
MEDIA AND FOREIGN POLICY RELATIONS: A FOCUS ON XENOPHOBIC ATTACK BETWEEN NIGERIA AND SOUTH AFRICA

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Abstract

The social nature of man has manifested in states behaviour within the global system and as such the adoption of foreign policy become useful and inevitable. The media constitutes an undeniably powerful and complex component of the public sphere. Its power to shape, inform and direct derives from its multifaceted and universal character. The media provides a range of technology-based platforms – from internet, broadcast and film to print and mobile – which constitute the means by which the public sphere is most commonly articulated in the 21st century. This paper therefore, examines the role of media in the coverage and reportage of Nigeria's foreign policy through informing, educating and enlightening the international community on issues and nature of international politics in general. Using the communication theory and secondary method of data collection, the paper examines the extent at which media performed her role in Nigeria's response to xenophobic attacks in South Africa. The paper submits that the media plays a pivotal role in Nigeria's response to xenophobic attacks in South Africa and that there is a linkage between Media and Nigeria's external relations especially in this era of globalization. The paper recommends that the media need to be socially, politically, economically, nationally and internationally responsible in the way it carry news stories about Nigeria's foreign policies.

Keywords: Communication, Foreign Policy, Globalization, Media, Xenophobic

Introduction

The nature of international system is such that no state could live in isolation. The social nature of man has manifested in states behaviour within the global system and as such the adoption of foreign policy become useful and inevitable. The media constitutes an undeniably powerful and complex component of the public sphere. Its power to shape, inform and direct derives from its multifaceted and universal character. The media provides a range of technology-based platforms – from internet, broadcast and film to print and mobile – which constitute the means by which the public sphere is most commonly articulated in the 21st century. This is evident in Africa and other parts of converging and technology-driven world. The platforms allow for trans-national, trans-continental interactions which have led to the formation of what is famously described as imagined communities, each with their members, needs and agendas

(Anderson, 1983). Media affect the way that we participate in the political sphere, through becoming an important source of our knowledge. It is an important component in which foreign policy decision-makers take into considerations as they develop their policies.

The relationship between the media and foreign policy formulation and implementation, especially in times of crises, has been more thoroughly studied under new insight since the beginning of the 1990s onwards (Amnion, 2000:10). The appearance of new technologies in media as well as improvement in telecommunications has given the media a critical role to play in foreign policy process. It has displaced the old diplomatic methods and increased the diplomatic influence of non-traditional actors such as the journalists (Amnion, 2000:10). This could be evident in the recent media intervention in xenophobic attack against Nigerians in South Africa. During these violent attacks foreign nationals are severely injured and killed along with South African citizens. One of the major causes of this attacks according to a survey done in 1997 and 2006 is that majority of South Africans believed that foreigners were a threat to the social and economic development of their country (Crush & Pendleton, 2007; Crush. & Pendleton. 2004; Landau, Ramjathan-Keogh, & Singh, 2005).

Statement of the Problem

The influence of media in foreign policy formulation and implementation is widely acknowledged by scholars and policy makers (Goldstein, 2003). The media aggregates the totality of actions, inactions or reactions of governments at international scene because it has always been recognized by politicians and others active in public life as an important organizer of opinion (Babangida, August 13, 1992).

The formulation of any foreign policy takes into account the interest of both local pressure groups and the masses represented by the media. As such, it's supposed to be given the freedom to fully involve in the making and implementation of both domestic and foreign policies. As any international issue could reach to the masses easily within a short period of time

Unfortunately, most at time the role of media in foreign policy making was said to be prone to faulty and impressionistic analysis which has been attributed to the nature and secrecy that dominate foreign policy making machinery (Okengwu, 1987). The influence of media on foreign policy making and implementation is constantly ignored by the government and policy makers. Similarly, most studies on Nigeria foreign policy regarding xenophobic attack have shown little in terms of the role of media on Nigeria's reaction to international violence against Nigerians across the country. Some of the studies examined Xenophobic violence in South Africa: An Overview of 1994 to 2018 (Mlilo & Misago, 2019), Xenophobia and media: An exploratory study on the public perception of the Nelson Mandela Bay Community (Mohammed, 2011), The

Context of Xenophobia in Africa: Nigeria and South Africa in Comparison (Oni & Okunade, 2018). However, the aspects that have been examined by researchers were not considered specifically in relation to the media. Therefore, there still exist some gaps to be filled, since the objectives of the country's foreign policies are many and represent the composite desires and wishes of various interest groups, including the media. It is against this backdrop that this study seeks to examine the extent to which the media influence Nigeria's response to xenophobic attack in South Africa.

