Ghana Must Go in Nigeria and Xenophobia in South Africa: Implications for Peace and Security in Africa

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Abstract
African continent is noted for her peaceful quest for development, as clearly demonstrated in their contributions to the political freedom of member states such as South Africa, Mozambique, Angola etcetera and restoration of peace in member states. However, it appears that African peace and development is threatened in recent and past times by the forces of internal and external violence orchestrated by the rising wave of xenophobic activities in Africa and the expulsion of Ghanaians from Nigeria. The study used secondary data to get information such as journals. In this research, the ‘Relative Deprivation Theory’, ‘Frustration-Aggression Theory’, and the ‘Scapegoat Theory’ was used to analyze the expulsion of Ghanaians from Nigeria and also the xenophobic violence in South Africa. The paper concluded that the love that existed between Ghana and Nigeria should extend to other countries in Africa especially South-Africa, and also the xenophobic violence in South-Africa should be discouraged.

Keywords: Xenophobia, Violence, Ghana must go, Nigeria, South Africa, Peace, Security, Africa.

Introduction
African continent is noted for their peaceful quest for development, as clearly demonstrated in their contributions to the political freedom of member states such as South Africa, Mozambique, Angola etcetera and restoration of peace in member states (Wilson, Goddey,2017). This is prominently displayed in the activities of African peace mission like ECOMOG in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Togo, Uganda, Rwanda, etc. The essence of which is to enhance effective integration and regional cooperation among states in the continent as contained in the African Union Charter (Wilson, Goddey,2017). However, it appears that African peace and development is threatened in recent and past times by the forces of internal and external violence orchestrated by the rising wave of xenophobic activities in Africa. (Wilson, Goddey,2017). Consequently, it is upon the above premise that this study is aimed at identifying the implications of Xenophobic attacks from Nigerians to Ghanaians and vice versa and also south African Xenophobic attacks on other countries nationals on African peace and security. The study is carried out within the period of 1980 to 2017 in Africa, and secondary data is used with content analysis as the tool to analyze the data to achieve the objectives of the study.
Ghana Must go in Nigeria Crisis.
In 1983, Nigeria expelled two million undocumented West African migrants, half of whom were from Ghana. The sturdy, checked bags into which they packed their belongings have become a symbol of exclusion and intolerance. The bags had always been popular they were big and spacious and sturdy enough for long-haul travel. But it was then people started calling it “Ghana must go” bags (Aremu J, Olaosebikan, July 2013). On January 17, 1983. President Shehu Shagari, the Nigerian leader declared the expulsion of an estimated two million undocumented migrants living in the country (M.Solomonov, 2017). Half of them were Ghanaian. President Shehu Shagari said, “If they don’t leave, they should be arrested and tried and sent back to their homes. Illegal immigrants, under normal circumstances, should not be given any notice whatsoever,” (M.Solomonov, 2017).

What Led the Ghanaians to Migrate in their Masses To Nigeria?
Also, in 1958, Nigeria struck oil as a young, soon-to-be-liberated country with a population of 100-million. First Shell, then Mobil and Agip set up shop in the country to drill oil commercially. The oil money was steady and hopes were high that Nigeria could prosper, despite the brutal military regimes that marred that period (SHOLA LAWAL (Retrieved from http://atavist.mg.co.za/ghana-must-go-the-ugly-history-of-africas-most-famous bag). In the 1970s the economy exploded when oil prices soared worldwide. The golden decade had arrived and the country became Africa’s wealthiest, securing its title: Giant of Africa. By 1974, Nigeria’s oil wells were spitting out some 2.3-million barrels a day. The standard of living improved. There was an influx of people from the farms into the cities; The influx came not just from within Nigeria, but from across the region (SHOLA LAWAL (Retrieved from http://atavist.mg.co.za/ghana-must-go-the-ugly-history-of-africas-most-famous bag).

