

Xenophobic Violence on Foreign Relations: A Study of Nigeria and South Africa International Relations: 2025-2026

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ABSTRACT

This study focused on xenophobic violence in Foreign Relations: A study of Nigeria and South Africa International Relations. Objectives of the study were to discover if xenophobic violence has effect on Nigeria-South Africa economic bilateral relations This study anchored on Relative Deprivation Theory, trend research design, documentary and interview methods of data collection and Content Analysis. Findings showed that xenophobic violence has negative effect on Nigeria – South Africa economic bilateral relations and it recommended among others that Nigeria and South Africa must eschew all bitterness and quarrel among them so as to have a common voice in the comity of nations; Nigeria and South African government should do everything humanly possible to educate her citizens on the need for unity and oneness. South Africans like Nigerians should condemn racism in all its forms and manifestations in line with the condemnations of racism globally.

INTRODUCTION

Nigeria has experienced a fast development of its relationship with countries in the past few years. When Nigeria gained independence these issues of Africa were priority; African Unity, decolonisation and removal of the policy of apartheid in South Africa, were the primary issues (Bariledum, Nwigbo & Abang, 2016). Ate (2012) observes that two major hallmarks of Nigeria's foreign policy since independence. First, political leadership has in general made foreign policy appear as if it is just an external expression of the sovereign status of Nigeria. Secondly, Nigeria's foreign policy has been more geared towards responding to external stimuli than to being a deliberate package of policy actions aimed at solving critical national challenges.

The political face of the above problems necessitated the Obasanjo regime to beef up the foreign policy apparatus to make it result oriented, the overall idea being to move from a largely reactive to a more proactive approach. In his own words, Obasanjo (1999) announced:

The principle and the perpetuity of foreign policy is to project and protect the National interest. For some time, our foreign policy has focused on the quest for peace, unity, security, economic development and cooperation. Foreign policy in Africa will remain as a key focus for us. His administration, however, supports the values of the current globalization process; namely, development, human security, equity ethnics, inclusion and sustainability.

On bilateral relations, Nigeria foreign diplomatic relations resulted in setting up of bilateral relationship with many African countries which Nigeria – South Africa Bi-National Commission is one of it among others (Jibril 2004 in Bariledum, Nwigbo & Abang, 2016).

Onuoha (2008) in Ebegbulem (2013) argues that the first chance that Nigeria had of implementing her foreign policy on Anti-colonialism was given by the Shapeville massacre of 21st March, 1960, when the white South African police turned their guns on the South African blacks who had protested against racial discrimination

and domination. This incident which led to the death of 72 blacks with many wounded "marked the beginning of Nigeria's diplomatic confrontations with South Africa." This was one of several bad incidents that occurred in South Africa that saw Nigeria spearheading the political and economic sanctions against the apartheid South Africa in the International Community.

At the dawn of democracy in South Africa, Nigerians, especially the professionals, were part of those that started to migrate to South Africa. One of the motivations of those early immigrants was to make a contribution towards the much needed nation building in post-apartheid South Africa. The democratic system and the majority rule in South Africa which was established in 1994, South Africa was soon at par with Nigeria in the International Community. South Africa on the other hand, when the military government in Nigeria with its human rights abuses rendered Nigeria unpopular in the International Community, South Africa emerged as the "aggressor" as it campaigned for the suspension of Nigeria from the Commonwealth and the United Nations (UN) (Joseph, 2014).

Like Nigeria Foreign policy goals, Dianna (2017) pointed out that South Africa's foreign policy has always been guided by the focus on Africa. The post-1994 government harnessed post-apartheid political goodwill to promote itself internationally as a champion of a new world order, supporting South-South cooperation. More recently, South Africa won status as a major emerging economy when it was added to the BRICS countries of Brazil, Russia, India and China. It has also been playing a major role in order to have a permanent seat on the United Nation Security Council, and to represent Africa in the G20, and to project itself as the corporate and institutional gateway to Africa worldwide.

Xenophobia is a deep-rooted hate for foreigners. It could be attributed to be another form of racism. The xenophobic violence, which was centered around the lack of opportunity for wealth creation and loss of jobs to natives in favor of foreigners, may have a negative impact on foreign relations. During apartheid, South Africa was a closed society. It had its own political, social and economic trends which reflected the apartheid system. The South African black communities felt they were denied access to their basic rights such as: education, medical care and other necessities. This led to hatred and violence and the cry for entitlements to be met by the apartheid government. The advent of democracy brought newfound hope of entitlements, the right to which the black community had been denied for so long (Matsinhe 2011).

