

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Background to the Study

Foreign policy serves as the linkage between the domestic environment and the international environment. It is defined as the dynamic process of interaction between the changing domestic demands and support, and the changing external circumstances¹. Many scholars agreed that foreign policy serves as the intersection between domestic and international politics². The interdependence of domestic and foreign policies is so intense that they could spill over into each other. There are other scholars who believe that domestic politics and foreign policy are two independent areas of focus². However, this is not so as foreign policy is an integral part of the public policy of a state. It represents that part of her national policy which relates to the external environment. Therefore, we should not have the impression that foreign policy operates only at the external level and has nothing to do with domestic or national policy. Rather, in reality, there is a close relationship between domestic and foreign policies³.

It has been observed that some foreign policies have such a significant direct effect on the domestic sphere that the deliberations behind them are rooted in both international and domestic considerations⁴. These considerations include economic, security, political, demographic and other considerations and they are regarded as intermestic affairs (derived from the words 'domestic' and 'international'). Such policies are called intermestic policies. Intermestic policy, therefore, means an international policy that affects or has implication on the domestic discourse. Considerations grounded in intermestic affairs can be examined within a realist framework by

approaching these considerations as a power struggle that plays out simultaneously on a domestic and international level. This is termed intermestic realism⁴.

Since obtaining her flag independence in 1960 from Britain, Nigeria has remained one of the most visible African states in the international scene. The country plays a vital role in the maintenance and promotion of peace in Africa, contributes immensely to the development of her neighbours and support peace keeping operations in different parts of the world. In spite of these laudable roles, many have questioned the fact that the country cannot be said to have really benefit in terms of development from her foreign policy engagements. This failure has been attributed to the myriad of challenges confronting the country in the operating environment of its foreign policy. For instance, economic, security and corruption situations in Nigeria have been identified as major factors affecting the conduct of her foreign policy⁵. Also, the roles of ethnicity and religion in shaping Nigeria's foreign policy have also been identified⁶. Inequitable social structure, injustice, high poverty rate, inequality which characterize the Nigeria political space and produces negative outcomes that hinder the country from firmly pursuing its outlined foreign policy goals are also included⁷. This is related to the issue of national image, character and reputation which are critical ingredients for effective conduct of foreign policy by Nigeria⁸.

Therefore, without doubt, there is no dearth of literature on the subject of factors that influence Nigeria's foreign policy. However, many of the literatures have focused on the general discussion of the issues without deeply analysing each of them to see how they really impacted on the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy. This gap in the literature is what this present study seeks to fill. While it is difficult to carry out detailed analysis of each and every determinant, this researcher will concentrate on the study of the demographic considerations on Nigeria's foreign policy using the intermestic realist framework. The aim is to demonstrate the effect of

demographic considerations on Nigeria's foreign policy based on issues with such a significant direct effect on the domestic sphere that the deliberations behind them are rooted in both international and domestic considerations and thereby make them to be intermestic in nature. Taking this approach would help us to understand some of the motivations or reasons behind the actions of Nigerian government in relation to foreign policy decision making.

In selecting demography as a variable, the researcher considers the fact that the country's huge population is a critical determinant of her foreign policy. The population of Nigeria, like the rest of Africa, is growing rapidly. The population of Europe remained the same between 1990 and 2015 and that of Asia and Latin America grew by 37 and 42% respectively. Over the same period, the population of Africa by comparison increased by 88%⁹. The population of Nigeria as at 1950 (before independence) stood at 37 million; in 2015, it was 181 million and is projected to become 411 million by 2050, making it the third most populous country in the world by that time¹⁰. The median age of Nigeria is 17.9 years which is better than that of the European population of 42years⁹. This has made her a potential demographic power and gave her some power to effectively participate in world affairs. On both economic and military spheres, Nigeria's population has allowed her to become a centre of geopolitical interest to the world powers. But this has not come with much "demographic dividend" in terms of developmental foreign policy.

While demography is a vital component of Nigeria's foreign policy as the huge population has helped to attract international investors and also assisted the country in fulfilling international obligations, such as peacekeeping operations, the challenge has always been the need to accommodate and adequately care for the diverse interests of the various groups within the country as they relate to foreign policy making. Demographic transitions among the ethnic and

religious groups within the country has led to internal tensions and political instability with consequences on the country's international relations and foreign policy making. The huge number of young people, mostly uneducated or poorly educated, growing up in Nigeria combined with high level of unemployment have often made them easily manipulated into violent activities such as kidnapping, ethnic militias, oil bunkering and terrorism which have greatly jeopardized the economic and security interests of the country both locally and internationally. Therefore, instead for the huge population to be a key element or a major driving force behind the wheel of development of Nigeria (as it is the case with China, India, Turkey and other countries), it is now a burden crippling her development (demographic disaster).

The activities of the huge number of Nigerians in diaspora as part of her overall demography has over the years been impacting on the conduct of her foreign policy. The significance of this was brought to light with the establishment of the Nigerians in Diaspora Commission (NiDCOM) in 2018 by the administration of President Muhammad Buhari.

For the purpose of this study, the focus will be on the study of the influence demographic considerations on Nigeria's foreign policy from 2015-2023. The period covers the civilian administration of President Muhammad Buhari. The year 2015 is significant because of the fact that it marked the fifty five years of Nigeria's foreign policy engagements. The past fifty five years would therefore provide rich background for the research work.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

It is often implied in existing literatures that Nigeria has not really benefitted optimally from her foreign policy engagements despite her numerous contributions on the international scene. But the crucial question is, how can an un-industrialized, economically less developed and politically

unstable entity derived benefit from a complex, highly industrialized and economically competitive world? While many factors are responsible for this failure, the question of the nature of the influence of demographic considerations on Nigeria's foreign policy has not been fully unearthed and examined. Demography has been an important element of Nigeria's foreign policy. The huge population has not only made the country a centre of geopolitical and economic interest and but also assisted the country in fulfilling international obligations such as peacekeeping operations. However, unlike countries like China and India, which have been able to leverage on their demography for developmental purposes, this has not been the case with Nigeria. This inability of the country to leverage on her demographic power has been a major factor responsible for the failure of the country to benefit maximally from her foreign policy engagements. In the light of this, demographic considerations are essential part of the country's foreign policy and an understanding of it is necessary for the country's developmental foreign policy. This is the focus of this study and it will be done using the intermestic realist framework. By adopting this approach, it is understood that there are certain demographic considerations with such direct significant effects on foreign policy that the deliberations behind them are rooted in international and domestic considerations (intermestic affairs).

Therefore, this study seeks to examine the nature of the relationship between the dynamics of demography and Nigeria's foreign policy within the realist framework. It will also assess how Nigeria can benefit from her foreign policy engagements through her demographic power. The focus will be on the influence of demographic considerations on Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari from 2015-2023.

