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XENOPHOBIC ATTACKS ON FOREIGN NATIONALS AND ITS IMPACTS ON AFRICAN ECONOMY 2013- 2018

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Introduction

Xenophobia is not a new global phenomenon. It is as old as human migration, dating back to early centuries of human existence. While the phenomenon is complex, its manifestation has a context. In most cases, it is driven by global economic forces that have exacerbated inequalities among people and nations, increased global poverty and marginalised the majority of people in both developing and developed countries. Indeed, the glaring economic and development disparities between countries globally mean that migration remains an on-going process that cannot be stopped. However, most governments have not developed concrete responses to this global phenomenon, such as establishing mechanisms for integrating migrant communities into their local

Abstract

This paper examines the impacts of xenophobia on the economic development of African countries 2013-2018. Using the secondary source of data collection, it was discovered that xenophobia is not solely African problem, other western countries have passed through this ugly trend which seemed to have negatively affected their economy. However, Africa currently appears as a poster child of this problem. Traces of these attacks have long existed since 1960s with countries such as Ghana, Nigeria and other African nations raising agitation against foreigners and occasioned by expulsion of millions of migrants backs to their countries on the account that they are taking over jobs and businesses in their own countries as well as committing crimes of

different categories. The paper adopted the theory of ethnic violence which ex-rayed the impact of xenophobia as it leads to serious threat to lives and properties, hindrance to business activities on migrants, food insecurity. This has resulted to fear amongst foreigners as well as retard development. It also in turn affects cordial relationship between African states and the Western countries. In view of these, the paper recommends that, concerted efforts should be put in place to prevent the frequent occurrence of xenophobia in the region by the African Union (AU) which is saddled with the mandate of promoting human rights fostering African unity, furthering development and ensuring peace and security in the region. The government of affected states should arrest and prosecute those involved in this crime against foreigners so that it will serve as deterrent to others.

Keywords: *Xenophobia, Foreign National, Economy, Migrants, Mass Expulsion.*

economies. Furthermore, they have not addressed adequately the issues of income inequalities, skewed economic development and poverty, which are critical factors that fuel tensions between local hosts and foreign nationals. This has been the case in Africa, Europe and North America (between Mexico and United States of America). As a result, governments around the world have not been able to respond proactively to xenophobic crises; instead their responses have been ad hoc, incoherent and largely out-of-touch with realities.

Recently, the issue of xenophobia has become a paradoxical result of globalisation's ideal of free trade and global human rights commitments (Njamnjoh, 2006). While governments often pledge openly to ideals of common humanity and commit to fostering free movements of goods and services, national immigration laws speak differently in response to the local communities' insecurities about foreign population influx and the consequences of such influx on access to social security and welfare. In Europe, the treatment of migrants crossing the Mediterranean Sea from Africa, the Middle East and Eastern Europe, as well as the constant writhe by Western European states over the Strasbourg court's immigration policy decisions, evince this paradox and demonstrate the distant reality between international commitment and national implementation.

In Africa, this paradox is equally evident. Colonially imposed borders have become testaments of identity since the independence of many African states. The narrative of the 'foreign-other' which was not an essential component of pre-colonial societal orderings (Arthur 2000: 19) has become a powerful rhetoric for determining access to social security and welfare in immigration policies, social classifications and behavioural patterns, this narrative has resonated. While South Africa has emerged in recent years as the poster-child of the narrative of the 'foreign-other', it has not been alone in this identity crisis. Since the 1950s, occurrences in several African states have perpetuated this narrative. While much focus have been granted to the obligations of individual states in respecting human rights within its borders, little attention has been paid to the effect of xenophobia on the African economy. It is within this gap that this paper is located to interrogate the impacts of xenophobia on the African economy 2013 - 2018.

Conceptual Clarification.

