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**A Historical Analysis of Nigeria-South Africa Migration Patterns since 1960:
Implications for their Socio-Political and Economic Relations**

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**A Historical Analysis of Nigeria-South Africa Migration Patterns since 1960:
Implications for their Socio-Political and Economic Relations**

By

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**A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
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List of Abbreviations

ANC	African National Congress
AU	Africa Union
CGH	Cape of Good Hope
CIA	American Central Intelligence
DRCM	Dutch Reformed Church
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GCIM	Global Commission on International Migration
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IMI	International Migration Institute (University of Oxford)
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
IT	Information Technology
Jos/Prov	Jos Province
NKA	National Archive Kaduna
NAAA	National Action Against Apartheid
NAC	National Archives Cape Town
NACAP	National Action Against apartheid
NAP	National Archives Pietermaritzburg
NAPR	National Archive Pretoria
NEPAD	New Economic Partnership for Africa's Development
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation

NA	Natal Province
NRC	National Research Council (USA)
OAU	Organisation of African Unity (now AU)
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OPEC	Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SARF	South African Relief Fund
SUM	Sudan United Mission
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNDESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund (Formerly United Nations International Children's Emergency fund)
WFP	World Food Programme
WTO	World Trade Organisation



Nigeria and South Africa flags

Quotation

ANONYMOUS: Blaming it all on the immigrant.

Nigeria in particular has a special stake in the well-being of immigrants anywhere in the world. There are far more Nigerians in most countries in Africa than there are other immigrants. Thus mere selfish regard for the safety of our compatriots ought to dissuade us from being unduly hostile to the immigrants in our midst. Furthermore, though racial prejudice has a good deal more to do with it than the mere search for scapegoats, the periodic campaigns against immigrants in Europe and the United States is something which we have always judged repugnant. It would consequently be decidedly hypocritical for us to rave against the woghaters of Birmingham and Manchester, while at the same time hating the Togolese and Beninois in our country. And then there is the consideration that we cannot expect other West Africans to take our commitment to ECOWAS seriously, if we are going to continue at every opportunity to blame all our ills on immigrants. But the most compelling objection against our growing impatience with immigrants is that they are simply not the cause of our ills.

Daily times editorials 31 January, 1978

Approval

This thesis has been read and approved in fulfilment of the academic requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History, Department of History, Faculty of Arts, University of Zululand, Republic of South Africa.

Sign..... Date

Dr Maxwell Zakhele Shamase

Supervisor

Declaration

I declare that this thesis “**A Historical Analysis of Nigeria-South Africa Migration Patterns since 1960: Implications for their Socio-Political and Economic Relations**” represents my own work and that all sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and properly acknowledged for future reference.

.....
Student name Longmam Geoffrey Pienswang

Dedication

This work is dedicated to all fallen Heroes of Pan-Africanism and all African Migrant in the world, who for Economic and political reason are forced to migrate across borders, and in loving memory of Pienswang Gwotswang, and Poetap Naomi Pienswang whose prayer for me was: “Keep standing no matter what happens”. I have not given up and will continue to be the pillar you always wish me to become.

Also to my foster Parents Mr. and Mrs. Hyacinth Dafur who adopted me at the age of four, for your support, trust and confidence in me. I will not let you down.

To my lovely wife and children, for their Patience during my absence, (Makplang Patience Pienswang our Kids Sainaan, Poesna’an, Repna’an and Na’anmiep Longmam Pienswang) May God bless and grant your heart desire.

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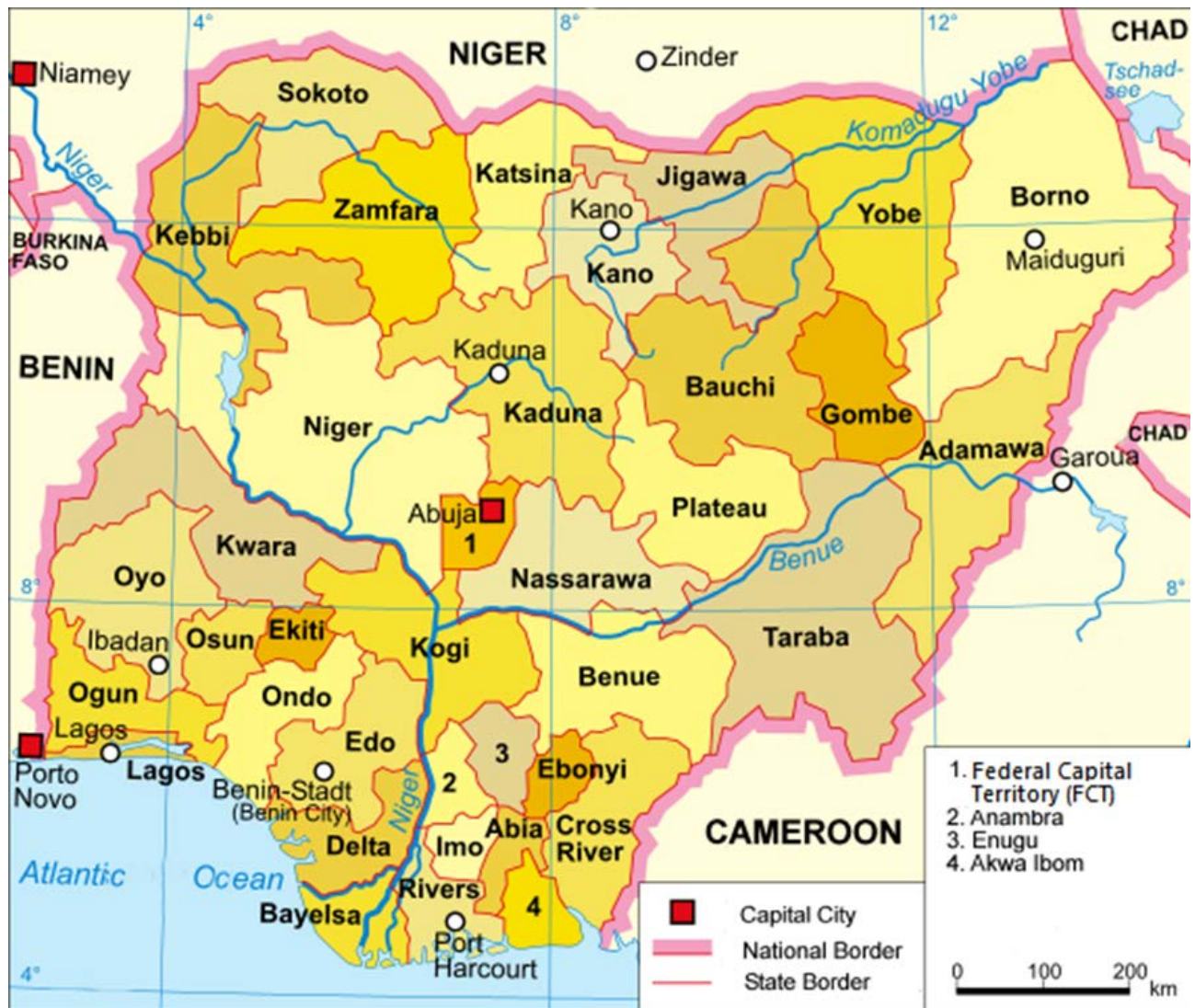
I am also grateful to the Director Institute of Governance Jos Prof. Isawa Elaigwu who granted me permission to interview him and linked me up to many other personalities both in Nigeria and South Africa being one of the surviving members of the National Action Against Apartheid. Thanks also to Prof. Alaba Ogunsanwo and staff Director and staff of the NIIA Lagos especially my brother Shakdam Wapmuk. Meeting you was very rewarding for the success of my research. Staff of the National archives Pretoria, Pietermaritzburg, Cape Town and the Dutch Reformed Church Archive Stellenbosch, The National Archives Kaduna and Ibadan, also the National Library Johannesburg, Pretoria and ANC office Luthuli House Johannesburg. The University of Zululand library staff our dear Mrs Hadebe and Grace Mutsvunguma

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A map of South Africa exhibiting its nine provinces and capital cities.



A map of Nigeria exhibiting its 36 states and the federal capital territory.

Abstract

For over a century, cross border movement of people has been on-going between Nigeria and South Africa. Nigerians started immigrating to South Africa as early as 1905, and South African white Missionaries from the Dutch Reformed Church, on the invitation of the Sudan United Mission, for evangelical work. The missionaries from South Africa were assigned the Benue region of Nigeria for missionary evangelical work. By 1911, they were at Sai a Tiv village where they established the first mission station. These missionaries introduced modern education based on western civilisation to the area and introduced new seedlings that led to the transformation of agriculture in the Benue region. They also introduced modern medical practice that eradicated leprosy and other diseases that were rampant and brought in modern architecture to the Benue region. They established the NKST church which is widely spread among the Tiv and across central Nigeria. The study discusses the role of Nigeria in undermining the apartheid regime from 1960, which also coincided with the Sharpeville massacre. Nigeria spent its resources in the fight against apartheid. In doing that, Nigeria did not only engage apartheid South Africa alone but used the instrument of diplomatic relation in canvassing support on the international scale through the United Nations, the Commonwealth and the formation of the OAU which was largely funded by the Nigerian government. This research reveals Nigeria's role in the de-colonisation process of not only apartheid South Africa but also the entire Southern African region. The study analyses the patterns of migration between the two countries and examine the implication of this migration on the socio-political and economic relationship since 1960. Relying on a qualitative methodology, the study uses the principle of saturation to interview participants; it also relies on archival records in addition to current literature on the phenomenon. The study used the Push pull and transnational migration theory for analysis. This study argues that although the migration phenomenon existed for over a century, the two countries are still engaged in frosty relationship expressed through xenophobic violence, drug trafficking, and human rights abuses. It also argues that the fundamental reason for this xenophobic attack can be traced in South Africa's apartheid history, which left a society where black South Africans were separated from each other, and that the South African blacks came out of apartheid as landless poor peasants. Although the instrument of power lies in their hands, the economy is still largely controlled by the white minorities. The study concludes with a clarion call on the Nigerian and South African governments to reawaken Pan-Africanism that the continent is known for and to reinvigorate the African Ubuntu which seeks the welfare of an African brotherhood - that Africa is better together than disunited. Africa should work more on factors that unite them rather than on what divide them. In unity, the continent's hopes for integration in economic, political and diplomatic relations will be realised.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Migration has in recent times drawn global attention. Its discourse has become so common that one can find it even in print and electronic media. Its processes, consequences and reactions have provoked a number of questions and problems. Although migration is not a new phenomenon, it has continued to occupy the front row in global discourse, owing mostly to the changing dynamics occasioned by globalisation, worsening socio-economic situations, increased level of poverty and violent conflicts around the world¹. Migrants relocate to other countries and continents in a bid to find a “better life” and opportunities. However, they sometimes become a source or victims of insecurity, unemployment and other social challenges in their host countries. This, therefore, explains why the host countries have had to create restrictive immigration policies. Such policies have created a deluge of undocumented migrants that further compounds migration-related crises². The restrictions introduced by these policies also redefine the traditional migration patterns in, say, Africa, which had an open boarder system before the advent of colonialism. These restrictive measures brought about by colonial borders changed the patterns of migration and this has led to a large flow of undocumented migrants³. This study intends to understand the nature of migration within a historical context with a view to conceptualising the intra-regional migration system in Africa, with specific focus on Nigeria and South Africa.

Nigeria, with a population of 173,615,345⁴, has been declared the largest economy in Africa⁵, while South Africa has the infrastructural and technological advantage over other countries in the

¹ B. Lüthi, 'Migration and Migration History' {Published online} Retrieved on from <http://docupedia.de/zg/Migration_and_Migration_History> p1

² J. Crush and Ramachandran, S., 'Xenophobia, International Migration and Development', *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, 2010, 11, (2): pp. 209-28; J.A. Yaro, *Migration in West Africa: Patterns, Issues and Challenges* Ghana: University of Ghana, Legon, 2008.

³ A. Adepoju, *et al.*, 'Europe's Migration Agreements with Migrant-Sending Countries in the Global South: A Critical Review', *International migration*, 2010, 48, (3): pp. 42-75.

⁴ World Bank, 'World Bank. 2014. Doing Business 2015: Going Beyond Efficiency ', ed. by World Bank (Washington DC: World Bank, 2015).

⁵ N.C. Ogo and Ani, K.J., 'A Historical Anatomy of Nigeria-South Africa Relations since the End of Apartheid', *Journal of African Foreign Affairs*, 2015, 2, (1_2): pp. 49-74.

continent⁶. These advantages qualify both countries as centers of attraction for migrants, even from outside the continent. There are records of Chinese, American and European migrants in these countries. This is notwithstanding the fact that Nigerians are still the most mobile population on the continent. This migration pattern, which is mostly driven by economic parameters, triggers different forms of social problems such as drug trafficking, prostitution, repatriation of undocumented migrants, and xenophobia (the hatred and/or fear of foreigners). These bedeviling migration problems are now the dominant issues between Nigeria and South Africa.

Migration between South Africa and Nigeria started from 1907 when the white Missionaries from the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa came to Nigeria on the invitation of Sudan United Mission (SUM). Although the invitation came from SUM, it was the Nigerian colonial administration that made the covert request. It is worth noting that during the colonial period, the Dutch branch of SUM⁷, which was made up of South Africans, embarked on a missionary activity, thus evangelising the people around the central Nigerian area (the Jos Plateau), and later spread to the Benue areas. Their activities are still ongoing in the Central Nigerian areas. These missionaries also attracted South African businessmen who explored opportunities in the mining sector. This opened up the beginning of formal relationship between colonial Nigeria and South Africa. Archival records reveal that white South Africans applied for positions in the colonial administration in Nigeria⁸. The relationship was reciprocal because Nigerians in colonial military service were also taken to South Africa. This is clearly evidenced by the archival record reports on Corporal Dogonyaro, a member of the First Nigeria Regiment who was buried in Durban (KwaZulu Natal) in South Africa⁹.

⁶ C. Alden and Soko, M., 'South Africa's Economic Relations with Africa: Hegemony and Its Discontents', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 2005, 43, (03): pp. 367-92.

⁷ A. Mathew, 'Adams Mathew Publication –African Mission Education and the Road to Independence the Sum in Nigeria the Cameroon, Chad, Sudan and Mother African Territories. ', (SUM Archive Adams mathew archive, n.d).

⁸ N.R.A. /1/1/A10, *Report of a Committee on the Appointment in the Colonial Office and the Colonial Service* Colonial office London 1930; National Archive Pretoria, 'National Archives (Na), Pretoria, Secretary of State, Letter from Mr. A. H Open Shaw, of the Natal Police Enquiring Whether It Would Be Possible for Him to Be Engaged as a Non Commissioned Officer in the Nigeria Police Force. 1899-1899. Remarks ', ed. by Pietersmaritzburg National Archive of South Africa (Pretoria: National Archive of South Africa, 1899).

⁹ N.A.N. Pretoria, 'Grave Stone Inscription Cpl Dogon Yaro, Member of the First Nigerian Regiment, Military Cemetery, Durban Kwazulu Natal, 14/12/1916', in *Durban repository Archive* (14/12/1916).

The scope of this study covers the period from the year 1960 to present. 1960 coincides with Nigeria's independence; it was also the year in which the Sharpeville massacre took place in South Africa. The massacre inspired Nigeria's increasing involvement in the liberation struggle not only in South Africa but also in other African countries still under colonial rule at the time. At that time, the international community was also up in arms against colonialism and every form of racial discrimination and apartheid¹⁰. This facilitated Nigeria's acceptance of exiled African National Congress (ANC) members from South Africa. The post-apartheid period, beginning from 1994, witnessed the mass immigration of Africans into South Africa. The repealing of the restrictive migration policies by the new government of Nelson Mandela allowed black African's easy entry into South Africa. The economic and political crisis in Nigeria also led many Nigerians, skilled professionals and businessmen, to migrate to South Africa. Many Nigerians migrated for various reasons, including, but not limited to, the economic opportunities offered by the new state.

South Africa's human mobility pattern is more complex than what can be found in other African countries. South Africa has progressively attracted not just refugees but also skilled professionals across the continent. This eventually culminated in suspicion and identity problem, which brings about tension, hatred (as witnessed in the series of xenophobia crisis), and diplomatic roar and animosity. Exploring the causes of the animosity between the two countries, as well as the cause of the tension in terms of national development is crucial. Examining the unity question as well as the nature of economic integration and its implications on diplomatic relationship is also very important. Migration studies have attracted the interest of many scholars from within and outside the discipline of history. Studies by scholars¹¹ clearly demonstrate different migration patterns in Africa in their interaction and experience with the rest of the global South and the world. The Nigerian-South African migration pattern, which is found within the geo-political South-South, will add value to the global migration studies with specific focus on the African trajectory.

¹⁰ O. Agbu, *et al.*, *The Foreign Policy Environment in Nigeria-and Implications for Nigeria-South Africa Relations*, Cape Town, 2013.

¹¹ A. Adepoju, 'Internal and International Migration within Africa', *Migration in south and Southern Africa: Dynamics and determinants*, 2006, pp. 26-46; A. Adepoju, *et al.* 2010; O. Bakewell and Bonfiglio, A., *Moving Beyond Conflict: Re-Framing Mobility in the African Great Lakes Region*: Working paper for the African Great Lakes Mobility Project, 2013; O. Bakewell and Jónsson, G., *Migration, Mobility and the African City*, Oxford: IMI: International Migration Institute, 2011; J. Crush, *et al.*, 'Migration in Southern Africa. A Paper Prepared for the Policy Analysis and Research Programme of the Global Commission on International Migration', *Geneva: Global Commission on International Migration*, 2005.

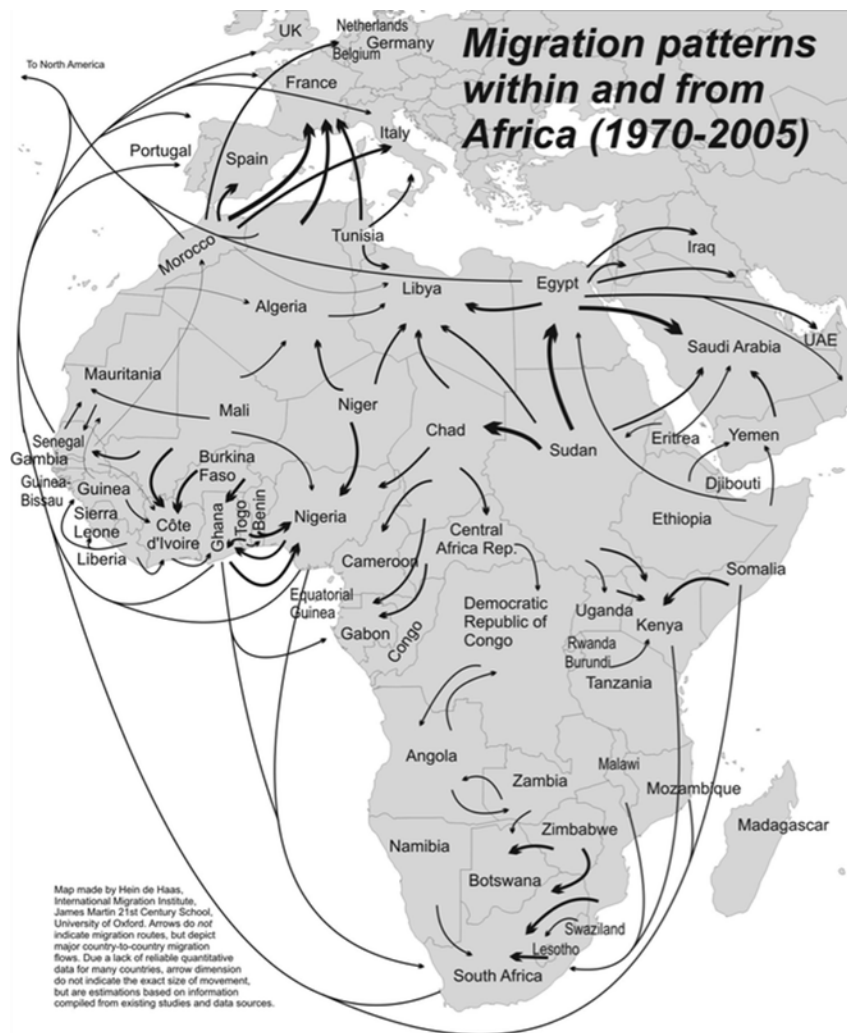
African migration patterns have become one of the major aspects of contemporary academic discourse on international migration and globalisation. Scholars including Adepoju, Baggio, Oliver Bakewell, and Lucas,¹² have written on various aspects of migration in Africa, especially on the domestic and international dimensions of refugee and labour migration. Data on global migration flow, as reported by the International Labour Organisation (ILO), indicate that globally, in 2013, there were 232 million transnational migrants, representing 3 % of the estimated world population compared with 174.5 million in 2000. Looking at the global estimate of 150.3 million migrant workers, 112.3 million (74.7%) were found in nations regarded as high income states; 16.9 million (11.3%) were found in middle income countries; and 3.5 million (2.4%) in low income nations. These low income countries include Africa, Latin America, and Asia¹³. Due to lack of accurate data on intra-African migration, the ILO reports give no specific figure to indicate flow of human mobility within African states, which calls for more censuses to ascertain the current flow of migration within African countries. The reason for the inclusion of the ILO reports is to demonstrate the migration flow in the world, and indicate the omission of the reports on the flow of the South-South and intra African mobility. This shows that there is a need for adequate studies in the area.

The pattern of the Nigeria-South Africa relations is better understood when approached from the aspect of migration from both countries, especially from a historical perspective. It will be useful to know whether this has any effect on the current mobility of people between both countries and its impact on their governmental relations. An earlier investigation reveals that there are archival sources in both South African (NAP Pretoria) and Nigerian National (NAK Kaduna Nigeria) archives on this area. These archival sources reveal the historical importance of the political and economic relationships between the countries in terms of trade, the recruitment of colonial civil servants, military personnel exchange, and training/employment opportunities from South Africa to Nigeria during the colonial era – at least up to 1960 when Nigeria attained its independence.

¹² A. Adepoju 2006; F. Baggio, 'Reflections on Eu Border Policies: Human Mobility and Borders—Ethical Perspectives', *Mobility and Migration Choices: Thresholds to Crossing Borders*, 2016, p. 167; O. Bakewell, *South-South Migration and Human Development: Reflections on African Experiences*, 2009; O. Bakewell and A. Bonfiglio 2013; J. Crush and S. Ramachandran 2010; R.E.B. Lucas, 'African-Migration', *Elsevier*, 2013.

¹³ M. Tomei and Medina, D.d.R., *Ilo Global Estimates on Migrant Workers,. Result and Methodology Special Focus on Migrant Domestic Workers Department of Statistics.*, Geneva, 2015.

Nigeria and South Africa are strategic countries in the sub-region of West Africa and Southern Africa respectively. They are major stakeholders on the African continent as a whole, the global South-south political dimension, and the post-independence world, as Africa's economic and security strength. This study shows the significance of the history of migration of people between the two countries, Nigeria and South Africa. The long and beneficial relationship between the two countries in terms of cultural, socio-economic and political cooperation and assistance therefore invites a close critical study. The nature of migration control in the two countries differs, and this study intends to also examine that within a historical context. In addition, this study also seeks to identify the implications of these migrations patterns and control and its significance for the diplomatic relations between the countries.



Focus more on Nigeria-South Africa migration patterns

CHAPTER ONE: BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 Conceptual Issues in Migration

This section discusses conceptual concerns advanced by the study and tries to establish a theoretical framework for the research. The need for clarification of the meaning of concepts used in a study of this kind is a necessity to explain the sense in which the terms are situated. For the purpose of this study, the key concepts are migration, migrant, emigration/immigration. Other important terms in migration studies, which may not necessarily be explained in this work are refugees/asylum, identity/integration, foreigners, border, diaspora deportation, citizenship, remittance, undocumented migration, international migration and brain drain/circulation/gain. In addition to clarifying their meaning, it is also pertinent to suggest the way in which they are related in terms of the challenges they pose for this research. The obligation of setting the theoretical basis for the study is important. Charles R¹⁴ infers that “social scientific representation of social life involves more than addressing social theory, and includes a clear dialogue between social theory on the one hand and empirical data on the other, as an essential part of the research process. The reconstruction of social theory is only feasible on the basis of this” It is for this crucial reason that we require to explore the conceptual and theoretical issues surrounding migration and review of relevant literature and situate it within the Nigerian South-African migration trajectory and its effect on their relationship.¹⁵

The term migration as posited by Bartram¹⁶ is “the relocation of individual to some distant place at least beyond one’s own city or town.” As noted by Castle, migration refers to the “relocation of individuals to some distant places at least beyond ones state, city or town”¹⁷. He further contended that International migration is viewed as the “movement of people to another country leading to temporary or permanent resettlement. In the aggregate, it commonly raises questions about national identities and social membership”¹⁸. Migration is one of the most important topics

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ A. Adepoju, 'Continuity and Changing Configurations of Migration to and from the Republic of South Africa', *International Migration*, 2003, 41, (1): pp. 3-28.

¹⁶ D. Bartram, *et al.*, *Key Concepts in Migration* New Delhi: SAGE 2014.

¹⁷ S. Castles, 'Development and Migration—Migration and Development: What Comes First? Global Perspective and African Experiences', *Theoria: A Journal of Social and Political Theory*, 2009, pp. 1-31 p1.

¹⁸ D. Bartram, *et al.* 2014, p4.

in governance, in both developed and less developed countries depending on their human experience, and trans-migrant interest to countries of origins. Migration raises the question of emigration and immigration which refers to the simple act of living or exiting one's country to another with a view to settling down. Immigration, therefore, is the act of entering another country. These terms are significant in determining our understanding of the subject of migration study.

We should acknowledge, if we are to have a better understanding of human mobility studies, that migration is a constant occurrence and a constant practice. Furthermore, its consistent nature is as valid for individuals' choices about their development as of their physical portability after some time and space.¹⁹ This led other scholars such as Bartram and others²⁰ to opine that transnational immigration is well embedded fundamentally as a social happening that links through a prevalent kind of reality domains, politics, economics, culture, identity and integration. The thought of global mobility is dominated by understandings of differences. Once more, changes are acknowledged and named in relation to place of origin but are assumed to relate to other forms of dissimilarity – Social, economic, cultural and political. Faist defines transnationalism as “sustained cross border ties, events and process across the borders of several national states”.²¹ This means migrants who are transnational maintain links with more than one country across national borders either for economic, political or socio cultural relationship. Immigrants, according Bartram,²² “are not different from natives in some sort of essentials or inherent ways; in many respects they can have a great deal in common with natives. The intra-regional migration trajectory in Africa in modern days is nation states that have become institutions and means of identity. The term ‘foreignness’ has become a strong source of identity and difference between migrants and natives in most receiving countries and the scenario usually leads to unnecessary animosity with the resultant effect of hate relations for migrants in host countries. This usually arises as a result of the determination of migrants to succeed in every task

¹⁹ T. Hagmann and Korf, B., 'Agamben in the Ogaden: Violence and Sovereignty in the Ethiopian–Somali Frontier', *Political Geography*, 2012, 31, (4): pp. 205-14.

²⁰ D. Bartram, *et al.* 2014.

²¹ A. Amelina and Faist, T., 'De-Naturalizing the National in Research Methodologies: Key Concepts of Transnational Studies in Migration', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 2012, 35, (10): pp. 1707-24 p1666.

²² D. Bartram, *et al.* 2014.

they set their minds to do. In the end, migrants tend to be more successful than their host community. This situation seems to be the consequence of raising xenophobia across the world.

Bartram²³ further stated that transnationalism alludes to an example of relocation in which individuals, in spite of the fact that they move crosswise over worldwide fringes and settle and build up social relations in another state, keep up social associations inside the nation from which they started. In transnational relocation, individuals truly experience their live across borders. That is to say, they set up transnational social field. Trans-migrants are individuals who are guaranteed and asserted by two or more country–states into which they are recognized as social actors, one of which is broadly recognized to be their country of origin. Transnational discussions clarify how migrants' connections back their nations of origin with new idea for advancement or political investment.

This study focuses on international migration, making this definition too broad. International migration, according to Schiller²⁴, is emerging and groups together a wide range of people who move from one locality to another for varying periods of time and for reasons that include pleasure, business, trade, politics, economics, and family reunion. On the other hand, to speak of an individual as a migrant is to examine the settlement processes in situations in which a person who has traveled seeks residency in a context of relative disempowerment.

1.1.1 Migrant

Who then is a migrant? Scholars have given several definitions on the term and explain a reason for their definition. A migrant according to Simelane is:

a person who moves for a specified minimum distance or moves from one migration defining area to another. This person should cross a boundary and stay in the destination (receiving area) for a minimum specified time. If the boundary crossed is internal or a district, then the movement is referred to as internal migration and the person involved is an internal migrant. In the case of crossing

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ N.G. Schiller, 'Transborder Citizenship: An Outcome of Legal Pluralism within Transnational Social Fields', *Mobile people, mobile law: expanding legal relations in a contracting world*, 2005, pp. 27-49; N.G. Schiller, 'The Transnational Migration Paradigm: Global Perspectives on Migrant Research', *Migration and organized civil society*, 2013, pp. 25-43.

national boundaries, the resulting departure of a person is called emigration and the person an emigrant. A person entering from another country is called an immigrant and the move is called immigration²⁵

This means that a migrant has to have a choice of destination and purpose for his movement and is often guided by the regulation guiding his entry to his country of choice. This study adopts Ogunsanwo's definition of the term migrant that:

a migrant is an individual who moves from his or her place of normal abode to take up residence in another place whether within one territorial state such as Nigeria or to another territory for the same purpose. An individual forced by circumstances beyond his control can also become a migrant.²⁶

He further stated that people, who are qualified to be correctly distinct as migrants according to his study, exclude the "category of those on diplomatic missions and transit tourist who may come to a country for a short period not exceeding one month".²⁷ He further asserted "that if you are in a country without being sent by your government or an international institution but on your own to look for employment or seek greener pastures, then you are a migrant"²⁸; this means that students, who are sent by their government to study for a particular period and return back to their countries of origin without taking up employment with their host countries, are not migrants although they may take up jobs during the period of their stay. Medical tourist and short term visitors may not also be considered as migrants unless they stay back and take up jobs in such countries. This term has often been confused to mean every foreigner in another country is mistakenly referred to as a migrant. To have a better understanding of the concept of international migration is that this movement involves crossing the boundaries of sovereign nation states, either within the same geopolitical region, say within the West African geopolitical zones in Africa or to other continent of the world, say from any African country to

²⁵ S.E. Simelane, *Trend in International Migration: Migration Amongst Professionals, Semi Professionals and Miners in South Africa, 1970-1997*.: Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Demographic Association of Southern Africa (DEMSA) held at Saldanha Bay, Western Cape, 5-7 July 1999, 1999.

²⁶ A. Ogunsanwo, *Selected Essays on Politics and International Relations*, Lagos, Nigeria: Concepts publications Limited, 2015, p207.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid. p. 208.

Europe, America or Asia. In the context of our analysis, we are concerned with intra-African migration of people from Nigeria to South Africa, and South Africa to Nigeria. This human mobility involves the crossing of international borders. Nigeria and South Africa have no common border, yet citizens of both countries traverse across for different reasons. This movement has occurred at different periods in history which deserves empirical exploration. This will assist in having better understanding of the dynamic of migration in Africa, while, determining the human experiences in terms of the patterns of this mobility and its implication for socio-political and economic relations of both countries.

1.1.2 Asylum

This relates to any person or group of people who seek safety from persecution or serious harm in a country other than his or her own and awaits a decision on the application for refugee status under relevant international and national instruments. If there should arise an occurrence of an adverse choice, the individual must leave the nation and might be ousted, as may any non-national in a sporadic or unlawful circumstance, unless consent to stay is given on philanthropic or other related grounds. In case of any negative decision, the person must leave the country and may be expelled, as may any non-national in an irregular or unlawful situation, unless permission to stay is provided on humanitarian or other related grounds.²⁹

In the context of this study, both Nigeria and South Africa at different periods in history had reasons to grant citizen asylum status due to crises arising from political upheavals and terrorism especially as is currently the situation with some Nigerian migrants affected by the Boko Haram insurgency.

1.2 Theoretical Framework

Given the intricacies and dynamic environment of the research being conducted, the study relies on the Push Pull and transnational migration theories. These approaches appear to be the most useful and relevant in guiding the current research. The approach of the study was based on a multidisciplinary model, since one theory cannot usefully explain the dynamics of migration as

²⁹ A. Betts and Milner, J., 'The Externalisation of Eu Asylum Policy: The Position of African States', in *Compas Working Papers*, (Oxford: Centre on Migration, Policy and Society, University of Oxford, 2006).

conceived in this study. As Ake³⁰ has observed, the multidisciplinary approach is different from others precisely because it examines reality characterized by dynamism arising from the contradiction of social existence and treat social life and material existence in their relatedness. The realism of the push or pull factor in driving immigration and emigration from both countries are largely determined by the Socio-political and economic factors eminent in the reality of their countries. Of importance to the present study is the analysis of the Neoclassic Economic Model which places emphasis on the “Push-Pull” factors it applies in explaining reasons for migration. According to the “Push-Pull” model, countries with highly developed economies are likely to attract labour migrants, while those with low and underdeveloped economies are most likely not to attract them except in the circumstance of refugees, who in most times are compelled to accept the nearest safest place which in most cases is the neighbouring country³¹.

Although this theory has been challenged by scholars (as discussed below), its relevance in determining reasons for mass migration in the world now is cogent. This means the pull factors in the choice of migration destinations to improve their living standard are still significant in explaining reasons for migration even though other factors like tourism, sports and educational opportunities are not necessarily pushed by the condition mentioned by the Neo-classical theory. Scholars such as Caldwell³² and Mabongunje³³ rejected the argument of the theory, especially in relation to the Africa’s migration trajectory. They argued that migration decisions in Africa largely involved entire households and therefore followed different patterns. They posit that

“centrifugal or push factors such as lack of health facilities, unemployment, primitive conditions such as natural disaster, politically motivated crisis and persecution by political opponents, religious persecutions, slavery and forced labour”³⁴ are some of the factors that served as drivers of migration in Africa? Notwithstanding, the economic factors such as higher wage rates, job opportunities, social amenities, education, better living conditions, tourism, freedom of political

³⁰ C. Ake, *Political Economy of Africa*, London: Longman 1981, p1.

³¹ M.P. Todaro, 'A Model of Labor Migration and Urban Unemployment in Less Developed Countries', *American Economic Association*, 1969, 59, (10): pp. 138-48; M.P. Todaro, *The Urban Employment Problem in Less Developed Countries: An Analysis of Demand and Supply*, 1973.

³² J.C. Caldwell, *African Rural-Urban Migration. The Movement to Ghana's Towns*, New York: Columbia: University Press., 1969.

³³ A.L. Mabogunje, 'Systems Approach to a Theory of Rural-Urban Migration', *Geographical analysis*, 1970, 2, (1): pp. 1-18.

³⁴ Ibid. p. 10.

and religious association, better medical care and attractive environmental factors attract migrants. Recent studies revealed that the push model as propagated by the Neo-classical theories negates certain factors prevalent in African migration. For example, Bosiakoh³⁵ in a study argues that the “economic push and pull” argument in the migration motivation literature presents a range of pull factors that do not follow the conventional approach. This study examined the push and pull factors for human mobility within the continent of Africa with specific interest on the South African and Nigerian trajectory. It examined the push factors in the 1960s for the coming of South African Black ANC exiles to Nigeria; i.e. how the Nigerian state and people engaged and helped in undermining apartheid. With the defeat of apartheid in 1994, it examined the push factors of Nigerian Migration to South Africa, i.e. why they chose South Africa, and the nature and patterns of this migration. The reliance on the theory will help illuminate our understanding of the pattern of migration between the two countries in the current circumstances that both countries face with migration of its citizens.

The migration of South Africans to other parts of the continent was influenced by economic and political reasons resulting from the introduction of apartheid regime in 1948 which brought tremendous economic disparities between the white minority and the black South Africans. This situation led to the emigration of most South Africans into other parts of the world, majority of which were accepted as exiles in most African countries including Nigeria. Adeola and Yemi³⁶ stated that the push-pull theories indicated that migrations from densely populated areas are for reasons of the search for employment, citing the examples of migration from Nigeria to Ghana, Togo, and Cameroon. However, citing the migration of people from Cameroon to Gabon, Central African Republic, amongst others, they stated that this theory can no longer sufficiently explain reasons for migration on the African continent especially when it comes to the dynamics of migration and international security. In that respect, they employ the combination of the transnational migration theories along with the push pull theories to be able to sufficiently interpret the security dimension of human mobility in Africa. They maintained that globalization has led to rapid improvement in technological advancement in transport and communication network, which has made communication easy for migrants. The immediate effect of this

³⁵ T.A. Bosiakoh, 'Understanding Migration Motivations in West Africa: The Case of Nigerians in Ghana', *Legon Journal of Sociology*, 2009, 3, (2): pp. 93-112.

³⁶ G.L. Adeola and Yemi, F.O., 'The Political and Security Implication of Cross Border Migration between Nigeria and Her Francophone Neighbours', *International Journal of social science tomorrow* 2012, 1, (3): pp. 1-9.

technology was the rapid increase in circular or temporary migration, as a result of transnational networks maintained by migrants³⁷.

Transnationalism refers to the migrant's connection to his state of origin while in another country. The theory explains migrant's ties with both their home and country of residence. According to Schiller, transnationalism refers to:

an instance of movement in which individuals, in spite of the fact that they move across borders and settle and build up relationship in another state, keep up social association inside the country from which they started. The transnational migrants actually experience their lives crosswise over universal fringes, that is to say, they build up transnational social fields. Trans-migrants are individuals who guarantee and are asserted by two or more country states, into which they are joined as social actors. One of which is broadly recognized to be their country of origin.³⁸

This theory was first advocated in the early 1980s and 1990s to sort political mobilization of migrants and their perceptions as political agents of change to both sending and receiving countries³⁹. This need arises as a result of highly skilled migrants who do short term missions with their countries of origin to promote development. Rising from the example of the Asian Tigers based on their historical migration experience of organized mass migration and return which transformed them by way of transfer of technology; the migration experience of Africans was hoped to also create a similar transformation for the continent at different sub-regions and countries. Transnational migration theory seeks to explore migrant's connectedness with both home and receiving country of residence⁴⁰. The interactions between social networks of migrants and regional or states can be better understood through the transnational theory which explains the social integrations of migrants, migrants' financial and social remittance, and the transnational space of social formation between different countries.⁴¹

³⁷ S. Castles 2009.

³⁸ N.G. Schiller 2013.

³⁹ S. Pieres, *Africans on the Move*, Oxon, UK: Routledge, 2015.

⁴⁰ N.G. Schiller 2013.

⁴¹ A. Amelina and T. Faist 2012.

Conceptualizing human mobility in terms of security challenges, instead of being a vector for advancement and change through new information obtained, as a consequence of relocation experience, has been one of the difficulties of mobility in sub-Saharan Africa. This has created a deluge of undocumented migrants. Driving countries to set up prohibitive migration policy approaches make migrants derive means of entering through illegal borders or in some instance bribing their ways through border securities, thus, giving rise to unlawful gateways to nations. The theory offers explanation for migrants' sustained ties across boundaries and the affiliations migrants maintained to families, communities, and remittances outside the boundaries of the nation states to which they have immigrated.

There is a different type of migrating population which has new perspective surface towards the end of the 20th century, consisting of those whose links, undertakings and pattern of survival embrace both their countries of origin and their receiving or host societies. They cut across two boundaries and bring two societies into a single social field. Transnationalism, according to Schiller⁴², refers to the conceptualization of international migrants as trans-migrants. Transmigration is defined as the process by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement (Schiller *et al* ⁴³). Immigrants who should build such field are designated as trans-migrants. The framework allows an examination of how trans-migrants use their social relationship and their varying and multiple identities generated from their simultaneous positioning in several social locations both to accommodate and to resist the difficult circumstance and the dominant ideology they encounter in their trans-national fields. The bounded social and political space used for identity such as 'tribe', ethnicity and culture can limit the ability of scholars to first perceive and then analyse the phenomenon of transnationalism. The development of the transnational migrants' experience is inextricably linked to the changing conditions of the world linked to the changing conditions of global capitalism, and must be analysed within that world context. Trans-nationalism is grounded in the daily life activities and social relationships of the migrants. Trans-national migrants, although predominantly workers, live a complex existence that forces them to confront, draw upon, and

⁴² N.G. Schiller, 'Explanatory Frameworks in Transnational Migration Studies: The Missing Multi-Scalar Global Perspective', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 2015, 38, (13): pp. 2275-82.

⁴³ N.G. Schiller, *et al.*, 'Toward a Definition of Transnationalism: Introductory Remarks and Research Questions', *Research Gate*, 1992.

rework different identity constructs – national, ethnic and racial. The fluid and complex existence of transnational migrants compel nationalities of the world (the division of human society into Blacks and Whites) to re-conceptualise the category of nationalism and ethnicity and race theoretical work that can contribute to the reformulation of our understanding of culture class and society across borders and confront a number of hegemonic contexts both nationally and globally. International migrants live and develop from interplay of multiplex phenomena ranging from their historical experience, structural conditions and the ideologies of their countries of origins and host nations.

Transnationalism provides contemporary migration studies with the imprint for which narratives of global economic processes, continuing, contradictory persistence of nation states can be linked to migrants' social relationships, political actions, loyalties, beliefs and identities.

In her discussion on transnationalism, Jakubowicz⁴⁴ stated that transnational migration has increasingly raised the question of changing concepts of identity, diaspora politics and hybrid culture intersection. She opines that the theoretical concepts of transnationalism by contrast, deal with the questions of how the emphasis is not on migration itself, but rather on the cross border actions of migrants and their descendants. The underlining dimension of transnationalism is not just the simple journey of one from one country to another but migrants continue to maintain strong ties with their countries of origins in their country of immigration. Whether in economic, political or cultural ties, the new dimension according to the study is that the countries of immigration and emigration continue to dialogue ways on which citizens of both countries can relate to one another by way of economic integration, political corporation and cultural exchange and bilateral economic and multilateral ties with each other due to the presence of migrants in their homelands.

Davies⁴⁵, in a discussion of the development challenges of Africa, stated that the African diaspora population outside of the continent is an important change agent in the African quest for transfer of technology and development. The study observed that policy consideration has a

⁴⁴ L. Jakubowicz, 'Transnationalism-Migration – Integration-Migration and Nation State in the Modern World Order through the Prism of the Concept of Transnationalism', *SIAC-Journal for Police Science and Practice*, 2012, Vol. 2 pp. 4-18.

⁴⁵ R. Davies, 'Reconceptualising the Migration – development Nexus: Diasporas, Globalisation and the Politics of Exclusion', *Third World Quarterly*, 2007, 28, (1): pp. 59-76.

greater effect in connecting the migrant population outside of the continent back to their home countries. The study further stated that it was the scare of Africa losing highly skilled professionals to sustain the progress of other countries of the world that lead its leaders to establish a development nexus for the continent in 2001 referred to as the New Partnership for Africa Economic Development (NEPAD) whose objectives were a reliance on the diaspora population and aids from the developed countries of the west. It is worthy of note that some African countries have created ministries for the diaspora, including Nigeria whose population is highly mobile in the continent. This study examined the migrants' transnational links and its contribution to the Nigerian-South African effort in the challenges of development they face.

Beyene⁴⁶ addressed the role of the diaspora as a catalyst for economic development that Africa needs to harness, using the transnational link, either for improvement in government or for economic integration which is a growing need that Africa as a continent ought to achieve. Using Nigeria, Kenya and Ethiopia as countries whose citizens in the diaspora link themselves with home countries, he examined the implication of the remittances inflow on the economy of the countries mentioned as stimulants for economic growth.

This research explored the negative and positive effects of migration and the significance of this for regional economic integration of Africa within the context of an African intra-regional migration to see how migration can aid in economic integration in Africa by conducting a critical study in the trajectory of migration history between Nigeria and South Africa. The push pull and transnational migration theories are sufficient to give a historical narrative of African perception of international migration within the context of a globalized economy.

1.3 Problem Statement

While the strategic position of Nigeria and South Africa within their respective sub-regions is significant, the post-independent relations between both countries have not been stable. Nigeria's role and influence in the West African Economic Community (ECOWAS) is as significant as that of South Africa in the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC). Both countries

⁴⁶ H.G. Beyene, 'Are African Diasporas Development Partners, Peace-Makers or Spoilers? The Case of Ethiopia, Kenya and Nigeria', *Diaspora Studies*, 2015, 8, (2): pp. 145-61.

are economic power hubs of the African continent. Existing literature such as Agbu et al, Ogo and Ogunsanwo's⁴⁷, focuses more on the foreign policy, bi-lateral relations, and xenophobia issues between both countries, and little on the history of migration/mobility of people between both countries especially looking at it within the context of the existing relations between them⁴⁸. One cannot clearly have an understanding of the context of the foreign policy directions of both countries in their relations, without an adequate understanding of the history behind both countries' migration patterns. Therefore, this study aimed to examine the nature and pattern of migration between Nigeria and South Africa with a view to discuss the characteristics of the migrants on the different sides of the migration divide. Furthermore, it examined the contributions of migrants to their respective countries of origin and host countries over the years. The study further employed this analysis to situate the implications of the migration patterns for the relationship between both countries.

1.4 Justification

The lack of focus in the literature on the history of migration between the two countries has limited our current understanding of xenophobia, economic integration and other social effects related to migration⁴⁹. This study filled the gap in literature by providing a different approach/perspective in understanding the underlying causes of the migration challenges between Nigeria and South Africa from a historical perspective considering its implication for migration policies. Focus on migration was motivated by the fact that both Nigeria and South Africa were the emerging economies of the African continent and 1960 became a turning point in that regard.

1.5 Research Questions:

The main research question of the study was: How can we situate the migration of people between Nigeria and South Africa within a historical pattern since 1960?

⁴⁷ O. Agbu, *et al.* 2013; *ibid.*; N.C. Ogo and K.J. Ani 2015; A. Ogunsanwo 2015.

⁴⁸ O. Agbu, *et al.* 2013.

⁴⁹ J. Crush, 'The Dark Side of Democracy: Migration, Xenophobia and Human Rights in South Africa', *International Migration*, 2001, 38, (6): pp. 103-33.

Other subsidiary questions include:

- What are the historical origins, nature and patterns of migration between Nigeria and South Africa?
- What implications does the trajectory of migration between Nigeria and South Africa have for socio-political and economic relations between both countries?
- What are the challenges of fostering diplomatic relations, economic integration and development in Africa through immigration within the continent?

1.6 Objectives of the Study

The principal objective of the study is to investigate Nigeria-South Africa migration patterns since the 1960s.

Other objectives include:

- To examine historical origins, nature and patterns of migration between Nigeria and South Africa.
- To give an exposition of the significance of migration on the socio-political and economic relations between Nigeria and South Africa since the 1960s.
- Proffer possible and workable solutions to the challenges of fostering diplomatic relations, economic integration and development in Africa through immigration within the continent.

1.7 Intended Contribution to the Body of Knowledge

Given the global threat to cross-border migration and Europe's increasing restriction against migrants especially from the global South, Africa cannot be left behind in proffering an African solution to intra-regional migration within the South-South in general and within Africa specifically. The evidence of a rich history of migration experience abounds between Nigeria and South Africa. This can be attested to by the good number of Nigerians and South Africans across each country. Worthy of note is the investment in the economic sector of the citizens of the two

countries across the borders as an impetus to changes that took place over a distinguishable period of time in history, as a consequence of migrations. These worthy experiences of migration have not been thoroughly examined. The motivation for this study is as a result of the dearth of literature especially in terms of the historical narrative to contribute to the existing body of literature. This study therefore set out to analyze the historical process of migration of people to see if these lead to economic integration, as migrants are the major actors in the process of socio-political and economic integration. The study added appropriate and anticipated value to academic discussions and emerging threats to intra-regional migration to serve as a guide to policy makers in Africa generally and Nigeria-South Africa in particular.

1.8 Research Methodology

The study adopted a qualitative research methodology and relied on a multi-disciplinary approach. The reliance on this method was because qualitative research method enables the researcher to collect data in a natural setting thereby providing the researcher with an insight into the phenomenon of “interest”. While defining qualitative research, Denzin and Lincoln⁵⁰ argue that a qualitative research methodology is guided by a process which includes field notes, oral interviews, photographs, and recordings. In essence, the qualitative method enables the researcher to examine issues based on their natural settings and interpret events in terms of the meanings people give to them. Des Vos *et al.*⁵¹ Qualitative methodology is important because it gives rich information. In addition, this methodology is so comprehensive that it helps the researcher to develop a full understanding of the information being investigated.

1.8.1 Data Collection and Analysis

Data was drawn from primary and secondary sources. The primary sources involved the use of archival sources made up of administrative, military and missionary reports. These were located in the Pretoria National archive of South Africa, Wits historical archive, University of the Witwatersrand, and Johannesburg in South Africa, Kaduna and Ibadan national archives in

⁵⁰ N.K. Danzin and Lincoln, Y., *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* 3rd edn California Sage publishers 2005.

⁵¹ A.S. Des Vos, *et al.*, *Research at Grassroot for the Social Science and Human Service Profession* , , 3rd edn Pretoria Van schail, 2005.

Nigeria. There were also archival materials on the internet site www.weap.bl.uk which kept the Nigerian colonial records. The study also used government's records on migration at the Nigeria immigration service, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Nigerian Embassy in Pretoria and the South African Ministry of Home Affairs in Pretoria and Johannesburg. Oral interviews also gave the researcher the opportunity to ask questions which may never have been probed in the past and also opened new areas of study (McDowell⁵²). The researcher made use of a digital tape-recorder for the purpose of recording interviews which were transcribed. This method enabled the researcher to save time by obtaining the information on a digital tape-recorder and aided in the preservation of the information for further research. The reliance on digital tape recorder, did not stop the researcher from utilizing semi-structured interviews when the need arose. There could be instances where the researcher could be seeking specific information gathered from other informants which need to be cross checked for proper precision on the idea⁵³. Des Vos argued that this method gives both the researcher and the informant more autonomy which helps give a detailed picture of the informant about a particular interest on immerging issues from the interview, and the informant time to give a detailed narrative of events.

The secondary sources included books, journals articles, magazines, newspaper articles; government official reports on the relationship between both countries, reliable and verifiable internet materials were corroborated along other sources. The researcher also used desk-top inquiry. Dawson⁵⁴ opined that desk-top research comprises the examination of existing literature to help situate one's current study within the context of existing evidence. This involves collecting secondary evidences which assist the researcher in arguing their own study and finding evidence from existing literature.

1.8.2 Sample and Sampling Procedure

The researcher used purposive and snowball sampling to interview participant that were identified for the proposed study. The people to be interviewed included, former exiled black South Africans who were in Nigeria during the apartheid era; interviewing them on their experiences and lessons that could help in regional integration. Missionaries of the Dutch

⁵² W.H. McDowell, *Historical Research : A Guide* 3rd edn London: Longman, 2002.

⁵³ A.S. Des Vos , *et al.* 2005.

⁵⁴ C. Dawson, *Practical Research Methods* Oxfords: Oxfords 2002.

Reform Church who were in Nigeria and still maintained transnational links to Nigeria which started in 1907; Nigerian embassy officials in South Africa and South African embassy officials in Nigeria. The knowledge of the missionaries especially the DRFC provided insight into the relationship between religious migrant and economic migration and whether the missionaries were actually responsible for informing South African businessmen about Nigeria during colonialism; Nigerian migrants in South Africa and South African migrants in Nigeria; former members of the South African relief funds in Nigeria/South Africa and former Nigerian Ambassadors to any of the SADC Member countries and finally the African National Congress (ANC) party officials at Luthuli House in Johannesburg. For the distribution of the sample size see table one below.

The Nigerian migrants in South Africa were interviewed on the noticeable differences in the location of migrants in Gauteng and KwaZulu Natal province in selected areas. The settlement patterns are defined by the economic opportunities and migrant seems to live in areas that define their economic interest be it city, township, or rural area. These different locations had different economic potentials which possibly attracted different categories of migrants that informed reason and choice for the migrants to be interviewed along their dwellings. The choice of the category of people and agencies was informed by their knowledge and participation as agencies in this study.

The interviews were guided by a number of factors including availability and the principle of saturation, which states that the researcher shall decide to end data collection when he/she feels that the data gathered is sufficient enough for the study and that further coding may not be necessary (Fusch & Ness⁵⁵). The researcher envisaged a sample size of 30 people to be interviewed, however, the driving force behind this research was the principle of saturation which clearly states that the estimation of a sample size in qualitative research is dependent on the quality of information obtained during data collection. Essentially, there was no certainty with regards to the sample size.

Babbie and Mouton define purposive sampling as “a type of non-probability sampling useful in qualitative researches that permits the scholar to use their choices to identify the most important

⁵⁵ I.P. Fusch and Ness, L.R., *Are We There Yet? Data Saturation in Qualitative Research* USA: Walden University, Minneapolis, Minnesota, USA, 2015, p1409.

or representative interviewees”⁵⁶. The sample consisted of selected individuals who had in-depth knowledge of the Nigerian and South African relationship; Nigerian migrants in South Africa and South African migrants in Nigeria. Of particular interest to this research were the views of the former African National Congress (ANC) exiles that were in Nigeria from 1960-1994. Few of the existing members of the Action Against apartheid fund committee who are still alive in Nigeria and South Africa were also interviewed. The perceptions of respondents were gauged through specific questions in relation to their different experiences. As Wilmot points out, “a well-defined sampling strategy utilizes an unbiased and robust frame that can provide unbiased and robust result”⁵⁷.

1.9 Ethical Consideration

I read the University’s Policy and Procedures on Research Ethics and its Policy and Procedures on Managing and Preventing Acts of Plagiarism, and understood their content. My supervisors and I considered and discussed the ethical issues that arose from this research.

This research did not generate any real or perceived clash of interest; I wish to also state that I was not involved in any project or activity that would become the subject matter of my study. I did not have any direct or indirect financial interest in the study nor did any of my family members or close friends and associate. I also wish to state that the production of this thesis was guided by the university policies and ethics. I respected the confidentiality and anonymity of all interviewees and their dignity and safety, and that participants in the research were not forced, coerced, bribed or induced in anyway, and that they participated of their free will without intimidation. This study hoped to produce knowledge relevant to the Nigerian-South African relation in the light of current migration challenges to guide policy makers and add to academic debates. With the exception of my supervisor’s guidance, all work in this study were the product of my effort. I employed the use of the End Notes for efficient referencing. My supervisor and I used the text-matching software (Turnitin) to check all texts used in the thesis. In circumstances

⁵⁶ E. Babbie and Mouton, J., 'The Practice of Social Research, the South African Edition', (Oxfor University press 2010); A. Wilmot, 'Designing Sampling Strategies for Qualitative Social Research: With Particular Reference to the Office for National Statistics' Qualitative Respondent Register', *Survey methodology bulletin-office for National Statistics*, 2005, 56, p. 53.

⁵⁷ A. Wilmot 2005, p97.

that impacted upon my ethical obligations, I disclosed them to my supervisors and we took appropriate action in terms of the relevant University policies.

1.10 Limitation of the study

The process of obtaining some information were hindered by the Bureaucratic procedure which affected easy access to information especially from diplomats, embassies, high commissioners, the South African Department of International Relations, and the ANC archives who did not even respond to my mails and when I called them on phone they simply told me they were not allowed to release information on exiles. The exiles themselves would not want to share their experiences. However, this was lessened by the available records in the National archives in Pretoria and Cape Town from which the researcher was able to do thorough search. This was corroborated with existing literature from past studies. The interviews granted by the former members of NACAP and former Nigerian Ambassadors to Botswana and South Africa were very revealing and guided the study and the material release of official documents from the Nigerian government through the Federal Ministry for Foreign Affairs was very useful. These experts' opinions were authoritative given their expertise in the field. Being a Nigerian made it difficult to obtain information from experts in South Africa and also raised the issue of bias and suspicion. This made it difficult to obtain information from South African diplomats in Nigeria. Despite this, the study was able to rely on primary evidence from the archive and interviews conducted across the countries.

1.11 Thesis Structure

Chapter one - This chapter introduces the entire work, it consists of the general introduction, statement of the research problem, objective of the study, and review of extant literature. The chapter attempts to establish the basis of the study by identifying the central issues and questions raised by the research. The chapter similarly attempts to formulate the specific research issues to be investigated and the methodology adopted for the collection and analysis of data.

Chapter two - This chapter deals with the review of relevant literature that establishes what other scholars have investigated around the present study – as well as what they failed to find.

Conceptual issues and theoretical framework are also presented by surveying the conceptual meaning of migration, immigration/emigration and economic integration in the context of the Nigerian South African relationship.

Chapter three is a historical examination of the background of migration between Nigeria and South Africa, a historical analysis of the origin of immigration of people from South Africa into Nigeria beginning with the Dutch Reform Church Missionaries; it also examines the relationship between colonial Nigeria and South Africa under the Union and apartheid government respectively. In doing this, it examines the British colonial government's relationship with South African companies' investment during the colonial government in Nigeria especially in the mining sector. It further analyses the kind of military aid and exchange between Nigeria and South Africa.

Chapter Four: This chapter is about Nigeria's Independence and the South African exiled. It attempts an examination of the second phase of migration between Nigeria and South Africa. With the gaining of political independence by Nigeria from British colonial administration, there was a shift in the relationship with the white migration into Nigeria changing to the Black South African exiles coming into Nigeria. It also analyzes the role of Nigeria in the liberation struggle against apartheid and the aids given to ANC members in exile including scholarships and military assistance.

