Nigeria and South Africa as a way out of strengthening and restoring their unbecoming diplomatic relations that had existed between the both countries. Awareness regarding the true international rights of immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers is necessary for both South African governments and citizens. Nigeria and South Africa should have a suitable Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) outlining expectations for immigrants in both countries as well as how they should be treated. Any infractions of the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the two countries must result in a permanent fine and other sanctions.

Keywords; Xenophobia, Diplomacy and Foreign policy.

Introduction/Background to the Study

Nigeria and South Africa are two sub-regional powers on the continent of Africa that have attained universal attention, recognition and reckoning for different reasons. Nigeria is globally regarded as the most populous Black Country in the world with an estimated population of 221,532,154 as of Sunday, July 9, 2023, based on Worldometer elaboration of the latest United Nations data. South Africa, with over 57 million people, has gained universal attention as the conscience of racial parity on the global stage, having transited through global help and internal political struggle though located respectively in West and Southern Africa, Nigeria and South Africa, have been involved in each other's different spheres of life-social, political and economic (Adebisi, 2017). Since the establishment of constitutional democracy in South Africa in 1994, there has been rivalry, cooperation, and competitive attributes in the diplomatic ties between Nigeria and South Africa.

With the dismantling of the apartheid regime and the emergence of constitutional democracy in 1994, immigration inflow into South Africa witnessed sharp increase particularly from neighbouring African countries (Ogunnubi and Amusan, 2018).

Paradoxically, in resource-rich South Africa there is a high level of unemployment rate, hardship and poverty which the local indigenes feel that the immigrants, who the locals call "Amakwerekwere" (a derogatory South African word for foreign visitors to a township (Wiktionary, 2019) are to blame for the societal and economic challenges.

The local indigenes also blame the immigrants of rising crime rate, increasing the rate of prostitution, high level of drug addiction and drug trafficking and the rising rate of human trafficking which plague the country (South Africa). Therefore, foreign nationals, mainly African immigrants in South Africa have frequently victim of xenophobic attacks in May 2008, April 2015, March 2019 and hidden xenophobic attacks till date. These attacks have had a negative impact on the republic of South Africa diplomatic relations with its neighbouring countries and other African countries one of which is the federal republic of Nigeria, a country that for some years now, has received some of its nationals in body bags after they encountered their untimely death at the hands of xenophobes in South Africa (Ogunnoiki and Adeyemi, 2019).

The 2019 xenophobic attacks in South Africa was the most recent which has shown the deep rooted level of sentiments, discrimination and intolerance against foreign migrants. Based on data available, the 2008 xenophobic attack in South Africa recorded the highest number of deaths followed 2015 and 2019 violence. Xenophobic attacks and violence has become a common phenomenon in South Africa and more stringent measures should be put in place to curtail it.

Xenophobia is deep rooted in South Africa society from individual level, to community level, government institutions and agencies including Immigration and Police. South African Immigration and Police do not hide their resentment against migrants which has resulted in extra-judicial killing of foreigners by them without remorse or fear of prosecution. It is of this view that the constant xenophobic attacks and violence in South Africa has a political under tone and has affected the spirit of pan- Africanism (Olotuche and Okolie, 2021), which makes it (xenophobia) very difficult to be curtailed.

Nigeria and South Africa have a long history of diplomatic ties (Ojukwu, Mbah and Osuchukwu, 2019). Nigeria and South Africa have a strong and mutually beneficial relationship over time. Both nations' national interests are what drive this partnership. Nigeria and South Africa have a relationship that is characterised by both collaboration and confrontation. The basis of both countries' cooperation stems from their trade and commercial ties with South Africa, while the causes of their conflict may be traced back to the legacy of apartheid, xenophobia, and struggles for leadership both within the African continent and internationally.

Nigeria's first chance to develop an anti-colonialist foreign policy came on March 21, 1960, with the Sharpeville massacre. At the time of the incident, white South African police attacked black protesters against racial inequity and dominance.

Nigeria and South Africa were embroiled in a diplomatic spat over the tragedy, which claimed 72 black lives and left many more injured. The event, which took place prior to Nigeria's independence, signaled the start of Nigeria's confrontation with the racist white government of South Africa.

Nigeria thus took the lead in advocating for international political and economic sanctions against South Africa's apartheid regime, which resulted in the country's expulsion from the Commonwealth of Nations in 1961 and the establishment of a trade embargo under the auspices of the now-defunct Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

The international community's desire for South Africa to be completely isolated was largely influenced by Nigeria. Pressure from Nigeria and other countries, non-governmental organisations, and powerful people caused the apartheid South African administration to collapse in 1994.

The relationship turned edgy in 2008 with the xenophobic attack on Africans that raised questions on the historic friendship between the countries, (Seteolu and Okuneye, 2017). Since the 2008 anti – foreigner violence, Nigeria and South Africa have been working towards patching their political and diplomatic relations. In 2013, Nigeria and South Africa signed a memorandum of understanding (MOU) to reinforce political and diplomatic ties and

forestall future xenophobic attacks (Babalola, 2017). Nevertheless, the attacks on Nigerians have continued, which further deteriorated the diplomatic relations between Nigeria and South Africa.

