



Transnational xenophobia in Africa: Implications for development and security of the continent 2008-2018

Umoh Udofia Sunday¹, Iwarimie B Uranta¹, Poroma C Lekia²,

¹ Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social Science, Ignatius Ajuru University of Education, Port Harcourt, Rivers State, Nigeria

² Department of Sociology, Faculty of Social Science, Ignatius Ajuru University of Education, Port Harcourt, Rivers State, Nigeria

Abstract

This study x-rays transnational xenophobia in Africa and its implications for security and development in the continent. The study adopts theory triangulation via Bio-cultural theory by Joseph Carrol Mathias, Clansen Emelie Johnson, Alexandra Reginald and Kraschmer Luseadra. (2017). Frustration – Aggression by Gurr (1970) and the Stakeholders' theory by Edward Freeman (2016) to explain xenophobia in Africa. The 3 theories seek to minimize xenophobic propensity by optimizing relations amongst stakeholders as their assumptions stresses in clear terms the processes that leads to xenophobic activities via fear of enculturation from foreign nationals, discontent and frustration by the natives arising from perceived impediment to achievement of their goal and how all these could be assuaged by the inclusion of all parties in the state, as stakeholders. Data for the study was generated only through secondary sources like textbooks, journal articles and verified internet links. Qualitative analysis of data reveals that transnational xenophobia in Africa engenders insecurity which resonates in the loss of capital investment and poor interstate relations. The study concludes that issues of xenophobia are complicated by the state's complicity of silence in a bid to obfuscate the presence of development deficits in their internal domains and recommends amongst other things, that African states should pay attention to factors which midwife previous xenophobia in the continent even as they endeavor to improve economic and security structures in their state to enable peace and development in the continent.

Keywords: xenophobia, insecurity, transnational, peace

Introduction

From recorded history, human instincts of self-preservation both at the individual or group levels have always been proximal to security and development. Granted, security and development tailored by the instincts of self-preservation are cardinal to a group progress, however, in an intergroup relationship if self-preservation alone forms the basis for interaction and security focus, the intergroup progress will move along a continuum from excellent to poor. This is so, especially if these instincts are deployed in macro measure to discourage enculturation whenever the native group perceives that alien members are exhibiting domineering cultural tendencies and characteristics. These characteristics may be erroneously perceived as *quasi-cultural imperialism*; a euphemism for domination. The persistence of such perception and the continued fear of total domination of the group by the alienist element may metastasize into hatred and conversely escalate into large scale violence. This violence is what is termed xenophobia in contemporary conflict literature.

In modern societies therefore, especially, societies with colonial or imperialistic experiences, the fear that the economic structures of the state are at the threshold of usurpation by alienist element may invoke discriminatory behavior as an excuse to tilt the socioeconomic scale of balance in favor of the native group. Such experiences are a recurring decimal in the context of xenophobes in most societies in developing economies especially in Africa.

Accentuated by social and economic circumstances that could characterize forces of instability capable of shaping negative interstate relationship, the issue of transnational xenophobia in Africa, especially as it affects peace, security and development of African States has brought grave concern. In recent past, especially within the period under review, xenophobia has become a potpourri of destabilizing forces against African cooperation, security and development. This recent past is subsumed in the study period of 2008 – 2018 which underscores a decade of political stability via Nigeria's returns to civil rule and its expected logical consequence as the African giant for a better Africa's interstate relations. The timeline is contingent to the research as it shows economic growth in the continent that could have translated to development to discourage factors that underpins xenophobia. Specifically, it shows a period that Nigeria's GDP of \$809.9 billion since the rebasing exercise in April 2018, and South Africa's GDP of \$684.3 billion making half of Sub Sahara African Gross Domestic Product (GDP), Umoh (2019) [1].

For Tshishonga, (2015) [18], and Henckaerts (2005) [7] xenophobia within the context of fear or hatred of foreigner or strangers is embodied in discriminatory attitude and behavior, that often culminates into violence, abuses of all types and exhibitions of hatred. The notion by the citizens of a state that foreigners are better placed and enjoy better status creates imagined relative deprivation resulting in detest and discrimination against the foreigners. This

perception at crescendo shapes violence and disorder in the state. Sometimes as retaliatory measure, whether immediate or mediate, the relatives of victims and citizens of the victimized countries may engage in negative responses which may eventually spiral into large scale violence disrupting socioeconomic activities of the state and her neighbours. Transnational xenophobia is an eruptive phenomenon which measures the extent of disorder accentuated by discrimination usually permitted by sovereign states and carried out by admixture of clandestine agents and the poor demography in a state which may engage other states that shares strong ethno-religious or economic ties. Bordeau (2015) ^[4] identified xenophobia as a prominent issue in many African states including Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa, Mozambique, Libya, Senegal, Egypt etc. which underscores severe discrimination by the indigenes against foreigners leading to unhealthy international relations among African States. It is clear that xenophobia has not only altered the peaceful co-existence, good governance and social cohesion of African States, it has equally encouraged violation of human rights in Africa. Xenophobia is an experience that is not only inimical to Afrocentric focus of many African states, it is also a phenomenon which encourages development in reverse especially when the escalation engages more than one state. Technically, the irony of transnational xenophobia in Africa is that it is centered on Africans discriminating abusing, violating, killing, looting and destroying properties of Africans in Africa, thereby distorting the peace and development of Africa. Upon the above, the present assessment explores historically the causes, courses and outcomes of xenophobic attacks and its impacts on security and development of the continent.