Theoretical Framework

Communication and information revolutions of the 21st century have fundamentally and irreversibly changed the meaning of inter-states relations and the making of foreign policy. In order to examining the role of media in Nigeria's response to xenophobic attack in South Africa this study adopts "Communication Theory" as guides to discuss the importance of communication flow among actors of inter- states relations. Examining the interrelations between media and Nigeria's foreign policy can only be generalize from logical reasoning. This is because Nigeria's foreign policy has been revolving around the idiosyncrasies of the person at center of affairs which is the president. However, the relevant terms of the subject matter of this work relate more to issues influencing and making decision to be haste by information flow. Communication theory of international relation will be use to provide a perspective, or lens, through which to examine the topic. The term communication was borrowed from the concept of 'cybernetics' which means 'steering'. The idea of communication theory was put forward by Norbert Weiner in 1940. He developed the concept of cybernetics in his famous work *Cybernetics*, to signify the control of communication in political system. Cybernetics is "a body of theory and technique for the study of probabilities in different but analogous universes such as certain types of machines, animals, individual human beings, societies and nation-states and the ways in which message transactions function to control such universes" (Weiner, 1940).

Historically, the idea of communication theory in international relations was later developed by Karl Deutsch in his celebrated work *The Nerves of Government: Model of Political Communication and Control*. In this book, Deutsch applies the concept of the theory of information, communication and control to problems of political and social science borrowing from Weiner's concepts of 'feedback', 'channel capacity' and 'memory'. From his idea communication theory in political science can be viewed as the application of general approach of cybernetic to political situation. In this way the theory assumes that: -

1. Information and communication may allow people to understand their government and their aspirations.
2. The stability of a nation's policy may depend on information and communication capabilities of that country.

3. Information and communication may influence the domestic policy and national interest of a nation.

Similarly, media in Nigeria is a medium by which Nigerians express their opinions, learn ideas, ideals and experiences that enrich their lives and help them live in difficult and dynamic situation like; xenophobic attack against black nationals specifically Nigerians in South Africa and yet humane society. It influences social values, strengthen cultural, economic, political and technological fabric of the country which are in no doubt, the basic factors of power in international relations and element of foreign policy.

Deustch, (1963) further maintains that cybernetics or communication represents a shift in the center of interest, from drives to steering. When apply to politics, this means an emphasis on decision, control and communication rather than power which as without a doubt make the primary and exclusive interest of political scientists.

The importance of communication theory to this study as strengthened by Deustch lies in its ability to cover, report and transmit messages that influenced Nigeria's response to xenophobic attack in South Africa. He therefore, argued that this constitute the spines of healthy organizations and society. The ultimate significant of a communication approach does not lie in its concentration on information but rather the ability to describe and explain the behaviour of political systems that follows from such concentration. Most especially, communication is viewed as vital in implementing man's control of his environment. This is the key point and the main contribution of the communication approach to the study of international relations in general, and the interrelations between media and Nigeria's foreign policy with reference to Nigeria's response to xenophobic attack in South Africa specifically.

For this, the main component of the theory is information which is vital to the state's decision-making, both present and future, vis-à-vis other states as well as non-state actors about their present and future courses of actions. Very important in this respect is the feedback. This means the government is able to assess the impact of its decisions on other actors through feedback mechanism (media specifically). This helps the government, especially those charged with the decision-making to carefully steer through the troubled waters of international relations. Therefore, the main focus of communications approach is communication and information flows and not unitary emphasis on power. In short, the effectiveness of the system i.e. how well it handles demands of its environment can be measured in term of its ability to accurately analyse messages from the environment and effectively transmit messages which expresses its reaction. Therefore, it is through communication that political system relates with one another and copes with the environment. This is because the systems are always bombarded with messages which must be read, interpreted or coded, decoded and reacted to. This is the way a system achieves its goals including self-maintenance.

