Citizen Diplomacy and Xenophobia: The Nigerian Diaspora in South Africa

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Abstract

Xenophobic attacks have become recurrent in South Africa. This makes foreigners including Nigerians have a sense of insecurity. Thus Nigeria has to protect her citizens. This paper aimed to explain the nexus between citizen diplomacy and xenophobia, using Nigerian citizens in South Africa as a case study. The paper concludes that Nigeria has not effectively used citizen diplomacy to protect Nigerians in South Africa. Also the Nigerian government needs to treat its citizens better at home as it also affects how they are treated abroad. Due diligence needs to be done so that Nigeria improves its socio economic status to utilize the principle of reciprocity when its citizens are attacked abroad.

Introduction

In 2007 President Musa Yar Adua adopted the policy of citizen diplomacy to rebrand Nigeria's image and mitigate the poor treatment Nigerians were faced with abroad. This policy was met with a level of approval and skepticism. Skepticism in light of the fact that Nigerians at home are not well protected needless to say those abroad. From time to time we hear of discrimination and violence against Nigerians in the Diaspora. A particular issue is that of South Africa that is gradually being known for xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals including Nigerians. Xenophobic attacks have resulted in the killing of Nigerians and destruction of their properties. Thus the question remains; how well has Nigeria used citizen diplomacy to protect Nigerians living in South Africa? It is with this question in mind

that this paper looked into the concept of citizen diplomacy and the nexus between citizen diplomacy and xenophobic attacks.

Rational Choice and Citizen Diplomacy

The rational choice theory was originally popularized by a 1992 Nobel Memorial Prize Laureate in Economics, Gary Becker. He was the first to apply the theory broadly. The theory had previously been a dominant theory in economics but in recent times has been applied in other fields as political science, sociology, anthropology and International Relations. The rational choice theory is also referred to as the rational actor model or rational comprehensive model of decision – making. (Duke et al, 2018).

In a post war study of international relations, rational choice theory is one of the major theories in International Relations. The theory has helped define contemporary debates about international politics and has advanced an understanding of such topics as the implications of anarchy and the possibility of cooperation (Snidal, 2012). The rational choice theory suggests that outcomes are the product of choices made by actors. Actors have a set of logical beliefs of the outcome of a particular action. These beliefs may be a single possible outcome to each action or may be different possible outcomes from an action (Quackenbush, 2004).

According to Snidal (2012), rational choice is a broad methodological approach that explains individual and collective actions based on goal-seeking and constraints. Rational choice theory explains international phenomena in terms of the relevant actors, the goals they seek and their ability to achieve such goals. The constraints may be technological, institutional or arise from interdependencies among actors' choices. The goal sought must not be material interest but could also include normative or ideational goals. The rational choice theory is both positivist and normative. As a positivist theory it explains how actors behave in practice; as a normative theory it prescribes how actors should behave.

The elements of rational choice theory are:

i. Problems are defined thoroughly and accurately.
ii. National goals and interests are identified in light of the given problem.
iii. National goals and interests are prioritized on a scale of preference.
iv. Alternative strategies for pursuing goals are identified.
v. Policy alternatives are assessed in light of potential consequences.
vi. The optimum strategy is selected in light of anticipated policy outcomes. (Olorunyomi, 2014)

The rational choice theory involves identifying interests and goals of foreign policy and creating strategies to achieve set goals. This implies that states are rational actors seeking to achieve short and long term goals. International relations is not random but the interaction of choices and action states (Olorunyomi, 2014).

Nigeria – South Africa Relations

In their paper, *Despotism, democracy and diplomacy: Nigeria – South Africa relations 1993 – 1999*, Ibeanu and Nwachukwu explore Nigeria – South Africa relations in the aftermath of apartheid. They explore the link between the international system, regime type and state policy. They suggested that the relations between states will be characterized by conflict if there are basic differences in the regime type and attitude to international norms. Their paper focused on the General Abacha regime and how South Africa pushed for democratic reforms in Nigeria. (Ibeanu & Nwachukwu, 2004).