Chapter Five: This chapter deals with post-apartheid and migration between Nigeria and South Africa from 1994. It examines migration of Nigerians into South Africa. It explores the shifting train in the migration trajectory and discusses the changing dynamics of the movement of people and the economic conditions of the two countries. It also examines the skilled and unskilled labour migrants. It discusses the contribution and challenges faced by the various categories of migrants on issues relating to work conditions, women migration, brain drain and its consequences on both receiving and sending countries, unskilled migrant businesses and the employment opportunities offered by such small and big businesses on both countries. What are the challenges brought as a result of the migration of unskilled labourers? In doing these, the research explores the patterns of the relationship that exist in relation to integration of people, identity problem, women migration, crime, human trafficking and the rise of xenophobia as a result of migration of people between both countries.

Chapter Six: This chapter focuses on the government response to migration challenges and development. Thus the focus of this chapter is to examine government response to migration as a development agent in Africa and addresses the various challenges of migration on issues of border porosity, repatriation; trans-border crimes, human trafficking, migration of minors, women migration, drugs, human trafficking, prostitution, cyber-crime, and identity and belonging problem. What was the policy framework and how can a new policy framework aid in the control of migration between the two countries? How can migration be used in cross cultural exchange and integration of Africa in the spirit of pan-Africanism? How can migration also be an agent of economic integration? How can migration aid in integration of people? The chapter attempts an in-depth analysis of the questions raised above.

Chapter Seven: This chapter deals with Nigeria-South Africa economic and diplomatic relations. The chapter attempts a critical examination of the economic relationship between the two countries from 1994 to the present. It investigates the bilateral agreements existing in terms of economic investments and see how the various informal investments owned by Nigerians in South Africa can make remittances. It also discusses employment opportunities especially in the food and communication industries. It attempts an analysis of the growth and output of investment and recommends further ways of improving investment in the formal sector rather than the informal one.

General conclusion: The focus of this chapter is to make an analysis of the findings and proffer possible solutions to the migration problem as it affects socio-economic, political and diplomatic relationship between Nigeria and South Africa. The chapter makes suggestions on better ways of improving relationships between both countries in terms of improving existing migration policies, bilateral and diplomatic ties and removing all obstacles to issues of transfer of technology and development of the continent generally. It proffers a solution of a pan-Africanist economic model for Africa's economic integration.

CHAPTER TWO – LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The review draws extant literature on the Nigeria-South Africa migration patterns with an aim to establish the significance of this research and show the existing studies relevant to this contemporary topic. The preliminary literature focuses on the concept and history of migration, causes of migration and patterns in the global South, migration studies on Nigeria and migration studies on South Africa significant for understanding this proposed study in order to contextualize the historical relationship and unstable pattern of relations between both countries and to have a better understanding of the current gap in the literature and establish the significance of the study and its implication for socio-economic and political relationship for Nigeria and South Africa.

2.2 The history of migration

The study of migration has received considerable attention from a number of scholars. Literature on the global, continental, regional and countries based perspective are numerous with less focus on intra-regional migration within African countries. The developed countries are each day coping with a large flow of refugees and economic migrants. This led the European countries to adopt stringent policy measures to control the flow of illegal immigrants in their countries. Meanwhile, the underdeveloped countries are faced with issues ranging from political crisis, economic recessions, refugees and terrorism, amongst others⁵⁸.

Falola and Heaton⁵⁹ contend that migration has become a continuous phenomenon in the history of human societies especially with the trafficking of millions of Africans across the Atlantic as slaves. There was a movement of a number of slaves across the Sahara into the slave markets operated by the Arabic slave merchants whose exact figure cannot be ascertained by historians⁶⁰. Europe and America had enjoyed the labour of African slaves that formed the core of industrial

⁵⁸ D. Brooks, 'Messiahs or Mercenaries? The Future of International Private Military Services', *International Peacekeeping*, 2000, 7, (4): pp. 129-44.

⁵⁹ T. Falola and Heaton, M.M., *A History of Nigeria*: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

⁶⁰ L. Bossard and Trémolières, M., 'West Africa: The Dynamics and Trends of International Migration', *OECD Journal: General Papers*, 2010, Vol. 2009/4.

development for their countries, much to the disadvantage of Africa. These movements recorded in history are said to be responsible for the spread of Africans across the globe in places like America, Europe and Asia.

Hatton and Williamson⁶¹ traced the origin of migration in human history and stated reasons why economy takes precedence in migration studies. In their study, two significant periods were identified, namely, the era of free migration (unrestricted movement) in the first global history before 1914, and the age of restricted migration after the First World War, when migration policies were introduced. They argued that most world mass migration took place in a “hostile policy environment especially before and after the World War 1, during which the world mass migration took place” without visas, quotas, refugee status, green cards, illegal smuggles, and security barriers. After the First World War, the situation changed; most world migration after 1945 took place under those policy restrictions. The question is “what would happen if migration were to be left unrestricted? How would the world be without those restrictions?” Does the existence of migration policies guide the immigration and emigration of people to make informed decision about choice of destination? They further identify factors such as “improved transport, technological advancement in information so much that cost of long distance migration is within reach”⁶². The study demonstrates the significance of the introduction of policies as a mechanism of controlling migration after 1914 when border restrictions for human mobility did not exist. This research will benefit policy makers in making laws from an informed position guided by knowledge of history.

Similarly, Lucassen and Manning⁶³ traced the history of migration to the spectacular growth of world history which gives rise to comparisons and approaches that go well beyond the Atlantic perspectives. This situation did not only occur from 1846 to 1940s but also during the history of the slave trade in early modern history, which largely ignored massive slave migrations before the advent of Europeans colonialism. They further asserted that “indentured slave labour dominated early migration history”⁶⁴. The study emphasizes the reliance on multi-disciplinary

⁶¹ Hatton and Williamson, 'Demographic and Economic Pressure on Emigration out of Africa', *The Scandinavian Journal of Economics*, 2003, 105, (3): pp. 465-86.

⁶² Hatton and Williamson, *The Age of Mass Migration: Causes and Economic Impact*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

⁶³ J. Lucassen, et al., *Migration History in World History Multidisciplinary Approaches*, Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2010.

⁶⁴ Ibid. p. 6.

approach as methodology for the study of migration by historians relying on a qualitative methodology for the historical narrative of migration. Their study is relevant especially in the application of a multi-disciplinary approach in the study of migration in its complexity.

McKeown⁶⁵ observed that the migration of Africans across the Atlantic was the result of industrialization which extended from Europe to America. Consequently, it attracted a large flow of Africans into Europe. While these were distinguished, the related shift in relation to economic and demographic vagaries that took place was mostly reduced. Asian and African migrants were seen as mere indentured workers subject to Europeans, or as laborers escaping overpopulation problems relatively different from the unhindered immigrants that changed the Europeans ecosphere. The fact remains that the Atlantic world before and after industrialisation enjoyed the advantage of higher technology. This made Europe a strong economic base which gave it global attraction for migrants especially from Africa and Asia. McKeown⁶⁶ further argue that

a global perspective on migration provide insights not only into the global reaches of an expanding industrial economy, but also into how this integrative economy grew concurrently with political and cultural forces that favored fragmentation into nations' races and perceptions of distinct cultural regions.⁶⁷

The introduction of tougher rules regarding migrants' entry and residence in Europe has led the West African migrants to use complex routes to reach the Maghreb as a transit route within the North African region for entry into European countries clandestinely⁶⁸. West African irregular migrants, in the bit to reach Europe, also use the Morocco routes as one of the main entry points for undocumented migrants from West Africa. They also enter the country from Algeria at the border east of Oyda after crossing the Sahara through Niger from Algeria. Migrants from West Africa also try to force their entries from the Strait of Gibraltar which separate Morocco from Spanish Andalusia, via the strait of Sicily, which separate Tunisia from Italy, and increasingly

⁶⁵ A. McKeown, "Global Migration, 1846–1970," *Journal of World History*, 2004, 15, (2): pp. 155–89.

⁶⁶ Ibid. p. 7.

⁶⁷ P.J. Ngandwe, 'The Paradox of Migration and the Interests of the Atomistic Nation- States: The Southern African Perspective', *Potchefstroom Electronic Law Journal/Potchefstroomse Elektroniese Regsblad*, 2013, 16, (1): p429 & 537.

⁶⁸ C. Nagel, *et al.*, 'The Legacies of the U.S. Civil Rights Act, Fifty Years On', *Political Geography*, 2015, 48, pp. 159-68.

via the 240 kilometers that separate the Canary Islands from the Spanish mainland⁶⁹. Sadly, about 2,000 Africans are said to have drowned yearly in the Mediterranean in a bid to cross to the European countries. This review of West African patterns of migration to Europe is necessary for this study to assay if the shift in intra-regional migration in Africa is the result of the difficulties faced by migrants to Europe. Or, the consequences of the difficulties experienced by undocumented migrants from the various illegal routes led to a shift in the migration trend. Thus, South Africa being an upcoming medium class economy could be being used as a transit for further mobility to other European countries and the America's big economies.

In another discussion, Flahaux and De Haas⁷⁰ stated the adoption of a stricter and tougher migration control mechanism by European countries. As a result of the rise of global terrorism, upsurge of the Arab spring, Syrian crisis, and various crises within Africa made European countries to introduce new tougher policies and security technique as a measure of control. This is done especially to control the increasing flow of undocumented migrants from African countries gaining access to Europe, especially through Mauritania, Senegal, and Cape Verde. The European Union as a regional organization has decided to intensify patrol in West African Waters and intensify security⁷¹. They do this by increasing police co-operations with African countries bordering them by way of treaties, promising them financial aids for development to cushion the effect of migration.⁷²

In an examination of the migration pattern of Africa, Aderanti Adepoju⁷³ capture different trend of human mobility within and between countries and inter regional movements, and highlight that these differences, along with the current economic crisis and political instability, have given rise to various patterns of mobility in Africa. He highlighted current migration issues such as the migration of females unaccompanied by their spouses, the brain drain/brain gain and brain waste, the refugee's problems and the consequences of current economic crisis across Africa which is pushing many young people from the continent to migrate. Central to his argument are two

⁶⁹ M. Baldwin-Edwards, 'Towards a Theory of Illegal Migration: Historical and Structural Components', *Third World Quarterly*, 2008, 29, (7): pp. 1449-59; G. Bertocchi and Strozzi, C., *The Age of Mass Migration: Economic and Institutional Determinant*: CEPR, CHILD and IZA Bonn, 2006.

⁷⁰ M.-L. Flahaux and De Haas, H., 'African Migration: Trends, Patterns, Drivers', *Comparative Migration Studies*, 2016, 4, (1): pp. 1-25.

⁷¹ M.-L. Flahaux, *The Influence of Migration Policies in Europe on Return Migration to Senegal* 2014.

⁷² A. Adepoju, *et al.* 2010.

⁷³ A. Adepoju 2006.

factors; firstly, cross-border migration in Africa is an extension of internal mobility across the colonially established boundaries by undocumented migrants mainly from Africa. Secondly, remittances from migrants back to their home countries are a result of the trans-national links that migrants use to maintain families to ensure mutual support for both migrants and non-migrants. This literature has not indicated how these remittances translate into the economy of the home countries of migrants and how the transnational links connect migrants' experience as development agents. With specific examples of the African inter-regional migration, this study expands further and relates to specific experiences of the Nigerian-South Africa's migration trajectory, to see how the patterns of migration are interconnected as consequences of the transnational links they maintain and whether this can translate and serve as a change agent for economic integration and technology transfer between both countries. This study, therefore, is of benefit because it gives a historical understanding of the shifting trend in the migration of people in Africa.

Awumbila *et al*⁷⁴ stated that a significant amount of brain circulation took place between African countries with specific examples of the exchange between Ghana, Gambia, Nigeria, and Togo Cote d'Ivoire; Burkina Faso and Senegal since the 1970s. Highly skilled migrants including doctors, paramedical personnel, nurses, teachers, and technologists, move from Ghana, first to Nigeria and later to other African countries. He observed that the reason for the further transit of these migrants to Europe was because they offer better remuneration and better prospects of living conditions including higher technological innovation. This also attracted students who remain behind at the end of their studies as the socio-economic and political condition in home countries continue to deteriorate⁷⁵. The study further analyses that the economic crisis of the late 1970s through to the present, for most African countries are symptomatic of the colonial capitalist legacy that has led to the growth and decline of towns and regions. The collapse of industries and mining companies has led to old mining areas losing their population to newer economic niches⁷⁶. Similarly, Nigeria which became a receiving migrant country in the 1970s

⁷⁴ M. Awumbila, *et al.*, *Paper Prepared as Part of the African Perspectives on Human Mobility Programme, Generously Funded by the Macarthur Foundation.*, Centre for Migration Studies: University of Ghana, Legon, 2008.

⁷⁵ L. Fioramonti and Kotsopoulos, J., 'The Evolution of Eu-South Africa Relations: What Influence on Africa?', *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 2015, 22, (4): pp. 463-78.

⁷⁶ R. Gillespie, 'Europe or Africa? A Contemporary Study of the Spanish North African Enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla: Peter Gold. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000. Isbn 0-85323 995 9 (Paperback); 0 85323 995 9 (Cased)', *Political Geography*, 2003, 22, (1): pp. 123-25.

became a major migrant sending country due to poor management of the economic resources breeding corruption within the political elite and mass destruction of infrastructural facilities⁷⁷. Nigeria now sends migrants to different African countries including South Africa. On the whole, the desire to migrate out of the West African sub-region is now higher than before.

2.3 Causes of Migration and Patterns in the Global South

The migration of people in the global south in general and Africa specifically has often been a response to a combination of factors including economic, socio-political, and environmental factors such as poverty, landlessness, and economic dislocation, war, and more recently the terrorist phenomenon in Nigeria⁷⁸. These issues have always been linked to exchange of goods and services, growth in urbanization, availability of infrastructural facilities like better health care services, stable electricity, good transport and communication technology. Others are governmental sector development, agriculture, land degradation, and rural poverty to induce both internal and international migration.

Research on international human mobility has continued to advance a wide range of explanation on the drivers of migration to include but not limited to economic and socio-political crises. Some scholars argue that the economy is one of the main factors pushing migration in the world⁷⁹. Therefore, the history of migration is dominated by themes with economic factors as a motivation for migration. Differential economic prosperity of nations attracts migrants who are seeking 'better life' to migrate to more developed economies of the world.

In an examination of the West African migration trend, Bossard⁸⁰ posited that despite Europe's geographical proximity to Africa, African migrants prefer as a destination of choice, the United States of America which is propelled by the economic opportunities. Identity and border challenges are crucial to understanding intra-African international migration dynamics. Aderanti

⁷⁷ D. Segal and Lekaba, F., *Nigeria's Economic Boom: A Positive Outcome for Intra-Africa Trade*, South Africa African institute of South Africa 2014.

⁷⁸ N. Umukoro, 'Thermodynamics: Application of Its Principles to the Effects of Cross-Border Migration and Boko Haram Crisis on Security Challenges in Africa', *Journal of Applied Security Research*, 2016, 11, (1): pp. 44-60.

⁷⁹ A. Adebajo and Landsberg, C., 'South Africa and Nigeria as Regional Hegemons', *From Cape to Congo: Southern Africa's evolving security challenges*, 2003, pp. 171-203; R. Black, *et al.*, 'Migration and Development in Africa: An Overview', ed. by South Africa Migration Project (SAMP) (Cape Town: Idasa, 2006); A. Ogunsanwo, 'China and Africa', (JSTOR, 1975); A. Ogunsanwo 2015.

⁸⁰ L. Bossard and M. Trémolières 2010.

Adepoju⁸¹ maintains that within Africa, international emigration can be regarded as an extension of internal migration. Conceptually, according to him, “migration drive from the same set of fundamental causes: inequalities in development, employment prospects, income and living conditions between and within countries” (Aderanti Adepoju⁸²). The significance of domestic migration creates opportunities for further mobility of people. This study benefited from Adepoju analysis in understanding the internal dynamics of African migration. In another study by Adepoju⁸³, migration in Africa, before colonialism, was predominantly in search for safety, fertile agricultural lands and new areas conducive for human settlement. These forms of migration were however altered by the coming of colonialism in Africa and introduced new forms of political and economic structures, which were accompanied by new tax regime and the creation of artificial boundaries for Africa. This accordingly gave rise to new forms of human mobility in Africa, leading to seasonal male led cross border migrations which became institutionalized.

Amin, as cited in Bilger *et al* and Benedetta Rossi,⁸⁴ posited that colonialism produced substantial labour mobility needed for European farms, mines and public administration beyond local stream. Introducing new economic policies including forced labour recruitment, legislations, and bilateral relations to enable colonial authorities’ access to labour, led to clandestine domestic and international migration of un-professional men required for infrastructural work for transportation networks in the North and agriculture plantations in the coastal Nations. These have continued to determine current migration within the west African frontiers as the legacies of colonial capitalism have created large scale exploitation, leaving the countries in bad shape of economic backwardness and neo-colonial reliance for export of raw material in exchange for high price manufactured goods. For Amin, African migration has not demonstrated the same effect for industrialization and economic development as migration has done to others as the Asian tigers’ example of China, Singapore and Malaysia.

⁸¹ A. Adepoju 2006.

⁸² A. Adepoju 2003, p8.

⁸³ A. Adepoju, *Migration in West Africa: A Paper Prepared for the Policy Analysis and Research Programme of the Global Commission on International Migration*, Lagos, Nigeria: Human Resources Development Centre, 2005.

⁸⁴ V. Bilger and Kraler, A., 'Introduction: African Migrations. Historical Perspectives and Contemporary Dynamics', *Wiener Zeitschrift für kritische Afrikastudien; Special Issue - African Migrations. Historical Perspectives and Contemporary Dynamics*, 2005, 8; B. Rossi, 'Migration and Emancipation in West Africa's Labour History: The Missing Links', *Slavery & Abolition*, 2014, 35, (1): pp. 23-46.

Bakewell and Jónsson⁸⁵ noted the colonial introduction of hut, poll taxes, and the exploitation/appropriation of the fertile lands for white settler agriculture and the introduction of forced compulsory labour. These were colonial policies to ensure that Africans offer their labour on the colonial mines and plantations in order to access the colonial currencies to meet their taxes obligations. This in turn led to rural urban migration all over Africa which introduced further mobility of people across the colonial artificially created borders.

Therefore, the contemporary trajectory of migration in West Africa is rooted in socio-economic, political and historical-cultural factors which have molded the trend of development and types of economic accomplishments and laid bold imprints on trans-national migration⁸⁶.

West Africa has experienced a diversity of immigrations instigated by population density, poverty stricken states, poor economic development strategies, and pervasive conflicts⁸⁷. Historically, migrants viewed the sub-region as a region where exchange of trade in goods and services flowed, and provided a place for free movement of people for economic gains. In order to understand contemporary human mobility in the regions and the policy framework that informed migration control, it is germane to establish the migration pattern in its appropriate historical perspective. This study sets out to explore the patterns in historical events that shaped the migration of South Africans to Nigeria during the apartheid regime and the migration of Nigerians into South Africa post-apartheid era in order to get a better understanding of the relationship that existed between the two countries.

Pellerin and Mullings⁸⁸ argue that the state uncritically celebrated the Diaspora. Moreover, development agencies obscure critical assumptions made about Diaspora's engagement and contribution to national development of home and receiving countries. They also argue that discussions of the practicality that has convoyed the efforts to bring Diasporas into state development agendas in terms of policies has obscured the exchange of goods and services that migrants engage across national boundaries, and that the manner in which decision of states are changing from private co-operations towards migrants populations suggest that emigrants' transnational networks as global agencies for flows of economic, cultural and social capitals are

⁸⁵ O. Bakewell and G. Jónsson 2011.

⁸⁶ G.L. Adeola and F.O. Yemi 2012.

⁸⁷ B. Rossi 2014.

⁸⁸ H. Pellerin and Mullings, B., 'The 'Diaspora Option', Migration and the Changing Political Economy of Development', *Review of International Political Economy*, 2013, 20, (1): pp. 89-120.

not severed with their homelands. They emphasise that the increasing focus on diasporas as economic exchange agents potentially presents the diasporas as national development options for the global South.

These researches not only demonstrated that it was incorrect to assume that long term migrants disconnected ties with their birthplaces, they emphasized the significance of their roles as players in transnational networks with the capacity to spawn international tides of economic, cultural and social capital across borders.

Mohan and Lampert, while discussing the Africa-China relationship, observed that most literature ignore the role that African agencies play in the renewed engagement with China and treat China as the driving force behind the relationship. They argue that African actors have negotiated, shaped, and even driven Chinese engagement in very important ways. They suggested a theoretical framework for understanding the state agency role in the Afro-Chinese relationship both beyond and within the state, providing empirical evidence of the African agency in two distinct manners: “analysis of African agency first by showing how elements of the Angolan state created an amalgam set of organizations to mediate Chinese venture schemes, and second by discussing how African social actors have influenced and derived benefits from the activities of Chinese migrants in Ghana and Nigeria. While both cases demonstrate African agency, the ability of African actors to exercise such agency is highly uneven, placing African politics at the heart of any understanding of China–Africa relations”⁸⁹

Crush and Chikanda⁹⁰ argue that South Africa has become a significant destination for medical treatment for many countries in Africa especially within the SADC member countries. This, they assert, is for both numerical and financial reasons within countries of the global South, than the North-South mobility to seek medical solutions. They observed the general poor and lack of access to the basic medical facilities within SADC and other regions of Africa. Especially, East and West Africa have led to a growing demand and temporary migration of people from those

⁸⁹ Ibid.; G. Mohan and Lampert, B., 'Negotiating China: Reinserting African Agency into China–Africa Relations', *African Affairs*, 2013, 112, (446): pp. 92-110.

⁹⁰ J. Crush and Chikanda, A., 'South–South Medical Tourism and the Quest for Health in Southern Africa', *Social Science & Medicine*, 2015, 124, pp. 313-20.

countries to seek medical treatments in South Africa. They argue that these movements are both formal and informal in nature. In their words, “the high demand and large informal flow of patients from countries neighbouring South Africa has prompted the South African government to try and formalise arrangements for medical travel to its public hospitals and clinics through inter-country agreements in order to recover the cost of treating non-residents”⁹¹. They stated that those medical tourists who do not fall under the countries of the agreements were at the risk of medical xenophobia, which lead to exclusion from receiving the desired treatments or face the consequences of huge medical bills, which the patient might not afford and this can lead to exclusion or denial of treatment. They infer that the nature of patronage of South Africa's medical tourism experience is based on the South-South medical mobility and intra-Africa migration since 1994.

Cissé⁹² argues that there is a growing relationship within the South-South Migration flow between African countries and Chinese. People migrate for both personal entrepreneurship and growing bilateral ties between China and most African countries. The research posited that the growing Chinese population in African countries like Senegal, Nigeria, Kenya and South Africa indicates that a large flow of human mobility driven by entrepreneurship interest has been established within the South-South geopolitics. The increasing population of Chinese investment in both small and large scale industries in the continent brought significant change in global trade and migration patterns in the global South. The large number of Africans who travel to China due to the improvement in transportation and telecommunication networks has largely brought about economic integration between Asian investors and African investors in the South-South driven by the migration of people.

South-South cooperation, according to this study, “is growing in the framework of the world political economy in general and the cooperation between Africa and emerging powers such as China, India and Brazil in particular. With this development, global trade patterns are increasingly changing economic interests regarding trade and investments between Asian,

⁹¹ Ibid. p. 313.

⁹² D. Cissé, 'South-South Migration and Sino-African Small Traders: A Comparative Study of Chinese in Senegal and Africans in China', *African Review of Economics and Finance*, 2013, 5, (1): pp. 17-28.

African and Latin American countries”⁹³. This change has implication for both governance and policy formulation. These are in the areas of trade, development and the political ties between Africa and the globalized world driven by economic interest of countries in the global North of Africa. A number of African countries have signed trade and contractual agreement with China in the area of railway construction and infrastructural development in general. Africa’s ability to negotiate between their former colonial authorities and the new growing Asian interest driven by Chinese growing presence on the international political space and economic interest will be determined by individual countries abilities for negotiation of their interest. Therefore, this review is significant in view of the current growing interest in the migrant choice and transnational network they maintain to give better understanding of the migration patterns in Africa.

Flahaux and de Haas argued that contrary to the popular perception of African migration being “driven by poverty, violence and underdevelopment, increasing migration out of Africa seems rather to be driven by processes of development and social transformation”⁹⁴. This has accordingly driven Africans to migrate out of Africa with the tendency to affect future emigration in Africa. Scholars have accentuated that migration in Africa is high and constantly directed toward Europe by poverty, violent conflict and general lack of good infrastructure. Africa, according to this thinking, is a representation of extreme poverty, starvation, warfare, and environmental dilapidation, aligning this to a picture of Africa full of misery. Undocumented migrants emanating from Africa have been constantly linked to security threat associated with crime, trafficking and terrorism⁹⁵.

⁹³ Ibid. p. 26.

⁹⁴ M.L. Flahaux and de Haas, H., *African Migration. Exploring the Role of Development and States* Madrid University of Oxford 2014, p4.

⁹⁵ P. Collier, *Exodus: How Migration Is Changing Our World*: Oxford University Press, 2013; C. Chaderopa, 'Crossborder Cooperation in Transboundary Conservation-Development Initiatives in Southern Africa: The Role of Borders of the Mind', *Tourism Management*, 2013, 39, pp. 50-61; S. Castles, 'The Factors That Make and Unmake Migration Policies', *International migration review*, 2004, pp. 852-84; Ç. Özden, *et al.*, 'Where on Earth Is Everybody? The Evolution of Global Bilateral Migration 1960–2000', *The World Bank Economic Review*, 2011, 25.

The African migration trajectory to Europe and America has received considerable scholarly attention. Thus, Sommer and Warnecke⁹⁶ agree with other scholars that despite the desperate move by African migrants as expressed in media and political alarmist reports regarding African migration to European countries, African countries still received more migrants from other African countries than a number of migrants received by Europe and America. They contended that “until 2005, 25 percent of migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa migrated to OECD countries whereas 63 percent migrated within Sub-Saharan Africa”⁹⁷. According to other scholars⁹⁸, this means that a large number of African migrants circulate within the continent which deserves academic attention for informed policy decision, while simultaneously giving an understanding of the nature and patterns of the current phenomenon.

In an examination of the African perspective, Castle et al⁹⁹ discuss the evolution of migration within, towards, and from Africa, with emphasis on post-independence period and offer interpretation of the factors responsible for changes in the size and direction of this mobility. They draw their analysis from data based on migration stocks and flow and they explore the theoretical arguments that necessitate researchers to critically re-think the role of development and state in migration processes. Relying on ethnographic data, the study examined the evolution of African human mobility index from 1960 to 2010. They assay the role of development process, state formation, and state policies in explaining the trends and patterns of migration in Africa. The outcome of their study reveals that the majority of African migrations circulate between African countries. This is against the commonly accepted notion of Africa as a

⁹⁶J. Sommer and Warnecke, A., *The Security Migration Nexus: Challenges and Opportunities of African Migration to Eu Countries; Documentation of the International Conference, Bonn, 22-23 February 2008*: BICC, 2008.

⁹⁷ Ibid. p. 7.

⁹⁸ Ibid.; S.B. Shneiderman, 'Himalayan Border Citizens: Sovereignty and Mobility in the Nepal–Tibetan Autonomous Region (Tar) of China Border Zone', *Political Geography*, 2013, 35, pp. 25-36; R. Skeldon, 'Migration Transitions Revisited: Their Continued Relevance for the Development of Migration Theory', *Population, Space and Place*, 2012, 18; A.S. Tabor, et al., 'International Migration Decision-Making and Destination Selection among Skilled Migrants', *Journal of Pacific Rim Psychology*, 2015, 9, (01): pp. 28-41; P.D. Sutherland, 'Migration Is Development: How Migration Matters to the Post-2015 Debate', *Migration and Development*, 2013, 2, (2): pp. 151-56; J. van der Westhuizen, 'Popular Culture, Discourse and Divergent Identities: Reconstructing South Africa as an African State', *African Identities*, 2008, 6, (1): pp. 45-61; A.C. Stephens and Squire, V., 'Politics through a Web: Citizenship and Community Unbound', *Environment and planning D: society and space*, 2012, 30, (3): pp. 551-67; I. Vari-Lavoisier, 'Une Invitation Aux Enquêtes Transnationales. Retour Sur Le Projet Timme (Terrains Interdisciplinaires Et Multi-Sites: Migrations Et Engagements)', *e-Migrinter*, 2016, (14).

⁹⁹ S. Castles, et al., *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, (New York: Guilford Press, 2014).

continent on the move, and they provide new evidence from the ethnographic data to confirm the validity of their claims. They stated that African migration has been reduced considerably with an exception of West Africa which witnessed stagnation at a particular period. This decrease or stagnation was the consequence of state formation process, and the effect of the emergence of state policies in the wake of decolonization, the rise in nationalism, intra-state tensions as a result of the new state attempt to assert their authority over the new demarcated state boundaries and policies aimed at controlling immigration. Apart from the role of inter-state tensions in reducing unrestricted migration especially during the apartheid era in South Africa and the intense hostility amongst states in North Africa, this also coincided with considerable xenophobic and anti-immigrant sentiment in African state against fellow Africans with increasing high level visa restrictions of African states for African nationals¹⁰⁰. This negates the pan-Africanist philosophy which saw African nationalists uniting against colonialism in Africa. This review gives insight into understanding the current trend in the migration of people within African states and covers the research gap in the Nigerian-South African patterns. This study benefited from the data provided by these scholars of African migration by providing insight into the intra-African patterns.

2.4 Migration studies on Nigeria

The international organization for migration in its report about Nigerian migration stated that Nigeria is the most populous African country with an estimated population of 173.6 million people¹⁰¹. Nigeria's annual growth rate, according to the report, stands at 2.5%. This constituted 53% of the West African sub-region total population, the country recorded a GDP of US \$522.6 billion (2013) representing 64.4 % of the sub-regions GDP. Nigerian oil and agricultural sector contribute 70% of the employment and 35.2% of the GDP, while the oil and gas sector contribute 95% of the foreign exchange earnings for the country with 80% of government revenue. However, the country still records slow economic growth of about 7.2% according to the World Bank report 2014¹⁰².

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ IOM, *Contribution to the Thirteenth Coordination Meeting on International Migration*, New York, 2015.

¹⁰² World Bank 2015.

The inflation rate per year was at 23.8% in 2003 and 8.2% in 2014. This was due to an unstable price of oil and the non-productive economic operated on a mono-economic source of revenue based on oil coupled with poor monetary policies on both domestic and international levels.⁵⁰ Income levels are generally low. 63% of the population is estimated to live below US\$1 per day, with massive concentration of wealth in the hands of the few, whose sources of wealth are questionable and most of these resources are not reinvested back into the economy.

The Gini ratio of Nigeria fell between 0.50 and 0.70, confirming the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few. Only 10% of the national income was shared amongst the majority of the population; as a result, labour demand exceeded 23.9% (2011 estimate). The majority of the population (60.1 %) was unemployed especially young people between the ages of 15-45. This situation and other internal political uncertainties left majority of the population with no option other than to emigrate to other countries, making Nigeria a highly mobile population on the continent¹⁰³.

Nigeria, since the 1970s, was a country of net immigration, which attracted not only economic migrants from neighboring West African countries, but political exiles, refugees, and economic migrants, from all over Africa and other parts of the world. This included the political exiles from the Southern African countries especially those who were escaping from the pangs of apartheid¹⁰⁴. The numbers of entry were far more than the number of people leaving the country. The country witnessed a reversal of the migration trend from the 1980s with the decline in the petroleum dependent economy when the oil price dropped in the international markets, coupled with political instability¹⁰⁵. Since the 1990s, new migration crescendo continued to emerge. By 1994, with the liberation of South Africa, many Nigerian professionals in the academic and business community migrated to South Africa. With globalization, shifts in the global political

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Y. Shain, ' " Who Is an Exile? Defining the Field of Study in Political Science", Vol. ' , *International Migration*, 1988,, xxxvi, (4): p. 387.

¹⁰⁵ A. Konseiga, 'New Patterns of Migration in West Africa', *Stichproben (Vienna Journal of African Studies)*, 2005, 8, pp. 23-46.

economy coupled with continued dwindling political instability and economic recession, Nigeria continued to be migrants all over the world in search of 'better life'¹⁰⁶.

Recent studies by the migration profile for Nigeria, especially for 2009, indicate that Nigeria is an important migrant receiving country, especially for West African citizens. The majority of these migrants are from the immediate neighbouring countries. They constitute about 74%:, Benin Republic 29%, Ghana 22% and Mali 16%¹⁷. The report also indicates that ECOWAS member countries' citizens resident in Nigeria has increased tremendously from 63% in 2001 to 97% in 2005. Refugees constitute a small percentage of immigrants which was 0.9% in 2007 most of who were from Liberia due to the political crisis that spanned the period of this report. Many asylum seekers also came from great lakes regions at 65%. The country attracted highly skilled professionals, who immigrated to take various managerial positions in banks, cooperate organisations, and international cartels in the oil and gas sectors, with 2.73% as general managers, 0.89% as cooperate managers, mathematical and physical engineering science professionals at 0.43%, customer services at 0.21%; about 47.37% of this population occupy positions in economical significant sectors in the Nigerian economy. Clerks and manual laborers are interestingly from the neighboring African countries who constitute 43.84% of the migrant population in the profiles¹⁷.

Academic discussions on Nigeria-South Africa relation are mostly cited around the foreign policies framework. Nigeria established foreign policy at independence from 1960, which marked the end of colonial exploitation in Nigeria and ushered in a new dispensation of hope and greater expectation for the entire African continent. This was demonstrated by Nigeria's venture in championing the cause of liberation for fellow African countries then under colonial authority and the repressive apartheid regime in South Africa. The Nigerian leadership's lead in support of the fight against the Pretoria oppressive regime was visible through financial and material support. Nigeria became a frontline state in the struggle. Bukarambe¹⁰⁷ traced the origin of the African centeredness from what he regarded as the "Balewarerian principle" which was

¹⁰⁶ K.R. Cox and Hemson, D., 'Mamdani and the Politics of Migrant Labor in South Africa: Durban Dockworkers and the Difference That Geography Makes', *Political Geography*, 2008, 27, (2): pp. 194-212.

¹⁰⁷ B. Bukarambe, *Challenges for Nigeria at 50: Essays in Honour of Abdullahi Mahadi*, Kaduna, Nigeria: Kaduna State University, 2010, p4.

futuristic, functional realist and enduring to justify the regimes' policy, contrary to scholarly discussions against the Nigeria's first regime's foreign policies. Bukarambe¹⁰⁸ contended that the Nigeria's Africa policy has continued to remain firmly rooted on the Balewa principles that were based on Africa's realities then, about the country's limits of power index in a world full of power politics and the continuous pursuit of an idealized pan-Africanist society in Africa.

Nigeria's consistent insistence for search of peace at a global, but especially African level could be traced to the thinking of the Nation's founding fathers at independence. This approach of Nigeria's foreign policy and support for liberation of African states under colonial regimes brought about the coming of the exiled black South Africans into Nigeria. This was the second phase of immigration from South Africa to Nigeria.

The first was the coming of the white South African missionaries, colonial workers and businessmen who were interested in the mineral wealth (especially in the tin and gold mining industries) in the central and Eastern Nigerian area (Jos and Enugu). We will be examining in detail in our next chapter the historical background of this relationship and its implication for socio-economic and political relations. The Nigerian foreign policy approach also has implications for migration policies and bilateral agreements that were later entered into between both countries especially from 1994.

Wapmuk¹⁰⁹, in an examination of the Nigerian-South African relationship, noted that the relationship started with the independence of Nigeria when South Africa was under the obnoxious apartheid regime. Nigeria, though far from South Africa with no common boundary, became a front-line state and stood its ground firmly against apartheid until the liberation was accomplished consistent with its anti-apartheid posture. Nigeria was also under a repressive dictatorial military regime which was unfriendly and became a pariah state, characterised by gross violation of human rights. Consequently, many Nigerians immigrated to South Africa. The inauguration of a democratic regime in 1999 in Nigeria, however, brought a new beginning in their relationship that lead to the birth of the African union (AU) and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD).

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ S. Wapmuk, *Challenges for Nigeria at 50: Essays in Honour of Professor Abdullahi Mahadi*, Kaduna, Nigeria: Kaduna state University, 2010, p3.

N C Ogo and K J Ani¹¹⁰ conducted a historical survey of the Nigerian-South African relations by analysing the diplomatic and bilateral ties that existed between both countries since 1960. The study affirms that diplomatic relations between the two countries “tended to be peaceful, corporative and progressive at some periods while at other periods were frosty and confrontational”¹¹¹. The research also provided a historical synopsis of the diplomatic policies and agreements as well as current issues of xenophobia and current animosity.

The Nigerian-South African relationship attracted academic discussion. Agbu¹¹², writing on the foreign policy environment between post-apartheid South Africa and Nigeria relationship, gave an analysis of the Bi-National commission in 1999. They stated that South African foreign policy environment should be understood in apartheid historical background which influences the present and future of the country. They argued that post-apartheid South Africa was being constantly hunted by its past domestic, regional and external structures. This, in their views, affected South Africa’s relationship with other African countries. They equally observed that South African economy was being dominated and largely controlled by the white minorities - a situation that is responsible for poverty amongst the large population of the blacks. Even senior management level positions in institutions like universities, non-governmental organisations, and the military are still controlled by the whites.

At the same time, foreigners, especially African migrants, are perceived as taking the few existing vacancies that ordinary black South Africans should take. These situations create tensions and uneasiness between the black South Africans and the African migrant population in South Africa. At regional level, SADC member countries view South Africa as dominating the economic scene with South African investors seen in all aspects of the economy. With 80% of the regional economy controlled by South African investors, in a similar manner, the investments of South Africa are visibly dominant in the Nigerian economy¹¹³. The study undertaken by these scholars give an x-ray of what shapes the foreign relations of Nigeria and South Africa. This study shall benefit from their idea in understanding the migration patterns and the philosophy

¹¹⁰ N.C. Ogo and K.J. Ani 2015.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² O. Agbu , *et al.* 2013.

¹¹³ Ibid.

behind the choice of South Africa as a migration destination by many Nigerians especially in the post-apartheid era within existing foreign policy environment.

Discussions on the hegemonic power struggle within the African countries have been at the center stage internationally with Nigeria taking the center stage¹¹⁴. Ogunnubi and Okeke-Uzodike opine that the hegemonic discussion in Africa put Nigeria at the center stage and revolves around the question of whether Nigeria, with the various roles it plays in Africa, qualifies to be hegemony. While Nigeria is referred to as the military giant of Africa, specific internal and external dynamics advance or limit its claims of hegemony. The study re-reiterated the celebrated re-entry of South Africa in the international scene as a democracy in the political space after the dismantling of the apartheid regime at the close of the 20th century in 1994. Nigeria at the same period was also recovering from the long military dictatorship into a democratic dispensation in 1999. This, accordingly, affected the political-economic dynamics of Africa. The study further observed that the recent recalibration of Nigerian gross domestic product (GDP) base which formally declared it as Africa's largest economy has revived debates around the hegemonic profile of Nigeria with other regional powers such as Egypt and South Africa. Within parts of Africa, there seems to be an unwillingness to accept Nigerian claims to regional hegemony, which is proposed by many on the basis of the population size of the country, notwithstanding Nigeria's Afrocentric foreign policy framework, vibrant economy, and its participation in multilateral initiatives and military contribution to the African Union (AU), the United Nations peace keeping initiatives in war torn countries of Africa (Liberia, Sudan, Sierra Leon, Mali) and ECOWAS as well as its broad base acceptance of its leadership role in the continent.

Oyeniya, in a study of the internal dynamics of migration in Nigeria, examined the impact of internal migration on human development. Relying on three "variables, viz. access to education, life expectancy, and living standard", the study emphasized that these variables dominate domestic migration decisions within the country. The study further explained that the trajectory of internal migration is complex, involving "rural-urban, urban-rural, rural-rural, and urban-urban migration dynamics, and draw conclusion that internal migration in Nigeria is influenced

¹¹⁴ O. Ogunnubi and Okeke-Uzodike, U., 'Can Nigeria Be Africa's Hegemon?', *African Security Review*, 2016, 25, (2): pp. 110-28.

by factors such as economic recession, economic growth, education, marriage, civil service, transfer and national service”¹¹⁵. The study reiterated further that differential in education and socio-political and economic development left a significant role in migration in Nigeria:

Regional differences in education, socio-economic and political developments play an important role in how domestic migration impact on access to education, increase in life expectancy and living standard. Contrary to the perceived notion that economy and the environment are the main ‘push’ factors that determine migration¹¹⁶.

Relying on an internal survey, the study analyzed mainly the migration of people amongst urban centers, placing less attention on rural-rural migration in explaining domestic mobility amongst Nigerians. The study benefited from analysis of the internal migration to show the relationship between internal and international mobility.

De Haasin’s study examined migration in Nigeria from 1973 to 2014. He observed that the oil boom in the Nigerian economy made the country an immigration destination for Africans in the 1970s. He argues that

“the period witnessed increased industrialization and a rise in the income of urban middle class, which made Nigeria a major attraction for African migrants. He reported that the decline in oil prices in the early 1980s led to economic depression which reversed the tide for Nigeria from being a net immigration country to a net emigration nation”¹¹⁷.

He further suggested that the depression of the local economy was the reason why Nigerians began to emigrate to “prosperous” economies all over the world. The study benefited from De Hass’s research in connecting Nigerian mobility to other parts of the world and explained why Nigerians are a highly mobile population in the world.

¹¹⁵ B.A. Oyeniyi, 'Internal Migration in Nigeria: A Positive Contribution to Human Development', *African Caribbean Pacific Observatory on Migration*, 2013, p5.

¹¹⁶ Ibid. p. 4.

¹¹⁷ H. De Haas, 'International Migration and National Development: Viewpoints and Policy Initiatives in Countries of Origin—the Case of Nigeria', *International Migration Institute, University of Oxford, Oxford*, 2006, p10.

Falola and Heaton's¹¹⁸ study narrated the history of Nigeria, including that which concerns migration which served as a referral point for scholars interested in Nigerian migration trend. In the study, they discussed the way that Nigeria and Nigerians influenced the world and affected historical processes in the rest of the world. Nigerians, in their view, migrate beyond their homelands and are spread throughout African societies and the Middle East, South and Eastern Asia, Europe and the Americas. Nigerians, by this act, represent an important sector in the African diaspora as some of them established permanent residence in these foreign countries while maintaining links back to their country of origin. This has so impacted world history as others in the 20th century have established semi-permanent transnational communities throughout the world. These transnational communities of Nigerians abroad have served as significant contacts between Nigeria and the rest of the world, while demonstrating Nigerian impact on human development across the globe. This approach was useful in the Nigeria and South Africa migration analysis, because it showed evidence of Nigerian mobility across Africa and the rest of the world.

Isike, in her thesis, evaluated the Nigerian migrants' relationship with their host in South Africa. The study examined the positive relationship that existed between South Africans and Nigerian migrants. The study showed that despite the phenomenon of xenophobia targeted at Nigerians, some migrants still had ties that bound them in the spirit of the pan-Africanist relations. The author further argued that rather than emphasizing on the negative aspect of migration, there were more positive values and benefits like Nigerians getting married to South Africans and business relationships beyond xenophobia, prostitution and human trafficking, which seems to dominate discussion around African migrants' relationships in South Africa. The study blames apartheid as responsible for creating a people that were almost disconnected with other fellow Africans since the apartheid regime applied restrictive and isolation policies that did not allow black integration amongst other fellow Africans. The effect of apartheid on the black South Africans left so much psychological trauma on the people¹¹⁹. This study was very significant to the research especially the discussion on xenophobia and migrant ties and relationship. UMhlatuze showed that beyond xenophobia, there existed personal relationships that are

¹¹⁸ T. Falola and M.M. Heaton 2008.

¹¹⁹ E. M Isike, 'Ties That Binds: A Network Analysis of Relationships between Nigerian Migrants and South Africans in Umhlatuze', University of Kwazulu Natal, Howard College, South Africa, Unpublished 2015.

beneficial to Nigerian migrants and their host community. The Nigerian South African migration history explains the narrative in historical terms in order to unpack the present occurrences between the two countries.

Ebegbulem¹²⁰ examined the Nigerian South African role in establishing the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) whose main objective was to eliminate extreme poverty in Africa and place it on the path of sustainable development. The establishment of the Nigerian-South African bilateral commission aimed at increasing trade relations and investment between the two countries affirmed the presence of most South African businesses doing exploits in the Nigerian market especially in the communication, food, mining, banking, retails, hospitality, and property development. South Africa's position of high technology and Nigeria's high population offered great investment opportunity for South African investors while South African infrastructural development also attracted both skilled and unskilled migrants from Nigeria to South Africa. Thus, scholars such as Aderanti Adepoju *et al*¹²¹, Hatton and Williamson¹²² and Oliver Bakewell and De Haas¹²³ have written on African migration to Europe, America, Asia, and also on regional and national migration. Similarly, scholars such as Aderanti Adepoju¹²⁴, De Haas¹²⁵, Ebegbulem¹²⁶ and Fayomi *et al*¹²⁷ have also written on the bilateral relationship between Nigeria and South Africa with emphasis on the liberation struggle, xenophobia and the hegemonic power struggle between both countries in terms of international diplomatic affairs both within the continent and globally. Scholars have argued that media reports on Nigerian-South African relationship are largely based on the interpretation of xenophobia which dominate and shape current discussions¹²⁸ Using media reports on selected newspapers in Nigeria and Zimbabwe, scholars argue that "the media did not only inform but also served as a platform

¹²⁰ J.C. Ebegbulem, 'An Evaluation of Nigeria – South Africa Bilateral Relations', *Journal of International Relations and Foreign Policy*, 2013, pp. 32-40.

¹²¹ A. Adepoju, *et al.* 2010.

¹²² Hatton and Williamson 2003.

¹²³ O. Bakewell and De Haas, H., 'African Migrations: Continuities, Discontinuities and Recent Transformations', *African alternatives*, 2007, pp. 95-118.

¹²⁴ A. Adepoju 2003.

¹²⁵ H. De Haas, *Irregular Migration from West Africa to the Maghreb and the European Union: An Overview of Recent Trends*: International Organization for Migration Geneva, 2008.

¹²⁶ J.C. Ebegbulem 2013.

¹²⁷ O.O. Fayomi, *et al.*, 'A Retrospective Study of the Effects of Xenophobia on South Africa-Nigeria Relations', 2015.

¹²⁸ A.O. Asakitikpi and Gadzikwa, J., 'An Analysis of the Herald and the Guardian Online Newspapers', *Global Media Journal: African Edition*, 2015, 9, (2); T. Oyedemi, 'Digital Xenophobia: The Bullying of 'Self' and the Cultural Caricature of a Criminal Nigerian 'Other'', *South African Review of Sociology*, 2015, 46, (2): pp. 60-76.

through which national and international reactions and actions could be aired and reported. These reactions and actions speak to perceived identities that bind people along the lines of fundamental and sensitive issues such as religion, gender, rights and race”. Their analyses is based on online news reports in The Herald (Zimbabwe) and The Guardians (Nigeria), and examine the perceptions of non-South Africans on xenophobic experiences of the June 2015, suggesting that mass media reports are agents that stimulate the reaction and action of people.

Adeagbo ¹²⁹ examined how Nigerian-South African couples negotiated and adapted their relationships in the wake of xenophobic crimes against foreigners and discrimination which saw them as victims of stereotype directed at Nigerian husbands and their friends and families.

Pillay ¹³⁰ analysed the impact of violence in relationships in terms of citizenship and governance in South Africa. They argued that the emergence of violence in South Africa has wide ranging implications on the type of society that emerges in post-apartheid South Africa and call for a more tolerant society in respective of race and colour. Everett¹³¹, examined the role played by civil rights groups in addressing the escalation of the xenophobic violence during and after the crisis. He blamed the crisis on the disparity in economic structure of South Africa. He stated that “without a far more deep seated economic and social transformation, South Africa remains beset by unresolved challenges that have their roots in the past...the exclusionist economic policies of apartheid as responsible for xenophobia and the general entrenched poverty amongst blacks which is turned to violence against migrants”.

Mathers and Landau¹³² argued that “being black and foreign in South Africa, whether legal or illegal, worker or leisure tourist marks one out for harassment, inconvenience and even violence, both psychological and physical”.

Nigeria’s evolution from a net immigration to a net emigration country in the 1970s and 80s is often ascribed to domestic political unsteadiness, especially the military eras typified by failed

¹²⁹ O.A. Adeagbo, 'We Are Not Criminals, We Are Just Victims of Circumstances': An Exploration of Experiences of Nigerian Immigrants' Men That Married South African Women in Johannesburg', *National Identities*, 2013, 15, (3): pp. 277-96.

¹³⁰ S. Pillay, 'Crime, Community and the Governance of Violence in Post-Apartheid South Africa', *Politikon*, 2008, 35, (2): pp. 141-58.

¹³¹ D. Everatt, 'Xenophobia, State and Society in South Africa, 2008–2010', *Politikon*, 2011, 38, (1): pp. 7-36.

¹³² K. Mathers and Landau, L., 'Natives, Tourists, and Makwerekwere: Ethical Concerns with 'Proudly South African'tourism', *Development Southern Africa*, 2007, 24, (3): pp. 523-37 p530.

economic policies and unabated corruption, exacerbated by their long transition from one military regime to the other which form the core of the economic corruption and decay of the Nigerian values system that exposes the nation to economic bungling. External political influences and conditions unfavorable to the Nigerian economy witnessed in the 1990s that led to devaluation of the currency were among many factors responsible for the exodus of many Nigerians. As a consequence, national mismanagement, economic difficulties and political challenges have conspired to push Nigerians emigration. Likewise, the booming economy of post-apartheid South Africa became the pull factor for the immigration of Nigerians to South Africa.

2.5. Migration studies on South Africa

The literature on migration to South Africa is basically centred on migration from the countries within the Southern African sub-region such as Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Botswana, Namibia, Swaziland, and Lesotho. Crush ¹³³ maintains that cross-border migration for employment within Southern Africa was predominant long before the drawing of colonial boundaries dating back at least 150 years. The countries of Southern Africa have been sending and receiving migrants since the mid-nineteenth century when labour migrants came to work on the Kimberley diamond mines including migrants from modern day Lesotho, Zimbabwe, and Mozambique.

The International Organisation for Migration in 2013 reported that

“the Southern African region experiences all types of movements, including mixed and irregular migration, labour migration and displacement due to conflict and natural disasters. By virtue of its strong economic position in the continent, Southern Africa experiences a high volume of migration due to work opportunities in the mining, manufacturing and agricultural industries. Industrial development in some countries in the region, especially in South Africa, Botswana and Zambia, and the oil wealth of Angola have been magnets for both skilled and unskilled labour migrants from within the region and elsewhere, notably the Horn of Africa and West Africa. Southern Africa is

¹³³ J. Crush, *et al.* 2005.

also a springboard often used as the staging ground for regular and irregular migration to Europe and the Americas”¹³⁴.

The discoveries of gold in Witwatersrand changed the entire patterns of labour migration. The current discussion on South African migration trend, especially from 1994, is dominated by the theme of xenophobia. This emerges as a consequence of the migration of other Africans and Asians into South Africa, a situation that is viewed by many as the source of identity politics of exclusion in the democratic South African State.

Writing on the human mobility in South Africa, Purgh¹³⁵ stated that South Africa has a long history of human mobility which is reflected in the diversity of the languages, culture and religion in the country. Migration control had been historically politicised, particularly throughout the 20th century South Africa. Migration has been deeply dominated by issues such as nationalism, identity, race, political authority, and above all, economic dominance. This study argues that it is these same issues that continue to dominate contemporary migration management and discussions in South Africa. She further stated that apartheid South Africa relied on inexpensive labour for maximization of the capitalist economy of the regime, recruitment for labour on the South African rich diamond and gold mines which were the pillars of the economy.

Migrants labour was also needed in other sectors such as domestic service, commercial farms, factories, and transportation and construction sector. Labour migration was carefully managed by placing emphasis on contract labour recruitment of male migrants for short time contracts after which they were expatriated back to their homes after expiration of their contracts. Women were however denied such privileges even though their husbands were recruited on the mines; they had to migrate across borders illegally. Our study benefited from this literature by having a better understanding of the historical origin of human mobility in South Africa which is vital for a better understanding of current identity, cultural and political engagement between migrants sending countries and South Africa as a receiving country.

¹³⁴ IMI, *Towards a New Agenda for International Migration Research* Oxfords international migration institue James Martin 21 century school University of oxfords 2006, p15; IOM 2015.

¹³⁵ S. Purgh, *Africans on the Move : Human Mobility in Ghanah, Nigeria, Angola and South Africa*, Cape Town scalabrini institute for human mobilityin Africa(SIHMA), 2014.

Modi ¹³⁶ observed that migration into South Africa has been a two way process: the National Party policy of apartheid was responsible for the migration of most black South Africans and the freedom fighters sought refuge in neighbouring countries. Ironically, foreign labour was welcome in South African when needed.

Stapleton argued that “migration in Southern Africa has its origin from the racially discriminatory rules championed by the pre-apartheid and apartheid government that restricted the movement and settlement of Black Africans”¹³⁷. This, in her views, affected the patterns of internal migration from rural to urban centres in quest of employment as a way of escaping poverty. The disposition of immigration caused individual to travel back and forth between their rural areas and their residences of service in the urban centres. Despite the lifting of these restrictive policies, the trajectory is still tenacious. This explains current ghettoization of most blacks in South Africa who are based in rural areas indicating the effect of links with historical policies which this research addresses.

Trimikliniotis *et al* note that migration is not a new occurrence in South Africa as it dates as far back as the 19th century when gold and diamond were discovered, where the collective consequence of mining and industrialised centre attracted thousands of migrant workers from all over South Africa. However, even before the discovery of gold in 1860 there was an established system of labour migration. They assert that

“the colonists were using migrant labour from the entire region for multiple purposes. Labour recruitments were mainly gotten around neighbouring communities. For instance, they cited the example of Basotho migrant workers coming to work in the Orange Free State, while in the 1840s the Tsonga or Shangaan travelled all the way from Delagoa Bay area to Natal area for wage labour. Mozambicans were also engaged to work on farms as seasonal workers in the Western Cape.”¹³⁸

¹³⁶ R. Modi, 'Migration to Democratic Southnafrica', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 2003.

¹³⁷ C. Stapleton, 'The Migrants Network Effect; an Emperical Analysis of Rural -to-Rural Migration in South Africa', 2015, p14.

¹³⁸ N. Trimikliniotis, *et al.*, 'Globalisation and Migrant Labour in a 'Rainbow Nation: A Fortress South Africa?', *Third World Quarterly*, 2008, Vol. 29 (7), pp. 1323–39.

In his examination of xenophobia in South Africa as a contemporary trend in the migration challenge, Gordon argued that South Africa's government response has not prioritised xenophobia as a serious challenge. This threat to government and integration of Africans has become worrisome with repeated occurrences in different forms. The result of his finding indicates that anti-immigrants attitude rather than anti-immigrant violence were prevalent and it is an important element for xenophobic studies and understanding of the challenge in Africa. The study contended that anti-immigrant sentiment is better understood as a political discourse rather than a response to economic conditions. In his views, government prioritisation of indigeneity and promotion of a South African exceptionalism are responsible elements towards South African anti-immigrant attitudes. The study confirmed that immigrants in South Africa occupy a wide variety of economic spaces including teachers, doctors, construction workers, and hawkers, who mainly reside in the townships and cities. A significant number of immigrants has applied for asylum status in South Africa, and South Africa has become one of the countries that has been taken as an asylum seekers choice of destination especially those within the SADC and a few from west and from other African countries¹³⁹.

The consequences of Africa's inability to attract foreign direct investment, according to Dube and Rukema,¹⁴⁰ have been responsible for economic backwardness as many African countries are faced with political and economic instability, which has led to stagnation and sometimes outright retrogression in gross domestic product. These in turn have created unemployment due to labour markets' inability to absorb teeming unemployed population especially amongst young people. This results into the push factors such as dissatisfaction with high taxation, low wages, increasing inflation rate, high cost of living, and non-availability of infrastructural facilities such as electricity, good transport and communication technology which consequently lead many professionals out of their home countries in search of better jobs or 'better life'. Using the example of Nigeria, Kenya, Zimbabwe and Ghana, they stated that these are the same push factors that led the countries to lose their professionals to South Africa with pull factors such as a good economy and infrastructural facilities in South Africa in addition to linguistic consideration since English language is a common communication medium.

¹³⁹ S. Gordon, 'Xenophobia across the Class Divide: South African Attitudes Towards Foreigners 2003–2012', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 2015, 33, (4): pp. 494-509 p475.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

Examining modern migration trend in South Africa, Peek¹⁴¹ reiterated that the 1990s witnessed a large flow of migrants seeking for employment in the various economic sectors (mines, agriculture and domestic work) from the neighbouring countries in the SADC region. This increase in migration flow to South Africa is related to the circumstance of political liberalisation within Southern Africa coupled with the continued decline of the economy of many of the bordering states. He stated that the process of assimilation and formulation of suitable legal response took place within a politically charged situation with growing antagonism against migrants. This situation spilled into the xenophobic violence of 1998 and 2015 which might be responsible for current frosty diplomatic and political relationship between South Africa and other African countries especially Nigeria whose citizens were victims of the violence.

