TWEETING AGAINST INHUMANE ACTS:

Analysis of Twitter Users Narrative of Xenophobic Attacks on Nigerians in South Africa

ONYEBUCHI, ChimaAlexander, Ph.D[1]
OBAYI, Paul Martin, Ph.D[2]
ANORUE, Luke Ifeanyi, Ph.D[3]
ONWUDE, Nnenna Fiona[2]

[1-4]Department of Mass Communication
[1]Imo State University, Owerri
[2]Godfrey Okoye University, Enugu
[3]University of Nigeria, Nsukka
Corresponding email: nennyfifi@gmail.com,

Abstract

The 2019 xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa was a topical issue that fuelled different narratives on social media. Twitter was one of the social media platforms that was used by different people to air their views. This study, therefore, investigated Twitter users' narratives on the 2019 xenophobic attacks against Nigerians in South Africa, using the content analysis research design. The researchers used the framing and the scape goating theories to situate the study. The population of the study was 286 tweets on Twitter platform for the month of September. The entire tweets were studied using the census principle. The researchers found out that majority of the twitter users, either in South Africa, Nigeria or any other country of the world, were against the xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa. This is based on the fact that 38.5% of the tweets were favourable to Nigerians. The researchers also found that one of the dominant frames in the tweets was the inability of the Nigerian government to take proactive steps towards ensuring the safety of her citizens in South Africa. This is based on the fact 21.9% tweets indicated government inadequacies. The researchers, therefore, recommended that the Nigerian government should make Nigeria conducive for Nigerians in order to discourage people from roam across the countries of the world in search of greener pastures. Again, the South African government must rise up to its responsibility of ensuring that the security of all immigrants in South Africa are of utmost priority.

Keywords: Xenophobia, South Africa, Nigeria, Twitter and Framing.

Introduction

South Africa experienced an apartheid period where the white oppressed, marginalized and tortured the blacks. This continued up until 1994, when President Nelson Mandela, who with his fellow freedom fighters were arrested during their struggle and fight for freedom, became the first President of South Africa after the country freed her from the apartheid rule (Dauda, Ameen & Sakariyau, 2018). Nigeria, which is considered the Giant of Africa, helped South

Africa gain their freedom by not attending the 1978 games in protest of New Zealand's games with apartheid in South Africa. Thirty-two out of 59 nations from Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean joined Nigerians in staying away from the 1986 common wealth games due to the horrible government behavior towards South Africans. Nigeria also provided secret military training, materials, financial and diplomatic support to African National Congress guerilla forces. In the entertainment world, Nigerian musicians lent their voices as they sang songs. For instance, Sunny Okosun sang "Fire in Soweto" in cohesion with the fight for freedom for South Africa (Onyido, 2018: Okosun, 2017).

After the Apartheid regime, there were lots of immigrants from across the world especially the Sub Saharan Africa and the South Asian nations. These foreigners have been attacked and killed and this hostile attitude is held particularly against people from other African countries (Mantzaris & Nglamu, 2019). Since 2000 there have been increases of xenophobic attacks on indigenes of other African countries including Nigeria (Hagesen, 2014).

The 2019 xenophobic attack took a very different tone. After the killing of a government official, Uju Ndubuisi Chukwu, in June 2019 the response of the government has been more active, than the normal words of condemnation. The South African ambassador to Nigeria was summoned; the Nigerian ambassador to South Africa was recalled, Nigeria withdrew from the world foreign meeting in Cape Town, the Chairperson of the Nigerian ruling party (APC) called for South African companies functioning in Nigeria to be nationalized making reference to the British Petroleum Precedent. Nigerians were returned to their country using Air Peace airline owned by an individual Mr. Allen Onyeama. On September 2018 more than 300 Nigerians arrived Lagos and the Lagos government apparently gave $55 to the returnees and assured them that they will be transferred to the Lagos State Employment Trust Fund for skill acquisition. The reactions of Nigerian on social media could be considered as a factor that pushed the government to act up probably to prove that they are on top of the situation and handling it as much as they can (Nwanze, 2019). On social media there were lots of mixed reactions using various tunes with various harsh themes that one way or the other affected the image of Nigeria and that of South Africa. In fact, on September 4ᵗʰ, 2019 Nigerian musicians reacted to the xenophobic attacks (Mumbere, 2019; Shaban, 2019).