Ibeanu and Nwachukwu (2004) explained how the structure of the international system impacted the post-apartheid relations between Nigeria and South Africa. Structure is defined as both visible social relations and invisible reality behind the visible presence; what is called 'form' and 'essence'. The structural explanation has the following elements; structural limitation, reproduction and functional compatibility/ contradiction. Structural limitation means that the structure of the state, the

organization of the government and the policies it pursue are limited by the structure of the international system. (Ibeanu & Nwachukwu, 2004)

The end of the cold war led to the spread and dominance of global capitalism. Capitalist states see themselves as allies and adopt all liberal ideals. They also tend to persuade other non-liberal states to join the global capitalist order by adopting democratic values and economic liberalism. Reproduction means that the policies of capitalist states formulate policies in line with the tenants of political and economic liberalism which reproduces the global capitalist system. Thus strong capitalist states resist any state that carries out policies contrary to the tenants of political and economic liberalism. In terms of functional compatibility/ contradiction, the regime in some countries might not be compatible with the liberal structure of the international system. This is a threat to the global capitalist structure. The domestic structure of such regime is forced to adjust by other states to the international structure. (Ibeanu & Nwachukwu, 2004)

South Africa led the campaign against the human right abuses by the Abacha regime in Nigeria. South Africa campaigned for democratic reforms in Nigeria. South Africa started by persuading General Abacha by sending iconic persons like Desmond Tutu and Thabo Mbeki. Desmond Tutu was sent to appeal to Abacha to release Moshood Abiola and Mbeki was sent to appeal to the regime when General Obasanjo and 31 others were convicted and sentenced to death for plotting a coup. President Mandela personally intervened in the case of Ken Saro Wiwaand eight Ogoni activists. These attempts were made in futility. South Africa then adopted a conflict behavior towards Nigeria. (Ibeanu & Nwachukwu, 2004)

President Mandela verbally reprimanded the Abacha regime as irresponsible and hardened, barbaric, corrupt and arrogant. South Africa spearheaded the suspension of Nigeria from the Commonwealth and cut diplomatic ties with Nigeria. There was a ban on issuance of visa to senior military officers and senior government officials and their families. The pressure from South Africa and the international community forced the Abacha regime to announce measures to safeguard human rights. The

National Human Rights Commission was set up and modalities were put in place to return Nigeria to civilian rule. The National Electoral Commission was established and five political parties were registered (Ibeanu & Nwachukwu, 2004).

Ibeanu and Nwachukwu (2004) concluded that the international structure to a large extent influences domestic politics. They also state that the identification and analysis of the determinants of a country's foreign policy is difficult and complicated. This is because a countries foreign policy is affected by both internal and external factors and many other forces that act simultaneously and react differently. Thus the interaction of those factors and resulting effects cannot be predicted with precision. (Ibeanu & Nwachukwu, 2004)

According to Amusan and Wyk (2011), Nigeria – South Africa relations is characterized by a complex interdependence. This complex interdependence cuts across policy, military, economic, trade and social interdependence. Interdependence here is defined as a situation where changes in one actor in a system have significant impact on another actor. Events in Nigeria have affected South Africa and vice versa. Amusan and Wyk's analysis focuses on the President Obasanjo and President Thabo Mbeki administrations of Nigeria and South Africa respectively. (Amusan & Wyk, 2011)

An example of policy interdependence is the establishment of the Nigeria – South Africa Binational Commission (BNC) in October, 1999. In March, 2002 Nigeria and South Africa concluded a free trade agreement. South African businesses have penetrated Nigeria. Since 2006 about 55 South African companies have been active in Nigeria. They include Stanbic bank, Mintek, Securiar Grey, and Umgeni water, Eskom, MNET and MTN. A binational investment forum was established to facilitate investments from and to both countries. The cooperation between both countries extends to exchange of information in science and technology. (Amusan & Wyk, 2011)

Nigeria has been more active in terms of conflict resolution, peace building and peace keeping. South Africa has relied on Nigeria to maintain peace in

Africa. The two states played a crucial role in setting up the AU's Peace and Security Council (PSC). In 2004, Nigeria and South Africa appointed Professor Adebayo Adedeji and Kgalema Mothlane to ease the tensions between the two political parties in Zimbabwe. Nigeria had a military attaché in South Africa. Both states have embarked in the joint manufacturing of small arms. The South African military technology company Denel helped resuscitate the dying Defense Industries Cooperation of Nigeria (DICON) to produce small arms for Nigeria and later for the African market. (Amusan & Wyk, 2011)

