

CITIZENS' CENTRED DIPLOMACY AND THE PROTECTION OF NIGERIAN DIASPORA IN SOUTH AFRICA: AN EVALUATION OF IMPACTS, 2014-2024.

Omotosho, ISHOLA

Department of History and Diplomatic Studies

Kwara State University, Malete.

Isholaomotosho2015@gmail.com

Abstract

Citizens' centred diplomacy is one of the means of achieving and protecting the interest of citizens at the international level, it is the peaceful and skillful method of negotiation by which the government of a nation safeguards the interests and welfare of her citizens in their external relations within the system. Nigerian citizen's centred diplomacy is Nigeria's international behaviour and action towards the protection of citizen's interests and wellbeing anywhere around the world. Nigeria and South Africa are two important African countries and they have related in very many epochal ways over the years. The former had interacted with the latter in the regions of decolonization, economic diplomacy, bilateral trade relations, and international organizations, among others, to better the lots of their citizenry. However, it is until recently that these regional co-operations tend to be truncated especially with the problems of Xenophobic attacks in South Africa and the way her citizens are being treated as regards their socio-economic welfare. As a result of this, it was realized the need to put citizens at the center of the foreign policy in order to put in place a policy initiatives that ensure socio-economic welfares and better the lots of Nigerians in diasporas within the confines of Nigeria-South Africa relations. The purpose of the study is to identify the main thrusts of citizens centred diplomacy of the Nigerian government towards protecting Nigerians in South Africa and to evaluate how the socio-economic welfare of Nigerian diasporans in South Africa was catered for at the wake of Xenophobic attacks using Citizens' Centered Diplomacy. The traditional historical method was adopted in writing the paper, these consist of the use of primary and secondary materials gotten from the archives, journals, textbooks, official documents and oral interviews of the key informants . The findings of the study show that enunciation of Citizens' Centered Diplomacy by Nigerian government led to adoption of foreign policy tools like Reciprocal Principles, Shuttle

Political Diplomacy, Diaspora Protection, and Democratization of foreign policy. The study reveals that these tools were used to protect citizens' socio-economic welfares and personal security and safeguard them against arbitrary treatments in South Africa most especially during the xenophobic era. The study therefore concludes that, through Citizens' centred Diplomacy, actions and policy initiatives were put in place towards socio-economic welfare and protection of Nigerians in South Africa.

Keywords: *Citizens, Diplomacy, Xenophobia, Nigeria, South Africa.*

Introduction

The hallmark of foreign policy is to pursue objectives within an external environment, and the action of a country towards external arena is determined by the policy goals a country tends to achieve within the system. The primary goals of foreign policy of any nation within the international system are to achieve what could not be achieved within the domestic environment¹. These goals are usually pursued within the context of an established foreign policy objectives of a nation with a view to satisfying both domestic and international aspirations. Therefore, Nigeria's foreign policy since independence has been in total support for Africa countries most especially in fighting against Apartheid regime and decolonization struggle in African states in general and South Africa specifically. Nigerian foreign policy has distinguished itself by the amount of energies; resources and commitment shown to the total liberation of Africa, as both Apartheid and colonization were engaged, confronted and liquidated on the Africa continent. Diplomatic, moral and financial resources were consistently placed at the disposal of the liberation movements across Africa with Namibia being the last country to be saved from the scourge of colonialism in 1990. And the Apartheid regime in South Africa was liquidated in 1994 with the inauguration of the multi-racial government under Nelson Mandela. The Afro-centric policy from independence has been of a huge cost and in spite of this cost, Nigeria's external image and respect for Nigeria's Diaspora has been on decline². For instance, Nigerians in several countries languishing in prison, death row, deportation, marginalized, tortured and attacks by the citizens of the foreign countries especially in South Africa where incessant attacks have been launched against Nigerian citizens in the region. Also, the recent diplomatic face-off between Nigeria and South Africa is an indication that Socio-Economic relations between the countries is deteriorating and therefore needs to be improved³. Reasons accounted for these have been the bad economic conditions of Nigeria characterized by unemployment,

corruption and conditions of living in Nigeria which have caused Nigerians to engage in irregular migration. For South Africans, it was alleged that, Nigerians have taken over their country, have the best houses, ride the best cars and generally live ostentatiously in their country⁴.