1.3 Aim and Objectives of the Study

The study aims at investigating the influence of demographic considerations on Nigeria's foreign policy within the intermestic realist theoretical framework. This exercise will be done with the study of Nigeria's foreign policy under former President Muhammadu Buhari from 2015 to 2023. Specifically, the objectives of the study include;

- i. To examine the nature of Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration of former President Muhammadu Buhari (2015-2023).
- ii. To investigate the relationship between demographic considerations and Nigeria's foreign policy within the intermestic realist framework.
- iii. To interrogate the demographic considerations that shaped Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration of former President Muhammadu Buhari (2015-2023).
- iv. To examine the influence of diaspora engagements on Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari (2015-2023).
- v. To prescribe mechanisms to be adopted for Nigeria to benefit from her demography through her foreign policy.

1.4 Research Questions

- i. What is the nature of Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration of former President Muhammadu Buhari (2015-2023)?
- ii. What is the relationship between demographic considerations and Nigeria's foreign policy within the intermestic realist framework?
- iii. What are the demographic considerations that shaped Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration of former President Muhammadu Buhari (2015 to 2023)?

- iv. What are the influence of diaspora engagements on Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari (2015-2023)?
- v. What are the mechanisms to be adopted for Nigeria to benefit from her demography through her foreign policy?

1.5 Significance of the Study

This study provides an explanatory-analytical interpretation of the influence of demographic considerations on Nigeria's foreign policy with a view towards situating its relationship with the country's development. The study highlights the demographic considerations influencing Nigeria's foreign policy and the overall implications for the achievements of the country's developmental goals.

The context of the research work will provide a rich data to develop a theoretical framework and mechanisms to guide in the coordination of the demographic dynamics with foreign policy to achieve Nigeria's developmental goals.

1.6 Scope of the Study

The study examines the influence of demographic considerations on Nigeria's foreign policy. It highlights the demographic considerations influencing Nigeria's foreign policy from 2015 to 2023. The choice of this period is to serve as case study and does not make the study static in anyway as adequate references will be made to other periods when and where necessary as it is relevant to the discussion.

1.7 Operational Definitions of Terms

Foreign Policy: It is defined as a statement of goals and objectives of each country in its interactions with other countries. It also involves the techniques and ways by which the goals are to be pursued, the means and ends.

Foreign Policy Environment: It refers to those domestic and external factors, dynamics, structures and processes within which an actor is supposed to function in the international system.

International Environment: It refers to the configuration of power, the political and economic dynamics, institutional frameworks and structures which all determine the options and policy choices that are available to a state outside its territory. These include international law, international organizations, alliances, international system and power structures.

Political Demography: This has to do with the study of population size, composition, and distribution in relations to both government and politics. The focus is on the political consequences of population change, especially the effects of population change on the demands made upon government, on the performance of government, on the distribution of political power within states, and on the distribution of national power among states.

Dynamics of Demography: It refers to the process of population change within the domestic and international environment. It involves those elements of population such as age, quality, distribution (due to migration), gender/sex ratio and cultural values/orientations that are not fixed. It has to do with the causes and effect of such change on the conduct of the foreign policy of a state.

Endnotes

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Chapter Two

Literature Review

2.1 Conceptual Review

2.1.1 Foreign Policy

Like many other concepts in the social sciences and humanities, the concept of foreign policy does not enjoy unanimous definition. It has been variously described by scholars and practitioners alike. Each definition is based on the perspective and background of the individual. However, there are certain common denominators or features in the various definitions. These include the fact that foreign policy begins at home but is to be implemented or executed beyond or outside the shores of the country. For instance, foreign policy has been described as the deliberate and conscious decisions taken by a state in coping with its external environment. It has also been defined as the calculated steps taken by a state which are intended to maximize the opportunities that are available outside its geographical boundaries, while at the same time, minimizing the perils that abound¹. These descriptions of foreign policy are in terms of the actions of the state.

However, it is not every time that a state reacts or take action on issues emanating beyond its boundary. In the on-going crisis between Russia and Ukraine, while most states have joined the United States led Western countries to condemn and even impose sanctions on Russia, others such as the United Arab Emirates (UAE) have refused to do so. This conception of foreign policy presents it as an instrument of power through which states can react to events in the international environment by its actions or inactions to advance national objectives². Thus,

foreign policy can also be defined as the totality of actions and inactions on the part of a state aimed at exercising preferences at the level of international system¹.

Foreign policy has also been described in terms of policy statement or intention. It is defined as a statement of goals and objectives of each country³. It also involves the techniques and ways by which the goals are to be pursued, the means and ends. Foreign policy is a vision of a desired outcome or set of interests in interacting with another state actor, the strategies and ideas adopted in achieving these objectives and resources available at the state's disposal, in guiding her interaction with other states⁴.

Generally, foreign policy can be seen as comprising three parts which are the means, the ways and the end. The 'end' refers to the objectives or desired outcome which a state seeks to achieve in its interaction with other states. The 'ways' comprise the methods or strategies which the state adopts in pursue the objectives or desired interest such as economic incentives, or sanctions, diplomatic tactics etc. The 'means' consists of the resources that are available at the state's disposal to pursue the objectives such as military and economic capabilities. In line with this analysis, foreign policy has also been described as a vision of a desired outcome or set of interests of a state in interacting with another state/actor, the strategies and ideas used in achieving these goals, and the available resources at a state's disposable, in guiding her interaction with other states⁴.

Foreign policy can also be regarded as both the producer and the product of interactions among states, that is, the state and the inter-state system. It is a kind of charter which clearly shows on which points a state can agree with the other state and on what premises it is possible or not possible^{5,6}.

Another area of concern that needs to be addressed in this attempt to define foreign policy is the state-centric nature of its conception. Questions have been raised about the fact that other important actors in the international political system are usually left out in many of the definitions. While the state and its organs are the major players in the international arena, there are other important actors whose actions are intended to influence targets outside their country's border such as Multinational Corporations (MNCs), International Non-Government Organizations (NGOs), International sporting groups and religious bodies as well as prominent individuals with international influence. However, it is argued that while certainly their activities influence foreign policy, but their actions are not foreign policy. If these non-state actors and their activities in the international system are considered as foreign policy, then activities of anyone in the international arena would be foreign policy. It would therefore render it impossible to separate foreign policy from other activities on the international scene⁷. Thus, foreign policy should be seen purely as an activity of the state though with influence on and from other actors (state and non-state) beyond the borders of the state.

Although, the study of foreign policy is recent, foreign policy has been in existence from time immemorial when people began organizing themselves into groups and on this basis started interactions⁸. Overtime, foreign policy became and its study have become very significant across the world. The importance of foreign policy lies in the fact that there is no state that can exist in isolation since no country is self-sufficient. Therefore, countries have to maintain relations with one another in order to achieve their national interest⁹. However, it is not mandatory for a state to maintain relations with every other states and sometimes relations with other states may take hostile form. Thus, the primary purpose of foreign policy is to defend a state's national interests which can be through nonviolent or violent means.