Communication (media) has a twofold role in at international arena. First, they provide input into the process as an independent variable added to environments. Here the leaders react to the perceived reality as constructed by the media and take it into consideration. Second, it is part of the environment which foreign policy makers try to affect or influence by making their decisions. This means that leaders who perform in an environment which includes the media take political decisions to solve problems, but at the same time try to make such decisions that would improve their domestic environment and the international community. This is the output environment component of the environment. For example, in conflict management and resolutions situation, leaders prefer to use the media to send messages to leaders of rivals' states and non-state actors. For example, during the recent xenophobic attacks on Nigerians by South Africans, media was use as alternative to handle the deadlock before further arrangement for traditional diplomatic negotiations among the two nations.

In addition, North (1969) competently argued that politics could not exist without communication, nor could wars be fought. In these terms a modern nation-state like Nigeria may be view essentially as a decision and control system which rely upon the exchange of messages in both its domestic affairs and its foreign relations. It is important to note that the cybernetics is an attempt to apply knowledge gained from the working of self-monitoring devices such as anti-aircraft guns, armour tanks and Information Communication Technology (ICT) to political systems.

However, there is various criticisms level against this approach; for example, the critics argued that there is enormous difficulty in either applying a model or making use of it for a purposeful study of International relation, which has been directly influenced by natural sciences. The terminology borrowed from electrical or mechanical engineering also makes it more complex in its application, and there are chances that the model can be misapplied. Again, the most vehement criticism has been launched by scholars from the developing world who contend that the communication flow and feedback is not among equals but among unequal subsystems characterized by domination and subordination. The proponents of communications theory have not addressed the phenomenon of dependence and dominance of North over South. Therefore, the complete landscape of international relations cannot be understood by this approach alone

Despite that, political communication theorists like Karl Deutsch still emphasize that the importance of a political system is the capacity to keep up with a changing environment. This suggests that communication theorists do not visualize the static environment but the changing and dynamic one. They contend that no system can maintain itself through the use of power alone. In fact, for communication theory information is power.

Review of Related Literature

The concept of Foreign Policy

Numerous scholars of international relations have attempted to defined foreign policy from different points of view. However, each of these definitions could be said to have stemmed from, and influenced by peculiar ideological strands. It is in line with this that Jones (1970:3) observed that, to begin a study of international relation and foreign policy would be to invite ridicule.

Therefore, Frankel (1963:30) defines foreign policy as consisting of decisions and actions which involve to some appreciable extent, relations between one state and others. In as much as Frenkel's definitions is suitable for this purpose, because it focuses on two changing environments i.e. external and internal, and their interaction, it however remained silent on the issues of objectives of a country's foreign policy- the national interest. On the whole, it would be noted that no universally satisfactory definition of the term foreign policy had emerged, but the most important, which is the features of foreign policy, could be identified in most definitions. These features are that it is a dynamic process that is a product of interaction between the domestic and the internal environment and it is not confined to the work of foreign services alone.

Similarly, Morris (1971) contends that foreign policy is a function of domestic policy, the characteristic of the socio-economic system. According to him, socio-economic system determines foreign policy. This possibly accounted for why conservative writer have neglected the domestic factor in foreign policy studies. Thus, where socio-economic system and the mode of production is capitalist, the few elites who determine the foreign policy will favour policies that are conducive to the perpetration of imperialism and neo-colonialism. The case of Nigeria's Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) is an instance of reference. On the other hand, a socialist socio-economic formation will tend to militate foreign policy that challenge imperialism and neo-colonialism. Thus, critical decisions on foreign policy are related to the domestic environment and the implication of foreign policy actions directly affects the domestic environment.

