

Impacts of Xenophobia and Nativism on Pan-Africanism in Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean

Usman Sambo^{1*}, Ahmed Wali Doho², Babayo Sule³

¹Department of Public Administration, Yobe State University, Damaturu, Nigeria. ussambo2@gmail.com

²Department of Political Science, Federal University of Kashere, Gombe State, Nigeria.

walidoho1963@yahoo.com

³Department of International Relations, Federal University of Kashere, Gombe State, Nigeria.

babayosule@gmail.com

*Correspondence: ussambo2@gmail.com

Received: 08 March, 2023 | Accepted: 10 May, 2023 | Published: 15 May, 2023

Abstract: Xenophobia and Nativism are among the main obstacles that are beleaguering Africa's unity and progress. The early African leaders, particularly, during decolonisation process, nursed and developed an ambitious strategy of coordination and cooperation by designing a platform of uniting all black race across the world. Unfortunately, misrule, misgovernance and myriads of political and socioeconomic issues strangled the Pan-African Movement. This is perceived in terms of the upheavals in Xenophobia and Nativism across the three Continents. This study examined the impacts of Xenophobia and Nativism on the Pan-African movement in Africa, the Caribbean and Latin America. The study is a descriptive theoretical and also an empirical analysis of the causes, manifestations and effects of Xenophobia on a universal declaration of the black world unity taking the three continents which have an umbilical cord of fraternal ancestry. A qualitative phenomenological paradigm was used in data collection and analysis. Documented sources including books, journal articles, reports, media and internet sources were consulted while thematic content analysis was deployed for analysis. The study explored some groundbreaking issues and emerging ones on the role played by Xenophobia and Nativism in hindering the successful movement and expansion of Pan-Africanism across Africa, the Caribbean and Latin America. A comparative nature and dimension of the issues were discovered across the three case studies. Practical policy implications were presented on how to surmount the challenge and propel ahead for a most workable Pan-Africanism and by extension, for universal prosperity of the black nations in the 21st century and beyond.

Keywords: Africa, Caribbean, Impacts, Latin America, Nativism, Pan-Africanism, Xenophobia

1. Introduction

Xenophobia and nativism are interrelated concepts that express the preference for native-born people and a fear of the negative perception of foreigners and non-natives in a given society. The phenomenon of xenophobia and nativism have remain a constant in the anal of human existence as a result of the changing pattern of relationships, resettlement, movement and migration across the globe (Fernandez, 2013). Xenophobia and Nativism can take various forms including personal public opinions about migrants and non-natives, media agenda settings, public policymaking or recommendations and aggressive acts such as verbal assaults, physical attacks, destruction of properties and killings. Xenophobia gains ground in an environment where populism in terms of some societal elements are given utmost priority such as religious belief, ethnic preference, race and geographical settlement. Nativism is motivated by the feeling of possessing a territory, historical belonging to land and the perception of others as strangers particularly the minority settlers in societies dominated by one major ethnic or religious group (Makari, 2021).

Xenophobia is not a new phenomenon in the history of the world. Although, it is anticipated that it will disappear in the 21st-Century civilised world where the complex societies are embracing each other for a

globalised world. From time immemorial, many societies witnessed Xenophobia and Nativism specifically in the wake of the war of conquest and displacement. Societies in Africa, America, Asia, the Caribbean and Latin America experienced their diverse share of Xenophobia and Nativism of varying degrees and nature (Abidde, 2021). The modern form of Xenophobia and Nativism was started from anti-Semitism to enslavement of Black Africans who were taken to America, Europe, the Caribbean and Latin America for forced labour under inhumane conditions, colonialism and its impacts in the seizure of natives' land, displacement, racism and maltreatment of the indigenous by the colonisers which succeeded in establishing negative perception against the white race in the colonial world and other related exegeses (Wistrich, 1999). Recently, new forms of Xenophobia and Nativism emerged in the 21st-Century known as 'Afrophobia' in Africa (the perceived hatred of Blacks by their fellow Blacks in South Africa) and 'Islamophobia' (the intensified campaign of hatred against the followers of Islamic religion in the wake of the 9/11 attacks) (Carr, 2016).