Lately, there has been a decline in the diplomatic ties between South Africa and Nigeria. This can also be explained by the xenophobic narrative that is formed around South Africans' inadequate treatment of Nigerians. Since the end of Apartheid, xenophobia has increased in South Africa. The media in that country has recorded multiple violent incidents between 1997 and 2007 in which foreigners have been the main victims.

This study is an attempt to establish a link between xenophobia and the diplomatic relations between Nigeria and South Africa, to interrogate and analysis the implications of xenophobic attacks on Africa by South Africa for Nigeria- South Africa diplomatic relations, given the recent dynamism of the two countries' diplomatic ties.

Statement of the Problem

In spite of the quantum of literature written by scholars of both national and international repute on xenophobia in South Africa. Yet, the aspect of the implication of xenophobic attacks on Nigerians by South Africans for diplomatic relations among the two states had said to be neglected. This obviously became a thing of concern within the academic genre which necessitated the need for interrogation and analysis.

It is in accordance with the above that, this research wishes to examine the implication of xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa for Nigeria – South Africa diplomatic relation. The research also wishes to investigate the extent at which the xenophobic attacks on Nigerian by South Africans affected Nigeria – South Africa diplomatic relations. The study as well, wishes to examine the root causes of xenophobic attacks on Nigerians by South Africans.

Research Questions

1. The following questions shall guide the study;
2. What are the basis of xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa?
3. What is the implication of xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa for Nigeria-South Africa diplomatic relations?
4. To what extent has xenophobic attacks on Nigerians by South Africans affect Nigeria- South Africa diplomatic relations?

Objectives of the Study

The general objective of this study is to explore xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa and their implications for Nigeria-South Africa diplomatic relations, 2008-2024. The specific objectives are under listed beneath;

1. To interrogate the basis of xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa.
2. To examine the implication of xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa for Nigeria-South Africa diplomatic relations.
3. To investigate the extent at which xenophobic attacks on Nigerians by South Africans affect Nigeria-South Africa diplomatic relations.

Research Propositions

The following propositions will guide the study;

1. The basis of xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa is hinged on dominance and exploitation of available resources.
2. Nigeria-South Africa diplomatic ties have been negatively affected by xenophobic attacks carried out by South Africans against Nigerians.

3. Xenophobic attacks have created mistrust and unpleasant relationship between Nigeria and South Africa.

Significance of the Study

The study, exploring the implications of xenophobic attacks on Nigeria-South Africa diplomatic relations will be significant in the following ways.

Contribution to knowledge:

The study will contribute to the existing body of knowledge, which gives an insight to researchers in the field of diplomatic studies, international relations and students willing to undertake research on the sustainability of bilateral partnerships between countries because, it serves as a reference document.

Policy Implications:

The study's findings will inform policy decisions and strategies for preventing future xenophobic attacks and improving Nigeria-South Africa diplomatic relations. The study's findings will also serves as useful materials to the policy makers, governments, ambassadors and diplomats in the areas of international and national policy formulation and the provision of an enabling environment that encourages migrants to stay in their country and transact their businesses.

Practical Applications:

The study's recommendations will provide practical guidance for diplomats, policy makers and other stakeholders. The study seeks to proffer ways of strengthening Nigeria – South Africa diplomatic relations and it would be useful to heads of government, diplomats and ambassadors in proposing methods to strengthen and build strong bi - lateral and diplomatic relations with other countries.

Diplomatic implication:

This study would be significant because the findings highlight the implications of xenophobic attacks on Nigeria-South Africa diplomatic relation, thereby will serve as a guide to countries to avoid xenophobic attacks on foreigners. Furthermore, the study's findings on xenophobic attacks and Nigeria-South Africa diplomatic relation, will be useful to crisis prawn countries globally. The study would aid countries to intensify efforts in ensuring that an enabling environment is provided for migrants to peacefully live in without the fear of xenophobic attacks. This can strengthen the diplomatic relations of countries.

Scope of the Study

This study is on xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa and their implications for Nigeria-South Africa diplomatic relations: an exploratory study.2008-2024.

The study covers only two variables namely; xenophobic attacks (independent variable), while Nigeria-South Africa diplomatic relations (dependent variable). The study will establish a link between the both variables xenophobic attacks (independent variable) and Nigeria-South Africa diplomatic relations (dependent variable).

South Africa fostered xenophobic violence against foreigners living there, particularly Asian and African immigrants. Because examining the implications of South Africa's xenophobic attacks on immigrants for diplomatic relations with Nigeria would be too broad. In light of the diplomatic ties between Nigeria and South Africa, the study will concentrate only on xenophobic attacks committed by South Africans against Nigerians.