Crush¹⁴² had stated that there exists amongst South Africans, tendencies of intolerance for visitors, with high level of antagonism towards foreigners which is widespread. Many scholars seem to have consensus for this circumstance. There is also a hostile public climate on the behavior of the agents of the state who police immigration. Crush also observed that it was very difficult to obtain any migrant rights and also difficult for human rights activists to sort the rights of such a category of people within the South African state. In another discussion of xenophobia, Crush and McDonald¹⁴³ stated that the problem of xenophobia in South Africa is created essentially by the tussles over limited resources, sometimes compounded by the high but elusive economic expectations up-stretched by the new political dispensation since 1994. While xenophobia affects only the black Africans fleeing economic and political disorder from many African countries, this does not however affect whites fleeing the same problems from other African countries who are not subjected to the same treatment.

Adjai et al posited that post-apartheid South Africa was constructed upon a culture of “inclusiveness, tolerance and human rights, embodied in its 1996 Constitution.”¹⁴⁴ However, they stated that the situation changed as black South African citizen exhibited high levels of

¹⁴¹ p. Peek, *Labour Migration to South Africa in the 1990s* 1998, p10.

¹⁴² J. Crush, 'Migrations Past: An Historical Overview of Cross-Border Movement in Southern Africa', *On borders: Perspectives on international migration in southern Africa*, 2000, pp. 12-24.

¹⁴³ J. Crush and McDonald, D.A., *Transnationalism and New African Immigration to South Africa*, Project and Canadian Association of African Studies: Toronto: Southern African Migration, 2002.

¹⁴⁴ C. Adjai and Lazaridis, G., 'Migration, Xenophobia and New Racism in Post-Apartheid South Africa', *International Journal of Social Science Studies*, 2013, 1, (1): pp. p192-205 p1.

xenophobia towards fellow African migrants with different degrees of prejudice and discrimination. They argued that at the core of this xenophobia and racialization of black African migrants was the politics of access and struggles for political and socio-economic resources. This study benefited from this critical analysis to have understanding of economic factors as the foundation of the xenophobic crimes perpetrated against African migrants in South Africa.

In a similar manner, examining the role of the state in ending xenophobia, Neocosmos¹⁴⁵ stated that empirical studies on xenophobia attempt a theoretical combination of xenophobia and its sophistication with historical sensitivity. The main argument of the study indicates that xenophobia in South Africa is a direct effect of a particular kind of politics, asserting that it is a particular political engagement by the state associated with the state's views and discussion on citizenship, forged opposition to the manner in which the apartheid state interpolated its subjects. The research stated that there has not been any conscious effort by post-apartheid government to formulate state policy aimed at ending xenophobic tendencies nor has any human rights claims in South Africa hidden state prescriptions for migrants' rights. In their further analysis, the research emphasises that migrants who come to the country for political and economic reasons are regularly associated with crime and criminal activities, particularly in the state discussions from the press. Meanwhile, migrants' attempt to secure economic survival is also criminalised. The use of derogatory terms like 'illegal' migrants, 'Makwerekwere' is often employed to intensify their dehumanization. This discrimination is often justified on the basis that economic and social crises in South Africa are created by the migrants, where the majority of the population is poor. This is often linked to reasons for xenophobic crimes against foreigners by the state. The study raises significant questions that require answers in order to understand xenophobic crimes and why it seems to have no cure. That is what happens when the state's discussions are fundamentally xenophobic because of a particular political history and practice. What if it was the state institutions themselves and the subjectivity they propound that are the fundamental root of the problem? Lastly, if the state's etiology of the problem is connected to the politics of state power, then it seems unlikely that a state led solution could end xenophobic crimes. What might be required is a different type of politics. These studies highlight the core of the xenophobic

¹⁴⁵ N. M, 'From 'Foreign Natives' to 'Native Foreigners' Explaining Xenophobia in Post-Apartheid South Africa Citizenship and Nationalism, Identity and Politics', 2006.

crimes in South Africa. The state's ability to provide a cure for the problem and the role and response of the state is germane in resolving the problem associated with xenophobia in South Africa. This study discusses in detail the government response to the xenophobic violence and crime in South Africa by way of tracing the history of the problem. Similarly, Baruti Amisi *et al.*³⁹, in their study, address the root causes of xenophobia in South Africa thus:

In the context of an overall economic crisis and rising inequality and urban poverty, these processes include a glutted labour market, housing shortages, township retail competition, highly gendered cultural differences, and apparently intractable regional geopolitical tensions. These root-cause pressures continue—as will xenophobia—because, short of a national political shift in power and interests, they are extremely difficult to resolve. As a result, civil society will continue band-aiding the problems when they surface as social crises, or be compelled to generate much more explicit politics of regional solidarity¹⁴⁶.

The effect of the lack of political will in addressing the root causes of the problem is symptomatic of a society that is vulnerable to crime and other related vices, and citizens of South Africa had been caught in the web of this dysfunctional society in which the economic structures had been designed in favour of a minority since the apartheid era.

Posel and Marx¹⁴⁷ stated that the origin of family division from each other could be traced to the apartheid policies for recruitment to the mines. This was achieved through the restriction of Africans from urban settlement only to recruit them as temporary dwellers in townships. They were not allowed to migrate with their families. The relegation of blacks to homelands in South Africa, with few employment chances, forced the men to migrate to the townships, whereas the whites were solely reticent. This led to circular migration amongst black South Africans who were often denied permanent settlements in the township where they worked but stayed on

¹⁴⁶ B. Amisi, *et al.*, 'Xenophobia and Civil Society: Durban's Structured Social Divisions', *Politikon*, 2011, 38, (1): pp. 59-83 p2.

¹⁴⁷ D. Posel and Marx, C., 'Circular Migration: A View from Destination Households in Two Urban Informal Settlements in South Africa', *The Journal of Development Studies*, 2013, 49, (6): pp. 819-31.

temporary basis. Migrants therefore maintained more than one household as they had to constantly return to their families in the rural areas. The study argue that

although families are no longer forced to be divided because of these restrictions, available household survey data suggests that during the post-apartheid period, many families have remained separated because of the labour migration of individual household members. In both national and regional divisions, specific household surveys conducted over the past decade indicate that the significant number of households continue to identify individuals who have migrated from the household to work or to look for work, as household members¹⁴⁸

While analyzing the xenophobic phenomenon in South Africa in post-apartheid era, Crush and Ramachandran¹⁴⁹ stated that violent xenophobia was a common feature of the South African state. They observed that everyday acrimonies often turn into violence targeted at foreigners and their economic enterprises, and identify three phenomena that offer explanation for xenophobia: denialism, minimalism and realism.

Denialism, according to the studies, rejects the argument that xenophobia plays any role of violence against migrants and refugees. They assay that this has been the official position of the South African government since the outbreak of the violence in 2008. They stated that the government regards xenophobic violence as acts perpetrated by criminal elements in those societies and continually argue that they are isolated cases of criminality. This has also informed government's response to the international community that engages with government in response to the xenophobia against their citizens. In their words, "violence perpetrated by the police and South African citizens continues to be explained away by politicians as criminal acts by criminal anti-social elements."¹⁵⁰ This denialist response as argued by Tagwirei¹⁵¹, clearly shows official and non-official discourses on xenophobic violence in South Africa, through media, which are

¹⁴⁸ Ibid. p. 824.

¹⁴⁹ J. Crush and Ramachandran, S., *Xenophobic Violence in South Africa Denialism, Minimalism, Realism.*, Cape Town 2014.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid. p. 1.

¹⁵¹ C. Tagwirei, 'State Narratives of 'Foreignness' and 'Criminality' in South Africa', *Communicatio*, 2016, 42, (2): pp. 191-209.

aimed at portraying migrants as instantaneously noticeable and imperceptible. He further observes that state functionaries modulate the xenophobic crimes whereas overstressing the connection of this violence to motiveless crimes. However, migrants are blamed for all the xenophobic crimes in the country. The denialists continually shift the blame to government's inability to effectively control of the border to keep undocumented migrants away from entering South Africa as responsible for the violence against migrants and refugees. A critical examination of the denialist can be easily dismissed as a gimmick by government to shift away from its responsibility to protect the lives and properties of everyone living in the rainbow nation. This circumstance is accordingly captured by scholars as¹⁵², "South African government's failure to adequately prioritise xenophobia as a serious concern that can jeopardize the society's hope of identity and citizenship leading to growing misconceptions of migrants being responsible for lack of jobs, crime, trafficking and other vices.

The minimalist, according to the study, stated that deep seated malaise existed against foreigners. This argument is often raised by neo-Marxists, who view xenophobia from the structural inequality in the formal and informal economy of South Africa, which the post-apartheid government is unable to address to reach an equilibrium in the disparity between the 'half and the half note'¹⁵³. They see xenophobic violence as signifier of broader, deepening social crises in South Africa, tied to intense competition for scarce resources such as jobs, shelter, and services. Some scholars argue that this deep seated anomaly was a direct response of the apartheid legacy. Adjai and Lazaridis, stated that South Africa was established in the post-apartheid era on the basis of equality of all people living in the rainbow nation, according to the 1996 constitution. However, South African people display extraordinary attitude of prejudice directed at fellow African people, imperiling them to diverse forms of bias and discrimination. They argue that the

¹⁵² A. Adepoju 2006; O. Akinboye, 'From Confrontation to Strategic Partnership: Nigeria's Relations with South Africa, 1960-2000', U. Joy Ogwu, (ed.), 2005; R. Amit, *No Way in Barriers to Access, Service and Administrative Justice at South Africa's Refugee Reception Offices*, Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 2012; B.E. Ate, *Issues in Nigeria's Security Relations with Its Immediate Neighbours*, Ate, Bassey E Akinterinwa, Bola A edn Ikeja, Lagos: The Nigerian Institute of international Affairs kofo abayomi street Lagos in association with Pumark Nigeria Limited, 1992; S. Gordon 2015; S.L. Gordon, 'Waiting for the Barbarians: A Public Opinion Analysis of South African Attitudes Towards International Migrants', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 2016, pp. 1-20.

¹⁵³ K. Marx and Engels, F., 'The Communist Manifesto (1848)', *Trans. AJP Taylor. London: Penguin*, 1967.

“racialization of African migrants - the other - and xenophobic sentiment are about the politics of access; a struggle for political and socio-economic resources”¹⁵⁴

Xenophobia realism offers an explanation that is based on the reality of the South African society, as the “translation of hostile attitudes into violent action”¹⁵⁵. The increased form of hatred in which hostility and opposition to those perceived outsiders, and foreigners, is intensely entrenched and articulated through hostile acts directed at immigrants and expatriates. These studies capture the explanation of the xenophobic situation and attitude towards foreigners in South Africa. The gap in the discussion is, however, the extent of this xenophobia on the diplomatic relationship of South Africa and the international community, especially African countries and particularly Nigeria, which sees itself as a stakeholder in the South African liberation against apartheid, and therefore did not expect this type of reaction against its citizens.

As long as the literature on migration is not rich on the relationship between South Africa and Nigeria, it creates an illusion that migration in Africa is uniform, linear, and simple. The nuances and complexities of this relationship need to be explored in order to better understand the meaning of international migration amongst African States in post-independence Africa. Therefore, an in-depth analysis of this study will add appropriate and anticipated value to academic discourse on emerging challenges and threat to migration, filling the gap in terms of documentary evidence of migration history in order to serve as a reference or guide for policy formulation regarding migration from a pan-Africanist perspective.

The review of literature above shows that there is in existence many works on migration globally and in Africa, with a fairly narrow research on migration between Nigeria and South Africa. The insufficiency of research on the broad topic of Nigeria-South Africa migration patterns has further limited research on the impact of such migration patterns on the socio-economic and political integration of the two countries. The present study aims to contribute to the literature by engaging in a historical analysis of the migration patterns between South Africa and Nigeria. The

¹⁵⁴ C. Adjai and G. Lazaridis 2013.

¹⁵⁵ J. Crush and S. Ramachandran 2014.

historical perspective of migration patterns between both regional powers in Africa has largely been under-researched by scholars despite the strategic importance of the two countries on the African continent. Therefore, this study aims to fill this gap and contribute to the existing literature.

2.6 Conclusion

This study reviews literature on Nigeria/South Africa migration. In doing this a review of past and current literature on migration generally and specifically on Nigeria and South Africa was done. The significance of this review was to have understanding of the existing literature and fill the gap that existed. In this review the study found that a gap existed in terms of the migration patterns between Nigeria and South Africa which gave rise to the fundamental reason for this study. In order to fill the gap, a survey of the major archives in Nigeria and South Africa were visited where new discoveries were made beyond the initial intention of the study. It was discovered in the archives that not only were the Christian missionaries coming to Nigeria as early as 1907 but that some Nigerians had also immigrated into South Africa as early as 1905, this had been largely ignored by existing studies on the Nigerian South African relationship spanning for over a century. For the current train in migration of people, a number of migrants were interviewed from both countries in order to corroborate findings with literature.

In conclusion, the study relies on the Trans-National Migration theories and the push pull theories which advance the reason for migration across both countries. This has guided the thinking of the migration patterns in this study.

CHAPTER THREE: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF MIGRATION BETWEEN NIGERIA AND SOUTH AFRICA

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is an analysis of the origin of immigration of people from South Africa and Nigeria. It also examines the relationship between colonial Nigeria and South Africa under the Union of South Africa before the introduction of the apartheid government. In doing this, efforts are made to describe the British colonial government's relationship with South African investments during the colonial era in Nigeria, especially in the mining sector. The chapter further analyses the kind of military aid and exchanges that existed between Nigeria and South Africa during the colonial era.

3.2 British Colonial Conquest of South Africa and Nigeria: Implications for Migration 1900-1948

This section analysed the implication of British colonial rule¹⁵⁶ on migration between Nigerians and South Africans. It further examined the military exchange of personnel during this period between colonial Nigeria and the Union of South Africa¹⁵⁷ from 1910 to 1947, and later, the apartheid regime in South Africa from 1948 up to 1960. In addition, the section examined the business interests of South Africa in Nigeria and the various employment opportunities that existed between both countries during this period.

The significance of this analysis was to establish that migration between both countries had a long historical standing. This had implications on post-independence ties in terms of political and economic interests as well as cultural and religious relations.

¹⁵⁶The colonial government in Nigeria was administered as Northern protectorate, and Southern protectorate before the amalgamation of 1914, which bring the two together to what is now Nigeria. Nigeria became independent in 1960.

¹⁵⁷South Africa before 1910 was also colonised into four provinces by the British into Cape of Good Hope, Transvaal, Orange Free State and Natal Provinces, the apartheid regime started from 1948.

Africa had been described as the continent with the world's most mobile population.¹⁵⁸ One of the greatest migrations in human history was recorded in sub-Saharan Africa involving the Bantu people who left the area now encompassing Nigeria and Cameroun and formed settlements throughout the entire southern half of the continent.¹⁵⁹ Migration was increasingly driven by economic, political and social changes.

In the West African sub-region, migration could better be explained theoretically from the economic standpoint. The push pull (Neo-classical) theory linked migration to movement from low to high income areas or, more specifically, to fluctuation in business circles. These approaches are known as push-pull theories. The “push factors” include lack of economic opportunities and political freedom among others and “pull factors” demand for labour, good economic opportunities and political freedom.

3.2.1 Colonial Experience in Nigeria and South Africa

Both Nigeria and South Africa were colonized by Britain, although the introduction of apartheid in South Africa later made it a distinct experience. The implication of this colonization was that Britain became the main colonial authority for both Nigeria and South Africa. They have similar experiences in terms of administrative and economic structure which was aimed at the exploitation of human and mineral resources across Africa with intended effect of incorporating the African economy to fit into British capitalism. This led many African countries to fight for independence from the colonial authorities which saw South Africa getting its questionable independent in 1910. This was, however, sham independence as the Union government of South Africa excluded the blacks. In 1948, the Labour party came to power and introduced a new form of government based on racial segregation, which led to the further exploitation of the black majority in South Africa. Nigeria became independent in 1960 after a long struggle. Post-independence Nigeria saw the liberation movement taking a pan-Africanist dimension, spearheaded by the independent Nigerian government which led to the end of apartheid in 1994. The convergence of this experience was what led to the migration of people across both

¹⁵⁸ R.O. Ogunubi and Isike, C., 'Hegemonic Order and Regional Stability in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Comparative Study of Nigeria and South Africa', PhD, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa, 2013.

¹⁵⁹ S. Castles, *et al.* 2014.

countries; there were movement of people in both periods of the Nigerian South African history which had impact on their relationship. It is on the basis of this relationship that in this section, the study examines the human mobility during the colonial period. Many factors brought about migration between the two nations after colonization. For example, the use of English language became a common medium of communication during the colonial era in both countries, thus aiding easy human mobility across both nations. British incorporation of the Nigerian and South African economies into the global capitalism also became an advantage for the country's economy to be exploited by its former colonial authority and its allies.

British colonial interest in Africa was basically economic exploitation, driven by its capitalist ideology. The exploitation of the mineral resources of Nigeria and South Africa were funded by British capital, spearheaded by several companies from England. In the case of Nigeria, it was the Royal Niger Company led by the Williams Goldie¹⁶⁰ and in the case of South Africa, it started with the settlement of the Boers under the Dutch East Indian Company when South Africa was under the Cape of Good Hope¹⁶¹. British colonial interest in Nigeria was spurred by the visible signs of the availability of various metals, especially in Jos Plateau where there were explorations in search of tin centuries before its contact with Europeans¹⁶². Responding on the availability of opportunities in Nigeria, especially in the mining sector in Jos, a resident, in 1911, said:

Some 147 Europeans were in the province at the end of the year. The amount of money brought into the country has been very considerable and has had a marked effect on the prosperity of the adjacent farms and towns. Several thousands of foreign labourers have been attracted by the good wages, which average a penny an ... growth of the industry quickly outstripped the resources of both mining and political staff.¹⁶³

This resulted in many applying for employment in the colonial administration from 1900-1960, in Nigeria, including Europeans and white South Africans. Many were offered employment and

¹⁶⁰ A.M. Jega, *Nigeria's Foreign Policy and the Promotion of Peace, Development and Democracy*, 2015.

¹⁶¹ C.W. De Kiewiet, *A History of South Africa*: JSTOR, 1966, p1.

¹⁶² O. Agbu, *et al.* 2013.

¹⁶³ N.J.P. 146/1911, 'Annual Report for the Year Ended 31 December 1910', ed. by National Archive Kaduna (Kaduna Unpublished 1911): (p5).

worked in the Nigerian colonial civil service beyond 1960 when colonialism came to an end. The British colonial authority made its position, concerning mining, clear to the Nigerian people in a statement by Lugard:

The entire property and control of all minerals in Nigeria is vested in the crown and no person may prospect or mine on any lands in Nigeria or direct water for these purposes, without authority as provided for in the Minerals ordinances, 1945. There is the exception, however, that natives may take certain minerals enumerated in section 5 of the ordinance (which exception does not include tin or gold) where it has been their custom to do so and the land from which such minerals are being taken does not fall within any mining lease or right¹⁶⁴.

The discovery of tin ore deposits in commercial quantity in the 1900s resulted in Nigeria becoming a leading producer of the commodity in Africa by the 1920s. The introduction of commercial mining in the area came with British capital; Britain funded the entire mining enterprise. Nigeria and the Belgian Congo were the major sources of tin supply in Africa for the Europeans' business interest in Africa:

Nigeria produced 5.2% of world tin output from 1926-1940. Commercial mining in Nigeria reached up to 10, 855 long tons by 1939. For the first nine months of 1942 The Amalgamated Tin Mines Company of Nigeria had produced 5,430 tons of the ore. Other companies for the same period had produced 2,520 tons of the ore. Known ore reserved for immediate working in the tin field amounted to 17,370 tons. Tin was valued in New York for 1941 at an average price of \$52 per pound. In London, for 1940, it had reached an average price of 256/12/3 pounds per long tons.¹⁶⁵

The exploration of these resources by British companies led to the mass recruitment of labour at the mines in both Nigeria and South Africa. In Nigeria the introduction of taxation payable in the British currency, forced the Nigerian people to work in the mines in Jos and Enugu in order to

¹⁶⁴N.S. R1/A28, 'Northern Province Office Guide Preparation of Mining Titles', ed. by Archive (Kaduna: NAK, 1912).

¹⁶⁵C.B.C. Statistics, *Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia No. 37 - 1946 and 1947*, Australia: Aust. Bureau of Statistics, 1946 and 1947.

access the British currency to meet their tax obligation. These circumstances led to rural-urban migration of people into the mining areas. People migrated on both long and short term basis depending on their needs. There was also the recruitment of Europeans to operate the new machinery used in mining and to process the tin ore for exportation to different parts of the world where British commercial interest lay. This era also witnessed the immigration of different Europeans to the Jos Plateau, and the entire Nigeria for different purposes.

3.3 Nigeria –South Africa Colonial Government Relationship 1900-1960

The tin industry offered an attractive and a competitive remuneration that compared with most parts of the world. This made many Europeans to apply for employment opportunities in Nigeria. This led to Nigeria becoming a global interest for labour migrants especially from Europe in the 1900s. This attracted Europeans' interest, leading to various applications from engineers, administrators and retired police officers from South Africa as early as 1903-1908 as evidenced in the colonial records¹⁶⁶.

The colonial government in the protectorate of Northern Nigeria advertised vacancies for the employment of engineers in 1907¹⁶⁷. Thus, engineers from the Cape Colony applied for such positions and many were employed, until the Northern Nigerian Protectorate, in 1908, issued a statement to the effect that the vacancies for employment were closed for a short period: "It is hereby notified that for general information that representations have been made by the government of Northern Nigeria that it is quite useless for engineers, contractors, or artisans, to go to Nigeria in search of employment. There are no openings at present"¹⁶⁸. This served as evidence that engineers from South Africa were seeking employment and contract opportunities

¹⁶⁶N.A.o.S. Africa, 'Two Officers of the Transvaal Civil Service Applying for Employment in Southern Nigeria ', ed. by Cape of Good Hope (Cape Town Archive Archive of Cape 1903); N.A.o.S. Africa, 'Applcation by Mr. Pj Macdonell, for an Assistant Residenship in Northern Nigeria ', ed. by Cape Town National archive (Cape Town South Africa National archive of South Africa 1903); N.A.o.S. Africa, *Mr. Smith as Candidate for an Appointment in Northern Nigeria* Cape Town South Africa, 1905; N.A.o.S.A.C. Town, 'Appointment Engineering, Etc, Vacancies Northern Nigeria Offer ', ed. by Cape Town Archive (Cape of Good Hope Archive Cape Town 1907); N.A.o.S.A.C. Town, 'No Employment for Engineer's, Cotractors or Artisans in Nigeria', in *Northern Nigeria notice to the Cape of Good Hope Colony* ed. by Cape Town Archive (Cape Town archival collection 1908); N.A.o.S.A.C. Town, 'Appointment of Gordon-Grahame as Accountant and Store Keeper on the Southern Nigerian Protectorate ', in *employment of Gordons in Nigeria* ed. by Cape Town Archive (Cape Town Archive Archival records 1909).

¹⁶⁷N.A.o.S.A.C. Town 1907; *ibid*.

¹⁶⁸N.A.o.S.A.C. Town 1908.

from the colonial authorities in Nigeria as early as 1906. This also suggests the fact that the British colonial administration aided transnational labour migration across its colonies in Africa, leading to the employment of many Europeans in the colonial civil service in Nigeria.

Many white South African workers applied for some of such vacancies and got hired in the Nigerian colonial service.¹⁶⁹ For example, Langton, a retired police officer, sent his application for appointment in Northern Nigeria or the East Africa Protectorate which was received and acted upon as follows:

...Mr. Arthur Henry Brodie Langton of the Cape Mounted police riflemen, has applied to me for a police appointment in Northern Nigeria or East Africa Protectorate, and I should be glad if your minister could see their way to furnish me with report on the manner in which the applicant has discharged his duties under the Cape government, and on his suitability for the employment for which he applied¹⁷⁰.

Furthermore, another letter by Mr. Altern shows evidence of South Africans seeking employment in Nigeria: The Natal province, in response to an inquiry, wrote:

In reply to your letter of the 23rd August 1905, I have the honour to inform you that the High Commissioner, Zungeru, North West Africa, is the proper person to address for information regarding Nigeria, but I may say that the shortest way to obtain the information you desire will be to communicate with Mr. R L, Antrobus, c b Colonial Officer London". This communication was following the request by Mr. L M. Altern (23rd August, 1905) a white South African businessman who needed information regarding Nigeria wrote from Eshowe in the Natal province enquiring information on Nigeria "I want to send a letter to the British

¹⁶⁹N.A.o.S. Africa 1903.

¹⁷⁰N.A.o.S.A.C. Town, 'Langton a Cor[Poral Cape Mounted Rifles Application for Police Appointment in Nigeria ', in *Langton Employment in Northern Nigerian Regiment* ed. by Cape Town Archive (Cape Town archival record 1906).

protectorate of Nigeria (North western Africa) in order to ask for certain information about the country but can obtain no information here.”¹⁷¹

The colonial office in Northern Nigeria on 22nd June, 1906 also wrote to the Natal province suggesting exchange of official publication of statistical yearbook which was immediately granted by the Natal province in his letter he stated that:

...acting upon the suggestion contained in the secretary of state's circular of the 6th of February last year referring to the mutual exchange between various colonies and protectorate of their annual reports dealing with subjects of general interest, this protectorate will be most willing to make such an exchange with your colony, and, in anticipation of your colony acquiescence, instructions have been issued to have any future report forwarded to you¹⁷².

In his response the Natal Colonial Secretary stated:

...in compliances with the request contained in your letter of the 22nd June last year, (No. 277/1906), a copy of the Natal statistical year book for 1906 has been placed on the distribution list for future issues of this publication, in exchange for the reports of your protectorate which you state are to be send to this colony. If there are any administration reports with which you specially desire to be supplied, and you will specify, I will have pleasure in giving instruction for them to be forwarded.¹⁷³

The British colonial government secretary of state understood very well that exchange of ideas, information, and knowledge and sharing among all British colonies was necessary for communication. These strengthen the activities of colonialism and help in exploring the various economic opportunities that were available in different colonies. Understanding the difficulties in the various colonies and sharing ideas through information help in dealing with the

¹⁷¹N.A.o.S. Africa, 'Lm Atern, Eshowe Enquiries to Whom to Addressa Letter to Nigerian British Protectorate ', in *Letter from Altern* ed. by Cape Town Archive (Cape Town Archival records 1905).

¹⁷²N.J.P. 146/1911 1911.

¹⁷³N.P. Reports, 'Suggest an Official Exchange of Publication. Store Keeper Do We Send Anything to the Nigerian Protectorate? ', ed. by National Archive of South Africa Pietersmaritzburg (Pitersmaritzburg/Durban: National archive of South Africa 1906).

administrative expedience of the colonial government. They also use this as a major of dealing with recalcitrant group arising from indigenous people.

In another correspondence from colonial Nigeria in 1909 in respect of the payment of gratuity on behalf of the colony of Good Hope, the Lagos resident officer wrote:

I have the honour to transmit to you the accompanying statement by vouchers, showing that advances amounting to the sum £12.10 pounds have been made by this government during the month of October 1909 on account of the government of Cape Colony¹⁷⁴.

The colonial secretary from the Lagos protectorate wrote via a letter address to the colonial secretary of the Cape of Good Hope forwarding an enclosed voucher for the said payment on 30th September, 1910. The letter read:

Kindly, make arrangement with the crown agents for the colonies for the sum of £12.10 pounds to be placed to the credit of the western province Southern Nigeria, in adjustment thereof¹⁷⁵.

The records above were an indication of mutual agreement between the British colonies, showing the relationship between the colonial governments in Nigeria and South Africa Colonial government. In yet another correspondence written from the office of the comptroller general of Cape colony on 4th March, 1910 in response to the employment of pensioner Martins in the colonial service of Lagos Protectorate Southern Nigeria Western province, he stated:

With reference to my letter of 29th January, regarding the re-employment of pensioner W Holiday, I have the honour to forward for your information two pension vouchers of Mr. H Martin who is in receipt of a pension of £50 per annum and at the date of retirement draws salary at the rate of 71-per diem or £127-15-0 per annum who has been re-employed as a 'Temporary accountant

¹⁷⁴N.A.o.S.A.C. Town 1906.

¹⁷⁵Ibid.

P.W.D. Lagos Southern Nigeria' at a salary of £127-15-0 per annum from the 1st January, 1908¹⁷⁶.

A closer look at the remuneration of Martin shows that he received a higher remuneration during his contract employment in Nigeria than he was paid while in active service in South Africa. This indicates that the Nigerian colonial service offered higher remuneration to white foreign workers employed from South Africa into the Nigerian colonial service. This was a source of attraction to many other white South Africans who applied for employment and contract opportunities to Nigeria as early as 1908.

The agent general for Lagos wrote to the Cape of Good Hope on 9th September, 1909 stating reasons why his government needed reimbursement from the Cape of Good Hope:

With reference to the enclosed voucher, forwarded by the colonial secretary, Lagos by a letter No. 4326/B.2622/09 dated 8th July last year representing pension payment made on behalf of the Cape colonial Government, I shall be obliged if you will kindly make arrangement with the crown Agents for the Colonies for the Sum of £25 in adjustment to be placed to the credit of the Western province, Southern Nigeria¹⁷⁷.

Responding to the request the colonial headquarters in London, the British secretary for state in charge of Nigeria, mediated to effect the payment from the Cape of Good Hope:

the accompanying statement supported by voucher showing that advance amounting to the sum of £25-0-0, have been made by this government during the month of February 1909, on account of the government of Cape colony –should the statement be found correct, I shall be glad if you will be so good as authorized the crown Agents for colonies to place the amount to the western province of this government, and to notify me of the issue of such authority¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁶Ibid.

¹⁷⁷Ibid.

¹⁷⁸N.A.o.S.A.C. Town, 'Pension H Martin, Private Cape Mounted Police - Re-Employment ', in *H martin Re-employment in Northern Nigeria* ed. by Cape Town Archive (Cape Town Archival records 1906); N.A.o.S.A.C. Town 1906.

In response from the secretary of the Cape colony, it was written:

with reference to your communication No 4905/B2850/09 of the 8th July, forwarding vouchers for payments as above on behalf of this government,...the agents general in London has today been requested to arrange a refund for the sum of £25 through the crown agents for the colonies in adjustment of this advance for the colonies in adjustment of these advances¹⁷⁹

The agent general for the Cape of Good Hope in London also responded:

With reference to the enclosed vouchers forwarded by the colonial secretary, Lagos, by a letter No 4326/B.2522/09 dated 8th July, last representing pension payments made on behalf of the Cape colonial government, I shall be obliged if you will make arrangements with the crown agent for the colonies for the sum of £25 in adjustment to be placed to the credit of western province Southern Nigeria¹⁸⁰.

The Cape colony advanced the payment in favour of the Northern Nigeria colony. It should be noted that labour migration between the British colonies during the colonial period was government-driven. This was a conscious effort of the colonial policy to allow free entry of white Europeans for possible recruitments into the colonial civil service. This aided further movements of people across borders as English became a commonly used language across all former British colonies.

The relationship between the colony of Good Hope and Northern Nigeria extended to the exchange of information and importation of farm implements to facilitate production for their indigenous farmers learning from the experience of each other. On the 23rd February 1904, in response to a request by the colonial secretary of Northern Nigeria enquiring about the type of plough used by natives in Cape of Good Hope South Africa, the secretary in the Cape Colony wrote:

¹⁷⁹N.A.o.S. Africa, *Report by the Senior Medical Officer in Nigeria on Cattle Infection* Cape Town National archive of South Africa 1904

¹⁸⁰N.A.o.S. Africa, 'Plough for Northern Nigeria ', ed. by Cape Town Archive (Cape Town Archival records 1904).

Your letter No, B/6805/861 dated the 10th December last year on the above subject (plough for northern Nigeria) I am directed to inform you that the reports of the various officers, it would appear that the following are the different makes of plough in order of merit as mostly favoured by the natives of this colony, namely; 1) Single Furrow American, wooden bean. Eagle No. 75. 2) Single furrow famous brand 3) Single furrow Bluebird brand 4) Single furrow American wooden Bean No. 194 1/3 5) Single furrow American No.55 6) Double furrow American Flying Dutchman¹⁸¹.

These letters were received by authorities for each respective native office through the magistrate's office in the Cape of Good Hope. From their reports, only Pedi office quoted the price of the plough in his response. This is the proof of the amount for plough:

In accordance with the request contained in your circular separate of the 18th December 1903 on the above subject ... my inspector reports, that the no 75, single furrow eagle plough is most commonly used by the natives in this district. The price for this implement is £ 1:15:0 that is the ordinary kind –American makes- 'A plough which is coming into use now is the blue bird, a good single furrows plough called the famous is also coming into use, and would be suitable for natives¹⁸²

The colonial government understood very well that information sharing was one source of strength that could link the entire British colonial administration to be able to monitor the exploitation of the economy of the various colonies. They make sure that there were no restrictions for the movement of Europeans and migration of labour into the colonial mine in Nigeria was government control as different from the recruitment of white from South Africa to Nigeria.

¹⁸¹Ibid.

¹⁸²Ibid.; N.A.o.S. Africa 1903.

3.4 Nigerian Migrants Experience in the Cape of Good Hope

Evidence from the National archive of South Africa indicates that the human mobility between Nigeria and South Africa was not a one-way traffic. Records abound to show that Nigerians migrated to South Africa as early as 1905.¹⁸³ There are no existing evidence to show that the Nigerian immigrants, who came to South Africa in the early 1900s (1904-1918), and during the apartheid era, participated in the colonial labour in the South African mine. Available evidence in the archives, indicate that this set of Nigerian Bantus did not work in the labour mines in South Africa.

There are two categories of Nigerian immigrants that were found in South Africa: the first were voluntary immigrants and the second were those who came in for the colonial military service led by Colonel Powell during the periods of the World War 1 (1916-1918)¹⁸⁴. As found in the archival records in Cape Town, there is considerable evidence of the immigration of some Nigerians to Simon Town in the Cape of Good Hope. Although there were few Nigerians that immigrated into South Africa at this time, it validates our claim that the mobility patterns existed beyond existing claims that migration between the two countries was as recent as the 1960. This evidence has proof beyond reasonable doubt that Nigerians came to South Africa as early 1905.

There are records to show that Mosa Abe Washington called the 'Nigerian Bantu (Bantu was a term used to describe black people in South Africa by the whites) in an affidavit on oath claim to have been born in Nigeria in 1900. Therefore a Nigerian citizen was brought to Simon Town in 1905 as a child. The oath recounts thus:

I Booker Mimosa Abe Washington at present residing at 50 Kent street Cape Town do hereby declare on oath that: 1) That I was born in Nigeria at Lagos in town in 1900 (23/06/1900). 2) That in 1905 my parents brought me to South Africa and died with me at Simon town. 3) That both my parents died in 1918 at Simon town. 4) That I had all the legal rights and the necessary requirements to remain in the Cape Peninsular. 5) That since then I had a permit. That it was when

¹⁸³N.A.o.S. Africa, 'Black Labour Foreign Blacks Nigeria. Boker Mimosa Abe Washinton ', ed. by Cape Town Archive (Cape Town Archival record 1963); N.A.o.S. Africa, 'Black Labour Foreign Blacks Nigeria. Boker Mimosa Abe Washinton ', in *George Christian*, ed. by Cape Town Achive (Cape Town Archive Archival records 1966).

¹⁸⁴

the reference books were issued when my permit was taken and I was told to file form instead. 6) That was when I went to Salt River; I could not be allowed to get the temporary immigration permits. 7) That many times had I been in gads where my health got ruined. 8) That now I have no permit to remain here¹⁸⁵.

What is recorded in the document indicates clearly that he was a Nigerian and this is proof that a Nigerian family came to South Africa since 1905. Booker's story shows that his parents died in 1918 during the First World War and were buried in Simon Town, South Africa¹⁸⁶.

It should be noted that while Europeans from South Africa were given free entry to work in the colonial service in Nigeria, black South Africans were not accorded similar privileges in the Union of South Africa.

During the First World War (1918)¹⁸⁷, Nigerians, under the West African Frontier Force were drafted to South Africa to defend the interest of Britain against Germany. Evidence of this is seen in the burial of Corporal Dogonyaro in Durban military cemetery and Carrier Dogonyaro in the same cemetery in 1916¹⁸⁸ and 1918¹⁸⁹ respectively. These two men were members of the Nigerian Regiment drafted from the West African Frontier Force.

¹⁸⁵N.A.o.S. Africa 1966.

¹⁸⁶N.A.o.S. Africa 1963.

¹⁸⁷N.A.N. Pretoria 14/12/1916.

¹⁸⁸National Archive Pretoria, 'National Archives (Na), Pretoria, Group, File 0000, Grave Stone Inscription Cpl Dogon Yaro, Member of the First Nigerian Regiment, Military Cemetery, Durban Kwazulu Natal, 14/12/1916', (Pretoria Durban Kwazulu Nata Archive, 1916).

¹⁸⁹Ibid.



Figure 1: Grave stone Photos of Nigerian Regiment that were buried in South Africa Durban¹⁹⁰

This is an indication that human mobility between Nigeria and South Africa on official and undocumented means existed for a long historical period spanning from 1905. Colonel Powell had also led a contingent of the Nigerian West African Frontier force to the East German war in 1916 see Appendix¹⁹¹

¹⁹⁰ N.A.N. Pretoria 14/12/1916.

¹⁹¹ National Archive Pretoria 1916. to be check for the Powell col records and pictures place as evidence



Figure 2: Service of Lieutenant Powell with the Nigerian Brigade in East Africa, 1916-1918¹⁹²

Another Nigerian, George Christian, was granted permission in 1962 to work at Victoria Hospital Wyalung as a cleaner. Records of this, as found in the Cape Town archives, show the following:

The above named is a Nigerian who originally arrived in this country during the 1949. He is not yet in possession of passport as all effort to procure same or have him identified have proved fruitless. This office is hesitant in sending him by sea to his country of origin with a re-entry permit as we have no guarantee that he will be permitted to land by the Nigerian authorities and similar attempts in other cases have merely resulted in wastage of state funds. Furthermore difficulties have been experienced in persuading ship captains to allow foreign Bantus on

¹⁹² I.w.m. online, 'Service of Lieutenant Powell with the Nigerian Brigade in East Africa 1916-1918 ', in *Powell L A W (LT) Collection* (photographs) Made by: Powell L A W (Lt) (Photographer) Q 17218, (London IWM 1916-1918).

their vessels as they too are aware of the difficulties experienced at the other end when disembarking these Bantu.¹⁹³

Further, in the records after investigation by the apartheid authorities, it is shown that he was granted permission to stay in South Africa:

Permission is hereby granted to George Christian National identity No. A120172 Bantu born in Nigeria". He was granted permission to remain in the Cape Peninsular until 5/9/63. Thus, "subject to the concurrence of the local authority concerned, permission is hereby granted in terms of section 12 of Acts No 25 of 1945 to Minomosa Abe Washington, a male native from Nigeria land to remain in the Cape Peninsular until 5/9/1963. This approval was granted by the commissioner in charge of the Bantu affairs Cape Peninsular the bearer, a Nigerian from Sokoto from Chief Balewa district in Sokoto will be permitted to re-enter the Republic of South Africa to resume employment with GKN Swesleel Box 46 Epping Cape Town. This document is valid for a period of 3 Months. 29/02/1968¹⁹⁴.

George Christian was eventually arrested in Pullmour. Reasons for his arrest are not documented. He was later released from Pullmour prison on 22nd February, 1966. Records indicate that George suffered from a chronic disease and had cardiac failure. He maintained that he came to South Africa from Nigeria in the 1950s and he later married a coloured woman in 1952. The repatriation officer wrote to the immigration authorities thus:

It would be appreciated if you could supply him with the necessary documents which will prevent him from being re-arrested because he is not in possession of a pass. He told us that he had reported to room 112 on 3-3-1966¹⁹⁵.

It has been proven that as far back as 1904, Nigerian migrants had come to the Cape colony of Good Hope, Transvaal, and the Natal Province before the beginning of apartheid in 1948. These

¹⁹³ N.A.O.S.A. Pietersmaritzburg, 'Black Labour Foreign Black Nigeria George Christians 1966 1968 ', in *Cape of Good hope collections* ed. by National Archive of South Africa Pietersmaritzburg (Cape Town Archival records 1966).

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

findings set aside the assertions that black African migration, especially outside of the Southern African States, were either none existing, or were mainly to provide labour on the colonial mines. The immigration of Nigerians into the Union at this period paints a different picture. This evidence proves that human migration existed between Africans despite the colonial restriction or control undocumented migration has been an age long tradition among Africans. This is because the creation of borders in Africa was never an African initiative therefore is not observed by black Africans except if they were interjected by the colonial law enforcement agent.

The evidence of the engagement of the West African Frontier Force in the First World War also negates the theory of the white supremacy as this opens up knowledge about the misconception of the infallibility of the white as a superior being. Even though the evidence of widespread resistance against colonial intrusion exists and during which many colonial authorities were defeated, Nigerian regiment involvement in the war was a major eye opener for further migration.

Due to the neglect of research on the migration of Nigerians into the Republic of South Africa before 1994 and the apartheid government censorship of data about the Bantus (black Africans), the need to situate migration patterns within a historical context is now a necessity to give Africa an understanding of past relationship within the continent Interaction between Nigeria and South Africa has been going for over a century without a proper study of the colonial and apartheid period.

The existing studies only document the historical patterns, of black African migration, other than Africans within Southern Africa Development Community (SADC). Communities are not well documented. Although previous studies¹⁹⁶ reveal that migration of black Africans into South Africa was mainly influenced by their quest to work as labourers in the colonial mines. This

¹⁹⁶M.A. Collinson, *et al.*, 'Trends in Internal Labour Migration from Rural Limpopo Province, Male Risk Behaviour, and Implications for the Spread of Hiv/Aids in Rural South Africa', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 2006, 32, (04): pp. 633-48; p. Peek 1998; B. Rossi 2014; C. Tornimbeni, *et al.*, 'The State, Labour Migration and the Transnational Discourse-a Historical Perspective from Mozambique', *Journal of African Studies*, 2005, 8, pp. 307-28; R. Black , *et al.* 2006; J. Crush 2000; J. Crush , *et al.* 2005; C. McEwan, 'Transnationalism and New African Immigration to South Africa, Jonathan Crush, David A. Mcdonald (Eds.). Southern African Migration Project/Canadian Association of African Studies, Cape Town (2002), Isbn: 088911-926-0', *Political Geography*, 2006, 25, (6): pp. 707-09.

study has demonstrated that, much more than migrants coming to work as labourers in the mines, black migrants in South Africa came as colonial soldiers; some worked in the hospitals and other agencies in the apartheid government where they contributed their skills and expertise to the development of South Africa in the early 1900s. Thus, a major inspiration for this chapter is the need for better facts about historical patterns of black Nigerian migration into South Africa during the colonial and apartheid era. Despite restriction by authorities in the Republic, black Africans were still immigrating into South Africa:

Migration was severely restricted during the apartheid era, and the Pass Laws required both residential and work permits for Blacks to live in restricted areas. Still, there is strong anecdotal evidence that these permits and restrictions were flouted by many Blacks in South Africa¹⁹⁷.

The question is how and why did these Nigerians, like Christian and Booker come to South Africa by 1904? This requires further studies into the concept of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade and migration to ascertain a detailed examination of other Nigerians or West Africans who also migrated either to the Cape of Good Hope, Orange Free State, Natal or the Transvaal province's before 1910, when the Union of South Africa became formal. Further research is recommended to know what happened to the families of these Nigerians in Simon Town.

There is need for a further research to ascertain whether the exchange of slaves between Nigeria and South Africa took place via the Atlantic ocean, There is also the need to for an investigation to know if South Africa recruited the services of the West African Frontier force during the Anglo Boer war Simon Town (where Abe Washington was residence) is also at the sea port which makes navigation on sea to South Africa from Nigeria possible as the same sea routes were used by the missionaries, colonial soldiers and traders between Nigeria and South Africa on the Atlantic Ocean.

This leads us to the coming of the missionaries from South Africa to Nigeria on the invitation of the Sudan United Mission who were equally invited by the Nigerian colonial government.

¹⁹⁷H.E. Reed, 'Moving across Boundaries: Migration in South Africa, 1950–2000', *Demography*, 2013, 50, (1): pp. 71-95.

3.5 The Dutch Reformed Church Mission Implication for Migration between Nigeria and South Africa 1907-1948

The Portuguese Catholic missionaries came to Benin as early as the fifteenth century. Diara writes that:

In the 15th to the 17th centuries, the Portuguese, the French and the Italian Catholic governments and missionary bodies made several efforts to evangelize parts of what is known today as Nigeria, particularly Benin and Warri areas. But their efforts ended in a fiasco. Later on, in the later part of the 18th century, the British government and some English missionary and charitable groups became engrossed in West Africa. Freetown in Sierra Leone was consequently established as a settlement for freed slaves in 1787. In 1841, the British government sponsored the first expedition to the Niger with the aim of establishing a Christian mission in the area. Ajayi Crowther, a Nigerian of the Yoruba extraction, one of the freed African slaves in Sierra-Leone happened to be part of this expedition¹⁹⁸.

From the above, missionaries from different parts of the world were interested in Nigeria. In its quest to gain effective control of Nigeria, the British colonial administration became interested in sponsoring various Christian missionaries to Nigeria especially in areas considered recalcitrant to colonial authority. This opened the Nigerian people to knowledge of the world early enough and patterns that emerged from the region. It should be noted that some Nigerians were taken along with these missionaries for training in the countries of origin of the missionaries with the hope that they would return and help in evangelism since their intention was to eliminate the communication barrier. The influence of the colonial government on missionary activities also made scholars like Diara think that missionary activities and colonialism were inseparable:

The missionary initiative was closely associated with political engagements on the one hand and to commercial enterprise on the other, that its history cannot be precisely outlined without frequent reference to both. The historical link of this enterprise could be clearly seen in the way and manner missionaries were aided by the colonial administration. Colonial government had hope to rely on

¹⁹⁸B. Diara and Christian, N.G., 'European and American Christian Missions and Nigeria's National Development (1840-1960)', *Journal of Educational and Social Research*, 2013, 3, (10): p. 89.

missionaries to preach and create an atmosphere of acceptance of European religious belief especially Christianity which became synonymous with the west rather than the Middle east Jews tradition itself. Once the African people accepted Christianity, the peaceful atmosphere was created for African resistance to stop since Christianity preached peace¹⁹⁹.

The historical link of this enterprise could be clearly seen in the way missionaries were aided by the colonial administration. The Colonial government had hoped to rely on missionaries to preach and create an atmosphere that is conducive for colonial administration through an understanding of the Christian religion which preaches peace and appeal to the people to accept European religious belief system.

This study examines the coming of the missionaries from South Africa with the intention of revealing the activities of the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) and its impact on Nigeria from 1907. Historically, the movement of people between Nigeria and South Africa dates back to the period of the British colonial rule in Africa. These migration activities culminated with the activities of the evangelical movement in the 19th century inspired by Karl Kumm, leader of the Sudan United Mission (SUM) who had established mission stations in Nigeria²⁰⁰.

Following the influence of Islam on the people of the central Nigerian area, especially the 1804 Jihad, missionaries feared that the entire area risked being captured by Islam. They therefore set out to evangelize the entire area. It was during this time that Karl Kumm made an appeal to the Dutch Reformed Church Missionaries in South Africa to assist the missionary stations the SUM had established²⁰¹.

The colonial government had hoped to rely on missionary support to gain effective control of the central Nigerian areas that vehemently resisted colonial conquest. The central Nigerian area was also suitable for Christian evangelism as it had always been under the threat of Islamic crusaders. The 1904 Islamic Jihad had affected the area even though many of the ethnic minorities resisted the penetration of the Islamic religion and chose to continue practicing their ancestral beliefs.

¹⁹⁹J.D. Plessis, *The Evangelisation of Pagan Africa, a History of Christian Missions to the Pagan Tribe of Central Africa*, Cape Town and Johannesburg: J. U Jutta and Co, L.T.D 1929.

²⁰⁰SUM, 'Dr. Kumm's Visit to South Africa', in *The Lightbearer*, (London: Dean West house London, 1911).

²⁰¹SUM, 'Concerning Missionaries', in *The Lightbearer*, (London: SUM, 1911).

This was the situation that the DRCM from South Africa were confronted with when they came to the area. Following his appeal, which was granted by the colonial authorities, Karl Kumm visited the South African branch of the Dutch Reformed Church Missionaries²⁰². In a letter concerning his visit to South Africa from Nigeria to seek support for more missionaries Kumm gave an itinerary of his journey in 1907²⁰³.

While in South Africa, he conducted several helpful meetings which aroused interest amongst missionaries of the South African branch of the Sudan United Mission to come to Nigeria. This led to volunteers being sent from South Africa to Nigeria²⁰⁴.

As a result of Kumm's visit, Rev. Johan George Botha, Karl Zimmerman and V H Hosking later visited Nigeria. Afterward, other DRCM missionaries came into Nigeria in 1916 and two of the twelve mission stations set up by SUM were handed over to them²⁰⁵. The DRCM missionaries were later given the whole of Tiv land²⁰⁶. In addition, the arrival of other missionaries from South Africa such as the Stewart Sisters and David Forbes led to the setting up of schools and dispensaries in the area.

What then was the implication of the coming of these South African missionaries and how did it impact migration and society as a whole? This study will examine the implication of the DRCM activities on Christian evangelization, education, health, and socio-political relationship on later migrations.

3.5.1 Missionaries' Evangelism and the Mission Stations

In the 1909 report for the second annual meeting of the South African branch of the SUM held in Cape Town, it was indicated that Kumm's visit in 1907²⁰⁷ led to the release of three young men by the DRC in South Africa on the 1/10/1908 to join the committee of missionaries led by Kumm. The Rev Messrs. Johan George Botha, Karl Zimmerman and Vincent Hosking came

²⁰²L.S. Reports, *Sum Annual Report 1907 Sum Meeting in South Africa Originally Copy in the Drc Archives University of Sellenborch South Africa.*, London 1907.

²⁰³SUM 1911.

²⁰⁴T.L.S.S.A. Report, 'Sum Annual Report 1909 Sum Meeting in South Africa Originally Copy in the Drc Archives University of Sellenborch South Africa.', ed. by Clinton T Wood and Robert H Fallon (Cape Town: Yale universitybDay missionary Library 1909).

²⁰⁵S. PUBLICATIONS, 'The Twelve Annual Report of the Sum and Roll Call', in *The Lightbearer The official magazine of the Sudan United Misson*, (112-114 portland St-London. W.L: SUM, 1916).

²⁰⁶S.J.j. Santas, *Christianity in Mada Land*, Bukuru, Jos Nigeria: Africa Christian text Books (ACTS), 2014.

²⁰⁷L.S. Reports 1907.

with the aim of planting a South African branch of the SUM in the Sudan²⁰⁸. Botha and Hosking received medical training for six months, from January to June 1908 at Livingstone College, London, in preparation for their mission across Nigeria. They then joined the English headquarters of the SUM at Castleton near Sheffield and for about two months had the advantage of being tutored in Hausa language by Mr. Maxwell who was one of the senior missionaries of the SUM in Nigeria, on furlough in England before returning to Nigeria. On the 4th of November 1908, Revs Botha, Hosking and Zimmerman arrived at Lokoja in Nigeria and were appointed to help in erecting a building for the Lucy Memorial freed slave's home at Rumasha in present day Niger State across the River Niger in Nigeria²⁰⁹. As a part of the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade, the colonial government in Nigeria established a home for freed slaves in Niger, This was a place for the rehabilitation of slave children who were bought toward the Abolition of the slave trade. Calabar sea port was one of the ports for the transportation of slaves across the Atlantic Ocean to Europe. A vivid description of the home was made by Mrs. Botha when they Rumasha on the 26th October 1913:

we reached Rumasha; here is a home for slave children who had been freed by the British administration. The captain of the boat gave us only 20 minutes to make contact with the staff. We were glad to be able to greet the workers and deliver to them three boxes with presents that we had been given to bring to them²¹⁰.

Mr. Hosking joined Mr. Maxwell to Ibi where he had more opportunity to study Hausa language which was then used by the colonial authorities as the medium of communication by the colonial government in Northern Nigeria. It should be noted here that the Hausa people are great merchants who participated in the Trans-Saharan slave trade across West Africa and the language was therefore a popular language of trade across Northern Nigeria.

The two missionaries were later joined by Miss. Ciller and Miss. Milne who were a trained nurse and a teacher respectively. The ladies were sent to Rumasha to take care of the 180 freed slaves

²⁰⁸ T.L.S.S.A. Report 1909.

²⁰⁹ C.B. (Cinie), 'From Salatu to Turan Dec.1926- April 1927 This Diary Was Kept in the Collection of Botha Her Husband ', ed. by University of Stellenbousch Cape Town South Africa (Dutch Reformed Church Archive Stellenbousch DRCM Archive 1926): p. NP; N.S.K.f.N. 1283/1357/1916, 'Dutch Reform Church Mission Application for Additional Land at Zaki Biem ', ed. by Munshi province (Kaduna NAK, 1916).

²¹⁰

promised Kumm by the colonial government in February 1909 at the Lucy Memorial Home Rumasha²¹¹. Here again, one needs to ask the question why the colonial government handed over the care of this vulnerable children to the missionaries. A further research needs to be undertaken to investigate what happened to the slaves that were set free by the abolitionist crusaders before the colonization of Nigeria.

On the 17th April 1911, Mr. Carl Zimmerman of the DRC, South Africa, arrived at the compound of Mr. Saai, in Saai a village of the Tiv ethnic nationality of central Nigeria. The coming of these missionaries culminated in the establishment of the Africa Christian church now known as *Nongo U Kristu Ken Tiv*²¹² Meaning, the Church of Christ amongst the Tiv; with many branches across Nigeria and millions of adherents. The churches now have a wide spread to the Mada in Akwanga and Lafia Local Government Areas of Nasarawa State, in central Nigeria²¹³.

Based on Kumm's advice, new recruits from South Africa were sent to the missions in Nigeria with Rev and Mrs. Botha. On arrival, the missionaries discovered that the American branch of the SUM had already earmarked Tiv land as their territory for future expansion. It should be noted that the American branch was already established amongst the Jukuns and Kutiev east of Tiv land²¹⁴. The latter were only left the option of going to the Tangali or the Tiv people at the colonial residences in Bauchi and Ibi as captured in Botha's diary:

...At last the news arrived for which we have been waiting so long. There was a reply to our wire to the resident of Bauchi in which he stated that no missionary enterprise can be allowed among the Tangali yet. A letter from Gunter to tell us of the conference of Maxwell cooper Whiteman and himself on the question whether we ought not to start work among the Munchi (Tiv) tribe (ethnic group) and he gave seven reasons which point to them as a people among whom we ought to work. One of the most striking reasons is that the Munchi has a population of

²¹¹SUM, 'South African Branch Report (Nigeria)', in *The Lightbearer* (London SUM, 1953).

²¹²E. Rubingh, *Sons of Tiv: A Study of the Rise of the Church among the Tiv of Central Nigeria*: Baker Book House, 1969; E.F. Rubingh, *Saai, Josua Elisa Isholibo, Nongo U Kristu U Ken Sudan Hen Tiv (Church of Christ in the Sudan among the Tiv) Nigeria 1911 to 1987*, Michigan: Baker: Baker, Michigan: Baker, 1969.

²¹³SUM 1911; SUM 1911.

²¹⁴SUM, 'South African Branch Report (Drcm Nigeria) for 1952', in *The Lightbearer SUM Jos Northern Nigeria* (London SUM, 1952).

from 200 000 upwards. He also says that as the representative of the American Branch he heartily welcome us²¹⁵.

At a conference of all protestant churches in Northern Nigeria held in 1910, it was agreed that mission should seek first the evangelization of tribes that have at least fifty thousand members. After the meeting, the American branch, agreed to offer the Tiv field to the South African branch and concentrated on the Jukun and Kutev mission fields. This was in view of the resources that were needed to carry out such a large venture by the Americans.²¹⁶

In November 1912, a group of new missionaries arrived from South Africa. Having come via England, they were led by the pioneer Rev George Botha. With him was A.J Brink, later to be known as Ostesse Agee, and two new lady workers Miss Lulu de Villiers and Miss Edwards. In London, they were joined by Rev. and Mrs. J.G. Strydom who had been in England for six months in order to attend a short course in Tropical Medicine²¹⁷. The Strydoms would have to go to the Wukari mission station because the accommodations at Salatu were not completed. Another reason for this decision was because there were no missionaries to man the station at Wukari. So the Strydoms were placed in charge of the church, teaching and offering skeletal medical services at Wukari²¹⁸.

Training in both Hausa language and Tropical Medicine were necessary for the missionaries before leaving London for Nigeria as they were the medium for communicating the gospel, offering medical service and meeting the physical needs of the people, which was a very effective tool used by the DRCM missionaries from South Africa. The influence of the Christian faith on the Tiv had a far-reaching effect as it had implications on the socio-cultural patterns of the lifestyle of the Tiv. The traditional worship system of the Tiv was abandoned by most of the people who embraced the new religion; this also had implications on the tradition of the people.

The Tiv, it should be noted, have had earlier contact with other people in different parts of Nigeria before the coming of the missionaries. The Jukuns and other neighbours were already in

²¹⁵B.J. George, 'Tiv Historical Notes from the Diaries of Botha ', in *Original Diaries of Rev Johan George Botha In Tiv Land written by himselve in his small different pieces of notes documented by the DRCM archives* ed. by The Dutch Reformed Church Archives in South Africa (Stellenbosh University Archival collections 1911).