According to Abdi (2017) three reasons can be given for the increase in hostility against foreigners in South Africa at present. First, following its isolation during the apartheid era, South Africa experienced the influx of migrants and refugees from other countries across Africa which led to an attitude of intolerance amongst South Africans. Second, the government's immigration policy reform, which, as it was conceived and designed, was primarily a mechanism of control and exclusion, rather than opportunity management and development, was a hindrance to its attempts to transcend the legacy of apartheid and its structures. Thirdly, an acrimonious partisan debate in Cabinet and Parliament delayed progress on immigration reform. Nigeria and South Africa has a relationship in every field ranging from political, social, economic, sports, science and technology, and others. As a result xenophobic violence against Nigerians in South Africa could hamper foreign relations between both countries.

More so, reprisal violence on South African businesses in Nigeria led to a shutdown of business for several weeks. This development according to Joseph (2014) does not portray both countries foreign relations in good light if steps are not taken to mitigate it.

Statement of the problem

International relations refer to the relationship that exists between one country and another. Good relations with the outside world can only flourish in a setting of peace, harmony and security. Recent attacks on foreigners in South-Africa brought to the fore, the intricate menace of xenophobic violence and its consequences on foreign relations. Studies have shown that foreigners in South Africa face many difficulties ranging from discrimination to outright violence and intimidation with xenophobia being at the centre stage. Such hostility and violence towards foreigners appears to have become part and parcel of life in South-Africa.

Documentaries of the pattern of violence perpetrated in South-Africa against foreigners showed that they are forced out of their houses or shops; their properties looted by the natives, businesses set ablaze and to the extreme cases, the immigrants are lynched by the South-African mobs. Most worrisome is the manner in which some South-African officials support these violence against foreigners citing economic and social exploitation of South-Africans by the foreigners. That's sad and bad for the relationship that exists between South Africa and Nigeria.

In politics, economy, trade, science and technology and international human rights protection among others, Nigeria and South-Africa have been developing cordial relationship for many years since the dispensation of apartheid. They have built up a firm basis for other African countries to rally in the international community. They both have the power to dominate their sub-regions. The two countries have always added their voices in appreciating the new commitment to African development programmes and were involved in the formation of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). Both countries have worked closely on conflict prevention and resolution, and have canvassed for the idea of African renaissance focusing largely on democracy, development and security and sourcing foreign direct investments to revive African ailing economies.

It has also been found that both countries have had very positive bilateral economic ties. South-African companies have also been some of the highest investors in various industries of the Nigerian economy. Strong economic bilateral relations has resulted in growing amount of investments by South-Africa into Nigeria. As another development, over time the volume of trade in terms of exports and imports between the two countries grew greatly. South African companies find Nigeria as a veritable market for their surplus products services while Nigeria exports its crude oil and other raw materials to the South African companies. Thus, it is important to ask how Nigerians exploited the South-Africans economically?

The negative impact of the recent xenophobic attack against the Nigerians in South Africa led to the South Africa-Nigeria social and economic relationship to go sour. The recent attacks in 2019 saw irate youths storm the offices of MTN and Shoprite, with the Senate raising the possibility of reprisal which included banning MTN, DSTV and Shoprite from operating in the country. So the researcher wanted to find out whether the xenophobic violence will have any impact on Nigeria's bilateral relations with countries particularly South Africa. This forms the reason for the **study**.

EXTANT LITERATURE

According to the OED, xenophobia is defined as: "deep-rooted fear towards foreigners", while according to another dictionary, xenophobia is: "fear of the unfamiliar". The term is derived from the Greek "xenos" which means "strange", "foreigner" and "phobos" which means "fear". A theorized but political definition of xenophobia, put forward by Andreas Wimmer is "an element of a political struggle about who has the right to be cared for by the state and society: a fight for the collective goods of the modern state." That is, xenophobia is a manifestation of mistrust by local people that foreigners are taking their rights from the government.