One of the ways in which Xenophobia and Nativism helped or presented its blessing in disguise is the Pan-African Movement during the Black slave shipment to Europe and America and in the era of colonial rule. The activists in the US, Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean who saw it as a service to humanity and a spirit of brotherhood, established movements and activities to foster a united Black nation across the globe irrespective of the geographical belonging or space. The likes of Martin Delaney, Alexander Crummel, Edward Blyden, Marcus Garvey, W.E.B Du Bois and others spearheaded the movement from America (Lee, 2019). These African Americans and West Indian Pan-Africanist succeeded in establishing a united front movement that motivated the indigenous African nationalist including Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Mwalimu Nyerere, Ahmed Seiko Toure and many others (Egbonu & Gwatana, 2022). The movement liberated Black African Americans from racism in America and Europe, emancipated Latin American and Caribbean countries from colonialism, brought to an end slavery and gingered the decolonisation process in Africa. The vision of the founding fathers of Pan-Africanism is to unite all Black race across the world politically, economically and culturally against the oppression and injustice of the white supremacist (Herbert & Klein, 1986).

Unfortunately, a few years after political independence, the countries dominated by the Black race in Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean derailed from the mission of the Pan-Africanist and found themselves in unending crises of identity, ethnicity, racism, violence and hatred which is perceived as the biggest obstacle towards unity among Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean (Umunakwe & Osaren, 2023). The situation became pervasive in some African countries particularly South Africa where the Black migrants are maltreated with inhumane treatment and violence (Attah & Sule, 2021). This is coming in the 21st-Century where the forces of globalisation are ambitiously striving to collapse nation-states boundaries yet, internal African migrants of the same race are attacked maliciously at the verge of losing their life. This conflict is affecting the unity and Pan-Africanism in Africa internally and across the world specifically Latin America and the Caribbean (Sule & Mika'il, 2020). The chapter consists of an introduction, examination of xenophobia and nativism as a rebirth of racism in the 21st-Century, analyses some contending issues of Xenophobia and Nativism in Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean and the examination of Xenophobia and Nativism on Pan-Africanism in the 21st-Century. The chapter used documented sources of data and the analysis was made using content analysis. The contribution of the chapter is the provision of some policy recommendations that will help in restoring Pan-Africanism and unity among Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean for the desired development in the 21st-Century.

2. Literature review: Xenophobia and Nativism: A Rebirth of Racism in the 21st Century

Xenophobia and Nativism are two distinctive but similar terms that are closely related in meaning and action. To ease the burden of making the analysis cumbersome, they are merged and interpreted in their meaning and nature. Xenophobia and Nativism in its simplest term is the preference for a native-born in a particular society

which transcends into a fear of foreigners and migrants emanating from differences in ethnic, religious, racial and national origin of the hated. Such behaviours occur usually not based on fact but negative perceptions, myths and pre-determined views (Fernandez, 2013). Xenophobia and Nativism of the 1870s were fuelled by an explosion in immigration. During this time, immigrants from Latin America into the US were treated with Nativism in the same way the European migrants are treated in America and other parts of Europe. Xenophobia and Nativism are actions that history disclosed never to have disappeared in the world but subsides and then re-emerges. Anti-Migrants Policies and laws established by many countries in the 1800s and the contemporary world helped in giving the natives the perception of favoured and stigmatising of foreigners as a problem to national prosperity and security (Young, 2017). Of course, there is nothing wrong with initiating immigration policies by states depending on national policies but the emerging UN policies on global migration and the desire for consideration of humanity should restrain such attitudes of negativities that leads to Xenophobia and Nativism particularly in societies like America which is looked up to as the world leader in the 21st century.