For instance, Burna Boy who is a musician that was considered the Giant of African Music after his last album released in 2019, using his twitter handle @burnaboy (2019), said "I have not set foot in SA since 2017 and I will not EVER go to South Africa again for any reason until the South African government wakes and really performs a miracle because I don't know how they can even possibly fix this". Similarly, Tiwa Savage another Nigerian Musician tweeted @tiwasavage (2019) that "I refuse to watch the barbaric butchering of my people in SA. This is SICK. For this reason, I will not be performing at the upcoming DSTV delicious festival in Johannesburg on the 21ˢᵗ of September. My prayers are with all the victims and families affected by this".

The xenophobic attacks against blacks in South Africa and Nigerians in particular really caused an uproar on social media. It was saddening to learn that, some South Africans were in support of these violent acts. However, majority of the South Africans supported Nigerian as they admit that South Africans have wronged Nigerians this time around and they should accept it (Reality Check, 2019). With all of these on ground, one can say that social media played key role in the dissemination of the happenings in South Africa and also

helped to bring to bear people's reactions and disgust about the issue. Twitter was one of the key social media apps used in the narrative of the attacks. Twitter users also used the opportunity to contribute to the public discourse on the xenophobic attack.

It is against this backdrop that this study analysed the views of twitter users on the xenophobic attack with the aim of identifying the tones of tweets, their directions and the dominant frames evident in the tweets on xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa.

Statement of the Problem

The xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa have become a recurrent issue (Matunhu, 2008.) These present xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa which started in June 2019 has become a topic of discussion amongst the government, media, scholars, policy makers, Nigerians and South African citizens (Tapiwa, 2010; Chapeyama, 2016 and Okorie & Abiodun, 2017). Social media platforms have created avenues where individuals shared their views, ideas and identified their stand on the xenophobic issue (Seither, n.d).

Despite all effort from the South African government to prevent xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa, it has been reoccurring (Farouk, Ukeaja & Ishaka, 2019). In a bit to bring the information of the xenophobic attack to public knowledge on social media there were instances of fake news and fake videos uploaded and tagged a xenophobic attack (@MBELLOsarikwa, 2019). There were vulgar languages that were used in the reportage of the attacks (@nkosi_Dlamini, 2019). These instances were very worrisome.

Previous research on media and xenophobia by various scholars (such as Tapiwa, 2010, Chapeyama, 2016, Okorie & Abiodun, 2017, and Aden, 2017) focused on other countries and specifically on television stations and print media and its reportage on xenophobic attacks. There seem to be limited research or no study that particularly dealt with the 2019 xenophobic attack on Nigerians in South Africa. No study known to the researchers has also content analyzed twitter hash tags xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa.
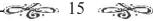
Therefore, this study focuses on analysing twitter hashtags, with special interest on the tone of the tweets, direction of tweets and dominant frames in the tweets from both Nigerians and South Africans on the 2019 xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa.

Research Questions

1. What is the direction of tweets from Twitter hash tags on xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa?

2. What is the tone of tweets from Twitter hash tags on issues of xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa?

3. What are the dominant frames present in the tweets from Twitter hash tags on xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa?

Xenophobia Defined

Xenophobia is called the fear of strangers. It is gotten from the Greek word "Xenos" and "Phobos" meaning "Stranger" or "Guest" and "Fear" (Wicker, 2001). Relative to South Africa, the A South African Human Rights stated that Xenophobia means "deep dislike of

non-nationals by national of a recipient state (Onyido, 2018).

Xenophobia can go beyond attitude and extent to a practice which escalates to violent behavior at the long run. In South Africa, there have been negative attitude towards foreigners and such practice includes discrimination, exploitation and violence (Schaller & Neuberg, 2012). Mazirir (2015) stated that jealousy from South Africans is one major factor that causes Xenophobia. The scholar explained that most immigrants from other African countries, when employed in good South African companies, are classified as people who came to steal their jobs. African immigrants are said to run the streets and also steal South African women from the South African men and to crown it all, most flourishing small scale businesses in South African are owned by immigrants. These factors have caused hatred in South Africans which finally turned to violent practices (Tapiwa, 2010)

Xenophobia, Twitter and South Africa

Over the years, South Africa has been struggling with the brunt of xenophobia. Lots of immigrants have been stripped of their lives and property, which according to Muchiri (2016) is caused by Socio-legal problems in South Africa. It is understood that the basic cause of xenophobia in South Africa is historical. This factor continues to be responsible for the hatred of foreigners in South Africa by South Africans.