Nigeria and South Africa have bilateral relations in different areas, such as economic and trade, defense, socio-cultural and political relations which diplomatic relations fall in. Therefore, this study narrows its emphasis on diplomatic relations between the both countries.

This study narrows its emphasis to Nigeria in western region of African and South Africa in the Southern region of Africa.

This study covers the period from 2008 to 2024. Although, there had been xenophobic attacks in South Africa before 2008 but the first widely recognized xenophobic attack occurred on May 11, 2008. It had a global attention and was first recorded in May 2008.

In May 2008 and April 2015, Nigerians were not attacked in South Africa. However, Nigeria with her foreign policy objective of Africa as the Centre piece of her foreign policy began to have soured diplomatic relationship with South Africa, based on the killings of African in South Africa. The xenophobic attacks by South Africans on Nigerians and other African migrants in March 2019 with occasional and hidden attacks in 2020 further sever her diplomatic relation with South Africa.

Conceptual Framework

The two (2) basic concepts to be reviewed in this study are as follows: concept of xenophobia and concept of diplomacy.

Concept of Xenophobia

The word "xenophobia" is derived from the Greek words "Xenos" and "phobos" which means "strange" or "foreign and "fear" respectively (Crush and Ramachandran, 2009).

According to Matunhu (2008), xenophobia is an attitudinal orientation of hostility against that which is foreign to the nationals. Matunhu (2008) further described xenophobia as an irrational dislike of strangers and a xenophobe is a person who is contemptuous of foreign people. The term is typically used to describe a fear or dislike of foreigners or of people significantly different from oneself, usually in the context of visibly differentiated minorities.

Whosa and Malitani, (2014), explained that xenophobia is widespread in the townships, where immigrants are referred to as "kwerekwere" a disparaging word for African immigrants. Bond (2010) and Vale (2002), rightly assert that political xenophobic arrogance and attacks against foreigners are based and rooted in the politics that marked the apartheid and post-apartheid leadership and influenced public policy toward African foreigners that filtered in post-apartheid South Africa.

Nyamjoh (2006) further argues that "xenophobia" often encompasses some ethno-linguistic and cultural identifiers that form the basis of distrust and suspicion of the other.

In the same light, Nyamjoh (2006) argues that xenophobia in South Africa is not generally directed to all people perceived to be foreign nationals, but it is Africanized 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 Africa nations including Nigeria.

This study will describe xenophobia as a negative attitude, dislike, fear and hatred of foreigners which may or may not translate into a physical attack on foreigners.

Concept of Diplomacy

Diplomacy originated in the system of conducting relations between the states of classical Greece. It was reviewed in the medieval Europe and grew in importance in the relations between city states of renaissance Italy and the emerging state of post reformation Europe.

However, the congress of Vienne, 1815, regularized the system of permanent diplomacy as necessary and important aspects of relations between states. The great powers exchanged embassies and ambassadors, while relations involving smaller powers were conducted through, delegations and ministers. A recognized diplomatic

profession developed, characterized by the aristocracy of its members and the secrecy of its method (Adewele, 2010).

Nicolson (1963) is of the view that diplomacy "is an organized pattern of communication and negotiation between states". Watson (1984) says that "Diplomacy is the process and dialogue and negotiation by which states in a system conduct their relations and pursue their purposes by means short of war". Aaron (1962) defines Diplomacy as the "act of conducting relations with other states so as to further the national interest".

This study will adopt the definition of Brownlie (1979), he defines diplomacy as any means by which states establish and maintain mutual relations, communicate with each other and carry out politics or legal transaction in each case through their authorized agents. Diplomacy is much related to foreign policy and foreign policy here refers to the decision and actions taken by a state to pursue her interest within the global system.

Concept of Foreign Policy

Different scholars have offered different definition over time on foreign policy, but each of them tends to be limited in one way or the other. This notwithstanding, Akinboye's (1999) definition is that, foreign policy is the instrumentality by which states influence or seek to influence the external world, and to attain objectives that are in consonance with their perceived national interest is quite comprehensive.

Deutsch (1954) sees foreign policy as "the search for the preservation of a country's independence and security, the pursuit and protection of its economic interest. To Modelski (1962) it is "the system of activities evolved by communities for changing the behavior of other states and for adjusting their own activities to the international environment.

According to Holsti (1958) "foreign policy refers to the actions of states towards the external environment and the conditions usually domestic under which these actions are formulated".

This study will adopt to the definition of foreign policy as a country's response to the world outside or beyond its own frontiers and boundaries. The response may be friendly or aggressive, casual or intense, simple or complex but it is always there. Consequently, it states that Nigerian's foreign policy refers to self- interest action plans chosen by the federal government to safeguard Nigerians within the international system.

Theoretical Frameworks

In the basket of International Relations theories, there is not a single theory that satisfactorily explains xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa and their implications for Nigeria-South Africa diplomatic relations.

