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ORIGINAL ARTICLE

Class Struggle in Africa: The Case of Xenophobic attacks in South Africa

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Abstract

All known societies are stratified. This implies that power and resources are unevenly distributed and that the society may be divided into socio-economic classes. These classes are defined in terms of the differing position they occupy in the production process. Not only are the interests of these classes different but also they could actually be antagonistic and irreconcilable. Class antagonism often breeds unprecedented intolerance, violence, and killings against the dominated social category. This paper interrogates the xenophobic attacks being unleashed sporadically against African migrants in South Africa as an offshoot of class struggle in Africa. These seemingly politically, socially and economically motivated attacks have continued to generate arguments among scholars and socio-political analysts around the world. The ensuing discourses revolve around the identity question and the political struggle about who has the right to be cared for by the state and society: a fight for the collective goods of the modern state. Many scholars have opined that every state needs immigrants for development; thus, this paper considers the incessant attacks of non-nationalsas a cause for concern. It therefore examines historically the big picture of class struggle and how xenophobic attacks in South Africa has hampered the relations among African nations.

Introduction

The concept of class struggle, though not originally propounded by Karl Marx, is yet one of his great contributions to sociology. To Marx "the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle". The first line of communist manifesto (1848) reads. According to Raymond Aron (2008, pp.43-60) "the classes are the principal actors in the historical drama of capitalism in particular and of history in general".Classes refer to the groups of people having their own role to play in the relation of production. Relations of production refer to the fact that in the process of industrial production the labour and capital stand in specific relation to each other. Labour is the capacity which the working class possesses.

The big question is: what type of state is South Africa? Is it a capitalist, a democratic nationalistic state or a proletariat state? Some people argue that South Africa is a developing state. It is not really easy to analyze the state without understanding the relation between political and economic power. This involves the contradiction brought about by the disparities in society in relation to the means of production, resources and commodities. In the light of the complex nature of class struggle in South Africa, this research emphasized class struggle in the case of xenophobic attacks in South Africa. However, South Africa is a nation of multiple ethnicities, languages and nationalities. From the Zulu and Xhosa, to the Dutch and the British, Somali and Tutsi to India Tamiland Gujarati, Chinese and Zimbabweans. However divided, unequal and structurally flawed, South Africa is home to a very diverse population of people. A country with deep pockets, it remains attractive as a home for migrants, some of them seeking greener economic pastures, others safety and security. The economy relies heavily on migrants, be it to make up for a massive skills shortage or as deep labour in farms and mines. Despite the violence meted out to foreign nationals, tens of thousands continue to seek asylum there as many as 60,000 to 80,000 per year.

It is important to note that xenophobia can exist with violence. It is also not sufficient to simply recognize it when people start killing each other. Xenophobic attacks in South Africa is not new. Many have recalled anti-migrant sentiments in the early nineties, when the government was in the

midst of planning new economic policies and politicians of all stripes began drumming up anti-migrant sentiments. According to a survey in 2002 cited by Danso and McDonald (2001), 75 percent of South Africans held negative perceptions about black African foreigners. In a most painful of ironies, many South Africans associate foreign black Africans with disease, genocide and dictatorship.

In the wake of xenophobic attacks in South Africa, this research paper historically takes a look at the big picture of class struggle and how xenophobic attacks in South Africa has hampered the relations among African nations. To achieve this, this paper has been compartmentalized with the following sub-headings: conceptual clarification, theoretical framework, the Marxist theory of class struggle/conflict, xenophobic violence in post-apartheid South Africa: an overview, the myths and investigations in the xenophobic attacks, conclusion and lastly recommendations.