²¹⁶E.F. Rubingh Michigan: Baker, 1969.

²¹⁷SUM 1911.

²¹⁸T.L.S.S.A. Report 1909.

constant contact with the Tiv, which led to internal migration. The influence of the Hausa traders and Fulani herdsmen was also felt as the people embraced some aspects of their lives especially the practice of Islam²¹⁹. These contacts had immense influence on their religion and culture.

Johan George to be the first missionary's leader to Nigeria from South Africa was accompanied by two others Mr. V Hosking and Karl Zimmerman. An excerpt from a diary shows that:

In January 1911 there were three missionaries from South Africa working amongst the Mbula tribe. It was a place pointed out by Karl Kumm as he was travelling on the Benue River. The three Men were: Rev George Botha, Mr. V Hosking and Mr. Karl Zimmerman. They had started there in November. They built three huts one for each of them and afterwards a hut for medical work, a storeroom and a hut for the men working for them. They had three horses so that they could travel in the footpaths through the high grass²²⁰.

Botha paints a picture of the kind of society they met and the warm reception accorded them by the Tiv people was in contrast with the colonial government officials who faced stiff resistance from the Tiv people.

While the missionaries were at Mbula, they heard that there was a possibility that the South African missionaries of the Sudan United Mission would be allowed to work among the Tiv tribe. This had not been confirmed yet and it needed the approval of the British administration²²¹. From the diary, it is clear that they were asking the British colonial government officials about other possible ethnic groups whom they could possibly evangelize. One of these was the 'Tangali' ethnic group about whom they had earlier inquired from resident British official in which they were not allowed access to on the account that the number of the Mbula people was small; so it was not worth the trouble to start learning the language and start mission work based on the mother tongue²²². As a way of getting around the language problem, the missionaries used the Hausa language among the Mbula people, sometimes using interpreters so that the people could hear the message in their own language. In this regard, they relied on the British colonial

²¹⁹E. Rubingh 1969.

²²⁰B.J. George 1911.

²²¹Ibid.

²²²Ibid.

government interpreters since the Hausa language had already become a dominant means of communication in the entire Northern protectorate.

Excerpts from Botha's diary also show that as soon as a confirmation was received that the missionaries would go to the Munchi tribe, Botha packed some things for the journey and set off overland to Wukari near the Munchi territory. Hosking and Zimmerman left Mbula on the 3 March 1911, taking their possessions on a river barge belonging to the SUM and were taken by river.²²³

On 1st July, 1916, the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa officially took over responsibilities for the mission work in Tiv land from the SUM. At that time the missionaries were faced with communication challenges; this affected the change in the administrative structures and brought about many delays; messages sometimes took up to a year between Nigeria and South Africa since they had to send their mails through the ships, which were very slow. Sometimes the ships had to go through England before reaching South Africa. This made it difficult to receive mail in good time²²⁴.

Botha also kept another diary in Afrikaans between August 1925 and December, which recorded Botha's return from South Africa alone. He and his wife had gone on furlough towards the end of the previous year. On their way, Retha, their first daughter, died and was buried at Ibi. This made them leave David (Dawid in Afrikaans), their second son, in South Africa. Mrs. Botha stayed behind and Botha returned alone. She was to join him later²²⁵. The loss of their first child was the first tragedy that affected the Botha's in the course of the evangelistic work in Nigeria²²⁶.

At this time Rev. Bam and his wife were missionaries at Zaki Biam and at Sevev (Tombo). There were Rev and Mrs. Malherbe. It was decided at a council meeting of the missionaries that Botha

²²³J.G. Botha, 'Tiv Land Historical Notes Botha Diary Jan-Feb 1911', ed. by Dutch Reformed Church Achieve (University of Stellenbosch Cape Town DRCM Archive 1911).

²²⁴J.G. Botha, 'Diary of George Botha Feb-March 1916 This Is a Diary by George Botha of the Trip of About 17 Days It Took Him Travelling from Zaki Biam to the Coast He Was Trying to See How Far South the Tiv Land Reach at That Time ', ed. by University of Stellenbosch Cape Town South Africa (Dutch Reformed Church Archive 1916).

²²⁵B.J. George 1911.

²²⁶J.G. Botha, 'Tivland Historical Notes : Botha's Diary 1925-6 the Authors Calls This His Private Diary This Was Also Kept in Salatu before Their Transfer to Tivland ', ed. by Dutch Reformed Church Archive (University of Stellenbosch Cape Town South Africa DRCM Archive University of Stellenbosch 1925).

would go to Adikpo for a while to help with the building of a mission station to enable the missionaries Rev. and Mrs. Orferto settle there. Botha went on 30th December. While there, he and Malherbe went on an exploratory tour of that part of Tiv land and went to Jato Aka as well as to Chief Moji where the Kunav station was later built²²⁷.

At the beginning of June 1926, Mrs. Botha arrived at Salatu. Later in June, Botha went to Jato Aka to look for a suitable site for a new mission station there which would be called Turan where they would later settle²²⁸.

Botha recounts his return to Salatu after the incident of the loss of their only daughter Retha:

August 17, 1925 I ⁷⁴am back again at Salatu, but this time I am alone. Cinie (his wife) and David (their son) remained behind in South Africa she hopes to come in the middle of November. David will remain with relatives. Malherbe brought me here with his motor cycle. Bam and his wife were here to welcome me. They had come over day before yesterday (from Zaki Biam). He expresses his appreciation for their kindness. He also expresses his deep sadness at being back at a home where they had their first child a baby daughter Retha with them. There were still many things in the house that had belonged to her. She died on their way out for South Africa and was buried at Ibi.²²⁹ Various people came to pay their condolence to him, over the loss of their daughter Retha. With the children also coming to tell him they want to be back and be taught at school, including Akiga, their first convert who became an evangelist to his people in Tivland²³⁰.

The diary also recounted some of the activities relevant to the mission work in Nigeria which included the effort of translating the New Testament into the Tiv language.

Mrs. C Sanderson undertook the revision of the Hausa Bible and hoped to complete it by 1957. The relationship of the DRCM with the Lafiya emirate was cordial, although the emirate did not

²²⁷B.J. George 1911.

²²⁸Ibid.

²²⁹ It should be noted that as at the time this research was carried out I was privilege to contact (Rev. Dawid) David Botha now a Rev. was still alive and I got some information from him via email as he was away on furlough with his grandchildren as at the time I came to Cape Town April 2017. The diary Kept at Salatu was Translated from Afrikaans to English the research relies on the translated version which was collaborated with the field interview conducted in Nigeria in 2016.

allow the Christian missionaries to evangelize it was only interested in the education and medical work of the missions. Thus in 1952 the following was reported:

it seems no exaggeration to say that the South African branch has never been faced with so great a challenge, as the year closed we were confronted with an embarrassing number of request for missionaries and evangelists, an open invitation coming from the Emir himself education on all level would appear to be the means indicated for taking advantage of this situation. Although new Kanje mission station was open it had unfortunately to share the fate of Ancho and Wamba in having to do without missionaries' staff²³¹.

In summary, the missionaries who came to Tiv land were from South Africa and the first field conference of the DRCM was held in Nigeria in Saai. The main agenda of the conference was to divide Tiv land between the English-speaking branch of the SUM and the Afrikaans-speaking section. The matter was not settled that year until when the question was raised again and the entire Tiv area was given to the DRCM. The English sections were transferred to other mission fields. With the release of the English speaking section, Tiv land became the sole responsibility of the South African DRCM.

The NKST which was the church established by the DRCM in Nigeria was thought to be financially independent of the missionaries that brought the evangelical vision. Every other church is known by the name of the missionaries that brought them but the DRCM did not allow such. This, according to Botha, became an advantage. Thus, he observed that "where the indigenous church not being thought to stand on its own feet, it would be best to break down everything that had been with so much difficulties built up in order to begin all over again"²³². Here is a brief history of the major events and dates that took place in the course of the missionary work.

The opening of the stations was started at about 1911 where the mission came to Saai. In 1912, the station was opened at Katsina Ala for mission travels. In 1913, a second station was opened at Zakibiem. In 1919, another station was opened at Savev. In 1923, permission was received

²³¹S. Diaries, 'Historical Note on Salatu Kept by Strydom 1918-1917', ed. by University of Stellenbousch Cape Town South Africa (Dutch Reformed Church Archive DRCM Archive 1918).

²³²SUM, 'The Lightbearer the Official Magazine of the Sudan United Mission ', ed. by Northern Theological seminary Jos (London: SUM, 1926).

from the colonial office for the opening of the first station west of Katsina Ala River, to be established at Mkar. This became the headquarters of the DRCM missions in Nigeria. In 1926, the station at Saai, the first mission station, was closed in the interest of a better spread of the gospel throughout Tiv land. The same year, a new station was established at Turan and personnel were immediately placed there. In 1927, a station was built at Kunav, southern part of Tiv land, and by 1931, the Markurdi station was opened. By 1935, another station was opened at Shangev. Within the evangelism department, a most significant step was taken with the publication of the complete New Testament in the Tiv language in 1936²³³.

The setting up of the mission station by the DRC started in 1911. The missionaries had to build the houses by themselves and not the people; they employed the labour of a few but they paid:

In 1911, April, the lay missionary Carl Zimmerman began to set up a mission station at Saai. He was joined by other missionaries towards the end of the year. By January 1912, the missionaries received the news that the whole of Tiv country west of the Katsina Ala River was declared open for them to preach the gospel. On March 19th, Hosking and Zimmerman left Salatu and returned to South Africa for furlough. Rev Botha returned from furlough in South Africa and settled at Saai. That same year, Akiga professed in public that he now believed in Jesus Christ²³⁴. Akiga became a key figure in helping the missionaries to preach to the people in their language and also helped in the translation of the gospel into Tiv Language. "This morning Akiga left for Mker; he is to continue helping the Brinks with translating the Old Testament history in Tiv²³⁵.

From this, we have knowledge of the beginning of mission activities, especially after getting their first convert who became a key figure in the history of the NKST and the political history of Benue State.

²³³S. PUBLICATIONS 1916; SUM 1953; SUM 1926; SUM 1952; SUM, 'The Lightbearer', ed. by Missionaries report on Nigeria (London SUM 1916); SUM, 'South African Branch Report (Nigeria) for 1949', in *The Lightbearer Africa /Sudan Containing the 46 Annual report* (London SUM, 1950); SUM 1911.

²³⁴D.A. Stellenbosh, 'Historical Notes on Salatu. Excarpt from the Strydom Diaries (Translated from Afrikaans to English by an Unkwon Author in the Archive)', in *Historical Notes from the Diaries of the Strydom's* ed. by The DRCM Arichive University of Stellenbosh Cape Town South Africa (Stellenbosch Archival Records 1911).

²³⁵C.B. (Cinie) 1926; T.L.S.S.A. Report 1909.

3.5.2 Mission Schools (Education)

The coming of the DRCM Missionaries brought a significant change in the approach to education in Tiv Land and Nigeria as a whole²³⁶. The colonial authorities and the missionaries needed people who were literate and were able to write in both English and Hausa²³⁷ in order to communicate the gospel to the natives. Furthermore, they needed people that the Tiv community would trust; so they embarked on the training of young willing Nigerians to assist. To achieve this, they built schools and dispensaries. They were also instrumental in the translation of the Bible for the first time into Native languages especially the Tiv language²³⁸.

In August 1912, Zimmerman began to teach the children who came for lessons in reading and writing in Hausa. Since it was difficult to continue with the work of building during the rainy season, the missionaries concentrated on communicating the gospel, learning the language and offering medical services to the people. At that time, learning the language meant that they had to learn some Hausa first and then Tiv. Amongst the first children to attend these schools was Akiga²³⁹, a son of Sai whose mother had left the village. In September, Mr. Hosking also came to 'Sa'ai' and in November. Mr. A.S. Judd also arrived to work there, but he (Judd) first had to be sent to Ibi for Hausa language study before he could begin. This was necessary as [the] Hausa language was the commonly used language by the colonial authorities in dealing with the people, though the Tiv were not Hausa. They, however, were forced to adopt the Hausa language for trade and the medium of communication with the colonial authorities.

The missionaries, as mentioned above, had to have language training. This skill was critical for the success of the missionary activities. Consequently, Judd trained his colleagues. Strydom showed a passionate zeal in learning local languages in order to be able to translate the scriptures: "at the time when they were still given Tiv classes by Judd, Strydom was having the burning desire to learn the Tiv language well so that he could begin to translate the gospel of Mark. He disciplined himself to spend an hour every day in a Tiv village to talk to the people and

²³⁶ A.A.-D. Brink, 'Diaries Kept by Mr. Brink and His Wife Alice 1913-1919 (in Engels Vertaal Deur Du Toit Van Der Merwe)', ed. by University of Stellenboush Cape Town South Africa (Dutch Reformed Churh Archive DRCM Archive 1913).

²³⁷ Hausa language was not indigenous to the Tiv people but the colonial authority in Northern Nigeria prefers to use it since was spoken by a larger ethnic group and was use as a language for merchandise.

²³⁸ Logams, D.A. Stellenbosh 1911.P. C (2004) the middle Belt movement in Nigerian Political development; A study in political identity 1949-2004

²³⁹ A.A.-D. Brink 1913 Akiga was the first convert of the missionaries and became a very important personality in spreading the gospel.

listen to the pronunciation of their language.”²⁴⁰ The acquisition of the local language by the missionaries resulted in the translation of the gospel of Mark into the Tiv language;

Significant success was made when on 21-27 February; the Tiv translation of Mark’s gospel was finished for publication. Rev. Benfield, secretary to the British and foreign bible society, has agreed to publish the translated Mark gospel in Tiv.²⁴¹

The missionaries also trained a few natives in reading and writing. As such, with more hands, they opened the first school known as the ‘out school’ outside of Sai. It started on the 4th August 1917 in the village of Dogo with Akiga as the teacher²⁴². Children from two neighbouring villages also attended the school. A total of 25 children attended the school. This was an improvement on the initial number.

On the 18th April 1919, a new school building was erected at Zaki Biam. Approximately 175 people attended the ceremony. Brink affirmed that they started 6 years before his speech in 1915. The number of the pupils soared from the initial 4 to 80. On the 24th April 1919, at ‘Salatu’ with 7 boarders, these students had to work three hours every day on their farms. They were given 9 kobo per week and a Tugudu once so they would pay for their stationery.²⁴³

On the 29th May 1919, Mr. Bargery, the principal, and the other missionaries agreed that the government should publish teaching materials in Tiv. In order to harmonize the various orthographies of the Tiv language, Botha made a suggestion to review their version so that government would continue to use it in other schools. It should be noted that other missionaries, for example, the Catholic missionaries also came to Tiv land. Although the later missionaries were not very popular, they too had their schools in Tiv areas. The DRCM enjoyed more government support since their coming was arranged through the SUM on the invitation of the colonial government in Nigeria²⁴⁴.

²⁴⁰S. Diaries 1918.

²⁴¹A.A.-D. Brink 1913

²⁴²Ibid.; J.G. Botha, 'Tivland Historical Notes ; Botha Diary No 5', ed. by Dutch Reformed Church Archive (University of Stellenbousch Cape Town South Africa DRCM Archive 1912).

²⁴³J.G. Botha, 'Tivland Historical Note ; Botha's Journey of Investigation Throughout Tivland in 1917 to Find Suitable Place to Established a Mission Station in Tivland ', ed. by Dutch Reformed Church Archive (University of Stellenbousch Cape Town South Africa DRCM Achive 1917).

²⁴⁴A.A.-D. Brink 1913

While the schools were growing in pupils' population, it should be noted that the teachers and the missionaries faced many challenges. Mrs. Brink observed the following: "The attendance of the children is good; they do their best to learn. School materials are scarce. We took the lid of a travelling bath belonging to Botha and painted it black to have a black board on which to write. From Venesta plank another black board was made. There was not yet anything like books or textbooks for the children, because all of us are still struggling to get the language in writing."²⁴⁵ This underscores the effort made by the missionaries in bringing education to the Tiv land despite the fact that the principal motive was the propagation of the Christian religion. In their quest for expansion, the missionaries built conventional schools including boarding houses for students. This enabled the missionaries to educate and prepare future evangelists.

3.5.3 The DRC Approach to Health Issues

The DRC missionaries came to Tiv land at a time that the society was plagued with different diseases. Cases of leprosy were rampant and there was high mortality rate of women and children at childbirth. The only medical practice was that offered by native doctors in the Tiv area. This is captured in the following statement by Botha:

Old Tsofu (our old labourer) was here this morning. He brought a little round stone to show us, which is supposed to have been taken out of his sore leg by a witch doctor. It is very amusing to see him explain how the witch doctor went about it. He himself pokes fun at the witch doctor²⁴⁶.

Faced with these challenges, the missionaries started skeletal medical services. The first nurse arrived in Tiv land in 1913, and on the 18th April 1918, three new missionaries arrived in Salatu. These were Dr. Dippernear, the first medical doctor, Rev. Bam and Mr. Sans, a builder. On the 17th of December, the doctor left for South Africa. The medical team, according to the 1957 report of the light-bearer²⁴⁷ treated 6,781 leprosy patients in the settlements. Out of this number, 596 of were successfully cured. In the same year, Rev and Mrs. Douglas were withdrawn to other areas of service in South Africa (Cape Town) after putting in almost twenty years of

²⁴⁵Ibid.

²⁴⁶J.G. Botha 1912.

²⁴⁷SUM 1953; A.A.-D. Brink 1913

service with the missionaries on the mission field. They were however replaced by Rev and Mrs. E. D. Leslie

A leprosy station was established at Alouchi which continued to expand and at the end of the year there were about sixty in patients. A spiritual ministry was maintained both in settlement and in the various clinics where many hundreds of lepers were treated.²⁴⁸

The missionaries' work was hectic. This elicited the following comment from Botha:

Most of the days were occupied with the treatment of patients; one had scarcely left when another would show up. December 10 before noon I returned here, I was brought by the doctor of Mkar on his motor cycle. He intends to stay for few days to see what kind of medical attention is needed here. I sent words into the neighborhood that the doctor is here and that all those that would like to be medically attended to by him should come immediately. So this morning a number of new patients came, many of them who had some ailment of the eyes, The doctor gave Kpii two injections and also Adughum for her leg to see if there would be improvement²⁴⁹.

The doctor from Mkar was the only qualified medical personnel employed to replace Dr. Dippernear. In 1917, there was an outbreak of Yellow fever which led to the death of some missionaries and government officials. Mrs. Strydom reports about how the fever affected the missionaries: "News came that Botha was seriously ill, at Zaki Biam. Strydom went to attend to him. It turned out that he had yellow fever as well as malaria. When Brink also contracted the disease, Mrs. Strydom had to go to Zaki Biam to help Mrs. Brink to attend to her husband. Among the casualties were Rev. Hosking, a missionary from South Africa working for the SUM (who had been together with Zimmerman at Salatu in the beginning), Belew, a government official and friend of the missionaries and Miss. Stewart, a SUM missionary at Wukari."²⁵⁰

²⁴⁸SUM 1926; SUM 1950; SUM, 'South Africa Branch (Nigeria) Report for 1950', in *The Light bearer*, (London: SUM, 1951).

²⁴⁹A.A.-D. Brink 1913

²⁵⁰J.G. Botha 1917.

Mrs. Strydom reported in her diary on how her husband was often called upon during the night. She stated that: “Strydom was sometimes called in the middle of the night to help with a very ill patient. He also had to take care of the maternity cases with complications”.²⁵¹

Equally, Botha reported the following:

There was a sad incident today, a young mother in labour could not give birth to the baby and eventually died. How utterly helpless does it make one feel in such cases the people do not have enough confidence in us yet, so they do not come with such cases early enough. They usually come when it is too late to do anything²⁵².

The availability and accessibility of modern medical practice in Nigeria can be traced back to the effort of the missionaries who built several clinics and hospitals in many mission stations. They also trained many Nigerians as medical doctors both in Nigeria and overseas.

3.5.4 Socio-Political Relationship

The contact between the missionaries and Tiv people led to confrontations with the traditional institutions of the people. The gospel and the work of the missionaries impacted on the existing traditional religious systems of the Tiv. The missionary activities eventually led to the founding of the *Nongo U Kristu ken Sudan hen Tiv*, the Tiv Church of Christ in 1957²⁵³. The missionary's relations to Tiv were driven by evangelism and friendliness; this was obvious in South Africa's DRC approaches: the missionaries slept in Tiv huts, ate their food, shared their sorrows and literally embraced them in their joys.

The missionaries traversed the length and breadth of Tiv land. They also related with the government and local chiefs. This facilitated their acceptance among the locals. Farmers relied on them for assistance against the wild animals that were destroying their farm land. They could call on Botha to shoot them and in turn give them the meat to eat:

²⁵¹S. Diaries 1918.

²⁵²(Cinie) 1926; Botha, JG, 'Botha's Diary Kept at Salatu 5 February -12 August 1920', ed. by Dutch Reformed Church Archive (University of Stellenbosch Cape Town South Africa DRCM Archive 1920)

²⁵³E.F. Rubingh Michigan: Baker, 1969.

This morning Hosking, Zimmerman and I went out to Bozo to go and shoot the game which is destroying the lands of the people. They came to complain to us on Sunday, bringing us some honey and asking us to come and shoot the animals. On arriving there we found that the man who had brought us the honey had gone to Gwamba and nobody else seemed to know anything about the matter. All they said that it was too late to go for hunting big game because the place they kept was far off. We then took a turn in the bush on our own account and came home having shot nothing²⁵⁴.

This helped in the sustenance of a cordial relationship between the people and the missionaries.

The relationship between the missionaries and the colonial government officials was also cordial. They were offered accommodation whenever the need arose in the government rest houses. They also had permission to establish mission stations as evidenced in the following passage:

The runner we sent to Numan returned today. Mr. Vereker (the government official) replied cautiously that there was no further information about what we asked him, but told us that he would be at Numan only for a day or two and invited us to come and see him. So we have decided to go on horseback to Numan tomorrow. Upon our arrival we immediately went to see Mr. Vereker. He received us very friendly and was most eager to give us all the information he could concerning the various 'tribes' (ethnic groups) about which we asked him. He also invited us to come and dine with him in the evening. When the meal was over he entertained us with some music on the gramophone which we enjoyed very much²⁵⁵.

On February 25, 1917, while describing his journey to Ogoja, Botha expressed the undaunted support he enjoyed from the government officials. According to him:

... Reached Ogoja at 11 am and was received very friendly by Mr. Dawson, the district commissioner (D.C.) here, was invited to have both lunch and dinner with him. He will also find fresh carriers for me. This place also is situated on a very

²⁵⁴ J.G. Botha 1912.

²⁵⁵ J.G. Botha 1911.

nice spot on the top of a high rise providing a view of miles around on every side. The government quarter is nicely. The country I travelled through today is fairly open on account of farming, with exception of the stream which is all marked out by the tall trees. The whole country therefore very much resembles part of England with its hedges and stones walls, only of course this is a larger scale²⁵⁶.

Botha also expressed the cordial relationship between the missionaries and the colonial companies' representatives in Nigeria, especially those of the royal Niger Company: "On arrival I was kindly invited by the John Holt Co man and also two other men belonging to Miller Bros. The country travelled through today is decidedly more forest like than that of the previous day. Several times the road also passed right through the middle of a village which is usually situated in patch of palm trees and other forest trees"²⁵⁷.

The missionaries also got grants for their schools and hospitals:

Here again the Miller Bros man, Mr. McKenzie, received me very kindly and immediately had breakfast for me and also asked me to come and have dinner with him in the evening. He was expecting me as he had heard about me from Mr. Gray. On March 1, 1917, we went down to Mr. McKenzie shortly after 8 (am staying in the government rest house which is situated on the top of a small hill about half a mile from the river). While down there, the launch arrived with Dr. Small on board. He will be leaving for Ogoja tomorrow morning. The launch is expected to be back here day after tomorrow. While waiting on March 3, major Crohende arrived from Bansara direction, I got all my stuff down and put them in a barge that was laying here"²⁵⁸.

It should be noted that while Botha was on his way to South Africa, he used the opportunity to also make a survey of the area for a possible mission expansion for the DRC church missionaries since government had granted them approval to do mission

²⁵⁶J.G. Botha 1917.

²⁵⁷J.G. Botha, 'Botha's Diary Kept at Salatu 5 February -12 August 1920', ed. by Dutch Reformed Church Archive (University of Stellenbousch Cape Town South Africa DRCM Archive 1920).

²⁵⁸J.G. Botha 1916.

work in the whole of Tiv land. They did not know the size and population of the people of Tiv land they were to evangelize. Botha commented:

Aboard the Mendi, have been very busy all day running to and fro in Calabar finding out about my passport, cashing a cheque, taking out a ticket, purchasing goods, etc. In all this, Mr. and Mrs. McGregor have been most kind and given me the assistance without which I do not think it would have been possible for me to get through as I did. They all have been most kind to me²⁵⁹.

This was one of the reasons that attracted the colonial authorities to the central part of Nigeria as palm oil was a major item needed by the Royal Niger Company in Nigeria.

The missionaries also hunted games for their consumption and gave some to traditional rulers and members of the community. This strengthened their relationship and endeared them to the people. It also differentiated them from the colonial authorities. Botha observed: “This morning, Hosking and Zimmerman went out for a few days hunt, perhaps more particularly for the sake of a change than for anything else. I expect they will be away for about 3 days”²⁶⁰. This was an indication of the availability of many wild faunae in the area. Botha further states that: “As many other Sundays this has been a day of visiting. Firstly, Sarikin (King) Mbula brought a leopard skin to Hosking. Shortly after him, 3 labourers arrived to work”²⁶¹.

The people also sent gifts to the missionaries in reciprocation of the cordial relationship existing between them. Botha wrote that “some men from Liyan arrived sent by the chief of Liyan to come and salute him with two goats and three chickens. They also brought a man for medical treatment”²⁶².

As noted earlier, medical assistance to the natives was only offered by the missionaries. The colonial authority only concentrated on the health of its officials. This explains why government supported the mission medical activities with grants.

²⁵⁹ J.G. Botha 1917.

²⁶⁰ CINI

²⁶¹ J.G. Botha 1925.

²⁶² J.G. Botha 1920

Another facet of the history of the Tiv land was the colonial government's introduction of the payment of tax in the British currency. This posed a big challenge to the natives. They were forced to access colonial currency to meet their tax obligation; as such, the people sold their items:

The local people are now coming round in numbers every day with articles for sale; they are all looking for cash to pay their taxes. There seems to be no end of chickens (fowls) we have stopped buying these for now because we have too many of these as it is. We are being kept well supplied with pawpaw's, to which we do not object²⁶³.

Furthermore, Botha affirms that they:

Bought a fish, spear, and also a large pot and its covering for a bin, one cannot help pitying the poor Mbula people when one sees them carry articles of every description for sale. Some are really finding it hard to make up the required amount of tax money as the past has been a bad season on account of the drought²⁶⁴.

The colonial government did not consider the poverty situation of the natives. They simply introduced the tax and made it compulsory. The natives' inability to pay the taxes in British currencies attracted punishment, imprisonment and hard labour. The colonial tax collectors were also cruel:

...About half past ten, we passed the ruins of a town which had been burnt down by government a few days ago for not paying their tax; it is a terrible sight to see the walls of the huts and bins all black. There were quite a number of people there bringing grass and commencing to rebuild their old dwelling places but as soon as they caught sight me, they all disappeared into the grass as fast as they could except for a few men who came smartly up to me and one could see the poor things were so frightened that they did not know what to do. They seem very

²⁶³ J.G. Botha 1917.

²⁶⁴ J.G. Botha 1920

much relieved that I only wanted to ask about the road and was going past. Only a few hundred yards from this is a fairly large town”²⁶⁵.

The taxes imposed on the natives were clearly above their reach and as such exerted a lot of pressure on their resources:

...Here are two government messengers and policeman collecting the tax of the Tete people. Their tax is over £300. Their country is not so large, but is said to be very populous. In addition to a great pile of tugudus and brass rods, there are also twelve heads of cattle brought in as tax. Four of these I have picked out to buy and arranged for these to be Malharbe²⁶⁶.

Botha’s report of the circumstance and the natives’ complaints against the government tax messengers is contained in the following passage:

...very interesting conversation among the people themselves about the tax they have to pay. They are 15 villages and have been given 35 sticks, each equals a £ (one pound sterling) or two stick a cow. They have given one cow to each village to pay but there are still 5 sticks or two cows and a stick remaining. Now to whose village should these extras be added, with each naturally refusing to take on an extra cow? They seem to be unable to think in any other terms than that of a cow.²⁶⁷

The natives were traumatized by the activities of the colonial government. They endured the ill treatment of the colonial government especially the cruelty and intimidation by the tax masters. This gave rise to misgivings between the natives and the whites. As a result of the mistrust that aroused from the frosty relationships, the missionaries had to show that their mission was different from that of the colonial authority.

After I explained the difference between the various types of white people in this country, Aburuvu said: we who are missionaries should come to them, and also

²⁶⁵ J.G. Botha 1925.

²⁶⁶ J.G. Botha 1920

²⁶⁷ J.G. Botha 1925.

the traders, but those white people who made them to pay tax should go away, they are not wanted here. I then tried to explain to him that they had the authority and were in control and to pay taxes to them was the right thing. I also told him that in our country (South Africa) we do not pay in terms of shillings, but in terms of pounds. But all of that could not convince him. He treated me very well and my men had enough food to eat as well. One of the men there came to greet me with chicken and 57 eggs and insisted that I come to his village first before I go anywhere. He promised to give me carriers to take my loads as far as Tor Ugo. So I agreed to his proposal and when we left he had his young men carry all my loads as far as his village, a distance of 5 miles. When we arrived here, he insisted that we stayed for the night. In his description of the cooperation and reception offered by the African in Tiv land, Botha acclaims that “This has been the most remarkable day of my whole trip thus far. As far as I went, I was treated as if I were the Munchi King. This morning at Mgbiam some people came to greet me each with a chicken and a few with eggs. He himself brought a sheep but I refused to accept it because he had already given me 2 chickens and a calabash lid full of eggs. When I left there, he had all my loads carried by his young men, and in addition to that, he sent some extra men too so that my carriers should walk without any load. Mgbian Anyam is a *mue* of Abuvuru. Abaiwa and him led us to his village. There he had food prepared for my men. In the meantime, there was from time to time an *orya* with a chicken and some eggs to come and greet me²⁶⁸ .

The reception and acceptance of the missionaries followed Botha’s explanation to the natives. He stated the differences between the various groups of whites in the region consisting of the missionaries, traders and the colonial authorities. Since the missionaries brought so many things to them, including opening up of schools, medicine and later hospitals, and preached a new religion in their own language, they gained more acceptance.

The missionaries also took sides with the natives as they did not support the colonial government’s imposition of taxes in the British currency. The Tiv’s misconception of the missionaries as colonial tax masters is also captured by Brink: “passing through Adama, here the

²⁶⁸ C.B. (Cinie) 1926; J.G. Botha 1925.

people greeted Attie with: ‘Maraba Kefen Gogi’ mistaking him for Capt. Gordon who was a colonial official”²⁶⁹. Furthermore, on the mistaken identity by the people not differentiating between the colonial authorities and missionaries, Mrs. Brink observed that:

it is a pity that the government officials often go about on a Sunday and cause confusion. In the afternoon, we went to a village, but then he arrived there and started to shout and order the people around. He told us that ‘cleanliness is next to godliness’ so let them first clean up the village and then you can have your services, we could only stand and watch. The people did not clean up the village very well. How must they understand? The missionaries tell them to keep the Sundays and the government people tell them the opposite.²⁷⁰

The missionaries received great cooperation with the colonial authorities at the break of the First World War. When the First World War broke in 1914, there was fear that the German army from Cameroon may invade the British colony through the sea into Ibi. Thus:

On 21st September 1914 there was a command from the British official, Major Churches, that the Germans are coming and that all the missionaries should leave Salatu. It was now time for the Strydom to leave on furlough for South Africa. Shortly after this order had been given to leave, two officers came with 22 carriers for their loads. While they were hastily packing, Botha came along and said he would put things in order because they had to leave so hurriedly. Fortunately for the Strydoms, they found a boat on the coast that was going to South Africa, otherwise they would have been forced to go to England first before and then find a ship to South Africa before the end of October. In South Africa their second daughter was born on 23rd September. Rev. Botha returns from South Africa with other new comers Rev. Malherbe and his wife who were sent to Zaki Biam to learn Tiv language.²⁷¹

²⁶⁹ C.B. (Cinie) 1926.

²⁷⁰ J.G. Botha 1925.

²⁷¹ J.G. Botha 1920

Capt. Freemantle, who was the new Provincial resident, paid the missionaries a visit on the 18th August 1914. At first, the Tiv children did not want to work for the missionaries in their land, but with the introduction of school and the need for them to buy exercise books, they gradually accepted to work in their houses in order to get money to buy exercise books: “gradually the Munchis are becoming willing to work with us in our homes, the children are all eager to work in order to be able to buy exercise books”²⁷².

The presence of the British colonial authorities in the Tiv land brought fears and tension to the natives and the missionaries. Capt. Feemantle had to write to them that they can remain there for the meantime, while the colonial government monitored the security threat at that time and assured the missionaries of adequate protection by the British colonial army and Police. It should be noted that Europeans in other African countries like South Africa purchased and possessed huge portions of land and estates, the case of Nigeria was different; they never had such property. Thus, by 1960, when Nigeria was declared independent, there were no conflicts amongst its people arising from land ownership and there were no significant white settlements or communities that could pose challenges to the corporate existence of the Nigerian state. Thus there was no conflict with dissatisfied foreigners, since the land belonged to its own people.

3.5.5 New Innovations and Plants Introduced by the Missionaries

The missionaries brought new innovations in Agriculture, Architecture, and Medicine and introduced a new form of education which changed the course of the existence of the Nigerian people generally and specifically of the Tiv people of Benue state. This is seen today as many of the Tiv people use burnt bricks for construction of houses. This has its origin from the DRC mission. They brought civilization to the Tiv land. This was evident in the people’s cloth making and production of Shea butter as an export commodity to all parts of the world:

Attie and I went with our domestic servants in the bush to pick the fruit they call “Ichamegh” (Shea butter). It is the only fruit we have here at the moment. The Ichamegh trees are very full this year; the stone of the fruit is twice the size of an

²⁷²A.A.-D. Brink 1913

acorn. The outer shell is gathered, dried and pounded in a mortar and then cooked to extract the oil. This is bought by trading companies and exported²⁷³.

One then wonders why despite the availability of this product the British colonial government or the trading companies did not see reason to establish oil processing industries in the Benue area. They preferred to buy the raw locally processed oil for export and for further processing in England and other parts of the world.

As early as 1906, the Tiv had developed and mastered the act of cloth making and the use of iron in their land:

We wanted to buy some of the locally woven cloths at the market but there were just a few available. We were told that sometimes ago a white man came this way with his employees. They took all the woven cloth that they wanted and then offered much less than the value of the cloths. So today when the seller saw us, they kept their cloths back and did not display them. They were afraid that they would be defrauded again in a similar manner.²⁷⁴

Describing the Tiv ingenuity, Strydom wrote: “These people have a future; they are capable in building, making clay pots, the spinning and weaving of cotton and making things from iron”²⁷⁵. This description of the technology of the people as observed by Strydom indicates that metal was already in use by the people and the textile industry of the Tiv and Jukuns was advanced that even the Europeans were buying some of their fabrics.

In Agriculture as earlier highlighted, the missionaries introduced economic trees. To this day, fruits from the Benue area are a major domestic and export commodity. Evidence from the diaries of Brink indicates thus: “August 30th today I transplanted six small trees, of which I had brought, from South Africa two oranges, two figs and two plums, now there are still two peach trees to transplant, the apple cutting has died”²⁷⁶.

²⁷³C.B. (Cinie) 1926.

²⁷⁴J.G. Botha 1925.

²⁷⁵S. Diaries 1918.

²⁷⁶Ibid.; C.B. (Cinie) 1926.

In an interview with the NKST officials in January 2017 in Nigeria, they said the missionaries that came from South Africa brought along with them new species of trees that were hitherto unknown in Tiv Land. These included oranges, Cashew, Mango etc. Fruit trees have made Benue the major source of supply of oranges, mangoes and cashew in Nigeria. This has its origin with the coming of the missionaries in Nigeria. Although other missionaries brought in by the SUM and the Catholics also brought similar economic and wood trees in the Benue areas and other parts of Nigeria²⁷⁷, the South African missionaries played a vital role.

Mrs. Brink also reported that they brought some new species of trees from South Africa, which were new to the area. These trees were planted: “On 19th May, 1919 we went to Tor Adaguof Mbadam. We gave him some Cashew seeds to plant because cashew trees are completely unknown here. We also gave him Mango seeds because no Mango trees are to be seen in any of these villages around here”²⁷⁸.

In conclusion, the missionaries enjoyed the cooperation of the people, not necessarily because of the new religion they brought, but because the people realized early enough that the medical aid they brought and the schools they created to train their children were necessary and beneficial to the community.

The missionaries directly or indirectly aided the effective colonization of the Nigerian people. It should be noted that colonialism and Christianity supplanted the culture of the people with a new religion and the European way of life.

3.6 Conclusion

The 1900s marked the beginning of colonization of African countries by European powers. The process of colonization led to the coming of Europeans into the hinterland of the African states rather than at the coast where slave merchants mostly operated. Nigeria and South Africa were colonised by Britain. South Africa was colonised as Cape of Good Hope with its administrative

²⁷⁷ Interview The NKST official in Jos when they came for the TEKAN Meeting and association of all the Mission churches in Nigeria that were brought by the SUM headed by Dr. Karl Kumm. The researcher was also a student at the Benue State University where I had the opportunity of travelling to Zaki Biem and Katsina Al-la and Ogoja in 2013

²⁷⁸ A.A.-D. Brink 1913

headquarters in Cape Town and Natal province with its administrative headquarters at Pietersmaritzburg. The Orange Free State and Transvaal provinces had their administrative headquarters at Gauteng. By 1910, South Africa became independent and was called the Union of South Africa. By 1948, apartheid was introduced until 1994.

Nigeria was divided into two provinces known as the Southern Protectorate with its administrative headquarters in Lagos and the Northern protectorate with its administrative headquarters at Zungeru. The two protectorates were amalgamated into one Nigeria in 1914. The country became independent in 1960.

Colonization brought about the coming of Christian missionaries from South Africa who came on the invitation of the SUM supported by the Colonial authorities in Nigeria. The DRCM missionaries led by Goerge Yohen Botha left a great impact on the Nigerian-South African relations; they established churches around the Benue region in the Central Nigerian area known as the NKST. They also introduced new trees to the area which became viable economic resources for the Benue region. Today, the area is a major supplier of fruits in Nigeria. The missionaries also established modern education and hospitals in the Benue area.

South Africans were employed to work in the colonial civil service of Nigeria and were allowed to transact business in the colonial mines of Nigeria until 1960. When the Nigerian state became independent, its struggle against apartheid led to the suspension of all economic and trade relations with South Africa. Thus, all white South Africans including the DRCM missionaries were expelled from Nigeria.

Contrary to popular views, that migrations into South Africa were basically labour related to the mines in South Africa, this research has established evidence from the colonial records of the migration of Nigerians into The Cape of Good Hope as early as 1905 and the evidence of the use of the West African Frontier Forces and the first Nigerian regiment in the first World war from 1916 to 1918. This is the evidence that the Nigerian and the South Africa migration patterns had been going on for over a century. A separate research is recommended to find out if there were any activities between Nigeria and South Africa during the Trans-Atlantic slave trade, and to also investigate if the British colonial government engaged the services of the Nigerian regiments in the Anglo Boer wars.

surface of the earth the climax of which was the gory shooting of the racists police of the apartheid South Africa on March 21, 1960, of 69 innocent and unarmed black South Africans simply, for peacefully protesting against inhumane pass laws”²⁷⁹. It was such inhumane acts that provoked Nigeria’s sustained intervention in South Africa’s liberation struggle. In her commitment to pan-Africanism, together with her sister African states, Nigeria has always been in the forefront of the struggle for African liberation and unity.²⁸⁰

Following this prosperity after independence, coupled with the discovery of the petroleum resources in commercial quantity, Nigeria became the center of attraction for many migrants across the world. African nationals especially from neighboring West African states were attracted to Nigeria. This influenced the foreign policy framework of Nigeria which was centered on Africa.²⁸¹ Thus, the Nigerians pushed for the unity and liberation of all parts of Africa under colonial domination. Nigerians in the 1970s, attracted many African nationals to the extent that, she was granting aid in monetary and material terms to other African countries. For example, the Ghanaian government, in 1972, was receiving aids in kind and cash from the Nigerian government as stated by the officials of the government in the 1970s thus: “Ghana has settled all her debt owed to the Nigerian government and had paid for all items bought from Nigeria including crude oil imported from Nigeria and had stopped borrowing for consumable goods”²⁸². This was confirmed in a press statement granted by the Ghanaian delegation to Nigeria in 1978. This position enjoyed by Nigeria makes it earn respect not only within the African states but in the committee of nations in the world as ‘Africa’s economic giant’.

²⁷⁹ A. Ogunsanwo 2015; S. Atsen, 'Posibilities of a South African Attack', *The Nigerian Standard News paper* (1986).

²⁸⁰ E. OKPOKPO, 'The Challenges Facing Nigeria's Foreign Policy in the Next Millennium', *African studies quarterly*, 2000, 3, (3).

²⁸¹ O. Agbu , *et al.* 2013; G.E. Ezirim, 'Fifty Years of Nigeria’s Foreign Policy: A Critical Review'; A.M. Jega 2015; S.C. MOGULUWA and ACHOR, P.N., 'Nigeria Foreign Policy and Reputational Projects: An Evaluation of the Implications and Prospects ', *African Journal of Social Sciences*, 2013, 3, (3).

²⁸² Punch, 'Influx of Ghanians May Soon Stop', *The punch News paper* (1978), p.pp.1.

CHAPTER FOUR: NIGERIA'S INDEPENDENCE AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN EXILES

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is an examination of the second phase of migration between Nigeria and South Africa. With the gaining of political independence by Nigeria from British colonial administration in 1960, there was a shift in the relationship with the white migration, into Nigeria changing to the Black South African exile coming into Nigeria. The study analyzes the role of Nigeria in the liberation struggle against apartheid and the aid given to ANC members in exile including scholarships and military assistance.

4.2 The West African Migration Experience

A critical look at the migration of people within the West African states in the early 1960s to 1985 shows that there was mass immigration of Ghanaian nationals, Niger, Chad, Togo, Malian and Cameroon into Nigeria. Nigeria was a migration receiving country with many West Africans immigrating into the country. This led the Ghanaian government's complaint to the Nigerian state on the scope of the emigration of its citizens to Nigeria, describing it as unacceptable. "It would be disastrous if the trend of emigration of Ghanaian's into Nigeria were allowed to continue. It will reach a stage where the economy will stagnate due to shortage of labour and manpower in Ghana"²⁸³. The authorities in Ghana decried the mass movement of people from the country into Nigeria in that it was becoming uncontrollable and a thing of concern by both the Nigerian government and the Ghanaian authorities. The government of Ghana had in 1978 taken majors that Ghana had to lead a delegation to discuss the migration challenge into Nigeria on immigration control. According to Ghana's commissioner for foreign affairs, Roger Feli (1978):

It is true that we are worried over the continuous exodus of our people to other African countries, and of particular note is the movement of teachers, engineers, architects, doctors, artisans like carpenters, electricians, plumbers and the rest of

²⁸³ R. Felli, 'The Influx of Ghanaians into Other African Countries May Soon Come under Firm Control, by the Commissioner of Foreign Affairs ', *The punch* (1978), p.pp.1.

it...we haven't got to the stage where this has direct effect on our economy, still, we know too well that much as we have more man power than our economy can absorb, there is a limit to which the economy can equally accept this movement of the personnel outside the country.²⁸⁴

It should be noted that immigrants from Ghana were a mixture of both skilled and unskilled labour migrants, and much as the Ghanaians were immigrating to Nigeria, the Nigerians were also taking advantage of the economic opportunities created by the economic challenges of Ghana to export food produce and open shops in Ghana. This was the precarious situation of migration not only from Ghana into Nigeria but from most west African countries, including the refugees crisis created by colonial liberation wars in most African countries, with Nigeria as a ready answer for the migration challenge in the 1960s up until 1985. The influx of many undocumented migrants into Nigeria in the 1970s became a source of concern to the government and thus issued a circular to the immigration department on modalities for control of this group of undocumented aliens into Nigeria to ensure a strong and sustained check by the federal government. Immigrants posed, in some cases, as expatriates who had come to work in Nigeria, but on a closer examination, they were found to be with neither genuine entry nor work permits. In a measure to check this practice, the immigration department issued a circular letter to all companies and organizations in Nigeria to comply with the new immigration policies. All foreign nationals, regardless of skin colour or nationalities, obtained work permits from the Nigerian embassies in their countries before being admitted to work in the country. It was on record for instance that 174,000 immigrants were already working in different companies and government parastatals by 1978. Of this number, about 113,800 were without valid entry work permit.²⁸⁵

The immigration of cattle herders from Niger and Chad also posed a great challenge to the Nigerian authorities as most part of the central Nigerian areas is grass land with good rainfall and therefore attract the immigration of these herders who often clash with farmers on the way.

A common feature of conflict arising from herders' immigration from the early 1960s to date is that the Sahelian is constantly threatened by severe drought. Conflict therefore arises between

²⁸⁴ Ibid.

²⁸⁵ E.i. Chief, 'Task before Immigration Department ', *Nigerian Observer* (1978).

local crop farmers and herders over damaged crops, access to water, and grazing during dry season. This has given rise to irredentism as a result of the rise in ethnic identity leading to conflict and sometime outright warfare amongst the Torque and Toubou²⁸⁶. There is also an increase in activities of criminal groups such as the Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb who specialise in drugs, smuggling, kidnapping and money laundering and religious extremists such as Boko Haram. The stretch of the Saharoro Sahelian southern area of the mountain covering Mali, Niger and Chad republics threatened by aridity, lack of water, under population, state absence, lack of communication infrastructure and basic social services, and largely uncontrolled space and borders, which made the areas a sanctuary for gangs and armed groups and terrorist migration in large numbers, into West Africa in search of water, green grass and pastoral land for herding their cattle leading to trans-border undocumented immigration of people to neighboring countries with Nigeria at the receiving end.

The present link to insecurity arising from the cattle herdsmen and farmers has its origin from this undocumented form of immigration into Nigeria with no form of registration or taxes levied on the herders who are not indigenous to Nigeria. They had always had free movement into Nigeria from the North West, and North Eastern Nigeria into the central Nigerian area who are mainly farmers, thus creating clash of economic interest which often cause crisis. The Nigerian authority needed to have measure of control or some form of documentation of this category of immigrant, to differentiate between indigenous Fulani herdsmen and non-Nigerian herdsmen. Having discussed the West African migration challenge in brief, to give us an understanding of the circumstance that brought Nigeria into the African migration challenges; we now look at the Nigerian South African scenario from 1960.

²⁸⁶ A. Adepoju 2005; Z. Apata, 'Migrations, Changes and Conflicts: A Study of Inter-Group Relations in the Middle Benue Region of Nigeria before 1900', *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, 1999, 47, (2): p. 47; M. Awumbila, *et al.*, 'Migration Country Paper (Ghana)', *Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, Legon*, 2008; O. Bakewell, 'Migration and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa'; O. Bakewell, 'Migration and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa', *Migration in the global political economy*, 2011, pp. 121-42; L. Bossard and M. Trémolières 2010; N. Choucri, 'Migrations and Security, Some Key Linkages', *Journal of International Affairs* 2002, 56, (1): pp. 97-122.

4.3. Nigerian Contributions in undermining the apartheid regime

The hullabaloo against South African racial policies has been before the UN since 1946. This came to reality as a result of the complaint laid by the Indian government, brought to the UN, concerning the ill-treatment of people of Indian origin in South Africa, which was officially unveiled in 1948 in the wake of the Asiatic Land Tenure acts and the passive resistance campaign of Indians. The Sharpeville massacre of March, 1960 did not only drew the attention of independent African countries to react, the United States of America was also forced to respond in condemning South African government's action through the brutality of its police on 21nd March 1960²⁸⁷. Thus, the United States' reaction to the Sharpeville massacre "While the United States as a matter of practice does not ordinarily comment on the internal affairs of government with which it enjoys normal relations, it cannot help but regret the tragic loss of lives resulting from measures taken against the demonstrators in South Africa".²⁸⁸

The Sharpeville massacre, it should be noted, marked undeniably a turning point in the fight for freedom in Azania. It was the turning point which prompted the outpour of radical struggle against white minority rule and colonialism throughout southern Africa²⁸⁹. After the massacre, the authorities in South Africa made a crackdown on all activists leading to the escape of most ANC activists to countries considered safe to mobilize for the struggle 'The then ANC Vice President, Oliver Tambo, was secretly smuggled out of the country by Ronel Segal into Beshuanaland, a British controlled territory then', followed by Dr. Yusuf Dadoo, who was then Chairperson of the South African Indian Congress and also chairperson of the underground South African Communist Party. Both were tasked with mobilizing the international and financial and diplomatic support for sanctions against apartheid South Africa. Also Nana Mahomo and Peter Molotsi crossed to join in mobilizing support for the PAC²⁹⁰. These men were very much instrumental to drawing attention of the world and Africa to the realities of apartheid in South Africa. World leaders and governments reacted sharply against the brutality of the apartheid regime. Countries such as United Kingdom, Netherlands, Canada, New Zealand, India, Nigeria and Denmark also reacted in like manner against the apartheid regime. In view of

²⁸⁷ S.A.H. online David Pratt

²⁸⁸ E.S. Reddy, 'The United Nations: Partner in the Struggle against Apartheid', *un. org*, <http://www.un.org/en/events/mandeladay/apartheid.shtml>, 2013.

²⁸⁹ S.A.H. online David Pratt

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

this worldwide criticism of the Sharpeville massacre, a request from 29 UN member states, to the United Nation's Security Council in April 1960, urgently considered the issue which resulted in the adoption of a resolution recognizing the situation in South Africa as potential danger to world peace if left unattended to by members of the international community²⁹¹. Nigeria took advantage of this situation to pursue its foreign policy objectives of "commitment to Africa as a Centre-piece, development, cooperation, decolonisation and fight against all forms of racism and apartheid"²⁹². The educational opportunities were denied black Africans, and therefore needed to be helped to get out of the condition. The schools and colleges were not only segregated racially, the blacks were also subjected to what was known as Bantustan settlement²⁹³ with a different form of education which was highly discriminatory. Facilities in these schools were highly inadequate and inferior being subjected to colonial control to ensure they do not produce good intellectuals beyond understanding how to read and write and end up as a domestic staff in European homes. Nigerians, in a bid to improve the load of her fellow blacks in South Africa and other southern African countries, who were subjected under the same dominance of the Portuguese colonisation, gave educational assistance to their refugees' students in Nigeria and other parts of the world. It is in the light of this educational aid that this study analysed how this assistance was rendered to these young Southern Africans in Nigeria and in other parts of the world.

Nigeria's political independent in 1960 was crucial in informing its position and the role it plays. It joined other member countries of the international community in opposing the numerous racist draconian policies of the apartheid regime in South Africa. In November 19, 1946, a resolution was passed by the United Nations Organisation (UNO) declaring that "it is in the interest of humanity to put an immediate end to religious and so called racial persecution and discrimination"²⁹⁴ and called on "Governments and responsible authority to conform both to the

²⁹¹ E.S. Reddy 2013, p9.

²⁹² Ibid. p. 12.

²⁹³ L. Chisholm, 'Bantustan Education History: The 'Progressivism' of Bophutatswana's Primary Education Upgrade Programme (Peup), 1979–1988', *South African Historical Journal*, 2013, 65, (3): pp. 403-20.

²⁹⁴ A. Genova, 'Nigeria's Nationalization of British Petroleum', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 2010, 43, pp. 115-36.

latter and the spirit of the charter of the UN and to take the most prompt and energetic step to the end”.²⁹⁵

Tafawa Bellewa, Nigerian first democratic Prime Minister, led the battle against South Africa's continued membership of the Commonwealth of Nations which culminated in that country's eventual withdrawal from the organization in May 13th, 1961.²⁹⁶ Nigeria also initiated the process that led to the rejection of the credentials of that regime's representative to the international Labour organization in Geneva 1961. In 1967, following the resolution of the United Nations General Assembly requesting member states to establish an agency or structure for the dissemination of information on the evils of apartheid, Nigeria established an outfit known as the National Action Against Apartheid (NACAP) whose mandate it was to disseminate information, enlighten and led propaganda campaigns against the ills of apartheid both at home and in conjunction with other international organisations, civil societies and governments to liberate black African in the southern region of Africa. This marks Nigeria's total support for the liberation movement on the continent both morally and financially and on the diplomatic front as evidence of its foreign policy stand 'Africa as a centerpiece' this was an indication of Nigeria's continued crusade against the apartheid regime in South Africa.

The UN became concerned about issues of colonialism and racial discrimination in Africa from the 1960s and included them in its agenda to be pursued at international level. This was also a period that most African countries were clamoring for political independence with a few of them governing themselves. The UN therefore put in place an organ to ensure it fights this system. "The special committee on the policies of apartheid of the government of the Republic of South Africa",²⁹⁷ which was later renamed "Special committee against apartheid" in 1974, became the driving force behind the UN's action to isolate the apartheid regime in South Africa.

²⁹⁵ E.S. Reddy 2013; D. Simon, 'South African Political Exile in the United Kingdom: Mark Israel; Macmillan, Basingstoke and St. Martin's Press, New York, 1999, Pp. X + 281, (Prices Not Supplied) Cloth, Isbn 0-333-74168-4 and 0-312-22025-1', *Political Geography*, 2000, 19, (5): pp. 655-57.

²⁹⁶ A. Adekunle, 'Nigeria and the Liberation Struggle in Southern Africa ', in *Paper Presented at SAPES Trust Fifth Anniversary Annual Colloquium Southern Africa in the year 2000* (Harrare Zimbabwe unpublish 1993): pp. 1-50.

²⁹⁷ E.S. Reddy 2013.

The committee was saddled with the responsibilities of ensuring the 1) assistance to South African political prisoners and their families; 2) organizing programmes for the educational training of the people; 3) arms and oil embargoes against South Africa”²⁹⁸. This encouraged Nigeria to pursue her interest in decolonisation of Southern Africa and the ultimate eradication of apartheid in South Africa. Thus Nigeria established the Southern African Relief Fund (SARF) in December 1976 which enabled Nigeria to offer her relentless sacrifice to liberate black South Africans from the apartheid regime. The Nigerian Head of States, General Obasanjo, his cabinet members and many Nigerians contributed part of their salaries for the takeoff of the Funds in 1976. Other contributions to the fund were made in the form of award of educational scholarships, cash grants and donations of relief materials like ambulances, buses, generators clothing, food, pharmaceuticals and camp tents for South African refugee camps.²⁹⁹ The donations were sent at all times to Angola, Namibia, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and South Africa, the enclave of apartheid, because Nigerian leaders believed that the restoration of the dignity of the black man in Southern Africa was the restoration of black pride all over the world. Details of these contributions are discussed later. In solidarity with the oppressed people of Southern Africa, Nigeria welcomed them to live in the country, provided conducive learning environment for their children in alliance with Botswana, where the children were usually airlifted to Nigeria, offered the refugees various employment opportunities and scholarship in different secondary and higher institution and universities with full scholarship. Many took steps in isolating the apartheid regime and curtailing its interactions with civilized humanity.³⁰⁰

The youth at all levels of education, civil societies, members of academia from all universities in Nigeria, traditional rulers, civil servants and even primary school pupils had tax known as the Mandela tax in Nigeria. They were mobilized and contributed towards aiding South African Student scholarship and members of the ANC in exile. Nigeria also led the campaign in all international organizations, beginning with the formation of the Organisation for African Unity

²⁹⁸ Ibid.

²⁹⁹ A. Ajala, 'Nigeria and the Liberation Struggle in Southern Africa', ed. by SAPES Trust Fifth anniversary annual colloquium Southern Africa in the year 2000 (Harare Zimbabwe Nigeria Institute of International Affairs Lagos Library collection, 1993): pp. 1-44.

³⁰⁰ A. Ogunsanwo 2015.

(OAU) in 1963³⁰¹. NACAP was also mandated to mobilize global support from all countries with similar orientation for comprehensive sanctions against South Africa.³⁰²

For Nigeria to achieve its objective of undermining apartheid in South Africa, it had to collaborate with others in pursuing various policies aimed at liberating its fellow blacks. This included calling for sanctions, trade embargoes against the regime both by Nigeria and members of the international community.

South Africa's response to Nigeria's threat of liberating the blacks emerged in different forms. For example, the apartheid regime embraced the opportunity open to it during the Nigerian civil war in 1967 by providing the Biafra army with military supplies in terms of weapons and sent mercenary soldiers to help fight the military government toward the actualization of the secessionist agenda of the Biafran administration.

“Nigeria survived the war and emerged as a more prosperous and united country. As a consequence, post-war Nigeria had a great influence not only on the course of African events but also on issues pertaining to black Africans. While the Nigerian state pursued a policy of rapprochement and good neighbourliness after the war in order to soothe frayed nerves and pacify war-time foes, apartheid South Africa was instead visited with renewed opposition and hostility”³⁰³. Nigeria continually received threats of attacks from the apartheid enclave in South Africa.