Recruiters from Nigeria came to Ghana looking for people who would like to teach or take up casual jobs — the jobs Nigerians themselves were unwilling to do. This was the Genesis of Ghanaians Exodus from their country to Nigeria. So many Ghanaians went to Nigeria, they were an influx of people across the 19 states that existed then, primary and secondary schools were filled with Ghanaian teachers, who were well known for their thoroughness and their pancreas (the long, supple beating sticks wrapped lovingly in sticky tape for added sting). Law offices, shoe repair shops, ice cream parlors, restaurants, all manners of
menial jobs and brothels were flooded with neighbors from the west (SHOLA LAWAL (Retrieved from http://atavist.mg.co.za/ghana-must-go-the-ugly-history-of-africas-most-famous-bag)).

What Led the Expulsion of Ghanaians From Nigeria?
The Nigerian government did not just wake up one day to expel over 2 million Africans, certain factors culminated in their expulsion from the country. Nigeria and Ghana are good allies and have been maintaining their friendship before the incident happened. But this friendship was threatened in the 1980s during the regime of the Ghanaian Head of State, Flight Lieutenant J.Jerry Rawlings(Teslim Otopemipo Omipidan(https://oldnaija.com/2020/04/18/the-true-story-of-the-ghana-must-go-saga-in-1983/)). Rawlings and the Nigerian President, Alhaji Shehu Shagari. Both African leaders were not on good terms and this was because President Shagari was a good friend of Ghana's former president, Hilla Limann, whom Rawlings overthrew his government. This deteriorated the Ghana-Nigeria relationship to the extent that in 1982, Rawlings raised an alarm that Shagari wanted to help Limann overthrow his government, and in response, Nigeria stopped the shipping of crude oil on a loan deal to Ghana. As this beef continued between the government, so did it go on among the citizens (Teslim Otopemipo Omipidan(https://oldnaija.com/2020/04/18/the-true-story-of-the-ghana-must-go-saga-in-1983/). The foreigners in Nigeria were seriously threatening the peace of the country and Nigerians were not ready to take that. The situation began heating up in 1980 when a Cameroonian expatriate named Muhammed Marwa (alias Maitastine) spearheaded a religious uprising (Maitastine Uprising of 1980) that led to the death of scores. Maitastine was an illegal immigrant like many of his followers who were from Burkina Faso, Niger and Cameroon. This uprising is considered the second most tragic event in Nigeria after the Biafran war. It must also be noted that there had existed an old wound in the Nigeria-Ghana relationship back in 1969 when the Ghanaian government affected the Alien’s Compliance Order. Nigerians and other African immigrants were banished on the claim that the economy of Ghana was in depression (Teslim Otopemipo Omipidan(https://oldnaija.com/2020/04/18/the-true-story-of-the-ghana-must-go-saga-in-1983/)). Then came the oil crash. Global oil prices started to dip in 1982, when large consumer markets such as the United States and Canada slipped into recession and demand was low. By 1983, the price of a barrel had fallen to $29, down from $37 in 1980. At around the same time, the USA began producing its oil, further cutting demand and causing excess supply (SHOLA LAWAL (Retrieved from http://atavist.mg.co.za/ghana-must-go-the-ugly-history-of-africas-most-famous-bag)). Nigeria, it's economy almost exclusively reliant on oil, was hard hit. By 1982, 90% of the country’s foreign reserves had been wiped out, according to the Washington Post. Food prices skyrocketed and salaries became erratic. As Nigerians began to feel the crunch, Nigeria started to turn inwards. By 1982, politicians started to use words like “aliens” in their manifestos in preparation for the 1983 general elections(SHOLA LAWAL (Retrieved from http://atavist.mg.co.za/ghana-must-go-the-ugly-history-of-africas-most-famous-bag)).
They blamed African migrants, especially Ghanaians, for the flailing economy. Ghanaians had taken all the jobs and brought crime to Nigeria and, if elected, they would chase them out, they promised. It didn’t take long for this animosity to spill over into relations between Nigerians and Ghanaians. Some Ghanaians began to be physically harassed.