Conceptual Clarification

Xenophobia:

The word 'xenophobia' is from two Greek words, 'xenos' (meaning alien, stranger or foreigner) and 'phobos' (meaning fear). Xenophobia is therefore the fear of a foreigner; however, the word has a deeper meaning than this. The term xenophobia is used to describe the ill-feelings for immigrants or people who are different from oneself. As such it is an outburst of rejection/discriminatory ideas, societal stereotyping and prejudices disguised with the phenomenon of nationalism (Onyido, 2018, p.75). Shinsana (2008) corroborates the view that xenophobia is a dislike and/or fear of that which is unknown or different from one and that it comes from the Greek words (xenos), meaning "stranger", "foreigner" and (Phobos), and meaning "fear". The term is typically used to describe a fear or dislike for foreigners or of people significantly different from oneself, usually in the context of visibly differentiated minorities. It is more broadly defined in the Dictionary of Psychology (1978) as "a fear of strangers".

Xenophobia has become a prominent aspect of life in Africa. From Kenya to the Maghreb and across Southern Africa, discrimination against non-nationals, particularly fellow Africans, has been on the rise according to international media reports. However, Crush (2008) states that exclusion, based on the idea of being 'non-native,' has existed in Africa since independence (and was codified during colonialism). Bounded ideas of citizenship have existed in Africa for two centuries, and contemporary xenophobia can be seen as one of the most recent manifestations of this Feature.

Class Struggle:

The study of class struggle also known as class warfare or class conflict has progressively become a significant tension or antagonism in society. It is said to exist because different groups of people have different interest. Social sciences group people with similar social features into classes. Most of these features are economic. According to Karl Marx (1911), there are two main classes of people: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The bourgeoisie control the capital and the means of production while the proletariat provide the labour. Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels say that for most of history, there has been a struggle between those two classes. This struggle is known as class struggle. In truth, the validity of Marx's theory of class struggle underscores the history of working class movement.

Each historical situation develops its own dynamics. The close links between class and race developed in Africa alongside capitalist exploitation. Slavery, the master-servant relationship and cheap labour were basic to it. The classic example is apartheid in South Africa, where Africans experience a double exploitation both on the ground of colour and of class. In these areas, even shades of colour count – the degree of blackness being a yardstick by which social status is measured. In the modern world however, the race struggle has become part of the class struggle. In other words, wherever there is a race problem, it has

become linked with class struggle. In order to understand class as a scientific concept, we found useful this definitions by Lenin (1973, pp.23-4):

> Classes are large groups of people differing from each other by the place they occupy in a historically determined system of social production by their relation (in most cases fixed and formulated in law) to the means of production, by their role in the social organization of labour, and, consequently, by the dimension of the share of social wealth of which they dispose and the mode of acquiring it. Classes are groups of people, one which can appropriate the labour of another owing to the different places they occupy in a definite system of social economy.

A Brief History of South Africa:

South Africa, a society in which Africans, Asians and Europeans co-exist in the same territory, has been the result of a long history going back to the first European settlement in the Cape of Good Hope in 1652. State and society in contemporary South Africa have been forged by three and half centuries of interaction between white colonial settlers and Africans. This formative history can be divided into three distinct eras. The first era, from 1652 to 1870s focus on encounters between colonial settlers and the Africans – the clash of different systems of governance and social structures.

The second era, from 1870 to 1940, created an integrated political economy in South Africa (centered on the need for cheap mine labour as the demands of white farmers to be protected from competition by their African counterparts. The white minority controlled the political and economic structure. The black majority provides cheap labour within these white controlled areas. This dichotomy was deliberately created and maintained. The third era, from 1948-1976, enshrined apartheid as the organizing principle for state and society (Ohlson, Stedman, 1994). However, it is important to note that events from 1976 to date dramatically altered the socio-economic and political condition in South Africa. Apartheid was abolished within this time frame and election in 1994 saw the blacks taking over the realm of political power while the economy was in the tied grip of the white class.

Theoretical Framework

In the basket of international Relations theories, no single theory, as a tool of analysis satisfactorily explains xenophobic attacks in South Africa. For this study, there will be a triangulation of theories. The two theories that will be knotted in this research paper are the 'Frustration- Aggression Theory' and 'Constructivism'.