Statement of the Problem

The African continent has witnessed a plethora of socioeconomic contradictions engendered by the experiences of slavery, colonialism, poverty, flawed political system and terrorism. Some of these experiences have been sustained by the asymmetry in trade relations in globalization matrix between the continent and western capitalist countries, Umoh (2021) ^[20]. The irrigation to this social entropy in African societies is directly proportional to the political vacuity and insincerity of actors within the continent. The struggle for liberation from perpetual lack by African citizens has midwife large scale violence like terrorism and xenophobia. Sandwiched between the negative influences of globalization and the need to protect, secure, and develop their states, African citizens have developed psychological fear for the usurpation of economic structures and power relations by fellow Africans in their respective countries. This fear seems to underscore the atavistic experiences of colonialism, imperialism and apartheid. The fear is informed by instincts of self or group preservation against predatory tendencies of foreigners. Emasculated by indices of underdevelopment which draw attention to frustration and the inability to hold their government to account, African citizens express this frustration as aggression against fellow Africans who are perceived as foreigners, this aggression is expressed in xenophobic attacks. Consequently, some manifestations of xenophobia are easily evaluated in the context of expulsion threats of foreign nationals, unjust deportation, and in many instances, violent attacks against non-nationals. These

manifestations can be noted as far back as the 1960s. Romola (2015), distinguished different forms of xenophobia carried out by African nations at different times and for different reasons; Aliens Compliance Order of 1969 in Ghana, Operation Ghana must-go of 1983 in Nigeria and Operation Usalama of 2013 in Kenya, to mentioned but a few. Xenophobic reactions in Ghana, Nigeria, Angola, Uganda and South Africa, were consequent on economic considerations via competition for local jobs and trade. In Chad and Kenya, xenophobic prejudices were informed by the war on 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 motivated by the claim to an increase in crime index. In Congo Kinshasa, the expulsion of Angolans was with political undertone. Although, xenophobia is multidimensional, the centrality of its theme and objective is subsume in hate and fear for foreigners. Its sociocultural implications are widespread and best evaluated in the context of transnational hate crime. It is not confined to a particular continent as the violence are sometimes multi-continental. Peil (1974) ^[14] examined the expulsion of West African aliens and the impacts of migrants on the commercial activities in both the sending and receiving countries. The focus of Peil's study centered on the historicized mixture of acculturation and economic domination of alien Africans on the native population. While Hankom (2010) extrapolated the influence of South African officials on the xenophobic attacks of that year. A trajectory to ascertain its impacts on the continent's economy led Marsella & Ring (2003) ^[12] and Aremu (2013) ^[1], to examine xenophobia in Africa, however, there are no adequate studies on its dynamism, nature and divergent manifestations in the continent. The aforementioned studies have all examined the phenomenon and the thrust of these researches adopted many theoretical explanations to the rise and continuity of xenophobic attacks across Africa and its implication for interstate relations, however, they have not done much to correlate the phenomenon with security and development of the continent which has affected the political, economic and trade relations between and amongst African states. Although at some point in the past, some bilateral and multilateral agreement like the Independent Commission for Multilateralism in 2019, have been engaged by government of African states which were expected to deescalate or put a lid on the reoccurrence of the violence, the failure of implementation, or implementation by half has led to a resurface of the crisis which has impacted negatively on the principles of sovereign equity of all African states. The continued resurfacing of these attacks has perplexed many scholars and political analysts, scholars wonder why government of African states often sit back and permit these attacks on fellow Africans knowing the spiraling negative influence on the unity and development of the continent. How this xenophobic violence assumes transnational character as shaped by socioeconomic dynamics, its causes and implications on security, peace and development in Africa within the period under review, is the focus of this research.

Research Question.

1What are the factors for the emergence of xenophobic activities in Africa?

2What are the implications of xenophobic activities on the peace, security and development of Africa?

Objective.

1To identify the Factors for the emergence of Xenophobic Activities in Africa.

2To interrogate the implications of xenophobic activities on the peace, security and development of Africa.

Theoretical Frame Work.