In a related term, Rosenau (1972) opined that the foreign policy of one country can be explained not just on the basis of policies within national boundaries alone but linkage between the domestic politics reaction (in terms of foreign policies) to inputs from the external environment.

Furthermore, Hentham (1978) defined foreign policy as a systematic statement of deliberately selected national interests. This view tends to characterize foreign policy as political statement more than an existing object for pursuance.

More importantly, Aluko & Gambari (1980) summarized that foreign policy is an extension of domestic politics. Despite this however, fundamental to the definition of the scholars has assumption that foreign policy is important if there has to be any

relations among states in the international system. In fact, it is within this perspective that Kurt (1965) regards foreign policy as the father of all things.

Ota & Ecoma (2015) identify foreign policy as a strategy that is properly articulated and designed in a coordinated manner by institutionally-designated decision-makers in a bid to manipulate the international environment to achieve identified national objectives. This conception presents foreign policy as an instrument of power via which states can react to events in the international environment by its actions or inactions for the purpose of advancing national goals.

From the above definitions, the following facts are conspicuous; foreign policy is a state Policy. It deals with the external environment; the core of foreign policy consists of achieving the national objectives of a nation by interacting with other states. The word; Foreign applies to the policy toward the worlds outside a state territorial borders, and domestic is meant to apply to policy made for the internal political system. Hence, going to war with another country, signing an international trade agreement, aiding an anti-colonial movement or providing development assistance to another country, are examples of foreign policies. While, revenue allocation, school involvement, labour policy and poverty alleviation are examples of domestic policies.

The concept of Media

In a general context, Blandar (1998) described that mass media are diversified media technologies that are intended to reach large audience by mass communication. He pointed out that, technologies through which this communication take place varies. Broadcast media such as radio, recorded music, film and television transmit their information electronically. Print media use a physical object such as a newspaper, book, and pamphlet or comics to distribute their information that comprises bill boards signs or placards, placed inside and outside of commercial buildings, sports or stadium, shops and buses other outdoor media include flying bill boards (sign in tow of airplanes), blimps, and skywriting. Public speaking and event organizing can also be considered as form of mass media. The digital media comprises both internet and mobile mass communication. Internet media provide many mass media services such as email, websites, blogs, and internet-based radio and television. The organizations that control these technologies, such as television stations or publishing companies, are also known as the mass media. Recently, the advent of Information Communication Technology (ICT) has brought a new form of media called – social media which include; Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and WhatsApp that uses internet to disseminate information to the public. All these forms of media have played a vital role in the formulation and implementation of Nigeria's foreign policy issues including the current response of Nigeria to xenophobic attack in South-Africa.

On the other hand, Anthony (2008) assert that, mass media is a complex non-state actor whose activities have been made even more complex by massive advancement in the socio-cultural, economic and political wellbeing of the nation. It is apparent

therefore to note that, psychological impact of films of wars and disturbance, conflicts and violence, accidents and disasters, as well as the opinions and reactions of the citizenry to this incidence, influence the action or response of government (s) and institutions to the societal happenings.

Chief Olushola the first black African producer to handle the teleplay on Nigerian screen believed that media in any country is principally meant to influence societal values profoundly and in so doing improves and strengthen the status of that country among the comity of nations.

Chief Olushola, by implication, relates the influence of media on domestic politics and thus on the national politics. To him the domestic implication formed the foundation of the role of a nation in international political arena.

Mr. Patrick Ityolegh, a Former Director General of Nigerian Television Authority (NTA), directed his search light to what he described as the economic, political and technological objectives of the broadcast media. To him, the economic goals of Nigeria are basically aimed at achieving a vented, strong and self-reliant nation; a just and egalitarian society; a great and dynamic economy; and a land of bright and full opportunities. For all citizens to achieve these goals, the nation should be informed and motivated via the media.