Nativism is considered the movement behind Xenophobia and other related terms in the 21st century. From Nativism, Xenophobia, Islamophobia in America and Europe and Afrophobia in Africa emerged (Guia, 2016). The term 'Nativism' was first coined by Louis Dow Scisco in 1901 describing the principles and actions taken by the anti-foreign and anti-Catholic American Party in the USA in the 1850s (Guia, 2016). Nativism is considered as a special construction of nationalism in the process of nation-building ideology. Nativism emphasises the 'us/them' conundrum in the context of cultural complexities and immigration. The self-acclaimed native society identifies its values in relationship to major threats posed by immigrants and foreigners, ethnic community, religious group and race which ended up in racism (Guia, 2016). The term 'Nativism' has gained significant currency over the past decades among scholars, and media to portray anti-migrant and anti-refugee sentiment according to Newth (Newth, n.d). Like Guia (2016) and Newth (n.d) also accepted that Nativism ushered in other ideologies and chains of activities attached to it including racism, nationalism, Xenophobia, Populism, Islamophobia and Afrophobia. However, Newth (n.d) added that Nativism is a hostile immigration policy or perception which targets minorities in society. In consensus with Guia (2016) and Newth (n.d) postulates that the term 'Nativism' originated in the USA as a particular type of ideology or nationalism that displays an intense opposition to an internal minority based on foreign connection. In essence, Nativism is a rebirth of racism and racialisation in the 21st century which heralded other reactions such as Xenophobia, Islamophobia and Afrophobia (Guia, 2016).

Xenophobia is a reaction to the resurgence of Nativism in recent years in the wake of the rise of populist, new nationalism, hate speech, stigmatisation of religious and racial groups, resentment against migrants and refugees. Politicians in places like the US and South Africa found it expedient to use anti-migrant rhetoric to woo votes in election times. This stance has the repercussions of engineering hatred, fear and distrust of foreigners (Miller, 2018). The word Xenophobia comes from the Greek 'Xenos,' meaning both the stranger and the guest, and 'Phobos,' meaning fear; therefore, the term is literally 'fear of the stranger.' Anatole France may have been the first to use the term 'Xenophobia' in Europe, in his novel *Monsieur Bergeret à Paris* (1901) (Hervik, 2016). Miller (2018) in his perspective suggests that Xenophobia can be found in every corner of the world and it differs from Nativism because Nativism is the intensified opposition against a minority within a society while Xenophobia is the fear and hatred of foreigners. In the same way, he also argues that Xenophobia differs from Racism because Racism is prejudice and stereotyping of a particular ethnic group based on colour while Xenophobia is hatred of foreigners. In this regard, the South African Afrophobia can be both Xenophobia and Racism since only the Black immigrants are targeted against the White settlers and Asians in the country. Miller (2018) submitted that Xenophobia can be triggered by multiple factors including an unstable economy of the recipient country of the immigrants, political volatility, historical/cultural antecedents, and attitudes of the immigrants in their social relationship with the host communities, mysticism and political ambition of elites who

play on the emotion of their audience in their quest for power. Hervik (2016) believed that while Nativism and Xenophobia are closely tied, they differ in their origin and nature. Both Xenophobia and Nativism are exclusionist ideologies perceived by their perpetrators to have been a measure of protection of a culture but the former is targeted at the external group while the latter is inflicted upon minority natives. Hervik (2016) presented Islamophobia as a new form of Xenophobia in Europe and America and he suggests that it is a kind of new Racism in modern times. A new dimension that was added in the literature on Xenophobia is that of Xun and Gilman (2021) that pandemic rekindles Xenophobia in the 21st century. This is because, in their view, pandemics reactivate a fear of foreigners and certain groups particularly from the areas of origin of the pandemic. Chinese are stereotyped in the outbreak of the COVID-19 Virus and other countries that are devastated by the pandemic are also perceived with the same fear. This necessitated the banning of many foreigners by nation-states from 2020 to date and other measures for prevention and also for the inflicted fear.