The article adopts theory triangulation to explain the processes that could lead to xenophobic violence. Bio-Cultural theory by Carrol, J., Clasen, Jonsson, M. B., Kratschmer, A.R, McKerracher, L. Riede, and Kiaergaard, F. P. (2017) investigates the causal link between biological adaptations and cultural constructions by assuming that cultural processes are rooted in the biological necessities of the human life cycle like birth, growth, survival, mating, parenting, and sociality. That these processes are constrained, organized, and developed by culture, which includes technology, and cultural specifics like; socioeconomics, political structures, religious and ideological beliefs, and artistic practices such as music, dance, painting, and storytelling. This implies that the actions of people like foreign nationals and native citizens in the same society are influenced by both their biological background (human behaviour) and cultural background (way of life). As a consequence, the differences in cultural and biological backgrounds between such groups will result in cultural parallelism. And that once parallelism occur the fear of cultural imperialism will accentuate the fear of enculturation leading to discontent, frustration and xenophobic violence. This assumption collapses into the theory of Frustration-Aggression by Gurr (1970) which assumes that there is every tendency for individuals to fight against what they see as an impediment to their achievement of a goal and explains aggressive' behaviour such as xenophobic activities as almost always consequent upon discontent by the perpetrators. Both theory synergize with stakeholders' theory by Edward freeman (2016) which view the state as an organization, whose stability is consequent upon inputs from all stake holders including citizens, policy makers and foreign nationals. It sees xenophobic violence as a result of discontent and frustration arising from a dysfunctional interconnected relationship between the state, it agents, the citizens, business owners, diplomats and foreign nationals. The theory seeks to minimize xenophobic propensity by optimizing relations amongst stakeholders in the state. The theories and their triangulation are relevant in the study as they explain in clear terms the processes that leads to xenophobic activities via fear of enculturation from foreign nationals, discontent and frustration by the natives arising from perceived impediment to achievement of their goal and how all these could be assuaged by the inclusion of all parties as stakeholders in the state. The theories further explain the friction arising from cultural relationship between two groups perceived as migrants and hosts and

how such friction affects both the security and development of the African society in general.

Transnational Xenophobia in Africa: implications for Security and Development of the Continent.

States with socioeconomic crisis sometimes find foreigners as unfortunate scapegoats for citizens' expression of frustration within their domain. Sometimes, in attempt to jettison citizens' anger and avoid unrest, subtle or implicit support in the form of propaganda that fuels hate against foreigners are allowed or peddled by agents of the state. Other times, in a bid to treat foreigners as jetsam or extra economic odds and ends, draconian laws could be enacted to make citizens feel that the participating government is proactive. Transnational xenophobia in Africa thus are premised on dimensions including the exportation of urban poverty and crime from one state to another. This is to say that criminality in one social formation carried across boarder could become a factor in the socioeconomic relationship between the culture, tradition, needs and expectation of two different groups in a social formation. For example, the ideology of the Mafia of Sicily and the Kuklux Klans of America have impacted negatively on the different traditional clandestine societies in Africa which hitherto had correlations with the cultural settings and native jurisprudence. For instance, the influence of cultists groupings like *Dey Balm*, *Dey Well* and *Vikings* imported in by foreign nationals on the native cultural clandestine groups like the *Ekpo* and *Ekpe* Societies of the Ibibios in Southern Nigeria have often times caused clashes between the two. The proliferation of cultism across Africa is shaped by the imagined gains of membership like business protection and monopoly. In response to this cartel like influence on the successes of business, native citizens may express extreme "dislike" or "hatred" directed at those who are not indigenes and perceived to be engaging in practices inimical to natives' economic interest

Transnational xenophobia is very expletive of the banality inherent in some of the pugnacious domestic policies of African states. The entropy caused by this phenomenon in the continent is directly proportional to the continental development in reverse. Across the continent, manifestations of xenophobia inadvertently reduce the Gross Domestic Product of the participating governments due to violence and insecurity and sometimes trade boycott. One reducible observation from the foregoing is that competition over resources and space has threatened or, in some instances, eroded the idea of multiculturalism and African interstate citizenship upon which *afrocentricism* is anchored. Again, the prevalence of transnational xenophobia brings to question the Afrocentric spirit in the ideology that an African is part of a larger family with a common communal spirit and solidarity that identifies all Africans as one. This perspective is known in the Swahili language as *Ubuntuism* and in Ibibio of southern Nigeria as *Owoidem*

Chronicle and impacts of xenophobia in Africa.**Table 1**

S/N	Country (Attacker)	Year	Country (Victim)	Causes	Stringent Eco-policy in that Country	Resources lost (Human/Capital)	Impact on inter-state relations
	Ghana	1969	Nigeria Togo Burkina-Faso	Economic depression	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ghanaians Business promotion (GBP). Alien Expulsion compliance order 	140, 000 Nigerians deported lost estimated amount of 8,000.00 naira per person	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Frosty Insecurity Threats to Bi-lateral trade.
	Ghana	2019	Nigeria	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Unemployment Fear for socio-enculturation 	the Alien Compliance Order The Ghana Investment Promotion Council (GIPC) Laws Act 478 1994	Infra-Structural (Nigeria High Commission demolished in Accra)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Frosty Trade Boycott on Ghanaians products <p>the total volume of trade between Nigeria and Ghana decreased from ₦118,547,308,772 in 2007 to ₦49,206,016,160 and ₦6,747,643,323, in 2009 and 2010 respectively</p>
	Gabon	1978	Benin	Political differences Diplomatic feud between Gabon and Benin republic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> National security Policy against Economic sabotage Citizenship promotion 	Lower GDP of each country due to lack of bi-lateral trade	Frosty relationship Economic blockade Higher rate unemployment
1	Nigeria	1983	Ghana	Oil boom	<i>Ghana must Go</i> expulsion order	700, 000 Ghanaians left. Nigeria's ban on some products from Ghana	Frosty bilateral relations. Trade boycott
3	Kenya	2013	Nigeria Ghana Angola South Africa Somalia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Economic depression Poverty Unemployment 	Counter terrorism policy (Operation Usalama)	4,000 Somalis deported.	Increased GDP 2013 = \$55.1b 2014 = \$61.45 Increase of \$ 6.35b
	Angola	2004	Congolese	Theft of natural resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Policy for the Protection of natural resources And National security	100, 000 Congolese expelled in 2004 and additional 160,000 expelled from 2008-2009	Lower GDP 2004 = \$23.55B 2009 = \$17.31 B Severance of trade relation
4	Congo	2009	Angola	Political retaliation	National security	Expelled 50, 000 Angolans	Improved GDP (2009)=\$70.31B (2010)=\$83.8B Poor bilateral relationship
5	Cote d'ivoire	1990	Burkina Faso	Ivorian-Burkina Faso farmers crisis	Ivorian identity and economic access policy	8, 000-12000 Burkina Faso nationals were expelled. lower GDP	Trade boycott, frosty interstate relations GDP in 1990=10.8b GDP in 1991=10.49b\$ decrease in GDP