These Nigerians in South Africa were subjected to all kinds of dehumanization, harassment and denial in their enjoyment of rights of asylum. they were denied entrance at the airport on the basis of Yellow Fever Valid Card in 2014, and faced with xenophobic attack in 2019. It is against this background that this paper examines the impact and application of citizen centered diplomacy in curbing the menace and how the policy initiatives have been used to protect Nigerians in diaspora, especially within the context of Nigeria-South Africa relations.

An Overview of Citizens' Centred Diplomacy

The term "citizen" qualifies a legal member of a country and "citizenship" is a concept used to describe the processes and methods of becoming a citizen of a country or society.⁵ Drawn from the above, a nation irrespective of its level of interaction with another nation include into agenda its national interest, which should be reflected on its citizenry. Thus, diplomacy is the peaceful process and skillful method of negotiation by which the government of a country manage their external relations with other actors in international politics. It is the strategic and peaceful instrument used by a nation to achieve its national interests⁶.

Citizen Diplomacy which originated from the United States describes the protection of interest and welfare of the citizen which is sacrosanct and constitutes the essence of any country's domestic or foreign policy. Citizens' centred diplomacy is an approach to re-emphase nation's external relations which will manifestly benefit the interest of Nigerians and enhance their noticeable involvement of the citizen in the diplomatic environment, irrespective of where they live across the globe, therefore necessitating the formal introduction of the concept as a foreign policy thrust. Citizens' Centered Diplomacy denotes a reorientation of Nigeria's external policy pursuits for the purpose of benefiting the politico-security and socio-economic engagement, and enhancing Citizen welfare and image building⁷. It is the policy that requires the government of Nigeria to resort to the consideration of the basic needs, human rights and socio-economic welfare of the citizens in conducting bilateral and multilateral engagements with other nations⁸.

Citizens' centred diplomacy is an organized action taken by the government to achieve the objectives that have been set by policy makers⁹. The concept denotes reorientation of Nigeria's foreign policy pursuit towards beneficial economic and political engagement so as to meet up with the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) for Africa. This arose from the realization that the progress, prosperity and survival of the nationals must be the concern of every Nigerian at home and in the Diaspora. It is therefore, geared towards protecting the image and integrity of Nigeria and retaliates against countries who are hostile and brand Nigeria as corrupt. It also means that from the time of its enunciation, Nigerian citizens abroad is the centre of Nigeria's national interest and therefore the country's diplomatic machinery should be geared towards protecting his/her interests such as welfare and personal security¹⁰.

Therefore, when any government comes into power in Nigeria, with respect to its interaction with international arena, it tends to articulate a particular vision of thrust of its foreign policy. Nigeria's Foreign Affairs Ministers have given distinctive nomenclature to their own foreign policy style. The appointment of Ojo Maduekwe as the Foreign Affairs Minister in 2007 saw the adoption of Citizens' centered Diplomacy as a thrust of Nigerian foreign policy and put the policy thrust as a rebranding of the country's *raison d'etre* of interstate behaviour in Nigeria's conduct of relations with others¹¹.

. This new direction in Nigeria's foreign policy may seem like policy that lacks potential, but its normative implications and transformative potentials are enormous because it is a major development on concentric foreign policy which operates base on the key policy formula, revolving around the major pillars of citizens' centred diplomacy which include¹²:

- i. Nigeria and Nigerians should be at the centre of Nigeria's foreign policy;
- ii. Nigeria's foreign policy must meet her development aspirations and objectives in a manner that impacts more directly on the lives of the citizenry;
- iii. Nigeria's foreign policy must seek a synergy with domestic policy to ensure that the former benefits ordinary Nigerians. Indeed, the boundary between domestic policies and foreign policy has collapsed into national security for collective well-being of Nigerians;
- iv. In line with the servant-leadership philosophy of Mr. President, Nigerian Missions abroad must actively engage the Nigerian community and Nigerian Diaspora and render quality consular and other services as a matter of rights, duties and obligations;