Crush and Ramachandran (2009) explained that xenophobia is typically used to describe a fear or dislike of foreigners or of people significantly different from oneself, usually in the context of visibly differentiated minorities (Shinsana, 2008). Immigrants in the townships are known as "kwerekwere", a derogatory term used for African immigrants and xenophobia is rife in these areas, Khosa and Kalitani (2014) explained. According to South Africa Human Right Commission (SAHRC) as cited by Bekker and Carlton (2010) xenophobia can be defined as the "deep dislike of non-nationals by nationals of a recipient state.

Xenophobia: Fear and/or hatred directed toward the foreign or strange. An ingroup perception of an outgroup, and can take the form of suspicion of other groups' activities, a desire to wipe them out to ensure a supposed purity and a fear of losing national, ethnic or racial identity (Wikipedia December 13, 2019).

Causes of xenophobia

The two most important drivers of anti-migrant sentiments have been identified as inequality and poverty. This position becomes more apparent in the face of economic downturn, inadequate social amenities and an unstable political climate.

The struggle for ownership and control of limited resources is intensified and leads to a calling out of identity difference and the development of exclusionary devices for eliminating more 'vulnerable' competitors. The notion of scapegoating foreign black Africans as a direct threat to job security is central to this approach, and they are also scapegoated for the lack of good governance (Tella, 2016). According to Solomon and Kosaka (2014), xenophobia essentially stems from the threat that non-citizens pose to the recipient's sense of identity or his/her individual rights, and is closely linked to the notion of nationalism which is the sense of belonging to the political nation as an important part of one's sense of identity.

The concept of relative deprivation has been used to analyse xenophobia in a wide number of instances (Dassah, 2015; Ejoke & Ani, 2017; Hopstock & De Jager, 2011; Human Sciences Research Council (2008)). Relative deprivation affirms the connection between violence and economic inequalities. It believes that the sense of frustration stemming from discrepancies between the reality and expectations of economic conditions is a trigger for violence (Džuverovic, 2013). When there is a feeling of lack of access to one's rights as entitled people to the things they need (goods and conditions of living), it creates psychological stress and tensions. Aggressive behaviors are used to vent the tensions against the one(s) who caused the situation or other accessible target. In South Africa, antagonistic sentiments towards foreigners are underlined by a sense of deprivation and driven by anger. It is the result of the high expectations of the service delivery experienced by the local people, who had high expectations from the post apartheid regime, and the widespread inequality and poverty that they encountered (Hopstock & De Jager, 2011).

According to Chinomona and Maziriri (2015) some of the reasons for xenophobia in South Africa are as follows:

Sylvanus Dixon, a community organiser from Sierra Leone, spoke to the BBC about why the country has such a problem with xenophobia in its adopted land of South Africa, according to Khosa and Kalatanyi (2014). Dixon stated that the fear and jealousy of jobs and livelihood led to this. He said that South Africans were puzzled about how foreigners acquired money and how they started businesses. "That's where the jealousy is coming from. That's when the fear becomes xenophobia" A study conducted in a Port Elizabeth township revealed that jealousy was one of the main reasons for xenophobic violence there. During the Walmer Township xenophobic violence happens typically when xenophobes are enraged about the success of the foreigners in business (Khosa & Kalatanyi, 2014).

When lots of foreign workers who are looking for work and willing to accept low wages are available from foreign countries in a desperate bid for foreign currency, what jobs in the country are left for the locals – the dirty, dangerous and difficult ones, says Jureiden in Nyamnjoh (2006:2). However, they get racialized to the foreigners who they took the jobs. Considering the above opinions, it appears to be the case in South Africa with all the immigrants who are willing to do any work done irrespective of its position in the society and without the thought of returns in terms of finance. In South Africa one of the most often quoted motives for xenophobic violence is that of 'stealing' jobs from the nationals. There are researches that have suggested that, a number of South Africa's African foreigners are educated and possess good educational qualifications. Foreigners are thus not taking jobs away from people, but filling in the vast gaps in the country as valuable providers (Steinberg, 2010). The majority of Zimbabwean immigrants in SA are very highly educated (Nkosi, 2010; Steinberg, 2010). The Nkosi (2010) report also validates the fact that Limpopo Province alone was responsible for recruiting an enormous government corps of six hundred (600) Mathematics, Science and Technology teachers from Zimbabwe as a result of the shortage of teachers in these subjects in South Africa.