Globally, Xenophobia and Nativism were recorded and it has to explode. In the 21st century, the outburst of Xenophobia was recorded in the pre-Second World War with anti-Semitism in Germany. The phenomenon continued up to the period of the division of Germany into East and West but most importantly, it continued even in the post-unification era (Kurthen et al., 1997). The scenarios that trigger Xenophobia in one society differ from others. For instance, in Brazil, the resentment of Portuguese post-colonial immigrants was the major factor because the Brazilians quickly recall the colonial trauma inflicted by the Portuguese during colonialism (Barbosa, 2009). Nativism is the causal factor in Hungary because the Hungarians see Budapest as the Capital city meant only for the Hungarians due to symbols, rhetoric and images that they felt represented them (Eros, 2014). In the case of Norway, ideational Nativism, extremism of the populist and hatred of strangers propel Xenophobia (Auestad, 2014). Populism orchestrated anti-immigrant sentiments in Poland leading to Xenophobia (Wrobel, 2014) while the trauma of post-Colonialism and phantasy breed Xenophobia in Mexico (Davidoff, 2014). In India, Xenophobia is taking the shape of Nativism where the minority is facing class difference, ethnicity, language, race, culture and social status which is sometimes staged into violence and deprivation (Kruijtzter, 2009). An attempt at shifting toward secularism established the re-emergence of Xenophobia in Canada, Spain, Ireland, Belgium and many other European countries (Todd, 2015). This is aided by the intensified efforts at Europeanisation and anti-Muslim and Arab migrants in the post-9/11 in countries like France, Denmark and Germany which resulted in Islamophobia (Bonn, 2012; Cousin & Vitale, 2012; Doyle, 2016).

In the discourse of contemporary Xenophobia, America represents the epitome of events and sequence of activities toward that perspective. Various indigenous minorities such as Blacks, Afro-Asians, West Indies and Japanese faced different kinds of Nativism in America while immigrants faced xenophobic attacks verbally and physically (Lee, 2019). In the US, discrimination based on religion, sex, colour, race, and other components are still obtainable in public offices and public services (Bonilla-Silva, 2018). The main victims of xenophobic attacks in the US include the Chilean Americans (Angelo, 2018), Argentines (Consoli et al. 2018), Mexicans (Young, 2018), Cuban Americans (Castellanos & Gloria, 2018), Salvadoran immigrants (Arce & Escoto, 2018), Puerto Ricans (Capielo et al., 2018) and Venezuelan diaspora in the US (Cadenas, 2018). In Africa, South Africa is the epicentre of xenophobic attacks. This is not to exonerate other African countries from it particularly. Nativism has led to several civil wars in Congo (1993-1994), Nigeria (1967-1970), Rwanda (1990-1994) and others. However, in modern times, the South African context is the most pronounced. The South African incidence is regarded as the case of a reversed Nativism where the minority few migrants perpetuated racism and isolation of the majority natives in their homeland under the Apartheid regime. The consequence of this sad event was the ushering in of a volatile and aggressive post-Apartheid populace which eventually enabled the occurrence of xenophobic attacks by some sections of the aggrieved youth (Classen, 2018). The South African version of Xenophobia presents the World with a new coined term 'Afrophobia' which is a directed hatred and attacks against fellow Blacks in the country as against the White and nationals of other Continents. Even the African

Arabs are spared from these attacks recently particularly in 2014, 2017 and 2019 attacks where the migrants from Zimbabwe, Zambia, Somalia, Madagascar, Mozambique, Malawi, Nigeria, Cameroon and Ghana were identified for attacks (Attah & Sule, 2021). Thus, it can be concluded in this section that African Xenophobia has added a new term known as Afrophobia while the European and American types introduced Islamophobia and Populism, new terms related directly to Xenophobia and Nativism in the 21st century.