The Frustration–Aggression Hypothesis commonly called the frustration-aggression theory is a seminal theory in psychology which has been used several times in other fields of study to explain aggressive human behavior. Central to the frustration aggression theory is the tenet that there is a casual relationship between frustration and aggression. This conviction of a nexus between frustration and aggression was first held by a group of Yale University psychologists - John Dollard, Leonard W. Dobb, Neal E. Miller, Orval H. Mowrer and Robert R. Sears in their co-authored Monograph: Frustration and Aggression (1939). The theory was later revised by Neal Miller (1941) and Leonard Berkowitz (1969).

Frustration to the Yale group is "an interference with the occurrence of an instigated goal-response at its proper time in the behavior sequence" (Dollard et al., 1939, p.7).Inother words, it is a situation where the attainment of a desired goal of a person or group of persons is hindered. Succinctly, aggression is a "sequence of behavior, the goal response to which is the injury of the person toward whom it is directed"(Dollard et al., 1939, p.9). According to Dollard and his colleagues, "the occurrence of aggressive behavior always presupposes the existence of frustration and, contrariwise, that the existence of frustration always leads to some form of aggression"(Dollard

et al. 1939, p.1). Neal Miller two years later reformulated the original assumption to realize that"frustration produces instigations to a number of different types of response, one of which is an instigation to some form of aggression" (Miller, 1941, p.338). Berkowitz (1965) on his part pointed out that frustration does not immediately trigger aggression in a person or group of people, but creates a "readiness for aggressive acts" (Shaffer, 2005, p.275).

In post- apartheid South Africa, the frustration-aggression theory makes us understand that the spike in anti-foreigner violence is as a result of the frustration of the unemployed and impoverished locals. Since the goal of being gainfully employed to meet basic human needs and lead a decent life has been hampered over time, the locals have taken out their frustration aggressively on African immigrants whom they claim are getting jobs that are in short supply in resource-endowed South Africa.

While the Frustration Aggression Theory lenses can only make the user see frustration as the root cause of aggressive behavior of South African xenophobes towards African immigrants, constructivism as a social structural theory takes over in the analysis of Foreigners-South Africa relations. Exactly 30 years ago, Nicholas G. Onuf introduced constructivism in the IR with his book: "World of our making (1989)". However, it was after the dissolution of the union of Soviet Socialist Republic (hereafter USSR)in 1991, which marked the end of the ideological struggle and arms race between the capitalist Western bloc led by the United States (hereafter US) and the communist Eastern bloc under the leadership of the USSR, that Alexander Wendt developed the theory in his article: Anarchy is what states make of it: The social Construction of Power and Politics (1992) and in his book: Social Theory of International Politics (1999). Other notable scholars that contributed to the development of constructivism are: Emmanuel Alder, Friedrich Kratochwill, Johm G. Ruggie and Peter Katzenstein.

As an IR theory, constructivism, also called social constructivism, adopted the sociological approach in explaining international politics as well as in critiquing traditional IR theories realism and liberalism. Contrary to Kenneth Waltz and other neo-realists' conviction that the structure of the anarchical international system is determined by the uneven distribution of materialistic capabilities –'power' (e.g. stockpile of nuclear warheads), the constructivists strongly believe that the structure of international relations is a 'social construction' via an inter-subjective process producing and reproducing structures of shared knowledge over time(Macdonald, 2015).In other words, the structure of international relations is a product of States social interaction. It is from the social relationship of states that they derive a shared knowledge of each other. This shared knowledge however is not permanent but changes over time. For example, according to Wendt (1995), if both the United Kingdom (hereafter UK)and North Korea announced intentions to build additional nuclear weapons, the reaction by the US and other world powers will be noticeably different. The west will perceive Pyongyang's decision as a threat due to existing and ongoing antagonistic relations, while the UK's actions would entice curiosity and investigation but not apprehension (MacDonald, 2015). In a nutshell, constructivism looks at how ideas and norms shape the identities, interests, actions and behavior of states in the international system.