Xenophobia: The concept of xenophobia is often attached to the extreme hatred directed to those who are not citizens of a country; that is, the dislike or hatred of one's nationality by the other (Ramphela, 2008; Sichone, 2008; Akinola, 2014). From a human right perspective, this deep dislike of non-nationals by nationals of a recipient state, including its manifestation, is abusive violation that is unconstitutional (South African Human Rights Commission, 1998). Wicker in Sichone (2008: 257) defines xenophobia as "one among several possible forms of reactions generated by anomic situation in the societies of modern states". In this context, South Africa is cited as a good candidate for society in a condition of anomie. Central to the escalation of xenophobia is the individual vulnerability to economic and political deprivation and underdevelopment. This in turn breeds unemployment, low income and declines standards of living (Akinola, 2014). Nyamjoh (2006: 49) argues that xenophobia in South Africa is not generally directed to 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. Owing to this multifaceted character of xenophobia, this paper utilises the definition of xenophobia formulated at the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance in Iran (2001) as the foundation of its hypothesis. They

defined xenophobia as, "attitudes, prejudices and behaviour that reject, exclude and often vilify persons, based on the perception that they are outsiders or foreigners to the community, society or national identity.

Foreign National: A foreign national is a person who is not a citizen of the host country in which he or she is residing or temporarily sojourning. For example, a foreign national in Canada is someone who is neither a Canadian citizen nor a permanent resident of Canada. However, in the European Union, a foreign national is a third country national, i.e. someone who is not a citizen of any of the member state of the European Union.

Theoretical framework

This paper adopts the theory of ethnic violence. Horowitz, a Professor at Duke University and a leading academic on ethnic conflict, has developed a theory of ethnic violence that can be used when examining xenophobia. He says that both external contextual causes in addition to immediate locality-bound causes need to be considered when looking at violent outbursts. Locality-bound causes imply local and short-term issues and therefore also imply spontaneity and the deep-seated emotions associated with outbreaks of violence (Horowitz, 2001).

According to this theory violence against foreigners would emerge under very specific structural conditions. This is likely to emerge where there is little fear that the police will protect the victims; in other words police ineffectiveness or bias favours the perpetrators of violence. Furthermore, the authorities implicitly condone the actions of the perpetrators, the police do not act against them, and the perpetrators do not fear reprisals from the targets of the violence. Fluctuations in government policies also threaten the position of the instigators and these policies could push them even further down the social ladder.

Horowitz also explains who is likely to conduct a riot and how this will develop. Lethal ethnic riots, which is how some describe the May 2008 riots, are attacks by one ethnic group on another group. Frequently the riots are conducted by a lower-ranking group who attack a more successful higher-ranking group. A group is motivated by fear of being pushed into a dangerous position and having their social status being reduced. This fear then can lead to extreme physical harm to people whom they believe to be the cause of their (potential) decline in status. The targets are selected on the basis of the group

they are perceived to belong to, on the basis of proximity, level of threat and (perceived) inability to retaliate. The aim of these attacks is to kill and to injure. Unlike genocidal violence, however, these attacks are not aimed at eliminating a particular group, but at rectifying perceived grievances regarding social status. Violence becomes an end in itself and a way of sending a message to the victims (Horowitz, 2001).

These types of events usually follow a particular sequence. Firstly, there is a particular precipitant which initiates the first violent outburst. This may be perceived threats from the target group. This is followed by an unsettling event, most often in the form of low-intensity violence. Thirdly, there is a lull, and during this lull rumours are generated and spread. These rumours are not based on reality; they suggest that the target group is a threat and in this way justify violence against this group. Fourthly, we have the extreme form of violence. This violence often takes the form of riots and it targets especially male victims, who may be murdered, mutilated or tortured etc. Mutilation of victims helps express contempt for the enemy and (for the attacker) retrieves honour. The final 'stage' of the riot is when the violence spreads to other locations and the similar events recur, often in a copycat fashion (Horowitz, 2001).

This description Horowitz gives of a riot is similar to the xenophobic events in May 2008 in South Africa. This is illustrated by a quote from an instigator after the events in 2008: "Government is fighting against us, employers are fighting against us and foreigners are fighting against us, that is why we fight against them because they are nearer; they don't support our struggle..." (HSRC 2008).