2.1. Xenophobia and Nativism in Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean: Some contending issues

Xenophobia in Africa is not new. Many African countries shut their doors from their fellow Africans or even go to the extent of chasing away those migrants that were staying in their countries as in the case of Ghanaians in Nigeria in the 1980s where a popular concept of 'Ghana Must Go' was designed as a maxim to showcase the desire to chase all Ghanaians from Nigeria (Sule & Mika'il, 2020). Unfortunately, Ghana itself was the first country to initiate Xenophobia through the "Aliens Compliance Order of 1969" which discouraged all foreigners from staying in the country (Justin, 2020). However, once, Xenophobia is mentioned in Africa, some people perceived it as a synonymous term with actions of South African perpetrators, where the term is more pronounced and re-occurring continuously since the 1990s. There are numerous cases in African states of either banning foreign migrants from the neighbourhood or malicious attacks on minorities by the majorities in many parts of the Continent. However, the South African cases in the 2000s made the context notorious and alarming (Naidu et al. n.d). Apart from the hatred for foreigners, violent attacks and gruesome murders were involved in the process. South Africa is the largest destination of immigrants in Africa. It is estimated that immigrants constitute about 4 million (7.9%) of the total population of the country. Also, South Africa is the 14th country with a high number of migrants in the world (Justin, 2020). The African countries are facing economic downturn and sociopolitical crises increased by ethnic and religious clashes, political violence and insurgencies (Asaju & Yohanna, 2022; Nwankwo et al. 2022). Forceful displacement and economic volatility is compelling migration and South Africa is recognised as a good destination (Tafira, 2018). Statistics disclosed that Xenophobia in Africa is majorly centred in South Africa and it is recurring intermittently. For instance, in 2008, 62 individuals were killed, 670 wounded, dozens raped, and over 100,000 displaced. In 2011, there were 154 reported incidents of xenophobic attacks, 99 deaths, 100 serious injuries, and 1000 people displaced. In 2012, 238 incidents were reported, 120 deaths, 154 serious injuries, and 7, 500 were displaced. In 2013, 250 attacks, 88 deaths, 170 serious injuries, and 7, 000 displaced (Xeno Watch, 2019). The 2017 and 2019 attacks increased the number of casualties and the nature of the attacks turned violent and torturing. Hundreds of Nigerians and other nationals were burnt alive, hacked with machetes into pieces and even crushed with stones in the street (Attah & Sule, 2021). Such inhumane treatment of Africans by their fellows rekindled the traumatic experience of the narration of Fanon (1972) on the brutality of the French colonialist in Algeria which left indelible psychological effects on natives in the country.

In Latin America, Xenophobia has a two-way process. The perpetuation of the evil within the countries and the experience of the members of Latin America in neighbouring America and Canada. In Argentina, Blacks and other neighbouring Latinos are welcomed with hostilities. They are not accommodated and are discouraged by policies from staying there. In the case of Brazil, the Portuguese settlers are perceived with hostilities and are sometimes targeted for xenophobic attacks because the Brazilian natives are finding it difficult to forget the

wound of colonial brutality inflicted on them by Portugal. While the Portuguese see themselves as migrants, Brazilians saw them as remnants of colonial symbols (Barbosa, 2009). However, xenophobic attacks in Latin America are not as violent as that in Africa because incidences of violence involving killings and physical assaults are not reported rampantly like in South Africa (Barbosa, 2009). On the other hand, Latin Americans faced Xenophobia in their neighbouring North American states of the USA and Canada (Lee, 2019). Similar to African conditions, citizens of Latin American countries are pushed out forcefully for migration by economic factors, climate, socioeconomic and political conditions. Mexicans, in particular, faced not only Xenophobia in the US for many decades but also evacuation. Campaigns of anti-Mexicans were sponsored officially to withdraw any form of sympathy from the Americans. They are being repatriated from the US to Mexico in hundreds of thousands since the 1920s (Lee, 2019). Different races are instrumental in Xenophobia in Latin American context. Sometimes some races are mocked in the work of art and culture in Latin America such as Mexico's cartoon character Memín Pinguín and black-face TV personalities such as Peru's Negro Mama, Brazil's Adelaide character in the comedy show *Zorra Total* and Guatemala's Black Pitaya (played by comedian-turned-president Jimmy Morales) are prominent examples of such visual racism, to which can be added Colombia's Soldado Micolta (Wade et al. 2019). Colonialism played an influential role in Xenophobia in the Latin American Continent. Clashes of racism among pre-Columbian indigenous societies, White colonial settlers and Black slaves set the background for the 21st-century Xenophobia (Wade et al. 2019). Racism is affecting political participation in Columbia (Morgan, 2019), Blacks are being mocked in Argentina and Peru leading to Xenophobia (Patricia et al. 2019), the increasing incidences of racism in Brazil is compelling for an anti-racist campaign in classrooms in Rio de Janeiro (Klein, 2019) and Afro-Bolivian population is facing racism from the White (Schubmann, 2019) despite anti-racism law in the country (Stobart, 2019).