In 1969, the then-Ghanaian prime minister, Kofi Busia, invoke the Aliens Compliance Order and deport an estimated 2.5-million undocumented African migrants, the majority of whom were Nigerians (Peil, Margaret (August 1971). The last straw that broke the camel’s back was the robbery at Ekwueme’s house. Alexander Ekwueme, the then Nigerian Vice President was robbed by a group of armed robbers which consisted mainly of expatriates (Teslim Opemipo Omipidan(https://oldnaija.com/2020/04/18/the-true-story-of-the-ghana-must-go-saga-in-1983/)). When the robbers were caught by the police, it was discovered that two of them were Ghanaian (Teslim Opemipo Omipidan(https://oldnaija.com/2020/04/18/the-true-story-of-the-ghana-must-go-saga-in-1983/)). This sent the whole of Nigeria crazy. Instant action was taken by the Nigerian government and the Ministry of Internal Affairs. On the 17th of January, 1983, the Nigerian Minister of Internal Affairs, Alhaji Alli Baba, announced the immediate expulsion of all illegal immigrants in Nigeria within two weeks (Teslim Opemipo Omipidan(https://oldnaija.com/2020/04/18/the-true-story-of-the-ghana-must-go-saga-in-1983/)).

South Africa Xenophobia Attack.
On the other hand, South-Africa is one of the most advanced countries in Africa with great infrastructure. The country attracts visitors from different nations and climes who visit for vacation, business, tourism and other activities. With a robust economy and a favorable political and social climate, South Africa has also become a choice destination for most African asylum seekers (Akinola 2018a; Gordon, 2017; Oloruntoba, 2018). South Africa’s diverse culture and identity as well as relatively high standards of living is another pull factor for immigrants from different countries. Despite its viable economic, political and social climate, negative attitudes by some of the citizens of South Africa towards foreign residents in the country have influenced some African countries, particularly those whose nationals have suffered the mayhem, to review their relationship with South Africa.

The ill-treatment meted on other nationals by some South Africans is to evict the foreigners from their land whom they claimed to have taken away their businesses, land, wives, among others (Adjai & Lazaridis, 2014; Fagbadebo & Ruffin, 2018; Wilson & Magam, 2018). These actions have resulted in a series of killings, massacres, burning and destruction of properties owned mostly by African nationals residing in the country. Similarly, the history of xenophobia in Africa has become a general phenomenon. This is because several countries in Africa have witnessed the xenophobia in their various countries (Akinola, 2018a, 2018c; Oloruntoba, 2018, Oni & Okunade, 2018; Tella, 2018). However, the rate at which South Africa experiences the xenophobic violence in Africa is
more frequent and alarming compared to other countries where the incidence had occurred in the past (Gordon, 2017; Ruedin, 2018). This frequent recurrence of xenophobia in South Africa needs to be addressed among the African states. This is because whenever there is a xenophobic attack in South Africa, the foreigners who are mainly African residents in the country are the prime target (Fagbadebo & Ruffin, 2018). Thus, this calls to question the ability to guarantee the security and safety of Africans in the African continent. Therefore, there is a need for countries like Nigeria among others whose nationals have been victimized in one form or the other by some aggrieved South Africans to take measures on how to prevent its future occurrence.

Before 1994, immigrants from elsewhere faced discrimination and even violence in South Africa. There are some recorded events about the history of xenophobic attacks in South Africa. Among all include

I. Xenophobia in South Africa before 1994: Attacks were majorly against Mozambican and Congolese immigrants.

(https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Xenophobia_in_South_Africa#:~:text=Prior%20to%201994%2C%20immigrants%20from,were%20identified%20as%20xenophobic%20attacks.

III. Violence before May 2008:

IV. May 2008 Riot.

V. Attack in 2009-2012

April 2015 Attacks
October 2015
2016 Tshwane Riots
2017 Anti-Immigration Protest
2019 Durban Riots
2019 Johannesburg Riots

(https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Xenophobia_in_South_Africa#:~:text=Prior%20to%201994%2C%20immigrants%20from,were%20identified%20as%20xenophobic%20attacks.