Xenophobic violence

Certain intervening factors have come under scrutiny in regards to the construction and reinforcement of anti-migrant behaviours, which were brought to the fore by the nature and manifestations of xenophobic violence. Xenophobia has been often said to stem from the micro politics of the townships and informal settlements (Misago, 2009). This is mainly because the majority of the violence starts from these areas, thereby raising questions on the level of inequalities and poverty being experienced by the inhabitants of informal settlements. The association between xenophobic sentiments and person level LOLS (life satisfaction) starts to become clear. Kayitesi and Mwaba (2014) also attribute the targeting of African migrants residing in these poor communities to the notion of black South Africans that migrants deepen their frustration with the government's poor service delivery levels.

Kayitesi and Mwaba (2014) and Coetzee (2012), in their studies on perceptions and attitudes towards xenophobia, revealed the existence of a minimal level of xenophobic attitudes amongst some university students and workers while a similar study conducted in Limpopo and the Western Cape revealed a high level of xenophobic violence amongst university students (Ritacco, 2010; Singh, 2013).

Based on the above, it can be concluded that people's perceptions and attitudes towards xenophobia are not fixed and therefore will differ depending on province, the nature of the study, the status of the participants, demographic characteristics, location among other factors, thus necessitating a strong literature on the topic. By engaging a broader sample size, their study investigated perceptions on and attitudes towards xenophobia, and interrogates the influence of mediatory factors such as gender, age and location on xenophobic attitudes (Akande, Musarurwa & Kaye, 2018).

Foreign relations

Foreign relation is a relation between two countries. Wikipedia (February 16, 2020) defined Foreign relations or foreign affairs refers to the management of relationships and dealings between countries. Foreign relations sprung up as a result of foreign policy dealings and decisions adopted by different countries of the world. The idea of long-term management of relationships (foreign relations) followed the development of professional diplomatic corps that managed diplomacy.

Thus, the term diplomacy as is used in foreign relation has been taken to mean the art and practice of conducting negotiations between representatives of various sovereign groups or nations. It's a relationship negotiation and interaction with countries. Thus, in this context we can view foreign relations as the relationship that exists between Nigeria and South Africa. Foreign relation on the contrary, is the wholesomeness of human relations beyond the boundaries of the nations.

Nigeria – South Africa Bilateral Economic Relations

Since the inception of democratic rule in Nigeria, South Africa and Nigeria have had encouraging bilateral economic relations. Since then, South Africa has come into the top investors in many sectors of the Nigerian economy. The activities of South African companies are seen in the Nigerian economy, particularly the telecommunication, engineering, banking, retail, hospitality, property development, construction and tourism and many others. South Africa would have an advantage over Nigeria in the technology and infrastructure development, but an advantage of Nigeria over South Africa lies in the fact that there are huge market potentials for investments in Nigeria. This is why there are a lot of South African companies with huge investments in Nigeria. In 1999, there were bilateral agreements signed between the governments of South Africa and Nigeria, covering Trade and Investment. There were bilateral agreements between governments on Trade and Investment in 1999. These agreements amongst other things, aimed to increase the amount of trade and investment between South Africa and Nigeria (Sifingo 2003). The signing of these agreements led to the following:

- i. created better trade ties between South Africa and Nigeria
- ii. South Africa's corporations as big players in the Nigerian economy.

We noted that in the improved trade relations between both countries, the trade volume between South Africa and Nigeria has risen since 1999. Prior to 1999, trade between the two countries was minimal. In 1994, South Africa exported US\$8.1 million worth of products to Nigeria; while it imported US\$3.1 million worth of commodities from that country (Omojola, 2016). The signing of the South Africa – Nigeria bilateral trade agreement changed all that. "By 2005 South Africa was exporting goods to the value of R3.4 billion to Nigeria and importing R4.2 billion worth of commodities from Nigeria (Tenikin, 2017). South Africa exports machinery and electrical equipment, appliances, wood, paper and prepared food stuffs, beverages, plastics, rubber, chemicals etc. to Nigeria. Oil on the other hand, constitutes 97% of Nigeria's exports to South Africa (Pahad, 2012).

As a result, South Africa is exporting a broad spectrum of products to Nigeria, many of which are value added manufactured products. As a result of this, South Africa's exports have the potential to grow dramatically. On the other hand, Nigeria's exports to South Africa are composed of one raw material which is oil. Its oil exports to South Africa are not likely to grow significantly in the next several years and its exports will not necessarily become more diversified. This translates into an unequal trade situation between South Africa and Nigeria; in which South Africa is in fact the dominant partner in terms of trade relations. The disparity in relations between Nigeria and South Africa, however, is most apparent in the dominance of South Africa in many areas of the Nigerian economy by South African companies.