Three (3) theories would be united in this study, these theories are: The Relative Deprivation Theory, Realism theory and Constructivism theory in international relations.

The Relative Deprivation Theory

Relative deprivation is formally defined as an actual or perceived lack of resources required to maintain the quality of life (e.g. diet, activities, material possessions) to which various socio-economic groups or individuals within those groups have grown accustomed, or are considered to be the accepted norm within the group (Longley, 2021).

Relative deprivation refers to a situation where a group of people (or an individual as the case maybe) perceive themselves as being deprived of e.g. basic resource, basic amenities – roads, clean water, electricity, housing e.t.c. compared to other groups.

According to Longley (2021), there are key takeaways.

1. Relative deprivation is the lack of resources (e.g. money, rights, social equality) necessary to maintain

the quality of life considered typical within a given socio-economic group.

2. Relative deprivation often contribute to the rise of social change movements, such as the U.S. Civil Right Movement

3. Absolute deprivation or absolute poverty is a potentially life- threatening situation that occurs when income falls below a level adequate to maintain food and shelter

In simpler terms, relative deprivation is a feeling that you are generally "worse off" than the people you associate with and compare yourself to.

Development of the concept of relative deprivation is often attributed to American Sociologist Robert K. Merton (1957) whose study of American soldiers during World War II revealed that soldiers in the military police far less satisfied with their opportunities for promotion than regular GIS (Longley, 2021).

Realism Theory

Like many other aspects of international relations, the theory of realism finds its roots in Thucydides' "History of the Peloponnesian War." While Thucydides is not considered among the realists since the theory wasn't given a name until the twentieth century, modern scholars and theorists have made comparisons between the thought patterns and behaviors he wrote about in Ancient Greece and those of a more modern context. This lends credence to the idea that realism is, in fact, a timeless theory that is part of our history. (Ndisc, 2022).

Other writers who helped develop the theory of realism include Niccolo Mechiavelli, Thomas Hobbes, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and Hans J. Morgenthau. (Ndisc, 2022).

Since World War II, realism has been considered the most dominant school of thought, and it remains an ever-present in twenty-first century politics. The theory of realism posits five basic outlines:

1. International politics are anarchic;

2. Sovereign states are principal actors in international politics;

3. States are rational unitary actors acting under their own national interests;

4. The state's primary goals are its own national security and survival;

National power and capabilities are a key litmus test for relationships between states. (Ndisc, 2022). In summation, realism says nation-states (or 'states') are the main characters in the unfolding tale of international relations. Other characters exist—individual people and businesses, in particular—but they have limited power. In times of war, states will speak and act as one with their own national interests in mind. (Ndisc, 2022).

Realism theory emphasizes competitive and conflictive characteristics of international politics. The theory opposes idealism and liberalism, both of which favour world peace and cooperation. (Nesiama. E et'al, 2022)

Nesiama. E et'al (2022), further argued that, the primary actors in the international system, according to realists, are states, which are frequently concerned with their national security and must act in pursuit of their own national interests.

Constructivism theory (in international relations)

Nicholas G. Onuf introduced Constructivism in IR with his book: World of Our Making (1989), (Ogunnoiki, O and Adeyemi, A (2019). However, it was after the dissolution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (hereafter USSR) in 1991, which marked the end of the ideological struggle and arms race between the capitalist Western bloc led by the United States (hereafter US) and the communist Eastern bloc under the leadership of the USSR. Alexander Wendt developed the theory in his article: Anarchy is what States make of it: The Social Construction

of Power and Politics (1992) and in his book: Social Theory of International Politics (1999), (Ogunnoiki, O and Adeyemi, A (2019). Other notable scholars that contributed to the development of Constructivism are: Emanuel Alder, Friedrich Kratochwil, John G. Ruggie and Peter Katzenstein, (Ogunnoiki, O and Adeyemi, A (2019).

As an IR theory, constructivism, also called social constructivism, adopted the sociological approach in explaining international politics as well as in critiquing traditional IR theories – Realism and Liberalism. Contrary to Kenneth Waltz and other neo-realists' conviction that the structure of the anarchical international system is determined by the uneven distribution of materialistic capabilities – 'power' (e.g. stockpile of nuclear warheads), (Ogunnoiki, O and Adeyemi, A (2019).

In international relations (IR), constructivism is a social theory that asserts that significant aspects of international relations are shaped by ideational factors. The most important ideational factors are those that are collectively held; these collectively held beliefs construct the interests and identities of actors. (Finnemore, M and Sikkink (2001).

Assumptions of Constructivism Theory in International Relations

The Constructivists strongly believe that the structure of international relations is a 'social construction' via an inter-subjective process between States producing and reproducing structures of shared knowledge over time (MacDonald, 2015 cited in Ogunnoiki, O and Adeyemi, A (2019). In other words, the structure of international relations is a product of States social interaction. It is from the social relationship of States that they derive a shared knowledge of each other, (Ogunnoiki, O and Adeyemi, A (2019).