Foreign policy is sometimes regarded as an extension of domestic policy that is formulated to affect other countries⁹. However, there is a distinction between domestic policy and foreign policy. Although, unlike in the past where the distinction could be easily made, contemporary politics and globalization have blurred the line that distinguishes between what is foreign and what is domestic⁵. Foreign policy is affected by domestic pressures and policies. Similarly, domestic policies are also determined by foreign policy. Seemingly domestic issues are easily transformed into global issues in the contemporary world. For instance, the revolution in Libya started as a domestic issue as protest to depose the ruler, Muammar Gadhafi, but turned into global conflict involving several foreign players^{7,9}. The development of foreign policy is also influenced by domestic considerations. For example, the decision by the government of Ghana to deport aliens, under the Aliens Compliance Order of 1969 did not come as a surprise because there had been widespread discontent in the country that foreigners were taking over and dominating the leading sectors of the Ghanaian economy⁹.

In summary, what can be said is that while foreign policy serves as a link between two distinct realms, the domestic and the external environment, at the same time, it also help to distinguish between the two. Thus, foreign policy both divided and joined the state and the international system.

2.1.2 Foreign Policy Environment

Foreign policy is made and conducted in complex domestic and international environment¹⁰. By “environment of foreign policy”, we refer to those domestic and external factors, dynamics, structures and processes within which an actor is supposed to function¹¹. It can be inferred from this that the foreign policy of every state is influenced mainly by two determinants which are the

internal or domestic factors and the external or international factors. However, the level of influence between the factors differs among states. In some cases, external factors play a major role and in other cases, the internal factors are more relevant⁴. Also, across space and time, a particular factor can gain importance in comparison to others. On many occasions, a factor may look irrelevant but due to the change of space and time, it can become a major determinant. More often, some factors can jointly influence foreign policy. However, there are instances where a specific factor played a key role in determining the foreign policy of a particular state¹².

The determinants of foreign policy which constitute its environment are many. The external environment are the configuration of power, the political and economic dynamics and institutional frameworks and structures which determines the options and policy choices that are available to a state outside its territory ¹³. These include international law, international organizations, alliances, international system and power structures⁴.

The domestic environment comprises the socio-economic, political and cultural dynamics and institutional frameworks which determine policy choices within a state. The domestic environmental factors are important determinant of the focus of a state's foreign policy. Aside forming the basis for the formulation of the objectives that guide a state's foreign policy, they define the tools for their attainment¹³. Domestic environment influences foreign policy decisions and if a policy is not accepted at home, it is not likely that it will be successful in the international context¹⁰. The domestic determinants include culture and history, geography, size, population, economic development, natural resources, military capabilities, political system, personality and character of the leader, political parties and interest groups, press and public opinions. Others include national morale, domestic institutions for national integration, the domestic political environment including laws, government agencies, lobbying groups and others

that can influence or restrict individuals or organizations in the state^{4,10,12,13}. Different actors within the domestic environment will attempt to make input in the foreign policy but it is only when these are coordinated and controlled that an effective foreign policy can emanate.

2.1.3 Intermestic Affairs

Derived from international and domestic, the term 'intermestic' has to do with issues of international and domestic concern¹⁴. It is a term used to denote the interconnectedness and relevance between domestic policy and international policy¹⁵. Intermestic issues (affairs) refers to those matters of international relations which by their very nature, closely involve the domestic economy of the nation¹⁶. It is not only those matters that concern the domestic economy alone, but all matters with consequences simultaneously on the domestic front and the international arena. It originated from Bayless Manning who argued that some foreign policies have such significant direct effects on the domestic spheres that the deliberations behind them are rooted in both international and domestic discourse¹⁷. Therefore, decision makers weigh up domestic and international factors when forming policy.

Some scholars have demonstrated how domestic variables influenced the foreign policy making process and how decision makers attempted to reconcile strategy overseas with the quest to attain political legitimacy at home¹⁸. However, attempt by decision-makers to achieve political legitimacy can lead to complications not only in domestic politics but also with consequences on international relations. This is moreso in a heterogeneous state where demographic considerations will be the basis for any intermestic policy. That is, the diversity of interests of the various groups in the political entity must be well considered in any foreign policy engagements in order to give such policy the needed legitimacy domestically. Achieving legitimacy in the

midst of multiplicity of interests will not only be complicated but balancing it with international interest will be challenging or difficult.

Intermestic challenges may result in political calamities and can even escalate into civil war. For instance, intermestic security challenges arise where there is concern in a country that a dissatisfied minority relies on transnational bonds with foreign kin-group for support. This emanates from ethnic and /or ideological affinities translating into foreign support and it becomes aggravated when the dissatisfied minority is able to raise territorial claims²¹. The Boko Haram insurgency in the north-eastern part of Nigeria is an example of this.

Issues such as immigration, transnational crimes, energy, security and the international trade are all intermestic in nature¹⁶. For instance, immigration policy combines United States-Mexicans relations (international affairs) with its domestic economy (domestic affairs) making it an intermestic affair. This is due to the growing demography of Hispanic people in the United States¹⁶. Similarly, immigration policy combines Turkey-European Union relations (international affairs) with its domestic security (domestic affairs). This is due to the influx of Syrian refugees to Turkey, as a result of the civil war in Syria, who are using Turkey as a gateway to Europe. However, Turkey is concerned that some of the refugees may actually belong to the Kurdish militant groups that are waging war against Turkey and may therefore constitute security threat to the country. Turkey is also concerned about the economic cost of housing the refugees in the country, which if not control, may lead to social instability in the country. This, therefore, makes the issue an intermestic affair.

The intermestic approach is useful for the analysis of changes in policy in the era of globalization where the world is regarded as “borderless”¹⁹. Due to globalization, interconnectedness between

international (foreign) policy and domestic policy are increasing. Issues that were hitherto of domestic concern are no longer restricted to the domestic domain but increasingly taking on international outlook and vice versa. For instance, leaders of national government can no longer hide under sovereignty of state when it comes to the issue of human rights of their citizens.

Human right issues have become an “intermestic affair” as it is relevant and is of international and domestic concern.

President and presidential candidates are expected to provide policy leadership on a growing body of issues that are termed “intermestic” because it include aspects of both international and domestic affairs¹⁶. A president’s ability to succeed at home will determine his success abroad²⁰. For instance, China subtly used both domestic and foreign social media to organize a network of communication about COVID-19 and purposeful soften the highly centralized and hierarchical political propaganda of the Chinese communist party. A hybrid methodology combining quantitative network analysis permits examination of China’s intermestic online communication network dynamics, shedding light on how such an intermestic practice promoted Chinese values and power to international publics in the early stages of the COVID-19 crisis. Such intermestic communication strategies were particularly evident and even further, weaponised by China in its large-scale Wolf Warrior diplomacy²¹.

As a result of globalization, the roles of state have become ambiguous and the political power and sovereign rights of the state have been redefined. Nevertheless, in the intermestic approach, the idea of state sovereignty is an important aspect and the government still has the main responsibility in the policy change process¹⁹. For example, among the intermestic policies of President Joe Biden of the United States is his promise to reform the immigration laws of the United States and his commitment to help Central American countries overcome the factors that

are causing the exodus of refugees²⁰. While globalisation has led to rapid increase in the number of refugees seeking asylum in the United States from Central American countries, the impact of this on job opportunities and other amenities has created social tensions between the immigrants and the citizens of the United States. This has led to calls for certain changes in domestic laws (domestic affairs) and the commitment of President Joe Biden to help Central American countries to tackle their internal challenges causing mass migration (international affairs).