In like manner, Nigeria's support for the liberation movement in Angola, Zimbabwe, Namibia and Mozambique became more prominent and its recognition of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) government on 25 November, 1975, was just an example of Nigerian commitment towards other African countries with the sole aim of liberating Southern Africa. This was also a response to South Africa's preference for the FNLA/UNITA (the National Liberation Front for Angola/National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) government coalition and Pretoria's involvement in the military raid and operation against the

³⁰¹ J.U. Eke and Ani, K.J., 'Africa and the Challenges of Regional Integration', *Journal of African Union Studies*, 2017, 6, (1): pp. 63-80.

³⁰² G.A.O.r. United Nation, '18th Session of the, 1221st Meeting, Plenary', ed. by Unit on apartheid Department of political and security council Affairs (Lagos Nigeria Nigerian Institute of International Affairs 1963): pp. 7-12.

³⁰³ I. Primus, 'Plan to Attack Nigeria Is True Abacha', *National Concord* (1986), p.pp.1 & 13.

MPLA. The Nigerian government matched its words with action, not only recognising the MPLA led government but also providing a grant of \$20 million to the group for the pursuance of its campaign toward winning in the democratic process election.³⁰⁴

Nigeria's clear willpower to oppose the apartheid regime was equally extended to some of Nigeria's traditional allies which could not comply with the UN objective of trade sanction against South Africa that bore the brunt of their ambivalence with their relationship with South Africa. Nigeria directed frontal attacks at the nation's former colonial authorities and long-time ally when it was discovered that Britain continued to violate the principles of the sanctions placed on South Africa. Specifically, these include selling Nigerian crude oil clandestinely to South Africa. Britain's role in the Zimbabwean (Rhodesian) liberation crisis, in this regard, British Petroleum, one of Britain's biggest economic interests in Nigeria, was nationalised by the Nigerian government in 1979. Incidentally, Britain had received signals of the seriousness with which

Nigeria viewed the sanctions when Barclays Bank International was nationalised in 1978 for operating in South Africa. Nigeria was also at the forefront of efforts to champion the anti-apartheid crusade both in the UN General Assembly and at UN Security Council meetings, to the extent that in 1972 Nigeria was elected to Chair the UN Special Committee against Apartheid.³⁰⁵

4.4. Nigeria's contribution on the education of South Africans during apartheid

The United Nations Education Training Programme for Southern Africa introduced in 1968 with 454 student was another means by which Nigeria aided the students. It increased to 744 in 1971 and 1131 in 1973 and in 1974 the number had reached 1,375 with beneficiaries drawn mainly from African countries which were still under colonial rule with specific attention to Southern

³⁰⁴ A. Adekunle, 'Nigeria's Role in the Anti-Apartheid Struggle ', in *1992 concluding Seminar on "Nigerian South Africa Relations : Post apartheid Era"*, (National Institute for Policy and strategic studies (NIPSS) Kuru, Jos Plateau State Nigerian Institute of International Affairs Lagos, 1992): pp. 1-26.

³⁰⁵ J.N. Garba, 'Statement to the General Assembly of the Uno Brigedier Jn Garba on Commissioner for External Affairs, on Agenda Item 27(on South Africa ', (Lagos Nigeria FederalMinistry of information Nigeria 1977).

African countries facing the apartheid domination³⁰⁶. The targeted participants were drawn from young Africans who were willing to study and return home to utilize their experience and knowledge to improve on the governance of their countries after independence. Contributions towards such funds were drawn from donor countries which were willing to contribute towards the education of black Africans who were denied access to such privileges in their countries. Many African countries who were already independent by that time contributed, as shown in the chart below, with Nigeria being the highest donor financially from Africa. Countries participating in the programme included Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique, Namibia, Sao Tome and Principe, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). The programme was an initiative of the United Nations Organisation General Assembly at the end of 1967. Nigeria was heading the general assembly of the UN by then, with the consolidation and integration of three existing programmes, the panel award decision were based on the manpower need of the countries about to attain independence and the career intent of candidates. Nigeria helps these countries in various ways beginning from the UN education fund programme³⁰⁷.

Extract from the United Nations Education and Training Programme for Southern Africa indicates the number of fellowships and awards from selected member countries who contributed to the Programme and the countries that these refugee students from the Southern African countries were received and sponsored for studies under the United Nations agency, as shown below. It should be noted that the documentation of all the contribution by the Nigerian authority has not been effective as the movement of the Federal capital territory from Lagos to Abuja in 1991 affected the movement of files. Lots of documents were lost on the way, according to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Nigeria.

Table 1: UN Educational Fund: Contributions by Governments, 1968-1975 (In United States Dollars)³⁰⁸

Country	1968/73	1974	1975	Total
Ghana	6,000	1,500	3,480	10,980

³⁰⁶ U.N.O. Document, 'The United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa', ed. by Centre Against apartheid Department of Political and security Council Affairs Note and Documents (NIIA Library United Nations office Lagos 1976): pp. 1-11.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.* p. 1.

Kenya	8,008	2,002	2,002	12,012
Liberia	1,000	1,000	--	2,000
Nigeria	--	3,040	6,500	9,540
Sierra Leon	790	--	--	790
Uganda	1,400	--	--	1,400
USA	25,000	--	50,000	75,000
France	300,000	100,000	100,000	500,000
Germany FED. Rep. of	135,811	54,066	58,577	248,454
Italy	50,918	10,933	14,200	76,051
United Kingdom	756,655	166,667	151,844	1,075,166

Table shows Nigeria total contribution to the UN education fund in the sum of \$9,500 for the Southern African students. This excluded its contribution to NACCAP.

Table 2: Countries of Study 1967/68 to 1974/75 (All scholarship holders)

Year of Awards	1967/68	1968/69	1969/70	1970/71	1971/72	1972/73	1973/74	1974/75
Africa Total	258	310	347	387	526	657	895	970
Ghana	2	3	3	5	1	1	3	24
Kenya	75	103	116	117	115	106	95	88
Liberia				2	3	4	4	7
Nigeria	8	7	5	10	11	13	32	97
Sierra Leon	--	--	--	8	14	27	77	103
Uganda	2	7	14	13	16	11	13	26
Zambia	28	40	62	62	92	130	122	131
Botswana	4		1	6	11	13	10	17
Swaziland	16	19	11	17	36	41	36	52

The above shows the distribution of the student population according to countries for which the candidate chose to study. Nigeria received a total of 97 students between 1967 and 1975³⁰⁹

Table 3: Applications and Award, 1970/71 - 1974/75

Total Applications received	1970/71	1971/72	1972/73	1973/74	1973/74
New Awards granted	938	1,425	1,836	1,921	2,113
Awards extended	175	297	319	472	661
Total Scholarship holders	381	447	554	659	734
Awards completed	556	744	875	1,131	1,375
Awards completed	124	178	190	215	390
Namibia					
Total scholarship holders	67	78	81	73	157
Awards Completed	3	9	21	25	11
South Africa					
Total scholarship holders	191	268	296	298	360
Awards Completed	35	60	84	103	109
Southern Rhodesia					
Total scholarship holders	111	148	191	268	389
Awards Completed	37	45	41	59	52
Territories under Portuguese Administration					
Total scholarship holders	187	250	305	492	460
Awards Completed	49	64	44	28	245
These territories attained independence in 1974/75 new awards were granted to their inhabitant, as a transitional measure, at the request of the governments concerned.					

Source ³¹⁰

³⁰⁹ Ibid.

³¹⁰ Ibid.

**Table 4: Number of Scholarship holders by Country of Study and Country of Origin,
1974/75**

Countries of Study	Namibia	South Africa	Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe)	Angola	Mozambique	Guinea-Bissau	Cape Verde	Sao Tome and Principe	Total
African Total	117	200	312	274	62	3	1	1	970
Ghana	19	1	4						24
Kenya	26	9	6	1	46				88
Liberia									
Nigeria	50	8	38	1					97
Sierra Leon			101		2				103
Uganda	3	20		3					26
Zambia	7	22	95	7					131
Botswana		11	6						17
Swaziland	2			5					7
Europeans Selected countries that accepted the African Refugees									
Europe Total	7	76	19	26	1	38	23	14	204
Belgium				11			7		18
France				8			3		11
Ireland	26								26
Portugal						38	13	13	64
North America Total	33	35	49	1	5		4		
Canada									
USA									
Others									
India		58	9	7					74
Total	157	369	389	308	68	41	28	15	1375

The above shows a distribution list of the population of student per country given award under the UN scheme with Nigeria hosting 97%, from 1974-1975

Sources ³¹¹

4.5 National Committee Against Apartheid (NACAP)

The history of the committee dates back to 13th December, 1967, following the UN General Assembly adoption of resolution No. 2307 (XX11) on the policies of apartheid of the government of the Republic of South Africa. The UN was calling on member states to encourage the establishment of a National Organisation for the purpose of enlightening public opinion on the evils of apartheid and to report annually to the Secretary of the UN on the progress and activities of such branches of the organisation. The resolution was adopted by the federal executive council, and the committee for the dissemination of information on the ills of apartheid was established on 18th December 1968³¹². The name National Committee Against Apartheid (NACAP) was later embraced in conformity with the UNO suggestions. The main objectives of NACAP were; 1) to propagate, publicise and disseminate information on the ills of apartheid, by organizing conferences, symposium, public lectures, public campaigns and raising funds for the organisation activities and the programme. 2) To observe all UN days in connection with South Africa and other states under the threat of apartheid, e.g. Southern Rhodesia, Namibia, Angola, etc. 3) To conduct research into the apartheid system and other forms of discrimination in South Africa and Namibia and publish same findings to aid policy formulation, provide general knowledge and information on the sub-region. 4) To establish organise and run a special library whose collections will include, books, journals, reports, records, films, slides maps and other matters for the purpose of research, reference and general information. 5) To establish states chapters of the NACAP in all states of the federations and institutions of higher learning and to work closely and collaborate with the UN special committee against apartheid, other national and international agencies, the frontline states and freedom fighters in South Africa and Namibia³¹³. Following the rejection of the educational system provided by the apartheid regime to the blacks in South Africa which led to the June 16 1976 Soweto uprising which resulted to an increased

³¹¹ Ibid.

³¹² A. Genova 2010.

³¹³ UN programme on apartheid

terror against the blacks in South Africa; many of the South African youth, especially those from Soweto, escaped through Botswana from where they were brought to Nigeria³¹⁴.

Nigeria was still to gain its independence when the motion was moved on the floor of its parliament with the colonial government still in power in 1959 to expel all white South Africans in the public service of Nigeria while retaining the black South Africans. These moves affected all white missionaries that were of South African origin. This, therefore, meant that the DRCM missionaries were sent home immediately. Sir Ahmadu Bello the Sarduna of Sokoto donated his salary to the trust fund for victims of the apartheid, explaining that, that was the beginning of the countries activism on the apartheid front. The practice against South African blacks was not only regarded as abhorrent against humanity but also a crime against God³¹⁵. Opposing the indignity imposed on black people in South Africa was considered by Nigerian people and government as the correct thing to do. Within one year of the nation's independence, its leader Tafawa Balewa, was able to successfully initiate the process which led to the withdrawal of apartheid South Africa from the Common Wealth of Nations in 1961, and the rejection of the credentials of that "regime representative to the international labour organization in Geneva in 1961"³¹⁶. This was the incidental beginning of the sanction against apartheid South Africa.

Scholars³¹⁷ are of the view that the South African liberation struggle would have stayed a little longer had it not been for the Nigerian full involvement. The potency of Nigeria's role might have been over exaggerated, but the African reality as at the 1960s was that without Nigeria's historical involvement in the liberation struggle, the task of succeeding could have been a lot more difficult with the success of the struggle much delayed, if not impossible. Nigeria's response at that critical moment of the Southern African history was that within the context of its status within the continent then, Nigeria had no choice but to intervene, even if the notion of Nigerian manifest destiny in the agenda of Africa and the black race generally was restricted to

³¹⁴P. Cole, 'The Road to Soweto: Resistance and the Uprising of 16 June 1976', *South African Historical Journal*, 2017, pp. 143-45; P. O'Halloran, 'The Soweto Uprising', (Taylor & Francis, 2017).

³¹⁵ A. Ogunsanwo 1975.

³¹⁶ A. Ogunsanwo 2015.

³¹⁷ A. Report, *Exile Experience on the Functioning of Liberation Movement* Pretoria Home Affairs 2013/2014; N.C. Ogo and K.J. Ani 2015; J. Owoeye, 'What Can Africa Expect from a Post-Apartheid South Africa?', *Africa Insight*, 1994, 24, (1): pp. 44-46; D. Posel, 'Have Migration Patterns in Post-Apartheid South Africa Changed?', *Journal of Interdisciplinary Economics*, 2004, 15, (3-4): pp. 277-92; E.S. Reddy 2013; H.E. Reed 2013; A. Ogunsanwo 1975; B.E. Ate and Akinterinwa, B.A., *Nigeria and Its Immediate Neighbours: Constraints and Prospects of Sub-Regional Security in the 1990s*: Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, 1992.

the elitist circle, the obligation of Nigeria's involvement in the liberation war in the African continent was, to many, a matter in which Nigeria really had no choice, notwithstanding the crying need of the country.³¹⁸

The South African Relief Fund therefore made it possible for Nigeria to finance the educational needs of students from the apartheid enclave and other Southern African countries like Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia), Malawi, Angola, Mozambique, Lesotho and Botswana. As a result of the fund, Nigeria mobilised, in conjunction with an agency in Botswana, to bring the first batch of the 86 student refugees, who fled from the apartheid regime in Southern Africa, to Nigeria on 30th March 1977. The teenage students, 46 of them from the historic but tragic township of Soweto in South Africa, were in Nigeria to continue their studies in various Nigerian institutions, under the special Soweto Scholarship Assistance³¹⁹. The other students were from Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) that were fleeing from the minority rule of Ian Smith and were in exile in Botswana. It should be emphasized here that in order for Nigeria to achieve its aim of assisting the exiled, Nigeria, as early as 1960, opened a consulate in Botswana in 1961 in Gaborone where the exiled were sometimes issued Nigerian passports to travel anywhere in the world. The Soweto Scholarship Assistance Programme was a jointly sponsored programme by the Nigerian government and the International University Exchange Fund for young students who fled South Africa in the wake of the Soweto uprising. Another 170 students were expected to be airlifted to Nigeria from Gaborone. Nigeria was working in coordination with Van Der Va'art, the spokesperson for the International University Exchange Fund (IUEF), who confirmed that the Organisation was responsible for catering for the flight of the boys from Botswana to Nigeria and gave them forty thousand (40,000.00 Naira) as equipment allowance³²⁰. The federal government of Nigeria was responsible for their housing, feeding, clothing and placement in various schools with full payment of their tuitions and security. They were given special treatment which even the Nigerian students could not be given. The Soweto student leader Tsietsie Mashinini came to Lagos and made a presentation to the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs on 17/06/1977 advocating for support towards the Liberation struggles in

³¹⁸ L. Harisman, 'Ambassador Harisman Criticises Transnational Corporations Operating in South Africa ', ed. by Lagos Nigeria Federal ministry of Information and Culture (Lagos: Nigerian institute of International Affairs 1977): p. 1.

³¹⁹ B. Harrison, '86 South Africans Students in Nigeria ', *Daily Timea of Nigeria* (1977), p.pp.32.

³²⁰ Ibid.

South Africa. Mashinini who was 20 years old at the time of his visit had spearheaded the Soweto demonstration in 1976. In his speech: “even the removal of apartheid from the South African system won’t stop the struggle, because the real enemy was the man who occupied the land illegally and exploited the people.”³²¹

Nigerian contributions between 1973 and 1978, estimated at about \$39,040 to the UN Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, a voluntary trust fund promoting education of the black South African refugees escaping apartheid regime. The refugees were the consequence of June 16 Soweto uprising that resulted to an increased reign of terror unleashed on these youths by the apartheid forces leading to their escape to neighboring countries for safety and later to other countries abroad for assistance³²². Nigeria became one of the leading crusaders of the anti-apartheid regime and organised how most of these pupils were to be assisted to come to Nigeria and other countries of the world. On the eve of the official launch of the programme, many Nigerians offered voluntary donation for the takeoff of the fund. Reports from newspapers in 1976 indicated that “The Southern African Relief fund on the eve of the launching schedule for 17/12/1976 received the following from individuals 1) Chief Dr. Henry Fayemokun, for himself and on behalf of the Henry Stephens Group of Companies ₦ 110,000. 2) Chief Ashamu for himself and his group of Companies ₦ 100,000, 3) Chief M. T Abiola, for himself and his family, ₦ 300,000, and Alhaji Tijani Dagazau for himself and his group of Companies ₦ 100,000. This generous contribution was just the beginning, for many other Nigerians followed suit and many donated towards the fund and offered useful advice to the Nigerian government on the matter relating to South Africa³²³.

Official members of the National Committee Against Apartheid in 1989, as found in the archives in Kaduna Nigeria were:

Prof Dantatti Abdulkadir Chairman

Nurudeen Alao Vice Chairman

The Director General - The presidency (political office)

³²¹ B. James, 'Soweto Student Leader in Lagos; Come to Our Aid to Crush Vorster', *the Nigerian Observer* (1977), p.pp.1.

³²² P. O'Halloran 2017.

³²³ N. Nigeria, 'The South African Relief Fund ', *New Nigerian* (1976).

The Director General of the following Federal ministries: Ministry of Information, Foreign Affairs, Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, and Federal Radio Cooperation of Nigeria (representing members of the press for publicity)

Prof Osita Eze - Imo State University

Prof Isawa Elaigwu - University of Jos

Dr. Yahaya Abdullai - Ahmadu Bello University Zaria

The President - Nigerian Union of Journalist (NUJ)

The President - National Council for Women Society

The President –Nigerian Labour congress

Dr. Festus Iyayi - i/c Nigerian Labour Congress³²⁴.

In a meeting of the UN held on 13th October, 1976, Nigeria External Affairs Minister pointed out in his speech to the assembly that “the only option left for Africa was the total eradication of apartheid by armed struggle and reiterate Nigeria’s support for the armed struggle, promising Nigeria’s total support and commitment to the said objective. Within her powers to do everything necessary in support for the liberation struggles in South Africa, in the same meeting, Nigeria announced her readiness to increase financial and material commitment to the United Nations Funds for South Africa Education and also cooperate with other member states of the non-aligned movement to hasten the materialisation and funding of the already established support and solidarity for liberation in South Africa. Furthermore, it was disclosed that a plan had been concluded to launch the Nigerian National Fund for Southern Africa, to which Nigerians would be called upon to contribute generously towards the actualization of the African initiatives for the liberation of its fellow blacks under colonization and apartheid in Southern Africa. Consequently, on 1st July, 1977, the Federal Government of Nigeria at Anambra, in a conference organised by the National Committee for the Dissemination of the ills of apartheid, in preparation for the world conference on apartheid which was to take place in August 1977,

³²⁴ P. Huddleston, 'Programme of the Visit of Arch Bishop Pevi Trevor Huddlston - President of the Anti-Apartheid Movement from Sunday 2nd -8th April 1989 ', ed. by Kaduna National Archive (Kaduna Nigeria National Archival collection Kaduna 1989).

Nigeria maintained that the sustained enlightenment of its people on the situation in apartheid South Africa was inhuman and therefore sought their support toward undermining apartheid. This situation was not only in South Africa but also in Namibia, Zimbabwe, and Angola, for which the government and people of Nigeria deemed their personal obligation³²⁵.

In a meeting of the Organization of African Unity in January 1976, Murtala Mohammed, the Nigerian military President declared total war against apartheid regime in South Africa. He blamed European and American business interest as a major obstacle in the liberation struggle. In his speech he stated without fear: “it is an open secret that apartheid South Africa is strongly supported by some western European countries and the United States of America. They owned all the transnational cooperation’s which exploit black labour in South Africa for their own benefits. The economic benefit power of this cooperation is used actively to perpetuate apartheid and what is more to export it to areas adjacent to South Africa”³²⁶

4.6 Nigeria’s Relationship with ANC in exile

The unbearable South African apartheid experience, which was also a quintessence of colonialism, was defeated not only by the internal struggles within South Africa headed by its liberation leaders like Albert Luthuli, O. R. Tambo, or Nelson Mandela under the African National Congress party of South Africa, but it was a consistent combined effort for the struggles against apartheid, but by the global intervention with Nigeria taking a leading role³²⁷.

Nigeria since independence in 1960 has created the basis for a cordial relationship with the ANC in exile to ensure the liberation of its fellow blacks as seen through the first Nigerian leader, Tafawa Balewa.

³²⁵ A. Ajala 1993.

³²⁶ Ibid.

³²⁷ N. Concord, 'Anc Leader Briefs Shagari on 70th Anniversary of the Anc.', *National Concord Nigeria* (1982), p.pp.9.

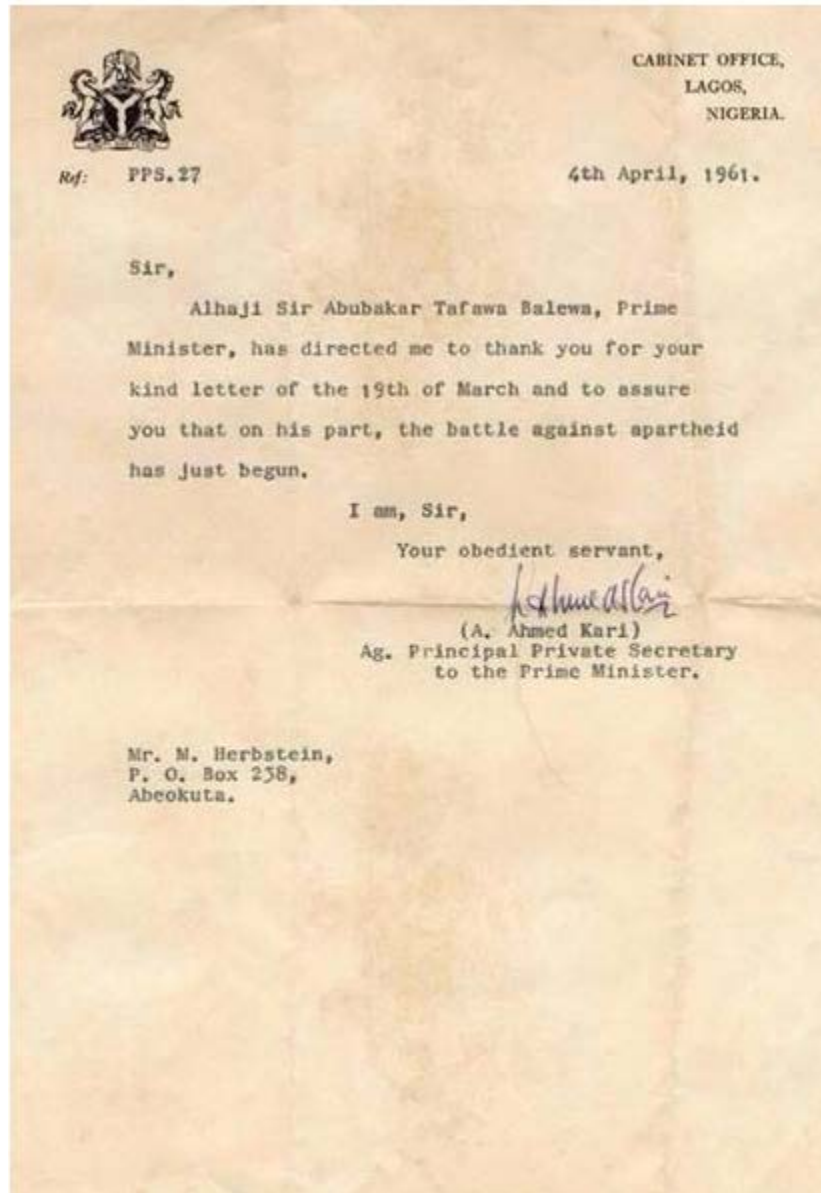


Figure 3: First diplomatic official letter to the ANC militants as attached April 4, 1961

As soon as this message was passed to the comrades, Nigeria began the process of lobbying the cooperation of other nations in the world for their support, understanding and contributions through policy change towards apartheid South Africa, and for sanctions against the regime to compel its leaders to drop the idea of racism against fellow blacks in South Africa. Nigeria's first step was to lobby for the expulsion of South Africa from the Commonwealth of Nations in 1961

as mentioned earlier³²⁸. The Nigerian leader, beyond political support, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa was the first leader to provide a direct financial aid to the ANC from the early 1960s. At the height of the liberation movement in the 1970s, Nigeria alone provided \$5-million annual subvention to the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) annually³²⁹. In 1976, Nigeria set up the Southern Africa Relief Fund (SAFR) destined to bring relief to the victims of the apartheid regime in South Africa, provide educational opportunities to them and promote general welfare. The military administration of General Obasanjo contributed \$3.7 million to the fund. Moreover, General Obasanjo made a personal donation of \$3,000, while each member of his cabinet also made personal contributions of \$1,500 each. All Nigeria's civil servants and public officers made a 2% donation from their monthly salary to the SAFR. Students skipped their lunch to make donations, and just in 6 months, in June 1977, the popular contribution to the fund reached \$10.5 million³³⁰. Hundreds of South African students have benefited from the fund's activity having come to study in Nigeria for free.

Beyond welcoming students and exiles, Nigeria had also welcomed many renowned South Africans like Thabo Mbeki (former South African president from 1999 to 2008). He had spent 7 years in Nigeria, from 1977 to 1984, before he left to the ANC headquarters in Lusaka, Zambia³³¹. For South Africans, who could not travel abroad because the apartheid regime had withdrawn their passports, Nigerian government issued more than 300 passports through its embassy in Botswana to any black South African escaping the apartheid³³². Along with fellow African countries, Nigeria lobbied for the creation of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid and chaired it for 30 years, longer than any other country. As for trade, Nigeria had refused to sell oil to South Africa for decades in protest against the white minority rule. Nigeria had lost approximately \$41 billion during that period. Above all, Nigeria was the only nation worldwide to set up the National Committee against Apartheid (NACAP) as early as in

³²⁸ Editor, 'Opinion a Smear Campaign Tafawa Balewa Led Battles against South Africa's Continued Membership of the Common Wealth of Nation, Culminating in That Countries Eventual Withdrawal from the Organisation in May 31, 1961 Withdrawal ', *Daily Times Nigeria* (1961).

³²⁹ T. Odubajo and Akinboye, S., 'Nigeria and South Africa: Collaboration or Competition?', *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 2017, 24, (1): pp. 61-77.

³³⁰ Ibid.

³³¹ W.M. Gumede, *Thabo Mbeki and the Battle for the Soul of the Anc*: Zed Books Ltd., 2008, p33.

³³² N.C. Ogo and K.J. Ani 2015.

1960³³³. The committee's mission was to disseminate the evils of the apartheid regime to all Nigerians from primary schools to universities, in public media and in markets, through posters and billboard messages. The NACAP was also responsible for the coordination of Nigeria's government and civil society joint anti-apartheid actions and advising of policy makers on anti-apartheid decisions. For over three decades the NACAP had successfully built alliances with labor movement, student groups, progressive elements and other international grassroots organizations within Nigeria for effective anti-apartheid activities. In fact, until 1960s, the ANC fight against the apartheid regime in South Africa was yielding very small results³³⁴. The whole world was quite indifferent to the suffering of the black South Africans. Moreover, western countries strongly supported the apartheid regime providing it with technologies, intelligence and favorable trade agreements. Things started changing dramatically only after African countries became independent in the 1960s. Nigeria unequivocally took over leadership of the anti-apartheid movement worldwide. Despite the volatile nature of Nigeria's politics and the passage of numerous military and civil leaders, Nigeria has never abandoned its unwavering commitment to the freedom of South African blacks under apartheid.

From 1960 to 1995, the Nigerian government expended over \$61 billion to support the end of apartheid. Its commitment was total and convincingly backed up by actions more than any other country in the world. The country has never let go of any opportunity to denounce apartheid, from the boycott of Olympic Games and Commonwealth Games to the nationalization of British Petroleum assets in 1979³³⁵. According to Buthelezi,³³⁶ the miles of territory that lie between Nigeria and the oppressed masses of South Africa, have never blurred our view of the concern of this giant of Africa, Nigeria, for all the oppressed people of Southern Africa.... that our brothers and sisters in Nigeria are with us, and support us in our struggle for liberation.

The South African cry for help in their liberation struggle attracted the Nigeria audience, thus, Buthelezi, appreciating the Nigerian role in the fight for freedom for South Africa stated

³³³ S. Atsen 1986.

³³⁴ J.N. Garba 1977.

³³⁵ G.M. Buthelezi, 'Human Rights and Constitutional Development in South Africa, Being an Address to the Institute of International Affairs Nigeria, ' ed. by Nigerian Institute of International Affairs Nigeria (Lagos 1976): pp. 1-32.

³³⁶ Ibid.

“I am full of hope today. By being able to come and state these facts of life in our part of Africa, in this biggest and most powerful country in Africa, you have given hope to millions of oppressed people in South Africa. I believe that if the Nigerian’s example in creating this kind of contact with us in South Africa is emulated by other sons and daughters in other states of Africa, our struggle for liberation will be shorter than could otherwise be the case. It is vital to the liberation struggle for Africa to recognize the fact that the coordination both from within and from without, is crucial to the success and duration of our struggle.”³³⁷

As early as 1977, Nigeria raised doubts about the role that transnational corporation operating in Southern Africa as a threat to the liberation movement and criticized its continuous support for apartheid and refusal to comply with the UN resolution on trade embargo and sanctions against South Africa. In a debate during the third session of the UN commission on Transnational Corporations in New York in 1977 Mr. Lesli Harisman, Nigerian permanent representative to the United Nation observed that companies invested in the apartheid republic because they were able to obtain enormous profits which were well above the level in other countries because of the denial of elementary human rights to the African population.³³⁸ An examination of the Transnational Corporation in South Africa shows that Barclays bank investment in South Africa defense bonds amounted to 11.5 million dollars. Investments by banks in the economy of apartheid South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Angola was noted as aiding in developing the military strength and increase capacity of the racist regime, this aided the apartheid regime in building a strong military base by South Africa since 1960. These investments were notably owned by the British, West Germany, French and American Companies since Sharpeville massacre in May 1960³³⁹. This made the liberation struggle more difficult, as getting these powerful European and American governments’ commitment to end apartheid was very difficult. Their interest was in the future of their investment which they did not trust it could be secured under a black majority rule.

³³⁷ Ibid.

³³⁸ L. Harisman 1977.

³³⁹ Ibid.

The technological might of the western world was readily placed at the disposal of South Africa to make it strong economically and militarily. Despite protestation to the contrary, the western arms, ammunitions and weapons of war were sold and manufactured in South Africa. The main aim was to browbeat African states into submission to the regime.³⁴⁰ Nigeria marked the celebration of the ANC 70th anniversary with the visit of its leader O.R. Tambo to Nigeria on 28/6/1982. His visit was to inform the Nigerian President and people and give update on the successes and failures of the ANC. He said Nigeria was the might, strength, and hope of the African continent and the black people in South Africa and showed appreciation for Nigeria's role and support towards the liberation struggle in Southern Africa³⁴¹.

Several ANC members visited Nigeria on different occasions to meet with the South African communities in Nigeria and converse support for the liberation struggle. In one such visits Dr. Motsuenyane stated,

“It would certainly be a serious omission on my part if at the beginning of the commencement of my address, I do not pay due tribute both to the government, and the people of Nigeria for the illustrious and commendable role they have played over many years, to secure our liberation from the vicious apartheid system in South Africa. We black South Africans are fully aware of the enormous and invaluable support which Nigerians have given to the victims of apartheid many of whom are still living in your country. For all that, we do indeed owe you Nigerians, great debt of gratitude which is not always easy to describe in words”³⁴²

He was accompanied on the journey to the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs by five other South Africans.

Nigeria's concern was the level of relationship between western countries and apartheid South Africa. Western foreign firm's investment in South Africa during the apartheid regime was

³⁴⁰ J.N. Garba 1977.

³⁴¹ E.i. Chief, 'Nigeria Committed to Liberation Struggles in South Africa Shagari ', *News At Home Nigeria* (1982).

³⁴² A. Motsuenyane, *The Development of Black Entrepreneurship in South Africa* Lagos Nigerian Institute of international Affairs 1989; *ibid*.

estimated at about 3,000 different companies having investment across Nigeria and South Africa despite Nigerian stand and repeated calls for sanctions against the Pretoria regime. This was clearly a violation of the United Nations charter calling for total sanctions and boycott of trade relations with South Africa after the Sharpeville and Soweto massacre of school children. In a document compiled by International conference of free Trade Union for the UNO, the study listed some companies which include Cadbury, Schweppes, Beauchamp, Barclays Bank (now Union Bank) EMI Records, Kiwi international company, Berta Limited, Siemen Overseas Investment, May and Baker, Societe Generale, Panalpina World Transport Limited, Berger Paints, Glaxo Group, International Paints, Decca, Macmillan Limited, Metal Box Company, Tate and Lyle Limited, Taylor Woodrow, American International Limited, Carnation Company, Dunlop Pillow Limited, Dunlop Industries Product Limited, International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT) Mobile, Revlon Incorporation, Schlumberger Limited, Shell Oil Company, Starling Product in cooperation amongst many others³⁴³. Interestingly, this study was done at the Ahmadu Bello University Zaria which hosted hundreds of South African students. During the liberation struggle, the institution was also at the vanguard of student protest against apartheid regime. Other universities like University of Ibadan, Lagos, Nsukka, Jos, and Ile Ife, apart from being host to many South African students, were also host to many South African professionals. Some of these companies, it was asserted, operated in other names than what they were known³⁴⁴.

Student bodies were not left out of the struggle for liberation of black people in Southern Africa; different student bodies across Africa demonstrated their anger against the continued subjugation of their fellow blacks. In Nigeria, university students in Lagos (Uni. Lag), Ibadan (UI), Jos (UJ), Ahmadu Bello University Zaria (ABU), and University of Nigeria Nsukka took part³⁴⁵.

Nigeria for forty years was in a frosty relationship with South Africa. From 1960 – 1994, she could not trade or have any formal diplomatic relationship with South Africa due to the continued policy of apartheid. The visit of the President of South African to Nigeria toward the end of apartheid on 10/04/1992 was a watershed in a new beginning of relationship with the

³⁴³ D.T.E.i. Chief, '3,000 Firms in Nigeria Trading with South Africa ', *Daily Times* (1983), p.pp.33; Editor, 'University of Ibadan Students Kick', *Daily Times* (1976).

³⁴⁴ B. James 1977.

³⁴⁵ Editor, 'Angola: Ahmadu Bello University (Abu) Students Storm United State Envoys Office in Nigeria ', *Daily Times* (1976).

apartheid enclaves, with the assurance of the setting in place procedure for an election in South Africa which will be all inclusive not based on racialism with black full participation³⁴⁶. Frederick de Klerk called for restoration of relationship between Nigeria and South Africa and sought Nigeria's support for a bid to be allowed to join the Organisation of African Unity equally. On the entourage with the President was South Africa's Foreign Affairs Minister Rolof Botha, who requested for Nigeria restoration of relationship between the two countries made several request, which include the lifting of the ban on the lifting of crude oil product to South Africa, and the establishment of sporting links, as a result of the sanctions Nigeria placed on the country. He stated that the opening of bilateral ties between the countries would enable both countries to jointly map out strategies to solve Africa's problems and end its marginalisation in the international fora. According to the Minister "the Nigerian – South African axis would be a useful foreign intervention on the African continent"³⁴⁷. It was further reiterated that drawing the two countries closer had the potential of a tremendous benefit to Africa as a continent as each had the resources and production capability to complement the other.

The visit to Nigeria of Frederick de Klerk in 1992, on South Africa's plea for a negotiated process of the liberation to hand over power to the blacks, opened up the beginning of a fresh phase of relationship and new patterns of migration between Nigeria and South Africa. Nigerian Minister of Foreign Affairs at that time observed that potential exports to South Africa in crude oil, raw and semi processed agricultural products as well as skilled manpower from Nigeria to South Africa. On the other side, South Africa's veritable export to Nigeria would include industrial machinery and equipment, processed food, consumable items, light vehicles, arms as well as investments. There was no gain in saying that South Africa with her enormous natural resources, advances in the science and technology and established infrastructure was not needed by the Nigerian government but Nigeria's stand against apartheid barred Nigeria from that kind of beneficial relationship until the President gave more clarity on the procedure for allowing the process of a majority rule in South Africa. Nigeria hoped to attract investors from South Africa in the areas of mining, industry, agriculture, and tourism, where the country had proven records. Nigeria could, on the other hand, invest its enormous wealth in the areas of the underdeveloped

³⁴⁶ A. Genova 2010.

³⁴⁷ Ibid.

Bantustan where the competition would not be as keen as other areas in the township and cities with established and well organised shopping malls.

South Africans were given the opportunity to participate in the election after no fewer than 1,500 South African nationals resident in Nigeria converged at the UN Development Programme (UNDP) office in Lagos to register for the country's first multi-racial elections. The exercise was part of the struggle agenda against apartheid organized and coordinated by National Committee Against Apartheid (NACAP), and organised by the Independent Electoral Commission of South Africa as part of the negotiation with the apartheid regime during the visit of the South African leader, Frederick de Clerk, when he visited Nigeria³⁴⁸. IEC was represented in Nigeria by Girly Dube who stated that apart from Lagos, there were other centers in Kaduna for the North and Enugu for the East. This was negotiated by Nigerian government in collaboration with the United Nations to enable all exiled to participate in the elections. IEC representative in Nigeria stated that the commission decided "on the wide registration patterns to enable all South Africans, irrespective of where they live, to participate in the first voting process"³⁴⁹. The United Nations had also deployed representatives to help conduct the elections in Nigeria. Ambassador EM Ihama, who was invited by the UN acted as the Chief Electoral Officer, stated that "we are prepared. All materials for the election are ready. We expect things to be smooth during the voting exercise"²²⁴. These decisions by the United Nations were informed by the large population of South Africans living in Nigeria and in view of the strategic role played by Nigeria and the scholarship aid given South African student refugees in various Nigerian universities and all higher institutions of learning. In a speech by the Student Union leader of South Africa in Nigeria, Mr. Paul King, who was studying in the University of Nigeria Nsukka, and also the Public Relations Officer of the International Association of South African Students (IASAS) said though the "South African election signifies a new phase in our history as a people; it still doubts the longevity of an incoming ANC government...much need to be done by the ANC to ensure that the opposition government does not destabilise its structure when it comes into government". Nigeria, it must be recalled, admitted large contingents of South African students up until 1994. The Nigerian government's philosophy was to continue to aid needy African countries to promote even handed development throughout the continent, heed the summons to

³⁴⁸ T. Odubajo and S. Akinboye 2017.

³⁴⁹ A. Okoh, 'South Africans in Lagos Register for Election', *Guardians (Nigeria)* (1994).

relief when natural calamities strike and weigh in to resolve all conflicts situations on the African continent. Africans need basic security and stability as pre-conditions for social and economic progress. We have a duty to contribute to the shaping of that situation. For this reason, it becomes clearer that Nigeria had become an uncompromising fighter against all foreign occupation, racism and racial discrimination in Africa and in diaspora. Nigeria expended money and men to direct the anti-apartheid campaign in the Non-aligned Movement and the Commonwealth. Nigeria had won respect for her consistency and tenacity in opposition to all travesty of justice and denial of human dignity.

4.7 Conclusion

The Nigerian political independence made Nigeria become pivotal for liberation of other African countries that were still under colonial domination. Nigeria therefore set the foreign policy on an initiative for African unity through the liberation of all Africans from every form of colonial domination. The South African situation was the most demanding and therefore needed the collaboration of not just African states but the whole world. Nigeria readily offered herself and resources to that course. This chapter discussed the role that Nigeria played in aiding the liberation of black South Africans from the shackles of apartheid. The researcher found that in order to liberate South Africa from apartheid, Nigeria had to extend a hand of fellowship with all the neighbouring countries of South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe who found themselves also in the enclave of the apartheid rule. The Nigerian government had to argue the case of South Africa before international forum all over the world. The formation of The Organisation for African Unity which was created in 1963 became the umbrella body that Africa would use to fight for the liberation of its fellow blacks from colonialism. Nigeria, in conjunction with other independent countries in Africa, had to canvass the support of the whole world; this they did through the Commonwealth of Nations and the United Nations Organisation. Discussions on the awarding of scholarships and collaboration of all exiled South Africans in Nigeria were examined and assistance was offered to ANC in exile both material and moral support.

The chapter discussed the second phase of the migration of people between Nigeria and South Africa which saw the immigration of many South African blacks into Nigeria, especially

students and political exiles including those who came to Nigeria to work in industries, schools and other higher institutions of learning between 1960-1994. While Nigeria was admitting black South Africans, it had as a matter of policy from 1960 to expel all white South Africans who were in the civil service of Nigeria as a measure to force the country to abolish apartheid. It also examined the relationship of Nigeria with other African countries and its relationship with the world.

In conclusion, the discussion was basically situated around the apartheid regime; the role Nigeria played in ending apartheid and how this brought about the immigration of people from South Africa into Nigeria. It gave us an understanding that with unity of purpose, Africa can also fight poverty and lack within its continent if the Pan-Africanist initiatives are re-introduced and the war against economic backwardness in Africa is fought as it happened with apartheid in the 1960s to 1990s. African unity is indeed a possibility and human mobility leads to the integration of people.

CHAPTER FIVE: POST-APARTHEID AND MIGRATION BETWEEN NIGERIA AND SOUTH AFRICA SINCE 1994

5. 1 Introduction

This chapter examines migration of Nigerians into South Africa. It will explore the shifting train in the migration trajectory and discuss the changing dynamics of the movement of people and the economic conditions of the two countries. It will also examine the skilled and unskilled labour migrants. It discusses the contribution and challenges faced by the various categories of the migrants on issues relating to work conditions, brain drain and its consequences on both receiving and sending countries in relation to unskilled migrant businesses and the employment opportunities offered by such small and big business on both countries. What are the challenges brought as a result of the migration of unskilled labourers? In doing these, the research would explore the patterns of the relationship that existed in relation to integration of people, identity problem, crimes, human trafficking and the rise of xenophobia as a result of migration of people between both countries.

5.2 Patterns of Post-apartheid Migrations

The dynamics of movement of people into and out of South Africa has changed significantly since the demise of apartheid and the institutionalization of democracy under the leadership of the African National Congress (ANC). Whereas it is also a sending country, post-apartheid 1994 South Africa has become a foremost receiving country of African migrants including those from outside the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Sub-region.³⁵⁰ Shedding its pariah status, in addition to one of the most progressive constitutions in the world South Africa began to see significant migration from Nigeria as well as the rest of the world. These new migrants are mainly professionals who yearn to contribute to the urgent process of nation-building.³⁵¹

³⁵⁰ C. Isike and Isike, E., 'A Socio-Cultural Analysis of African Immigration to South Africa', *Alternation*, 2012, 19, (1): pp. 93-116 p20.

³⁵¹ J.C. Egbulem 2013.

It is the stated goal of the ANC government to attract highly-skilled international migrants including migrants from African countries such as Nigeria to work in key sectors of the economy as part of the country's strategic economic goal. It is evident to the new leaders of post-apartheid South Africa that the deficit of skilled workers needed to be met at least in the short term that the government captured it in the framework of its economic strategy.³⁵²

Graham et al.³⁵³ (2006) noted that many years after the formation of the country's first post-apartheid government in 1994, formal attitudes to immigration tended to be reduced into a somewhat crude division. Official and public perception of immigration tended to be located either in a discourse of immigrants as opposed to the "national interest, on the one hand, or of xenophobia and racism in disparity with the oratory of pan-Africanism, on the other hand". Lately, though, government reasoning on migration has transformed noticeably. Notable highlights in this progression include the Immigration Act of 2002, a subsequent amendment to the Act in 2004, and various statements by officials from President Mbeki to the present. There appears to be a clear appreciation that a more robust policy on migration is essential and that this should be grounded on an appreciation of the part of migration in regard to South Africa's society and economy in the wider scope, and not merely to traditional sectors such as mining.

According to Khan,

generally, immigrants who are in a position to contribute to the broadening of South Africa's economic base are welcomed to apply for residence. Similarly applications by skilled workers in occupations for which there is a shortage in the country are encouraged but particularly applications by industrialist and other entrepreneurs who wish to relocate their existing businesses or establish new concerns in South Africa. Anybody who intends to retire in South Africa may do so if they can show a net worth of an amount to be determined by the Minister of Home Affairs.³⁵⁴

³⁵² P. Vale and Maseko, S., 'South Africa and the African Renaissance', *International affairs*, 1998, 74, (2): pp. 271-87.

³⁵³ M. Graham, et al., 'Rural Parents, Teenagers and Alcohol: What Are Parents Thinking?', *Rural and remote health*, 2006, 6, (383): pp. 1-14.

³⁵⁴ F. Khan, 'Patterns and Policies of Migration in South Africa: Challenging Patterns and the Need for a Comprehensive Approach. Italy.', 2007. p4

Nigerians migrating to South Africa became demographically significant since 2004 when the number of Nigerian coming into South Africa superseded 2000 persons monthly. Most Nigerian migrants to South Africa are concentrated in the Gauteng, KwaZulu Natal and Western Cape provinces. They comprise of a primary population of entrepreneurs, students, medium-highly skilled workers and their dependants. Most of which are highly educated compared to many domestic South African migrants with whom they share the same urban space.³⁵⁵ The attraction of South Africa as a destination for most African migrants including Nigerians is attributed to its economic strength on the continent. Evidently, South Africa, because of its economic situation in Africa, tends to draw a lot of African immigrants fleeing economic decline in their countries.

The dearth of skilled labour in South Africa is a problem that is felt in many areas. Professor Aderanti Adepoju,³⁵⁶ one of Africa's leading experts on migration in Africa, maintained that, overall, there are about 300,000 unfilled posts in South Africa that need skills seemingly not possessed by South African nationals. The skills shortage is not a problem that can be solved quickly, as the South African educational system appears to be poorly adapted to producing the kind of graduates most required by business.³⁵⁷ The South African educational system need to adopt a system that trained people on technical and entrepreneurship to enable young graduate make choice of living independently from government jobs. Over-reliance on white collar jobs could have dangerous consequences on the future of the country since government has not been focusing on developing new industries and other means of livelihood other than government employment with huge dependence on social grants by the majority of the population.

While migration from Nigeria to South Africa appears to be common since 1994, movement of South African nationals to Nigeria appears to be on the increase. Many South African nationals migrated to Nigeria during the apartheid era as asylum seekers.³⁵⁸ The post-apartheid movement seems to be motivated by principally two factors. The first is the expansion of South African multinational businesses into the rest of Africa. Nigeria being the most populous country on the continent provides an attractive market for these companies. MTN, Nigeria's' largest Telecom

³⁵⁵ Migration Brief (2012, June). <http://www.migration.org.za/>. Retrieved August 15th, 2017

³⁵⁶ A. Adepoju 2006.

³⁵⁷ L. Potter, *Migration within Africa: An Intracontinental Investigation*, Stanfords Leland Stanfords Junior University 2014; E.C.f.A. Reports, 'Africa Regional Integration Index Report ', ed. by United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (Adis Ababa Ethiopia Economic Commission for Africa 2016).

³⁵⁸ A. Report 2013/2014.

company is South African owned and is a dominant player in the sector. Multi-choice, an African satellite and cable network provider has almost a monopolistic presence in Nigeria. Retail giants such as Shoprite are fast expanding their dominance in the retail sector of the Nigerian economy. South African businesses have also invested in the banking sector. With the expansion of these South African businesses in to Nigeria is the movement of South African expatriates into Nigeria especially at the managerial level.³⁵⁹ They form part of the exclusive business elites and expatriate community in the business hubs of Lagos and Abuja.

The business relationship between Nigeria has dramatically changed with the signing of bilateral agreements and the establishment of South Africa - Nigeria Bi-national Commission. Currently, there are more than 100 South African companies doing business in Nigeria. Within a decade after the demise of apartheid, South African companies have become major players in almost every sector of the Nigerian economy³⁶⁰.

The second factor is the influx of South Africans into Nigeria for 'Religious Tourism'. Recently, Nigeria has witnessed a proliferation of popular churches that have global outreaches that are led by charismatic preachers. One prominent of these churches is The Synagogue, Church of All Nations (SCOAN), a Christian church that runs the Emmanuel TV station from Lagos. It is led by the charismatic leader and televangelist, Prophet T.B. Joshua. He has a large followership in Africa and South Africa in particular where he has one of the largest congregations outside Nigeria. According to an online report,

The SCOAN has been described as Nigeria's biggest tourist attraction and "the most visited destination by religious tourists in West Africa," with thousands of foreigners flocking to attend the church's weekly services. Figures released by the Nigerian Immigration Service indicated that six out of every ten foreign travelers coming into Nigeria are bound for The SCOAN, a fact discussed in Zimbabwean parliament when addressing the economic potentials of religious tourism....This Day newspapers reported that "about two million local and inbound tourists" visit

³⁵⁹ E.C.f.A. Reports 2016; M. Schoeman, 'South Africa as an Emerging Power: From Label to 'Status Consistency'?', *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 2015, 22, (4): pp. 429-45.

³⁶⁰ J.C. Egbulem 2013.

The SCOAN annually. The church's popularity has led to an increase in flight routes to Lagos from several African countries in 2013.³⁶¹

On 12 September 2014, a hotel collapsed in the SCOAN's grounds in Lagos, Nigeria killing at least 115 people, the majority of them being South African citizens. Details released by the National Emergency management Agency shows about 85 of the casualties were from South Africa. An estimated 300 South Africans from four to five tour groups were visiting the church when the incident occurred.

According to The Nation (September, 2014), a Nigerian national paper,

Make no mistakes; it is not only poor or middle class South Africans who see in Joshua the Messiah. Even the high and the mighty fall at his feet too. The legendary Mrs. Winnie Madikizela-Mandela ranks among South African powerful figures who have bowed before Joshua. She was interviewed on Joshua's Emmanuel TV in 2011 after her visit and she had nice words for the church. The country's opposition leader Julius Malema has also sought out Joshua to help with spiritual backing for his party, the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF). Malema was defending the church yesterday, telling the South African Press Association (SAPA) that elders of the church were helping with rescue operation....South African sport celebrities had also approached the prophet. They include Springbok rugby players Joost van der Westhuizen, Ruben Kruger and Wium Basson. There are conflicting reports about whether another rugby player Jaco van der Westhuyzen approached Joshua for help to cure a form of motor neurons disease. A report, in a South African online publication, said: "TB Joshua, known around the world as the "prophet of God", previously prayed for Rugby World Cup-winning Springboks Joost van der Westhuizen." But, a family representative Odette Schwegler said yesterday: "Joost van der Westhuizen has never gone to Nigeria to meet this prophet and he hasn't engaged with him and he hasn't sought

³⁶¹ T B Joshua, online reports. (2017, July 22nd). https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/T._B._Joshua. Retrieved July 22nd, 2017, from <https://en.wikipedia.org>: <https://en.wikipedia.org>

his help. He has been down with the disease since 2011 and is expecting death, as predicted by doctors.³⁶²

Religious migration from Nigeria into South Africa has been common place since 2000; many new Pentecostal churches have made their way into the country. This connects to what happened in 1907, when the South African Dutch Reform Church came for evangelical purpose to Nigeria on the invitation of the Sudan United Mission, almost a century after that, evangelism spread from Nigeria into South Africa. These dimensions of Christian religious migration need an in-depth study to ascertain how it affects the life of migrants and its impact on the South African society. Many South Africans still make religious pilgrimage to many Nigerian churches on daily basis.

5.3 Xenophobia and Nigerian Migrants

Post-apartheid South Africa was founded on a culture of inclusiveness, acceptance and human rights, exemplified in its 1996 Constitution. Nevertheless, many South African citizens display high levels of xenophobia against fellow African citizens including Nigerians, exposing them to diverse methods of bigotry and discrimination.³⁶³ The phenomenon has been well researched by many scholars, however, the aspect that needs attention is the spade of xenophobic violence against fellow Africans especially the rising spade of attacks on Nigerian businesses in South Africa. Therefore, the study places emphasis on the Nigerian migrants in South Africa.

According to the World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, xenophobia is “attitudes, prejudices and behaviour that reject, exclude and often vilify persons, based on the perception that they are outsiders or foreigners to the community, society or national identity”.³⁶⁴ Xenophobia exploits differences in ethnic, cultural, linguistic and national origins to form the basis of distrust, suspicion, discriminatory acts and in some instances violence against others that are perceived to be different. While racism can

³⁶² The Nation, (2014, September 18th). <http://thenationonlineng.net/t-b-joshua-the-man-south-Africans-dignitaries-adore/>. Retrieved July 15th, 2017, from <http://thenationonlineng.net>: <http://thenationonlineng.net>

³⁶³ C. Adjai and G. Lazaridis 2013, p4.

³⁶⁴ WCAR, *Declaration on Racism, Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance against Migrants and Trafficked Person. Asia Pacific Ngo Meeting for the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance. Tehran., Asia/Tehran, 2001.*

inspire xenophobia, it can also dispense of the racist notion of biological superiority and emphasize cultural and national differences as basis for discrimination and exclusion.³⁶⁵

Anti-immigration sentiments are rife in South Africa,³⁶⁶ and are often expressed in xenophobic attacks against migrant Africans including Nigerians. Negative attitudes towards immigrants were held by many South Africans notwithstanding race. The National Immigration Policy Survey showed that, South Africans irrespective of socio-economic status, race and employment status express similar sentiments. Crush and Pendleton, and Tati argue that while xenophobia is not exclusive to South Africa, what makes the South Africa's condition uncharacteristic is the manifestation of physical violence that comes with in the post-apartheid political regime. The popular manifestation of xenophobia, attended by violent and fatal attacks on immigrants from the rest of Africa is a phenomenon that has become so pervasive.

It has been debated that social reactions to immigration, particularly illegal migration of alien African nationals, have been molded by the political discourses on immigration.³⁶⁷ The theme of the discourses is to a large extent anti-immigration while a great deal of doubt and hearsay pervades the real scale of undocumented migrants. The public's insights on irregular migration stay driven by gossip, portrayal of immigrants in the media, unrelated criminal activities or concerns over invasion by outsiders or aliens. The state funded media have been often criticized for propagating some negative perceptions about African migrants by systematically portraying most of them as illegal migrants or broadcasting speculative news on their involvement in criminal acts. The progressive contribution of migrants to the economy of South Africa seldom surface in the news. This harmful reporting has tended to fuel xenophobia within South African communities. The xenophobic sentiment in South Africa runs against the current of the country's main political traditions, and is in sharp conflict with the strong non-racial culture of the majority of the people. African Ubuntu has been brought against it and so is pan-Africanist ideology's aim at uniting the entire continent and connecting black people from all over the world.

³⁶⁵ F.B. Nyamnjoh, *Insiders and Outsiders: Citizenship and Xenophobia in Contemporary Southern Africa*: Zed Books, 2006.

³⁶⁶ C. Adjai and G. Lazaridis 2013; C. Isike and E. Isike 2012; M. Mafukata, 'Xenophobia: The Evil Story of the Beginnings of Fascism in Postapartheid South Africa', *The International Journal of Humanities and Social Studies*, 2015, 3, (3): pp. 30-44.

³⁶⁷ M.F. Belvedere, 'Contested Identities and the Politics of Refugees in Post-Apartheid South Africa. Fmispifas Conference on the State of International Migration Studies in Southern Africa. Johannesburg.', 2008.

Xenophobia, according to UNHCRS, “threatens the lives and livelihoods of refugees, asylum seekers, economic migrants and other locally defined ‘outsiders’ including domestic migrants and ethnic minorities”³⁶⁸ South Africa has witnessed a series of these unwarranted incidences after its liberation in 1994. This poses great danger to regional integration and peace and security of not just the migrants but the continent at large. Xenophobic violence in South Africa, as stated earlier, possesses serious threats to immigrants, domestic migrants, as well as ethnic, religious, and political minorities. Although, there have been efforts made by the government and non-government agencies, this effort has not addressed the foundation causes of poverty, ignorance and the growing tendencies of unemployment generally, in South Africa. Various campaigns aimed at resolving anti-immigrant sentiments starting from the 1990s and peaking in 2008 to the present have not been able to resolve this challenge. The reason for this failure has been generally blamed on the “limited policy and influence of civil society coupled with the absence of sustained interest or funding for work in the area”.³⁶⁹ The practices of politics of exclusion have not yet been adequately addressed in South Africa. Considering the spade of the practice of xenophobic attitude in South Africa, many, due to conscious complicity are guilty of xenophobic behaviour: from the ordinary residents, public servants, political officials who scapegoat, bureaucrats and law enforcement agents especially the South African police. Government officials who often make xenophobic pronouncement against migrants fuel the very foundation of increasing hatred against migrants. Law enforcement agents are particularly known for extortion, harassment, arbitrary detention and selective enforcement of the law while ‘members of the public’ often engage in, or condone, collective violence against foreigners.³⁷⁰

There is a general consensus amongst scholars that South Africa had continually presented negative sentiments and strong resentment for foreigners, since the 1990s.³⁷¹ From the general

³⁶⁸ UNHCR, *Statelessness in Southern Africa* Bronwen Manby Briefing Paper for Unhcr Regional Conference on *Statelessness in Southern Africa*, South Africa Mbombela (Nelspruit), 2011.

³⁶⁹ J. Hickel, "'Xenophobia' in South Africa: Order, Chaos, and the Moral Economy of Witchcraft", *Cultural Anthropology*, 2014, 29, (1): pp. 103-27.