This shared knowledge however is not permanent but changes over time.

In a nutshell, Constructivism looks at how ideas and norms shape the identities, interests, actions and behaviour of States in the international system.

Constructivism in International Relations introduces a valuable perspective by analyzing how social constructs influence state interactions and global governance. It underscores the significance of normative power in shaping international norms and behaviors, thereby facilitating a deeper understanding of global politics. (educationalwave.com/pros-and-cons-of-constructivism-in-international-relations/#Key_Takeaways)

Relevance of the theory to the study

Since the post-apartheid era began in South Africa in the year 1994, several African countries have established and sustained diplomatic, economic and socio-cultural ties with the rainbow nation. However, the one too many targeted killings of their nationals in South Africa have created a shared knowledge of South Africa as a xenophobic country. This shared knowledge has immensely shaped the action of the affected African countries, one of which is Nigeria, in their diplomatic relations with South Africa. Unlike some Southern African countries e.g. Malawi which has evacuated a good number of its citizens from South Africa, Nigeria in recent past made diplomatic moves vis-à-vis the reoccurring xenophobic attacks without severing her relations with South Africa.

In addition, as a result of xenophobic attacks on Nigerians by South Africans, the Nigerian and South African governments has strengthen their diplomatic relations and resolved the tensed conflict between the both countries through a dialogue.

As a result of the above, the study will apply Constructivism theory in international relations to properly interrogate the implications of xenophobic attacks on Nigerians by South Africans for Nigeria- South Africa diplomatic relations.

Summary of the Gaps in Literature

From our review of literature, it can clearly be deduced that there is a growing body of published and unpublished works on xenophobic attacks and Nigeria – South Africa relations.

Such works considered issues pertaining the impacts of xenophobia on Nigerian by South African. Some dealt

with the nature of Nigeria – South Africa relations. Other, dealt with the causes of xenophobia in South Africa.

In spite of the huge number of literatures written by scholars of both national and international reputation on xenophobia in South Africa. Yet, the aspect of the implication of xenophobic attacks on Nigerians by South Africans for diplomatic relations among the two states had said to be neglected. This obviously became a thing of concern within the academic genre which necessitated the need for interrogation and analysis. In this view, the study seeks to fill that gap in literature.

Research Methods

The research design used for this study is descriptive design which seeks to describe the existing status of what is being investigated. The descriptive approach involves the normal gathering analysis and interpretation of a set of data so as to explain the underlying factors that triggered the research.

The descriptive research adopted in this research gives a picture of the situation of how xenophobic attacks has affected the diplomatic relation between Nigeria and South Africa; it is primarily concerned with the collection of data for the purposes of describing and interpreting the implication of xenophobic attacks on Nigeria-South Africa diplomatic relations with the central purpose of finding solutions.

Basically, this study utilized both the primary and secondary data. The secondary data were sourced through documentary sources like political science and international relations text books, political science and international relations journals, reviews in political science and international relations, newspapers and political science and international relations articles from the internet. Under the primary method, the researcher will use interview method to collect primary data for the research. The interview method was chosen because of its advantage in gathering information directly from the sample population.

The population of the study are drawn from selected staff of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs: African Affairs Department, Division of Southern Africa, Selected staff of Nigerians in Diaspora Commission (NIDCOM) and selected staff of South African High Commission.

The number of staff interviewed in Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs: African Affairs Department, Division of Southern Africa are eight (8), the number of staff interviewed in Nigerians in Diaspora Commission are eight (8), and the number of staff to be interviewed in South African High Commission are eight (8).

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Following a detailed and robust investigation carried out in the cause of this research, interesting and immense revelations have been made from interviews conducted with the respondents that are familiar with the activities of xenophobia and its implications for Nigeria-South Africa diplomatic relations. All these findings are discussed through the guidance of the research objectives and propositions respectively.

The first objective, to interrogate the basis of xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa. The study discovers that, the basis of xenophobic attacks on Nigerian by South Africa ranges from historical and psychological factors, economic factors (competition for limited resources, unemployment and poverty), political and institutional factors to social factors. The findings validate research proposition one that states that, the basis of xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa is hinged on historical perspectives, dominance and exploitation of available resources.

The study discovers that, apartheid and colonialism experiences in South Africa has contributed to xenophobic issues in the country. Apartheid, which lasted from 1948 to 1994 was a system of institutionalized racial segregation and discrimination enforced by the White (apartheid) South African government. During this period, the majority black population was subjected to systematic oppression and denied basic rights and opportunity.

This act over the years has made it almost impossible for an average South African to accommodate foreigners

due to the fear in them. They see foreigners as threats and competitors. The legacy of apartheid has had a profound impact on South Africa society, and xenophobia is one of the many complex issues that emerged in its aftermath. To a great extent, the legacy of apartheid and colonialism has created a complex and sensitive history, which contribute to feelings of resentment, anger, and frustration among South Africans towards foreigners.