Environment issues (climate change) is another issue that is intermestic in nature for most countries. While most countries in the world have come to the realization of the need to reduce pollution and other activities causing global warming and climate change and have joined international efforts aimed at doing so, the leaders of these countries still have to contend domestically with certain interests groups that are opposed to it in other for such international efforts to be supported and ratified. This is because many of the industries that are responsible for environmental pollutions are among the highest employers of labour. They, therefore, wield strong economic power in the country which must be considered in the making of any domestic policy.

The ongoing trade war between the United States and China has also been used by Tom Meinderts to demonstrate the intermestic economic challenges that emanates from demographic considerations. Both Presidents Donald Trump and Xi Jinping of US and China respectively were mindful of and weigh up domestic and international factors in the trade disputes.

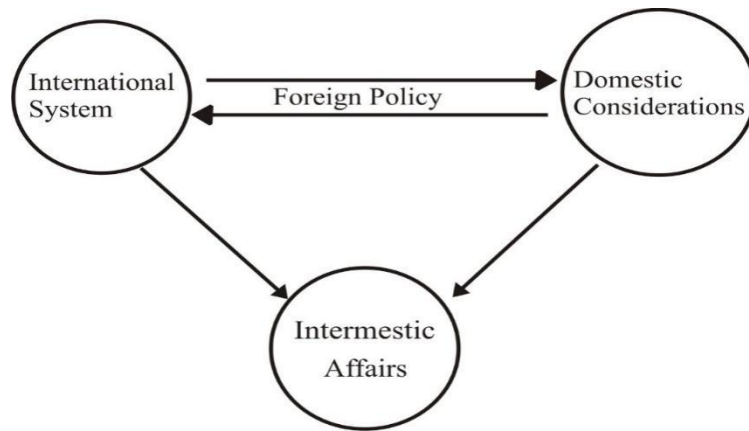


Figure 2.1 Intermestic Affairs

Source: (Designed by the Researcher, 2023).

2.1.4 Political Demography

Political Demography has to do with the study of population size, composition, and distribution in relations to both government and politics. The focus is on the political consequences of population change, especially the effects of population change on the demands made upon government, on the performance of government, on the distribution of political power within states, and on the distribution of national power among states²².

From time immemorial, the changes in population of a political entity (both in terms of quality and quantity) has always determined its status in the international political system. In the ancient

period, the ability of an entity to either defend its territory and/or expand its frontiers depends on the number of forces it could mobilize to carry out such tasks. As demography was important in terms of security, it was also important for economic prosperity and domestic stability as well.

The rise and decline of many political entities (empires, kingdoms, and others) in the past have been attributed to dynamics of demography. Entities, which were hitherto great powers and dominated others, crumbled as a result of changes in their demography. Sometimes, it might be due to a reduction in the quantity of the population which provided the labour force to build a strong and virile state. This reduction may be due to natural disasters such as famine, flooding, earthquakes or war and defeat by a superior army. After this, the entity could not rise to its former states again as it lacked the needed population to do so.

On the other hand, demographic changes for some entities might be due to decline in the quality of such population. In this sense, the population retained or even increased in terms of quantity but suffered reduction in quality and thereby found it difficult to retain its status. This reduction in quality usually emanated from poor leadership who saw no reason in maintaining the quality of the population. Such leaders failed to provide the enabling environment for the potential of the population to be maximized. Most countries in Africa and parts of Latin America and Asia are examples.

Demographic changes impact not only the capability of a given state to defend itself from external threats, but also help it to prevent collapsing and can even contribute to guarantee reasonable well-being standard of its citizens. The characteristics of a given population at a given moment increases or reduces the likelihood of conflict and the levels of social instability and economic growth. It also influences the will of assertion of power from a political entity (state or

ethnic group), its attempt at expansion, the probability of ethnic conflicts, terrorism, radicalism or religious fundamentalism²³. Thus, demographic dynamics influences political stability, security, social cohesion and economic development.

Politics is key to how population changes affect societies²⁴. Since the end of the cold war and the embrace of democratic government by many countries, population change have interplay with politics across the world. Political actors (leaders) play key role in the management of demographic change and this in turn determines how citizens in different groups react²⁵. For instance, some leaders have manipulated the changes in the pattern of population of their country in order to achieve political gains and this has exacerbated social tensions among the citizens. President Donald Trump of the United States accused the minority groups in America of being the source of problems in the country due to the increase in their population. This allowed him to garner popularity among the extremist white groups in the country but at the same time has led to social tension among the various groups in the country. It was on record that racist and xenophobia attacks increased many folds in America during the presidency of Donald Trump. This is also true of India where the Prime Minister, in order to gain political favours, has continued to play the Hindu nationalism card in Indian politics. This has increased social unrest among the Hindus and other groups in the country especially Muslims.

Changes in demography or demographic transition is one of the key developments in 20th and 21st century. From about 1.7 billion in early 20th century, the world population now stand at more than 7 billion²⁶. These radical changes are having significant effect on all aspects of life and greatly influenced the international system. Countries with the highest populations (such as China and India) are emerging as new influential actors and new centers of power. Until recently, the rich and developed countries believed themselves to be the owners of the world and main

drivers of the world order. However, the situation is changing as they are turning into demographic minorities thereby reducing their bargaining power. Plentiful labour and increased national savings led to economic boom and the emergence of the East Asian Tigers. This has been described as "demographic dividend" ²⁷.

The uneven pace of the demographic transition around the world is altering the age and ethnic compositions of countries. This is recasting the domestic and international politics of the twentieth century²⁵. How do the political economy and political sociology traits of some population groups relative to others-notably in terms of numerical size and political capacity-affect public policies, political actions and political order via the intermediary of political and institutional processes? In Israel and occupied Palestine, although the Jews maintain control over political and institutional processes, however, the population imbalance is always a source of concern to them as the population of the Muslim and Christian Palestinians is higher (due to high birth rate) compared to the Jews. To redress this imbalance, the Israeli government have encouraged the mass relocation of Jews all over the world to Israel. This policy has not only increased the tension and conflict between the Israelis and the Palestinians but recently also between the resident Jews and the migrants.

Demographic changes creates both short and long term challenges²⁴. In terms of challenges there may be population ageing and the need for fiscal sustainability. Demographic changes may also result in frustration and migration. To manage demographic changes, therefore, requires political and policy solutions²⁴. While some countries, such as China, have made efforts and to some extent succeeded in putting in place the required political and policy solutions to manage their population changes, it still remain a difficult task for many African countries including Nigeria.