- v. Foreign policy making and implementation must be democratized to involve Nigerians from all walks of life, and not left for a small circle of experts and practitioners alone;
- vi. Every foreign policy endeavour must meet the litmus test of determining the extent to which it protects and advocates what is best for Nigeria and what will best benefit the Nigerian people;
- vii. Nigeria should be guided by the principle of reciprocity or diplomacy of consequence in its interactions with the rest of the world.
- viii. Nigeria and Nigerians will not accept being criminalized by the international community simply based on the despicable conduct of a few of their nationals. Due recognition must be given to the remarkable feats and tremendous contributions of Nigeria and Nigerians to world civilization, socio-economic and scientific development, as well as international peace and security¹³.

Therefore, going by the above, major pillars of citizen's centred diplomacy has multifaceted outlook to the state. This includes the country's renewed determination to reposition itself in the global democratic arena; to rebuild its battered image; to address the clutches of economic crisis; poverty and the protection of diaspora and scourge of diseases among other internal vices coupled with the external pressures like the new face of international terrorism, and the deepening implication of globalization¹⁴. The immediate implication of all these is the need for re-articulation of Nigeria's image building within an acceptable framework that takes into account the survival and protection of Nigerians as a people. Therefore, the citizen's centred diplomacy is an instrument that can change the negative perception of Nigeria and instrument of diaspora protection.

Xenophobia in South Africa: Nigerians as Victims

South Africa has been faced with rapid influx of foreign immigrants and has been on record that, more than 2.2 million immigrants were residing in South Africa from the 53 African States⁷. South Africa is one of the countries in Africa where foreigners or immigrants love to visit and perhaps stay due to its industrialized setup and conducive atmosphere¹⁵. The country is one of the most industrialized countries, if not the first of its kind in Africa. In fact, the buoyant nature of the South African economy has attracted people from all walks of life to migrate into the country.

Historically, since the nineteenth century, especially when gold was discovered in Witwatersrand in South Africa, the country has started employing foreign nationals¹⁶. This has made the country to have

experienced an influx of foreign immigrants from different parts of the world and mostly from African countries. The black immigrants were employed in the mining industries even during the Apartheid Era. Hence, the industrialized nature and comfortable environment in South Africa attract the influx of migrants to the country¹⁷. These particular attributes made foreigners from all walks of life to troop in for the purpose of seeking refuge from economic crises, poverty, unfavorable government policies and wars in their various native lands¹⁰. Since then, the natives of South Africa, particularly, the black South Africans mostly referred to the foreign immigrants as a threat in their land¹⁸. The perception of the South Africans toward xenophobia was that, the legal immigrants were depriving them of employment, the illegal immigrants constituted to high level of corruption among the security agents. It is because of this that South Africans developed hatred, hostility and intolerance toward foreigners. Hence, the actions of South Africans toward immigrants can be linked to Crush and McDonald submissions on South Africans, where they stated that “their experiences of Apartheid which culminated in their suffering, discrimination, and denial and any attempt by foreigners to compete with them on benefits accrual to local nationals after apartheid would be resisted”¹⁹

Historically, segregation in South Africa could be traced back to its apartheid experience which had inculcated some of racism in South Africa. Evidence had shown that illegal discrimination meted on foreigners in South Africa had not just started but dated back to 1994²⁰. The South Africans reportedly threw some foreigners out from moving trains, simply because they believed that foreigners were those taking their jobs and bringing diseases to South Africa. Nonetheless, the 1994 transition from apartheid rule into a democratic system of government betrayed all expectations as the xenophobic attacks increased²¹.

In the years 2012, 2013 and 2014, there were weekly frequent attacks on foreign nationals in South Africa which included significant numbers of Nigerian population resident in the country²². In 2012, Nigerians was visibly shocked that South African authorities, deported Nigerian travelers, on March 1st, 2012, from Oliver Tambo International Airport in Johannesburg on the reasons perceived by South Africa as relating to health and fake yellow fever card certificates, Nigerians were massively embarrassed and subsequently deported²³.