							of 0.32b\$
6	Uganda	1972	Asian nationals, British nationals	Political disloyalty and non-integration and commercial malpractice of Indians	Policy on national integration and business protection.	80,000 foreign nationals expelled 5655 firms, ranches, farms and agro estates shutdown	
7	Libya	2016	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Nigeria ▪ Ghana ▪ Mozambique (mostly Black Africans) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Political instability ▪ Terrorism ▪ Economic depression 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Governmen t tacit support against immigrants. ▪ EU support 	600 foreign nationals captured at sea	Negative multi- lateral relationship with countries involved Abuses of immigrants
8	Senegal						
	Equatorial Guinea	2004	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Gabon ▪ Uganda ▪ Burkina Faso ▪ Cameroon 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Suspicion of oil theft ▪ Involvement in coup 	Mineral resources and indigenous trade protection policy	100, 000 Cameroonians were deported	
	Nigeria	1983 1985	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Ghanaians 	Declined economic condition	Operation Ghana must go	Over 300, 000 Ghanaians were deported.	
	South Africa	2008	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Mozambique ▪ Nigerian ▪ Somalians 	Unemployment	Employment for indigenous citizens	7 deaths and expulsion of thousands of foreigners	Trade deficit (Export to SA) 2008 5.1B Rand 2009 4.2B Rand
	Burundi	2009	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Rwanda ▪ Congo Kinshasa 	Crime Economic depression	National security policy	8, 000-12000 foreigners were expelled	
	Congo Brazzaville	2014	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Democratic republic of Congo 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Unemployment ▪ Socio-economic depression ▪ Poverty ▪ Crime 	<i>Mbala ya bakolo</i> [Force of the Elders]	50, 000 Democratic republic of Congos were expelled	
	Chad	2015	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Cameroon ▪ Nigeria 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ War on crime ▪ National security 	Immigration policy (Operation clean up campaign against undocumented foreigners)	200, 000 Nigerians and 300, 000 Cameroonians were expelled from chad	
	South Africa	2015	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Nigeria ▪ Mozambique 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Unemployment ▪ Poverty ▪ Fear of unencultarizatio n 		Burning and looting of foreigners shops	Improved Bi- Lateral Trade. (Nigerian Total Trade to SA in 2015 Was 28.4B Rand and 2016 36.9B Rand. increase of 8.5B Rand)
	South Africa	2017	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Nigeria ▪ Mozambique ▪ Libya 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Illegal migration 	Immigration policy	Clashes between citizens and migrants	Increased Bi- Lateral Trade. (Nigerian Total Trade to SA in 2017 Was 42.7B Rand and 2018 66.12B Rand. increase of 24.5B Rand)

Source: Authors compilation: 2020

Although extant literature shows few documentations regarding the influence of social factors to xenophobic violence in the lives of native people with limited access to political power. Yet, it is clear that the physical, emotional, mental and material dimensions among indigenous people in different sociopolitical structures in Africa are distinctly, as well as differentially, influenced by a broad range of social determinants. These include socio-economic circumstances like labour force, culture, traditions, fads, crime rate, per capital income and environments, as well as political structures, systems and institutions that can influence the development and maintenance of interstate relationship

along a continuum vis-à-vis poor to excellent. The socioeconomic contexts of interstate relations like history, politics, social, religious and economic determinants can be categorized as *distal*, while others like communal ideology, rites of passage, infrastructures, idiosyncrasies, resources, systems and capacities as *intermediate* and then, health behaviors, physical and social environment, as *proximal*. These contexts and their multidimensional impacts on interstate relations are expressed in a myriad of ways (health, trade, bilateralism, social. economic connections and geopolitics, etc). These expressions are characterized by the increasing circulation of peoples, ideas and