It can be seen in this quote that this particular instigator blames the government and the employers for "fighting against" them – as well as blaming the foreigner. This goes back to Horowitz's point: he says that the violence happens for fear of receiving a reduced social status. The instigator explains that the foreigners are selected on account of their relative proximity. Furthermore, the instigators would heavily outnumber the foreigners and therefore would not fear retaliation. There is also evidence in this quote pointing to external causes, "the government" level, and to more local or immediate causes: "employers" and "foreigners", which Horowitz argues are needed for an ethnic riot to take place.

Causes of Xenophobia in Africa.

In this contemporary era where the world is increasingly becoming a global village and globalisation transcends national boundaries, the inflow of migrants into certain countries has increased. This has alerted both locals and foreigners alike, the sense of belonging, with the aspect of citizenship exacerbating their insecurities and anxieties into violent xenophobic practices. The spread of xenophobic and/or Afrophobic attacks are directed to foreigners on the account that, they take over jobs and businesses in their own countries as well as commit crimes of different categories. This occasionally makes it compulsory for thousands of migrants to return to their various countries.

The major factor responsible for the escalation of xenophobia in Africa is the issue of individual vulnerability to economic, political deprivation and underdevelopment. This in turn breeds unemployment, low income and declines standard of living (Akinola, 2014). Nyamjoh (2006: 49) argues that xenophobia in South Africa is not generally directed to 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. In South Africa for instance, xenophobia variably manifests itself through tribalism and ethnic superiority, racism and sexism pathologies (Moosa, 2008). According to Landau (2005: 4), xenophobia takes forms such as “discriminatory attitudes towards non-nationals” whereas Musuva (2014: 382) notes that xenophobia takes place within the context of crime, poverty, inequality and unemployment. The apartheid system of divide and rule has through the years planted seeds of hatred within and between tribal groups, which has now reached maturation through xenophobia.

Taking a cue from Akinola’s submission, Khamango (2010) argued that, the link between lack of development and xenophobia by referring to growing economic inequalities among African states and the lack of access to employment. Government has failed to implement policies that will create jobs and grow the African economy. There is also widespread disillusionment with a government that is unable to significantly change the lives of the marginalised and minority groups, such as African foreigners and the poor, in such a way that provides tangible evidence of better living standards (Adam and Moodley, 2015).

Additionally, a deeper phenomenon being witnessed, which is associated with violence against foreign national, is that of self-hate syndrome. This describes an attitude of envy by especially indigene against foreigners (Adam and Moodley, 2015). Strong retail business rivalry between local and foreign shop owners is common and is associated with the perception that foreigners are more successful at running businesses than indigene. According to Aubrey Matshiqi, a well-known political analyst, this self-hate syndrome has built up over the years, as a result of the impact of colonisation and the general violent history of Africa on the psyche of the population (Bhengu, 2015). This syndrome is further exacerbated by the belief and practice that employers pay foreigners less than locals, and so foreigners are being employed in jobs that are rightfully those of indigene. The most obvious motives advanced for the socio-economic causes of Xenophobia are unemployment, poverty and inadequate or lack of service delivery which are mostly politically attributed. Unemployment constitutes a social problem pertaining to a situation of not having a job which fuelled xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals in most African states.

Finally, xenophobic attack on migrants in Africa and South Africa in particular is the fact that it is following a path of racism, directed more often than not, against African migrants. This insidious hatred against foreigners by locals emanates from factors such as the fear of losing their social status and identity; the conviction of intimidation that foreigners pose to citizens' economic success; and feelings of superiority (Solomon, 2008: 2 & 5). This widespread fear of foreigners is very strong in South Africa, as demonstrated in the 2008 attacks that began in Gauteng and Western Cape, the 2009 attacks in Limpopo, Mpumalanga and in the Western Cape, which resulted to many deaths and displaced a large number of people rendering them homeless. In the case of the 2009 violent outbreak in the Western Cape, specifically in De Doorns, thousands of foreigners, mostly Zimbabwean refugees, following confrontations with local residents who claimed they were robbing them of seasonal jobs on farms in the area, were forced to abandon their shacks where they had been living (I-Net,2009).