In fact, between January and March, 2014 estimated 300 incidents of violence meted on foreign nationals recorded, over 200 shops owned by foreigners were either looted or destroyed and 900 persons were displaced. Similarly, in 2015, another attack was launched by the South Africans on

foreigners²⁴. The violence started in April 2015 in EThekwini and Johannesburg cities. Many casualties were recorded on both human and properties. There was also the case of xenophobic attack launched on Nigerians after Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini was quoted to have said that “foreigners should go back to their countries”.²⁵ The Pronouncement aggravated the attacks on immigrants and their properties. Thus, these energized government of some countries such as Nigeria to start repatriating its citizens back home. Similarly in October 2019, three Nigerians were injured in fresh xenophobic attacks in Mpumalanga, Province of South Africa and this action opines that the xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa seem to have punctured the good diplomatic relationship between the two countries. Unlike other xenophobic attacks experienced in other part of African, the South Africa’s xenophobia therefore, is always accompanied by violence. The evidence to this could be seen from the 2015, 2017 and 2019 xenophobic attacks . The experience of some victims of the xenophobia in South Africa revealed that, Nigeria government needs to guarantee the safety of all individuals in diaspora in order to ensure the protection and improve socio-economic welfare of her citizens using citizens’ centred diplomatic policy and initiatives.

The resultant effects of such attacks on the immigrants can jeopardize the relationship between the South Africa and Nigeria. In other words, the benefits that the two countries (Nigeria and South Africa), jointly enjoy may be stopped or paralyzed which may have negative on the nationals of the two countries. Mostly, the resultant effects of the xenophobia in South Africa may affect the South Africa’s investments in Nigeria. In fact, that was the point made by Senator Olusola Adeyeye who alluded to the fact that South Africa’s companies and investments in Nigeria such the MTN, DSTV, Nandos, Shoprite, Pep Game and many more are doing well and making exorbitant profits from Nigerians, and Nigeria’s government is protecting them²⁶. Hence, the resultant effect of the South Africa’s xenophobia which resulted in a series of frustrations to Nigeria’s citizens in the country can cause or raise the tension of aggression on Nigerians over both South Africans and their properties in Nigeria.

The Impact of Citizens’ Centred Diplomacy on Nigeria’s Diasporan’s Protection in South Africa

One of the reasons behind Nigeria’s efforts to engage the Nigerian Diasporan’s was borne out of the recognition of the need to protect Diaspora against dehumanization. One of the ways by which Nigerian government’s engage with its Diaspora is in the form of a Diaspora engagement policies

and provides a primary channel through which migrant home states interact with their Diasporan's.

Over the years, there was emancipation of policy initiatives as the main thrust and new policy instruments device to protect the migrant communities in South Africa Diaspora most especially during xenophobic attacks of Nigerians in the host communities. These include the reciprocal policy instrument and political shuttle diplomacy, diaspora protection, involvement and diasporal agencies like Nigeria Diaspora commission (NIDCOM) and Nigeria Diaspora organization (NIDO)²⁷.

Significant attention was also given to reciprocal gain as against former unrewarded Afrocentrism and this provides way in which Nigerians in South Africa were treated in their host communities most especially during xenophobic attacks. It was remarked that in accordance with the policy of protecting the interest of, Nigerians wherever they are found, the Nigerian government had to take appropriate reciprocal measures, primarily to protest this inhuman treatment of Nigerians by overzealous South African Immigration Officials. Thus, while Nigerian government sent its complaint to South African Flight Commissioner to Nigeria, Kingsley Mambolo, it directed also its Flight Commissioner in South Africa to lodge formal protest to the South African authorities²⁸. To justify the reciprocal action of the Nigerian government, Ashiru reiterated as follows: "this is a government that cares for its citizens and will be not overlooked to maltreat any Nigerians anywhere they reside²⁹. This is a message to all the governments globally. We will not stand by where Nigerians are maltreated unjustly". Based on the unjustified embarrassment to Nigeria by the two South Africa institutions that aimed to drag Nigeria's image to the mud, Nigeria took calculated reciprocal measures, marshaled out five conditions to end the diplomatic row³⁰. The conditions include: unconditional apology to Nigeria by South Africa over the deportation; compensation for all the victims of the cruel deportation; disciplinary action against all the officials involved in the incident; a review of the Yellow Fever Card Vaccination Card policy; and a commitment that such a diplomatic *faux pas* will not reoccur³¹. The conditions were aimed to re-establish understanding, trust, confidence and respect for the mutual interest of the two countries in their Socioeconomic and diplomatic relations as Africa's leading giants.