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

Class Struggle in Africa

The struggle among social classes for the control of state power has been the propelling force in the development of many societies. Development here is taken to mean qualitative change in the labour and productive forces and relations which give rise to the manufacturing of more goods, consumption and distribution of material values in the society. The people who get polarized into two main contending classes over the ownership and control of the means of production are members of the bourgeois class, while on the other hand are those who have no means of production known as the oppressed/proletarian class (Adilieje, Igwiro, & Adagenye, 2013). The reason for this struggle is to determine authoritative allocation of values and scarce resources which makes the oppressed class look for a new social class order and equal distribution of resources but the bourgeoisie class occupies itself with the maintenance of class advantage via structural inequality. Such agitations usually leads to intense struggle or violence which eventually leads to class conflicts. This class struggle may lead to the overthrowing of the ruling class or forcing them to embark on reforms such as increase in wages, welfare, bonuses, political liberties, democratic participation in industrial affairs, etc. (Bangwa, 1985, p.39). The working class needs organization strength and network of solidarity if they must extricate themselves from socio-economic and political marginalization (Adilieje, Igwiro, & Adagonye, 2013, p.1).

The African states have an origin of class struggle (oppressor and the oppressed) which usually stands at loggerhead which usually ends up in a fight or revolutionary reconstitution of society at large. The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society has not done away with class antagonism. It has established new classes, new conditions of oppression and new form of struggle in place of the old ones (Marx & Engels, 1848, p.1). Class struggle as the active expression of a theoretical class conflict is looked at from any kind of socialist perspective. Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels, leading ideologist of communism, wrote that the history of existing society is that of class struggle. Marx's notion of class has nothing to do with social class in the sociological sense of upper, middle and lower classes instead in the age of capitalism Marx describes it as economic class.

The struggle between classes is all part of the yearning of the dominated class for freedom, equality and justice in the process of production and distribution of material well-being of the people. The outcome of class struggle decides not only whether there is progress towards justice, equality and freedom but also how much progress. These injustice, domination, oppression, and exploitation are social in character and impede social progress; consequently, they generate opposition to themselves. Such opposition results in the struggle to end their existence or ameliorate their consequences (Nnoli, 2011, p.24).

With the seizure of land, with all its national resources, two sectors of the economy emerged - the Europeans and the Africans, the former exploiting the later. Subsistence agriculture was gradually destroyed and Africans were compelled to sell their labour powers to the colonialists who turned their profits into capital. It was in these circumstances that the race-class struggle emerged asa part of class struggle. At the end of the colonial period, there was in most African States a highly developed state machine and a veneer of parliamentary democracy concealing a coercive state run by an elite of bureaucrats with practically unlimited power. In Africa, the African bourgeois anxious to emulate European Middle class attitudes and ideologies have in many cases confused middle class with race. They find it difficult to differentiate between European classes since they are not familiar with the subtle differences in speech, manner, dress and so on – differences which would instantly betray their class origin to their own fellow countrymen. Members of the European working class live as bourgeoisie in the colonies. They own cars, have servants, their women do not enter kitchen and their class origin is only apparent to their own people. After

independence, the indigenous bourgeoisie, in aspiring to ruling class status, copy the way of life of the ex-ruling class- the European. They are in reality, imitating a race and not a class.

South Africa's tortured history of racism and violence has left enduring legacies for today's state and society. The capture of the South African State by Afrikaners in 1948 and their relentless hold on that state for over forty years pose major challenges for governance. Afrikaner dominance created a class of officeholders with a vested interest in opposing reform (Wikipedia).

Xenophobic Attacks in South Africa

South Africa is known for regular attacks on foreign nationals. Despite a lack of directly comparable data, xenophobia in South Africa is perceived to have significantly increased after the installation of a democratic government in 1994.According to a 2004 study published by the Southern Africa Migration Project (SAMP), the ANC government, in its attempts to overcome the divides of the past and build new forms of social cohesion, embarked on an aggressive and inclusive nation-building project. One unanticipated by-product of this project is a growth in intolerance towards outsiders. Violence against foreign citizens and African refugees has become increasingly common and communities are divided by hostility and suspicion (SAMP, 2004).