In a nutshell, it's worth restating that media in Nigeria were seen by scholars as the main catalyst, in the process of constructing dominant ideology for the country. Even though the media may not have the benefit of a national ideological framework within which to operate, adequate constitutional and extra judicial provisions appears to suffice in ensuring that they serve the national interest which help to define and shape the country. It is therefore in order to drive from the views of the scholars that information is power; that information dominates all human activities, whether private or public, in business transaction politics, social and cultural relations. That human perception altitudes, management of affairs and reactions to events are influenced by the existing process and channels of information and communication. That not only do we need information, for decision making but also that it is an essential pre-requisite for development planning, crisis management and the resolution of social disputes as could be substantiated in the case of xenophobic attacks between Nigeria and South-Africa.

Meaning of Xenophobia

Xenophobia is one of the age-old challenges to human activities and existence. The concept has been traced to the Greek Words "xenos" which means stranger and "phobos" which means fear. In simple conception therefore, it has been defined as the irrational and intense fear that people have against anything that is strange or unfamiliar, more specifically against people from foreign nations or ethnic background (Mudailer cited in Adebisi & Agagu, 2017:116). It is about expression of

anger, fear and hatred towards foreign objects or people that are aliens in a country. At its extreme, it is not only limited to expression of anger towards foreign objects, and claims, but also entails physical elimination or attack on foreigners.

Prominent xenophobia manifestation includes the anti-black activities of the Ku Klux Klan in the United States of America and the killing of over six million Jews by the Nazi government in Germany between 1941-1945. This phenomenon of hate has also loomed large in South Africa which is imperative to this study. Its emergence in South Africa has been intricately linked to the era of apartheid in the country. Indeed, the seed of racial discrimination was sown by the apartheid system which prevailed in the country between 1948-1994 (Adebisi & Agagu 2017:116).

From a broad-spectrum perspective, the concept of xenophobia can be grouped into three hypotheses, namely, 'the scapegoating hypothesis', 'the isolation hypothesis', and 'the biocultural hypothesis' (Harris, 2001, 2002). According to Harris (2001), the scapegoating hypothesis of xenophobia states that the foreign African is used as a scapegoat, someone to blame for social ills and personal frustrations, while the isolation hypothesis suggests that suspicion and hostility towards foreign Africans in South Africa exists due to international isolation. The hypothesis also explains contemporary xenophobia by recourse to internal isolation, the isolation of South Africans from South Africans, as a consequence of apartheid. The biocultural hypothesis states that Africans are victims of xenophobic attacks due to visible difference in terms of physical, biological factors and cultural differences exhibited by African foreigners in the country. For example, Nigerians and Congolese, are easily identifiable because of their physical features, their clothing style and their inability to speak one of the indigenous languages in South Africa (Harris, 2001, 2002).

Xenophobia has also been defined as one among several possible forms of reaction generated by anomic situations in the societies of modern states (Sichone, 2008: 257). In this conceptualization, fear, prejudice and violence are common denominators. Therefore, xenophobic disposition is social/psychological anomies that negate the principles of accommodation and tolerance, fragmenting society into 'we' and 'them', creating a model of social division upon which all forms of contestations are premised. The aggregated psychological discontents are often ventilated as outburst of nationalistic expression, it is upon this that sympathy is drawn from the collectivity of the 'we' against 'them'. In the aforementioned scenario, those who overtly disconnect with the expression harbour deep seated solidarity within, this is why the state had so far be implicated in this development (Isike and Isike, 2012).

The Role of Media in Nigeria's Response to Xenophobic attack in South Africa

It cannot be denied that mass media are powerful tools that have served for decades in informing, entertaining and shaping the minds of generations. Through mass media, consumers and the masses are privileged to meet and know the views, intentions and

personalities of individuals or countries they may not ordinarily have encountered. Events that ordinarily would not have been known due to distance or social barriers become public knowledge through the lens of the media. The power of mass media though goes beyond informing and entertaining, and this has been a topical issue upon which a number of researches have been conducted. Over the years, mass media researchers have pointed out that mass media messages are not only able to inform their receivers about events and the issues that surround the event but are also able to create a sense of how important such events are or can be by the amount of information provided (McQuail, 1985; McCombs & Shaw, 1972).