Historical Manifestation of Xenophobia in some African States Since 1960s

Xenophobia is not a new phenomenon in Africa. It's also not country-specific problem; many African states have passed through this ugly trend against foreign nationals since 1960s. However, South Africa has emerged in recent

years as the poster-child of the narrative. The following African states passed through this ugly trend;

Ghana: The first African country that started the issue of xenophobia is Ghana. In November 1969, forty-nine days after becoming Ghana's Prime Minister, Kofi Busia introduced the Aliens Compliance Order (the Aliens Order) which sought to expel undocumented aliens. 'The Aliens Order required aliens who lacked work permit to get them within a period of two weeks or leave the country' (Gocking, 2005). Prior to this time, a general perception of foreigners as the cause of 'large-scale unemployment that had befallen Ghana' had begun to emerge in the country (Aremu and Ajayi, 2014). Most of the foreign population were from other West African countries such as Nigeria, Burkina Faso, Togo and Côte d'Ivoire. In 1931, Nigerians constituted the majority of foreigners in Ghana. Their success in running businesses in Ghana led to an influx of other Nigerians to the country. Tensions began to rise in Ghana with the increasing entry of foreigners and the dire socio-economic conditions of Ghanaians. In response to increased pressure from Ghanaian citizens, certain measures were initiated including the Aliens Order and the Ghanaian Business Promotion (GBP). The GBP sought to reserve certain businesses for Ghanaians (Asamoah, 2014: 187). According to Asamoah (2014: 187), to facilitate Ghanaian business promotion, aliens would be allowed to engage in certain economic activity only if they put in capital of determined amounts.' Opong (2002: 26) notes that the Aliens Order 'led to the mass exodus of between 900,000 to 1,200,000 individuals from Ghana.' Ghanaians praised the order as a nationalistic initiative to ensure jobs for Ghanaians (Aremu and Ajayi, 2014).

Uganda: In 1972, Uganda expelled thousands of Asians from the country in the face of worsening economic conditions (Escribà-Folch and Wright, 2015). News reports (BBC, 1972) confirm Hansen's (2000: 198) recount that 'all Asians from Britain, India, Pakistan, Kenya, Tanzania and Zambia were told they had three months to leave Uganda.' Following the expulsions, the businesses owned by these foreigners were expropriated, however, the economic downturn of the country was not salvaged (Stokes, 2009).

Gabon: According to Henckaerts (1995:16), in 1978, Gabon took a decision to expel all Beninese from the country. The decision was premised on an alleged aspersion on President Bongo and the people of Gabon by President Kérékou of Benin in July 1978 (Gray, 1998). Fifteen months before this time,

in May 1977, Kérékou had accused officials of Gabon of a foiled mercenary coup that sought to oust him from power and told African leaders that he would consider anyone who attended the regional summit in Libreville a traitor (Gray 1998: 396). In reaction, Gabon banned Beninese from coming into the country. Gray (1998: 396) notes that, 'the person of Bongo and the image of the state were submerged in the minds of many Gabonese citizens.' In July 1978, when President Kérékou restated his accusation before Bongo at the Summit of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in Sudan, President Bongo became enraged (Gray, 1998). In communication with the Chairman of the OAU, President Bongo stated that 'the anger of an entire people, which had been controlled for a whole year, literally exploded after the verbal vulgarities and insanities uttered at the OAU' (Gray, 1998). Subsequently, about 9, 000 Beninese were expelled from the country (Henckaerts, 1995). According to Henckaerts (1995:17), 'the sole factor of being a Benin national triggered the expulsion decisions without an examination of individual behaviour'. Gray (1998: 397) notes that although the expulsion had implications on the economy and on the education system of Gabon, 'the Gabonese state was able to avert more serious political unrest through an exercise in "citizenship promotion"'.