There was also the presence of typical democratization of foreign policy that allows citizens participation in expressing their views about matters that affect them in their host country, this is made possible due to agent of globalization for instant, internet media. Consequently, due to diasporan involvement of citizens' centered diplomacy, Citizens were

provided with the opportunity to express their grievances over the hostility in the host country. And were able to connect with home government through an enabling environment provided by citizens' diplomacy aided by information and communication technology³². Therefore, it allows defensive measure taken by home government and welfares provided by government and private stakeholders during xenophobic attack in South Africa.

The citizens predicament was attended to by the presence of Missions and Head of State in South Africa. In October 2019, President Muhammadu Buhari embarked on diplomatic visit to South Africa and had a discussion with the President Ramaphosa and warned him against attacks on Nigerians in South Africa³³. He laid emphasis on the principle of reciprocity as such can lead to retaliation on the South Africans and their businesses in Nigeria. Therefore, Ramaphosa of South Africa apologized to Nigeria through Minister of Foreign Affairs³⁴. Their visitations during the attacks provided the platform to address the issue as concern citizens' welfares and to safeguard them in order to stop the humiliation by their host country. Nigeria citizens in South Africa were engaged by the Missions through diaspora engagement policy and rendering of consular services through facilitation of quick evacuation of xenophobic victims back home³⁵. For instance, Consular General organized Town Hall Meeting with Nigerians and sensitized them on home government concern about their welfares and planning that later led to their peaceful return to Nigeria³⁶.

Therefore, security measure was taken using Bi-national Commission Protocol established by Nigeria and South Africa. And this led to series of Agreements and Memorandum of Understanding that re-affirmed to cement the relationship between the two countries and ensure the end of hostilities may likely to affect co-habitation of two citizens³⁷.

Conclusion

The study evaluated the impact of the Nigeria's citizens' centred diplomacy on the protection of Nigerians in South Africa. It delved in to the roles played by the home government to protect diasporan communities in South Africa during the years of xenophobic attacks. It was discovered that the Nigeria's quest to rise to social welfares of her citizens at the time of diaspora crisis informed new emphasis on the doctrine of Citizens' Centered Diplomacy in its diplomatic relation in a bid to better the lots of Diasporan communities in South Africa. It is also discovered that the introduction of citizens' centred diplomacy as foreign policy tools played a significant role in the defense of the Nigeria diasporan in South Africa. The study shows that through policy of Citizens' Centred Diplomacy, actions and policy initiatives

were put in place towards protecting Nigerians in South Africa in line with citizens' centred diplomacy ideology of Nigerian government. The policy was to protect the citizens against any incessant attacks, dehumanization, arbitrary imprisonment and deportation. Therefore, the principle of reciprocity, shuttle political diplomacy, Diaspora involvement were discovered as foreign policy tools birthed by citizens' centred diplomacy and used by government and its Missions to defend diaspora communities in South Africa.