Contributing to the fact that South Africans are ignoring the commonness of xenophobia, laced with the poor management of xenophobia by the government officials who own it as their duties to manage such issues, another factor is the unequal distribution of scarce resources. This has made both nationals and foreigners to compete for the available resources (Reality Check team, 2019).

On 19th of September 2019 @ayobonga-Kekan (2019) with the hash tag #xenophobicattack #xenophobia In South Africa shared a video explaining that in 2017 the deputy police minister Bongan Mknogi questioned why the Hillbrow in the Johannesburg CBD was occupied by 70-80% foreign nationals and the consequences of having such a community. The police Minister explains that this situation is dangerous, "South Africans have surrendered their country to foreigners, you will not find South Africans in a city dominating up to 80% of that city. This situation must be discussed because time will come when the future president of South Arica will be a foreign national. We are surrendering our rights. This is not xenophobia to say the truth. We fought for this land from the white minority and we cannot surrender it to the foreign nationals". This expression by South Africans gives them the room and leverage to criticize African foreigners and portraying them as economic threat. (Ayobonga-Kekan, 2019).

Review of Related Studies

Various studies have been carried out on xenophobic attacks. One of the studies carried out by Aden (2012) explained the attacks of Somalis in Khayelistisha since 2006. Aden explained that the cause and nature of the attacks on Somali traders was lack of information. The researcher further explained that the cause of the attack was pitiable government which led to lawlessness, poverty and unfulfilled expectations which in turn led to violence.

Relatively, Chapeyama (2016), Okorie and Salawu (2017), and Mshubeki (2016) carried out studies by content analysing newspapers and explaining how different African countries covered the xenophobic attacks on Zimbabweans' in South Africa and xenophobic

attacks in South Africa and its socio cultural implication to development. The aspect of news that was found news worthy was death and the media framed these violent issues as a societal problem. These studies reveal that African countries disapprove xenophobic attacks because it hinders development amongst African (developing) countries.

Gomo (2010) on the other hand through both qualitative and quantitative methods explained the role and level of media influence on xenophobia. According to the researcher, "it was difficult to establish the line between the media and violent attacks" however, the media was able to ascertain foreigners' bad behaviour. The establishment of the foreigners' bad behaviour one way or the other justified the violent attacks on the foreigners. Judging from the analysis gotten from the qualitative method (interview) respondents believed that the media has no role to play in the violent attacks and the xenophobic attacks. However, journalists believed that the media incited the people by framing stories to them. This is so because the people's previous action was not influenced by xenophobic behaviour but the media implied that it was xenophobic attacks and this caused an unstable situation in the country. This is in relation to the 2019 xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa. During this period there were lots of videos showing the vandalisation of properties both in South Africa and Nigerian. There was also a video of someone being burnt alive. After sometime papalito Fulani bros with the twitter handle @MBELLOsarikwa on 4th September 2019 and with the hash tag #XenophobiaInSouthAfrica explain that what about the present crisis was caused by a non-Nigerian immigrant that killed a south African and again that the video that was shared which up roared the city was an old video. Therefore, it agrees with Gomo (2010) who explains that the media frame events and incite certain actions from the people.

Mantzaris and Nglamu (2019) in their study explained that the media is very subjective in reporting the xenophobic attack in Kwazulu-Natal. According to the authors, the media increased conflicts through their sensational reports. Dauda, Ameen and Sakariyau (2018) in their study stated that South Africans are dwelling in that fact Nigerians are taking everything that belongs to them. Therefore Nigerians who are South African immigrants are the cause of their unemployment, poverty rate and the dispersing of deadly diseases in South Africa.