commodities, and the emergence of organizational forms like the African Union (AU), ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), The Southern African Development Commission (SADC), to tap into these circulations and maintain peace and encourage development. In addition, and because of the influence of multiple actors in the international system, many hitherto functions held by the state in the maintenance of interstate relations have been transferred *upwards* to some supranational institutions or multinational corporations and intergovernmental organizations with common interests or focus through economic and political integration, *downwards* to regional organisations and communities, through political and administrative decentralization, and *sideways* to none governmental organizations (NGOs) and to the private sector through deregulations and privatization. The implications of the above is that cultural values, traditional norms and indigenous economic development of a people could easily be enculturated or jettison especially if the influx of foreign nationals attains a geometrical increase and influence. The reactions of indigenous people to the influences from the influx of foreign nationals underscores transnational xenophobia with negative implications on interstate relations, peace and development. In a state nearing a dystopia, the evaluation of the factors that occasion transnational xenophobia are apical within the indices of underdevelopment like unemployment, high crime rate, poverty and hunger index, low personal income, low Gross National Product (GDP), poor productive capacity etc. These indices interconnect each other with the natives' existential conditions and subsequently influences negatively the Natives level of frustration. This frustration could be made cumulative either by the tacit or implicit manipulation of state institutions regarding the activities of foreign nationals. In interrogating the activities of foreign nationals especially when such interrogation is premised on nationalism or national security, states explicate unfavorable economic policies to obfuscate its internal socioeconomic disorder or to blame same on the activities of foreign nationals. Thus, xenophobia is wrongly blamed on the social dynamism of foreigners. It is unfounded fear exercise by the natives for economic emasculation by none native. Unfounded because xenophobic violence correlates with the indices of underdevelopment and governance deficits. The improvement of the living conditions of the native is a prerogative of the government in power and not the duty of foreigners. Transnational xenophobia therefore has grave security and economy implications as the phenomenon stunts socioeconomic engineering and tampered with autocentric development of the continent. For instance, Pan-Africanism, like the Zik movement in Nigeria has as its main drive, the pivotal centralization of race effort and the recognition of a racial fount that ought to presuppose security and development of the continent. Yet, it has rather been abandoned by other West African states especially Ghana in the aftermath of the xenophobic attack on Ghanaians in 1983s. Legum (2016) says that Pan-Africanism ought to, (especially as a coalition of African voices,) speak to Africa's sense of common hospitality and communalism, most importantly in the aftermath of the scramble for and the partitioning of Africa by Europe in 1884, which engendered and entrenched imperialism and colonialism that has graduated to globalization. Africa's unity and development potentials affected by the

forementioned are tangents to issues of insecurity in the continent, political sincerity and the political will that can help eventuates the absence of development deficits. For Ariyo (2005), Pan-Africanism thus was designed to be implemented as a continental policy striving to mobilize Africa's voice against the slavery of its people, identity and resource control through the process of decolonization driven primarily by the faith, will and extraordinary determination of the nationalist leaders. African security and development can thus be taken as a euphemism of pan Africanism. Interstate cooperation and relations in this context should be fostered by positive historicism, but Xenophobic activities have imbued the continent's internal histories with savagery and hate. In this wise, Aremu (2013)^[1] is of the opinion that Africans having emphasized the ideas of 'united we stand, divided we fall' and 'Africa for Africans' ought to have been able to stifle issues that may threatened security and unity and imbibe the basic principles of *oness* in the *ubuntuistic* spirit, to guide inter-state and cross-border relations on the continent. That such ideology should have impressed on the government of each country to avoid the pitfalls of suzerainty which entails the principles of divide and rule and focus on eradicating unfounded fear for the successes of foreign nationals in their domains. The efforts of pan -Africanism therefore should culminate to the establishment of many socioeconomic, cultural and political institutions to galvanize and protect Africa's common interests. Documented xenophobic attacks across the continent do not underscore a united African people and government, rather it showcases a more fragmented, self-centered and self-serving people supported by state actions and regulations encapsulated in national interests. It is in this sense that one interrogates the aggressiveness of Africans against fellow Africans who have migrated in search of greener pasture. And it is on such basis that a unified interstate effort should be directed towards the liberation of Africa from the clutches of western domination and oppression. But since interstate relations in the continent seems to prevaricate from the ideology of *Ubuntuism* as evidenced by transnational xenophobic attacks, the much-acclaimed political independence and unity of Africans appears to be farcical. European powers and their agents still dominates the juicy sectors of the African economies to the detriments of African people. This has led to Afrophobia. Afrophobia may be refers to a systematic reawakening of hate and discriminatory sentiments tied to tribalism and ethnocentrism that the colonial powers deployed to divide Africans. Transnational xenophobia therefore, constantly challenges African security, unity, common identity, brotherly spirit and development. If unchecked, it has the potency of robbing Africa and its people of cross-cultural advantages and the much needed socio-economic and political development.