Nigeria, South Africa, Senegal and Algeria came together to set up the New Africa Initiative. It was an incremental move towards an African Economic Community (AEC). In 2001, South Africa, Nigeria and Algeria came up with the Millennium African Recovery Program (MARP) to emphasize the need to restore private sector confidence in Africa as a means to attract Foreign Direct Investments (FDI). Nigeria and South Africa called of IFIs to set up an insurance scheme to protect FDIs. In 2001, both countries requested a global partnership with multilateral financial institutions and pharmaceutical companies to gain access to drugs to combat infectious diseases. This resulted to a US pledge of US$ 200 million to combat HIV/AIDS in Africa. At the WTO, Nigeria and South Africa jointly called for the reduction of trade barriers that hindered the access of African agricultural products to US and Europe. In the banking sector, Standard bank entered into negotiations with Oceanic bank for the sale of Stanbic bank to the former in 2005. FirstRand bank also held negotiations with Intercontinental bank to discuss how more capital investments can be brought to the latter. (Amusan & Wyk, 2011)

Since 2000, there has been a steady growth in trade between Nigeria and South Africa. Trade relations in 1998 was R730 million, by 2000 it was at R1.7 billion. Exports from South Africa to Nigeria grew from R3.6 billion in 1999 to R20.3 billion in 2005. Nigeria's major export to South Africa is crude oil while South Africa exports an array of finished goods and services including agricultural products. Despite the rate of trade between both

countries, South Africa has more import barriers that include tariffs, price controls and sanitary measures. The South African Revenue Services (SARS) also seized products from Nigeria that have already been cleared by customs. By and large, the trade relations between both countries are biased against Nigeria. (Amusan & Wyk, 2011)

Amusan and Wyk (2011) suggest that social interdependence can be positive or negative. It is positive when social development encourages overall development. The negative aspect has to do with cultural imperialism. This is a situation where the culture of the dominant state overshadows the recipient state. Nigeria sends its culture to South Africa through its movies. The popular South African cable network DSTV has channels that air Nigerian movies. This has changed the perception South Africans have of Nigerians as fraudsters and drug peddlers. They have come to understand that Nigeria is a partner in the war against crime in Africa. DSTV has exposed Nigerians to South African fashion, art and music. (Amusan & Wyk, 2011)

Amusan and Wyk (2011) conclude by stating that Nigeria and South Africa need each other to develop. Nigeria's strength in the region lies in its crude oil production whereas South Africa is more of an economic medium power. Without crude oil Nigeria will be more sensitive to South Africa's political and economic development. The authors predict that although cooperation will characterize Nigeria – South Africa relations, there will also be a mixture of collaboration, integration and conflict (Amusan & Wyk, 2011).

Citizen and Citizenship

A citizen is a legitimate member of a state. Citizenship is the process of becoming a citizen of a state. Citizenship is an individual's legitimate membership to a particular state with specific rights, duties, obligations and privileges. The concepts of citizen and citizenship can be understood from four main schools of thought: closure, communitarian, civil – republican, and liberal. The closure school can be traced to the aristocratic practices of

the Greek city – states. Citizenship status was restricted to adult males who had the ability to participate in government. Citizenship was denied to the poor, slaves, foreigners, women and children. (Odoh & Nwogboba, 2014)

The communitarians see citizenship as a contractual agreement between the individuals and the community. Citizenship status is used to define the agreements that gives the individual certain rights and obligations vis a vis the powers and duties of the state. This means that citizenship is a reciprocal relationship between the citizen and the state upon which the former owes some patriotic responsibilities to the latter. The state in turn provides public goods and protection in return (Odoh & Nwogboba, 2014).

The civil – republican theory sees the rights of individuals to become citizens not as inherent but as acquired through civil practices (paying taxes). A citizen is one who upholds obligation to the states as the grounds for protection and provision of public goods. A citizen is one who plays an active part in determining the future direction of the society or country through political debates and decision – making. Anyone who assimilates the culture, traditions, beliefs and sentiment of the state, as well as contributes to its development qualifies to be a citizen (Odoh & Nwogboba, 2014).

The liberal view of citizenship suggests that "citizen" and "citizenship" is inherent in individuals prior to community, and guaranteed with minimal obligations to the community or state. Such rights include freedom of speech, freedom of worship, right to own properties, right to equality of justice, political rights and social rights (Odoh & Nwogboba, 2014).

From the foregoing, a citizen is an individual who is a legitimate member of a state and has certain rights and obligations for being part of that state. Citizenship can be by birth or acquired after meeting certain criteria. The idea of citizenship is that the citizen owes the state and the state owes the citizen. What then is citizen diplomacy?