The in-depth analysis of events and the continuous but systematic supply of information by the mass media keep viewers not only informed but also give the impression that the information provided is enough to make the right decisions. This strategy of continuous and frequent reportage projects an event as being larger and more important than it really is (Dunaway, Branton, & Abrajano, 2010). Media attention to Nigeria's reactions against xenophobic attack in South Africa can thus take various forms ranging from talk show topics, hard news, posts, coverages, documentaries or interviews all within a short time frame. According to Dunaway, Branton & Abrajano (2010), these diverse forms of mass media presentation of events serve as cues that shape public opinion and the creation of unconscious images which influence political as well as socio-economic actions and reactions to issues. As was substantiated in the 2019 Nigeria's response to xenophobic attack in South Africa.

The media largely influenced public actions and reactions through the **media focusing events and agenda setting**. Birkland (1998: 54) considers how events can influence group and agenda policies through focusing events. It is defined as attention grabbing events that are sudden, causing an immediate harm or with the possibility of posing future harm. Their occurrence in a particular geographical location may trigger reactions from residents in other locations that may fear a similar event or consequence may befall them (Meyers, 2000). Such fear may attract interest groups, government leaders, entrepreneurs and other members of the public to the problem with an aim of searching for a solution through an advocacy for policy change or amendment. Dunaway, Branton & Abrajano (2010) in their content analysis of media reportage of immigration in border and non-border towns note the importance of the media in transforming an event into a focal event through its reportage. In their research, they discovered that because media reportage of immigration activities in border towns are more, the residents in those areas identify the event as a focal one reacting to the issue and the migrants as a major threat to their existence. Such a reaction is not prevalent with residents not within border areas.

Similarly, this study seeks to understand the relationship between news patterns concerning xenophobia in South Africa and the shaping of public opinion and

Nigeria's reactions against such attack within the period of study. The images associated with the attack are often very negative, thus inciting a sense of urgency for policy action to prevent what was perceived to be a threat and violence against African nationals in South Africa. It's clear that as media attention to xenophobic issues increased, so did the activities associated with Nigeria's response to the menace increased (Asakitikpi & Gadzikwa, 2019).

Xenophobia is very common in South Africa, although some Nigerians, especially a section of the members of the business community, have also been expressing concerns about the phenomenal growth of South Africa investments in Nigeria. These concerns have not, however, developed or degenerated into the kind of hatred or xenophobic feelings South African citizens have been expressing towards Nigeria's growing business, educational and social interests in South Africa. The phenomenon of xenophobia in democratic South Africa reared its head in 1995. Since then, it has become a festering sore in the Nigerian- South African relations as it keeps re-occurring every now and then.

Available data revealed that the 1995 attacks were targeted at African immigrants in South Africa in general including Nigerians. Between 2015-2017, more than 116 Nigerians lost their lives. In the 2016, February 2017 and September 2019 attacks, no Nigerian died, but Nigerians lost a lot of goods and properties. In the April 2015 attack, Nigerians lost properties worth N21 million. According to Ikechukwu Anyene, the President, Nigerian Union in South Africa, at the heat of the February 18, 2017 attack as we speak, five buildings with Nigerians businesses including a church have been looted and burned by South Africans. One of the buildings, a mechanic garage with 28 cars under repairs, with other vital documents, were burned during the attacks.

These trends have of course drawn reactions from both the citizens and government of Nigeria. The Nigerian government's reaction particularly since 2008 stemmed from Nigeria's adoption of citizen's diplomacy in 2007 as very central to its foreign policy. Before then, Nigerians have been given bad name and image in the world system as a result of the activities of some Nigerians who engaged in international organized crimes such as, illicit trading in drugs; children and women trafficking and prostitution, notably in Italy, Malaysia, Saudi Arabia, the United States of America, Indonesia, and South Africa among others, due largely to the harsh economic conditions in Nigeria. Consequent upon the fact that this had given Nigeria bad image and opprobrium globally, the Nigerian government was always reluctant to plead for clemency on behalf of those citizens in the countries they have committed any of the offences. As this attitude has exposed innocent Nigerians to maltreatment in foreign land, the citizen diplomacy was considered by the administration of Musa Yar'Adua as very imperative.