Factors for the emergence of Xenophobic activities in Africa Multilateralism and Protectionism Global post industrialism presupposes economic and trade interdependence of states, however, the idea that multilateral engagements between states in Africa would encourage socioeconomic relations and fecund continental development has been stifled by protectionism. Influenced by the implications of globalization, African states adopts protectionist mechanism in a bid to encourage indigenous industries and supports Small and Medium Scale Enterprises

(SMEs). However, such state economic policies often find blurring relationship with xenophobic implications. For instance, Umoh (2019) ^[19] reported that the multilateral relationship between South Africa and Nigeria in the post-apartheid era was more of competition rather than cooperation. He further stated that South African protectionist financial policy of 2015 to stifle First Bank of Nigeria in South Africa while favoring South African banks was a deliberate protectionist mechanism which targeted the financial emasculation of the bank. Such policy signals government support to prospective and probable xenophobic relations between South Africans and Nigerians living in South Africa.

Refugee and Asylum seeking The increase in the number of refugees and asylum seekers from one state to another in recent times is to be blamed on incessant civil wars, communal crisis, terrorism and governance deficit in African States. This has contributed to the increasing pressure on scarce resources leading to competition and scrambling for survival. Terrorism and communal clashes too, have increased destitution and criminality. The need for survival has led these internally displaced persons to seek international protection through migration in search of domains with relative peace and security. At arrival in foreign lands refugees and asylum seekers are treated as foreigners with all forms of institutionalized discrimination and violence. Trouble usually began when the nationals depriving the Foreigners access to human rights and basic infrastructure in addition to treating the foreigners as second-class citizens in the receiving state are resisted by the foreigners. A continued violations and deprivation of the refugees and asylum seekers often attracts resistance for self-preservation resulting in premeditated violence and attacks between the foreigners and native citizens in that state. Hanekom and Webster (2010) reported that in 2008, African refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa were the most discriminated and violated by the South Africans.

Poverty and Economic Crisis Most African states are subservient states with quasi domestic autonomy via suzerainty. Suzerainty presupposes dependency through socioeconomic and political strangulation. This strangulation shapes and conditions foreign engagements between Africa and Western capitalist countries. These engagements; trade, commerce, science, and information technology, political system and power relations as asymmetric as they are, encourages corruption, flawed political processes and tyranny that forms the basis for governance deficit, economic crises and poverty. These factors stunt development and with strong implications on security, produces extreme economic lack and destitution. The issues of poverty, and economic lack are tangentially link to unemployment arising from the prevailing economic crisis occasioned by forces of international economic order. The widening inequality gap and little access to national commonwealth engendered by flawed political process produces citizen's frustration. To correct individual or family existential deficits, African citizens engages in international migration in search for good living conditions, employment opportunities and income improvement. The nationals of the receiving states, who are also not too comfortable due to the relative scarce resources in their state, see the immigrants as would be competitors for the

available scarce resources, thereby depriving them from exclusive access to the available economic opportunities in their homeland. With this preconceived economic deprivation, the state nationals become aggressive on the migrants, and demand for their forceful deportation back to their states, and in most cases, the situation results in violent attacks, killings and different forms of xenophobic activities.

Cultural and Biological Parallelism. The African society is an admixture of different biological and cultural backgrounds, resulting in bio cultural divergence including different skin colours, mixed race, languages and physiognomy. These physical body features, languages, dictions and complexion become sources of identification among Africans, resulting in opportunities for discrimination. This discrimination leads to violation of human rights of foreign nationals of Africans descent, especially, black Africans. Human Rights Watch (1998) corroborates the above assertion and opines that biological and cultural differences in Africa accounts for the physical demeanor of Africans for easy identification and discrimination. The organisation says that in South Africa, Egypt, Libya, Morocco, Mali etc., the blacks are easily spotted out, violated, and sometimes forced to go back to their states and concluded that this accounts for the constant transnational xenophobic activities in some African states.

The Contest for Religious Superiority. Religious differences remain one of the major sources of conflict in post-colonial Africa. Organized foreign religions; Judaism, Christianity and Islam are the three Abrahamic religions that came to Africa extensively during colonialism. Pre-colonial Africa was replete with different indigenous spiritualities which had symbiotic relationships with native jurisprudence, traditional, cultural and economic auto-centric development trajectories of indigenous people. Religious imperialism in Africa occurred through contest for superiority between native practitioners and foreign campaigners, it reached a crescendo and overwhelmed the native religious structures when the demonization of African gods by propaganda became a prerogative of African worshippers of the white man gods. The proselytism was not without international dimensions; crusades, jihads and pilgrimages. The contest for religious superiority is intensively propagated between Christians and Muslims. Many African states and their citizens see themselves as people of superior religious affiliation while others of different faith are seen as inferior and therefore not worthy to live or work together with in the same society or organization. This religious contest mirrors bigotry and unnecessary discriminations which subsequently snowballed to violent attack on each other. This is evidence in the violent attacks carried out against Christians, particularly the foreigners and reprisal attacks in Mali, Sudan, and Libya and Northern Nigeria. The situation often degenerates to the extent that people of different religion in the same state invite their counterparts from other states to assist them in the fight against their fellow nationals. Some xenophobic attacks are religiously induced but masked in ethnicity and tribal sentiments. The issue of "Boko Haram" in Nigeria is a clear case, and it is spreading to other African countries like Chad, Cameroon, and Togo, thereby increasing the rate of xenophobic activities in Africa.