To be sure, the issue of xenophobic relations in contemporary South Africa is rooted in and conditioned by the structure of its apartheid economy. The apartheid economy was a totalizing one, in that it mobilized all the social forces at its disposal to further the interest of the apartheid South African State. Since the primary productive force in the apartheid South African economy was gold and the concomitant social relations of the mining process was by mostly black labour force, the industry attracted heavy migrant labour from South African regions notably Zimbabweans, Malawians and Mozambicans to the fast thriving industry. The immediate result of this was that as the foreign labour force began to gain social mobility in the gold industry, the black South Africans were continually subjected to the repressive policies of apartheid. Social tensions rose in the political economy of the state and has since remained a dominant part of the social relations of the post-apartheid South African State (Konanani & Odeku, 2013; Chidozie, 2014).

Lester et al. (2000) had argued that, while for the first time democratization in South Africa has translated to the poor having the same political power as the rich, the country remains one of the most unequal societies on earth. This gross inequality was engendered, according to him, by the fact that when the country left apartheid behind it did not leave behind the structures and processes which generated inequality. This problem continues to dominate contemporary discourse on the nature of post-apartheid economy in South Africa. Thus, this contradiction in the social relations of apartheid, resulting in limited opportunities for blacks in South Africa, fuels fear among the majority of them, especially for foreigners. The mounting poverty and unemployment rate among the majority of the South African blacks have intensified in post-apartheid South Africa prompting the various governments to initiate economic reforms to reverse the trend. Hence, even though policies such as the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Programme (GEAR) and Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) came under heavy attack, especially from the white minority in South Africa, it nonetheless portrayed government's genuine intervention to redress racial (mis)representation in the country's political economy (Alozieuwa, 2009; Edigheji, 2012).

But the efforts of the government are not enough as indicated by the report released by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in 2003. The report concluded that the deep economic cleavage in post-apartheid South Africa became pronounced when the rising influx of "other foreigners" especially Nigerians and their active role in the economy of South Africa comes under scrutiny. According to the report of an oral

interview conducted in 2013, Salifu of the institute for securities studies (ISS), South Africa, estimated that there are about 13 million Nigerians living in South Africa while only about 1 million South Africans are living in Nigeria. She argued that the implication of these figures is that rather than portend an advantage for the South African economy, as many believe, there is instead a huge tension in the South African economy which has resulted in xenophobia in recent times (Salifu, oral interview 2013).

In May 2008, 62 people were killed in a wave of xenophobic attacks. Foreign nationals mostly migrants from Somalia and Ethiopia were dragged through the streets of Alexandra, barely a few kilometers from Johannesburg's plush Sandton suburb, and neck laced a throwback on the summary execution tactic used in the Apartheid days. A rubber tyre filled with petrol is forced round a victim's chest and arms and set alight. In an instant, the story of South Africa's much-touted rainbow nation of black, white and brown people happily living together fizzled away in an outburst of vengeance.

The South African Human Rights Commission said its research has shown that negative perception of and attitudes to justice and the rule of law abound at the level of affected communities. This then points to a poor relationship between communities and the police and wider judicial system. Attacks against foreigners have continued. Researchers say the recent bouts of violence against foreign nationals have already outstripped the carnage of 2008. The language carefully coined"xenophobia" goes to the heart of the problem, with South Africa conflating rights with nation-state citizenship, despite the provisions of the constitution to protect all. The packaging of illegal immigration as a national security threat, which usually results in over ambiguous claim about the inherent crimes by foreign nationals, provides an official gloss or deeply entrenched governmental xenophobia, in which African foreign immigrants are targets for regular harassment, rounding up and extortion by the police. The normalization of immigrants as figures of resentment may also fuel outbreaks of xenophobic violence (Olupolunda, 2013).