South African Companies as Big Players in the Nigerian Economy

Prior to 1999, there were only 4 South African companies operating in Nigeria (Ezeoha & Uche 2005). This situation has totally changed with the support of the South African State, and the signing of bilateral agreements and creating the South Africa - Nigeria Bi-national Commission. Today, there are over 100 South African companies doing business in Nigeria (Sifinan, 2003). In the span of just 8 years, South Africa's companies have taken the helm of virtually every facet of the Nigerian economy. The biggest investment by South African companies in Nigeria has been in the telecommunication sector. The Nigerian government gave MTN a licence to run a cell phone network in Nigeria in 2001. As a countermeasure, MTN had to pay licensing fees of more than US\$285 million. Added to this, MTN has spent a further US\$ 1 billion on setting up its operations in Nigeria (Lutchman et al., 2014). MTN is the biggest cellular network provider in Nigeria, having over 10million subscribers at present (Tenekin, 2017).

There are also significant investments in Nigeria's construction industry by South African companies. Entech, a South African based engineering company, headed a consortium of South African companies that were awarded a tender worth R2.1billion from the Lagos State government to redevelop the Bar Beach and Victoria Island area of Lagos (Pahad, 2012). In Nigeria, there have also been many big companies from South Africa that have infiltrated the tourism and leisure industry. South African companies are also heavily involved in Nigeria's media and entertainment sector. The television industry is one of the biggest in Nigeria and DSTV is responsible for 90% of the viewers who watch satellite TV in Nigeria from 2005-2009. This has seen DSTV growing into the sixth largest company listed on the Lagos Stock Exchange (Omojola, 2006).

As of mid-April 2003, Onuoha (2008) estimated that there were then 55 South African companies operating in Nigeria. The single largest investor is MTN". Its entrance into the Nigerian market came by way of the first telecommunications auctions process in Africa, in January 2001. At that time MTN's entrance into the Nigerian market was the company's single biggest investment outside South Africa (Onuoha, 2008). The need for improved bilateral economic relations between the two countries gave birth to South Africa - Nigeria Bi-national Commission.

The impact of xenophobic attacks on relations with others. Foreign relations implications of xenophobic attacks.

The negative impacts of the prevailing xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa has caused a tension in the economic and political relationship between South Africa and Nigeria, according to Ajah, Madueke and Chukwuma (2017). Tensions between the Nigerian youths and their employers Mobile Television Network (MTN) reached its peak as a group of irate youths, under the banner of the National Association of Nigerian

Students (NANS) on Thursday, 23rd February, 2017, went on a rampage in Abuja, setting fire to offices of MTN, which could be a precursor to possible reprisal in the form of curbing operations of MTN, DSTV and Shoprite in Nigeria by Senate, if the members of the Senate are not mindful.

The Militants equally warned the South Africans that the only way their citizens in Nigeria could be safe, is if they halt hostilities against their compatriots in South Africa doing legitimate business. The looming rivalry between the two economic powerhouses of Africa can only mean that an estimated N1.5 trillion economic relationship between the two will be affected. Nigeria is a major supplier of oil and gas to South Africa, while South Africa ships in automobile, wine and paperboard to Nigeria among other product (Akuki, 2012). Nigeria's policy towards South Africa is "No Compromise with Apartheid", which was posited in 1963 by Dr. Jaja Wachukwu (the then Minister of External Affairs). Apart from that, it may be said that Nigeria has a reactive policy instead of retaliatory; a policy that is more of declaration than retaliation. This has afforded the South African government, the luxury of speaking from both sides of its mouth in the face of xenophobic atrocities of its citizen against foreigners.

The South African government is always prompt in explaining that xenophobia is not in any way South African in character and that all those involved in the act would be brought to book. Unfortunately, the world has yet to witness who perpetrated the first xenophobic attacks and the number of such attacks that have been tried (Olaode, 2017). What should be highlighted here is the fact that even "Nigerians" were part of South Africa's xenophobic target groups. Nigerians deserve some respect and just treatment because the government forced the deduction of money from the salary of civil/public servants for the liberation movement in South Africa.