References

1. Abdulazeez N.K., *Nigeria Government and Politics*, Olad publishers, Ilorin Nigeria, 2005 P.25.
2. Adama G. "Xenophobia: 320 Nigerians to Return from South Africa on Tuesday". The Nation Newspaper Papers, September, 2019P. 16.
3. Adeogun, T., &Faluyi, O., *Xenophobia, Racism and the Travails of Black Immigrants in South Africa*. In A. O. Akinola (Ed.), *The political Economy of Xenophobia in Africa* Cham, Switzerland: Springer International Publishing, 2018 Pp. 125-134.
4. Adekunle, *Heart of Africa Project and Nigeria's Image*. This Day Newspaper Papers, 2006, p34
5. Adepegba A., *Nigeria Fast-Tracks Early Warning System*. The Nation Newspaper October 16, 2019.
6. Agbu, O. . *Nigerian Foreign Policy under President Umaru Musa Yar' Adua: Challenges and Prospects* in Eze, O. (ed.) *Citizen Diplomacy*, Nigeria Institute of Foreign Affairs, Victoria Island, Lagos, 2019 pp. 42-62.
7. Ajaja T. and Hanafi A., *Africa Needs to Jointly Address Xenophobia*, The Nation Newspaper Papers October 5 2019 P.5.
8. Akinola, A., *Nigeria's Image Abroad*" Guardian Newspaper Papers, Lagos, August 4, 2004 P. 51.
9. Alaka .*Why we May not be Coming Home just yet, by Nigerians in South Africa*". This Day Newspaper Papers 15 September 2019 P.7.
10. Alli, Y. (2012). *Federal Government to South Africa: Stop Cruelty to Nigerians*, The Nation Newspaper Papers, August 2, 2019 P.5.
11. Ali R., *Nigeria's image*. New Nigerian Newspaper Papers, August 20, 2002.
12. Akinboye, S.O.& Ottoh, F.O., *A Systematic Approach to International Relations*, Lagos: Concept Publications, 2005.
13. Akinterinwa B.A., *The Media in Nigeria's Foreign policy, Roles, Challenges and Prospects* in Eze O.C. (ed) *Beyond 50 years of Nigeria's Foreign policy Issues, Challenges and Prospects*. Lagos: NIIA, 2004.

14. Akinterinwa, B., *After Etteh-Gate: Repairing Nigeria's International Image*. This Day, Newspapers November 11, 2007 p.15.
15. Akinterinwa, B. "Re-branding Nigeria and Citizen Diplomacy" THISDAY Newspapers, April 26th, 2013 p. 21.
16. Akinterinwa, B. . "Togo: Citizen Diplomacy and Maltreatment of Nigerians" THISDAY Newspaper, November 14th, 2010pp. 20-21
17. Akinterinwa, B., *President Jonathan and Citizen Diplomacy* THISDAY Newspaper, June 6th, 2010p. 22
18. Akinola, A. O. *Xenophobia and the Paradox of Regionalism in Africa: The West African, Experience*. In A. O. Akinola, (Ed.), *the Political Economy of Xenophobia in Africa* Cham, Switzerland: Springer International Publishing, 2018, Pp.169-180.
19. Aleyomi, M.A., *Citizen Diplomacy in Nigeria's Image Building, 1999-2015*, Unpublished p.hD thesis, Universiti Sains Malaysi, 2017.
20. Allen, O. *Air Peace is Willing to Support the Nigerian Government's Efforts*", NAN cited in The Nations Newspaper Papers Sept., 162019.
21. Amnesty International, *Stars on their Shoulders, Blood on their Hands. War Crimes Committed by the Nigerian Military*. London: Amnesty International Limited. Peter Beneson House, 2015.
22. Balogun, A., *Oyo Receives 32 Returnees , Gives Each 30,000 Each*", The Nation Newspaper Papers Oct 2nd, 2019.
23. Berkowitz, L., "*Frustration-aggression hypothesis: Examination and Reformation*". Psychological Bulletin, 106 (1), 1989, Pp.59-73.
24. Babalola, A. A. *Xenophobia attacks of Nigerians in South Africa*". Vanguard Newspaper, March 29th, 2017, pp. 3-4.
25. Basse C.O . *Legislature-Executive Relations and the Future of Democracy in Nigeria* in Ojo, E.O. (ed), 2008.
26. Bolarinwa, J., *International Reactions and Actions on Militancy and Insurgency in Nigeria Since 1999*", African Studies Association of India, SAGE Publications 2017
27. Bolarinwa, J., *An Interview in His Office*, NIIA Lagos, 2020.
28. Chandler, D., *Critiquing Global Democracy* In: J. Hoover, M. Sabaratnam, and L. Schouenborg (Eds.), "*Interrogating Democracy in World Politics*". London: Rout ledge, 2011, Pp. 130-149.
29. Chime, CJ., *Application of Citizen Diplomacy to Defence of Nigeria's Diaspora in South Africa: An Empirical Assessment*, SJHSS, 2018.
30. Cyril, R., *We owe our freedom to Nigeria and Africa*" Channels Television October 5th, 2019.