Drugs Trafficking and Crime Rate. Urbanization of poverty includes exportation of urban crime from one state to another through migration, refugee and asylum seeking. There seems to be a relationship between substance abuse and the affinity to violent hate crimes. Xenophobic activities in Africa has some strong relationship with substance intake which often induces a sense of vague or unevaluated superiority complex otherwise known as Dunning-Kruger's effect. With the (DKe) an individual becomes unreasonable and uncircumspect leading to more substance abuse and violence. Drug trafficking and criminal activities of foreign nationals account for some of the sources of hatred and dislike by citizens in receiving countries. Saar (2013) ^[17] says that war on drugs are fought by both government and concern citizens on a daily in Africa. In some African countries, the indigenes usually attribute drug trafficking and substance abuse as indices of corrupt and vile behavior of the foreigners in their state. This accusation graduates to dislike for the foreigners and subsequent discriminations. In an attempt to exonerate themselves from accusation of substance trade and prove that the indigenes are the ones involved in the ill practices, both the indigenes and foreigners engage in violence against each other, resulting in xenophobic activities such as occurred in South Africa in 2006, 2008 and 2017 that resulted in violent attacks /killings of Nigerians, Togolese, Sudanese, Ivoirians, Ghanaians and Cameroonians.

Tacit support of States' Security Agencies. State security agents all over the world are charged with the responsibility of securing life and properties of every single individual residing in that state notwithstanding socio-cultural and political differences. Unfortunately, in some African states, the security agents provide discriminate services in favour of state nationals at the detriment of foreigners, thereby exposing the foreigners to security challenges in their respective domains. Again, state security agencies often take sides with the indigenes wherever there is a crime involving foreign nationals and native citizens. In their views, Hussein and Hitomi (2013) ^[9], says that security agents including the police in South Africa are more concerned with the security of the indigenes than the foreigners in the face of the any criminal investigations or violence in that county, thereby exposing the foreigners to the risk of violent attacks by the indigenes. In most cases, the security agents harass, intimidate and accuse the foreigners innocently in order to arrest and detain them at the instance of the indigenes. In Egypt and Libya, the story is not different, as the security agents provide more security for indigenes than the foreigners. This selective security services in African states have resulted to discrimination and perceived oppression against the foreigners, and graduated to several violent attacks and counter attacks between the foreigners and indigenes.

Policy lacuna and Diplomacy Some domestic policies of some African states often mirrors explicit policy lacuna targeted at foreigners whenever there is business competition between native citizens and foreign nationals in their respective domain. Some African leaders even go the lengths to making undiplomatic and provoking comments against foreign nationals capable of inciting xenophobic violence in their state. Kumah (2017) ^[10] attributed the xenophobic activities in part of South Africa to the

unguided, undiplomatic and indiscriminate comments credited to King Goodwill Zwelithini at Pongola, Northern KwaZuluNatal in March, 2015 against the foreigners in South Africa. Unguarded utterances from public figures such as mentioned often fanned the embers of violence against foreigners. The escalation of violence undermines interstate relations and sometimes stunts diplomatic engineering between states.

Poor Information Management by Media Houses. Some media houses in Africa in attempt at news promotion, sales jingles and traffic attraction, intentionally mismanage information involving relations between indigenes and foreigners. The mismanagement of information is in the areas of sensationally preconceiving and intentionally misrepresentation of facts about activities of foreigners. This include painting the foreigners in bad light before the indigenes that could give the natives credentials for xenophobic activities. Such drive shows a travesty of ambition and ulterior motive anterior to peaceful coexistence. Hussien and Hitomi (2013) ^[9] stated that the mismanagement and misrepresentation of facts about the government report on the causes and effects of the xenophobic violence in KwaZulu-Natal Province of South Africa in 2015 led to another round of violence against foreigners. This was made possible because the media houses, both local and international blew the reports out of proportion resulting in more violence and subsequent reprisal attacks. Propagandistic interventions of state media house underscores misinformation which often is taken as facts. As a result, the negative image painted by such propaganda propels xenophobic violence.

Implications of Xenophobic activities on African Security and Development

Loss of Revenue from Tourism. Xenophobia represents the impression of dislike and discrimination against foreigners and therefore creates the notion that the affected state is hostile to foreigners including tourists. This notion scares the tourists and induces a sense of insecurity. This sense of insecurity arising from possible violence and discriminatory policies against them forces the existing tourists to vacate the state, while intending tourists divert their tourism interest to other violence-free states. This was evidenced in South Africa in 2015, when the Mozambicans avoided the tourism in Indaba, Durban, and in 2017, when Nigerians declined interest for tourism and holiday in South Africa due to xenophobic violence. The explicit implication on revenue is that the affected state in particular and Africa at large losses the revenue targets and assets from declined tourism within the period.

Increase in Death Rate and Loss of Manpower in Africa Zoomed into the xenophobic violence is the loss of manpower in Africa. Transnational xenophobia accounts for the increase in death of Africans in Africa, implying that Africans are the main casualties of the xenophobic violence in Africa. In 1983, Nigerians and Ghanaians were killed in violence attacks and reprisal attacks in Nigeria, forcing the Ghanaians to leave Nigeria back to Ghana. Similarly, in Libya, Senegal and South Africa, the black Africans were targets of the violence and extermination. As a consequence, loss of manpower, increased death rate and poor human capacity development negatively affect African peace and

development.