The Caribbean societies are shaped historically by the slave trade, plantation agriculture and by structural racism equivalent to Xenophobia. The White is constituted as a privileged class with economic prosperity while the Blacks underwent exploitation of their land and resources and class differentiation. Xenophobia in the Caribbean is a product of the past that is still haunting the present and which may continue to do so in the future. This is because racial hierarchies and are hence difficult to break (Viala, 2019). Perry and Fiess (2003) reported that there is a spillover of turmoil and volatility in Latin America and the Caribbean which are internally affecting the relationship between the inhabitants in the regions. There are potential risks in Latin America and the Caribbean involving jobless youth, poverty, crime, violence, sexual abuse and other unfavourable environmental conditions that will enable Xenophobia according to Cunningham et al. (2008) The Latin American and the Caribbean particularly Afros or Blacks are still finding it difficult to have good reception in the US and other Northern American countries where they are flooding in search of a better economic opportunity (Toney, 2014). Putnam (Putnam, 2013) reported that the Caribbean migrants into Latin America suffered a terrible experience that was not adequately covered by the works of literature including working in nearly slavery mood in construction of dams and canals, inhumane conditions in the plantation sites and other resentments of Xenophobia and hatred. Meanwhile, the inter-Caribbean migration too is not pleasant for the citizens of the Caribbean even though, the migration pattern involved labour mobility, student mobility, irregular or illegal migration and parental migration. The migrants are not accorded the deserved respect and are sometimes discriminated against (International Organisation for Migration, 2013).

2.2. Impacts of Xenophobia and Nativism on Pan Africanism in the 21st Century

Pan-Africanism strives to unite all Black race in the world beyond geographical, ethnic, religious, and other societal demarcation through a uniform culture of recognition. Interestingly, this great movement was initiated in Latin America, the Caribbean and the US in the 19th century during the heat of slavery and the peak of colonisation. Some Africans in diaspora, Afro-Americans and Americans established the movement which ambitiously proposed to achieve this great feat through unity (Abidde, 2021). Pan-Africanism emerged at the end of the 19th century as an idea and activity as a response to slavery, imperialism, colonialism and racism. The early Pan-Africanist such as Edward Blyden, Marcus Garvey and W.E.B Du Bois identified four key strategic programmes of action as follows: i. Pan-Africanism as a universal expression of Black pride and achievement; ii. Pan-Africanism as a policy of returning Africans in the diaspora back to their native land; iii. Pan-Africanism as a harbinger of liberation and iv. Pan-Africanism as a political unification of the Continent (David, 2013). Pan-Africanism is a nursed dream for Africa and Africans in the diaspora, a movement that emanated from the diaspora that later influenced the indigenous Africans to first, struggled for independence and then in the 1950s and 1960s, to strive towards achieving African universal unity as inspired by the early Pan-Africanist. Pan-Africanist believed that there is a compelling need for African unity, common goals, common history, a common culture and common values for the Africans and Africans in the diaspora with interconnected destinies (Wapmuk, 2021).

Pan-Africanism is envisaged by many famous African leaders and scholars to have challenges that may impede its success and existence. Nkrumah, the first Ghanaian President stressed that 'Neocolonialism' will be strong opposition to African unity, progress, economic buoyancy and political development (Mazrui, 1986). Mazrui (1986) in his 'Triple Heritage' argues that the clash of civilisations and African heritage as influenced by colonialism and foreign cultures may set Africans against each other which may lead to hatred and Xenophobia. Modern studies observed the same perspective such as Khoapa and Abidde (Khoapa, 2016; Abidde, 2021). Abidde (2021) argues that despite several meetings of Pan-Africanism globally including the Chicago Conference on Africa, 1893; the Atlanta Congress on Africa, 1895; the London Pan-African Conference, 1900; the First Universal Race Conference, London, 1911; the Pan-African Congress by W.E.B Dubois, 1919 through 1927; and the Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association conventions (UNIA), between 1920 and 1925, Pan-Africanism is declining steadily. This is in spite of the expected role of the movement in equipping the Africans with the motivation of occupying their rightful place in the global system (Abidde, 2021).