In Nigerian context, citizen diplomacy is conceived as a mechanism to protect the image and integrity of Nigeria and react against nations which are hostile and who label them as corrupt. Explaining the concept further, the then Minister for Foreign Affairs, Ojo Madueke lucidly said, 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 (Folarin, 2016).

It is in line with this diplomacy that the Nigerian State has not been playing dumb and deaf to the plight of Nigerians in South Africa in the face of incessant xenophobic foment. For instance, apart from condemning the attacks, the Nigerian government on each occasion also engaged the South African authority in dialogue with a view to protecting law abiding Nigerians living in South Africa (Adebisi, 2017). After the February 2017 attacks, the Nigerian Ministry of Foreign Affairs summoned the South African Ambassador for the discussion of the attacks during which he apologized on behalf of his country. Also, the Nigerian House of Representatives Ad-Hoc Committee on the same attacks went to South Africa to dialogue with the South African parliament on how to ensure better protection of Nigerians in South Africa. Led by the Majority Leader, Femi Gbajabiamila, it also met with the former President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki. The committee, was among others, saddled with the tasks of reminding South Africa of the consequences of xenophobic attacks against Nigerians and the likely repercussions and to make it explicitly clear to the South African Government that Nigeria will not abandon its citizens in South Africa to suffer in the hands of the perpetrators of xenophobic assaults (*The Nation*, Sunday, April 16, 2017:40).

Also, the aftermath of September, 2019 attack attracted anger in the mind of Nigerians, that made the Nigeria's Minister of Information and Culture, Lai Mohammed said it was deeply disturbing reports that some Nigerians were attacking South African companies where Nigerian investors own significant stakes and employ mostly Nigerians. Mohammed described it as a classic case of cutting off your nose to spite your face. Hence, he added that President Buhari had dispatched a special envoy to convey his concerns to the South African President Cyril Ramaphosa. On Wednesday 4th September, 2019, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Geoffrey Onyeama affirms that, Nigeria has pulled out of the ongoing World Economic Forum in Cape Town and also plans to recall its ambassador to South Africa in protest against the attacks (Adebayo, 2019). Similarly, the Nigerian music stars; Burna Boy and singer Tiwa Savage have also weighed in with similar boycotts. Tiwa affirmed this in her official twitter handle 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 (@TiwaSavage, Sept 4, 2019).

Savage said she would no longer be performing at an upcoming concert in late September. She said the xenophobic violence provoked the decision.

Amidst diplomatic efforts, the South African authority assured law-abiding Nigerian citizens of their safety. At the Bi-National Commission Meeting, South Africa promised to look into the payment of compensation to Nigerians who lost property worth about 84 million naira during the 2015 attacks (Adebisi, 2017).

The Nigerian public through the media equally joined in condemning the attacks by way of fierce criticism and public protests. In this criticism, they kept on reminding South Africa through the media, of the roles Nigeria had played in securing freedom for the country under apartheid regime. The National Association of Nigerian Students (NANS) and some youth groups in fact called for extra diplomatic measures to deal with South Africa. The students body also held public protest in Abuja at the premises of some South African companies in Nigeria particularly the MTN, a Telecommunication company, given them ultimatum of 48 hours to leave Nigeria, or speak to the government of their country or face retaliatory actions.

In response, the company sued for peace and assured Nigerians of continued South Africa's respect and safety for Nigerians living in South Africa. Also, in South Africa, a group of South African citizens protested against the actions of the tiny xenophobists and appreciated the contributions of immigrants particularly Nigerians to the development and economy of South

Africa. From this account, there is no doubt that in spite of the fact that xenophobia is not in the main, the official policy of the South African government, it has generated a considerable strain on the relations between the two countries (Adebisi, 2017).