31. Dabiri E.A. *Xenophobia: Nigeria, South Africa to Implement Early Warning Signal Pact*. The Nation Newspaper papers October 24, 2019.
32. Daily Sun News. *Notes from Roundtable on Xenophobia, Afrophobia*. March 4, 2012.
33. Dunne, J. P., & Tian, N. *Military Expenditure and Economic Growth*"A survey. *Economics of Peace and Security Journal*, Vol 8, 2013.
34. Egan, A. , *Xenophobia in South Africa*. *America*, 212(16), 2015, 11-17
35. Ekweremadu .*Xenophobia Issues Raised at International Parliament*, Punch News October 29 2019.
36. Eze, O. C. *Citizen Diplomacy*", Lagos Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, 2009, pp. 5-6.
37. Fawole, Willie Alade (2016). *Professor of International Relations, Interviewed in his office at Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile- Ife, July 11, 2019*.
38. Fayomi, O. O., Chidozie, F., & Ayo, C. K. (2015), "A Retrospective Study of the Effects of Xenophobia on South Africa-Nigeria Relations". *World Academy of Science, Engineering and Technology*,, pp. 1-10.
39. Federal Ministry of Information; *External publicity and Nigeria's Foreign Policy*". Lagos: The Nigerian institute of International Affairs (NIIA)(2019).
40. Gumede, W. (2015, April 20), *South Africa must Confront the Roots of its Xenophobic Violence*. The Guardian, p. 1.
41. Goldstein, J. and J. Pevehouse (2011), "*International Relations*". United States: Pearson International Edition
42. Gaffey, C., *South Africa: Xenophobic Attacks Prompt Angry Backlash in Nigeria*. *Newsweek*, 2017.p. 2
43. Garba S. *Xenophobia: Key Takeaway from Buhar's visit to South Africa*", Channels TV update, 5 October , 2019.
44. Godwin, A. *320 Nigerians to Return from South Africa*", The Nation Sept, 16, 2019.
45. Gordon, S. L. "*Subjective National Wellbeing and Xenophobia in Sub-Saharan Africa: Results and lessons from South Africa*". In P. Kraeger, S. Cloutier, & C. Talmage (Eds.), "*New Dimensions in Community Well-Being*, Cham, Switzerland: Springer International Publishing, 2017, Pp. 85-114,
46. Gilbert M., *Xenophobia: Time for Nigeria and South Africa to Calm Down*. Thisday News October 7, 2019.
47. Hadiza, H., *An Interview Granted in Her Office, Federal Ministry of Information, Ilorin zonal office* 2020.

48. Ibrahim A., *Nigeria's External Image in the Fourth Republic*. Unpublished M.sc Thesis, Department of Political Science, University of Ilorin Nigeria 2014.
49. Jackson, R. and G. Sorensen, *Introduction to International Relations Theories and Approaches*, 3rd Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press 2006.
50. Kelechi, M ., *An Interview in her Office*, NIIA Lagos 2020.
51. Micheal B.A., *Citizens' Diplomacy in Image Building in Nigeria*, PhD thesis university Saint, Malaysia, 2017.
52. Misago, J. P. , "*Xenophobia in South Africa: Causes, Attacks and History*" Aljazeera News Online, September 17, 2015 p. 1.
53. Murtala et al., *Xenophobic violence in South Africa and Nigerians' Victimization: an Empirical analysis*", IJSSN 2018.
54. News Agency of Nigeria, *The 2013 Nigeria Diaspora Day Celebration, with the theme: Diaspora Nigerians – Agents of Investment and Development*' n.d 2013.
55. Nnenna, E. *Reps Call for Evacuation of Nigerians*", The Nation April 16, 2015.
56. Nworgu et al., *Press Coverage of Nigeria-South Africa Diplomatic Face-Off Over Yellow Fever Vaccination*", Online Journal of Communication and Media Technologies Volume 7 , 2017.