The South African constitution, along with various international treaties ratified by the South African government ensures the protection of all persons who reside within the country from violation to the right to liberty and security of person. And when it comes to cases of violence against foreigners, the state is particularly obliged to protect the victim from individuals who perpetrate the violence. A South Africa Human Rights Commission report (2010) found that "the judicial outcomes for cases arising from 2008 violence have limited the attainment of justice for victims of the attacks and have allowed for significant levels of impunity for perpetrators".The latest wave of xenophobia attacks is under grounded by the belief that foreigners – mainly migrants from other African countries –are to blame for South Africa's social and economic woes. And while a significant number of the population hold anti-immigrant views, data shows the country faces bigger challenges than hosting foreign nationals.

South African politicians have consistently complained about the influx of foreign citizens, with some claiming they were burdening sectors including the national health care system. Yet data from the government agency statistics in South Africa showed that there were 2.1 million international migrants in South Africa out of a population of 51.7million in 2011 which of late has jumped to 55.7million. The government has also cracked down on migrants coming into the country, potentially reducing their number over the years (Abdi Latif, 2019).

Many locals blame immigrants for taking their jobs and driving unemployment level. Yet joblessness is so pervasive across South Africa that president Ramaphosa recently called it a "deep and serious crisis". Poor education levels and weak labour policies have been blamed for the low growth in jobs, while some have pointed to the need to up skill workers in the face of growing

technological innovation. Critical to note here is that while South Africans have access to social safety nets and basic services most foreigners have to fend for themselves without any support.(Abdi Latif, 2019). Foreign nationals, particularly undocumented immigrants, have become scape goats for crime in South Africa's major urban cities with both politicians and police pointing fingers at them. The country for sure has a serious crime problem with over 21,000 people killed in the year 2019. Besides murder rates, sexual offenses, assaults and robberies have all been rising amidst growing concern about violence against women. Furthermore, experts have noted that it is not possible to conclude foreigners commit most of these violent crimes because the police do not publicly release data on the nationalities of those they arrested and in many cases have no idea who the perpetrators are(Abdi Latif, 2019).

The sporadic xenophobic attacks in the rainbow nation from 2008 did not erupt with instigators. In recent past, a traditional ruler, public office holder and political leader triggered xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals with their reckless public speeches. On March 20, 2015, the Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini reportedly made a hate speech in Pongola, Kwazulu Natal(KZN) province, likening foreigners in South Africa to head lice and asked them to pack their bags and leave the country. In his words: "Let us pop our head like we must remove ticks and place them outside in the sun. We ask foreign nationals to pack their belongings and be sent back" (Govender, 2015).

Furthermore, in December 2016, the mayor of Johannesburg, Herman Mashaba made a public statement, blaming illegal immigrants for crimes in the city and called on them to leave (Mauhinga, 2019). The latest xenophobic attacks, which started in March 2019, have been linked to President Cyril Ramaphosa's remands during his campaign trail before the general elections on May 08, 2019. According to him:"Everybody just arrives in our townships and rural areas and set up business with licenses and permits. We are going to bring this to an end. And those who are operating illegally wherever they come from must now know…" (Hairsine, 2019).The anti-foreigner violence that followed the president's remark forced many African immigrants to seek refuge in mosques and police stations. It therefore became necessary for the South African minister on international relation and cooperation, Mrs. lindiwe Sisulu, to hold talks with African countries' Ambassadors on the recent attacks which she did on April 01, 2019.

From the foregoing, the fundamental causes of xenophobia are complex and varied. Xenophobia has to do with contemptuous of that which is foreign, especially of strangers from different other countries other than the country in discourse. The high rate of unemployment and poverty among the South Africans at the bottom of the economic ladder have resulted in fears of the competition that better educated migrants can replace them. South Africa has a long-record of violence which is a means of protest and the attacking of foreigners in particular serve a very good explanation for its incessant xenophobic attacks. The perennial spate of attacks on foreign shops in South African township raises uncomfortable question about xenophobic attacks in South Africa. This attitude generated the questions which include: To what extent can South Africa's inconsistent immigration policy be blamed for xenophobia? Do foreigners really 'steal' South Africans' job? Do foreign owned small businesses have an unfair advantage over those owned by South Africans? Do foreigners especially Africans perpetrate crime, peddle drugs and commit other related offences in South Africa?