In addition to this, the study discovers that experience of trauma and stress, particularly among South Africans who have experienced violence, poverty, and inequality during apartheid and colonial eras, contributes to aggressive and violent behaviour of South Africans towards foreigners.

The finding corroborates with (Bhengu, 2015), this self-hate syndrome has built up over the years, as a result of the impact of colonization, apartheid and the general violent history of South Africa on the psyche of the population of South Africa

In a similar perspective, the study also discovers that, widespread poverty in South Africa has led to frustration and desperation among locals. Nigerians are often blamed for the lack of economic opportunities. Nigerians are scapegoated for the economic challenges faced by locals, leading to xenophobic violence and intimidation. In addition, high unemployment rates in South Africa have created a sense of competition among locals for scarce jobs. Nigerians are often perceived as taking jobs away from locals. Nigerians are often seen as competing with locals for scarce resources such as housing, healthcare, and education.

In the same light, the research also discovers that, Nigerians are often perceived as exacerbating existing inequalities which results to Locals often misattribute their economic woes to the presence of Nigerians, rather than addressing the underlying structural issues. In addition, the assumption that Nigerians are more successful or have more opportunities, along with South Africa's extreme economic inequality, has led to feeling of relative deprivation and resentment by the locals.

The finding corroborates Ijisakin and Fakanbi (2019), links poverty as a cause of xenophobia in South Africa, they say tentatively that, poverty increase xenophobia attacks, this hostility towards the out groups can be placed at the door of economic deprivation which is a precursor of poverty. Poverty begets frustration and by extension aggression.

The findings also corroborates Anon cited in Naidu et'al (2015) writes that the cause of xenophobic violence in 2015 xenophobic attacks in Durban was when a shop owner in Isipingo fired local employees, and replaced his work force with cheaper, foreign workers. The shop owner's action ignited the anger of locals who already perceived African foreigners as competitors for their jobs. Nell (2009), one of the reasons given for these pointless attacks on strangers, is that refugees from other countries take the job opportunities and women of South African citizens.

The above findings validate research proposition one that states that, the basis of xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa is hinged on historical perspectives, dominance and exploitation of available resources.

In addition to the above assertion, the study discovers that nationalist rhetoric, populist politics, and the scapegoating of immigrants for socioeconomic problems were the main causes of the 2019 xenophobic attacks in South Africa, which claimed over 12 lives. Populist politicians frequently use anti-immigrant sentiments to garner support and votes, which in turn fuels xenophobia and fosters violence against Nigerians.

In a similar light with the argument above, findings of the research also notes that institutional factors are one of the causes of the xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa. Because Nigerians in South Africa do not have access to justice, there may be a sense of impunity that encourages illicit behaviour and prolongs xenophobic violence. Those who incite and carry out acts of xenophobic violence are encouraged to target and assault Nigerians in South Africa since they are not arrested or prosecuted. A culture of xenophobic violence is fostered by inadequate policing and weak law enforcement.

The above findings validate the first research objective to interrogate the basis of xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa. Therefore, this finding agrees with the assumption in research proposition one (1)

that states that, the basis of xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa is hinged on historical perspectives, dominance and exploitation of available resources.

In accordance with the second research objective, to examine the implication of xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa for Nigeria-South Africa diplomatic relations. The study finds that political, economic and socio-cultural diplomacies were negatively affected in the relationship between Nigeria and South Africa due to xenophobic attacks on Nigerian by South Africa.

The study reviewed that, the diplomatic implications of xenophobic attacks on Nigerians by South Africans have been severe and far-reaching. Xenophobic attacks have led to a significant deterioration in relations between the two countries affecting the bilateral ties, with Nigeria recalling its ambassador to South Africa in 2019.

The relationship between South Africa and Nigeria deteriorated significantly as a result of South Africa's xenophobic attacks on Nigerians. This led to strict visa regulations and policies, visa and travel restrictions for tourists, businesspeople, students, and those seeking better opportunities in both countries. Xenophobic attacks on Nigerian by South Africa have negative impact on the diplomatic relations between the two countries. Xenophobic attacks had a significant diplomatic implications, affecting not only the bilateral relationship but also regional and global stability. The crisis had regional implications, affecting the stability and security of neighbouring countries.

The study discovered that, the diplomatic implications of xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa have been widespread, affecting not only the bilateral relationship but also economic diplomacy between the two countries. The findings illustrated that; the attacks have led to a decline in trade and investment between Nigeria and South Africa, many Nigerian businesses in South Africa were forced to shut down, resulting in a loss of revenue and jobs. The attacks have also led to a decline in tourism and travel between the two countries.

The finding also corroborates with the vanguard newspaper report (2019) which reported the murdered of Mrs. Elizabeth Ndubuisi-Chukwu, Deputy Director-General, Chartered Insurance Institute of Nigeria on 13 June, 2019, in a South African hotel while she was there for the African Insurance Organisation conference. Which is one amongst many such killing of Nigerians in hotels in South Africa.