2.1.5 Developmental Foreign Policy

The attainment of development is a cardinal objective of every nation and all states in the international system aspire to develop. Development ensures economic prosperity, self-reliance and high standard of living. For a nation yearning for development, it must harness and utilize optimally its human and material resources²⁸. Also, since it has been established that no nation can exist in isolation but rather exists as a member the comity of nations, a nation's development will also depend to a large extent on how well it is able to benefit maximally from its interactions with other nations in the international system. Thus, the role of the foreign policy of a state in promoting its development is a matter of great importance for understanding its national trajectory²⁹. This is especially true for developing or emerging nations.

To understand the significance of foreign policy's role in the promotion of a country's development, there is the need to clarify the nexus that exist between development and foreign policy. How does foreign policy help to promote the developmental goals of a country? What is the level of coherence between the developmental agenda and foreign policy tools of a country? While it is often reported in literatures that a country's foreign policy should promote its development, however, rarely are the mechanisms through which foreign policy can used to pursue the goals mentioned²⁹.

Recent dynamics in the international system have led to the emergence of middle powers, such as India, Brazil and Turkey, whose main goal both domestically and internationally has been to

promote their development and increase their international projection .However, little has been written on how these countries foreign policy helped to achieve their development goals. Many of the existing works are focused on the instruments that have been created by the developed countries to help promote development in the developing countries. However, this type of analysis undermines the capabilities of the developing countries for self-development²⁹.

The need for development has led many leaders in the developing countries to search for unique blend of ideological solutions to their national development goals. Leaders of developing countries have adopted different ideologies on development, sometimes mixing elements of democratic and non-democratic systems, market-controlled and state-controlled, nationalism and internationalism, which are exemplified in various part of the world in order to provide indigenous solutions to national development²⁸. This need also led governments of developing countries to resort to development administration. Development administration relates to the establishment of a specific agency to meet the challenges of development with set goals, set funds, precise management decision-making outfits and a time-frame within which implementation is to be ordered. However, the role of foreign policy in this is always lacking. Thus, the need to examine the developmental foreign policy of these countries.

Developmental foreign policy comprise the two terms “development and foreign policy”. While foreign policy as a concept has been analysed in detail elsewhere in this research work, attention will be turned to the concept of development. An understanding of this will help in establishing the nexus between the two concepts which give rise to the broader concept of developmental foreign policy.

As a concept, development appears to be elusive as its application varies from one school of thought to the other. Many theorists and experts have tried to define the concept using their own perspective. Also, over the years, professionals and various researchers have developed a number of definitions and approaches to development^{30,31}. For instance, development has been described as a process that creates growth, progress, positive change or the addition of physical, economic, environment, social and demographic components³¹. It typically involves radical transformations in institutional, social and administrative structures as well as in popular attitudes and even customs and beliefs from lower levels and stages of progress and well-being to higher ones³². Development can also be understood as the process of increasing utilization of available resources in order to ensure a more favourable interaction in world markets and so, generate better condition for the people through better wages and reduced socio-economic inequality²⁹. From these various definitions, it can be inferred that the purpose of development is to ensure a rise in the level and quality of life of the people. That is, the basic needs of the population such as food, health, education and shelter are not only met but are improved upon. It is important to note that development is about change and is visible, and while not necessarily immediately, it also involves the creation of conditions that ensures the continuity of that change.

While development has to do with qualitative changes in all facets, it, however, has to do directly with the political and economic development. The notion of development points directly to the capabilities of a political system. This relates to the ability of a state to organize, harness and utilize its resources to accomplish the objectives for which the citizens yearn. To achieve this, the extractive capability of the state must be sound which involves the development of human capital as well as infrastructural facilities. The state control ensure an environment of stability

and cooperation which provide the room for development without which no meaningful development can take place. This is the political aspect of development²⁸.

The principal goal of economic development is the creation of sustainable improvement in the quality of life of people in the society²⁸. The major objective is to ensure that the basic needs of the people like food, education, water and transport are met through the active participation of the people themselves³⁰. Market forces ensure competition to thrive so as to ensure efficiency to guide economic development.

As for developing countries, the focus of this discussion, development refers to developing countries working their way up the ladder of economic performance, living standards, sustainability and equality that differentiate them from the so-called developed countries. The point at which developing countries became “developed” comes down to a judgment call or statistical line in the sand that is often based on a combination of development indicators. A clear understanding of this is fundamental to the comparison of developed and developing countries³³.

Many indicators and indexes have been developed to measure development among developing countries. They are useful tools for measuring progress and identifying areas of improvement. Among these tools, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)’s Human Development Index (HDI) is probably the most widely recognized. The HDI scores and ranks each country’s level of development based on three categories of development indicators: income, health and education³³.

In contrast, professionals like Jeffrey Sachs and Paul Collier, focused on mechanisms that reduce or prevent development among various countries. These are regarded as poverty traps and cause

these countries to linger in abject poverty for long period. They include civilization and national resources³¹.

There are line of actions of foreign policy that assist the development of emerging countries. It is believed that foreign policy has a set of aspects by which it can assist in ensuring the necessary environment to help the country develop²⁹. When analysing the role of foreign policy in the promotion of development, the relevance of the state in the process has to be acknowledged. Based on this, foreign policy can be divided into two major aspects through which it influences the development of the country. These are the economic and political aspects and they can be further be subdivided into specific lines of actions that are related to enhancing a country's development.

The economic aspect of foreign policy has a more direct relation to the development project, most especially, its economic growth and prosperity. The economic aspect is usually the subject of analysis that relates the country's foreign policy to their development. When analyzing the economic aspect of foreign policy that influences the country's development strategy, three line of action can be distinguished. These are: (a) trade promotion (b) investment policy (c) economic, financial and commercial negotiations²⁹.

As regard the political aspect of foreign policy, it is not directly related to the promotion of development. This is because its practical effect do not reach the economic and social areas so fast, but rather it help to create a positive environment for the economic aspect to succeed. Three line of action can be distinguished in the political aspect as well. These are: (a) resources exploration right (b) international cooperation and (c) international projections. Thus, six line of

action can be distinguished in both the economic and political aspect. It should be noted that decision in all the six lines of action should be made simultaneously and harmoniously²⁹.

As a proposed subfield of study, developmental foreign policy (DFP) comprise elements of Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) and International Political Economy (IPE) ²⁹. The Development-Foreign Policy Nexus (DFN) as a framework of analysis takes into account five layers. These are: (i) economics (ii) diplomacy (iii) security and peace (iv) civil society (v) market and their related lines of action and instrument³⁴. The DFN has been applied to the analysis of the level of coherence between the developmental agenda and foreign policy tools of four rising Asian powers namely: South Korea, Indonesia, Japan and China. The result of the findings revealed that development has become subordinated to foreign policy³⁴. Analysis of Developmental Foreign Policy, that is, the role of foreign policy in promoting development has also been applied using Brazil and Turkiye as case study and it was concluded that national development can and should be helped by national foreign policy²⁹.