Theoretical Framework of Xenophobic Activities in Africa
Amongst major International Relations theories, there is not a single theory that satisfactorily explains the incessant xenophobic attacks on African immigrants in South
Africa (Adeleke Olumide Ogunnoiki, 2019, Vol. 7 No. 2). Hence, there is a need for the triangulation of theories. Three theories would be knitted in this research paper. These theories are: the ‘Relative Deprivation Theory’, ‘Frustration-Aggression Theory’, and lastly, the ‘Scapegoat Theory’ (Adeleke Olumide Ogunnoiki, 2019, Vol. 7 No. 2).

Relative deprivation refers to a situation where a group of people (or an individual as the case may be) perceive themselves as being deprived of e.g. basic amenities – roads, clean water, electricity, housing etc. compared to other groups (Adeleke Olumide Ogunnoiki, 2019, Vol. 7 No. 2) In the light of this, the Relative Deprivation Theory (RDT), a social psychological theory developed by S. A. Stouffer et-al. (1949), R. Merton (1957), W. G. Runciman (1966), T. R. Gurr (1970), F. Crosby (1976), I. Walker and T. F. Pettigrew (1984) among others, “suggests that people who feel they are being deprived of almost anything considered essential in their society – whether money, rights, political voice or status – will organize or join social movements dedicated to obtaining the things of which they feel deprived” (Longley, 2018).

Concerning xenophobia in South Africa and the expulsion of Ghana from Nigeria, the Relative Deprivation Theory makes us understand that the locals sporadically attack African immigrants because they perceive themselves to be deprived of economic opportunities, unlike the other black foreigners. This unseemly behavior of the indignant locals is often triggered by influential persons in South Africa who make inflammatory statements. The Frustration-Aggression Theory briefly takes over to explain the link between the locals’ frustration and aggressive behaviour. It is a seminal theory in the discipline, Psychology, which has been used in other fields of study to explain aggressive human behaviour. Central to the Frustration-Aggression theory is the tenet that there is a causal relationship between frustration (which occurs when a person’s goal attainment is hampered) and aggression.

This conviction of the nexus between frustration and aggression was first held by a group of Yale University psychologists – John Dollard, Leonard W. Doob, Neal E. Miller, Orval H. Mowrer and, Robert R Sears in their co-authored monograph: Frustration and Aggression (1939). The theory was later revised by Neal E. Miller (1941) and Leonard Berkowitz (1969) (Ogunnoiki & Adeyemi, 2019). Going by the Frustration-Aggression Theory, the reoccurring xenophobic violence in South Africa is the consequence of disadvantaged locals’ frustration. Since the goal of being gainfully employed to meet basic human needs and lead a decent life has been hindered over the years, the locals have taken out their frustration aggressively on African immigrants who they claim are getting the few available jobs in resource-endowed South Africa (Ogunnoiki & Adeyemi, 2019).

At this juncture, the thought-provoking questions are these: why are African immigrants targeted by the locals and not the successive ANC-led governments that failed over the
years to create economic opportunities as well as ratchet up the delivery of public services to them? why are the locals not attacking immigrants from Europe or Asia?

Gordon W. Allport’s Scapegoat Theory has the answers to these questions. “Scapegoating refers to a process by which a person or group is unfairly blamed for something that they didn’t do and, as a result, the real source of the problem is either never seen or purposefully ignored” (Crossman, 2019). This is what psychoanalyst, Sigmund Freud (1856-1939), called the Ego “displacement” defense mechanism. A classic example of scapegoating in world history remains the Holocaust. Following the defeat of Germany in the First World War (1914-1918), Germany experienced serious economic challenges such as hyperinflation that rendered the German currency ‘papiermark’ valueless. Nazi Germany Führer, Adolf Hitler, not only blamed the minority group of industrious Jews for the economic problems in the country but killed 6 million of them during the Second World War (1939-1945).