³⁷⁰ L.B. Landau, *Mobility and Metanarrative: Revisiting South African Social Science through Migration and Displacement*, Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand, 2014; M. Mafukata 2015.

³⁷¹ J. Crush and S. Ramachandran 2010; B. Dodson and Crush, J., *South African Immigration Law: A Gender Analysis*: Southern Africa migration project 2006; HSRC, *Citizenship, Violence and Xenophobia in South Africa: Perceptions from South African Communities* Democracy and Governance Programme

public and government officials, it is fair to say that, “anti-immigrant sentiment is not only strong; it is extremely widespread and cuts across virtually every socio-economic and demographic group”.³⁷² Since the 2008 xenophobic violence which left about 60 people dead, which included about 21 South Africans killed as a result of mistaken identity. About 670 left wounded, many women raped, at least 100,000 displaced people, and mass looting of properties worth millions of dollars by hoodlums.³⁷³ Jean Pierre Misago and Lauren Landau argued that violence against [black] émigrés to South Africa has existed since the apartheid era and is being transmitted into the post-apartheid divide, where being foreign become an issue for stereotypes, and structural prohibition which thwart immigrants from exercising ‘political rights’, right to social interaction, rights to residence and business in the cities all over South Africa.³⁷⁴ This unwholesome act threatens refugees and immigrants on daily basis in all parts of South Africa, which has the tendency of affecting the progress, made for integrating South Africans who have not yet properly integrated with the other Africans post-apartheid.

South Africans’ perception of immigrant as posing threat to scarce economic resources being taken away from the poor working class can be traced from the historical perspective. Its foundation could be traced to the regime of the diamond and gold mines of Kimberley, set up by wealthy South African capitalists to maximally exploit the labour of migrants from South Africa, and the wider region; mainly black labour had been indentured on the mines during apartheid brutality.³⁷⁵ Migration, generally, is driven by labour markets internationally, the African perspectives being a response to the internal challenges on the labour markets in most countries in Africa. This is driven by people looking for employment or general sources of life for which South Africa appears to have offered an immediate solution, although most African migrants in South Africa used the country as a transit point to other better economies like those of Europe, Asia and the USA.

Human Sciences Research Council, 2008; K. Hujo, *South-South Migration and Socio-Political Rights: What Role for Regional Governance?*: International Metropolis Conference Milan,, 2014; L.B. Landau and Segatti, A.W.K., 'Human Development Impacts of Migration: South Africa Case Study', 2009.

³⁷² J. Crush and S. Ramachandran 2014.

³⁷³ L.B. Landau and Jacobsen, K., 'Refugees in the New Johannesburg Unfamiliar with Hosting Refugees, South Africa Is Struggling to Come to Terms with Their Arrival.', 2017.

³⁷⁴ J.P. Misago, 'Responding to Xenophobic Violence in Post-Apartheid South Africa: Barking up the Wrong Tree?', *African Human Mobility Review*, 2016, 2, (2): pp. 443-67; L.B. Landau 2014.

³⁷⁵ B. Amisi, *et al.* 2011.

5.4 African migrants in South Africa

South Africa, as stated earlier, offered immediate solution to the African migration challenge. This is because of the good infrastructure and industrialised economy that South Africa inherited from the apartheid regime. The country became the only industrialised economy on the continent with relative peace, coupled with stable energy which provides electricity for the country. Africans see in South Africa a home, due to the opportunities offered by South Africa, because of the principle of pan-Africanism which many African countries uphold after independence. This circumstance was coupled with the economic and political crisis especially in most of South Africa's immediate neighbours (Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Swaziland, Lesotho, and Angola). The Nigerian economy had started getting into crisis as well, following the end of its civil war, followed by years of military dictatorship with no diversification of the oil base economy to other sectors, such as agriculture and solid minerals.³⁷⁶ Military regime in Nigeria sowed the mass extortion of the Nigerian resource by government officials without redress. This opened up corruption in public and the private sector of the economy; thus, the Nigerian economy still remains non-industrialised. Unemployment and incessant political crisis, coupled with the current insurgencies in some parts of the country send many to emigrate out of the country. African migrants had thought that they would be paid for opening up their doors to South Africans during the apartheid era.

They had hoped that for their kind gesture of receiving the South African exiles in different African countries South Africans would be thankful enough to accommodate every black African migrant that found themselves in South Africa. The same way as it was offered them during their days of need. The South Africans in reflection of their days in exile would sing the anthem. "Mozambicans people/oh lovely people /though we are so far from home /we will love you and respect for the things you have done for us".³⁷⁷ Reciprocity was far from it as the African migrants were to soon discover that, as part of political technique, it was safer for the government of South Africa to use the outsider as an excuse so that they could divert the anger of the people from themselves. When we talk about xenophobia, it is not just the fall of the average person who does not know, it is also the fall of the political elite that also heat it up, to cover up

³⁷⁶ M. Dauda, *et al.*, 'Nigeria's Role and Its Peacekeeping Challenges in Africa: An Assessment', *European Journal of Social Sciences Studies Identities*, 2017, 2, (3).

³⁷⁷ A. Ogunsanwo 2015, p224.

their ineptitude and divert the anger of the people against themselves. What used to be South African emigration in human beings now turns to be South African immigration of goods and huge investment in the Nigerian economy.

Nigerians are not migrating for the fun of it, but because the socio-economic and political situation in Nigeria have increasingly become unfavorable especially for high skilled migrants in the field of science and technology. The Nigerian economic situation has continually become quite critical, even for entrepreneurs who want to make business. As government support for young business people are almost nonexistent. In this way, people are forced to migrate, coupled with the precarious political leadership that the Nigerian states continually replicate. Crisis in the North eastern part of Nigeria created by Boko Haram, and the various crises in the middle belt region of Nigeria with incessant attacks on farmers by the Fulani herdsmen is quite an unacceptable situation that has taken a terrorist style with government supervising most of the killings as a normal circumstance.

The West African situation reflects a mixed population due to the internal migration within the various border regions of the sub-region. It is internal migration only in the sense that colonial balkanization of the Africans had created new realities in terms of modern states without considering kinship ties across border areas they created. Thus, cutting across different countries are some larger ethnic groups especially between Nigeria and Niger, are the Hausa and Fulani, the Chad and Nigeria border are the Kanuris who are across the Borno and Chads axis.³⁷⁸ These intricacies are also reflected in Cote d'Ivoire, Mali, Senegal, Sierra Leon, and Ghana. The feelings of "we are different and you are a foreigner" permeated the very important political space which meant it could be exploited at will when considered necessary. 'Where stranger elements are seen to be materially prosperous, happy and full of themselves' that evokes emotional reflection of hostility, especially where the objective and subjective condition of the old dwellers "the indigene factor" such as level and type of education as well as cultural values constitute obstacle to their social elevation.

³⁷⁸ Ibid.

5.5 Afro-phobia/Nigeria-phobia

African immigrants continued to suffer various forms of harassment and attacks on their businesses and persons in South Africa. Nigerians are targeted on daily basis, accused of drugs and various forms of crimes ranging from armed robbery, human trafficking, taking of South African jobs, taking of women and businesses that never existed which were brought in as a result of the coming of the migrants into South Africa.

It was from Nigeria that frustrated citizens migrated across the borders of many countries, especially the Sahara exposing themselves to the harsh realities of the unbearable desert heat, snakes and scorpions and the unbearable cold of the night in the Sahara desert. Ghadafi took advantage of their vulnerability and recruited some of them and assembled them as the African legions. They returned to Nigeria after his death with heavy arms and ready to unleash terror most of whom ended up as Boko haram soldiers.³⁷⁹

Xenophobia arises from the felt need to scapegoat when it is considered necessary and not so costly a measure, meant to divert the attention of the suffering masses away from their deprivation, frustration, and feeling of hopelessness, due to government ineptitude. The political class is adept at doing this as was done in Ghana (Kofi Busia) in 1969 with the expulsion of Nigerians at a time he was advocating dialogue with apartheid instead of sanctions of South Africa, while Nigeria was advocating sanctions and total elimination of the dreaded apartheid regime.³⁸⁰ Nigeria also followed the train in 1982/83 with the expulsion of many migrants who were blamed for the increasing rate of unemployment in the country, many of whom were Ghanaian.³⁸¹ Nigeria soon realised that the problem was not with the migrants, but the failure of the political elite to adequately address the socio-political and economic issues in the best interest of its citizenry. Migrants continued to suffer unnecessary injustice in Africa when government fails to meet the needs of its citizenry. As a scapegoat, it is easy to point fingers at migrants as the cause of the problem. The South African xenophobia against black Africans cannot be farfetched from the failure of the political elite.

³⁷⁹ Ibid.

³⁸⁰ M. Awumbila, *et al.* 2008.

³⁸¹ T. Echo, 'Count Orders Repatriation of Hungry Ghanaian', *The Echo*, V111 No 11 (1978).

The sentiment among many migrants is that government has not done much to prevent the outbreak of xenophobia in South Africa. South African unemployment rate is high as a result of the mere absence of the informal sector investment. Even when it exists, it is dominated by the migrants, with very low participation of the native South Africans. The informal entrepreneurship investment which should have taken care of some parts of unemployment is largely ignored by the citizens. And government has not done much to encourage the informal sector investment whereas the South African economy has, since apartheid, been incorporated into the global capitalist system. The situation in Nigeria is much better than South Africa as the informal economic sector is very strong and well organised, which gives the Nigerian economy the opportunity to accommodate many unemployed youth. Although Nigeria still faces a large army of unemployed people, the informal sector if well organised and the Nigerian owners in South Africa would help address part of the xenophobic tendencies.

The migrants from SADC region were not seen to be posing a threat to the black South Africans, this is because they were always there during the apartheid era, and they had always competed on menial jobs. The entry of the Nigerian and other West African migrants was seen as a greater threat to the black South Africans; because these set of migrants were very aggressive in pursuing their goals even the low skilled migrant became successful once they set themselves on business in South Africa. Highly skilled Nigerian migrants compete favourably with their white business counterparts; some Nigerian businesses in South Africa even employed whites who work under the supervision of many Nigerian professional skilled migrants.³⁸²

Migrants were seen as taking over what belongs to the South African nationals. The South Africans did not help matters by diverting the attention of the people towards migrants. The people reacted and in reacting, their xenophobia was not elite guided.³⁸³ If it were elite guided, they would probably have narrated their experiences (exiles), with the Nigerians and tell their story to the people on how well they were received in their time of exile, they would probably had told them how the Nigerian government sponsored so many of the young pupil and university students to study in Nigeria. They would probably had narrated to them how Nigeria took their matter as a personal matter before the UN from 1960-1994. This was not narrated and is still not being told by the exile themselves to the people especially the younger generation, the

³⁸²

³⁸³ interview

“born free” (1994-date). This narrative is necessary in order that younger generation of Africans should know this history to guide them in international relation both within and outside of the African continent. There are no two Africas, we all belong to one Africa and most push for one pan-Africanism initiated from the 1960s since African countries became independent of colonialism with South Africa being the last comer.

Part of the problem is the large presence of individual Nigerian migrants in South Africa. Individual Nigerian investors in the informal sector of the South African economy strive well and get better results. The informal sector consists of those businesses that are not registered in any way. They are generally small in nature, and are seldom run from business premises. Instead, they are run from homes, street pavements or other informal arrangements.³⁸⁴ Artisans, brick layers, even preachers from Nigeria seem to get better money because they have large followership than their South African counterparts leading to large religious tourism to Nigeria as mentioned earlier. South African elite have not been able to take charge of the economy. Most of the elite in South Africa have been concerned about their self-interests and promotion within the modern South African structure. Many South African blacks, because of the long history of deprivation from the economy, have concentrated in self-enrichment at the detriment of the common good of the people.³⁸⁵

In an interview an informant stated that South African blacks came to Nigeria even before the 1960s which means that black South African were in Nigeria during the colonial era. As the apartheid regime was getting more apprehensive to the blacks and in view of the rise of the ANC,³⁸⁶ black South Africans were denied employment opportunities in their country, and hunted as political opposition to the apartheid regime and therefore had to emigrate. They were the educated black Africans. They were employed as teachers and allowed to work in the civil service of Nigeria, some as engineers, agriculturists, artisans and brick layers.³⁸⁷ It should be noted that emigration from the Southern African sub-region was informed by the political

³⁸⁴ O.O. Akintola and Akintola, O., 'West Africans in the Informal Economy of South Africa: The Case of Low Skilled Nigerian Migrants', *The Review of Black Political Economy*, 2015, 42, (4): pp. 379-98.

³⁸⁵ Y.F. April, 'South Africa's Governance Challenges: Assessing the South Africa–China Mineral Case', *Contemporary Politics*, 2009, 15, (4): pp. 461-77.

³⁸⁶ interview

³⁸⁷

circumstance of apartheid and affects all the countries in the region.³⁸⁸ Nigeria was therefore a harbor for most of these migrants. The policy adopted by Nigeria for the exiled was that after their education, which was fully funded by the Nigerian government,³⁸⁹ they were free to stay and take up employment in Nigeria without any form of discrimination.

The struggle in South Africa was multi-dimensional. In South Africa, more than 95% of black South Africans did not leave the country; they remained in the country and continued to fight against apartheid at home, only a small percentage of say 15% went out of the country who became the representative of the ANC in exile and played a significant role in mobilizing resources and sensitizing other Africans and the whole world on the dangers of apartheid in South Africa.³⁹⁰ These were the people that influenced global decisions in connection to the ANC in exile and at home who fought from outside and mobilized both military and financial support for the liberation movement. You are not likely to find a situation among those former exile elite who return home after the liberation was achieved in 1994, where they would be hostile against African migrants in South Africa. The apartheid government gave the black Africans that were left at home the wrong impression. They were told that they were 'superior people to the rest of Africa'. Since they never, it was easier to accept that kind of indoctrination.

When you have a situation in which you have migration, as it is ongoing in Europe, you have a migration challenge. The people, who are most likely to hate it, are those at the lowest levels, because they are the ones who will not mind to take any job. They feel threatened that they are the people at the lowly paid jobs. You are not likely to find a situation where educated people are xenophobic. This is not in any way suggesting that, among some highly educated people you will not find some people who are highly bigoted, but they do that not because they feel threatened, and not because of any feeling of inferiority, but because they choose to be bad people, and have a misrepresentation of their status; this also arises because they too might have not travelled to

³⁸⁸ V. Bilger and Kraller, A., 'African Migrations: Historical Perspectives and Contemporary Dynamics', *Stichproben-Vienna Journal of African Studies*, 2005, 5, (8); J. Crush and D.A. McDonald 2002; B. Dodson and J. Crush 2006.

³⁸⁹ F. Banda and Adetomokun, I., 'African Renaissance and Negotiation of Yoruba Identity in the Diaspora: A Case Study of Nigerian Students in Cape Town', *International Journal of African Renaissance Studies - Multi-, Inter- and Transdisciplinarity*, 2015, 10, (1): pp. 83-101; H. Bezuidenhout and Claassen, C., 'South African Trade Hegemony: Is the South Africa-Eu Trade, Development and Cooperation Agreement Heading for a Brics Wall?', *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 2013, 20, (2): pp. 227-46.

³⁹⁰ A. Report 2013/2014.

other parts of the world to experience others.³⁹¹ By and large, you will find among South Africans who were abroad, a highly accommodating group because they know how it feels to be foreign. They were wanted in the foreign land and they were accommodated. There is also the fact that at the time of the struggle, the exiles were forced by their circumstances to accept any condition they found themselves. Therefore, it is possible to argue that a lot of South Africans simply felt that they had no choice but to accept the assistance given because they were being killed and oppressed during apartheid at home, and that by and large they expressed appreciation and that they would continue to do so.³⁹²

5.6 Conclusion

Nigerians feel that their role in the dismantling of apartheid was a great achievement in the spirit of pan-Africanism. Nigerians are still very proud of their hard stance against apartheid but were surprised that post-apartheid South Africa has not shown sufficient gratitude for Nigerian role in the liberation movement's success. This was the experience of the post-apartheid era when in 1998, elements of violent xenophobic attacks against African migrants began to occur especially against Nigerians. Nigerians immigrated into South Africa in the post-apartheid era and South African business capitalists also saw in it a new opportunity for economic exploitation to move their investment to Nigeria. This means, while Nigerians were immigrating in large numbers into South Africa, South African businesses were also coming to Nigeria. The same era also saw the return of the black exiled and students returning home. The study identifies religious migration into Nigeria as one of the driving forces of the Nigerian South African relationship. South African Dutch Reformed Church was part of the colonial evangelisation of Nigeria, from 1907 until 1963 when Nigeria took a decisive stand against apartheid and cut complete ties that were fused during the colonial era. Although missionaries' activities in Nigeria were beneficial to the ethnic minorities and helped aiding the people in resolving their health and educational needs, it was also opening up ways for colonial exploitation. Nonetheless, it ended up producing citizens that became useful political agents and acted as agents that stopped the forceful threat posed on ethnic minorities of the central Nigeria area by the intruding Jihadists. The train

³⁹¹ A. Ogunsanwo 2015.

³⁹²

changed from European evangelism to Nigerians now producing evangelists to South Africa and all over the world.

Xenophobic or Afrophobic attacks and crimes became one of the immediate challenges encountered by African migrants in the post-apartheid South Africa. This was because apartheid South Africa left a psychologically deranged society where people were used to brutality as a way of survival especially the black majority. However, post-apartheid South Africa emerges as a prosperous and technically and economically efficient country compared to the rest of Africa and this attracted many African migrants. South Africa's economy, just like the Nigerian economy post-independence era, was booming after 1994. This study discovered that economic prosperity is a source of attraction for immigration and that the push factors for African immigrants to South Africa is the inability of the other African countries, especially Nigeria, to manage economic prosperity after independence. Xenophobia is not new to Africa, what is new however, is the violent dimension the South African xenophobia took which has been traced to the culture of violence created by apartheid regime. Nigeria and South Africa is expected to work on their inability to curtail this phenomenon at the governmental level since xenophobia is mostly in the cities among poor blacks who are vulnerable and susceptible to being manipulated by external forces and even overzealous politicians whose success is in crisis situation. The government of South Africa needs to address this issue while looking deeply into the causes of endemic poverty among blacks as a result of landlessness.

CHAPTER SIX: GOVERNMENT RESPONSE TO MIGRATION CHALLENGES

6.1 Introduction

The chapter addresses the South Africa and Nigerian governments' response to migration challenges faced by both countries and examines the issues with the hope that this can lead to development and economic integration of the African continent. The study addresses the various challenges of migration and current challenges of xenophobic /Afrophobic attacks on black Africans, with specific attention to Nigeria. It discusses issues of border porosity, repatriation; trans-border crimes, human trafficking, identity and belonging problem and discusses how migration can serve as a development agent. It analyses the existing policy framework and offers suggestions on new policy framework and how this can aid the control of migration between the two countries. How migration can be used in cross-cultural exchange and integration of Africa in the spirit of pan-Africanism and whether migration can lead to economic integration in Africa. Also, how migration can aid in the integration of people to people rather than government to government relationship. The chapter therefore analyses the questions raised above, and draws conclusions with a clarion call on the Nigerian and South African authorities to address issues of xenophobia, drug trafficking, human trafficking and all forms of insecurity which relate to migration of people with all the seriousness it deserves.

6.2 Government Response to Xenophobic Crimes, Drug and Human Trafficking

Xenophobia and issues of drug and human trafficking have been overemphasised in the discussion of migration to South Africa in recent times. This is to show the magnitude of its effect on not just migration of people but the general relationship as it affects both socio-economic and political relationship of South Africa with other nations of Africa. The question is what has been the response of the government of South Africa and the government of Nigeria and what is the implication of the government's response on the migration of people? Although xenophobia and crime are not the only phenomena that explain migrants' relationship with their host community in South Africa, this has become a common feature of the Nigerian South African relationship especially in recent times. This situation is a serious challenge that the cooperation of the government of the two countries is needed to encourage and create an

enabling environment for a people to people relationship, since migrants are the main drivers of international trade and investment across borders.

The term xenophobia, according to the international organization for migration, has no universally acceptable definition; they thus define it as:

An attitude, prejudices and behaviour that reject, exclude and often vilify persons, based on the perception that they are outsiders or foreigners to the community, society or national identity. There is a close link between racism and xenophobia and two terms can be hard to differentiate from each other.³⁹³

In another study by Adjai et al,³⁹⁴ xenophobia is described as biases and conduct that reject, avoid and regularly stigmatize individuals, in view of the recognition that they are pariahs or outsiders to the group, society or national identity. This understanding is based on ethno-semantic, racial personalities, and partiality that frame the center of segregation and suspicion of each other in societies. The situation between Nigeria and South Africa is reflected in the report of the International migration institute in 2006 which indicate that:

Migration – itself as a symptom of global change – has been misinterpreted as the root cause of transformation. Migrants are blamed for economic insecurity, loss of national sovereignty and threats to cultural identity. Particularly disadvantaged groups like asylum seekers and labour migrants from poor countries have become the scapegoats for globalisation, and the prime targets for extreme-right racist movements.³⁹⁵

South Africans and other African countries' relationships have been caught in these global webs, creating circumstances of scapegoating. Government inefficiencies to provide the basic needs of its citizens and address poverty related concerns result in the frustration of citizens being unleashed on migrants, which have been reflected in several violent attacks on foreigners and their business premises especially black African migrants in South Africa, to the consternation of the other African countries, especially those who gave tremendous support to the country in its

³⁹³ IOM 2015.

³⁹⁴ C. Adjai and G. Lazaridis 2013.

³⁹⁵ IMI 2006.

journey for emancipation, from the dreaded regime of apartheid, particularly Nigeria who became a front-liner in the liberation struggle.³⁹⁶ The consequence of the existence of xenophobic related crimes and other vices has dominated the relationship between South Africa and other African countries. This study conceptualizes xenophobia as a stereotype against foreigners especially black Africans that found themselves in South Africa.

African governments and leaders suffer from a common disease of not knowing what to do. Various African states keep replicating the same indices of failure upon independence from their former colonial authorities who still seem to have power over them. Nigeria is an older democracy and South Africa is a new democracy having assumed that status in 1994.³⁹⁷ However, the road map that Nigeria follows to the state of backwardness and economic failure are replicating themselves in the affairs and governance of the post-apartheid South Africa. The issues of corruption and scapegoating which are common features in all African states are reflected in South Africa. This means that these nations, despite their official engagement on bi-literal affairs, are not learning from each other's past.

South Africa and Nigeria, as biggest economic countries in Africa, are strategic in the quest for regional economic integration.³⁹⁸ They have immense power and influence on the continent and they are both receiving and sending countries for migrants. Africa celebrates the liberation of South Africa from apartheid. This was followed by positive migration policy which favours the immigration of black Africans to South Africa, as against the apartheid policy that restricted the immigration of black Africans. Only Africans that were indentured on the labour mines, more especially within the surrounding countries in Southern Africa, were recruited to the country. According to Klotz,

The apartheid system forestalled non-white immigration, both by creating an inhospitable environment for Africans and by refusing to grant any legal basis for

³⁹⁶ S. Dash, *Regional Resurgence in Africa: Prospects and Challenges of African Union*: Vij Books India Pvt Ltd, 2017.

³⁹⁷ A. Adebajo and C. Landsberg 2003; A. Adekunle 1992.

³⁹⁸ O. Ogunnubi and U. Okeke-Uzodike 2016.

their movement other than as temporary mine workers, and sanctions kept South Africa artificially insulated from general international changes.³⁹⁹

This was South Africa's response during apartheid which the black government in 1994 reversed to accommodate fellow Africans and to reciprocate the kind gesture offered its political exiles and students who escaped from the pangs of the apartheid regime. They were admitted by the Nigerian authorities and other independent African states for the entire period of apartheid. Consequently, an opportunity was created for Nigeria's skilled professionals to undertake mass immigration of its citizens into South Africa. South African liberation also coincided with the period of economic decay in Nigeria which makes Nigerians to immigrate en masse to South Africa in response to the challenge at home.

These migration trajectories were not without challenges ranging from the spate of xenophobic/Afrophobic attacks from 1998 with a repeat in 2015 and the incessant shops' looting in Gauteng, Cape Town and Durban.⁴⁰⁰ The outcry against drug trafficking with Nigerian citizens being accused of involvement in the crime, the issues of human trafficking, undocumented migration, and other social vices, have become a common phenomenon in the Nigeria/South Africa relationship.

This study analyses the South Africa-Nigeria governments' response to the migration challenges, especially the 2008 and 2015 xenophobic attacks on African migrants in South Africa.⁴⁰¹ It examines the various policy frameworks regulating migration related issues such as xenophobic crimes, drug trafficking and how government deals with it, border issues leading to undocumented migrants, the role of security in prosecuting and deportation of undocumented migrants. It examines the various government press statements in selected newspapers and interviews in South Africa and Nigeria as government position to xenophobic violence. This chapter argues that the governments of South Africa and Nigeria have been skewed or slow in response to border control mechanisms resulting into slow process of economic integration leading to disputes of identity and belonging. The study draws its conclusion from an x-ray of the policy framework relating to migration, and a clarion call on the South African/Nigerian

³⁹⁹ A. Klotz, 'Migration after Apartheid: Deracialising South African Foreign Policy', *Third World Quarterly*, 2000, 21, (5): pp. 831-47.

⁴⁰⁰ J. Crush and S. Ramachandran 2014; J. Crush 2001.

⁴⁰¹ J. Crush 2000.

governments to seriously address migration challenge and governance within the ECOWAS and SADC regions. Nigeria and South Africa could lead in revisiting the crusade for the pan-Africanist ideology, with an extension to the African Union Charter on immigration/emigration of people. An analysis of the response of the government of both countries is presented to see how this affects migration of people.

The Nigerian government's response has been influenced by its foreign policy thrust which is based on pan-Africanist perspective with Africa as the centrepiece. Therefore, by 1994, Nigeria still stood firm by its decision against the apartheid regime and upon the return of democratic rule in South Africa. Nigeria, still under military dictatorship, opened its doors for South African investors to come and do business in Nigeria. This created a lot of employment opportunities for Nigerians and created more wealth for South African businesses and, by extension, the state of South Africa. Both governments benefited from one another.

Nigeria, upon returning to democratic rule in 1999, saw a cordial relationship after the fuss between South Africa and Nigeria during the military regime of General Abacha which angered South Africa because its leaders could not understand why Nigeria who stood by them during apartheid could be caught in the act of human rights violations. This made Mandela to lead a campaign against Nigeria, resulting to the suspension from the Commonwealth in 1995, following the hanging of the Ogoni 8 with Ken Sarowija, and the imprisonment of some prominent politicians among which were Obasanjo and Abiola who won the June 12 annual presidential elections in 1993.⁴⁰²

On his first visit to South Africa as a civilian President after his election in 1999, Olusegun Obasanjo, in his interactive sessions with Nigerians in the Nigerian House, the Nigerians complained of ill-treatment by the South African police. Obasanjo responded by simply asking Nigerians who cannot stay in South Africa to return home.⁴⁰³ This response was not good enough as migration of people cannot be stopped. All the Nigerian citizens were demanding was the protection of their lives and property through diplomatic intervention of the Nigerian state, which should be concerned about the wellbeing of its citizens.

⁴⁰² C. O, 'Popular Diplomacy in an Autocracy – Public Opinion and Foreign Policy Decision-Making under Military in Nigeria', *Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies*, , 2015, 38(2), (25973).

⁴⁰³ B. Okolo, 'The Love Hate Relationship between Nigeria and South Africa ', ed. by Johannesburg Doctoral Fellow at the Centre for Africa's International Relations at the University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa (2008).

To have a better understanding of the crime and drug trafficking in South Africa, a critical look at the history of violence during the apartheid regime created a situation where many took to drugs to survive the liberation struggle, therefore creating a drug market in South Africa which criminal elements have taken advantage of, for financial benefits. Interestingly, drugs are not sold on the street in Nigeria but the situation in South Africa reflects a different dimension where drugs are sold on the street in Johannesburg, Pretoria, Point road in Durban, and Cape Town, according to Agbu

The fact is that South Africa's technical and bureaucratic class is still, technically speaking, dominated by whites who may not really be predisposed into accepting Nigeria's position on certain issues. This a sore point in Nigerian/South African relations. A case in point is the last minute volte-face by South Africa on the issue of non-visa regime for diplomatic and government officials when she refused to sign a concluded agreement. There is also the issue of not granting work permit to Nigerians who wish to work in South Africa. The relationship at the governmental level remains cordial, but at the technical level, when it comes to implementation, such decisions taken at the top level are stalled by bureaucrats who are mostly whites.

6.3 Perception of Migrant in South Africa and Nigeria

Migrants in South Africa have been perceived as bringing problems to the society and responsible for all kind of crimes. In Nigeria, migrants were blamed for all forms of government failure in the 1980s, leading to xenophobia against migrants especially Ghanaians.⁴⁰⁴ The only difference between the Nigerian xenophobia and that of South Africa is that the Nigerian one was elite guided. The government had to clamp down on undocumented migrants which were mostly Ghanaians. Because it was elite guided, it did not lead to violent attacks and looting of shops owned by migrants and death of anyone. It was easy for government to deport those who were undocumented migrants using the state security apparatus in conjunction with the Ghanaian authorities. This did not affect the official relationship of the government of Nigeria and other West African states whose citizens were affected. Again, because it was elite guided, those who were either political or economic refugees were also not affected by the deportation policy of the 1984-85. This explains why South African political exiles were allowed to enjoy every right of a

⁴⁰⁴ A. Ogunsanwo 2015.

political exile in Nigeria.⁴⁰⁵ The wrong perception of migrants across countries has been the governments' old strategy of scapegoating to escape the anger of their people as a result of their ineptitude in meeting the development needs in their country. Studies reveal that South Africans have wrong perceptions of migrants, thinking that people from neighbouring countries are eager to relocate from their home countries to come to South Africa, thus;

It is assumed that Africans from other countries are either pulled to South Africa by the country's superior social, economic and political climate, or pushed from their home countries by poverty, chaos and a lack of opportunity. The perception that South African borders are relatively porous adds to the belief that the country is the destination of choice for the continent as a whole.⁴⁰⁶

This thinking is largely responsible for the wrong thought about migrants generally, coupled with the poverty situation among a larger population of black South Africans. The interviews conducted in Nigeria and South Africa indicate that most Nigerian migrants view migration as part of human experience that exposes migrants to new ideas and opportunities in life. Most migrants would prefer their home country to South Africa, in view of the opportunity to own an ancestral land and a more conducive environment to raise children, makes them prefer their home country to South Africa.⁴⁰⁷ The high crime rate in South Africa compared to Nigeria is among reasons for Nigerian migrants to choose home countries to South Africa.⁴⁰⁸ This is linked to advanced technology and infrastructure, business and employment opportunities. Many migrants prefer to identify themselves with their home countries and invest their profit back home in the form of remittance, although most of the remittances are sent back through informal means. Most Nigerian migrants maintain two homes across borders and would participate in the political development of their home countries while being a migrant in South Africa. This explains why the Nigerian Union in South Africa exists and the two dominant political parties in Nigeria: People Democratic Party and All Progressive Party have their offices

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁶ E. M Isike 2015.

⁴⁰⁷ Interview....

⁴⁰⁸ Interviews Migrants from 2015-2017 in Johannesburg, Cape Town, Richard Bay Empangeni, and Durban Where Many Nigerian Migrants are found doing Business and highly skilled Nigerian in Research institutions and Universities.

with followers in South Africa. The Nigerian migration experiences in South Africa reflect just this phenomenon, as many Nigerian migrants interviewed in South Africa alluded to cross-border life style. These confirm the transnational life they leave.⁴⁰⁹

Nevertheless, most migrants' responses indicate that job opportunities and good infrastructural facilities like the availability of electricity, good road networks, good and accessible medical facilities, amongst others, are some of the reasons for their choice of South Africa. Many, however, still think they would be better back home and even feel they have more opportunities at home than abroad despite the economic predicaments and political uncertainties. Nigerians, see cross-border migration as an integral part of the socio-economic and political lifestyle. Therefore, to travel out of one's environment to another country is seen as a worthwhile venture in order to try different economic prospects, and experience other cultures in the world. They say, travelling is education in itself. Nigerian migrants in South Africa continually maintain cross-cultural ties back home, maintaining affinity to their home countries.⁴¹⁰ Another reason for the choice of South Africa is the miss-information given to Nigerians by returning migrants who had either failed or would not tell the truth. They paint a picture of prosperity with less effort. According to Okolo,

The argument is that those early migrants who were not professionals had thought that they would be able to get one form of employment or the other. On getting to SA and realising that it was not as they envisaged, they saw an opportunity in crime which had been created by the decades of apartheid rule. Some of course created employment out of nothing for themselves and ended up employing even South African citizens.⁴¹¹

The information spread by returning migrants is largely responsible for the choice of South Africa by most young Nigerians who are desperately seeking opportunities to trade or make it big (prosper). When they arrive to South Africa and meet a different reality coupled with the prevalent high crime rate created by apartheid legacy, some of them end up joining various criminal gangs. A point of note here is that, these criminal gangs are not necessarily Nigerian but

⁴⁰⁹ N.G. Schiller 2015.

⁴¹⁰ Interview Migrants in Johannesburg and also as stated by : G.E. EZIRIM, 'Xenophobia and Citizens'diplomacy', *International Journal of Communication*, 2017, 9, (1); T. Odubajo and S. Akinboye 2017.

⁴¹¹ B. Okolo 2008.

nationals of different countries including South African citizens themselves. Nigeria's name has become a branded tack for criminals to easily say we are from Nigeria. These occur due to stereotype and negative media reports in South Africa which label Nigerians as criminals.

Scholars have identified apartheid regime with its dreaded policies of separateness from 1948 - 1994 which saw the ghettoisation and devastation of the black economy and left them in shambles with poverty, landlessness, and homelessness in most instances as responsible for the high rate of criminality in South Africa. Therefore, many desperate African migrants who could not succeed in getting employment find good breeding grounds to join the criminal gangs for survival. It is in the context of the South African past that Isike opines that:

The South African context presents a unique challenge in that apartheid tended to disconnect black South Africans from the rest of Africa and thus created a people who have no sense of historical connectedness with the rest of the continent.⁴¹²

The African people from outside South Africa should not have expected anything more from their fellow blacks with a long history of sustained violence, as the only survival strategy in the process of their liberation struggle against apartheid. This explains why black South Africans respond to social ills with violence and seem to have lost the African Ubuntu (African sense of brotherliness).

The contradiction in the current and recent government policies' response in South Africa has negative effects in harvesting the talent that migrants came with from their countries of origins, which could be harvested in the interest of both countries. The irrepressible effort of migrant population working in the informal sector in South Africa, especially the Nigerian migrant community in South Africa, the positive contribution that this set of migrants has brought to their host communities, and the often contradictory, and shortsighted policy response of the South African authorities often contradict the positive response of migrants in South Africa. Many Nigerian migrants are willing to integrate with their host communities. This is evidenced in the formation of Association of Nigerian, which is registered with the Nigerian Embassy and the Department of Home Affairs in South Africa. However, the often unwilling response of the South African public by out-rightly showing dissatisfaction with the existence of foreign

⁴¹² E. M Isike 2015.

businesses side by side with local natives, has led to some of the loathing prevailing between migrants and host communities. The diversity of experiences of Nigerian migrants engaged in the informal sector in South Africa has often been overlooked by government. The government of South Africa's poor response in improving the wellbeing of natives by way of empowering them to compete favorably with the foreign businesses in the informal sector has a negative impact on migration as a development agent. The underlying reason for the tensions surrounding migrants in South Africa, including migrants' relative economic success has led to tensions arising from ignorance and jealousy.

An important point to note about Nigerian migrants' relationship with South Africans is that the former has been generally stereotyped as criminals involved in illegal activities such as drug peddling and prostitution.⁴¹³ Many South Africans perceive Nigerian migrants as "perpetrators of crimes like robbery, rape, gang fighting, drug trafficking, among others in their communities".⁴¹⁴ Crush et al,⁴¹⁵ observe that Nigerian migrants are deeply loathed by South Africans. However, studies such as that of Isike⁴¹⁶ have shown that there are also Nigerian migrants who have contributed to the development of South Africa such that Nigerian doctors are working legally in all the country's provinces and every university in South Africa has at least one Nigerian professor as well as lecturers. Segatti et al⁴¹⁷ note that "although the vast majority of Nigerian migrants are not involved in crime, there are associations of some Nigerian nationals with crime syndicates and counterfeit goods and drug trafficking." This has negatively influenced how Nigerians are perceived and related to by South Africans.

6.4 Government response to Border Security issues

Africans border challenges can be traced back to its history of colonialism, when Europeans met at the Berlin conference held between November 15, 1884 and 23, November 1885. On the invitation of Otto Von Bismarck, the despotic German Chancellor, decided on mapping out the entire Africa and share among European nations. This set the foundation of the border confusion

⁴¹³ O.A. Adeagbo 2013.

⁴¹⁴ O. Agbu, *et al.* 2013.

⁴¹⁵ J. Crush and S. Ramachandran 2014.

⁴¹⁶ C. Isike and E. Isike 2012.

⁴¹⁷ A. Segatti, *Nigerians in South Africa: Facts and Figures*
Johannesburg: University of the witswerterstrand 2012, p6.

in Africa. What used to be free movement across for farm and grazing became different political entities cutting different ethnic and linguistic groups across different geopolitical divisions. Consequently, African governments have responded to the issue of borders and this response has implications on migration and security issues. The migration security nexus has not been well researched, therefore, the focus of this section is a discussion on the border challenge that South Africa and Nigeria face in the cost of cross-border migration and its implication for the relationship between both countries. South Africa is currently witnessing a large immigration of undocumented migrants from Nigeria as claimed by the Home Affairs Ministry. Nigeria on the other side, is witnessing the immigration of herdsmen from its poor neighbours Chad, Niger, Mali and Cameroon.⁴¹⁸

The cold war brought with it myriad conflicts on the African continent with European countries which served as proxy for the sale of their arms or the export of their economic ideology, which led to state failure and institutional decay. The logical regional consequence is that states became concerned about their insecurity created by their neighbours arising from poor governance and increasing poverty leading to cross-border instability, for example, the Nigerian terrorists spread to the neighbouring states of Cameroon, Chad and Niger.⁴¹⁹

Nigeria is surrounded by poor neighbouring countries that are susceptible to political and economic crisis. Similarly, South Africa is equally surrounded by the same poor neighbours with the consequences of migration into the South Africa as the only beacon of hope for their citizens.

Nigeria and South Africa were colonized by Britain at different periods in their history. The Berlin Conference of 1884 to 1885 saw European countries unilaterally divide Africa to themselves, carving out political boundaries not minding the socio-cultural linkages existing in terms of historical, ethnic, linguistic and religious ties amongst the Africans. This created a problem as the Africans still maintained their historical linkages in the wake of contemporary policies regulating the movement of people. Nigeria, located in West Africa, and South Africa in the southern African region, are two important stakeholders in migration dynamics as receiving and sending countries for emigrants. Little research has been carried out on the border challenges

⁴¹⁸ G.L. Adeola and F.O. Yemi 2012; M. Dauda , *et al.* 2017.

⁴¹⁹ P. Draper, *Rethinking the (European) Foundations of Sub-Saharan African Regional Economic Integration: A Political Economy Essay*, Paris OECD Development Centre, 2010.

that result from intra-African migration. This paper is an assessment of the challenges faced by Nigeria and South Africa in the wake of intra-African illegal migration in the 21st century, due to colonial boundaries. It discusses trans-border crimes such as insurgencies in Nigeria, drugs and human trafficking, and undocumented migration to South Africa.

A largely agreed distinctive feature of the international system post-Cold War, namely, the reduction in inter-state conflicts as against an increase in intra-state conflict, is significantly converging two prevailing socio-political issues: terrorism and migration especially in recent times. Although enormous literature exists separately on terrorism and migration studies, the link between the two is arguably under-researched. Yet, there is a growing consensus that the world is currently faced with an unprecedented level of violent conflicts, including terrorism, which has led to mass emigrations of people. It is on record that between 30 and 50 conflicts have been observed in each year since 2003, when the downward trend of conflict since 1992 was broken.

Equally, the last two decades have witnessed tremendous amount of terrorist attacks. The more than 16 800 terrorist attacks and the accompanying 43 500 deaths, 40 900 wounded and the 11 800 people taken hostage, as reported in 2014 by START is illustrative. According to Alex P Schmid²⁶⁹, 93 countries witnessed acts of terrorism in 2014. This suggests an ever widening scope since the September 11, 2001 attacks. Deadly attacks have left many dead and homeless, especially in the last two decades, and this has given a twist to the migrations discourse, particularly forced migration. According to the UNHCR's annual Global Trends Report, in June 2015, rightly titled *World at War*, “worldwide displacement was at the highest level ever recorded the number of people forcibly displaced at the end of 2014 had risen to a staggering 59.5 million compared to 51.2 million a year earlier and 37.5 million a decade”⁴²⁰ before. This figure, according to Alex P Schmid²⁶⁹, was about 40 percent jump in just three years.

Needless to mention that conflict ranks very high among the causes of this displacement and almost every country bears the grunt of assimilating these refugees and asylum seekers. The UNHCR's report acknowledged also that every day during the previous year, an average of 42 500 people became refugees, asylum seekers or internally displaced. At least fifteen conflicts from Africa, including the Boko Haram terrorism, contributed to this ugly scenario. Expectedly,

⁴²⁰ UNHCR 2011.

these terrorist attacks and other conflicts around the world have constituted a push factor to the phenomenon of trans-border migrations, especially forced migration, considering its displacement of people as they seek for safety. There is empirical evidence to support this view. The massive movement of internally Displaced Persons (IDPS) from Nigeria's North East to its Neighboring states, during the seven-year-old terrorism by Boko Haram, is suggestive. This has become a worrisome phenomenon that has an adverse effect on the migration of Nigeria to South Africa and other parts of the world. Equally worrying is the Africa's gradual loss of the ideological and material underpinning of Africa's 'tradition of hospitality' towards refugees which has been progressively dismantled. When African countries close their borders to refugees, they justify their actions by referring to the precedents which have already been set in more prosperous parts of the world.⁴²¹ This challenge has a profound effect on the migration of people of Africa. The Nigerian situation, though in the North east, has profound implications on the border and security issue in Nigeria and, by extension, posing great security risk for the African continent since terrorists have no regard for borders. South Africa's deportation of undocumented migrants including Nigerians who are economic refugees needs to be looked into by authorities within the existing bilateral agreements the country enters into on deportation of migrants. Equally of importance is the corruption among law enforcement agencies in both Nigeria and South Africa. Both countries have to rethink a better and workable model that can eliminate corruption for better secured borders against criminal elements. South Africa and Nigeria should look critically into the ECOWAS model of free movement of people and adopt similar method in the process of its integration and with effective security majors adopted against criminal elements. Both countries can do better for regional economic integration and migrants would feel at home observing the laws of the host country.

6. 5 Government Response Towards Integration

Nigeria within the ECOWAS region, and South Africa within the SADC region, have the moral burden to support their poor neighbours, control internal corruption in government circles, and face border security challenges to reduce political tensions leading to ethnic and religious crises. These have the potential of increasing migration, and reduce insecurity, poverty or financial

⁴²¹ J. Crisp, 'Africa's Refugees: Patterns, Problems and Policy Challenges', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 2000, 18, (2): pp. 157-78.

competitiveness leading to further displacement of people. South Africa, post-apartheid, is faced with the problem of landlessness, and widespread poverty, especially among blacks, which are among some of the factors responsible for xenophobic violence in South Africa. Recent attacks on Nigerians, especially the extra-judicial killings are uncalled for in the Nigerian South African relationship. This situation, if left unchecked by relevant authorities, can lead to further escalation of insecurity within the South African state. Therefore, concerted effort must be made towards addressing the issues of national integration for economic, political and diplomatic relations within the African continent.

Sub-Saharan African countries generally maintain the highest number of intra-regional cross-border migration of people with the highest population of migrants circulating within its states and the minority migrating to Europe and other continents of the world. However, trade relationships which are one of the main factors of integration suffer setbacks. Africa's trade relations in high volumes mainly in raw materials are with the developed continents of the world. According to Draper,

The bulk of extra-regional exports are undifferentiated commodities that are generally not needed in regional supply-chains owing to the serious underdevelopment of manufacturing industry.⁴²²

The desire to integrate African economies on a regional, and ultimately continental, basis is strong. It is shared amongst African elites and their international development partners. Consequently, many formal initiatives have been established to further this goal, under the overarching umbrella of the African Union's plan to achieve a continental common market by 2028.⁴²³

However, often the rhetoric does not match with reality. African economic integration suffers from a litany of problems, ranging from overlapping memberships through unfulfilled commitments, to unrealistic goals.

⁴²² P. Draper 2010.

⁴²³ Ibid.

For Africa to have veritable tool for the promotion of peace, security and stability, Nigeria and South Africa should cooperate with each other and collaborate and establish strong ties that would bring about economic integration, industrialisation, political stability using their joint military strength and capacity.⁴²⁴ They must also fight internal corruption and withstand global capitalist influence whose interest jeopardise African national interest. Nigeria and South Africa's positive response to the issues raise above would bring about the desired change, with considerable implications on the migration of its highly skilled diaspora spread all over Europe and America. This will serve as a boost for migration with a positive African agenda pursued by a pan-Africanist approach. This would give Africa a strong voice in international relations especially in the UN. As stated by former Nigerian Leader Goodluck,

South Africa and Nigeria are critical countries in Africa and must work together so that Africa can move forward in the drive to boost the standard of living for our people. The world expect so much from us, we must cooperate and work together so that we will not fail the world about these expectations.⁴²⁵

Indeed, the cooperation of both countries is the key to Africa's economic and political emancipation. A pan-Africanist posture would be of immense help to the African development challenge and offer a better perspective for integration of its people.

What then is regional integration? And what is the response of the two sub-regional giants of Africa in the process of integrating its people? According to Abubakar Abdulsalami, Nigerian former military head of state,

Traditionally, regional integration implies co-operation among states in geographically proximate and delimited areas to foster economic, political and security interests.⁴²⁶

⁴²⁴ C. Landsberg, 'The Foreign Policy of the Zuma Government: Pursuing the 'National Interest'?', *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 2010, 17, (3): pp. 273-93.

⁴²⁵ Vanguard, 'South Africa, Nigeria Sign Agreements on Various Sectors ', *Vanguard News paper Nigeria* Friday, May 10 (2013).

⁴²⁶ A.A. Abubakar, 'Regional Integration and Conflict Management in Africa: Ecowas and the Challenges of the Twenty-First Century ', in *Annual Distinguish Lecture* ed. by Institute of Governance and social Research (IGSR) No A76 Liberty Bulivered Jos Nigeria (Jos Aha Publishing House, 3448, Jos Nigeria, 2001).

At the centre of integration is economic integration scheme, political and diplomatic interest of nations for a collective security network to secure their territory from both internal and external threat, and prosperity of those nations which takes different forms, depending on the level of co-operations among member nations, and the extent to which they are willing to surrender their national sovereignty in the interest of the co-operation. These include free trade zones for member states, custom union which should have common regulation for revenue drive in the interest of member states, common markets and economic union. Geographical closeness of states is necessary as a product of a successful regional integration, shared political system, for example, democracy, uninterrupted progressive economic growth, good governance that allows for public opinions led by enthusiastic leaders, cultural similarity, domestic political stability, shared historical experience and domestic social development, common level of military readiness and economic resources, shared perception of a common external threat to economic and political interests of member states, and removal of unnecessary bureaucratic bottlenecks and previous collaborative efforts in historical times of difficulty and prosperity.⁴²⁷ Although nations should not necessarily possess all of the listed conditions before thinking of integration; the absence of some few might hamper the success of integration. Nigeria and South Africa have the potential for all of the stated reasons. The absence of some can be complimented by the presence of the other shared experience, and exchange of political and policy guide by each other can lead to a good inter-regional cooperation that can lead to economic integration which has good potential for development. The Governments' response towards each other would go a long way in the realization of the regional integration.

The number of diplomatic crossing and commercial trade across borders is on the increase as more and more nations seek new forms of cross-border relationships for economic, political and defence reasons. The other factors are commercial trading and financial transaction, employment and migratory shift for economic, humanitarian, or political cause.⁴²⁸ Nations and people are daily closing on differences emanating from race, colour and ethnic identity to a common humanity, although the rising threat of terrorism has become another concern. Despite terrorism's disadvantage, nations are closing ties with each other at regional and continental levels.

⁴²⁷ Ibid.

⁴²⁸ F. Banda and I. Adetomokun 2015; H.G. Beyene 2015.

Africa cannot be left behind in this process, both internally and externally. African states should not only rely on their relationship with powerful nations, especially their former colonial authorities who cannot be compatible with them in terms of economic and military strength, but they have no choice than to embark on inter-regional cooperation for growth and economic stability. This has the potential for changing the economic fortune of the continent, and can reduce the challenge of poverty, illiteracy, and resolve the many conflicts surrounding it. Nigeria and South Africa as economic and political giants should set the ties for other African nations to join. Accordingly, nations are resorting to multilateral co-operative approach under conditions of interdependence. This unity aids nations in strengthening their security, economic and political system, especially at the regional level. They cooperate among themselves to foster regional governmental and military defence pact to maintain the spate of rising challenge of insecurity across borders and internally.

The African Economic Community proposed since 1991 with the signing of the Abuja treaty is yet to take effect. This is because African states emphasise more on what separate them rather than what unites them. The continent needs to identify their common area of strength, and work on it rather than emphasise on their weaknesses and what separates the African nations. However, African integration seems to be making more progress on the regional level than on continental level. Europe is an example, with the European Union having a common currency, free movement of its people and free trade zones among member nations. The proposed exit of Britain from the union has not stopped Europe from making its integration a success story. In fact, many Britons are reacting negatively to their exit and Africa can still learn in their success and failure to guide its cooperation with each other. Equally, the North American Free Trade Union (NAFTA) has been formalised since 1993.⁴²⁹ Similarly, the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), established since 1967, became famous in integrating the region by 2003, which now has significant regional economic role with the prospect of an eventual emergence of a larger economic community. These are varying examples of successful regional integration which Africa should emulate to suit its purposes for regional economic cooperation.

Africa's regional integration is being made at the regional level under very difficult challenges, sometimes under the threat of the bigger capitalist economies of Europe, America and Asia.

⁴²⁹ F. Baggio 2016.

However, more progress is being made at the sub-regional level. The Southern African Development Community (SADC) founded in 1992 with member countries including Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe have all pledged to create a free trade zone and have a common currency; but this is not coming to reality because of differences in economic prospects. South Africa, for example, will not allow the entry of some products manufactured in those neighbouring countries and a common currency might only lead to the disappearance of the other countries' currencies. For example, the Zimbabwean currency has long disappeared from the economy of Zimbabwe in favour of the US dollar following the land reform policy.⁴³⁰ This and many other challenges are the issue affecting the integration process in the Southern African region.

The Economic Community of West African States came into being from the colonial history of the countries that were a mixture of Anglophone and Francophone countries, meaning former British and French colonies respectively. Since its establishment in 1958, the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) was aimed at cutting across Franco-British linguistic differences created by the colonial experience and legacy of European domination in West Africa. Attempts at a regional integration of the West African states in the post-independence era started in the early 1960s when most of the countries became independent, beginning with Ghana. ECOWAS was an initiative by Nigeria and Togo after a series of diplomatic meetings and convincing among the independent West African states, leading to the signing of the Lagos treaty on 25 May, 1975 by fifteen heads of states and governments of independent West African countries.⁴³¹ ECOWAS vision was for a regional economic integration; its founding fathers envisioned thus:

Collective self-sufficiency through integration of the 16 member states of the West African region into an economic bloc with a single market organised around an economic and monetary union.⁴³²

This was followed by bilateral treaties among member states that sought to appeal to the entire member nations, with Nigeria playing a significant role because of its economic strength and

⁴³⁰ E.S. Idemudia, *et al.*, 'Migration Challenges among Zimbabwean Refugees before, During and Post Arrival in South Africa', *Journal of injury and violence research*, 2013, 5, (1): p. 17.

⁴³¹ E.C.f.A. Reports 2016.

⁴³² A.A. Abubakar 2001.

population. These treaties were reflections of their desire to enhance bilateral and multilateral co-operation within the region and provide a road map towards the integration of the entire region and appeal for member states to make the necessary sacrifice. Of significance to this study is ECOWAS's adoption of the protocol on freedom of movement, where citizens are not only free to move about, but also free to settle and establish their businesses in any member state as far as they do not pose a threat to the peace and security of the states; this was established on 24 July, 1993. They had hoped to achieve this within the period of fifteen years. For the first five years, citizens would be free to visit member states for 90 days, provided they have valid travel documents and appropriate health certificates. In the second phase which was also a span of five years, citizens may reside for a longer period but without the right to establish a business, and more restrictions would be removed within the last five years. ECOWAS is at the last stage of this integration with an ECOWAS e-passport already in place to make the movement of people and businesses easier in the West African sub-region.⁴³³

The ECOWAS experience should be replicated in the Nigerian South African integration for free flow of business and effective control of criminal elements that would use the opportunity created by the policies for criminal activities. What then are the recommendations for integration?

Nigeria and South Africa should reopen the sea transport line on the Atlantic ocean which was used in the transportation of goods from Nigeria directly to South Africa. The current sea route from Nigeria via England to South Africa is not healthy for the two countries. If achieved it would reduce the cost of goods for the benefits of good business. Oil can also be easily transported on the same route to South Africa.

South Africa as an industrialised economy should be given the opportunity to build refineries in Nigeria which would refine the oil and sell the output from the production for the mutual benefit of all. Rather than lifting crude oil, Nigeria can export refined oil and other related products that come from the proceeds of refineries.

⁴³³ J.U. Eke and K.J. Ani 2017.

Foreign direct investment in terms of automobile industries from South Africa should also be allowed to come to Nigeria where they could make good profits and produce new cars for the growing population of the Nigerian country.

South Africa should also work on the high crime rate in its country especially the rising spate of xenophobia and allow Nigerian business men to also invest in the solid mineral industries and other sectors for the South African economy.

Finally, Nigeria South Africa and Kenya should strike out deals to allow South Africa to build a rail road linking Nigeria via east Africa for ease of transportation of goods and human beings just as it is done across European countries. Electricity must be worked on so that the three can have effective energy for the teaming industries with Kenya and South Africa supplying the technology and Nigeria providing the human capital development from its numerous professionals spread all over the world.

If this integration process is achieved, the migration of African people will also be effectively controlled and there will be no need for xenophobia and other vices as this would lead to the development of the entire continent. Above all, Nigeria and South Africa should pull their resources together and work on what unite them more rather than fight for superiority on international politics. They have more that unite them than what divide them.

In conclusion, Africa has no other option than to unite; draw from pan-Africanism and work on the things that separate them and integrate for the betterment of the entire continent.

6.6 Government Response to Migration as a Development Agent

Migration and development is one area that has received less scholarly attention. Emphasis in recent literature is placed on the negative rather than the positive aspect of migration especially on crime, xenophobia and drug trafficking, rather than the aspect of migrant's positives economic venture and innovation by some highly skilled migrants in universities, research institutes and industries, which bring development. In this section, migration as a development agent is looked into in order to make Nigerian and South African governments' response

positive. They must change the negative perception of migration and rethink development through the migration of people especially African intra-regional migration as it affects the Nigerian South African relationship. The analysis given by Crush best captures the essence of migration as a development factor which Africa migration policy draft should keep in focus thus:

The first response of the government of South Africa on migration was to repeal all laws that restricted the entry of black Africans into South Africa. The aim was to gain from the skills of other Africans. Since Nigeria has a large population of highly skilled people it only opened new opportunities to the Nigerian people as observed by Odubajo and Akinboye:

The goal was to make post-apartheid South Africa the hub of political and economic activities on the African continent. Moreover, this was in line with democratic South Africa's foreign policy priorities, which among other goals included the 'consolidation of the African agenda.'⁴³⁴

This was indeed a welcome decision by all African states in view of the shortage of human capital among black South Africans. The government of South Africa responded in ways that encouraged the migration of highly skilled personnel especially from Nigeria, Kenya, Ghana and the SADC members' countries.

Wars and coups affected the process of development in Africa from inception of their independence, hence, their dependence on primary commodities. In Southern Africa two countries have relatively recently emerged from prolonged conflict (Angola and Mozambique) whilst a third has managed to avoid overt conflict at the expense of chronic political and economic instability (Zimbabwe). In West Africa, the emergence of terrorist threat in the ECOWAS region and in the region's most populated country, Nigeria, has the effect of further threatening regional peace and economic integration in the region and, by extension, the continent as a whole.⁴³⁵

As stated, Nigeria's response to South Africa was in three stages:

⁴³⁴ T. Odubajo and S. Akinboye 2017.

⁴³⁵ P. Draper 2010.

The first stage was marked by Nigeria's responses to South Africa's policies during the apartheid era. The second stage falls within the post-apartheid era, of which the major focus was on South Africa's responses to the vagaries of military dictatorship in Nigeria. The third stage is from 1999 to the present under a democratic Nigeria, with the consequent reactions of South Africa to an equally strong sub-regional leader.⁴³⁶

The three stages have been researched by many scholars with the exception of the government response on the migration of people and the patterns of migration. The implication of this response to the current migration challenges has not been analyzed by scholars especially as it affects migration of people. In realisation of the dangers that Nigeria posed to its existence, the apartheid regime embraced the opportunity presented by the outbreak of the Nigerian civil war in 1967 to work towards the dismemberment of the country.