The research also revealed that, economic diplomacy between the both countries were negatively affect due to xenophobic attacks on Nigerians by South Africans. The study notes that, an estimated N1.5 trillion in business relationships between the two African economic giants would eventually affected by the simmering rivalry between them, due to xenophobic attacks on Nigerians by South African. South Africa export cars, wine and paperboard to Nigeria, among other goods, Nigeria is a major supplier of oil and gas to South Africa. Attacks by xenophobes on Nigerians in South Africa have had far-reaching effects for the two countries' bilateral relationship as well as sociocultural diplomacy.

The attacks have damaged cultural relations between Nigeria and South Africa, undermining the shared cultural heritage and values of the two countries, which led to a decline in cultural exchange programs and people-to-people relations between Nigeria and South Africa. The xenophobic attacks have led to a loss of cultural diversity in South Africa, as many Nigerian businesses and cultural institutions have been forced to close. The xenophobic attacks have had a negative impact on regional cultural integration efforts in Africa, undermining the principles of African solidarity and cultural cooperation.

The finding validate research objective two (2) to examine the implication of xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa for Nigeria-South Africa diplomatic relations. Therefore this finding also agrees with the assumption in proposition two (2) which states that, Nigeria-South Africa diplomatic ties have been negatively affected by xenophobic attacks carried out by South Africans against Nigerians.

The finding also corroborates with (Abdulazizi, 2019) reveals that the Buhari – led government announced that vice president Yemi Osinbanjo, who was to be at the World Economic Forum (WEF) on Africa, will not be attending the forum which took place in Cape Town from September 04 – 06, 2019. Though the federal government boycotted the WEF on Africa, some notable Nigerians were in attendance – Former Minister of

Education, Mrs. Oby Ezekwesili and the chairman of Zenith Bank, Mr. Jim Ovia (who later withdrew from the Forum on September 05, 2019). Ogunnoiki (2019) further analyzes the level at which xenophobic attacks on Nigeria has disintegrated the diplomatic relations of both countries, he said, September 05, 2019, the minister of Information and Culture, Alhaji Lai Mohammed in a press conference at Abuja, announced that in addition to boycotting the WEF on Africa, Nigeria was recalling its High commissioner to South Africa, Ambassador Kabiru Bala (which did not happen in the real sense of the world).

This also shows a link between the independent variable and dependent variable. According to the third research objective, to investigate the extent at which xenophobic attacks on Nigerians by South Africans affect Nigeria-South Africa diplomatic relations. The study also discovers that South Africa's xenophobic attacks on Nigerians led to a mistrustful and unpleasant diplomatic relationship between Nigeria and South Africa, a decline in the spirit of African brotherhood, and an externally negative image of South Africa as a xenophobic state. All of these factors influence and shape Nigeria's diplomatic relations and policies towards South Africa.

The finding corroborates with the assumption of the Constructivism theory in international relations that is adopted by the study. Constructivism theory in international relations looks at how ideas and norms shape the identities, interests, actions and behaviour of States in the international system. The finding also corroborates with Finnemore, M and Sikkink (2001) argued that, in international relations (IR), constructivism is a social theory that asserts that significant aspects of international relations are shaped by ideational factors. The most important ideational factors are those that are collectively held; these collectively held beliefs construct the interests and identities of actors.

Nigeria and South Africa have maintained diplomatic, economic, and sociocultural ties since the end of apartheid in 1994. However, the numerous targeted killings of Nigerians in South Africa have led to a shared perception of South Africa as a xenophobic nation, which has greatly influenced and shaped Nigeria's actions in their diplomatic relations with South Africa.

This also shows a link between the independent variable and dependent variable. The finding validate research objective three (3) to investigate the extent at which xenophobic attacks on Nigerians by South Africans affect Nigeria- South Africa diplomatic relations. Therefore this finding also agrees with the assumption in proposition there (3) which states that, xenophobic attacks have created mistrust and unpleasant relationship between Nigeria and South Africa.

SUMMARY

This study is an examination of the implications of xenophobic attacks on Nigerian by South Africans for Nigeria – South Africa diplomatic relations. This study views xenophobia as a negative attitude, dislike, fear and hatred of foreigners which may or may not translate into a physical attack on foreigners. Since the dismantling of apartheid regime in 1994, the diplomatic relations between Nigeria and South Africa have been characterised as undoubtedly unstable and at best chaotic. Their diplomatic relations, defense, trade, and sociocultural relationships were marked by competition, cooperation, and confrontational attributes. The basis of both countries' cooperation stems from their trade and commercial ties with South Africa, while the causes of their conflict and competition may be traced back to the legacy of apartheid and struggles for leadership both within the African continent and internationally.