There have been various studies on Xenophobic attacks in South Africa like the study carried out by Gomo (2012), Chapeyama, (2016) Okorie and Salawu (2017) and Mshubeki (2016). These studies explained how the print media, radio and television stations covered these attacks. These studies also discussed the cultural and political implication of xenophobic attacks in South Africa. However, very little study is carried out on how the social media played a role during the September 2019 xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa. This study goes beyond the conventional media coverage by going to find out the narrative of Nigerians and South Africans using the twitter hashtags. This social media app has given individuals an opportunity to create content (Nadaraja, &Yazdanifard, 2013).

Theoretical Framework

This study is anchored on the framing and the scape goating theories. The framing theory was first propounded by Goffman and it is very similar to Agenda Setting theory. This theory is a step above the agenda setting theory which explains that the media tells the audience what to think about, but the framing theory goes a step further in the way events, occurrence are being represented by journalists. Simply put framing, is the way the media source creates

any information given to the receiver (Arowolo, 2017).

In relation to this study, framing means arranging themes and ideas, linking them up to get stories and building a particular narrative. This is a typical South African and xenophobic case. The theme of violence has become a narrative and often in connection to xenophobia. This means that any kind of violence in South Africa with xenophobic intentions or not is considered xenophobic. This is in connection to the findings of Gomo (2010) which stated that the media incited people by framing stories that are connected to xenophobia to them. Goffman explained that frames are usually the consciousness of the source. Therefore, the media has a way to consciously incite certain actions from the audience and making them believe that they thought about it themselves and acted solely on their own.

Scape goating theory, which was propounded by Rene Girads, is the act of blaming and frequently punishing a person or a group of persons for a pessimistic, negative or depressing result that is due to, to a large extent, other causes. In most situations the scape goat is usually seen as a threat or a potential threat (Rothschild, Landau, Sullivan & Keefer, 2012: Onyido, 2018).

In relation to this study, Nigerians in South Africa are seen as potential threats. They are blamed for all the issues and negative outcomes in South Africa. South Africans blame Nigerian immigrants because they believe that they are the reason they (South Africans) are jobless since they (Nigerian immigrant) take all the nice jobs, Nigerian immigrants take their women, nice accommodation etc. This situation has gotten a lot of people angry as they consider Nigerian immigrants as factors of under development in South Africa. According to South Africans Nigerian immigrants brought corruption into their country, stole their business and destroy their youths since they sell drugs to them "make drugs easily available for the youths". Thus Nigerian immigrants are the scape goats in South Africa.

Methodology

This study used the content analysis research method to analyse the manifest content of twitter users narratives on the 2019 xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa. The researchers studied the month of September 2019 using #saynotoxenphobia and #xenophobiasouthafrica (Chang, 2010; Sajjad, 2017). The month of September was studied because this was the period of the uproar which is the height of the xenophobic attack on Nigerians in South Africa.

The population of this study is 286 tweets. This population was derived from the number of tweets during the period of study which is September 1st to 30th, 2019 from #saynotoxenphobia and #xenophobiasouthafrica (Chang, 2010; Sajjad, 2017). The researcher also used the census principle to study the entire population (Lavrakaz, 2008). The researcher thought it unnecessary to get a sample size since the population of the study can be carefully and efficiently studied (Glen, 2013). The researcher studied both tweets from South Africans and from Nigerians. The #saynotoxenophobia was a hashtag for Nigerian tweets therefore representing Nigerian views, while #xenophobiasouthAfrica represented tweets from South Africans. Those behind the stories are very diverse. They were hardly victims of the attacks, rather, protesters against xenophobia and supporters of xenophobic attacks are mostly the people behind the tweets.

The researcher used the coding guide and the code sheet as the instrument of the study. Two coders were used for this study. After engaging in a mock coding, they showed

proficiency in handling the actual coding. Inter coder reliability was tested on 20 coded contents using Pearson's r formula. Inter coder reliability result on each of the content categories were 0.8, 0.8 and 0.8.