Nigeria is faced with the absence of a national strategic plan for the development of the nation. The vision 2020, which its proponent never believed in, was introduced as a political propaganda to win the interests of the people to see hope in the Nigerian nation. However, there appears to be no concrete and specific plans for achieving Nigeria's national development program and Nigeria's interest in the international system. The Nigerian state is currently threatened by many issues including anti-corruption crusade which seems to be a political witch-hunt of perceived political opposition, the war against insurgencies and terrorists in the North Eastern region, the upsurge of ethnic militia groups, the suppression of the Igbo separatist revival groups in the South-East; and the curbing of the Niger-Delta insurgency. These issues have implications on government response to development in the Nigerian state; therefore, the Nigerian government needs to focus on strategies for tackling the general embitterment of the people arising from the current economic recession.⁴³⁷

South Africa, on the other hand, is also faced with the challenge of corruption charges against the President arising from the Nkandla scandal and the state capture by wealthy capitalists in South Africa being the most prominent. These problems which are avoidable have implications on the further development of the country and therefore have the negative effects on furthering poverty

⁴³⁶ T. Odubajo and S. Akinboye 2017.

⁴³⁷ Ibid.

and, by extension, affect migrants' relationship with South African peasants who feel threatened by their presence, and indeed make it impossible for the country to deploy its full potential for the African cause in the international system.²⁰⁵

Another crucial debate in north–south relations has been progressively considered as a source of economic dynamism in the south with brain gain and win-win approach. In that way, migration can become positive for migrants, countries of immigration and countries of emigration.⁴³⁸ Some observers often remind us that there are more doctors from some African countries in Manchester than in these countries and that one-fourth of doctors trained in Africa do not practice medicine in Africa. Some European countries, such as the UK, Germany and France have reopened their borders closed to salaried workers to high qualified workers from all over the world in a context of strong competition to attract elites.⁴³⁹ These highly qualified workers from developing countries have often low chances to find a job corresponding to their competences in their countries of origin because of low segmented labour markets and absence of democracy leading to encouraged nepotism and corruption in the access to high responsibilities or in the facilities for entrepreneurship from abroad. However, the qualified and highly qualified people go on to send remittances in their countries of origin, maintain diasporic transnational networks and make a profitable link with development under some conditions which can change brain drain into brain gain. Immigration, thanks to co-development programmes, can become a factor of shared resources instead of aggravating the gap between sending and welcoming countries.

The migration train in Africa has continuously reflected a lack of institutions that are well-equipped to absorb especially high skilled Africans in the field of science and technology, thereby driving these professionals to look outside of their home countries leading to the brain drain from Africa and brain gain for the developed economies of the world as stated above.

⁴³⁸ C.C. Nshimbi and Fioramonti, L., 'The Will to Integrate: South Africa's Responses to Regional Migration from the Sadc Region', *African Development Review*, 2014, 26, (S1): pp. 52-63; K. Nworgu, *et al.*, 'Press Coverage of Nigeria-South Africa Diplomatic Face-Off over Yellow Fever Vaccination', *Online Journal of Communication and Media Technologies*, 2017, 7, (2): p. 114.

⁴³⁹ J. Crush and A. Chikanda 2015.

Migration also exports unemployment and social claims and offer to the highly qualified an opportunity of jobs corresponding to their aspirations for wages and competences. Immigrants can become actors of development in their regions of origin thanks to initiatives of decentralized cooperation. The Nigerian South African migration patterns suit into the trajectory of the existence of unemployment in Nigeria leading to emigration of people from Nigeria to South Africa of highly skilled Nigerians which offers South Africa the opportunity for having highly skilled Nigerian migration contributing to the growth and development of South Africa in institutions such as industries, universities, research institutes, hospitals and construction companies. Despite large capital investment by South African companies in Nigeria and the employment opportunities created for Nigerians by these companies, this has not replicated into any form of transfer of technology that could transform into development. Another challenge is that these investors from South Africa are not direct foreign investment which could draw large capitals to invest in productive industries. The companies rely mostly on finished goods and consumables. The impact of migration on development differs not only between short-term and long-term schemes, but also on the migrants' countries of origins. The links that migrants maintain across borders give way to free flow of information and management of high technical movement in the country of origin and so raises remittance.⁴⁴⁰

For migration to be turned into positive venture that can lead to technological transfer and development in Africa, the migration policies must be reflective of ideals that allow migrants to be used as vectors for the change. A critical look of the migration policies in both countries reflects negatively on the issues of development and integration.

The South African migration policy has its origin from the “Aliens Control Act of 1963 which was the legislative and policy instrument used to regulate immigration into South Africa.”⁴⁴¹ This Act was used to deny Africans entry into the South African apartheid state. This led to South African blacks being disconnected from other Africans. The effect of this policy therefore was that South Africans were unaware of the development taking place in other African countries and also cut off from Africanism. According to Crush, “this Act was a blatant and

⁴⁴⁰ N.G. Schiller 2005; N.G. Schiller 2015; C. Tornimbeni, *et al.* 2005.

⁴⁴¹ J. Crush 2000; J. Crush and S. Ramachandran 2014.

unashamed instrument of white racial domination or supremacy”⁴⁴². These migration policies affected the post-apartheid immigration according to Isike and Isike:

Since the advent of democracy in 1994, immigration policy has changed from one of selective restriction that was racialized to one of guided accommodation that is non-racialized. This is so because although post-1994 immigration policy and practice is open to and accommodative of anyone who can contribute to developing the new South Africa, it is a guided accommodation as it only encourages skilled workers, capital-owning entrepreneurs and wealthy retirees to emigrate to the country. Like its predecessor and its amendments, the Immigration Act, No.13 of 2002 and the Immigration Amendment Act, No.13 of 2013, the Immigration Regulations 2014 aim to regulate mobility as well as maximise the benefits of migration.⁴⁴³

The post-apartheid migration was a major shift from the patterns of restrictive immigration on Africans to regulated migration that allowed Africans from other countries to enter into South Africa.⁴⁴⁴ Migrants bring improvement in the socio-economic area by making their skills available where they are needed sometimes at the cheapest wages when natives will not supply their labour for such low wages. By this, they also bring in new sense and values and new mode of economic behaviour which make owners of production want to employ more since they could get value for their labour at low wages. They sometimes bring new skills to the economy sector of the receiving countries by opening up new possibilities for profit; this, sometimes lead to technology transfer. Nigeria in recent years has witnessed political unrests coupled with the upsurge of the insurgencies in the North Eastern part of the country with a consequential effect spreading into the hinterland of Abuja with several suicide bombers killing many people in public space. This scary phenomenon has led to the withdrawal of many investors out of Nigeria and therefore the country does not attract further direct foreign investors into the economy. This means that those who were employed by these companies have been left without employment and new investors are scared of setting up their businesses in the country, a situation that results in a large population of the country’s high skilled professionals seeking greener pasture outside

⁴⁴² J. Crush and S. Ramachandran 2010.

⁴⁴³ C. Isike and E. Isike 2012, p95.

⁴⁴⁴ H.G. Beyene 2015.

the shores of Nigeria. The degeneration of peace and security in Nigeria not only discourage investors needed for development but also led to capital flight.

In conclusion, migration should be seen in the positive light. Nigeria and South Africa can improve on their poor relationship as it affects migrant productivity and business investors across each country for better and effective transfer of technology.

6.7 Conclusion

The government response to migration challenge has been very slow and self-centred without considering the implications of their action or inaction on the lives of the migrants. The Nigerian interest has always been about maintaining official ties on governmental relationship and it will respond to migration issues only when it affects inter-governmental agencies or powerful individuals in South Africa. South Africa on its part maintains scapegoating and blames it all on migrants. Its response to xenophobia has not been effective to end the violence. Institutions saddled with responsibilities, like the Police and Home Affairs have been constantly accused of corruption and therefore ineffective in handling the migration challenge. Nigeria and South Africa's response to the border challenge has not been coordinated to assist in reducing the rate of border crimes and undocumented migrants in South Africa. The government's response has been aimed towards protecting South Africa's capitalist interest which has huge investments in Nigeria and across other African states. Therefore, responding to policies that would bring about integration whether economic or political has been very slow. For example, the issue of visa should be addressed by both the government of Nigeria and of South Africa. The more strict regulations are adopted, the more undocumented migrant population would increase.

Finally, Nigeria and South Africa have no choice but to cooperate in encouraging people-to-people integration in the spirit of the African Ubuntu. African development depends on how well they integrate and cooperate with one another. Nigeria and South Africa are called upon to lead the process.

CHAPTER SEVEN: NIGERIA-SOUTH AFRICA ECONOMIC AND DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter critically examines the diplomatic and economic relationship between the two countries from 1994 to present. It investigates the bilateral agreements existing in terms of economic investments, and discusses how this affected the migration of people between both countries. It further examines the various informal investments owned by Nigerian in South Africa and the challenges of remittances. It further discusses employment opportunities especially in the food and communication industries that were opened as a result of investment across both countries. The chapter concludes by way of recommendation on how diplomatic and economic relationship could be improved between both countries.

Nigeria and South African relationship before 1994 was basically at the multilateral level. This was because of Nigeria's opposition of the apartheid regime in South Africa. Nigeria's sustained anti-apartheid posture led to the liberation of the blacks in South Africa and the subsequent enthronement of a democratic government in 1994.⁴⁴⁵ This saw the victory of the ANC in South Africa's ever first multi-racial election. Nigeria, in 1994, after the emergence of a democratic rule in South Africa, established bilateral relations by way of an interest office in Pretoria, which later became the Nigerian embassy. South Africa was re-admitted into the Commonwealth in 1994⁴⁴⁶ following its suspension since 1961⁴⁴⁷. The embassy became a high commission. In the same year, 1994, the consulate general in Johannesburg was established.⁴⁴⁸ These marked the beginning of cordial relationship between Nigeria and South Africa which encouraged the cross-border movement of people, especially to the new democratic South Africa. The repeal of the apartheid migration decree that restricted the free entry of black Africans to South Africa after 1994 opened the country for the immigration of blacks from other African countries into South

⁴⁴⁵ A. Adekunle 1992.

⁴⁴⁶ M.R. Koutonin, 'Nigeria's Role in Ending Apartheid in South Africa Read More', (N/D).

⁴⁴⁷ M. Mafukata 2015.

⁴⁴⁸ A.O. Asakitikpi and J. Gadzikwa 2015.

Africa. Nigerians took advantage of this circumstance to emigrate in large numbers, following South Africa's relapse of the 1963 Alien Act of the restrictive apartheid policies.⁴⁴⁹

7.2 Nigeria-South Africa Multi-literal and Bi-lateral Relationship

Nigeria's diplomatic relations at independence in 1960 was geared towards the liberation struggles in South Africa. Nigeria was designated a frontline state because of its diplomatic and financial commitment to the liberation cause which led to the successful undermining of apartheid in 1994.⁴⁵⁰ The free South Africa campaign brought about many South Africans to enjoy Nigerian government scholarships for their academic pursuits in Nigerian universities, colleges of education, polytechnics, monotechnics, and technical colleges all over Nigeria. This was apart from the financial support that was offered to the African National Congress (ANC) in exile. On the economic scale of preference, South Africa's economic interest in Nigeria is so huge that South Africa cannot but cooperate with the Nigerian government in the interest of its booming investment in Nigeria which churns out billions of naira as profits annually.⁴⁵¹ Perhaps, Huntington's idea best captures the Nigerian diplomatic row in terms of relating with other nations of the world when he said:

a nation winding down economically, living beyond its means, losing its competitive edge to more dynamic people under the burden of an empire, and suffering from variety of intensifying social economic and political ills.⁴⁵²

Nigeria has been faced with serious political and economic corruption which led to the erosion of its position in the power polity on the regional and global level. Even though there is a level to moralizing in global politics, realism in international diplomacy is hinged on national economic and military strength but most importantly economic strength. Nigeria presented the image of a declining power in the regional and global power play.⁴⁵³ Nigeria's position in Africa and

⁴⁴⁹ E. M Isike 2015.

⁴⁵⁰ A.M. Jega 2015.

⁴⁵¹ I.O. Olurinola, *et al.*, 'Internal Migration and Welfare among Street Traders in Nigeria', 2015; E.A. Pineteh, 'The Challenges of Living Here and There': Conflicting Narratives of Inter-marriage between Cameroonian Migrants and South Africans in Johannesburg', *African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal*, 2014, 8, (1): pp. 71-85.

⁴⁵² S.P. Huntington, 'The Clash of Civilizations?', *Foreign affairs*, 1993, pp. 22-49.

⁴⁵³ R.O. Ogunubi and C. Isike 2013.

globally has been accelerated by disastrous blend of maladroitness, skulduggery and bigoted ferocity.

South Africa and Nigeria, according to Agbu *et al*, are post-independence states with various domestic issues that are inimical to stability and progress. How both are able to manage these domestic challenges has implication for relations between them. Nevertheless, both understand that they are friends as a result of ties forged during the de-colonization struggles. He observed however, that this relationship is often buffeted by myriad of forces both internal and external.⁴⁵⁴

Africa has always been the centerpiece of the Nigerian foreign policy objectives. In policy terms, this involved the liberation of the continent from colonialism, the overthrow of the apartheid regime and every form of racism, discrimination against the blacks and economic emancipation of the African continent (which remains a dream yet to be achieved). Before 1994, Nigeria's diplomatic relations with South Africa was at the multilateral level. Nigeria maintained such membership contact with South Africa until the expulsion of the country from the Commonwealth in 1961 and the United Nations in 1973, following sustained pressure by the Nigerian government against the apartheid regime.⁴⁵⁵

Following their colonial background, the British colonial authorities established the basis for later cooperation of the two countries in terms of language of communication and economic relationship, which saw the mass exploitation of their resources, gold from South Africa and tin from Nigeria. Archival records give considerable proof of trade and political relationship between all the British colonies in Africa.⁴⁵⁶ Nigeria and South Africa related during this period in terms of exchange of ideas across the two colonies. They exchanged information and research on animal disease between Natal province in South Africa and the Northern Province in Nigeria.⁴⁵⁷ The Pietermaritzburg colonial office in South Africa and the Zungeru colonial office in Nigeria were in constant communication with each other, on matters relating to human and

⁴⁵⁴ O. Agbu, *et al*. 2013.

⁴⁵⁵ A. Adekunle 1992.

⁴⁵⁶ P. National Archive of South Africa, 'Agent General for Natal, London: Forwards by Mr James Brand, Fellow of the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons, on the Veterinary Survey of Northern Nigeria', in *Natal Province collection* ed. by National Archive of South Africa (Pietersmaritzburg Archival records 1910).

⁴⁵⁷ N.A.o.S. Africa 1904 ; N.A.o.S. Africa, 'Secretary to the Administration, Northern Nigeria. Suggests an Exchange of Official Publications', in *Natal province* ed. by National Archive of South Africa (Pietersmaritzburg: Archival records 1906).

animal health, agriculture and employment opportunities which culminated in the exchange and employment of colonial civil service with white colonial staff employed in the colonial service of Nigeria including military and police service.⁴⁵⁸

This era of multi-lateral cooperation is mostly ignored in the literature on the Nigerian South African relationship with an overemphasis on the post-apartheid and the current xenophobic crimes in South Africa, especially the attacks against fellow Africans.⁴⁵⁹ The foundation for which was the colonial conquest and economic interest of Britain in both South Africa and Nigeria. The English language became a common medium of communication during and after colonial independence of South Africa in 1910 and of Nigeria in 1960. Language became an important tool in the relationship of both countries which encouraged the mobility of people across nations. The second phase of the relationship which is scarcely documented is the apartheid era, especially the 1960 exile period of most South African blacks who saw themselves in many African countries. With Nigeria playing a leading role along other African countries, it culminated in the granting of independence to all the Southern African countries, with South Africa being the last to gain freedom in 1994. Nigeria's anti-apartheid campaign for the majority rule and decolonisation is well documented in government official's records and newspapers but scarcely documented in academic literature. This remains a source of national pride which elevates the international profile of Nigeria.⁴⁶⁰ Nigeria-South Africa had cooperated in peace and security especially at the regional level and continental cooperation outside sub-regional grouping under the AU (African Union). Both countries have played a significant role in furthering peace and sustaining democracy at multilateral levels through the African Union, although Nigeria's role in maintenance of peace and security in the West African sub-regional grouping far supersedes South Africa's role in SADC.⁴⁶¹

Nigeria first opened its consular in the 1960s in Botswana. It was from this embassy that Nigeria was able to aid the emigration of many South African blacks to Nigeria. It was from Botswana that Nigeria coordinated the funding of the ANC before opening the ANC office in Nigeria later

⁴⁵⁸ N.A.O.S. Africa 1906.

⁴⁵⁹ G.E. EZIRIM 2017; T. Odubajo and S. Akinboye 2017; UNFPA, *Meeting the Migration Challenges since the Icpd*, 2017 Updated

⁴⁶⁰ P.E. Note, 'Nigeria South Africa Diplomatic Raw', *The Punch Nigerian News paper* (2012).

⁴⁶¹ S.C. MOGULUWA and P.N. ACHOR 2013; A. Opanike, *et al.*, 'Ecowas Protocol on Free Movement and Trans-Border Security in West Africa', *Covenant University Journal of Politics and International Affairs*, 2016, 3, (2).

in the 60s. The bilateral relationship emanated with the notion of pan-Africanism between all southern African countries before their independence.⁴⁶²

The pan-African parliament, which is currently located in Midrand, Gauteng Province in South Africa, is a legislative body of the AU and it is currently headed by a Nigerian (Bethel Nnaemeka Amadi) who was appointed in 2013.⁴⁶³ The status of the bilateral political relations between the two countries remains cordial and indeed grows in leaps and bounds on account of the state visit by almost all Nigerian presidents since the return of Nigeria from military dictatorship to democratic rule from 1999 and the advent of democracy in South Africa in 1994.⁴⁶⁴ The boost in the relationship was further engendered by the establishment and formal signing of Nigeria-South African joint Commission Agreement. The hallmark of the presidential visit was the signing of the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) and agreement on specific sectors for co-operation and collaboration between the two countries.⁴⁶⁵ These include:

- I. MoU on cooperation in the legal field
- II. Agreement on the waiver of visas for holders of diplomatic and official passports
- III. MoU on gas and oil sector
- IV. MoU on power sector development
- V. MoU in the field of environment
- VI. MoU on defense cooperation
- VII. MoU on women development and empowerment and children development
- VIII. MoU on geology, and mineral processing and metallurgy
- IX. MoU on cooperation in the field of information and communication technologies.⁴⁶⁶

Worthy of note in respect of the MoUs, was the signing of Agreement on the abolition of visas for holders of diplomatic passports for both countries.⁴⁶⁷ This achievement has been highly applauded by the international community which was later presented before the AU for adoption

⁴⁶² B. Okolo 2008.

⁴⁶³ M.O.F. Affairs, 'Brief on Bilateral Relations between Nigeria and South Africa ', ed. by Southern African Affairs Division (Abuja Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs Nigeria 2015): p. N/P.

⁴⁶⁴ Vanguard 2013.

⁴⁶⁵ M.O.F. Affairs 2015.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid.

across Africa.⁴⁶⁸ This is again aligning with the fact that inter-governmental relationship is the outmost consideration by many African countries regardless of people-to-people relationships. Africa as a country should borrow from the EU and other international continental unions who allow free movement of people among citizens of their continents and put good security network mechanism to check against free movement of criminal elements who might take advantage of the free movement of people. However, the ECOWAS sub-regional groupings must be commended for striving for free movement of citizens of member states for up to 90 days.

According to the records available at the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Nigeria, the implementation of the various MoUs signed with South Africa remains paramount and therefore should be pursued to the latter.⁴⁶⁹ This is especially so given that South Africa has completed the requirements necessary for enforce the MoUs and is awaiting the Nigerian response. The outstanding MoUs in this regard are the ones on the power sector and on oil and gas sectors.⁴⁷⁰

It is also pertinent to note that Nigeria had nominated six businessmen to serve as members of the advisory committee to the Bi-National Commission (BNC) while South Africa is yet to nominate her own members. Similarly, the Civil Aviation Agreement is to facilitate airline traffic with a frequency of at least thirteen (13) flights weekly between both countries. Also of equal importance are the yet to be concluded BNC which was earlier scheduled for March 2014 in Abuja. This agreement, especially on power and air travel, is yet to be effectively utilized. Although South African Airways has been flying to Nigeria on a daily basis, the agreement includes more than just flights. Agbu commented that the Nigerian South African relations should go beyond signing of agreements alone which are never implemented:

The Nigerian South African relationship should on the one hand strengthen South Africa's economy and political cloud while on the other hand energize and accelerate Nigeria's economy and institutional growth. But this can only happen if

⁴⁶⁸ Interview the head of South African/Nigeria relations on 23/ 11/ 2016 in Abuja Nigeria, Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs

⁴⁶⁹ M.O.F. Affairs 2015.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid.

closer, deeper and more purposeful partnerships are forged by both countries in different areas of their interactions.⁴⁷¹

7.3 Consular Issues

The agreement on consular matters was signed in Cape Town on 7 May 2013 to strengthen the existing ties between both countries. The agreement on waivers of visas for holders of diplomatic and official passports was also decided at the meeting, that three to five years multiple entry visas would be issued to genuine businesspersons from both Nigeria and South Africa.⁴⁷² This is yet to come to reality as the Nigerian business community in South Africa still cries foul for delays in the approval of travel documents to South Africa.⁴⁷³

However, there is still the unwholesome issue of the Nigerians passports withheld by various South African state agencies for various offences ranging from drug trafficking, advance fee fraud, and human trafficking, among the many crimes Nigerian are rightly or wrongly accused of daily in South Africa. These agencies are immigration, customs and police who are posted on duty to various entry ports of South Africa, without regards to existing policies and respect for the agreements entered by both countries.⁴⁷⁴

Cases of several Nigerians languishing in South African prisons for various offences abound. One of the most critical issues tainting the otherwise cordial relationship between the two is the rise of xenophobic attacks on Nigerians and their shops in South Africa. South Africans apparently carry some baggage from apartheid era and still continue to feel insecure with foreigners, particularly of African origin.⁴⁷⁵ This triggered a spate of violent xenophobic attacks on foreigners, particularly in 2015, in which many Nigerians suffered their own fair share of casualties.⁴⁷⁶ Their properties were looted by hoodlums; others had their properties illegally confiscated with a few being killed, including those who were victims of overzealous South African law enforcement agents. Nigeria is however optimistic that the xenophobic challenge in

⁴⁷¹ O. Agbu, *et al.* 2013.

⁴⁷² M.O.F. Affairs 2015.

⁴⁷³ Document FMFA

⁴⁷⁴ I.O. Olurinola, *et al.* 2015; T. Oyedemi 2015.

⁴⁷⁵ E. M. Isike 2015.

⁴⁷⁶ M. Dauda, *et al.* 2017.

South Africa would be adequately tackled with the aim of an Africanist Ubuntu for the progress of both parties and Africa as a continent. Nigeria and South Africa now have embassies across each other's country, yet the relationship between the two is still frosty.

South Africa's achievement of liberation from the pangs of apartheid in 1994 was a joint effort of both the South African doggedness in fighting for their liberation and the cooperation of the international communities, including African countries that were independent before 1994. Nigeria, as stated earlier, acted as a frontline state in the liberation struggle against apartheid.⁴⁷⁷ Nigeria spent so much resources and time in ensuring that Africa was rid of every form of colonialism including apartheid, which was the last form of colonialism to be defeated on the soil of Africa.⁴⁷⁸ The Nigerian government and the people expected a reciprocation of the kind gesture offered its South African brothers in the spirit of the African Ubuntu in the course of their liberation movement.⁴⁷⁹ However, the Nigerians were surprised that upon inception, the South African and Nigeria relationship had become frosty, although a large number of Nigerians had already been offered the opportunity to immigrate into South Africa for various reasons ranging from trade, employment, studies, medical tourism, tourism and diplomatic relations.

The primary duty of Nigerian ambassadors is to protect Nigerians in their countries of accreditation. Consequently, on March 2, 2012 125 Nigerians were deported by South African Immigration / Health officials from Johannesburg's OR Tambo International Airport on claims of possessing fake yellow fever vaccination cards. Nigeria, in return, deported 131 South Africans in two separate operations in quick succession.⁴⁸⁰ This reciprocity was applied as a cardinal diplomatic principle in the Nigerian South African relations.

South Africa's rash decision in disgracefully sending back 125 Nigerians, not minding the huge investments and business interests in Nigeria, added to the humiliation and embarrassment, sometimes in very extreme terms, which Nigerians are subjected to in other countries including

⁴⁷⁷ A. Adekunle 1992.

⁴⁷⁸ A.M. Jega 2015.

⁴⁷⁹ S.M. Burchard, 'Xenophobia; South Africa's Successor to Apartheid', *Africa Watch (IDA)*, 2015, 8.

⁴⁸⁰ P.E. Note 2012.

South Africa. Nigeria's decision to embark on reciprocity as a critical diplomatic move was predicated upon the protection of its citizens and business interests in South Africa.⁴⁸¹

While it was evident that Nigeria falls within what is described as the yellow fever belt in Sub-Saharan Africa, the acute viral hemorrhagic disease transmitted by infected mosquitoes, the World Health Organisation had since declared Nigeria free of the disease 14 years before the South African action, notwithstanding that the yellow fever vaccination card was no longer a requirement for visitors from most endemic regions. South Africa's insistence on such evidence from Nigerian visitors was very surprising, given the fact that the international best practice provide that those who cannot provide convincing evidence of the yellow fever vaccination cards are usually quarantined and vaccinated at the visitors expense, before they are allowed entry into the country.

The Nigerian Minister of Foreign Affairs in a reaction to the event stated that

Nigeria finds the action totally unfriendly and un-African. You don't treat fellow African that way and we will not leave any stone unturned to get to the bottom of the matter. They should know that they do not have monopoly of deporting travelers and we feel that the action against our nationals was discriminatory we will take action to reciprocate and there are various ways of reciprocating.⁴⁸²

7.4 Nigerian South Africa Diplomatic Fuss

When South Africa was liberation from apartheid in 1994 with the election of Nelson Mandela, and the enunciation of the African Renaissance policy by Thabo Mbeki, South Africa had made a conscious effort to reunite with the rest of Africa and the world. The implication of the liberation of South Africa from the brutality of apartheid in 1994 was short-lived as African

⁴⁸¹ Editorial, 'Nigeria- South Africa after the Rift ', *National Mirror* (2012).

⁴⁸² N.M. Editorials, 'Nigeria South Africa after the Rift', *National Mirror* article as publish by the Nigerian institute of International Affairs (2012).

migrants in the country were faced with a new form of frosty relationship which resulted into violent xenophobic attacks on African migrants including Nigerians by 1998.⁴⁸³

The first frosty relations that Nigeria and South Africa witnessed were during the regime of the former Nigerian dictator, General Sani Abacha, who insisted on the execution of the Ogoni freedom fighters in 1995. Following the sustained pressure from world leaders and South Africa's diplomatic mission to call on the Nigerian dictator not to kill the Ogoni 9 and the release of Mushood Abiola, winner of the 12 June, 1993 presidential election and Nelson Mandela's friend in Nigeria who was instrumental in the liberation struggle and gave Mandela and ANC financial support during the 1994 first democratic election in South Africa. During the liberation struggle, Mandela's first home of exile in Nigeria was in Chief Madubike Amaechi house.⁴⁸⁴

Sources available quoted Amaechi as:

As far back as 1962 when the battle for the liberation of the people of SA was very strong and the apartheid government of SA was desperately looking for Mandela and other leaders of the ANC, he came to Nigeria. Dr. Azikiwe (the then Governor-general) in consultation with Dr. Okpara, the leader of NCNC political party, assigned him (Mandela) to me. I was then a Member of Parliament and parliamentary secretary in the Federal Ministry of Information. And so, Mandela lived with me at my official residence at 5, Okotie Eboh Street, Ikoyi, Lagos. We were together for six months in my house. Our discussions and conversations were on the struggle for liberation. We talked about countries such as Nigeria and Ghana and the struggles in South Africa⁴⁸⁵.

South Africa's delegation led by Bishop Desmond Tutu and Thabo Mbeki were unable to convince the Nigerian military dictator, to grant the freedom of these political prisoners and decided to execute the Ogoni 9 including Ken Saro Wiwa, leader of the human rights activists in Ogoni land.⁴⁸⁶ The execution of the Ogoni nine and the imprisonment of the political prisoners

⁴⁸³ M.-L. Flahaux and H. De Haas 2016; W.M. Gumede 2008.

⁴⁸⁴ Interviewed Nigeria's former Ambassador to Botswana in Ibadan on 15 January, 2016.

⁴⁸⁵ I. Oshin, 'Mandela Stayed with Me in Nigeria "Lived in My House for More Than Six Months"- Chief Madubike Amaechi', <http://thevoicesa.com/our-article/mandela-stayed-with-me-in-nigeria->, (2014).

⁴⁸⁶ A. Saboyede and Chiahenem, T., 'Ogoni Hanggings/Diplomatic Face-Off: Abacha, Mandela Peace Parley Aborted', *Thisday*, (1995).

led South Africa to champion calls for the suspension of Nigeria from the Commonwealth on the grounds of human rights violation on 11th November 1995. This elevated South Africa's increasing role in regional affairs in Africa, and Nigeria's military dictatorship earned Nigeria the status of a pariah state in global affairs.⁴⁸⁷ Mandela's reaction to Nigeria was predicated upon his personal relationship with some of the prominent Nigerians that were arrested by the Abacha's regime; this was because Mandela had relations with some of these Nigerians when he was on exile before he was arrested and sent to prison. After his release from prison, Mandela came to Nigeria to canvass support for his election as the first black president of the new rainbow Republic of South Africa.

The Nigerian despot, General Sani Abacha, infuriated by suspension from the Commonwealth and the declaration of the country as a pariah, withdrew the Super Eagles from the African Cup of Nations held in South Africa, which again led the Confederation of African Football Associations to slam another suspension on Nigeria.⁴⁸⁸ Nigeria was the African Nation cup defender which was withdrawn on political grounds by the military ruler.⁴⁸⁹ General Abacha's and Mandela's relation brought the two countries into diplomatic disrepute up until the 1999 transition to democracy, after Abacha's demise. The relationship of both countries was restored after the 1999 election which saw Obasanjo winning with Thabo Mbeki coming to the fore of the South African government with a complete restoration of diplomatic relation between Nigeria and South Africa.⁴⁹⁰

Mandela's continued insistence that sanction be imposed on Nigeria, and his statement to the effect that "Shell withdraws from the \$4 billion Liquefied Natural Gas project in 1995", failing which his government would expel the Anglo Dutch Oil Company from South Africa which was in Nigeria. This was following Nigerian dictator Sani Abacha's refusal to release all the political prisoners in Nigeria. Therefore, Mandela was angry over the human rights abuse by the Nigerian authority, thus the threat. Nigerian response on the other hand had also been based on the threat to the economic interest of South Africa in Nigeria. This scenario was not healthy for the African continent.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁸ N.M. Editorials 2012.

⁴⁸⁹ A.M. Jega 2015; O. Agbu , *et al.* 2013; A.M. Jega 2015.

⁴⁹⁰ A. Butler, *Contemporary South Africa*: Springer, 2017; M. Dauda , *et al.* 2017.

When a delegation of South African diplomats finally arrived in Abuja, after the refusal of Nigerian delegation to attend the Kenyan diplomatic meeting, the South African delegation demanded the Abacha's regime for an unconditional release of MKO Abiola and others political prisoners as a pre-condition for South Africa's softening its hard stand against the regime. Mandela had fired the first salvo shortly before Nigeria was suspended from the Commonwealth meeting of its Head of Government held at Auckland, New Zealand.⁴⁹¹

The South African government followed up its harsh criticism of the Abacha's regime demanding that oil sanction be imposed on Nigeria. South Africa went ahead to cancel the earlier invitation to the Nigerian football team to participate in the pre-Nation cup for a nation soccer tournament in Nigeria. The Nigerian beauty queen, Toyin, was forced to quit the Miss World competition which was held in Sun City, South Africa.⁴⁹²

Nigeria's final slam came when it was suspended from the Commonwealth over the hanging of Ken Sarowiwa and the other Ogoni 8 human rights activists on November 10 1995 in spite of diplomatic appeals and delegations from South Africa and other world leaders who appealed for clemency for the victims.⁴⁹³

This situation was not the position of the OAU as most countries rejected the stand of South Africa against Nigeria, describing its action as against the African Ubuntu, and suggested a rather internal way of addressing the Nigerian challenge of the Ogoni Nine as a domestic affair that did not need to reach the international community but rather be settled within Africa. Suggesting an African internal mechanism to resolve the issue as an African problem rather than involving the UN and the call for the suspension of Nigeria from the Commonwealth. Despite the OAU stand, it can be clearly said that the Nigerian dictator Sani Abacha was at breach of international best practice and gross human rights violation which called for order in the Nigerian situation, and judging from Mandela's experience and favour he received from Nigeria

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during his exile⁴⁹⁴. When Mandela was in Nigeria as an exile, and after his incarceration, he was greatly assisted by both Abiola and Obasanjo given the fact that it was during the military regime of the Murtala/Obasanjo that the liberation movement in South Africa was given a new face with the introduction of aid in military supplies of arms to ANC by Nigeria. The two had become friends, even after Mandela's release from prison; Abiola offered him a personal donation of ₦ 10 million for his political campaign that saw him win the first democratic election in South Africa where blacks were allowed to participate in 1994. Mandela could not do better than react to such gross violation of human rights, especially as it affect his personal friend and the country that stood against human rights violation during the south African era of apartheid.

Taking a critical look at the Nigeria's role in the maintenances of peace on the African continent and the world at large, it is on record that Nigeria has contributed immensely in the realisation of peace on the continent of Africa. Nigeria has spent \$3 billion dollars alone, being the annual budget for the UN.⁴⁹⁵ In all of these operations, the country also recorded human casualties from these peace keeping missions. This feat has been performed by Nigeria and it has helped shore up the countries' performance in the maintenance of peace across various parts of the world. Nigeria has also chaired the UN peace effort in de-colonisation of the entire continent of Africa which has yet to be challenged by any African country.⁴⁹⁶

The deportation of about 125 Nigerians on 2nd March, 2012, from the O R Tambo International Airport, for allegedly attempting to enter South Africa without valid yellow fever vaccinations cards, made Nigeria to react by deporting back to South Africa at the point of entry from the Murtala Mohammed International Airport 130 citizens of South Africa. Nigeria, like many other sub-Saharan African countries, falls within the countries declared as yellow fever infested belt. But Nigeria was since declared free from the acute viral hemorrhagic disease, by the World Health Organisation before the South African action against Nigerians at the airport.⁴⁹⁷ Roughly six days after the diplomatic faceoff between both countries, South Africa's letter of apology to

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⁴⁹⁵ T. Odubajo and S. Akinboye 2017; J. Taiwo and Ogbonannaya, R., 'Xenophobia: What South Africa Told Yar'adua', *Thisday*, (2005).

⁴⁹⁶ J.U. Eke and K.J. Ani 2017.

⁴⁹⁷ P.E. Note 2012.

the Federal Government of Nigeria over the deportation saga was received. In response, the Nigerian Minister of Foreign Affairs in 2012 declared that:

We will not hesitate to apply strict reciprocity, a cardinal principle in diplomacy, in our relation with all countries, especially where the interest of Nigerians is concerned.⁴⁹⁸

Consequently, the Nigerian government's response was the deportation of the 130 South Africans from Lagos back to South Africa and threatened the economic interest of South Africa in Nigeria. The Nigerian government authorities believe that South Africa took a rash decision when it deported the 125 Nigerians, not minding its business interest in Nigeria. The Nigerian authorities' response to South Africa, most probably triggered South Africa's apology. Perhaps South Africa would not have retraced her steps, had Nigeria not wrung her hand and not responded by retaliating to the diplomatic brouhaha. Reciprocity as a critical diplomatic weapon was adopted as the last option to stop the humiliation and embarrassment, sometimes in very extreme terms which Nigerians are daily subjected to in foreign countries.⁴⁹⁹

This came at a time when many countries in the world no longer required evidence of a yellow fever vaccine before entry into any country in the world; only Nigerians were the prime target of the South African immigration authorities at the airport.⁵⁰⁰ It is also the common practice that where visitors are unable to present evidence of vaccinations they are usually quarantined and vaccinated, at the visitors' expense, before they are allowed into the country. Nigerian immigrants are daily faced with embarrassing situations at point of entry due to the poor image of the country acquired as a result of the activities of some dubious characters who continually engage in criminal activities internationally. But only a few of such people are amongst the migrants. This has led to many Nigerians being thrown into jail for offenses they may not have committed, and a mere identification of a migrant as a Nigerian in some countries attracts extra security attention, not only at the entry point, but for the remaining time the Nigerian might stay in the country even though these Nigerians might have undergone all security checks by their embassies in the country, before they are issued visas to those countries. South Africa in

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁹ N.M. Editorials 2012, p18.

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid.

particular seized this opportunity to embarrass Nigerians at the slightest opportunity. Highly placed Nigerians with diplomatic immunity have been subjects of ridicule by the South African immigration authorities. For example, the renowned Nigerian playwright and Nobel Laureate, Wole Soyinka, the wordsmiths, was invited to South Africa to deliver a lecture to mark the birthday of Nelson Mandela, but on arriving at the airport, despite having valid papers was delayed endlessly by South African immigration authorities, and was at the verge of being returned to Nigeria when the wife of Nelson Mandela Graca Machel in 1995 intervened.⁵⁰¹ The question is, if a Nobel Laureate of Soyinka's status could be ill-treated just because he comes from Nigeria, then what would other ordinary Nigerians face before coming to South Africa. In a similar incident, Kema Chikwue, former Aviation Minister, needed the intervention of some top South African government officials before she was admitted into the country despite being identified as a senior citizen of Nigeria, carrying a diplomatic passport.⁵⁰² This diplomatic ineptitude exhibited in Africa shows how Africans do not show respect for their leaders, not even to think of protecting them from foreign harm by powerful nations, which explains how the African continent keeps losing the best iconic thinkers, academics and political gurus to other powerful nations of Europe and America as migrants who are now drivers of new innovations in their host countries.

7.5 Arms Deal Nigeria South Africa

Arms deals in world history have always been shrouded in mystery. In most cases, it also reeks of illicitness, arm twisting and deliberate stoking of conflicts and wars amongst and within nations to create business environment and to open up market for their dangerous merchandise.⁵⁰³ In most cases, dealers breach all known international laws and regulations, to sell the weapons to their target markets, all in their bids to make humongous profit and revel in lousy opulence. Probably because of the high sensitivity of the business and fear of being labeled 'merchants of death' however, one hardly ever gets to know the individual or organizations trading in these weapons of destruction, except or course if you are privileged by nature of your work, or in extreme cases where disagreements between buyers and dealers have helped in

⁵⁰¹ A. Gboyega, 'Murky World of Arm Dealing ', *The Nation*, (2014), p.pp.22.

⁵⁰² P.E. Note 2012.

⁵⁰³ A. Gboyega 2014, p12.

routing them into the open.⁵⁰⁴ Arms business has remained most lucrative globally to producing nations-probably next to oil and automobiles and attracting some of the world most unscrupulous and privileged individuals as dealers and intermediaries.⁵⁰⁵

Leading countries in arms production and exports include the United States of America, The United Kingdom, Germany, France, China and Russia. Amnesty International reported that these six countries are responsible for the supply of three-quarters of the value of world's weapons. This means that deliberate effort from them could go a long way into stemming fatal ferocity across the globe. In a report published by Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), titles who are the biggest arms producers indicated that sales of weapons and military services exceeded \$ 400bn in 2010. It also reported that USA-based Company Lockheed Martin topped the list of the 100 biggest arms producers and military service organisation worldwide, with \$35.7bn worth of arms sales in 2010 alone. To underline the lucrative nature of the business, it also wrote that "entry point for inclusion on the list rose from sales of \$280m in 2002 to \$640m in 2010."⁵⁰⁶

Arms sale between manufacturing countries has, through unregulated means, led to the circulation of arms getting to the wrong hands through non-governmentally controlled agencies, instead of arms sale for the protection of the territorial integrity of state, criminal elements with terrorist network links got highly sophisticated weapons especially in West Africa. This has created unending conflicts in some African states that perpetually threaten world fragile peace.⁵⁰⁷ Nigeria had its fair share during the civil war period. Angola and other southern African countries during apartheid had also fallen victims of this illicit trade in arms, which threatened African peace and development. Nigeria found herself in an internationally orchestrated conspiracy mainly coming from America and France's resistance to sell arms officially to Nigeria during the Goodluck Jonathan's administration era, which witnessed the rise in arms insurgencies by Boko Haram. America had kept posturing to the world that Nigeria's fight against insurgencies was supported by its government while that was far from reality. America accused Nigeria of violating human rights, especially the Nigerian army, a circumstance that

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid. p. 2.

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid. p. 3.

frustrated Nigerian fight against Boko Haram.⁵⁰⁸ Nigeria had all the money to purchase arms but the US and France continued to stand in the way of Nigeria getting arms under the flimsy accusation that Nigerian human rights records negated the international basic rights. Frustrated by the action of the international community orchestrated by the Americans, Nigeria decided to look inward to other African countries and chose to go to South Africa to get the needed assistance. Nigeria, frustrated by American action of severally frustrating its guests to legitimately purchase arms, culminated in a discreet transaction that subsequently backfired and threw the country into controversy with South Africa.

Going by international best practice, one may not completely blame the Nigerian authorities. The fact is that they tried to buy arms with cash. It had become public knowledge that the government was having challenges buying the same from advanced countries due to the amnesty international reports accusing the Nigerian military of gross violation of human rights coupled with some allegations that even some of the weapons used by the Boko Haram might have come from the Nigerian armory.⁵⁰⁹ The issue was that the advanced countries like USA, Britain France and others, were not pleased with the corruption level amongst dealers and government officials. They were not sure of the final destination of the arms, whether they would still end up in the hands of the terrorist.

This was the situation Nigeria found herself in and was compelled to approach a sister African country to come to her aid and got embarrassed by the South African authorities with accusations of money laundering across the border. This circumstance was not good for countries who have diplomatic ties and for a county who are looking up to each other for investment and economic integration. The terrorist attacks in Nigeria have drastic consequences and effects on the socio-economic and political development in Nigeria and, by extension, on the Nigeria/South Africa relations due to the responses of both governments during the saga.

This situation has led to high level of unemployment in the entire country, which increases the urge to emigrate to other countries, especially amongst the youths in search of greener pastures. Some still at home have taken to crime such as armed robbery, internet scam, and rampant kidnapping. Currently, the ravage created by the Boko Haram and cattle herdsman are a

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁹ E. Ujah and Ovuakporie, E., 'We'll Return Nigeria's \$15m Soon -South Africa ', *The Vanguard* (2014).

consequence of mal-governance in the country since independence colluded by democratic governments that were created as a result of ethnic and religious bigots who found themselves in governance, causing colossal damage. The WHO (World Health Organisation) declared Nigeria as a country with the second highest infant and mortality rate in the world.⁵¹⁰

The human development index for Nigeria is one of the lowest in the world. Sadly, as in February 2012, 500 Nigerians were in jail across India, another 1,000 were in prison across China and about 6,000 Nigerians incarcerated across prison facilities in the United Kingdom.⁵¹¹ Meanwhile, there are no existing records of the incarceration of any nationals of those countries in Nigeria, despite their collaborative involvements in some shady business in both the oil and gas sector of the Nigerian economy.⁵¹² Nigeria cannot be respected by other countries of the world including South Africa because it is presented with a troubled domestic politics and wobbly economy which make other countries disrespectful even the more. Nigeria has been touted as Africa's sleeping giant, despite the country's great potential to become a major economic and political power on the continent, with its reputable image of having made the second highest contribution to peace keeping force abroad especially within the West African sub-region. Nigeria's military might on the continent of Africa was exhibited in countries like Congo, Liberia, Sierra Leon, Chad, Sudan, and Mali, just to mention a few. This was in conformity of the African Foreign objectives enshrined in article 19(b) of the 1999 constitution of Nigeria.⁵¹³ Nigeria from the ECOWAS region has done well in maintaining some level of sanity in terms of the sacrifice it rendered in Sierra Leon and Liberia. The bi-lateral relations between Nigeria and South Africa largely improved between 1999 and 2008 when the volume of trade increased to 22.8 billion South African Rand from 174,000,000 ⁵¹⁴ (Otto, 2012). The bi-lateral relations suffered setbacks in the tenures of Presidents Goodluck Jonathan and Jacob Zuma as a result of the xenophobic attacks on African migrants and the refusal of Nigeria to support the nomination of Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma of South Africa for the Chair of the African Union (AU).

⁵¹⁰ N.M. Editorials 2012.

⁵¹¹ A.B. Akinterimwa, 'Marwa and Nigeria South African Relations ', *Thisday* (2008).

⁵¹² E. Ujah and E. Ovuakporie 2014.

⁵¹³ Vanguard 2013.

⁵¹⁴ E. Ujah and E. Ovuakporie 2014.

Diplomacy is a serious business, the point here is that while South African diplomatic missions are well funded, Nigeria on the other part does not give enough funds to its diplomatic missions abroad. In the understanding of the Nigerian National Assembly, sympathy is often expressed but not to the extent of appropriating sufficient funds for serious foreign policy agenda and missions across the world.⁵¹⁵

Ogu, in an analysis of the Nigeria South Africa relations argues:

mutual bilateral relations between the two countries could be factored to promote their national interests and thus recommends a more friendly relations that would eliminate frosty policies and strengthen their relationship as they gain more in friendship, being the two strongest economies in Africa.⁵¹⁶

7.6 Economic Relations Nigeria-South Africa

The South African economy is the biggest in the continent of Africa. South Africa has long been well developed with functional industries that produce goods and services and functional infrastructure and good road networks with functional medical and educational institutions far above the infrastructure in Nigeria.⁵¹⁷ South Africa has a stable power supply of electricity which stands at 50,000 Megawatts of power and even at that it is not sufficient for its industrial need which is huge. South Africa's economy is dependent on industrial supply as against Nigeria dependent on petroleum products which supplies only crude oil without refining to add value to its product. Nigeria can learn from the industrial growth of South Africa. South Africa also specializes in mining of gold and platinum among others. Agriculture is another huge potential that South Africa's economy depends on for its food supply internally. Nigeria could borrow a leaf from their experiences and make a difference with the huge potential of fertile uncultivated lands across the Nigerian states. With collaborative efforts, the Nigerian relations with South Africa can diversify its reliance on oil products to investment in agriculture, solid mineral and natural gas. Nigerian large population of highly skilled migrants all over the world could supply

⁵¹⁵ J. Alechenu, 'Nigeria Vs South Africa: Diplomacy, Supremacy Tussle', *The Punch* (2012); C. O 2015.

⁵¹⁶ O. Agbu, *et al.* 2013.

⁵¹⁷

the skills shortages in South African educational and industrial sector, while Nigeria can rely on a collaborative venture for South Africa to invest in its large energy potential to reach a target of reasonable electricity supply for the continent's most populous nation.

Trade relationship existed between Nigeria and South Africa on a positive note with R100 million South African Rand (\$16m) surplus in favour of Nigeria as in May 2000. This disclosure was revealed by the Nigerian South Africa Chambers of commerce during a trade exhibition in Lagos by a group of South African companies at the trade fair in 2000.⁵¹⁸

The summary in trade statistics between Nigeria and South Africa for 1999 showed that volume of trade for the year ended 1999 stood at R900 million (\$150m). The total export of Nigeria to South Africa was R500 million (\$84m) while the total South African export to Nigeria stood at R400 (\$66m).⁵¹⁹ A further breakdown shows that Nigerian export to South Africa is almost entirely petroleum related products, while South African export to Nigeria include pulp, tools, paper, chemicals, foods, and base metals.⁵²⁰ South Africa's economy relies on high impact technology production with relative industrialisation and a stable energy source that supplies stable electricity - a situation the Nigeria economy failed to reciprocate as diversification became more impossible leading to reliance on one product.

The Nigerian economy offers greater hope for African investors, and South Africa being an industrial productive economy took advantage of the large markets due to Nigeria's large population. Currently, over 100 South African companies are actively doing business in Nigeria. These companies are supported by the South African Department of Trade and Industry, the Department of International Relations and Co-operation and the South African Chamber of Commerce. They have saturated the Nigerian markets with their finished goods.⁵²¹

⁵¹⁸ E. Aginam, 'Nigeria Earns \$16m from Trade with South Africa', *Business Vanguard*, (2000).

⁵¹⁹ Ibid.

⁵²⁰ Vanguard 2013.

⁵²¹ J.C. Ebegbulem, 'An Evaluation of Nigeria-South Africa Bilateral Relations', *Journal of International Relations and Foreign Policy American Research Institute for Policy Development*, 2013, 32, pp. 32-40; G. Maasdorp, *Can South and Southern Africa Become Globally Competitive Economies?*: Springer, 2016; D. Games, *Nigeria-South Africa Baseline Study*, Cape Town, 2013.

South African companies have found a good ground for investment in Nigeria, some of which include MTN, Eskom Nigeria, South African Airways, Stanbic Merchant Bank Nigeria Ltd., Multichoice Nigeria/M-Net, Umgeni Water, Defresh Products Nigeria Ltd, South Africa-Nigeria Communications and Systems Ltd, Grinaker-LTA Construction Ltd, 150 Protea Hotels, Critical Rescue International, Global Outdoor Semces, Oracle Airtime Sales, and Digital Satellite Television.⁵²² The dominant ones making good profits in their area of operations include Chicken Republic, Critical Rescue, Defresh Products, Entech and Broll, Eskom, Global Outdoor Semces, Grinaker-LTA Construction, Massmart (Game), Oracle Airtime, Mr. Price, Nandos, Protea Hotels, SAB Miller, Sasol, Shoprite, South African Airways, Stanbic IBTC, Standard Chartered, St. Elmos, Truworths, Umgeni Water and Woolworths.⁵²³ Interestingly, in contrast to expectations of a balanced trade relation only a few Nigerian companies are operating in South Africa. These include Union Bank, First Bank, Philips Consulting, News Media, Financial Standard and This Day Newspapers.⁵²⁴ Oando and Dangote group of companies with headquarters in Nigeria invested \$400million and were listed in 2014 on the Johannesburg stock market.⁵²⁵

An examination of the trade statistic between Nigeria and South Africa indicates that Nigeria exported more crude oil to South Africa which means Nigerian export is in raw material rather than finished goods. South Africa, on the other hand, exported into Nigeria more finished industrial processed goods. Although the trade is in favour of Nigeria, due to the commercial importation to South Africa of crude oil, what South Africa gets from processing crude oil is not made public besides the advantage of producing more finished goods.

From 1994 to 2002, the balance of trade statistics indicates that by 1994, South Africa's export to Nigeria exceeded what Nigeria exported to South Africa. Nigeria's export was worth \$3.1 million and South Africa's export to Nigeria was worth \$8.1 million by 1994.⁵²⁶ Nigeria's export to South Africa by 2000 was worth \$128.1 million and imported about \$70.7 million worth of

⁵²² J.C. Egbulem 2013.

⁵²³ J.C. Egbulem 2013; E. M. Isike 2015; G. Dube and Rukema, J., 'Intracontinental Brain Drain and African Migrant Social Science Scholars in South Africa', *International Journal of Sociology*, 2013, 43, (1): pp. 68-78.

⁵²⁴ E.C.f.A. Reports 2016; T. Odubajo and S. Akinboye 2017; G.E. EZIRIM 2017; J.U. Eke and K.J. Ani 2017.

⁵²⁵ A. Segatti 2012; L. Fourchard and Segatti, A., 'Introduction of Xenophobia and Citizenship: The Everyday Politics of Exclusion and Inclusion in Africa', *Africa*, 2015, 85, (01): pp. 2-12.

⁵²⁶ J.C. Egbulem 2013; O. Agbu, *et al.* 2013. Africa today 30 September, 2006

goods the same year from South Africa.⁵²⁷ South Africa recorded a trade increase to Nigeria with an increase volume of 540% between 1999 and 2002.⁵²⁸ Nigeria in 2001-2002 exported product worth \$165.8 million and \$361.9 million. South Africa in the same year invested about \$164.8 million in addition to \$272.8 million into Nigerian economy. The trade balance between Nigeria and South Africa in 2003 amounted to over R5.3 billion. South Africa's export to Nigeria in the same year was valued at R2.3 billion while its import amounted to R2.7 billion in the same year. In 2005, commodities worth over R3.4 billion to Nigeria while Nigeria exported commodities worth R4.2 billion.⁵²⁹ Nigeria's trade relationship after 1999 started with only four companies. This was because of the return of democracy after the long period of military rule in Nigeria. South Africa was able to penetrate the entire West African Sub-region with its investment by 2012. Nigeria's trade balance with South Africa increase by 40% while South Africa import from Nigeria increased as well, rising from R16.08 billion in 2010 to R30.5 billion in 2012. The total trade between both countries stood at R36.6 billion in 2012.⁵³⁰ Summing up the Nigerian South African economic relationship, Umezurike opines that,

Clearly, the balance of trade between South Africa and Nigeria does not look bad for Nigeria, viewing the above analysis and figures. However, the advantage for South Africa is better understood when considering that Nigerian exports to South Africa are mostly primary goods while that of South Africa to Nigeria are finished goods. This may be interpreted as a form of neo-imperialism because there is unequal exchange and division of labour. While it must be noted that South Africa is not forcing the hands of Nigeria through an international economic regime which South Africa has control over, the largely Western ownership profile of the South African companies make them an extension of Western capital. This helps the case for labeling South Africa a sub-imperialist state as reflected in the literature.⁵³¹

⁵²⁷ J.C. Ebegbulem 2013.

⁵²⁸ D. Sega and F. Lekaba 2014.

⁵²⁹ Ibid.

⁵³⁰ D. Games 2013.

⁵³¹ S.A. Umezurike, 'South Africa's Economic Policy Towards Africa: African Renaissance or Neo-Imperialism?', PhD, University of Zululand South Africa South Africa 2015.

The Nigerian South Africa relationship on trade and investment need to be improved from mere export and import to direct investment. For example, the Nigerian government should enter into a favorable agreement with South Africa to build refineries in Nigeria so that the country's oil deposits would be better harnessed in the interest of better capital investment. Nigeria should not be exporting crude oil but rather export refined finished petroleum related products to the world, not just South Africa. However, the Nigerian economy has a potential for natural resources such as solid mineral, oil and gas, and uncultivated fertile agricultural lands, in addition to its large population which is a great potential for market.

Nigeria as a strategic partner in trade and diplomatic relations in the Africa continent, with South Africa as an important investor country into the Nigerian economy, are in partnership with each other on larger economic scale which leads to immigration of citizens across each other's state. Nigeria is yet to effectively tap any of its solid mineral reserves. There is a high demand, globally, for Nigeria's solid minerals. India, for example, requires 55 million tons of coal. There is also a high demand for iron ore which Nigeria has deposits in commercial quantities which can meet global demand. China, Brazil and many European countries have been making serious demands for Nigerian solid minerals. If the Nigerian economy can be redirected and diversified, using the oil resource into other sectors of the economy, Nigerians will have no need for migrating to other countries and suffer undue hardships and embarrassment, especially in South Africa. The South African economy on the other part has the fortune of holding ninety five percent of the world manganese, 60 % of the world diamond deposit, 66 % of the world gold reserve, and is equally an important exporter of forty five other valuable minerals. Important to the South African economy is that she straddles both the Atlantic and Indian oceans as well as being regarded as an indispensable gateway to the East.⁵³²

7.7 Foreign Policies

Nigeria, in the execution of foreign policy, has set objectives that it pursues as framework she hopes to achieve. Nigeria had always wanted South Africa to be free from the shackles of apartheid along other Southern African countries. The next thing was how Nigeria could engage South Africa in a meaningful manner that could be mutually beneficial to boost its economy,

⁵³² E. Reports, 'A Smear Campaign', *Daily Times* (1975).

which was the bigger challenge that the Nigerian state currently faced in its relations with its brother, South Africa, post 1994.⁵³³ Nigeria needs to put in place foreign ministers that are knowledgeable on the act of international diplomacy and experience in foreign relations. They should have the necessary charm and charisma to be able to do things for their country and to be able to re-strategise and re-direct the policy objectives of the country in a way that the country needs for new engagements that would resolve some of the issues that have bothered Nigeria for many years as a democratic independent nation. Nigeria was not snubbed but the next level needs a new strategy to build on the liberation relationship and security diplomacy that Nigeria engaged in the past for Africa.

It is highly probable that if it was not for South Africa's huge investment in Nigeria, the South Africa might not have bothered to apologize to Nigeria. The diplomatic reciprocity protection of Nigeria abroad and being law abiding are intertwined. Besides, if it was not for the resounding mismanagement of the nation's resources, now compounded by thieving and bureaucracy, there equally would have been adequate social provisioning and less unemployment, insecurity and other deprivations that force Nigerians to seek greener pasture in other countries, where they are often faced with embarrassment. No less worrisome are reports that most of the country's diplomatic missions abroad are intolerant, scarcely courteous or accommodative of Nigerians. This constitute grave challenge to the federal government if, in truth the primary responsibility of the country's envoys is protecting Nigerians in their countries of accreditation.⁵³⁴

There is a serious need for the Nigerian authorities in consultation with the diplomatic missions all over the world to revisit and deal with the image of the Nigerian migrants, caused by the stigma of drugs and all forms of criminalities.

Just like in the first instance, there have been prattles of official reaction. But why has Nigeria, which was once respected as the indisputable leader of Africa, become an object of international ridicule, even in Africa, while South Africa invokes its laws, which, allegedly, have been broken by alleged arms transaction? Nigeria on its part is threatening to deal with South Africa's economic interests in Nigeria for what it considers as orchestrated diplomatic embarrassment by

⁵³³ Editorial, 'Nigeria Southafrica Diplomatic Row', *The Punch*, (2012).