Nigeria: However, due to the economic down turn in the early 1980s following a period of economic boom in the 1970s, Nigeria expelled over 2 million foreigners from the country in 1983 (Aremu, 2013). More than a million of these foreigners were Ghanaians (Otoghile and Obakhedo 2011). In addition to the decline in economic conditions, another key reason given for the expulsion of foreigners from the country was the involvement of foreigners in crime in the country (Aremu, 2013). In 1985, another wave of expulsion was carried out in Nigeria, at this time it was tag "*Ghana must go*" which about 300,000 Ghanaians were expelled from the country (Otoghile and Obakhedo, 2011). Up till today, the brand of bags used by Ghanaians to pack their goods is called "*Ghana must go*" everywhere in Nigeria. This is because Ghanaians were taking over minor jobs like tailoring, wedding and fabrications, carpentry and joinery, barbing and hair dressings, bricks mouldings, teaching etc, couple with the worsening economic conditions constituted the basis for this expulsion (Otoghile and Obakhedo, 2011).

Côte d'Ivoire: Due to the declining economic situation in Côte d'Ivoire in the 1990s, former President Bédié propagated the idea of *ivoirité* which sought

to weave Ivoirian identity into political and economic access (Kimou, 2013; Wiafe-Amoako, 2015). The institutionalisation of Ivoirian identity fuelled resentments against foreigners and divided the Ivorian society. In 1999, between 8000 and 12000 nationals of Burkina Faso were expelled following tensions between Ivoirians and Burkinabe Equatorial Guinea farmers (Human Rights Watch, 2001).

Equatorial Guinea: In 2004, an attempted coup against the President of Equatorial Guinea, allegedly led by a mercenary, spurred a clamp-down on foreigners in the country (Shirbon, 2004). Foreigners from several African countries were detained, intimidated and some were expelled. Government officials raised suspicions against foreigners and Equatorial Guineans were called upon to be 'vigilant with foreigners, regardless of colour, because their target was the wealth of Equatorial Guinea, the oil' (Roberts, 2009). Estimates of about 1,000 foreigners from other African countries, mostly from Cameroon were expelled from the country (Human Rights Watch, 2009). Equatorial Guineans who did not belong to the law enforcement agency of the state were permitted to arbitrarily arrest those suspected to be illegal foreigners (Human Rights Watch, 2009). In 2007, the government banned other West African nationals from 'owning grocery stores' in the country, and such stores were either taken over by the government or closed (IRIN News, 2008).

Angola: The rhetoric that citizens of the Democratic Republic of Congo (Congo Kinshasa) were stealing natural resources that belonged to Angola was at the root of several recent mass expulsions of Congolese from Angola. In 2004, the Angolan government expelled an estimated 100,000 Congolese from Angola (Siegel, 2009). Over 160 000 Congolese were expelled between December 2008 and December 2009 (Adebajo, 2011). Perpetuating the rhetoric in question, the Angolan Foreign Minister stated that Angola 'will never give up its right to protect its natural resources and its right to repatriate citizens who are acting in a way which do not benefit the country' (Reliefweb, 2009).

Congo: In 2009, the government of Congo Kinshasa expelled 50,000 Angolans in retaliation to the mass expulsion of Congolese from Angola. This was done 'amid a rising wave of popular anger over the humiliating treatment of those expelled by Angola (Human Rights Watch, 2012). The Republic of Congo (Congo Brazzaville) in many respects shares close ties with Congo Kinshasa.

Aside the name, 'the Congo River and language', the countries share ethnic and cultural bonds. However, this has not assuaged 'foreign-fears' premised a distinct border. In 2014, Congo Brazzaville initiated an operation dubbed Operation *Mbala ya bakolo*, literally translating to 'slap of the elders' (Amnesty International, 2015: 9). The essence of this operation was to rid the country of criminal elements, although it was regarded as a 'general operation' (Amnesty International, 2015), over 50 000 citizens of the Democratic Republic of Congo were expelled (Reuters, 2015). While acknowledging the repatriations, a government spokesperson emphasised that 'the operation continues' as not all that should be repatriated has been found (Amnesty International, 2015).

Burundi: In 2009, Burundi expelled between 800 and 1,200 foreigners from their country (Jeune Afrique, 2009). These foreigners were mostly from Rwanda, Congo Kinshasa, Tanzania, Uganda and Senegal. The expulsion was premised on the need to address crime in the state. A police representative argued that it was a routine exercise that aimed at expelling irregular migrants who were largely responsible for crimes in the state (Jeune Afrique, 2009).