Violation and Abuse of Fundamental Human Rights

Transnational xenophobia has immense impact on the violation and abuse of fundamental human rights of Africans. The use of insolent, abusive and derogatory names for foreigners and sometimes resistance to cordial advances from foreigners by the locales are often done with xenophobic undertone. In some cases, state security agents and state legal framework are deployed to deprive the foreigners' equal opportunity. The application and interpretation of the law most times are just expletives to deceive the foreign nationals into believing in equal treatment by the law so as to have some sense of belonging. The deception sometimes is revealed by long detention of foreign criminal suspects and prolonged state's prosecution procedures.

Poor Inter-State Relations. At the level of interstate relations, transnational Xenophobia could compel African states to develop distrust against each other leading to pejorative exchanges. In severe cases, trade embargo and increased tariffs are deployed as mechanism of sanctions and retaliation. In those states where xenophobic activities are carried out, the people and government of the affected foreign nationals plan reprisal attacks and discriminations against the nationals of the earlier xenophobic state. New African Magazine (2015) ^[13] stated that Nigerian National Assembly had expressed dismay over the discrimination, killing and abuse of Nigerians due to xenophobic violence in South Africa. This led to Nigerians threatening to launch reprisal attacks on South Africans and their investments in Nigeria. The cumulative effect is a strained relationship tailored towards a continued violence and under-development in the continent.

Migratory and mobility restrictions The emergence of transnational xenophobic activities in Africa has resulted in the introduction of certain migration policies by some African States leading to intra and interstates restrictions on migration and mobility of foreign nationals. Often times, the restrictions are complexion sensitive. Certain African citizens, particularly the black Africans are most times restricted from accessing light-skin African states, thereby limiting labour, social and economic mobility in Africa. The manifestation of xenophobia undermines social cohesion, peaceful co-existence and good governance, and constitutes a violation of human rights. The implication of the above is antithetical to African peace and development.

Economic Crisis and Loss of Capital Investment There is always an inverse correlation between transnational xenophobia and economic development. In African States where xenophobia is a recurring decimal, economic crisis engendered by loss of capital, property and investments of the foreign nationals, is always a direct consequence. Looting and destruction of foreign investment couple with harsh economic policies of the host state results in loss of investment and the negation of economic activities in such state. The aftermath of transnational xenophobia is replete with the closure of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), inappropriate sales of real estates, company shares and indemnity to fast tract relocation of investments to other peaceful states, leaving such xenophobic state with

increasing number of unemployed citizens, less capital investment and economic crisis.

Poor and deflected image of the continent Transnational xenophobia involving several African states often attract global attention that paints Africa in bad light and gives bad impression about the continent as hostile to foreigners. The implication is that it deflects Africa from some international engagements and showcases the continent as lawless unfit for foreign direct investment and human capital development.

Conclusion

The issue of xenophobia not only has effect on foreign relations and development of African States, it encourages a recurring generational hatred that occasions destabilizing social and economic circumstances against African cooperation, security and development along a continuum from poor to worst. The extent of destabilization of the continental cooperation and security arising from xenophobic disorder may not be readily seen on a larger scale, but could contribute to the derailment of continental focus of the African Union. African governments on their part should direct resources to human development and reverse the tendency common to most countries in the continent where poverty targeted public spending is often marked by poor implementation. Although xenophobic violence sometimes has little or no impact on interstate trade, however, the negative consequence of its activities may shape the continent's holistic interstate relations, impedes human capital development, encourages unemployment and competition for scarce resources leading to discontent, frustration and aggression. Transnational xenophobia emanates from the receiving economy by its citizens as a medium of communicating discontent, discomfort and disapproval against foreigners and the reprisals whether in the receiving economy or migrant country of origin, mirrors a continued spiraling insecurity in the continent. Xenophobic incidents with attendant implications for the security and economic sectors threatens diplomatic relations between governments and nationalities. This phenomenon still defines the basis for socioeconomic interactions between immigrants and local population in the continent. Transnational xenophobia therefore is an impediment to Africa's cooperation and will continue to adversely affect the aim to achieve peace, security and development in the continent.

Recommendations

African States should first identify causes of previous xenophobic activities in their states with a view of guiding against a snowballing of minor dislike into future xenophobic occurrences. Again the rights and privileges of the foreigners should be protected in Africa, to reduce discrimination and violence against the foreigners and encourage peaceful co-existence and development. Further, cultural lenses used in viewing migrants demographic should be discouraged in Africa in order to avoid the issue of colour and race differences. This will make Africans see themselves as people of one race, historical background and as brothers irrespective of complexion differential. This philosophy of brotherhood will enhance the expected peace and cooperation among Africans. Finally, the contest for religious superiority in Africa should be addressed using the

necessary state policies to ensure that every citizen enjoys religious freedom in the state. This will reduce religious conflict and violence related xenophobia and encourage African and development.

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