The Scapegoat Theory or Scapegoating Hypothesis as some scholars preferably call it, “has largely emerged through sociological theory. It locates xenophobia within the context of social transition and change. Hostility towards foreigners is explained to limited resources, such as housing, education, health care and employment, coupled with high expectations during transition” (Morris, 1998, Tshitereke, 1999 as cited in Harris, 2002:171). The locals start by creating what Tshitereke (1999:4 as cited in Harris, 2002:171) called the “frustration scapegoat”. This frustration-scapegoat (i.e. the vulnerable group of enterprising African immigrants whose businesses are thriving and are accessible in the townships of South Africa) is then attacked.

**The Implications of Xenophobic Activities on African Peace And Security**

This section of the study examines the effects of xenophobic activities on African peace and security.

1. **Loss of Revenue from Tourism in the State:** Xenophobia presents the impression of dislike and discrimination against foreigners in the state, and therefore creates the notion that the affected state is hostile to foreigners including tourists (Wilson, Goddey,2017). This notion scares the tourist for the fear of possible violence and discriminatory policies against them, and therefore forces the existing tourists to vacate the state, while intending tourists divert their tourism interest to other violence-free states. This was evidenced in South Africa in 2015, when the Mozambicans avoided the tourism in Indaba, Durban, and in 2017, when Nigerians declined interest in tourism and holiday in South Africa due to xenophobic violence in the state. The effect is that the affected state in particular and Africa at large lose the revenue target from tourism within the period (Wilson, Goddey,2017).

2. **Increase in Death Rate and Loss of Manpower in Africa:** The xenophobic violence in Africa accounts for the increase in death of Africans in Africa, implying that Africans are the main casualties of the xenophobic violence in Africa (Wilson, Goddey,2017). In 1983,
Nigerians and Ghanaians were killed in violent attacks and reprisal attacks in Nigeria, forcing the Ghanaians to leave Nigeria back to Ghana. Similarly, in Libya, Senegal and South Africa, the black Africans were targets of the violence and killed in the process. These deaths in Africa account for loss of manpower and capacity development and negatively affect African peace and security (Wilson, Goddey, 2017).

3. **Insecurity, Violation and Abuse of Fundamental Human Rights in Africa**: Violation and abuse of fundamental human rights of citizens in Africa is on the increase due to xenophobic activities (Wilson, Goddey, 2017). The locals violate the rights of the foreign nationals in the state, forcing the foreigners to leave the state. In some cases, state security agents and state legal frameworks are employed to deprive the foreigners’ equal opportunity in the state. Worse still, the indigenes call the foreigners abusive names and violate their rights. Bekker (2010) added that xenophobia contributes to the political instability in African states, due to the regular violence (Wilson, Goddey, 2017).

4. **Poor Inter-State Relations in Africa**: Xenophobia in Africa has forced African states to develop phobia against each other and severe their inter-state relations. In those states where xenophobic activities are carried out, the people and government of the affected foreign nationals plan reprisal attacks and discriminations against the nationals of the earlier xenophobic state. Frohlich (2017) stated that Nigerian National Assembly expressed dismay over the discrimination, killing and abuse of Nigerians due to xenophobic violence in South Africa, and Nigerians threatened to launch reprisal attacks on South Africans and their investments in Nigeria. The cumulative effect is a strained relationship between and among African states and continued violence and under-development in Africa (Wilson, Goddey, 2017).

5. **Restriction of Mobility in Africa**: The emergence of xenophobic activities in Africa has resulted in the introduction of certain immigration policies by some African States, restricting certain African citizens, particularly the black Africans from accessing white-color African states, thereby restricting labour, social and economic mobility in Africa. According to Solomon and Kosaka (2013, p. 6), “the manifestation of xenophobia undermines social cohesion, peaceful co-existence and good governance, and constitutes a violation of human rights”. The implication of the above is antithetical to African peace and security (Wilson, Goddey, 2017).