The Implications of Xenophobic Attacks on Nigeria-South Africa Relations

Nigeria has borne the brunt of most of the xenophobic attacks and extra-judicial killings in South Africa. According to the Senior Special Assistant to the President on Foreign Affairs and Diaspora, Mrs. Abike Dabiri-Erewa, no fewer than 117 Nigerians were extra-judicially killed in South Africa between 2016 and 2018 for one flimsy reason or the other (Vanguard, 2018). These egregious killings of Nigerians in South Africa have in several ways had an implication on Nigeria-South Africa relations. These implications are in the following ways:

1. Diplomatic Implication

Since the 2008 anti-foreigner violence, Nigeria and South Africa have been working towards patching their diplomatic relation. In 2013, Nigeria and South Africa signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) to reinforce diplomatic ties and forestall future xenophobic attacks (Babalola, 2017 cited in Ogunnoiki, 2019). Nevertheless, the attacks on Nigerians have continued. In April 2015 during the Jonathan administration, Nigeria's Acting High Commissioner to South Africa, Martin Cobham, and the Consul-General, Uche Ajulu-Okeke, were invited for consultation (and not

recalled as it was falsely reported by some media houses) following the xenophobic attacks in Durban and Johannesburg (Channels Television, 2015). Though, Nigeria, by taking such action, did not sever her relations with South Africa, such diplomatic move was seen by South Africa's Ministry of International Relations and Cooperation as an unfortunate and regrettable step (Brock & Dlodla, 2015).

2. Economic Implication

It is pertinent to note that a South African-owned company doing business in Nigeria experienced a reprisal attack by some Nigerians due to the spate of xenophobic attacks on Nigerians living in South Africa and the looting of their shops and stores. On February 23, 2017, the telecommunications giant, MTN head office in the Federal Capital Territory (FCT), Abuja, was not only looted by some protesters but, office equipment was also vandalised.

Apart from MTN, there are over 100 South African companies (prior to 1999 there were only 4) operating in Nigeria's telecommunications, manufacturing, aviation, construction, banking, hospitality, entertainment and, oil and gas industry – Power Giant, Eskom Nigeria, South African Airways, South African Breweries (SAB miller), Stanbic IBTC Bank, MultiChoice Africa (operating DStv/GOtv), Umgeni Water and Shoprite, etc, which can become easy targets of reprisal attacks in the future if anti-foreigner violence against Nigerians in South Africa persist (Copley, 2017; Ismail & Sakariyau, 2017; Mbamalu, 2017; Unah, 2017).

3. Social and Psychological Implication

Xenophobic attacks in post-apartheid South Africa have over the years sowed the seed of fear in the minds of Nigerians. A number of them in South Africa no longer socialise freely with the locals as fellow African brothers and sisters with a shared history, values, norms etc., for fear of being attacked if not killed. As for the living Nigerian victims of anti-foreigner violence, it would not come as a surprise to discover that some of them are now suffering from Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). Back home in Nigeria, many Nigerians are having a rethink of travelling down to South Africa for tourism, shopping, business, first degree/postgraduate studies etc. after listening/reading on print and electronic media the horrendous news on the killings of Nigerians residing in South Africa.

In a nutshell, Nigeria and South Africa have experienced the good, bad and ugly in their diplomatic, trade, defence and socio-cultural relations over the years. Currently, as it was in recent past, the scapegoating of Nigerians in targeted attacks on African immigrants in South Africa has had a negative impact on the long-standing relations between both countries. The government of Nigeria, especially that of South Africa, must do the needful to avert xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in the nearest and distant future (Ogunnoiki, 2019).

Conclusion

In conclusion, an attempt has been made to examine the nexus between media and foreign policy of states using Nigeria as a case in point. It posits that the role of the media in foreign policy cannot be discussed in isolation of the internal political dynamics of Nigeria bearing in mind the impact of centrifugal and centripetal factors in shaping foreign policy. It is therefore the contention of this paper that the media is the pivotal to and is the springboard for the enhancement of Nigeria foreign policy in relation to Nigeria's response to xenophobic attack in South Africa. In this era of globalization, it is impossible to separate Nigeria foreign policy from the media. The dual role of the media as an input and output variable makes its role very unique. The media is the bridge between the government, its citizens and the outside world.

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