Tanzania: In 2013, the government of Tanzania expelled close to 11 000 undocumented foreigners in an effort to rid the country of criminal elements (Ghosh, 2013). Prior to the expulsion, the President of Tanzania had given a two-week ultimatum to undocumented foreigners to leave the country. The decision was informed on two grounds; firstly on the complaint from villagers over acts of armed robbery, bus attacks and kidnaps attributed to illegal immigrants in the area of Kagera (Naluyaga, 2013) secondly on the ground that undocumented foreigners overstretched government's ability to offer services to its people (Naluyaga 2013). Of those expelled were 300 from Uganda, 4,100 from Burundi and 6 400 from Rwanda (Ghosh, 2013).

Kenya: With the recent wave of terrorist attacks in Kenya by the Somali al-Shabaab group, negative reactions against Somalis have arisen in the country (Harper, 2010; Wambua-Soi 2012; Hatcher, 2015). Following the 2013 Westgate attacks, Kenyan government authorities threatened to close down the Dadaab camp which housed about half a million Somali refugees. In 2014, approximately 4 000 Somalis were arrested in Operation *Usalama Watch* initiated by the government with the view to counter terrorism and address security challenges in the state (Boru-Halakhe, 2014). Buchanan-Clarke and

Lekalake (2015) observe that 'in Kenya's attempts to address the threat of violent extremism, the Somali Kenyan community is often stigmatized.'

Chad: In June 2015, suicide bomb attacks in N'Djamena by Boko Haram resulted in the death of 27 people and left approximately 100 others injured (Channels Television, 2015). In response to these attacks, one of the measures implemented by the Chadian government was the expulsion of foreigners. In the month of June, the Chadian military expelled about 200 to 300 Cameroonians from the country in a 'clean up campaign against undocumented foreigners' (Ernest 2015). In July 2015, over 2,000 undocumented Nigerians were also expelled from Kousseri in Chad (Telegraph, 2015).

South Africa: The history of the xenophobic violence in South Africa, although arguably by scholars rooted in the legacies of apartheid and the failure of the post-apartheid government in effectively accommodating foreigners (Hanekom and Webster 2009/2010; Adam and Moodley, 2013), dates back to 2008 with the waves of attacks against foreigners seen in various locations across South Africa (Duponchel, 2013). The first known xenophobic attack in South Africa was on 11 May 2008 in the Alexandria settlement in Johannesburg. By the end of May, over 60 people had been killed and 10,000 people were displaced (Tafira, 2011; Hankela, 2014). In 2015, a new wave of attacks against foreigners was incited by the Zulu King and followed the death of a South African teenager at the hands of a Somali. The rhetoric that underscored the 2008 attacks-that foreigners were stealing jobs and committing crimes resonated in the new wave of attacks (Mwakikagile, 2008), that resulted to the loss of properties owned by foreigners, the death of about 7 people and the displacement of thousands of foreigners (Essa, 2015).

However, in the case of Ghana, Nigeria, Angola, Uganda and South Africa xenophobic reactions were spurred by economic considerations. In Chad and Kenya, xenophobic prejudices were informed by the war or terror. In Cote d'Ivoire, Gabon and Equatorial Guinea, politics as well as economic considerations triggered xenophobic expulsions. In Tanzania, Burundi and Congo Brazzaville, xenophobic actions were largely spurred by the rhetoric that foreigners were committing crime. In Congo Kinshasa, the expulsion of Angolans was political. While various reasons underpin xenophobic reactions

in these countries, a central theme which resonates is that the issue of xenophobia is not a new phenomenon in Africa (Adeola, 2015).

The Impacts of Xenophobia on African Economy.

Fear in Local Citizens: Xenophobic attacks have negative effect on both the indigene and foreigners of a country. During these attacks, the indigene of a nation resides in fear of being attacked by the foreigners also with fear that foreign nationals could retaliate terribly with the support of other powerful nations which could lead to war among nations. This fear hinders many people from productive ventures like businesses and agriculture which result to food insecurity and inadequate supply of goods and services in the economy.