Citizen Diplomacy

Citizen diplomacy, as we know it today started in the US and was coined by David Hoffman in 1981. Citizen diplomacy has been subjected to various definitions by different scholars. Gullion (1965) referred to it as public diplomacy. Monteville (1987) considered it to be Track II diplomacy as different from traditional government to government diplomacy. Track II diplomacy means unofficial and informal interactions among citizens of different countries. Citizen diplomacy simply means that the individual citizens are the centre – piece of state policies and have rights and responsibilities to help realize the state's national interests through interactions to complement official diplomatic activities (Odoh & Nwogboba, 2014).

Citizen diplomacy is a deliberate policy by government to use its diplomatic machinery to protect its citizens within the ambit of international law (Ujara & Ibietan, 2014). Citizen diplomacy involves the citizen who has the right and responsibility to help shape foreign relations one hand shake at a time (Mueller, 2009). One scholar puts it thus;

> Citizen diplomacy articulates what is or should be implicit as the major goal of our foreign policy. Being people centred, it is a step further in saying that, in both its national and international actions, the Nigerian state will be driven primarily by the need to promote the welfare and security of every Nigerian. (Eze, 2009:5)

Citizen diplomacy is a form of diplomacy that has the nationals of a country as both a means and an end. As a means, the citizen serves as an unofficial ambassador of his/her state while in another country. As an end, the national interest and all diplomatic efforts is geared towards the wellbeing of the citizen (Ujara & Ibeatan, 2014). Citizen diplomacy can be understood within the context of "people – centrism". Nwogboba, Abah, Chinyere and Nwuzor (2017) suggested that;

> Citizen diplomacy requires the government of Nigeria to more consciously resort to the calculi of the basic needs,

> human rights and socioeconomic welfare of the citizen in conducting bilateral and multilateral engagements with other nations … if you are nice to our citizens; we will be nice to you; if you are hostile to us, we will also be hostile to you. (Nwogboba et al, 2017)

In 2007, President Umaru Musa Yar Adua adopted citizen diplomacy to fix Nigeria's image abroad, curtail the persecution of Nigerians abroad and explore the potential wealth, expertise, skills and resources that were available from Nigerian Diaspora groups (Odock, 2016). According to Akinterinwa (2010), citizen diplomacy is the strategic use of millions of Nigerians living abroad, as Nigerian diplomats. It is the re-orientation of Nigeria's foreign policy to enhance citizen welfare and national image. Citizen diplomacy involves how citizens are treated at home and abroad. Citizens are entitled to fundamental rights as human beings that cannot be taken away without any justifiable reason. Citizen diplomacy includes how a state can protect the rights of its citizens abroad.

Former minister of foreign affairs, Chief Ojo Maduekwe stated the eight foundations of Nigeria's citizen diplomacy to include;

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

v. Foreign policy making and implementation must be democratized to involve Nigerians from all walks of life, and not left for a small circle of experts and practitioners alone;
vi. Every foreign policy endeavor must meet the litmus test of determining the extent to which it protects and advocates what is best for Nigeria and what will best benefit the Nigerian people;
vii. Nigeria should be guided by the principle of reciprocity or „diplomacy of consequence" in its interactions with the rest of the world; and
viii. Nigeria and Nigerians will not accept being criminalized by the international community simply based on the despicable conduct of a few of their nationals. Due recognition must be given to the remarkable feats and tremendous contributions of Nigeria and Nigerians to world civilization, socio-economic and scientific development, as well as international peace and security. (Aleyomi & Abubakar, 2017 : 1234)

Nigeria's citizen diplomacy approach is multifaceted. It covers the determination to reposition the country in the global democratic arena; to rebrand the country's image; to tackle economic crisis, insecurity and diseases. All these are subsumed under the need to protect and ensure the survival of the Nigerian people. Nigeria's citizen diplomacy is for the protection and advancement of the dignity and interest of the Nigerian citizen at home and abroad. This can be achieved through the philosophy that Nigeria would reciprocate any treatment meted on its citizens abroad. This can only be made possible only if Nigeria has the tools at its disposal to reciprocate any ill treatment on the Nigerian Diaspora. Unfortunately, Nigeria has not achieved the power yet.

Nigerians have been subjected to different levels of harassment abroad, of particular importance is that which occurred in South Africa. The next section looks at the xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa.

Xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa

Xenophobia originated from the Greek words "xenos" and "phobo" meaning "foreigner" and "fear" respectively. It is an attitudinal mindset against that which is foreign to the nationals. Xenophobia is an irrational dislike for strangers and a xenophobe is a person who is apprehensive of foreign peoples. In South Africa xenophobia is a demonstrated fear or hate of black foreigners accompanied by violent actions leading to loss of lives and properties. Xenophobia can be latent or obtrusive. In its latent form it is suppressed within the psyche of nationals; in its obtrusive form it is expressed by open violence against foreigners (Matunhu, 2015).