Xenophobia is becoming a prominent aspect of life in Africa, from Kenya to Maghreb and across Southern Africa, discrimination against non-nationals, particularly fellow Africans has been on the rise according to international media reports (Bibi Farouk et al.,2019).With the dismantling of the apartheid regime and the emergence of constitutional democracy in 1994, immigration inflow into South Africa witnessed a sharp increase particularly from neighboring African countries" (Ogunnubi & Amusan, 2018, p.61). As at 2011, the

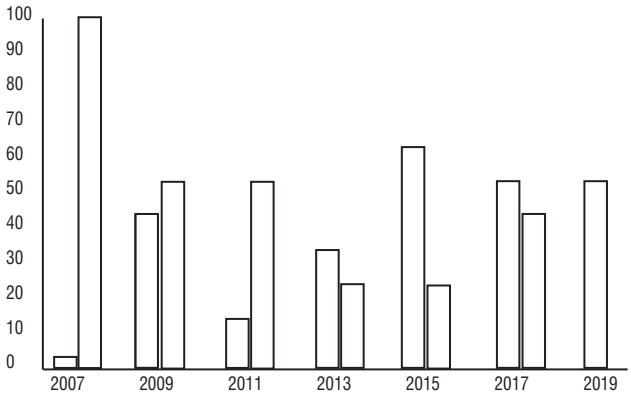
figures of foreign born people in the country has risen to 2.2 million according to the 2011 South African census (Heleta, 2018). The high poverty rate and unemployment in South Africa is believed by the indigenes that the immigrants (foreigners) who they call "Amakwerekwere" (a derogatory) South African word for foreign visitors in a township (Wiktionary, 2019) are to be blamed for the economic and societal challenges that have bedeviled the country. Hence, foreign nationals mostly Africans in South Africa are occasionally made objects of xenophobic attacks. These incessant attacks have a negative impact on the South African relations with other African States.

According to Dolland et al. (1939), "The occurrence of aggressive behavior always presupposes the existence of frustration and contrariwise that the existence of frustration always leads to some form of aggression" (p.1). Since the post-apartheid era began in South Africa in the year 1994, several African countries have established and sustained diplomatic, economic and socio-cultural ties with the rainbow nation. However, the one too many targeted killings of their nationals in South Africa have created a shared knowledge of South Africa as a xenophobic country. Frustrated xenophobes have more often taken out their anger aggressively on the nationals of neighboring countries in Southern Africa-Malawi, Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Somalia, Congo, Ethiopia to mention but a few. Considering this fact, many scholars and analysts alike have reached a census that these perpetrating xenophobic attacks on mostly African immigrants in the rainbow nation have specifically acrophobia and not the generic xenophobia (Adeleke et al., 2019).

In South Africa, the manner in which the xenophobic attacks have been carried out differs. African immigrants have either been beaten in a club, hacked to death with a machete, stabbed with a knife, shot at close range with a loaded gun, stoned to death or set ablaze with tyre alive. Their business, home and personal effects are not spared in the attacks. They are usually looted, destroyed, burnt to ashes or stolen.

According to Orovwuje (2017a:2017b), the issue of xenophobia in contemporary South Africa is a profound psychosomatic carryover and the negative product of the apartheid regime that cannot be wished away from the collective consciousness of the people of the rainbow nation. Much as there are elements of truth in his argument that xenophobia is a psychological hang over from the apartheid era, there are myths behind the spike in xenophobic attacks. After the white minority in South Africa ended in 1994, black South Africans led high hopes of a prosperous country free of racial discrimination. Almost three decades after the country became a democracy, poverty is evident in some parts of South Africa, coupled with rising unemployment rate which was above 27% at the close of year the 2018 (BBC news, 2019a; BBC news, 2019b). Hence the nationals out of sheer anger and jealousy poured their hatred and frustration mostly on the African immigrants that are making a headway in business. They claim that the immigrants are taking away the few jobs available in their country. They also complained that the immigrants are straining public services like healthcare, education, electricity, etc., and are marrying their women in order to become legal citizens. They are also accused of being into drug peddling, prostitution and other criminal activities. Some, if not all of their claims, have been refuted. The South African government does not collect data on these attacks or threats against foreign nationals. However, the African centre for migration and society (ACMS) has monitored these attacks across South Africa since 1994. Its xenowatch tracker collates media reports as well as information from activities, victims and observers.