Xenophobic attacks have affected the lives of people, and cannot be over emphasised the impact. Recently, Nigerians living in South Africa came under attack by local vigilantes. Many suffered only the destruction of their homes and business while some who lost their lives were not so lucky. As expected, Nigerian authorities condemned this report. The National Assembly was at the forefront of the demands for answers from the South African authorities. But, much like the Nigerian norm, the action of the National Assembly was not without drama. The House of Representatives apparently came up with the idea to form a committee of the National Assembly to visit South Africa alone, but the Senate reportedly insisted on the composition of a committee, which however did not materialise for days. The Nigerian Guild of Editors reported the South African Institute of International Affairs has recorded that Nigeria spent \$61 billion in a statement.

With this level of commitment on the side of Nigeria during the apartheid regime, the government must take xenophobic attacks on its citizens very serious, the drama witnessed between the Senate and the House of Representative speaks volume. It shows that we lack swift response to issues that concern Nigerians both within and outside the shores of Nigeria. We are no longer news that the masses remind the government of its responsibility through protest – little wonder the South African government do not take us seriously. The Nigerian government has lost about 137 citizens in South Africa, between 2014 and 2016. The Chairman, House Committee on Diaspora Matters, Rep Rita Orji, condemned the attitude of the Federal Government to the safety of Nigerians abroad, arguing that the government focused more on remittances of Nigerians from abroad than their welfare. She challenged government on its excessive protection of the South Africa's business and interests at the expense of Nigeria.

Orji recounted some of the gory murder of Nigeria in South Africa, Libya and other countries some of which she said her committee had investigated and given the report to the ministry of Foreign Affairs with no visible actions taken. The Nigerian Communication Commission is hell bent on reviewing upward the price of data and voice calls in Nigeria to the detriment of Nigerians. Even with the intervention of the National Assembly, they (NCC) are bent on protecting the interest of the foreigners. The Minister of State, Foreign Affairs, Khadija Bukar Abba Ibrahim, in his response to the committee, said the ministry has the mandate to safeguard the interests of Nigeria and Nigerians living outside the country but no funds had been allocated to the ministry until the 2017 budget proposal. She says the approximate number of Nigerians in the diaspora is up to 15 million. Given that no provision was made for protection and welfare assistance in the budget, it is a herculean task for the ministry to provide it. (Ndujihe et al, 2017).

Theoretical Perspective

In Abdi (2017), this study was based on the “Relative Deprivation Theory” as explained by Tshitereke (1999). One of the theories in the field of social unrest is deprivation theory which holds that relative deprivation is one of the psychological factors. Relative deprivation is about the subjective sense of dissatisfaction: a sense that one is not receiving what he/she deserves. It is because this feeling of deprivation has its origin in social-economics that it is placed in this grouping. The relative deprivation theory is said to explain the causes of xenophobia in South Africa. It is related to the socio-economic environment people are in. Extremely high level of poverty in the country, with majority of the people living in extreme poverty. In addition, South Africa has the biggest gap between rich and poor in the world (Hopstock & de Jager 2011)

The concept of relative deprivation is considered a major psychological motivation of social unrest and is manifested as subjective dissatisfaction with the situation due to the perception of less than what one deserves. When there is a gap between aspirations and reality, social discontent is likely to arise (Abdi, 2017). Bhagwat (2017) cited Tshitereke (1999) says that the socio-economic approach to conceptualizing xenophobia is expressed through the lenses of frustration and relative deprivation. In addition to this sociological interpretation, he adds a psychological level of explanation. He theorises that xenophobia is a result of frustration and relative deprivation. He defines xenophobia in terms of how South Africans lash out on foreigners when it comes to issues of limited resources like jobs, housing, and health care, and the high expectation in transition. People in a period of difficulties, often create a “frustration-scapegoat” in which they create a target to blame for on-going social problems and thus in the light of the scapegoating hypothesis, foreigners become such a target for outpour of frustration.

This theory is important to the research problem because many of the explanations for the origin of the xenophobic violence experienced in South Africa revolved around the fact that South Africa natives had not been able to get access to basic social and economic amenities and attributed this to the foreigners and access to these amenities as the major cause of the South African natives not accessing the amenities. This development makes South Africans view the foreigners as hindrance to their development. Ourselves this theory helps us to have a clear understanding why Nigerians suffer from xenophobic violence in South Africa.