Nigeria is blessed with abundant human and materials resources waiting for exploration. What is required is to properly utilize these resources. The first step in achieving this is investment in human capitals. Investment in human capital (demography) represent a step in the right direction in the development process. Through developmental foreign policy, Nigeria should adopt a developmental administration that involves the establishment of a specific agency in the ministry of foreign affairs that will see to how Nigeria can maximize its demographic potential in the conduct of her foreign policy.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

2.2.1 Political Realism

While several theories have been developed in the field of International Relations over the years, realism has remained one of its most dominant theories. However, despite its dominance, realism itself has kept evolving with new varieties being developed and old ones being expanded on. As such, there is new classical realism, defensive realism, neo realism, absolute realism, principled realism, economic realism, intermestic realism, among others.

Realism, also known as political realism, has been contrasted by many scholars to liberalism or idealism. To these scholars, while idealism stressed cooperation at the international level, realism emphasizes the competitive and conflictual aspects of it³⁵. Since World War II, realism has remained one of the most influential and dominant school of thought in international relations. According to realists, the international system exists in an anarchical state and the principal actors on the international stage are states, who in the absence of a central authority, have to relied on their own capability to ensure their survival. These states are concerned with their national interests and the struggle for power³⁵. To the states, the most important interest is the survival of the state, including its people, political system and territorial integrity. Realists contend that, as long as the world is divided into sovereign states in an international setting, national interest will remain the basis of international relations³⁶.

Realism emerged in response to the failure of idealism, which had dominated discussions in international relations in the inter-war period (the years between the first and second world wars), to prevent the occurrence of the Second World War. The goal of the idealists is to build peace in the world through the creation of an international system that is based on international law and backed by international organizations. It was thought that an enduring international peace could be attained through moral and legalistic approach. Thus, rather than focusing on what some might see as the inevitability of conflict between states and peoples, the idealists preferred to

emphasize the common interests that unite mankind. This led to the formation of the League of Nations and the signing of Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928 which outlaw war and provide for the peaceful settlement of disputes³⁵. All these efforts could not prevent the occurrence of the Second World War which eventually led to the emergence of the realist school of thought.

For the realists, however, the fact that the present international political system is characterized by the absence of an overarching power is an acceptable description. Realists contend that this condition of anarchy means that the logic of international politics often differs from that of domestic politics, which is regulated by a sovereign power^{36,37}. Thus, it will be out of place and foolhardy to transpose the kind of peace that is obtainable at the domestic settings to the international arena. Evidently, war has been common enough to give support to political realism. There have been over 200 wars and conflicts since the signing of the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648³⁷.

From time immemorial, statesmen have had to adopt realism. On this basis, realism could be regarded as a timeless theory that has always been part of human history³⁸. Thucydides, Niccolo Machiavelli, Thomas Hobbes, Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Max Weber were among classical authors whose writings helped to develop the theory. In the twentieth century, E.H. Carr, Hans Morgenthau, Arnold Wolfers, George F. Kennan, Henry Kissinger and Kenneth Waltz emerged as contributors to realist theory. It is important to note that to some scholars, realism could not be said to be a coherent school of thought. It drew from a variety of sources and over the years, it has evolved into various forms. It is a combination of history, philosophy, theology, and natural science.

Realism is not an approach that can be defined explicitly by a set of propositions and assumptions. Rather, it is a theory with a general orientation and philosophical dispositions³⁹. There are five basic outlines posited by the theory. These are: the anarchical nature of international politics; sovereign states as dominant in international politics; states are rational unitary actors acting under their national interests; the primary goal of a state is its national survival and security; the key litmus tests for relationship among states are power and security³⁸. Thus, an understanding of these outlines is key to understanding realism as a school of thought.

According to realists, contemporary political philosophy either tends to derive political theories from moral theories or is not sufficiently attentive to the complexity, specificities, and challenges of political reality. This lack of sensitivity to political reality, in their opinion, is responsible for generating political theories that are normatively irrelevant⁴⁰. Thus, understanding international relations the way it actually is and not the way it ought to be will cumulate in the derivation of the right theory to guide our understanding of international politics. One of the modern proponents of realism argued that:

Realism has proven so durable as a theoretical lens to understanding international relations and as a guide to statecraft because it is based upon a cold-blooded recognition of the realities of international relations. First, there is no global 911 states can call when they get in trouble, so they have to take care of themselves. Second, the best way to take care of yourself is to have sufficient power to do so³⁸.

At the core of the realist paradigm is an emphasis on a state's protection of its own vital interest at all cost⁴¹. As a school of thought, it explains international relations in terms of continuous power struggle which is a consequence of human nature. Realists believe that power is essential for the promotion and protection of the interest of the state as well as its survival, the weakness of which the survival of such state is in jeopardy. Accordingly, states need some measure of reliable

power for its survival and the promotion of its interest which it must continuously accumulate. Thus, the rise and/or fall of states in their bid to exist resembles Charles Darwin's theory of natural selection that is "struggle for existence" or as Herbert Spence put it "survival of the fittest"⁴¹.

In terms of foreign policy, realists believe that a state in its interaction with other states should prioritize its national interest by maximally using its foreign policy to promote its interest against others at all cost. Thus, power is the most important concept in explaining as well as predicting the behavior of the states.

In this sense, realists believe in the doctrine of might is right and reject the doctrine of ethics and morality in international relations. A state, therefore, to ensure its own survival must continue to accumulate power or enter into alliance with others who are capable of protecting its interest. Other theories and concepts such as Balance of Power, Games theory, Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD) can be said to be derivatives of political realism.

However, not all realists reject the significance of ethics and morality in international relations. There is the need to distinguish between classical realism and extreme or radical realism. While classical realists emphasize the concept of national interest, they do not reject the possibility of moral judgement in international relations. They are, however, critical of abstract moralism which does not take into consideration political realities in the international system³⁵.

On the other hand, radical or extreme realism deny the presence of moralism in international relations and involve the glorification of war or conflict as well as continuous accumulation of power and pursuit of self-interest. However, the negative side effect of the emphasis on power and self-interest is often their skepticism regarding the relevance of ethical norms to relations

among states. This rejection of moral discourse on international relations has also been criticized as not being adequate enough to guide our understanding of international relations. For instance, issues of cooperation on humanitarian and relief among states (even when such states are enemies) cannot be explained based on extreme realism but rather on moral ground.

A better way of explaining realism is to view it as focusing on political order as a way of channeling and managing disagreement on the international system⁴².

There are certain principles or tenets upon which political realism is built. However, opinion differs among scholars as to the numbers of these principles. For some scholars, three main principles or tenets of political realism can be identified. These include statism, survival and self-help. Statism means states are the dominant actors in the international political system and are natural and unitary. Survival means the primary objective of a state is survival. As for self-help, this means that as a result of the anarchical nature of the international political system, states can only depend on self-help by relying on themselves in the pursuit of their goals.

Others have identified four tenets or principles of political realism which are state – centrism, anarchy, egoism (all states within the international system tend to pursue self-interest) and power politics (the primary concern of all states is power and security).

Still, others have pointed to five basic tenets or principles which include international politics as anarchy, sovereign states as principal actors in international politics, states as rational unitary actor acting under their own national interests, the states' primary goals are its own national security and survival, national power and capabilities are a key litmus test for relationships between states.