Threats, attacks and killing against foreigners in South Africa



2019, the latest available data
Source: Xenowatch, African Centre for Migration Society.

The country has so far experienced poor economic performance, with officially recorded unemployment at more than 27% at the end of 2018. And more widely, the country has one of the highest number of murder rates in the world. According to Sharon Ekamberam (2019),who run the refugee and migrant rights programme for lawyers for human rights, "The causes are poverty and has its roots in apartheid." To Dewa Mavhinga (2019), a Southern African director at Human Rights Watch, it is noteworthy that "the vicious cycles of xenophobic violence are spurred by lack of effective policing to protect foreign nationals and their properties"; thus, "merely condemning xenophobic attacks is not enough to stop it. The police should thoroughly investigate, arrest, and bring to justice the attackers".

Despite these cycles of xenophobic violence, the government has done little to address the attacks, except for working out a National Action Plan to combat xenophobia which is yet to be implemented. The African Union Commission Chairperson Moussafaki Mahamat and the United Nations High Commissioner for human rights Michelle Bachelet on September 3 and 9, 2019 respectively urged South African government to act swiftly to ensure protection for the victims of xenophobic violence and accountability for the attackers. She believes that when the attackers are not held to account, others will be deterred from perpetuating the cycles of xenophobic violence.

Finally, police and immigration officers must be trained and sensitized about human right and in particular the rights of foreigners and refugees to enjoy freedom from discrimination and full protection from the South African police service. There should be an increased focus on diversity training in the service and attention should be paid to who gets trained, not only the quality of training, as station commanders have been disposed to send civilians and not those officers that come into contact most frequently with foreigners (Masuku, 2006). Corruption should also be tackled with the police service and officers should be punished severely for any abuse of foreigners or the immigration system as a whole. This approach should be expanded to criminal justice system as a whole where citizens should be punished to the full extent of the law for racially motivated crime and attacks on foreigners.

Conclusion

The most important reason behind the prevalence of xenophobic attacks in South Africa are economic crisis and the tendency to criminalize foreigners. Particular manifestations and frequency of xenophobia are well known. It is also well known that, in conjunction with pseudo-speciation, xenophobia leads to high aggressiveness and may lead to war, due to the weakening of mechanisms for mutual accommodation and inhibitions against killing. Xenophobic attacks are indeed pervasive in South Africa, from the individual level, including top government officials and ordinary citizen to the state or domestic level, including government departments, the police and the media and at the inter-state level which is perhaps best illustrated by perception of South African exceptionalism and extreme nationalism. Any attempt to combat this scourge must take into consideration how xenophobia manifests at the different levels.

Although the genesis of xenophobia has often been discussed, the experience of those targeted has seldom been explored. Arguably, the linkage between xenophobia and apartheid increases prospects of the re-occurrence of the phenomenon

in South Africa unless certain progressive policy actions are taken by the government of South Africa. These policy action most include the revision of the history and civic education curriculum of South Africa to accommodate the various human and material contribution of fellow African countries towards the liberation of the country from the clutches of apartheid regime. A similar agency of Nigeria – the National Orientation Agency – should be established to design and run advocacy programmes aimed at inculcating the African spirit of brotherliness in South African citizens.

If spiritedly executed, these measures will quench the tides of incessant violent attacks against fellow Africans. Whether xenophobia or Afrophobia, African people and governments of African nations must rethink the basis of their relation and realize that the implication of these menace can negatively impact their politics, economy and society at large.

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