The study is anchoured on constructivism theory in international relations (I.R). Nicholas Onuf introduced "constructivism" in international relations theory in 1989. Alexander Wendt, an American political scientist, later popularized and expanded the theory in 1992 and 1999. Constructivism theory in international relations looks at how ideas and norms shape the identities, interests, actions and behaviour of States in the international system.

The research design used for this study is descriptive design which seeks to describe the existing status of what is being investigated. The descriptive approach involves the normal gathering analysis and interpretation of a set of data so as to explain the underlying factors that triggered the research. Primary data provides first-hand information in the study, then secondary data complements the data from the primary source.

The study discovers that, the basis of xenophobic attacks on Nigerian by South Africa ranges from historical and psychological factors, economic factors (competition for limited resources, unemployment and poverty), political and institutional factors to social factors.

The study finds that political, economic and socio-cultural diplomacies were negatively affected in the relationship between Nigeria and South Africa due to xenophobic attacks on Nigerian by South Africa. Furthermore, the study discovers that South Africa's xenophobic attacks on Nigerians led to a mistrustful and unpleasant diplomatic relationship between Nigeria and South Africa, a decline in the spirit of African brotherhood, and an externally negative image of South Africa as a xenophobic state. All of these factors influence and shape Nigeria's diplomatic relations and policies towards South Africa.

The final findings of the research indicate diplomacy, dialogue and mutual understanding are the measures put in place by Nigeria and South Africa government to strengthen the diplomatic relations between the both countries.

CONCLUSION

Clearly, the relationship between South Africa and Nigeria since 1994 can be characterised as undoubtedly unstable and at best chaotic. Their diplomatic relations, defence, trade, and sociocultural relationships were marked by competition, cooperation, and confrontational attributes. Despite the enormous contribution Nigeria has made to African development and the fight towards dismantling of the apartheid government in South Africa, the South African government still wants to dominate the continent.
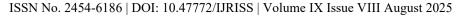
African states that supported South Africa during its apartheid struggles, unfortunately, have been victim of various forms of abuse in South Africa. This has affected her diplomatic relations with Nigeria negatively. Meanwhile, hard-working Nigerian established businesses in both the formal and informal sectors of the economy, creating jobs for many South Africans, but they became the target of xenophobic attacks, their businesses were destroyed and their lives lost.

Consequently, to prevent xenophobic violence against Nigerians in South Africa and the extra-judicial killings of Nigerians in South Africa, the government of South Africa needs to arrest, prosecute and convict those behind the xenophobic attacks, including politician, traditional leaders, police officers and immigration officers that collaborate, support and instigate xenophobic violence in South Africa.

The South African government to bring to an end any forms of stigmatization and accusation of Nigerians as criminals without trial in South Africa. In order to tackle poverty and provide job opportunities among its people, the South African government must take responsibility and uphold effective governance. However, the Nigerian government should take responsibility and ensure good governance to create jobs and eradicate poverty among her citizen, because Nigerians are frequently forced to migrate abroad in pursuit of better opportunities due to the country's poor governance.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. In an effort to improve the diplomatic ties between Nigeria and South Africa and minimise the constant feuding and xenophobic attacks that Nigerians and other Africans living in South Africa face, the following measures are recommended:
2. They should be high level diplomatic engagement between Nigeria and South Africa as a way out of strengthening and restoring their unbecoming diplomatic relation that had existed between the both countries.
3. The government of South Africa should help individuals from Nigeria that has sustained losses to restore their businesses that had emerged from the attacks.
4. Awareness regarding the true international rights of immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers is necessary for both South African governments and citizens.
5. In South Africa, politicians and political leaders, public officials, public figures, and traditional leaders

must abstain from making inflammatory or provocative statements that could incite hatred and encourage xenophobic violence.

6. An early warning signal system is required to keep an eye on South African sociopolitical developments and function as a warning system for potential violence in the future.

7. The South Africa government should employ effective policies and programmes to prevent and curtail xenophobic violence and to educate South Africans on the implications of xenophobia on an individual and the image of the country (South Africa) in general.

8. To prevent xenophobic violence against Nigerians and immigrant in South Africa and the extra-judicial killings of Nigerians and immigrant in South Africa, the government of South Africa needs to arrest, prosecute and convict those behind the xenophobic attacks, including politician, traditional leaders, police officers and immigration officers that collaborate, support and instigate xenophobic violence in South Africa.

9. Strict measures must be taken to reduce poverty and the high unemployment rate by providing South African youth with access to appropriate formal education and economic empowerment initiatives.

10. South African should be educated on the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), which states that no one shall be subjected to discrimination on the basis of their sex, race, or identity. The South African government must uphold its international obligation and responsibility to protect the rights of foreign nationals, refugees, and asylum seekers within its borders.

11. Nigeria and South Africa should have a suitable Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) outlining expectations for immigrants in both countries as well as how they should be treated. Any infractions of the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the two countries must result in a permanent fine and other sanctions.

12. Training or retraining on the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), which ensures safety and protection for immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers, is necessary for South African police, immigration officers, and other security services.

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