Fear amongst the Foreign Investors Residing in the Region: Evidently, according to Oyelana (2015), most of the literature revealed that, majority of foreign investors 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 indigene 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 language barriers. Charman et al. (2012) revealed that the police and prosecutor statements usually focus specifically on the 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 that various forms of violence feared by the foreign investors during xenophobic attacks, following the categories used by the South African Police Service (SAPS) include:

. Murder. Attempted murder. Robbery. Theft. Assault.

Investments: 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 the foreign nationals residing in their countries. In addition, the execution of impromptu xenophobic attacks by Nigerians, Ghanians and Zimbabweans against foreign investors residing in their countries have, however, largely dissuaded many people 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, Nigerian, Ghanaian or foreign nationals, in fact, irrespective of any countries 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/her hands to send anybody back to his/her country unless such person has been tried and found guilty by a competent law court of such country for committing an offense that warrants the verdict of the court. South Africa being one of the developing countries in Africa, 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 South Africa economic situation or state of affair is uneven or fluctuating due to inhospitable government policy 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.

Food insecurity: Food security which simply refers to access by all people, at all times, to sufficient food for a healthy and productive life can be disrupted resulting into food insecurity. Thus, food insecurity can occur due to a disruption or damage to the food production system which may be as a result of occurrence of drought, war, social conflict, xenophobia, socio-economic, and social-political circumstances. Beyond the images of "Africa's starving

millions” and “starving villages” mostly projected by the western media, there is genuine food crisis in African states which can be linked with the incidences of xenophobic attacks on foreign national which have adversely affected the upward food production and economic growth.

Decrease in Working Population: Most of the people who normally form part of the militia during xenophobic crises are the youths living the elderly, children and women at home; to this effect, majority of the people who lose their lives belong to this category of the population. The total number of the working population is then decreased, while there is an increase in the number of widows and orphans which is a breeding ground for underdevelopment, hardship and poverty in both rural and urban centres.

Economic Underdevelopment: The economy of our rural societies is basically agricultural in nature, and the rural people live almost exclusively on agricultural products, which are used for food and as a source of income. The incident of xenophobic attacks in Africa has resulted to the burning of houses worth about \$14.6 billion, the destruction of personal belongings worth \$1.02 billion and the destruction of farm produce value at \$9.2 billion (Uja, 2015). Destroying these crops is equal to cutting off their means of livelihood. When crops are destroyed, economic trees cut down or looted as it is always the case in times of xenophobia, the rural people face not just the problem of what to eat but how to take care of other problems and even how to access the seedlings to start all over again especially the migrants. Generally, economics activities always slowdown in crisis situations within the rural people because displaced people become refugees in camps with nothing to sale or buy. Even after resettlement, there is always fear of further attack coupled with psychological pains of the lost which hinders production of goods and services.

Also, the extent of violence and destruction that has been associated with xenophobic attacks on foreign national in African states has been horrific. The advent of killing and destruction of businesses has since signalled a new dimension to the security challenges in Africa. To say the least, the rising incidence and prevalence of attacks on foreigners by indigene in some African states have exposed the region to serious level of humanitarian and territorial vulnerabilities. In the face of this situation, the sustenance of African security is at best problematic (Ogege, 2013). In the same vein Awori in Adetula (2007:383) argued that;

It is now widely accepted that violent conflict is the major hindrance to the development of the African continent. It inflicts human suffering through death, destruction of livelihoods, constant displacement and insecurity. Violent conflict disrupts the process of production, creates conditions for pillage of the countries' resources and diverts their application from development purposes to servicing war. Violent conflict is thus responsible for perpetuating misery and underdevelopment in the continent.

Xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals have the capacity to severely constrain development, national security and national unity endeavours by destroying infrastructure, interrupting the production process and diverting resources away from productive uses. Consequently, famine or food insecurity become endemic and other welfare indicators such as health and education become worsen (Igbuzor, 2011). This is one of the reasons African states spend billions of dollars on importation of foods like; rice, wheat, fish, chicken among other food items. This has negative impacts on the African economy.