The units of analysis were comments, pictures and videos. The content categories were direction, tone and dominant frames. In terms of direction, the researcher analysed the angle of tweets by twitter users while tweeting on the 2019 xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa. The researcher analysed how favourable, unfavourable or neutral these tweets were towards Nigerians in South Africa. Tone means the manner at which twitter users tweeted about the 2019 xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa. The researcher analysed how harsh or friendly these tweets were towards Nigerians. For dominant frames, the researchers looked at the common implication of the languages used by twitter users in their tweets during the period of study. The content category helped the researchers find out the party twitter users were more sympathetic to, the manner twitter users tweeted about the issue and how tweeter users considered Nigerians in South Africa using contents on various twitter hash tags. Data was analysed and presented in tables and number. Some of the tweets studied are attached as appendix to this study.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Data was analysed quantitatively and presented in tables. Data presented answered the research questions raised in this study. Analysis of spread within the tweets indicated that 286 tweets representing 50% were text, 158 tweet representing 27.6% were pictures, 128 tweets representing 22.4% were videos. This implies that all the tweets about Xenophobic attack against Nigerians in South Africa in September 2019 be it text or videos were all accompanied with texts. Again, pictures and videos were shared by twitter users for better expression.

Table 1: Analysing the direction of tweets from Twitter hash tags on Xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa

Content Category	Unit of Analysis			Total	Percentage
	Text	Pictures	Videos		
Favourable	107	63	50	220	38.5%
Neutral	102	54	46	202	35.3%
Unfavourable	77	41	32	150	26.2%
Total	286	158	128	572	100
Total	572			572	100

(Field work, 2019)

This study reveals the tweets during the September 2019 xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa were favourable to Nigerians. Twitter users did not support South Africans since tweets that were unfavourable to Nigerians is less than 26.2%. Theses tweets indicated that twitter users are very sympathetic to Nigerians because of the loss of lives and property. This implies that twitter users are very sympathetic to Nigerians since 123 tweets are favourable to Nigerians.

Table 2: Analysing the Tone of the tweets from Twitter hash tags on issues of Xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa

Content Category	Unit of Analysis			Total	Percentage
	Text	Pictures	Videos		
Harsh	67	30	28	125	21.9%
Neutral	103	55	40	198	34.6%
Friendly	116	73	60	249	43.5%
Total	286	158	128	572	100
Total	572			572	100

(Field work, 2019)

This study reveals that twitter users were more friendly towards Nigerians in their tone of tweets on the September 2019 xenophobic attack. This was made evident when 43.5% of the tweets were friendly as opposed to 21.9% that was harsh to Nigerians. This implies that twitter users are being friendly to Nigerians in their tweets on the 2019 xenophobic attack.

Table 3: Analysing the dominant frames present in the tweets from Twitter hash tags on the xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa

CONTENT CATEGORY	UNIT OF ANALYSIS			TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
	Text	Pictures	Videos		
Criminals	52	29	14	95	16.6%
Hard workers	64	23	29	116	20.3%
Peace Clamourers	69	39	25	133	23.3%
Violent	46	26	31	103	18%
Government inadequacies	55	41	29	125	21.9%
Total	286	158	128	572	100
Total	572			572	100

(Field work, 2019)

Communicating analysis from data, it was revealed that the most dominant frame is peace clamourers. This was made evident when 23.3% tweet indicated that there is need for peaceful existence between Nigerians and South Africans. This study also revealed that Nigerians in South Africa are considered as hardworking people as they are known to have shops and works in many offices, hospitals in many South African's States especially in her capital Johannesburg. This was shown when 20.3% tweets indicated that Nigerians in South Africa are hard workers. This study also found out that twitter users, during the 2019 xenophobic attack in September, lashed the Nigerian government about their incompetence. This was made evident when 21.9% of the tweets stated that the Nigerian government is incompetent. This implies that twitter users are clamouring for peace. They are using twitter to create awareness on the importance of solidarity amongst African countries. Still judging

from the findings they also used this medium to speak to the Nigerian and South African governments in their inadequacies in protecting Nigerians.

Discussion of Findings

The direction of tweets from Twitter hash tags on xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa

Findings revealed that 38.5% of the tweets were favourable to Nigerians. This means that most tweets either South Africans, Nigerians or any other twitter users across the globe were against South Africans and their violent attitudes towards Nigerians. This means that twitter users during the month of September 2019 were sympathetic to Nigerians. Most of the tweets were neutral as most users preached peace, while others expressed their disappointments towards South Africa. This is in relation to reviewed studies by (Chapeyama, 2016: Okorie & Salawu, 2017: Mshubeki, 2016) who revealed in their studies that African countries disapprove xenophobic attacks because it hinders development amongst African (developing) countries. Okorie and Salawu (2017) explained that the South African youths must be oriented about African solidarity. However, it is a shame that we still have cases of xenophobic attacks on Africans in Nigeria but judging from the data gotten from this study, some youths are beginning to have that African solidarity.
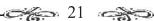
This is also related to the scape goating theory because South African are violent to Nigerians because they feel that Nigerians are sharing from their scare resources thereby making things difficult for them. This no doubt necessitated the hurt and hate South Africans have or show towards Nigerians.