Data Analysis

The researcher attempted to elicit responses from Workers of MTN/DSTV/SHOPRITE Enugu as a foreign direct investment owned by South Africans in Nigeria to determine the effect of xenophobic violence on foreign direct investment between both countries. The following was their answer from Shoprite respondent 1 on the above objective of the study:

The attacks on foreigners in South Africa obviously have effect on our investments in other countries especially in Nigeria just as it affects other nationals like Nigerians who will like to invest in South Africa. You can only imagine what we have to go through during the last violence in South Africa. Even though we were not in South Africa, it was as if we should all pack and return back to South Africa because your people here vehemently stopped us from carrying out our activities here. If not for the security people, our malls in Lagos will have been burnt down.

In a separate interview, the above was supported by MTN/DSTV respondent 2 who said:

I can state that the threat of xenophobia is highly detrimental to FDI. This is because among all the considerations a person involved in investing in another country, security is one of the major ones. Where we have investments in Nigeria we first looked at the nature of our investments, the security of those investments and the staff that came with us. However, it should be noted that the threats to security always have a multiplier effect. Therefore, when xenophobic violence sprung up South Africa, you could see that Nigerians at home wanted to revenge for what was done to their relations in South Africa and hence, our establishment becomes their target. We would have lost all we invested in a twinkling of an eye if not for swift intervention of Nigeria’s security men. So if xenophobic violence is not stopped in South Africa, it will scare away future investments any foreigner including Nigerians will want to do in the country.

It is evident from the above responses that the respondents that foreign direct investment between both countries will suffer a great deal due to xenophobic violence. Such irresponsible destruction of business will keep foreigners from relocating their investments to other countries. Thus, Dauda, Salariyau and Ameen (2018) noted that the attacks on Africans and Nigerians in particular is a barbaric and disturbing scenario which definitely has implications on the external investment relations of both countries (Nigeria and South Africa). Prior to 1999, Ezeoha and Uche (2005) reported that there were only four companies from South Africa that were doing business in Nigeria.

The outcome of this interview was also provide insight into the assertion of Ajah, Madueke and Chukwuma (2017) that on Thursday, 23rd February, 2017 irate Nigerian youths, under the platform of the National Association of Nigerian Students (NANS) laid siege on offices of Mobile Television Network (MTN) in Abuja, while the Senate intervened on possible reprisal, including preventing MTN, DSTV and Shoprite from doing business in the country. The impact of xenophobic violence on Nigeria-South Africa economic bilateral relation

MTN/DSTV respondent 1 in his own view on the interview question on effect of xenophobic violence on Nigeria-South Africa bilateral relation opined that:

If there has been any rift between Nigerians and South Africans, it would have been practically impossible for both countries to engage in trade or partake in any economic activities. It was through the economic bilateral relations between both countries that we became a business partner with other telecommunication companies in Nigeria such as DSTV and MTN. What I want to tell you is, if xenophobic violence is going to persist, we will also be put out of business just like some Nigerians who are doing business in South Africa, and whose businesses were put out of business by the xenophobic violence.

To his query, the researcher reminded him that there was no xenophobic violence in Nigeria but the researcher asked him what it meant to be put out of business in the country. His response was:

Did you see some of our offices being besieged for a reprisal attack? Also, watch and observe some of the comments by Nigerian political office holders? I believe they were sufficient signpost that we don't have a conducive business environment to run our businesses or face a risk to our lives and investment.

The above response reflected the expectation that xenophobic violence would have a negative impact on foreign relations on bilateral economic trade, in particular. This means that any activities in the economic and business sectors between Nigeria and South Africa will undergo a set back if any measures is not taken to stop the xenophobic violence.

On the other hand, when the researcher interviewed respondent 2 the same research objective, response derived was narrated as follows:

If we're not on good terms, I can't do business with you. I can't buy anything from you, and you can't buy anything from me. Your local market is a typical example—if there is a trader or someone you know who has always been very antagonistic toward you or tried to put you out of business, there is nothing you can do to promote such a trader. This is the way it is in the countries. Other than our retail outlets, you are aware that some of the South businesses are big players in the Nigerian market. What will happen to such businesses if Nigerian government orders that they should stop doing business in Nigeria? But if South Africa discontinues patronage of Nigeria's oil market or her raw materials what will Nigeria do with such excesses that should have been a foreign exchange earner to her? Hence my belief that xenophobic violence is an ill wind that will blow no country any good and all of us must join hands and preach against it.