It Affects the Achievement of Sustainable Development Goal: Another pertinent issue is that available surplus finance by foreign borrowing which shows a cordial relationship among different citizens and governments of African countries and the world as a whole could also be lost or denied in the face of xenophobic incidents. Foreign resources would normally be able to supplement South Africa's domestic savings directly or indirectly by providing foreign exchange to buy imports or as substitute for domestically produced consumer goods. Additionally, looking at the consequences of the perception of the quest to achieve the sustainable development goals in Africa, especially with reference to developing a global partnership for development, xenophobic attacks will compromise the achievement of this goal if the problem is not properly addressed (Obademi and Uadiale, 2004).

Violation of Human Rights; Xenophobic attacks also work against the dictates of Articles five and nine of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights Laws (Ilesanmi, 2004) 'Article 5: No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment', 'Article 9: No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile'. These attacks destroy the human dignity of others, as well as contradict the stipulations of Articles six and twenty-three 'Article 6: Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law', 'Article 23: Everyone has the right to

work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment'. For instance, xenophobic attacks in South Africa do not reflect the values of the South African Constitution which emphasises the recognition of the fundamental human rights of all who live in South Africa. These rights relate to the right to life, the right to personal security, the right not to be unfairly discriminated against and the right to human dignity, equality, freedom from violence, freedom of movement, not to be deprived arbitrarily of property, bodily and psychological integrity, access to health care, food, water and social security. It is therefore clear that the recent xenophobic attacks and other offences are in fact violations of fundamental human rights that are usually directed against vulnerable groups such as women, children and other defenceless people.

Conclusion.

Xenophobia is a pressing challenge that cuts across human rights, governance, development and democracy in Africa. As it is not specific to one African state, a holistic approach by all African states is essential. Within this context, the role of the AU is primary. This paper elaborates on the causes, the impacts and the historicity of xenophobia in Africa. In this discourse, the paper concluded that unless priority is given to youth's development in terms of their needs and aspirations, issues relating to poverty, unemployment and good education are address squarely in other to reduced unwarranted killings in the name of xenophobia among African states.

Recommendations.

The following recommendations are made to put a stop on the issue of xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals in African region:

1. Eliminating xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals, the role of African Union (AU) becomes imperative through its components, the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA). The APSA is the main institution responsible for the protection of peace and security on the continent and is mandated to manage and resolve conflicts. Within APSA, there are five main pillars, these are: the Peace and Security Council (PSC), the Continental Early Warning System (CEWS), the Panel of the Wise (Panel), the African Standby Force and the Special Fund (PSC Protocol 2002). Two of its pillars relevant to addressing the issue of xenophobia in Africa are the CEWS and the Panel. The

CEWS is a system designed to prevent situations of conflict by flagging potential conflict hotspots. In case of xenophobia, the CEWS should monitor xenophobic orientations that may degenerate into conflict if not given proper attention. The CEWS should give detailed reports of such situations to the PSC for further actions.

2. Prosecution to the fullest extent of the law of all parties to crimes against foreigners, including accomplices and those who incite violent action to serve as deterrent to others.

3. Provision of adequate security and compensation: It is often observed that after several xenophobic attacks against foreign investors by the local citizens, majority of victims of crime are often left alone with a lot of damages done to them, and no compensation is given to them by the government for the losses or damages either on their properties or injuries sustained. This shows that they have to start all over from the beginning. In this discourse, it is pertinent to recommend that foreigners should be adequately protected by both the citizens and the security agencies.

4. Government of all the African states should ensure that raising poverty indices are reversed and a realistic social security programme is pursued and systematically implemented to ensure that the populace meets their basic needs. Government must be proactive in dealing with security issues and threats, through modern methods of intelligence gathering and intelligence sharing, training, logistics, motivation and deploying advanced technology in managing security challenges.

5. Government of all African states should imbibe on viable and practical economic policies that will create jobs opportunities for the youths and reduced youth's restlessness in the region.

6. There should be greater support for anti-xenophobic efforts and the exposure of media outlets that support anti-immigrant sentiments. In this case, there is need for a Government-led approach to educate the police about xenophobia and to instruct them to act promptly in curbing xenophobic attacks.

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