The tone of tweets from Twitter hash tags on issues of xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa

Findings revealed that 43.5% of the tweets were friendly to Nigerians. This means that majority of the twitter users used friendly tones while addressing the 2019 xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa on twitter. Lots of tweets were harsh towards South Africa explaining the need for one Africa. This finding is quite clear when compared to that of Muchiri (2016) who identified South Africans as violent and hostile; he also explains that xenophobic attacks will continue in the nearest future because all plans by the government to end xenophobia has been futile. This is why Okorie and Salawu (2017) discussed the need for a united Africa. The tweets that are harsh towards Nigerians agree with the scapegoat theory which blame Nigerians for all their misfortunes (economic, political and social problems).

The dominant frames present in the tweets from Twitter hash tags on xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa

The findings of this study revealed several dominant frames, with the frames of clamour for peace and incompetence of the Nigerian government being more dominant among the frames. Twitter users expressed the relevance of peace amongst African countries. Although, some twitter users referred to Nigerians as criminals, since they come into South Africa to steal their women, business etc. Nevertheless, some of the tweets referred to Nigerians as hard workers since they are qualified for the jobs they get in South Africa.

This implies that twitter users used their twitter handles to call on the Nigerian government to do their jobs by making Nigeria comfortable for Nigerians to live in, so as to prevent Nigerians from looking for manna or striving to survive in other countries. This is in relation to the findings of Mazirir (2015) and Aden (2012) who explained that one of the issues of xenophobic attacks is because the resources in South Africa is not viably distributed amongst South Africans, so they feel robbed when non indigenes come in and take what they believe is rightfully theirs. Therefore, twitter users called out the Nigerian government to make Nigeria conducive for Nigerians. They also called on the South African government to ensure peace in South Africa and protection of black migrants. This finding is also related to the framing theory which explains that the media not only set agenda but also builds frames to create a particular narrative. For this study, the narrative built by tweeter users is the incompetence of the Nigerian government and the need for peace among blacks in South Africa.

Conclusion

Social media have been an avenue for people to create contents, share ideas and join conversations without necessarily being in a studio or an established media house. With the aid of social media anybody can be heard and people can express themselves on any given situation/matter. During the 2019 xenophobic attack on Nigerians in South Africa, Twitter was one of the platforms that was used to share ideas and join conversations on the said matter. People had their views which they shared either through texts, pictures, and/or videos. Every individual who tweeted had their own narrative of the situation. These different narratives were either for or against Nigerians who happened to be the major victim of the attacks.

Based on the narratives of the tweets, this study was able to conclude that majority of Twitter users were sympathetic to Nigerians in South Africa and believed that Nigerians are hardworking people with the determination to succeed wherever they find themselves. The study also concludes that the Nigerian government should take a chunk of the blame for not making Nigeria conducive enough for all her citizens. Consequently, till date, many South Africans still blame immigrants for their economic and political problems not minding their sympathy to Nigerians for the loss of lives and property.

Recommendations

The researchers therefore recommend that:

1. South African youths should be educated on the importance of African harmony/unity and the dangers of xenophobia. Citizens in the rural areas should also be communicated using the proper channels to bridge the gap between twitter users and non-twitter users.

2. South African government should ensure equity in the distribution of resources amongst citizens. There should also be provisions for immigrants. This will help reduce the struggle of resources (land, shops and office space) amongst citizens and immigrant.

3. The Nigerian government should make Nigeria conducive for Nigerians. This will limit the number of Nigerians that travel across the world in search of greener pastures. Again, the South African government must rise in their responsibility by ensuring that the security of all immigrants in South Africa is of utmost priority to the Sought African government. Consequently, when a crime (xenophobic attacks) is committed the South African government should ensure speedy dispensation of justice to avoid escalation and reprisal attacks.

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