There have been incidents of violence against foreigners in South Africa since 1994. According to Nwogboba et al (2017), the first major incident of xenophobia was recorded in 2008. In May 2008 xenophobic attacks erupted in Alexandra, an impoverished settlement in Johannesburg. The attacks initially started as an ethnic attack on the Shanyan people in South Africa but later spread to include foreigners. The death toll in nine days was approximately 62. In addition, tens of thousands of foreigners were left homeless without property. The damage to foreign owned businesses was worth 1.5 million Rand (Nwogboba et al, 2018).

On 15 Match 2015, following the killing of a South African boy by a Somali, the King of the Zulu nation stated that the government is not doing enough to protect citizens from the influx of foreigners. He suggested that foreigners should go back to their countries. The statement was received by South Africans as a call to arms against foreign nationals. South Africans took laws into their hands and wreaked havoc on foreigners. Shops owned by foreigners were the first targets followed by the killing of foreigners. The South African government was slow to react and it was after much damage against foreigners (including Nigerians), the Zulu King called for calm on 20 April 2015. It was recorded that 96 Nigerians lost their lives in the 2015 attacks (Nwogbaba et al, 2017).

Similarly in 2017, not less than 20 Nigerians were killed in xenophobic attacks in South Africa. In 2015 and 2017 a total of 116 Nigerian lost their

lives to xenophobic attacks and assets worth 90 million naira. The Nigerian community in South Africa led by Ikechukwu Anyene confirmed the attacks and looting of Nigerian – owned businesses in Pretoria West. These included five buildings and churches that were burned down (Nwogbaba et al, 2017).

More recently in September 2019, riots and lootings against foreigners erupted after the death of a South African taxi driver. The riots and lootings occurred in Jeppestown and Johannesburg and Nigerians were the primary target. About fifty businesses predominantly owned by Nigerians were reportedly destroyed or damaged during the incident (Haffajee, 2019).

The Diaspora community in South Africa is stereotyped as criminal elements that engage in drug and human trafficking. Sixty – three percent of the extrajudicial killings were carried out by the police. The killings are explained by Nwogboba et al thus;

> (In the city of Johannesburg) 30% of the municipal police officers surveyed believed that foreigners cause crime. Another 23% felt that overcrowding caused crime. The survey also showed that municipal police officers had a very poor understanding of the different kinds of foreigners described in South African legislation e.g. migrant workers, refugees or undocumented migrants. As municipal officers take on extended policing functions, their attitudes towards non – nationals and knowledge of the relevant legislation becomes increasingly important; as they will also be responsible for ensuring the safety of migrant communities. (Nwogboba et al, 2017: 1246)

The government of South Africa has also contributed to the xenophobic sentiments in South Africa. In 1994, the South African Minister of home affairs suggested that he Reconstruction and Development Programme would fail because of the huge influx of foreigners. He presupposed that illegal migrants were causing South Africa billions of Rands as they competed with nationals for scarce resources. There is existing hatred

against Nigerian doctors who are seen as agents to foil South African industrial actions. When South African doctors go on strike Nigerian doctors are readily available to feel in the gap. This creates some level of apprehension against Nigerians (Nwogbaba et al, 2017).

Eze and Agena (2017) point out four causes of xenophobic attacks in South Africa;

i. The general feeling of insecurity that foreigners are taking South African jobs;
ii. The slow pace of law enforcement agents to respond to foreigners in distress;
iii. The dwindling economic condition that harshly affects South African;
iv. The poor knowledge of apartheid history among South African youths.

The implication of xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa is the presence of a feeling of insecurity of Nigerian lives and property. How is Nigeria using citizen diplomacy to mitigate xenophobic attacks?

The Nexus between Citizen Diplomacy and Xenophobic Attacks in South Africa

Citizen diplomacy cuts across the formulation, implementation and evaluation of foreign policy (Odoh & Nwogboba, 2014). In section 14 (ii) of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria it is stated that sovereignty belongs to the people and the power of the government is derived from the people. It also ensures the participation of the people in governance. This implies that citizen diplomacy must include that the Nigerian government takes into consideration the opinion of civil society and people to people interaction across borders when formulating the country's foreign policy.