6. **Economic Crisis and Loss of Capital Investment**: African States with xenophobic activities witness economic crisis and loss of capital investment, because during the violence, the properties and investments of the foreign nationals are looted or destroyed, and the foreign investors tortured with harsh economic policies of the host state (Wilson, Goddey, 2017). This results in loss of investment and economic activities in such state, with the overall effect of forcing the foreigners to close down their investments and relocate their investments to other peaceful states, leaving such xenophobic state with an increasing...
number of unemployed citizens, less capital investment and economic crisis (Wilson, Goddey, 2017).

7. Poor International image of Africa: Xenophobia expresses dislike and hatred for the foreign nationals by the local nationals in the state, and is prevalent in Africa (Wilson, Goddey, 2017). This notion has attracted global attention and giving a bad impression about Africa, as a hostile continent to foreigners. The implication is that it makes the world see Africa as a place without rule of law, full of political and economic instability with inhuman practices, and deprives African states of the needed foreigners and their investments in Africa for African development (Wilson, Goddey, 2017).

Conclusion
The 2019 xenophobic violence in South Africa is one of the deadliest and destructive violence against African immigrants in the country. Unlike previous years, the reactions that ensued in the Nigerian State were surprisingly different (Adeleke Olumide Ogunnoiki, 2019, Vol. 7 No. 2,). The evacuation of willing Nigerians from South Africa by a Nigerian businessman, the federal government boycott of the WEF on Africa, Nigerian celebrities’ cancellation of their appearance in scheduled social events in South Africa and not to forget, Nigerian youths’ reprisal attacks on the offices and outlets of several South African owned businesses across the country, goes to show that the people and government of Nigeria have had enough of the intolerance and one too many victimization of Nigerians in South Africa (Adeleke Olumide Ogunnoiki, 2019, Vol. 7 No. 2,). The xenophobic violence in South Africa is an issue the OAU needs to address in South Africa so that there will be peace, security in South-Africa and the whole of Africa as a whole.

Aside from the expulsion of Ghanaians from Nigeria and the Nigerians expelled from Ghana in the previous years, there had been a smooth relationship between Ghana and Nigeria countries. The love between them had grown and there have been records of courtesy visits from one country to the other on official and non-official duties. Businesses, trade and investments are now accommodated between the two countries and also there was no record of such since last 10 years. A typical example was the courtesy visit the Ghanaian president paid the Nigerian president in respect to the recent END-SARS/ Police Brutality protest which resulted in the loss of some Nigerian youths as a collaboration and he expresses his concern about the situation.

This kind of relationship aid love, peace and security between the two countries and needs to be encouraged and spread across Africa especially South Africa so that there will be stable peace and security in the Africa continent.
Recommendaations

In the light of the findings in this research paper, the following is strongly recommended:

i) The South African government should first and foremost call a spade a spade. Rather than tag the looting and burning of African immigrants’ stores as ‘criminal acts’, it should admit that it is faced with xenophobia in some part of the country which is the first step in the right direction;

ii) Influential persons in the rainbow nation should avoid making unguarded remarks that can incite the locals to carry out xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals;

iii) The South African government should partner with Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in sensitizing the locals on immigrants as well as in rekindling the spirit of Ubuntu;

iv) The locals in question, should get rid of the mentality of being ‘entitled’ to jobs and the likes from the government. They should acquire and put to good use skills which will not only make them self-employed, but in no time, employers of labour in the informal sector of South Africa’s economy;

v) Effective policing of hostile townships in South Africa will go a long way in forestalling xenophobic violence in the nearest future;

vi) The criminal justice system of South Africa urgently needs reform. If this is painstakingly done, it would bring about the much-awaited prosecution and conviction of the xenophobes in the custody of the South African Police Service (SAPS);

vii) Media houses in South Africa need to stop stereotyping African immigrants as criminals which fuels the locals' animosity towards black foreigners;

viii) The African Union (AU) as the regional body should assist the South African government in tackling ‘Afrophobia’, which if left unattended to, can hinder the African integration project in our fast globalizing world.

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Gordon, 2017; Ruedin, 2018).


South Africa: widespread Xenophobic violence , implement national action plan: hold attackers responsible.


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