2.2.2 Game Theory

Game theory is a branch of mathematics that is been used in international politics with increasing frequency. Game theory is the formal study of conflict and cooperation. Game theoretic concepts apply whenever the actions of several agents are interdependent. These agents may be individuals, groups, firms, or any combination of these. The concepts of game theory provide a language to formulate, structure, analyze and understand strategies scenario. The object of study in game theory is the game, which is a formal model of an interactive situation. It typically involves several players.

Game theory models the interaction between multiple players in any scenario with specific rules and quantifiable consequences. The essence of game is that it involves decision makers with goals and objectives whose fate are inter-twined. Each player or players is faced with cross purposes optimization problem. His or their plans must be adjusted not only to suit his own desires and abilities but also to suit those of others. Each player has at his disposal some set of resources, values, beliefs and attitude.

It is widely believed that the game theory was formalized in the 1940s, however the history of the theory goes way back. Elements of game theoretic reasoning are abound in the works of Plato, Thomas Hobbes, J.J Rousseau and Dodgson. The earliest example of a formal game theoretic analysis is the study of duopoly by Antoine Cournot in 1838. The mathematician Emile Borel suggested a formal theory of games in 1921, which was furthered by the mathematician John Von Neumann in 1928 in a "theory of parlor games". Game theory was established as a field in its own right after the 1944 publication of the monumental volume "theory of games and

economic behavior” by von Neumann and the economist Oskar Morgenstern. This book provided much of the basic terminology and problem set up that is still in use today.

The modern theorists were Jon von Neumann and Oskar Morgenstern who first developed game theory in the 1940s for two person zero-sum games where one person's loss is another person's gain. They proposed an equilibrium maximum or minimum where each person chooses a strategy to maximize the minimum pay off the other can impose on him or vice versa. Another widely acclaimed game theorist in the recent time is Karl-W. Deutsch. His exposition of the theory can be found in his book “The Analysis of international Relations”.

International relations deals with the interactions among specific actors which include states, international organizations, multinational corporations, non-governmental organisations as well as individuals. Therefore, it follows that game theory, whose objective is the formalized analysis of relationships among two or more actors, can assist international relations theoreticians in explaining the interactions among the actors it considers, and practitioners in the field to influence those interactions to benefit the actors they represent. In fact, game theory and international relations have influenced each other almost since the publication of *The Theory of Games and Economic Behaviour* by Von Neumann and Morgenstern (1944), usually considered to be the first systematic and extensive formal analysis of social interactions.

There are some basic assumptions which must exist in game situations. Among these are: there must be two or more people or groups with two or more competing interests; each agent or group has a choice of the subject which has alternative strategies; the game involves a single choice of strategy by each of the group or agents; the players are programmed to be acting in a rational

situation; the game must have an end or pay off; there must be units of evaluation and the game has to do with the best type of choices in any given situation.

Also, there are four main basic concepts of game theory as identified by scholars. These are: the concept of strategies which means in every game situation, there are definite and well calculated steps which are considered unnecessary in the process of attaining the desired goal. Such conscious and well calculated steps, moves or plans are referred to as strategy. Each strategy in a political game anticipates the potential action or reactions of the opponents. The main aim of strategies is to maximize the obtainable and minimize losses.

There is also the concept of interactions which means that in the theoretical approach of the game theory, political approach is believed to be the products of these factors utility, interest and rationality in decision makings. The concept of uncertainly refers to the fact that political actors are not only under conditions of uncertainly but also of uncompleted information. This means that no actor is exactly certain of the moves of other actors. Such situation makes timing of moves very important. The concept of pay-off means the pay-off will depend on a number of factors such as the price of violating group agreement or double crossing i.e. the kind of sanctions meted out whether of short or long term consequences, and how they pay off is shared by members, which may or may not be equal.

The game theory has also been classified into various types. These include the zero-sum or fixed sum Games. In zero sum games or specifically fixed sum games, the sum of all pay off to all players is equal to zero, so that anything any one player wins, some other player or players have to lose. This is to say in this type of game; whatever is good for one player must be bad for another player. This scenario played out in the cold-war era during which whatever is seen as a

gain in the capitalist west must be a total loss in the communist east. It is important to write out that zero sum assumption may lead to dangerous illusions and serious misperceptions of regional crises and conflicts.

There is also the variable sum (Mixed- Motive) Games. Not all conflict situations, however, either in daily life or international politics resemble zero sum games. They more often resemble variable sum games. These are games in which the player not only win something competitively from one another but also collectively stand to gain or lose something from an additional or secondary player which we may think of the banker in games or as reality or nature in certain real life situations. However, options and outcomes in international relations are not as clear as they are in such theoretical game models.

Another type of game is the mutual threats which is also known as the game of chicken. In this game, which was played in some time past, according to legend, by some teenage gangs in the United States, two players drive their automobiles on a lonely road at high speed straight toward each other. According to the rule of the game, the first player to swerve from the middle of the road so as to avoid collision is called chicken and held in disgrace by the rest of the gang and the more reckless driver who refuse to swerve is admired by them as the hero. Deutsch (1988:148) notes that some commentators are of the view that this game bear a more than casual resemblance to head on confrontation in world politics between major powers, threatening one another with nuclear wars. This was more prevalent in the cold war era. In the mutual threats game, the players have two choices; cooperation or defection. Cooperation might lead to mutual respect by both side while defection may lead to the death of both parties.

Threats and Promises is another type. Also refers to as the "Prisoners' Dilemma, this model is used in the study of international conflict and has been found to be realistic. Karl W. Deutsch, in his book "The Analysis of International Relation" told the story of a governor of a prison who had two prisoners whom he could not hang without a volunteer. Accordingly he summoned the prisoners in turn and offered them both threats and reward. He then allowed the prisoners to make rationale choice within a limited time frame. The mathematical structure of the game resembles in some respects that of the game of chickens. Each of the prisoner has two strategies to choose from; cooperate with his fellow prisoner by keeping silent or defect from him by producing a confession.

Game theory is very useful in the analysis of coalition of politics as well as in the analysis of international politics and foreign policy. The theory has been variously applied in international relations. Among the areas of international relations identified by scholars in which game theory have been applied include war and peace; trade and cooperation; diplomacy and negotiation; alliances and coalitions; leadership and influence. The Cuban missile crisis is probably the most frequently used example of a game theoretic analysis of an international crisis. One reason for this is its rather clear definition of the actions that the states involved were able to take, the possible outcome of those actions, and the time period in which the whole crisis developed.

It is assumed that the strategies open to the USA were to blockade Cuba to stop the installation of the Soviet missiles or to attack the existing and any possible future facilities built there. The strategies for the USSR were to withdraw the missiles already installed or to maintain them and continue with their installation. This game has two outcomes rather than one found for the simplest arms race model. In one of them, the USA is the victor, while the USSR wins in the other. This is the characteristics of a game of chicken. Extensions take into consideration that the

Cuban missiles crisis developed in fairly clearly defined stages. It began with the USSR's decision to place missiles in Cuba, continued with the reactions of the USA and then the final responses of the USSR.