In the area of implementation Nigerians abroad should see themselves as unofficial diplomats promoting the country's image. Ordinary citizens,

from their actions, play a role in shaping foreigners perception about Nigerians. Nigerians abroad should be law abiding and avoid illicit activities like drug trafficking, prostitution and armed robbery. However the citizens are not the only ones responsible for effecting citizen diplomacy. The government must ensure that the citizens abroad are protected.

Protection of Nigerian citizens is enshrined in Chapter II, paragraph 14(ii) of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. It was declared that security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government. This means that the citizen's interests should be protected at home and abroad (Odoh & Nwogboba, 2014).

Eze (2009) puts the issue of protection thus;

> first, that no state should be discriminatory in the protection of its nationals and aliens because any government or actor within the international community has rights to assess how its citizens in other countries are treated to determine how it will reciprocate towards the citizens of those other countries resident in their own state; second, both the legal and illegal migrants should be protected within the confines of national and international laws because the waves of globalisation has largely universalized citizenship beyond geo-legal constraints; third, even when the citizens of any country may be alleged to have committed any crime or engaged in illegitimate transactions, the general principle of presumption of innocence of the citizen(s) should apply until proven otherwise; and even when tried and convicted under due process, they should not be subjected to inhuman treatments; fourth, where there is conflict of nationalities arising from dual citizenship, the right of diplomatic protection resides with the country where the citizen has the most real and closest connection; fifth, in the case of conflicts in the laws of different states over the offence of an individual (e.g.

> prostitution by a Nigerian in Italy where it is only morally wrong, but legalised in the later respectively), it is still highly controversial over the laws that should prevail. (Eze cited in Odoh & Nwogboba, 2014, pp. 12 -13).

Nigeria has not successfully looked out for the wellbeing of its citizens abroad (Aleyomi, & Abubakar, 2017). Nigeria tends to play deaf to the discrimination, violence and killings against her citizens in the Diaspora. It is the killing of Nigerians abroad without consequence that allows the problem to persist. For instance, the initial killings and destruction of properties belonging to Nigerians in South Africa had not received the reciprocal backlash until 2019 (Nwogboba et al, 2017).

Nigeria took strong diplomatic actions against South Africa following the September, 2019 xenophobic attacks. Nigeria withdrew her ambassador from South Africa and dispatched a special envoy on a fact finding mission. Nigeria also pulled out of the World Economic Forum that was ongoing in Cape Town in protest of the xenophobic attacks. The Minister of Foreign Affairs stated that Nigerian government would demand that Nigerian losses are compensated by South Africa. He expressed the country's grievance thus;

> We have made it clear that what has happened in South Africa is unacceptable. Enough is enough. We are not going to accept it again (Haffajee, 2019, par.5).

The Nigerian government also made moves to evacuate Nigerians from South Africa. This move was supported by the Nigerian airline, Air Peace, which provided free flights for Nigerians in South Africa to return home. About 600 Nigerians were successfully repatriated from South Africa. On the 2 of October, the President of Nigeria led a high powered delegation to South Africa to meet with his South African counterpart and also the Nigerian community in South Africa over the xenophobic incident (Aljazeera, 2019).

Conclusion

This article looked at the citizen diplomacy and xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa. Citizen diplomacy is a policy that focuses on using the diplomatic machinery of a state to promote the wellbeing of citizens at home and abroad. Citizen diplomacy cuts across the formulation, implementation and evaluation of foreign policy. Xenophobia is the irrational hatred of foreigners by citizens of a country. Xenophobic attacks have become recurrent in South Africa. This makes foreigners including Nigerians have a sense of insecurity. Thus Nigeria has to protect her citizens.

Over the years Nigeria has not effectively employed citizen diplomacy to create a sense of security for her citizens abroad. Nigerians have lost their lives and properties in South Africa to xenophobes. Nigeria responded sternly to the xenophobic attacks of 2019 but this was just one out of over four incidents in South Africa. The Nigerian citizen has not been given primacy in domestic and foreign policies.

According to Aleyomi and Abubakar (2017), the disregard for Nigerians at home by the government affects the way other countries treat Nigerians. The country's image opens its citizens to abuse. Nigeria is known for high rates of unemployment, poverty, bad leadership, corruption, electoral malpractices, dwindling economy, insecurity and lack of national cohesion. There is a correlation between these features and the treatment Nigerians receive abroad. To put it simply, a South African in Nigeria would be treated better than a Nigerian going to South Africa because of their country's socio economic realities. Thus Nigeria in trying to protect her citizens from xenophobic attacks would need to take care it socio economic situation. This would give Nigerians abroad more confidence and would also provide impetus to the policy of reciprocity.

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