⁵³⁴ N.M. Editorials 2012.

South Africa.⁵³⁵ Without equivocation, these developments confirm that Nigeria's diplomatic standing in the community of nations has fallen very low. For the status of a nation is determined by how far she is treated by others under international relations.⁵³⁶ To stem the tide, authorities in Nigeria need to rise up to the modern trend of international diplomatic relation based on the global economy drivers of international relations.

The Nigerian National Security Adviser threatens South Africa that it would resort to strong arm tactics against South African's economic interest in Nigeria, in retaliation for monies seized by South Africa. While such tactics fall into what is referred to as real-politik in international relations, such threat can only be legitimate where similar unfavorable diplomatic standards to Nigerian companies doing business in South Africa. But if in the current imbroglio, Nigeria, through her own inefficiencies or through unlawful conduct, exposes herself to losses; she should bow her head in regret and work against the repeat of such tardiness next time. That is the honourable thing to do, not bear knuckle diplomacy, which may further ridicule the country in the international arena.⁵³⁷

Nigeria was surprised why any decent country would deny her access to arms, if she sought to buy - given Nigeria's participation in the UN peace keeping process of the many political crises in Africa and across the world. South Africa, with which Nigeria spent huge material and diplomatic resources to rescue from the pangs of apartheid, should not have refused Nigeria, a fellow African country, in dire need of weapons to meet its security challenges against the Boko Haram insurgency plaguing the country, given the fact that it had the capacity of spreading across the continent. South Africa should have been reminded of her past and the role Nigeria played in the interest of the African brotherliness under the Organisation of African Unity transformed into African Union.

Nigeria, while trying to make sense of the senselessness hauling of a humongous \$9.3 million cash, illegally, into South Africa for the so called arms deals, in a private jet, another scandal

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⁵³⁶ A.B. Akinterimwa 2008; Thisday, 'How Nigeria's Neighbours Are Using Crude Oil Prospecting to Fuel Another Rise of Boko Haram Terrorism in Nigeria', *Thisday*, (2017).

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broke that South Africans had seized yet another additional \$5.7 million, also paid under questionable circumstances to a South African firm for arms, showing the desperation of the Nigerian government at that time.⁵³⁸ While the Nigerian government was threatening retaliatory measures, the South African government was subjecting Nigerian monies to investigation. Meanwhile, the monies have been acknowledged by the Nigerian government as part of security deals to equip it for security in order to address the insurgencies in Nigeria.⁵³⁹

Two operational theatres define the Nigerian South African relationship in Africa and the global perspectives. At the African level, South Africa would be dominant and the patterns of anticipated relationship between it and countries of the southern African sub-region would be that those countries would emphasise cooperation but in reality would be that all those countries would be subordinated to South Africa. However, within the African level and particularly with countries like Nigeria and Egypt, the emphasis on their relationship would focus on coordinative, rather than subordinating factors.⁵⁴⁰

At the global level, relationships with countries like Nigeria and Egypt could become even more dangerously competitive and less compromising. This would be influenced by the almost unanimous overt and covert support that South Africa would get from the western countries in challenging primacy in defiance of African interest, or claims of the rights of leadership in matters affecting the destiny of Africa. The relationship at the African level appears to have been given a dangerously competitive foundation with the recent upsurge of xenophobia and especially with the targeting of Nigerians in South Africa.⁵⁴¹

Some South Africans think that Nigerian fight during the apartheid regime was for later economic gains ‘self-enlightened interest’, and not for altruistic considerations, as reported by some notable media houses. The government position differs from the response of the media in South Africa, especially captains of industries who feel threatened by the huge presence of

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⁵⁴⁰ J. Alechenu 2012.

⁵⁴¹ A. Alao, *Nigeria and the Brics: Diplomatic, Trade, Cultural and Military Relations*: South African Institute of International Affairs, 2011; L. Fioramonti and J. Kotsopoulos 2015.

Nigerian business people with an aggressive approach to doing business at all levels in the formal and informal sector of the South African economy.

The government of South Africa has always commended Nigeria's anti-apartheid struggle, however, distorted views concerning Nigerians role during apartheid are still held among many South Africans especially the born free who have no knowledge of apartheid and were not told and no effort is in place for such enlightenment by either government or non-governmental organisations in South Africa. This means that Africans relations with South Africa are not reflective of the lessons in history which are germane for national integration and co-operation of the African nations.

Nigeria and South Africa always had been openly and quietly strategizing for permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council, the idea of which led the two countries in dangerous engagements, leading to diplomatic rumpus. A critical analysis of the Nigerian South African relationship could be anchored on one of two notions or an admixture of both. The first is that as the two most influential countries on the continent, they are bound to rival and compete with one another in the political processes of resolving African numerous problems and influencing decisions of the African Union.⁵⁴² The second conjecture is that because of Nigeria's huge role in ending apartheid in South Africa, with the resulting so-called political debts which South Africa consequently owes Nigeria, the former is expected and indeed ought to carry the greater burden of cooperating with the latter, or rather should be more predisposed to do so, in an effort to achieve any greater burden. Dual leadership and shared political control of the current reality of the Nigerian–South African relationship appears to reflect the first assumption. South Africa has not taken any greater burden of cooperating with Nigeria. The relationship has been that of more crisis than cooperation. The Nigerian image in South Africa needs to be properly redeemed as negative perceptions are widespread amongst South Africans that the Nigerian people are aggressive in pursuing any ambition, be it in educational, business, and work opportunities. South Africans seem to be no march or ready for such aggressive and dynamic approach to pursuit of life goals and ambitions.⁵⁴³

⁵⁴² A. Ajala 1993.

⁵⁴³ Interview Okoro Ike age 45 Bloemfontein In Johannesburg on 22/03/2017

Government-to-government relationship appears cordial and bilateral relationship can be rightly described as cordial in some areas. But on the whole, the Nigerian South African relationship should improve more on the level of people-to-people cooperation and co-existence, as individuals are the reasons and drivers for which government purposes are pursued. The situation where the government appears friendly and the people coexist amidst misperceptions of fear and hatred of each other arising from suspicion is unhealthy for the Nigerian South African relationship.

In 1999, the Nigerian President elect, Olusegun Obasanjo, led a delegation to attend the inauguration of South African President Thabo Mbeki. Their entourage was halted at the OR Tambo airport. The delegation was requested to first present their yellow fever vaccination cards before they could be allowed to come down from their aircraft (Nigerian Airforce 1). The embarrassment was to the extent that the Nigerian High Commissioner in South Africa requested for refueling of the aircraft for immediate return. It was at this point that the yellow card vaccine requirement was waved. Despite diplomatic immunity that the presidential delegation, and the existence of Bi-lateral relations, the same treatment was granted to the former aviation, Patrick Aziza, when he came to South Africa on official duty.⁵⁴⁴

South African diplomacy towards Nigeria has been described most often, than not as aimed at undermining Nigeria's interest without provocation.⁵⁴⁵ Diplomacy in international relations is expected to replace the use of force with the power of lobbying aimed at promoting peaceful coexistence and not to promote belligerency.

Nigeria's diplomatic response has always been making haste to assist others and protect black dignity and culture all over the world, but it has been slow to offend others or retaliating and responding to the many diplomatic assaults increasingly mated against its person and citizens especially as witnessed with the Nigerian South African diplomatic fuss.⁵⁴⁶

⁵⁴⁴ J. Alechenu 2012.

⁵⁴⁵ O.B. AMAO and OKEKE-UZODIKE, U., 'Nigeria, Afro-Centrism and Conflict Resolution: Five Decades after—How Far, How Well?', *African Studies Quarterly*, 2015, 15, (4); A.M. Jega 2015; C. O 2015.

⁵⁴⁶ J. Taiwo and R. Ogbonannaya 2005; A.B. Akinterimwa 2008.

How should Nigeria and South Africa relate on the world stage so that the synergy from their joint efforts can empower Africa in the 21st century? Joy Ogwu examines the matrix of bilateral ventures for strategic partnership. One is to deepen a south-south kinship through coalition on issues of regional security, debts and trade. Second is to utilize the shared maritime assets of the Atlantic and Indian Ocean which can be exploited for mutual advantage.⁵⁴⁷ The platform of a future African parliament is one other suggestion to discuss African problems and find a common ground for resolutions based on the African perspectives and to deal with issues of political thuggery and corruption in the continent.⁵⁴⁸ This could fortify the AU, especially in the area of conflict resolution, promotion of democratic culture and human rights. Continental agencies like the African Continental Bank and African Economic Community have not made tangible impact on the lives of African people. Such transnational institutions should position Africa in adequately responding to Africa's emergencies of mega economic and political blocs that now dominate global affairs, since South Africa is an industrialised economy which also has a voice in global economic and political affairs.⁵⁴⁹

In economy and diplomacy, a coordinated African voice is needed for negotiation at the World Trade Organisation. For example, Nigeria and South Africa have the requisite resources and experience to provide the African voice. Kenya and Egypt could be included in the alliance for a balanced African response in the global affairs⁵⁵⁰ (Guardian 5/09/1999 p 9).

Despite recent diplomatic hassle between both countries, especially as it pertains to the ideological difference in the NATO intervention in the Libyan crisis which resulted in the killing of Gaddafi, the relationship of both countries remain cordial on paper and intergovernmental level.⁵⁵¹ Nigeria and South Africa need to deal with this internal rancor before enemies of the continent utilize the crack and create more division for their selfish gains, as the unity and cooperation of the two would lead to an economic liberation of the continent, added to the political independence.

⁵⁴⁷ G. Darah, 'Nigeria- South Africa: Twinned by Struggle', *The Guardian* (2001).

⁵⁴⁸ Editorial 2012.

⁵⁴⁹ R. Okere, 'Nigeria, South Africa's Economies Pivotal to Regional Development', *The guardian*, (2008).

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁵¹ M. Onuorah, 'South Africa Rules out Compansation for Deported Nigerians ', *The guardian* (2012).

7.8 Conclusion

Nigerian and South African diplomatic relations have been marked by fuss on one extreme and peaceful time on the other. South African foreign policy can only be understood when a careful study of its history is done. South Africa is coming from an apartheid background which has a negative effect on the understanding of its relationship with other African countries. Post-apartheid South Africa adopted foreign relations based on its human rights pursuit despite being known for the worst regime that committed the greatest atrocity against blacks during apartheid. The country is still being largely influenced by the foreign capitalist interests who seek to protect European and American business interests, judging from South African refusal to honour the agreements on visa issues. Nigeria can also be understood from the role she played in history during the liberation struggle. However, most South African top bureaucrats are still white which explains why the implementation of every decision reached is usually either delayed or outrightly rejected. Nigeria and South Africa have been involved in frosty relationship and this has affected its image on the international political arena. The two are important for African image in international organisations, especially at the UN and other international organisations. Despite Mandela's effort to help the Nigerian dictator, Sani Abacha, to stop the execution of the Ogoni activists, the country still went ahead and killed Ken Sarowiwa and the Ogoni 8, a situation which Mandela could not understand, as Nigeria had stood against such human rights violation but could also be involved in human rights abuse against her people. Mandela's action against Nigeria, which led to the suspension of Nigeria from the Commonwealth in 1995, could only be understood from his stand against human rights abuse.

However, the South Africa's decision to extradite Nigerians from the airport back to Nigeria, and several abuses against Nigerians in South Africa, are still issues of worry for the relationship of both nations. South Africa's decision to refuse Nigeria the sale of arms to deal with the Boko Haram insurgency was ill-conceived as the two most influential nations of Africa must cooperate in dealing with the insurgency challenge facing Nigeria as this has the potential of spreading beyond the Nigerian country to other parts of the West African Sub-region, which will lead to more forceful migration of people. South Africa being a functional economy, would bear the grunge of a large population of undocumented migrants.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

The focus of this section is to make an analysis of the findings and proffer possible solutions to the migration problem as it affects socio-economic, political and diplomatic relationship between Nigeria and South Africa. The chapter makes suggestion on better ways of improving relationships between both countries in terms of improving on existing migration policies, bilateral and diplomatic ties and removing all obstacles to issues of transfer of technology and development of the continent generally. It will in the final analysis proffer solution of a pan-Africanist economic model for Africa's economic integration.

The major finding in this research, based on the patterns of migration between Nigeria and South Africa is that human cross-border mobility has been ongoing between Nigeria and South Africa for over a century. Despite this long period of interaction, there is animosity between the two countries. Nigerians had immigrated into South Africa as early as 1905.⁵⁵² In 1907, the SUM missionaries came to Nigeria, on the invitation of the colonial government from England.⁵⁵³ The invitation was extended to the Dutch Reformed Church missionaries in South Africa which culminated to the coming of this set of missionaries to Nigeria in 1907. By 1911, they were assigned to Sai, a village in Benue state, to do evangelical work among the Tiv people of Nigeria.⁵⁵⁴ These missionaries established a relationship that culminated in the establishment of the NKST, which spread all over the central Nigerian area, although the majority of its followers were among the Tiv people. In an interview I was granted by the officials of the church, it was confirmed that although their contact with the mother church in South Africa was altered, due to Nigeria's stand against apartheid by the 1960s, the church has re-established its relationship with the DRCM in South Africa. In my interaction with the DRCM archival staff in Stellenbosch, they made available copies of the original missionaries' diaries. Although many were written in Afrikaans, some were already translated into English from which I could read; the other documents were translated by language experts in a department at the University of Zululand. The significance of these missionary journeys to Nigeria established the basis for modern education as the missionaries were able to establish schools in the European model, with the aim of getting missionary priests among the people for the purpose of evangelism; this led to the

⁵⁵² N.A.o.S. Africa 1963; N.A.o.S. Africa 1966.

⁵⁵³ T.L.S.S.A. Report 1909; L.S. Reports 1907.

⁵⁵⁴ SUM 1911; SUM 1911.

training of many people into different professions. Many interviewed people attested to the fact that had it not been for the missionary schools, the colonial government was not interested in the training of professionals. They acknowledged that the success of African professionals at that period was the effort of the missions.⁵⁵⁵ They also said the missionaries brought with them medical aid which led to the eradication of many diseases such as leprosy, which was prevalent among the Tiv. The missionaries also introduced new technologies in building and introduced new crops and seedlings, which today, Benue state of Nigeria has effectively utilised such that it is the major area that fruits like mango, orange, guava, cashew, and palm oil are grown. Although palm trees were naturally grown before the coming of the missionaries; the missionaries taught the people how to transplant and reproduce them. Today, they have become a viable export commodity.

During the same period, the British colonial government exposed the Nigerian regiment to Cape Town and other parts of the world. Colonel Powell was responsible for that task, where they fought in the First and First World Wars. The evidence is seen in the graves of some of the Nigerian regiment who died and were buried in Durban.⁵⁵⁶ This is also a wakeup call for the Nigerian army to collaborate with the South African Military authority to exhume the fallen heroes for proper burial, so that they can return home for their spirit to commune with their ancestors' home in Nigeria. These records are hardly found in any written history either in Nigeria or South Africa but were foundations on which modern migrations were based. This was the first phase of the patterns of migration between Nigeria and South Africa up to 1960.

The second phase of the phenomenon occurred between 1960 and 1994. This was marked by the gaining of independence by the Nigerian state from colonialism. This period coincided with the Sharpeville massacre which saw the height of the apartheid brutality that saw the death of many civilians at Sharpsville. Nigeria, then an independent country, took the responsibility predicated upon Nigeria's foreign policy objective of Africa as the centrepiece. Nigeria, through the UN, led other African countries to fight the liberation of all other countries in the southern parts of Africa. The significance of this was the acceptance of exiled South African ANC members who were escaping arrest and possible death from the apartheid regime. Nigeria, through its embassy

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⁵⁵⁶ N.A.N. Pretoria 14/12/1916.

in Botswana, offered its passports to many South Africans to travel all over the world and organised for many young South Africans to come to Nigeria to study at the high school. Nigeria opened her doors not only to the exiled but was also committed in terms of resources and diplomatic manoeuvres on the international scale to ensure the liberation of South Africa. This period saw the immigration of many South Africans to Nigeria. The significance of this period was that this migration was state controlled and an organised migration where South Africans were free to take up Nigerian scholarships in any university they chose to study, and many South African blacks who were educated, were offered job opportunities in Nigeria, the likes of Es'kia Mphahlele, Thabo Mbeki and many others were in Nigerian universities, polytechnics and in secondary and primary schools in Nigeria. Even when the Nigerian economy was going into recession and the Nigerian government clamped down on undocumented migrants, all South Africans and refugees from other countries were not affected by this deportation. This was the period that Nigeria spent much of her resources to the liberation of South Africa.

The third phase of the migration was at the liberation of South Africa from apartheid beginning from 1994. This period saw the mass exodus of Nigerian professionals and businessmen into South Africa on the invitation of the democratic government of South Africa. Nigerians, with the expectation that their kind gesture would be much appreciated by South Africans, migrated en masse into South Africa. Why did Nigerians migrate into South Africa at this time? And what were the patterns of these movements? Nigeria by the 1980s had started experiencing economic recession largely due to mismanagement and corruption in public places supervised by the various military governments who actually spearheaded the destruction of the Nigerian economy. Faced with this challenge and the brutality of the regime of Sani Abacha, immediately after the liberation was achieved, many Nigerian professionals were targeted as enemies of the regime once they criticise government policies. This was the reason, among many, that made both professionals and those seeking better life to immigrate into South Africa. By 1998, the first phase of xenophobia against African migrants was witnessed, although no Nigerian was killed in this crisis. This continued until 2015 with a constant repeat where many Nigerians were affected and killed, mistakenly believed to be drug pushers. This was the stage where the Nigerian South African migration witnessed frosty relationship at both official and people-to-people relationship.

This research found that the xenophobic phenomenon has the propensity of frustrating economic integration of the African states. Most of all, it has affected the image of South Africa among all African nations, and if not controlled, it has the capacity of igniting poor government relationships that would affect South Africa's investment not only in Nigeria but in other African countries whose citizens are affected by the crisis. South Africa and Nigeria should lead the way as two economic and political hopeful of the continent.

Migration should not be perceived in its negativity alone; in migration there are more positive gains if controlled by the state with a focus on national interest and development. The African migration patterns are not state controlled and therefore give room for the negative that the continent is experiencing now. The various African countries mostly take a critical look at the migration policies and call for a discussion for resolution of the conflicts. African migration within the continent should embrace the principle of the African Ubuntu. The South African scenario can be blamed on the apartheid regime largely due to the regime separating the black South Africans from other parts of the continent. Therefore, reintegrating South Africans into the African culture of Ubuntu is a process that needs to be pursued with all the seriousness it deserves. The research also found that the culture of violence, crime and drugs was not a new phenomenon introduced by post-apartheid migrants, but this had existed during the apartheid regime. The new dimension was the introduction of the big drug market and the sophistication surrounding it. The Nigerian drug cartel only discovered an existing market and grabbed the opportunity to make money. This can only be solved if corruption in the police and other security saddled with the responsibility are themselves free from drugs and the corruption surrounding them is actually dealt with. On extrajudicial killings of Nigerians, South African police are in the claim that they are illegal migrants or drug traffickers. Nigeria and South Africa has bilateral agreements; these include issues of security of lives and property of both citizens. If in truth the South African police indicted Nigerians, the Nigerians should be dealt with in accordance with the provisions of the law. One of such is to repatriate them back to Nigeria officially within the provision of Interpol police for which Nigeria and South Africa have agreed upon. This would help resolve the many cases of extrajudicial killings of Nigerians which most of the time are as a result of mistaken identity.

The integration of the Nigerian and South African people, especially the economy, is an urgent necessity if the development of Africa is to be pursued with vigour. Nigeria can rely on South Africa for technical assistance while South Africa can also benefit from the wide range of the highly skilled Nigerian migrants spread all over. For example, South Africa is in short of medical doctors despite the existence of relatively good medical facilities. This is apart from the fact that South Africa's investment in Nigeria is huge and will therefore not want any disruption of such relationship.

Nigeria and South Africa would need to work together on several fronts, if the dreams of ensuring the rebirth of pan-Africanism and African solution to African problems are to be sorted from the numerous socio-economic and political crises and external influences by big economic and former colonial influences to the domestic on ending crises of corruption, disease, poverty, landlessness and development related challenges. To address this, Nigeria and South Africa have no choice but to unite. Nigeria and South Africa should cooperate towards ensuring that the African renaissance campaign spearheaded by South Africa which culminated in the transformation of OAU to AU and the establishment of the NEPAD become a reality. To achieve this, would need the political will of both countries to be stable and avoid site distraction from external forces whose interest lies mainly in the destabilisation of the continent to gain access to cheap raw materials and exploit the vast natural mineral and oil resources of both countries. The two countries should pursue the part of peace and unity of the African continent. Peace and stability of the African continent should precede economic development. If there is peace and stability in Africa especially spearheaded by Nigeria, South African development will flow and Africa can then speak of technological development by way of Africa cooperation for transfer of technology across the continent, then the migration of Africans to South Africa alone would reduce and more positive relationships could be established and then the challenges of xenophobia /Afrophobia could be addressed.

How does migration affect the relationship? Nigeria, being the largest African market, is very significant for South African investment. South Africa's investment in the formal sectors of the Nigerians economy is huge while Nigeria has only a few numbers of formal investors in the South African economy if not near to none; meanwhile, Nigerian informal sectors investment in South Africa is very large. The level of the integration of the South African blacks is still low.

By 1994, there were the eruption of the Mozambicans, Malawians Angolans, Swazi, Lesotho, Zimbabweans and all other SADC member countries coming en masse into South Africa, which has always been the case during apartheid however, on a restricted level because of the control by apartheid regime.

Although the migrants from those immediate neighbouring countries were not seen so much as a threat, the entry of the Nigerian and other West African migrants by 1994 became a problem. As these sets of migrants came with new ideas and could compete even with the white minorities who controlled the economy of South Africa, they were therefore seen, as a greater threat to the black South African because these sets of migrants were very aggressive in pursuing their goals. Even the low skilled migrant became successful once they set themselves on business in South Africa.⁵⁵⁷ Highly skilled Nigerian migrants became almost equal with their former white oppressors and even some whites were taking orders from the highly skilled Nigerian migrants.

This was seen as unacceptable to uneducated black South African communities as they saw a fellow black rubbing mind with the white whom they revered. Migrants were seen as taking over what belongs to the indigene South African blacks. The South African government did not help matters by diverting the attention of the people towards migrants. The people reacted and in reacting, their xenophobia was not elite guided. If it were elite guided they would have probably narrated their experiences with the Nigerians and tell their story to the people on how well they were received in their time of exile. They would probably have told them how the Nigerian government sponsored so many of the young pupil and university students to study in Nigeria. They would probably have narrated to them how Nigeria took their matter as a personal matter before the UN from 1960 to 1994. This was not narrated and is still not being told by the exile themselves to the people especially the younger generation the “born free” (1994-date). This narrative is necessary in order that younger generation of African should know this history to guide them in international relation both within and outside of the African continent. There are no two Africas, we all belong to one Africa and must push for one pan-Africanism initiated from the 1960s since African countries became independent of colonialism. African Ubuntu should be

⁵⁵⁷ A. Ogunsanwo, '70 Years Old, Interviewd on 15/01/2017, Ibadan Lecturer with Lead University ', in ed. by At Lead university Ibadan, Former Nigerian Ambassador to Botswana (Narated his experience with South African students in ABU, and he was also thought in primary school by a South African black).

reawakened in the best interest of peace and stability of the continent, which is necessary for development and regional integration.

Part of the problem is the large presence of individual Nigerian migrants in South Africa. Individual Nigerian investors in the informal sector of the South African economy strive well and get better results. The informal sector consists of those businesses that are not registered in any way. They are generally small in nature, and are seldom run from business premises. Instead, they are run from homes, street pavements or other informal arrangements. Artisans, brick layers and even preachers from Nigeria seems to get better money because they have large followership than their South African counterparts leading to large religious tourism to Nigeria as mentioned earlier.⁵⁵⁸

Black South African elite have not been able to take charge of the economy. Most of the elite in South Africa have been concerned with self-interest and promotion within the modern South African structure. Many South African blacks, because of the long history of deprivation from the economy, have concentrated in self-enrichment of themselves at the detriment of the common good of the people. They misunderstood liberation for economic corruption just as it is the mistake with older democracy like Nigeria which became a country that produces leaders that are interested in looting the Nigerian treasury for their self-interest rather than the common good of the people. South Africa should learn more from the mistakes of the other African states and avoid failure as well.

In an interview with an informant, South African blacks came to Nigeria even before the 1960s, which means that black South Africans were in Nigeria during the colonial era as the apartheid regime was getting more apprehensive to the blacks, which also coincided with the rise of the ANC. These black South Africans were denied employment opportunities in their country, and hunted as political opposition to the apartheid regime, therefore had to emigrate. They were the educated black Africans. They were employed as teachers and allowed to work in the civil service of Nigeria, some as teachers, engineers, agriculturists, artisans and brick layers. It should

⁵⁵⁸ J.I. Elaigwa, 'Professor ', in *Jos Plateau state Nigeria*, ed. by Intervied on 22/12/2016 (Institute of Governance and Social Research Former member of the National Action Against apartheid, A committee set by the Nigerian government charge with the responsilby of raising fund to fund the ANC in exile and cordinate the training of black South African all over the world.
, 70 years old).

be noted that emigration from the Southern African sub-region was informed by the political circumstance of apartheid and affected all the countries in the region. Nigeria was therefore a harbour for most of these migrants.⁵⁵⁹

The policy adopted by Nigeria for the migrants was that after their education, which was fully funded by the Nigerian government, they were free to stay and take up employment in Nigeria without any form of discrimination.

The struggle in South Africa was multi-dimensional, in South Africa, more than 95% of black South Africans did not leave the country; they remained in the country and continued to fight against apartheid at home; only a small percentage of say 15% went out of the country who became the representative of the ANC in exile and played a significant role in mobilizing resources and sensitizing other Africans and the whole world on the dangers of apartheid in South Africa.⁵⁶⁰ These were the people that influenced global decisions in connection with the ANC in exile and at home. They fought from outside and mobilized both military and financial support for the liberation movement. You are not likely to find a situation among those former exile elite who returned home after the liberation was achieved in 1994, where they would be hostile against African migrants in South Africa. The apartheid government gave the black Africans that were left at home the wrong impression. They were told that they were 'superior people to the rest of Africa'. Since they never travelled out to other countries within Africa they could not differentiate between the lie told them by their white oppressors and the realities in other African countries, it was easier to accept that kind of indoctrination.⁵⁶¹ This became difficult for the few exiled returnees to convince the public of the hospitality they were offered beside the fact that they returned and get busy with governance of the people.

When you have a situation in which you have migration as it is ongoing in Europe, the people who are most likely to hate it are the people at the lowest levels, because they are the ones who will not mind to take any job. They feel threatened that they are the people at the low-paying jobs. You are not likely to find a situation where educated people are xenophobic. This is not in any way suggesting that, among some highly educated people you would not find some people

⁵⁵⁹ A. Ogunsanwo Narated his experience with South African students in ABU, and he was also thought in primary school by a South African black

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who are highly bigoted, but they do that not because they feel threatened, and not because of any feeling of inferiority, but because they choose to be bad people and are a misrepresentation of their status; this also arises because they too might have not travelled to other parts of the world to experience others. By and large you will find among South Africans who were abroad, as highly accommodating because they know what it feels to be foreign. They were once in a foreign land and they were accommodated. There is also the fact that the struggle was taking place at various levels, therefore, it is possible to argue that a lot of South Africans simply felt that they had no choice but to accept the assistance which was given, because they had no choice as apartheid was killing the people coupled with their brutal oppression, and that by and large, they expressed appreciation and that they would continue to do so.⁵⁶²

The dynamics of emigration and immigration are two concepts necessary in the discussion on the Nigerian South African relationship since 1960. Emigration refers to the movement of people from their country to another country; for example, South Africans leaving their country for Nigeria is referred to as emigration. Immigration refers to the entry of people into another country. Migration therefore involves the two terms where people are either emigrating or immigrating.

By 1960, there was the emigration of more South African blacks into Nigeria than there was the emigration of Nigerians into South Africa. There seemed to be less Nigerians in South Africa at this period, owing to the migration policies of the apartheid regime, although some Nigerians, as pointed out, were immigrating into South Africa, their presence was not very significant to create any problem.

The essence of distinguishing between immigration and emigration is to show that apartheid South Africa saw very little or nothing of emigration into South Africa from Nigeria by the 1960s. Within the same period, because of Nigeria's stand against apartheid, there was a lot of emigration of South Africans into Nigeria, University of Jos, Lagos, University of Nigeria Nsukka, University of Ife, ABU Zaria, University of Ibadan, and many other higher institutions and secondary schools in Lagos and Ibadan were hosts to many refugee students, who were under Nigerian scholarship, and could take up employment in Nigeria after studying or be

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sponsored for further studies to any country of their choice under the Nigerian sponsorship. This was to ensure that the refugee students from Southern Africa were protected in the interest of pan-Africanism.

Assistance in kind and cash was offered in support of the liberation movement. Assistance to the freedom fighters themselves to travel to any part of the world was offered by the Nigerian government in the interest of a pan-Africanist agenda to free its African brothers in the southern African countries with South Africa as the main target.

From 1994, Nigerians started moving into South Africa, from aggressive emigration of South African elite into Nigeria, to an incredible emigration of Nigerians into South Africa. Unfortunately, the proportion of the elite that migrated into South Africa was much less than the proportion of illiterate and others who were just adventurers into South Africa. The problem that this created was that in South Africa, between 1994 and 1995, there was a gap in excessively high expectations of black South Africans and performance. From high expectation we have expectation growing slowly into frustrations. The ANC government was advised to embark on rapid housing and employment, by a committee of African experts and intellectuals from other African countries, especially those who assisted in the liberation struggle. Nigerian academics were part of the draft policies for the progress of the ANC government. Unfortunately, many black South Africans were not employable due to the long period of exclusion brought by apartheid from the Bantustan system which did not allow many blacks to be educated except for the very few that were privilege to go on exile to other countries. Upon this realisation again the new democratic government of South Africa was advised to embark on massive education of the disadvantaged black South Africans to accommodate them into the civil service and private entrepreneurial economic environment created by the new democracy. It should be noted that South Africans were painfully dislocated, disenfranchised, and robbed of their lands. For most parts of Africa, land means two things: it is not an economic item alone; for Africans land is sacred because it contains the ancestors who were buried in it. Land gives you a sense of identity, but beyond that it also sustains the living from an economic point of view. The apartheid government did not care about the people's needs, especially black Africans, who were used only to provide forced labour on the gold and diamond mines. The problem of South Africa after 1994 was how to educate the blacks and integrate them into the South African economy.

Here they found many people who could not be employed, who had no job; who could not be absorbed into the public sector, and had no qualifications for the job. The apartheid economy had already alienated them from any form of participation except as hirelings. The government's focus was how to integrate this majority of black population that was disenfranchised in the economy, employment, land and education.

The ANC tried to get some of the elite as an immediate economic measure to participate into the economic sector and by that they created a class of some rich black people through government empowerment for the black to get into business and became big entrepreneurs themselves.

Nigeria supported the fight within South Africa and the training of manpower of South Africans outside South Africa. Nigeria contributed to dealing with emigrants from South Africa who later became nationalist and freedom fighters. Nigeria, as part of their support for the ANC in exile, recognised the party outside of its country where it was regarded as a terrorist organisation with all its members treated as such by the apartheid government in South Africa. Apart from this support, Nigeria was training its younger population for future role in South Africa. Many of the liberation fighters who were in other countries got funding from Nigeria directly.⁵⁶³

For Nigeria, it was such an important thing that there were contributions not only in kind but also in cash. Many South Africans were funded by Nigerians for their international trips for lobbying and buying of arms for the home front.

Between Mbeki as Vice President and Mandela as President, their differences was that the people were scared of Mbeki, with his nationalism because being one of those external nationalist as a result of his exile experience. Many South Africans were satisfied that Mandela would protect the interest of the white South Africans. But Mbeki had come to learn his lesson and took care of every interest in South Africa.

Why then would South Africa experience some of these anti Nigerian feelings? The way South Africans feel about the migrants from the neighbouring SADC countries is different from the feelings about migrants from Nigeria. Migrants within SADC have always been going into South

⁵⁶³ J.I. Elaigwa 70 years old and some former surviving members of the NACAP in Nigeria who said they should be anonymous. These are found in Jos, Ibadan, Lagos, and Kaduna. On 08-20 December, 2016 (Kaduna), 06-15 January (Lagos and Ibadan) At the Nigerian institute of International Affairs and Leads University Ibadan, in all the places visited I was in the National archives located in this states.

Africa but only competing with them on menial jobs which black South Africans were not allowed to do or if they were, they were not fully absorbed. When Nigerians immigrated, even the illiterate unskilled migrants went in and became highly entrepreneurial. They exported the criminal dimension of their scandalous hard work from Nigeria to South Africa, allied with some South African drug peddlers, and had collaborators with their fellow criminals in South Africa. All the crooks in Nigeria had similar crooks in South Africa, therefore, Nigerians in the informal sector and mostly undocumented migrants are daily being killed over disagreements among drug merchants.⁵⁶⁴

The Nigerian role and position in ECOWAS is very significant in terms of the West African regional integration process. In terms of the migration of people, the free movement charter for 90 days without visa across the West African region is worthy of commendation; indeed, the security role Nigeria played in the sub-region is very commendable. However, South Africa should replicate a similar achievement in the Southern African sub-regional integration process. South Africa still has a long way in terms of human integration across the SADC sub-regional groupings. The only success it has made is in terms of investment across the entire sub-region and the West African sub-region. South African investors still remain their former white oppressors who control the economy of the country and have now, with liberation, been able to spread across the continent. The legacies of apartheid are yet to be fully overcome even in the new democratic South Africa.⁵⁶⁵

Nigerian diplomacy which is predicated upon benevolence should have been predicated upon favourable conditions to the country; every monetary gift should have been given as interest free loans payable in kind whenever the need arises. African countries indebted to Nigeria would not have seen Nigeria as a toothless bulldog which barks without biting. At least Nigeria should have been asking for a drawdown of terms of payment especially in terms of getting those smaller countries to give them their mandate in international organisations especially at the AU, UN and the Commonwealth. When Nigeria needs their votes and the country refuses, then Nigeria could lay down conditions for the repayments of such loans or that country should reconsider its stand against Nigeria's interest in international relations. Nigeria's benevolence has been abused both

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⁵⁶⁵ E. M. Isike 2015.

within the African continent and outside of Africa. However, Nigerian leaders are to be blamed for the responses its citizens receive and its image due to the widespread corruption and collaboration with foreigners to exploit the country's resources illegally.⁵⁶⁶

Any country's domestic environment determines its foreign policy. The problem is that Nigeria has not sufficiently mobilized its domestic environment to the capacity that it would support its foreign policy. Nigeria has enough domestic economic capacity which it can mobilize in international relations if it could produce aggressive and purposeful leadership which would fight internal corruption and utilize its economic potential to gain the confidence of its international allies.⁵⁶⁷

Africa has no option other than mobilising itself for a proper and workable integration. Africa must call upon its intellectuals to deliberate on how Africa's integration process should be and discuss how to establish structures of economic integration. Africa should have started like Europe by creating structures of economic integration. Even though some of the complementary structures that Africa has are similar to those of the European Union, it should have at least started by integrating the regional economy and see whether it could be complimentary and develop strategies on how to strengthen it to be complementary to export and import issues. Greater challenges that threaten the African regional integration are the external influences which threaten the unity and peace of the continent. The challenges begin with the sad experience of the Nigerian state facing the upsurge of insurgencies which are highly predicated upon external influences and sponsor from the country's rich resources. Recent newspaper publications indicate that the hidden intentions behind the Boko Haram insurgency and their collaborators are politically motivated with foreign sponsors whose intentions are the petroleum resources discovered in commercial quantity in the Lake Chad areas. The paper quoted a source that pleaded anonymity admitting that:

The motive behind the operations of the Boko Haram terrorists is politically motivated with the aid of foreign sponsors who have their eyes on the crude oil deposit in the Lake Chad region. Recent advances have given the militants two clusters of territory which form a strategic crescent around the Borno State

⁵⁶⁶ Thisday 2017.

⁵⁶⁷ E. OKPOKPO 2000; D. Sega and F. Lekaba 2014.

capital, Maiduguri, a swathe of land along the South-western shore of Lake Chad, a number of towns in Yobe and Adamawa in Nigeria and along the unmanned Cameroonian border, and Fokotol and surrounding areas in northern Cameroon”. The delay in the exploration of petroleum resource on the side of the Nigerian area of Lake Chad has Chad understood to be benefitting from the delayed commercial exploration, as it taps oil from shared underground reserves irrespective of geographical sovereignty. It is reported that some prominent Nigerian and Chadian politicians have personal business interests in the Chadian oil industry and consequently have a vested interest in ensuring the Boko Haram militancy continues to destabilise North-eastern Nigeria and prevent Nigerian commercial oil production. According to investigations, the neighbouring Francophone colonies, Chad, Cameroon, and Niger without compensating Nigeria are now drilling off and selling significant quantities of Nigeria’s oil under partnerships with multinationals. It was also discovered that big players have abandoned Nigeria and invested heavily in its neighbours. Billions of dollars have been spent by multinationals in the Lake Chad exploration in Chad, and this oil is tapped through Chad. The over 2 billion oil reserves are flowing through the Chad-Cameroon pipeline leaving Nigeria out of the loop. A top staff of one of the International Oil Corporations based in Chad stated that “Currently, oil from Lake Chad being drilled by the Republic of Chad is transferred to a stationary FPSO – Floating, Production, Storage and Offloading vessel, which can store over 2 million barrels of oil and processed oil shipped through tankers to the international refineries at the Port of Le Havre in France.” According to a report by Reuters in 2013, “France was said to have sponsored Boko Haram with a donation of a whopping sum of 3.15 million dollars which was supposedly paid as “ransom” for the release of a single abducted French family. In that transaction, France had Cameroon also release several top Boko Haram commanders who were in Cameroonian jails.⁵⁶⁸

⁵⁶⁸ Thisday 2017.

This external interest has been the unseen hands in the destabilisation of the African development agenda; they are orchestrated in different forms including the various crises that Africa witnesses across borders. Recent xenophobia against African migrants could also be argued as having the influence and control of the unseen hands. Africa therefore has to identify who its true friends are and who are the enemies in the international arena. Who are interested in Africa's resources to the extent that they strive better when Africa is thrown into confusion, and also benefit in two-folds, selling arms manufactured in their industries, and exploiting the raw mineral resource from Africa during the crisis period in exchange for weapons for so called defence? Africa has come a long way. It is either they identify the footpath of their founding fathers whose philosophy was Africa's integration and unity based on a borderless Africa, or each goes their separate ways and surely they will all perish. In our final conclusion, Africa's unity is non-negotiable. It is a task that African leaders must pursue if the task of development would be achieved, for united we stand and divided we all shall fall.

That migration between Nigerian and South Africa is an age long phenomenon is no longer in doubt, for over 100 years, human migration between Nigeria and South Africa has been going on at both individual and governmental level. During the colonial era, there was migration of the colonial authorities between the two countries. Colonialism relied on white South Africans to come and work in the colonial civil service in Nigeria. While that was going on, there was the immigration of the DRCM from Stellenbosch to Nigeria who came on the invitation of the SUM who were invited by the colonial government. Nigerians also immigrated into South Africa as early as 1905 - a case in point is the archival records of black Nigerian Bantus in the Cape Town archive. While that was going on, the First and First World War broke out. Colonel Powell took the Nigerian regiment to Cape Town and Nigeria fought the war on the side of Britain, her colonial authority. Some of the Nigerian soldiers died in the course of the war and were buried in Durban, evidence was provided by my visit to the graveside and the archival records available in Cape Town and the Pretoria National archives. Migration has been going on between the two countries for over a century; a proper documentation of the phenomenon needed a historian to further study the patterns of this human mobility. The second phase of the migration was during the apartheid regime beginning from 1948. By 1960, Nigeria had gained her political independence from Britain and focused her resources and attention on the human degradation that was going on in Southern Africa. In this regard, Nigeria fought against the apartheid regime

until it was finally overthrown in 1994. In the course of the liberation struggle, Nigeria welcome all political exiles who were willing to come to Nigeria. Nigeria did not only welcome political exiles but also organised for a number of young South African blacks to be brought to Nigeria and trained in colleges and universities, many of whom were too young and had to start in high school. Nigeria aided in the battle through diplomatic manoeuvres in the UN and the Commonwealth which saw apartheid South Africa's expulsion in 1961. The struggle against the apartheid regime was one of the most difficult diplomatic phases in the history of Nigerian external relations.

The research also analysed the current migration of people from Nigeria to South Africa in the post-apartheid era which saw the emergence of new form of relationship in the form of the violent xenophobia after the democratisation of South Africa. This study discovered that the violence experienced in South Africa was part of the legacy of a broken society that apartheid had left and it transcended in the form of ignorance, poverty, disease and lack of knowledge of fellow Africans by black South Africans, which was one of the consequences of the apartheid legacy. The regime had separated black South Africans from other Africans and therefore this became a challenge after apartheid was defeated. The study has postulated an idea for the integration of Africa based on a pan-African model. That Africa has no choice than to unite if progress in the continent is to be achieved, and then Nigeria and South Africa must lead the integration process, copying from the regional success story of ECOWAS. Africa should also emphasise more on what unites them as a continent more than what divides them as a people who need each other to develop.

Migration is an age long engagement that humanity cannot stop; this means that Africa has to brace up for this phenomenon because Africa cannot be left in isolation. This study recommends a number of measures that can be used to check the challenges that the Nigerian/South African migration faces. That the two countries are very strategic and significant for Africa is no longer a question, and so they have to formulate modalities of control and how this can be turned for progress.

Africa's reliance on the production of raw materials, mainly as its contribution in the global economy should be improved upon for more industrialised commodities in order to add value to

its export on the international arena, as history has taught us that reliance on raw material alone would impoverish Africa as observed by Ankomah:

History is the only available lesson to economists and history shows that no country has ever become rich by exporting foodstuffs and raw materials only without also having an industrial sector and modern terms and advanced service sector. History also taught us that the more a country relies on the production of raw materials only the poorer it becomes.⁵⁶⁹

The more poor countries keep supplying raw materials to the richer countries the poorer they will remain because without a servicing industrial sector to boost agricultural production. Africa would never become rich with the supply of raw material only to the developed rich economy of the world. The main issue Africa must insist on is not to allow political or technical dilemmas to overcome Africa's strategic aspirations, but rather to address them as they arise. Africa should work together and find solutions that allow Africa to keep progressing as a continent. Africa should not allow the old style of one of its former colonial powers, Britain, which was to divide and rule, to overcome its good and genuine intentions. The same intrigue rose up in 2002 when the external partners discovered that an articulate and effective African Union could rise from the ashes of the old OAU to the new AU.

We therefore recommend strong unity of the African states in addressing external influences on both its political and economic relations, beginning with all its former colonial powers and, by extension, all the big economies in the world as the development of the African economy by Africans would mean the failure of Euro/American influence over production and supply in Africa. This would have greater effects on the migration of Africans outside of Africa and with peace among the African countries based on the African Ubuntu. Issues of xenophobia and crimes such as drug trafficking, human trafficking and violent crimes would be reduced. Nigeria and South Africa should be the vanguard for such unity based on the AU charter and pursue issues of industrialisation with all the vigour and political will needed to attain economic growth and development.

⁵⁶⁹ This Day 2007.

Nigeria and South Africa should address the insecurity prevalent on borders even although the two do not share a common border, but Nigeria from the ECOWAS and South Africa from SADC are significant partners which should coordinate regional economic integration within the sub-region which would open the way for an all-encompassing African continent. If this relationship is improved upon the two can work towards a possible removal of all visa issues based on the ECOWAS regional integration which can help all Africa. ALL that is required is training of immigration officers on regular basis through workshops on issues of border policing. They should be constantly updated on issues of ethics and integrity, corruption of public officers, interaction with others, fraudulent documentation, lifestyle management, and decision making. Vehicle search and intelligence, automated information system and media relation, among others.

Amongst the delicate issues facing South Africa is the relationship with other African countries; disturbed by the xenophobic attacks on African migrants, especially Nigerians in South Africa. This need to be addressed with the urgency it deserves as the economic fortunes of African states from history shows that maintenance and continuity is a big challenge. So, should the South African economy fail, which African country would be willing to accept South African refugees? With the experience of migrants in the current circumstance, it would be difficult, owing from the debt South Africa owed from the apartheid regime, which saw the unity of the African nations in the expression of the African Ubuntu. This Unity should not be allowed to die from the current experiences as Africans need each other.

Nigerians are all over the world, with South Africa receiving a fair share of the population of Nigerians, largely due to economic failure; the state failure to protect human lives and their properties largely due to the rise of insurgencies in the North East; the rise of ethnic militia, and secessionist agitations; these are among the many problems faced by the Nigerian state as a result of a long period of corruption in public office, orchestrated by the political elite of Nigeria. We recommend therefore that the Nigerian state should, as a matter of urgency, address the insurgency in the north east. This however, cannot be left to the Nigerian state alone, as the Boko Haram saga has the tendency of spreading to other African states. South Africa should work together with the Nigerian authorities to provide especially arms and technical assistance to Nigeria to resolve this problem, as allowing a war in Nigeria has the capacity of a global

migration explosion giving the huge population of Nigerian. South Africa would not be left out of the challenge of the refugee crisis.

South Africa has a data base which helps it identify its citizens while Nigeria on the other hand is still struggling to identify her citizens as the national identity programme keeps failing. Nigeria should learn the lesson from South African success in the documentation and national identity programme to enable it to have a national data base especially in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, particularly the immigration office.

The unity of Nigeria and South Africa in addressing the many African migration issues would help in curtailing the numerous Africans who daily seek to cross the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea to Europe. Africa must unite in the best interest of the continent. Nigeria and South Africa must drive the bases for this cooperation.

Migration has become a global challenge that Africa need to face with all the seriousness it deserves. Nigeria and South Africa cannot remain in isolation of each other; therefore, they must resurrect the lost culture of the African ubuntu while addressing the border issues, security challenges especially the insurgency challenge in Nigeria, poverty and hunger in Africa. Nigeria, an older democracy should lead other African countries in addressing the challenges of corruption in public offices and produce leaders that would have the political will in addressing not just the migration challenges in Africa but the many development issues facing the continent . Nigerian citizens all over the world must conduct themselves in a more honourable way “they should be told that they are the public face of Nigeria abroad and that they are unpaid ambassadors of Nigeria and that whatever they do, has repercussion on the relationship with their host countries. It would be impossible for Nigeria to defend the indefensible when they misbehave or go against the laws of their host countries”. This is the sad reality that the Nigerians have found themselves in due to the activities of few criminal elements amongst Nigerian immigrant. The identity of crime, drug trafficking and human trafficking is now the new identity, unfortunately, that surround the Nigerian person in South Africa. South Africans should also acknowledge that many Nigerians have genuine businesses and others in universities are helping and producing many black academics in South Africa.

Nigeria, apart from being the most populous black African nation, has a very mobile population spread all over the world. South Africa happened to be one of such countries with a considerable population of Nigerian migrants. Most African countries treat Nigerians badly. The basis for this is the apparent non-conformity by some Nigerians with morals and traditions of their host countries. Nigeria also has a reputation for carrying drugs, human trafficking, for the purpose of prostitution and for the exploiting the spiritual needs of their host and general loud behaviour. These are expressed in the Nigerian Nollywood, and the general misconduct of a few disgruntled Nigerians. This builds a negative perception of Nigerians as gold diggers in foreign lands.

Nigerian foreign policies have been criticised as a Santa Claus foreign policy in relation to African countries over the years. Nigerian extravagant spending on issues not directly affecting it has not been reciprocated with kind gesture by fellow African countries who benefit from Nigeria's benevolence. Nigeria spent over \$10 billion dollars in making peace in Liberia and Sierra Leone and over \$10 billion in the liberation struggle to undermine apartheid South Africa, and granting concession on sale of crude to some African countries like Ghana and other West African countries. Generosity with economic resources in the interest of Africa's decolonisation and maintaining the peace on the African continent with commensurate economic gains was what informed the foreign policy frame of the Nigerian government since 1960. Nigeria would defend the rights of all black Africans all over the world, particularly on the African continent. This informed the reason for Nigeria to break diplomatic relations with France in 1961 over the testing of atomic bomb in the Sahara, which would have exposed Africa to increased incidences of cancer if Nigeria has not acted against France and stopped them from carrying out the test. Nigeria alone bore the brunt of France's anger because no other African country followed the Nigerian example. France today is unfriendly to Nigeria, especially in the wake of the recent insurgencies in Nigeria, where France and America refused to sell arms to the Nigerian army accusing it of human rights violation which of course is a cover up to punish Nigeria.

Currently, the domestic challenges in Nigeria are rampant. Corruption in public offices need to be addressed urgently. The government institutions have decayed leading to inefficiencies; there is nepotism, ethnic politics, and religious fundamentalism which climaxed in the rise of the Boko Haram terrorist group. Many other challenges have climaxed with the recent economic recession,

sending many young Nigerians as migrants spread all over the world in search for better life and employment.

Many Nigerians outside the country, contribute positively to the receiving country and send remittances to Nigeria of not less than \$5 billion and \$10 billion annually into the Nigerian economy. If only because of this, the Nigerian government needs to protect and defend its citizens against every form of xenophobic violence, especially as witnessed with the current Nigerian South African relationship, except in situations where the Nigerians are confirmed to be involved in criminal activities. In the final analysis, Nigeria and South Africa are better together, if they identify the reasons for this frosty relationship and adequately address them as they have more in common than what divide them. Africa can be better with the reinvigoration of the pan-African solidarity as seen in the unity of Africa against colonialism and apartheid, which led to political decolonisation of the whole Africa, championed by Nigeria.

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Appendices

Appendix I Turnitin Report

A Historical Analysis of Nigeria-South Africa Migration Patterns since 1960: Implications for their Socio-Political and Economic Relations			
ORIGINALITY REPORT			
16%	11%	6%	9%
SIMILARITY INDEX	INTERNET SOURCES	PUBLICATIONS	STUDENT PAPERS
PRIMARY SOURCES			
1	Submitted to University of Zululand Student Paper		3%
2	nouedu.net Internet Source		1%
3	Submitted to University of Johannesburg Student Paper		<1%
4	safpi.org Internet Source		<1%
5	Submitted to University of KwaZulu-Natal Student Paper		<1%
6	www.academicjournals.org Internet Source		<1%
7	www.ia-forum.org Internet Source		<1%
8	Olayiwola Abegunrin. "Africa in Global Politics in the Twenty-First Century", Springer Nature,		<1%

Appendix ii

Ethical Clearance

**UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND
RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE**
(Reg No: UZREC 171110-030)



RESEARCH & INNOVATION

Website: <http://www.unizulu.ac.za>
Private Bag X1001
KwaDlangezwa 3886
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ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

Certificate Number	UZREC 171110-030 PGD 2016/152						
Project Title	A historical analysis of Nigeria-South Africa migration patterns since 1960: Implications for their socio-political and economic relations						
Principal Researcher/ Investigator	LG Pienswang						
Supervisor and Co- supervisor	Dr HA Onapajo				Dr MZ Shamase		
Department	History						
Nature of Project	Honours/4 th Year		Master's		Doctoral	x	Departmental

The University of Zululand's Research Ethics Committee (UZREC) hereby gives ethical approval in respect of the undertakings contained in the above-mentioned project proposal and the documents listed on page 2 of this Certificate.

Special conditions:

- (1) This certificate is valid for 3 years from the date of issue.
- (2) Principal researcher must provide an annual report to the UZREC in the prescribed format [due date-31 August 2017]
- (3) Principal researcher must submit a report at the end of project in respect of ethical compliance.

The Researcher may therefore commence with the research as from the date of this Certificate, using the reference number indicated above, but may not conduct any data collection using research instruments that are yet to be approved.

Please note that the UZREC must be informed immediately of

- Any material change in the conditions or undertakings mentioned in the documents that were presented to the UZREC
- Any material breaches of ethical undertakings or events that impact upon the ethical conduct of the research

Classification:

Data collection	Animals	Human Health	Children	Vulnerable pp.	Other
X					
Low Risk		Medium Risk		High Risk	
		X			

The table below indicates which documents the UZREC considered in granting this Certificate and which documents, if any, still require ethical clearance. (Please note that this is not a closed list and should new instruments be developed, these would require approval.)

Documents	Considered	To be submitted	Not required
Faculty Research Ethics Committee recommendation	X		
Animal Research Ethics Committee recommendation			X
Health Research Ethics Committee recommendation			X
Ethical clearance application form	X		
Project registration proposal	X		
Informed consent from participants	X		
Informed consent from parent/guardian			X
Permission for access to sites/information/participants	X		
Permission to use documents/copyright clearance			X
Data collection/survey instrument/questionnaire	X		
Data collection instrument in appropriate language		Only if necessary	
Other data collection instruments		Only if used	

The UZREC retains the right to

- Withdraw or amend this Certificate if
 - o Any unethical principles or practices are revealed or suspected
 - o Relevant information has been withheld or misrepresented
 - o Regulatory changes of whatsoever nature so require
 - o The conditions contained in this Certificate have not been adhered to
- Request access to any information or data at any time during the course or after completion of the project

The UZREC wishes the researcher well in conducting the research


 Professor Gideon De Wet
 Chairperson: University Research Ethics Committee
 Deputy Vice-Chancellor: Research & Innovation
 25 January 2017
 LG Pienswang - PGM 2016/152



Appendix iii

PARTICIPANT INFORMED CONSENT

INFORMED CONSENT DECLARATION

(Participant)

Project Title: A Historical Analysis of Nigeria-South Africa Migration Patterns since 1960: Implications for their Socio-Political and Economic Relations

Longmam Geoffrey Pienswang from the Department of History, University of Zululand has requested my permission to participate in the above-mentioned research project.

The nature and the purpose of the research project and of this informed consent declaration have been explained to me in a language that I understand.

I am aware that:

1. The purpose of the research project is to contribute to the body of knowledge that seeks to understand the historical analysis of the Nigerian-South Africa patterns of Migration since 1960 with a view to understand the implication of migration for their Socio-political and economic relations.
2. The University of Zululand has given ethical clearance to this research project and I have seen/ my request to see the clearance certificate.
3. By participating in this research project I will be contributing towards the production of a better understanding of the research objectives, with the aim to promote a more sustainable counter-insurgency in the effected societies and the global community at large.
4. I will participate in the project by responding to interview questionnaires
5. My participation is entirely voluntary and should I at any stage wish to withdraw from participating further, I may do so without any negative consequences.
6. I will not be compensated for participating in the research, but my out-of-pocket expenses will be reimbursed.
7. I am aware that there is no risk associated with my participation in the project.

8. The researcher intends publishing the research results in the form of Journal article and book and/or book chapters. However, confidentiality and anonymity of records will be maintained and that my name and identity will not be revealed to anyone who has not been involved in the conduct of the research.
9. I will not receive feedback in any form regarding the results obtained during the study.
10. Any further questions that I might have concerning the research or my participation will be answered by Dr. Maxwell Zakhele Shamase of the Department of History, University of Zululand. South Africa Tel: Email: shamasem@unizulu.ac.za
11. By signing this informed consent declaration I am not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies.
12. A copy of this informed consent declaration will be given to me, and the original will be kept on record.

I, Have read the above information / confirm that the above information has been explained to me in a language that I understand and I am aware of this document's contents. I have asked all questions that I wished to ask and these have been answered to my satisfaction. I fully understand what is expected of me during the research.

I have not been pressurised in any way and I voluntarily agree to participate in the above-mentioned project.

.....
Participant's signature

.....
Date

Appendix iv
LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

**History
Department**



UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND

✉ **Private bag X1001**

Kwa-Dlangezwa

3886

South Africa

☎ **035 902 6769**

☎ **035 902 6364/6360**

☎ **035 902 6082**

💻 shamasem@unizulu.ac.za

23rd March 2017

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION: LONGMAM GEOFFREY PIENSWANG

The above mentioned student is a PhD candidate whose proposal has been approved by the University to carry out research with a title '**A Historical Analysis of Nigeria-South Africa Migration Patterns since 1960: Implications for their Socio-Political and Economic Relations**'.

The department will be glad if you could kindly give him audience to interview you for the purpose of this research. We assure you that every information gathered from the interview will be used for academic purposes as indicated on the Ethical clearance. Should you require further clarity you may contact Dr. Maxwell Z Shamase at 035 9026769 or email him at (ShamaseM@unizulu.ac.za)

Attached is a consent form for your response.

Kind regards,

Maxwell, Z. Shamase-PhD
Supervisor

Appendix v

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

- (1) How can we situate the migration of people between Nigeria and South Africa within a Historical pattern since 1960?

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- (2) How important is migration to socio-political and economic relations between Nigeria and South Africa since the 1960s

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- (3) What was the nature/pattern of the historical process for migration between Nigeria and South Africa and how has this led to animosity and identity problem?

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.....

- (4) How can the workings of a Pan African Model assist in fostering economic integration, Diplomatic relations and development of Africa through migration and driven by Nigeria and South Africa.

.....
.....
.....

- (5) How can migration be used in cross cultural exchange and integration of Africa in the spirit of Pan Africanism?

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- (6) How can migration also be an agent of economic integration?

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.....

- (7) How can diplomatic relations foster relations between Nigeria and South Africa?

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