Results obtained from the respondents have revealed that xenophobic violence is negatively impacting on foreign relations. If the Xenophobic violence is not abated, Nigeria's economic bilateral relation has been established since the inception of the South Africa – Nigeria Bi-national Commission and the establishment of NEPAD could be cut. Economic relations between countries have been a source of economic development and a boost to a nation's Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

This was reinforced by Pahad (2012) who indicated that by 2005, South Africa was exporting R3.4 billion worth of goods to Nigeria while importing R4.2 billion worth of goods from Nigeria. The items that are exported to Nigeria from South Africa are: machinery, electrical equipment, appliances, wood, paper, prepared food stuffs, beverages, plastics, rubber, chemicals etc. But, Nigeria exports 97% of its oil to South Africa. All these could be made to force to stop if xenophobic violence continues.

It should be remembered that economic bilateral relation between both countries is that Nigeria exports a wide range of products to South Africa, some of which are value added manufactured products. As a result of this, South Africa's exports have great potential to grow. The Nigerian exports to South Africa on the other hand, are made up of one raw material which is oil. Its increase in oil exports to South Africa in the future is not expected to be significant in the coming few years and its products export is not going to diversify either. This translates into an unequal trade situation between South Africa and Nigeria; in which South Africa is in fact the dominant partner in terms of trade relations. South Africa - Nigeria Bi-national Commission was saddled with the desire to improve the bilateral trade relationship between the two countries, as Onuoha (2008) posited. The Bi-National Commission is set up to harmonise and enhance the bilateral political, economic and trade relations between Nigeria and South Africa. It has a mandate to review cooperation between the two countries on foreign affairs, public enterprises and infrastructure, agriculture, minerals and energy, trade, industry and finance among others.

There are lots of businesses in Nigeria that are South African today. South African companies are now big players in virtually all sectors of the Nigerian economy. South African companies have invested the most in Nigeria in the telecommunication industry. Tenekin (2017), noted that the Nigerian government had licensed MTN in the year 2001 to run a Cell phone network in Nigeria. Meanwhile, MTN was obligated to pay the licensing fee of more than US\$285 million. Added to this, MTN has spent a further US\$ 1 billion on setting up its operations in Nigeria. MTN is the leading cellular network company in Nigeria with its total number of subscribers as of now being more than 10million. The outcome of this interview was also provide insight into the assertion of Ajah, Madueke and Chukwuma (2017) that on Thursday, 23rd February, 2017 irate Nigerian youths, under the platform of the National Association of Nigerian Students (NANS) laid siege on offices of Mobile Television Network (MTN) in Abuja, while the Senate intervened on possible reprisal, including preventing MTN, DSTV and Shoprite from doing business in the country. Effect of xenophobic violence on Nigeria-South African economic bilateral relation

CONCLUSION

After the research analysis and processing of responses that emanated from the researcher's interview on the topic xenophobic violence and foreign relations, the researcher draws the following conclusion:

Violence is a problem of xenophobia, which has a negative impact on the flow of foreign direct investment between both countries. Investment flows into both countries will suffer a great deal due to xenophobic violence.

Fear of xenophobic violence has a negative impact on economic bilateral relations between Nigeria and South Africa. Economic bilateral relation which has existed between Nigeria and South Africa dating back to the era of the birth to South Africa

RECOMMENDATION

Nigeria and South African government should do everything humanly possible to educate her citizens on the need for unity and oneness. South Africans should allow immigrants to be present in their nation and should not destroy businesses that help to develop their country's economy. Nigerian youths, in the same way, are to refrain from retaliatory attacks on foreign investments in Nigeria because of the attacks. This is because they are the ones to suffer the loss of such businesses to due to violence.

3. South Africans as well as Nigerians should be compelled to denounce racism in all its forms and manifestations as is being done globally. The majority of violent attacks observed in the country are based on hatred towards foreigners, which may be considered racist act against foreign countries.

Fostering bilateral trade with foreigners should be maintained between both countries. It cannot be given up in the name of xenophobic violence. Nigerians and their South African counterpart have already formed a formidable economic force in the African continent in view of businesses that has been established by both countries.

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