The powers behind the Pan-African movement were from America and Africans in diaspora present in Latin America and the Caribbean. Unfortunately, these communities themselves in the 21st century are facing several socioeconomic and political crises that are making it difficult for them to concentrate and reactivate the movement. Poverty, joblessness, educational backwardness followed by Nativism in America relegated the American Blacks into second class citizens with difficulty in survival and prosperity. The economies of Latin America and the Caribbean are not better with numerous crises of recession and declining national income (Dominguez, 1998). Besides, the economic volatility is strengthened by the multiethnic nature of Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean which makes internal cohesion an insurmountable task for many decades. The hitherto, economic viability that made early Pan-Africanists bold in their movement and support of Africans in Africa is seemingly now difficult to obtain even if the riches in the areas are increasing to the problem of internal dissension and conflicts that prevent unity in Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean (Sa'idat, 2021). It is observed by many studies (Brown, 2020; Tafira, 2018; Lee, 2019; Putnam, 2013; Barbosa, 2009; Viala, 2019), that Xenophobia is currently taking place in Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean at different levels and magnitudes with varying dimensions and nature. This phenomenon is obstructing unity within the continents themselves because some of the incidences are among various races or in the same geographical area. It is a great setback for Pan-Africanism which is believed to have been motivated and sponsored by the diaspora. The

African states are not attaining internal cohesion nor unity among themselves and so also the Latin Americans and the Caribbean. Thus, such movement now has obstacles and these obstacles have impacts on the connected brothers in terms of their political, socioeconomic and other determinants of development as discussed below.

One of the impacts of Xenophobia on Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean is its blocking resurgence of Pan-Africanism and it is impeding the actualisation of the goals of the Pan-African movement in the 21st century. For instance, the recent attacks in South Africa in 2017 and 2019 set the country against its collaborator and economic partner, Nigeria respectively, and in the same vein set the country against its neighbours of Zimbabwe, Zambia, Madagascar, Mozambique and Malawi. A serious rift ensued which threatens diplomacy among the countries (Sule & Mika'il, 2020) and this has left the African Union with a difficult task of reconciliation. The AU which should be empowered by these strong African countries to harmonise the African interest, seek global collaboration with Latin America and the Caribbean in the spirit of brotherhood, is now battling with internal schism. In this regard, the reactivation of Pan-Africanism is becoming a mirage (Behr, 2021). For Africa to achieve greatness, it needs external collaboration and the best place to look for it in Latin America and the Caribbean where its destiny was linked there. Unfortunately, the Latin American and the Caribbean African diaspora that engineered the movement in the 19th century could not be replaced nor their goal taken over by their predecessors because of economic crisis, political turmoil and Nativism and Xenophobia in their states. Thus, Pan-Africanism is muted while the supposed global partnership of the trio is muted for a long time (Ngulube, 2021).

Xenophobia is affecting the leverage of Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean in the arena of the global political economy. These continents faced, and are still facing domination, exploitation and marginalisation in the theatre of political decision making internationally and in the share of global trade volume (Amitav, 1994). This is the reminiscence of the nativist and xenophobic nature of the states in the continents which could not allow for their effective unity and one voice. The already muffled voice of Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean in the United Nations, International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and other international organisations are further strangled because they could not present a unique voice or a position (Mittleman, 1994). The quest for the democratisation of the Security Council, leadership of IMF and the World Bank all failed to materialise because there is no uniform strong voice to that effect (Amitav, 1994). If Pan-Africanism is promoted to a higher level, most of its goals achieved, the world power could be challenged for a fair political and economic process globally. This is what Marcus Garvey and Nkrumah envisaged in their staunch view of African uncompromised unity that failed to see the light of the day. The way immigrants within Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean are disappointingly handled, world powers will never take the demands and pressures of the affected countries serious and this will continue to subject the countries to vulnerability (Aaron, 1994).

It is believed that Africa, as the cradle of the Black man's origin and prosperity could achieve economic and political success if they seek support and collaboration with Latin America and the Caribbean (Uzomah et al. 2023). Amin (2010), argues that the chain of dependency in Africa could be dismantled using a delink model that will cut economic ties between Africa and the Western imperialist to be replaced with a positive partnership with Latin America and the Caribbean. It is not only Amin (2010) that have this understanding. Frank (1978) also believed that Latin America, Africa and the Caribbean can escape the trap of underdevelopment set upon them by the colonialist through a viable trade partnership among themselves free of exploitation. All these are only achievable if there is unity and harmony among them. In a situation where none of the trio could establish a strong unity and partnership, their ambition of fostering a trade partnership could not go beyond a dream. Thus if Xenophobia continues in Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, the regions may continue to experience economic backwardness, political domination and the quest for activating Pan-Africanism will never see the light of the day.

3. The contributions of the study

The study contributes to the intellectual discourses on the subject matter in many ways. One of the ways is the pattern in which the role of Pan-Africanism in tying the umbilical cord of the Black Race during imperialism and colonialism, a unity that should have advanced and championed the cause of black unity and progress in the 21st century if it properly managed. The study contributes in espousing the factors that hampered unity and progress of Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean and how these intervening factors heralded xenophobia and nativism causing dissention and prism among the Black race worldwide. The study contributes in drawing the attention of the policymakers and stakeholders in the universal unity and progress of black race to the urgent need for reinvigorating the Pan-African movement in the 21st century. The study advanced the frontiers of knowledge by presenting new ideas and prognosis on the trajectories of the unity of Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean.

4. The implications of the study

The study has practical policy implications in restoring and promoting the unity and development of the Black race especially, in Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean and to advance the cause of equality and liberty as well as opportunity of the black race in America and European countries. The main implication of the study is the discovery and pinpointing of the major challenges to the unity of the Black race. African, Latin American and the Caribbean leaders, intellectuals, and other influential figures can have their conscience awakened by the alarming notifications from this research paper on the inevitable need to reactivate Pan-Africanism globally and to invoke the cause of the unity of the Black race to catch up with other races in terms of prosperity and development.

5. Conclusion

The Pan-African Movement began in Africa, Latin Africa and the Caribbean as a liberation movement for the Black race worldwide to offer them the spirit of self-belonging, prosperity and achieving the goal of unity and development of Africa. This movement in the late 19th century motivated the African nationalists to intensify struggles for political independence across the Continent. Many African leaders were inspired by Pan-Africanism to pursue African unity as a non-negotiable vision of the Continent. Unfortunately, the emergence of anti-immigrant sentiments, Nativism, Xenophobia, Populism and even Afrophobia intruding and reversing the hard-earned Pan-African cultural progress of the last century. The hitherto, umbilical cord that was successfully established between Africa and diaspora Africans in Latin America and the Caribbean lost its track due to internal conflict and failure to accommodate each other by the African states in the 21st century. Xenophobia and Nativism have many impacts on Pan-Africanism in Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean. These impacts are observed to have retarded the African, Latin American and the Caribbean political economy and their unity to challenge their domination and pursue a common goal of achieving development in the international configuration of global power.

Hence, this chapter believed that Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean have the potential for achieving a long-lasting unity that will usher a sustainable development in the trio continents if Pan-Africanism is revived and this is not possible until Xenophobia and Nativism are effectively checked to restore the spirit of brotherhood and universal common objectives for the Black Race. One of the recommendations is for the AU to initiate strict measures and laws that will deter xenophobic attacks among African countries through severe sanctions as punishment. The Latin American and the Caribbean should initiate and reactivate the historical

unity with Africa through an increased trade relationship and political alliance. The duo of Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean should strive to establish parallel organisations akin to UN and IMF with the alliance of Asian powerful economies to ward off the unjust domination of the Western world that is creating such economic conditions that cause xenophobic attacks and other conflicts. Additionally, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean should design a cultural curriculum in their basic education and even advanced studies on the essence of inculcating the spirit of Pan-Africanism to the younger generation to grow up with the psychological notion of the established universal unity and brotherhood.

7. Funding

No funding is reported for this study. It is a collective personal sacrifice of the authors and the magnanimity of the Journal managers.

8. Acknowledgments

The authors express their appreciation to the team of the Journal Editors for their swift response, rigorous peer review and support in the process of the production of the paper. The peer reviewers are highly appreciated for their critical valuable inputs that shaped and improved the quality of the paper.

ORCID

Usman Sambo  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4529-38501>

Babayo Sule  <https://orcid.org/000-0002-3879-48843>

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