2.2.3 Two-Level Game Theory

Domestic and international politics are often regarded as separate levels and understanding their linkage is very important in international relations. International relations scholars have made efforts to put forward theoretical models and causal analyses of foreign policy that adequately link domestic and international levels⁴³. Some of these theories include Multiple Stream Framework, Rational Actor Theory and Advocacy Coalition Framework. Robert D. Putnam created a theoretical framework which links the two levels successfully. Putnam's Two-Level Games has been regarded as the most successful attempt in understanding the linkage between domestic and international politics involving international negotiations, bargaining and double edged diplomacy⁴⁴. Putnam called his approach a metaphor instead of a theory⁴⁵. Putnam observed that domestic politics and international relations are often inextricably entangled, but existing theories (particularly state-centric theories) do not adequately cater for these linkages.

The theory proposed by Robert Putnam posited that the power struggle is a two-level game wherein a government is pressured domestically by interest groups for domestically favourable policies while trying to minimize the possible negative consequences of pursuing such a policy⁴⁶. Under this theoretical framework, there exists two levels; the national level and the international level. At the national level, domestic constituents pursue their interest by pressurising government to adopt favourable policies. At the international level, government attempts to meet the pressures and demands of their domestic constituents, while at the same time seek to

minimize the possible negative effects¹⁷. The manifestation of this is that for a successful foreign policy conduct, a leader must be able to manage the pressure of the domestic demands at the international level.

The two-level game theory addresses the role of domestic preferences and coalition, political institutions and dynamics on foreign policy. This means that by examining a state's domestic constituents an accurate indication of how domestic influences affect foreign policy making can be made. Domestic influence on foreign policy exists in the form of the range of foreign policy options being restricted by what is acceptable at a domestic level⁴⁷. The significance of this theory lies in the fact that domestic issues will have to be considered before available foreign policy options can be determined.

Putman conceptualized diplomatic negotiations as a two-level game whereby national and international politics intercept. This interaction between the two-levels manifests in the fact that a leader who ignores domestic pressures or who favors domestic politics above international issues will not be able to successfully conduct foreign policy⁹. However, the domestic constituents (political institutions and processes) will determine the range of foreign policy options.^{46,47}

Whether at the bilateral or multilateral levels, government officials regularly engage in "two-level games" played simultaneously at the domestic and international levels⁴⁸. The focus of the two-level game is on the effects of intra-national interest groups on foreign policy and vice-versa⁴⁵. That is, how the domestic interest groups affect the nation's relations at the international level and how the various interests at the international levels affect the domestic setting.

The two-level game theory as a model considers international negotiations among states as those which consists of simultaneous negotiations at domestic and international levels. That is, between group within a state and different national governments⁴⁹. The theory addresses the role of domestic preferences and coalitions, domestic political constitutions and practices, the strategies and tactics of negotiators, uncertainty, the domestic reverberation of international pressures, and the interest of the Chief negotiator⁵⁰.

The international environment is full of complexities and highly complicated. Each of the participants on the international scene comes with interest it seeks to achieve and protects and therefore full of expectations. These interests are products of its domestic expectations and are shaped by domestic political institutions and politics. On the other hand, since each participants comes with its interests, the interests of these participants may align or clash thereby leading to cooperation or competition. Thus, the need for negotiations and bargaining. In doing this, the need to consider and protect the domestic interest is important but at the same time take into consideration and balance the interests of the other players on the international scene.

Pressures from international negotiations and bargaining sometimes create domestic reverberations. This is inform of reactions from domestic interest groups who are concerned about the outcome of such negotiations and its impact or consequence on them or their interest. For example, international negotiations on environment issues and climate action have generated positive and negative reactions from domestic interest groups all over the world. This is usually between the environmental activists who seek reduction in industrial activities that causes pollution and endanger the environment and the pro-industrialists who feel that signing of treaty on protection of the environment will affect their business.

At the center of the actions and reactions is the interest of the chief negotiator. From the two-level games perspective, executives are “chief negotiators” involved in some form of international negotiations for which they ultimately need to gain domestic approval at the ratification stage. This ratification requirement provides the central link between the international and domestic level. This can be based on formal voting requirements or more informal ways of ratification such as public approval ratings⁴⁸. Whether the ratification is formal or informal in nature, it is important the domestic level provide the government with some form of backing.

Among the core components of Two-level Game model is Win-sets. Win-sets represent the possible outcomes that are mostly acceptable to the domestic interest groups who either must ratify the agreement or provide the government with some other forms of backing. To generate a win-set (acceptable outcomes), the chief negotiator must as a matter necessity in the course of negotiations engages in discussions and specific collaborations with the most influential authorities at the domestic level, gather their support and build coalitions^{44,49}.

All opponents on the international levels have their own domestic win-sets and it is only when there is overlapping of the various win-sets that an agreement can be reached and ratified. That is, it is only if win-sets of all states involved in the negotiation process coincide that an agreement becomes possible^{48,49}. This means the possible outcomes of the negotiations must be accepted to the domestic interest groups of all participants at the international level. Under these circumstances, each negotiations seeks to satisfy opponents on the international level and at the same time, reduce the negative consequences at the domestic level.

The logic of the two-level games can be understood best from perspective of the chief negotiator who is seen as a “Janus-faced” actor trying to balance between domestic and international

interests⁴⁴. What makes him “Janus-faced” (or double-faced) is the ability to simultaneously satisfy domestic and international pressures. When national leaders must win ratification (formal or informal) from their constituents for an international agreement, their negotiating behaviour reflects the simultaneous imperatives of both a domestic political game and an international game⁵⁰. Thus, the negotiator finds himself operating at the two-levels. At the national level, which is called Level II by Putnam, domestic groups try to influence the government for their own interest while at the international level, which Putnam calls Level I, government seek to satisfy the internal pressure by these interest groups. This is based on the realization that any agreement found at Level I must be ratified at Level II ⁴⁵.

At level II (national level), intra-state groups pursue their interests by exerting pressure on national government to adopt policies that are favourable to them and politicians try to gain power, through constructing coalitions among the groups. At the same time at level I (international level), national governments try to maximize their own ability to satisfy domestic pressure while minimizing the adverse consequences of foreign developments⁴⁴. Therefore, negotiators must not only have to take care of their counterparts in the international arena, but also have to keep their national constituents in mind. Thus, the negotiator’s actions must be somewhat coherent on both levels, although it may not be possible to both satisfy the national level and keep negotiations on going at the international level⁴⁵. The ability to do this successfully requires great ingenuity from the negotiator. This is what marks out a successful negotiator from others.

The key feature of Putnam’s model is the profound linkage and influence that exist between the two levels. However, according to his evaluation, what is of significance is not the analysis of whether or not the two levels influence each other but what is of paramount importance is to

analyze how or when the two levels are entangled⁴⁴. This means that the focus of the two-level games theoretical model is not just to know the influence of the two-levels on each other but rather what is of critical importance is to establish the course(s) and condition(s) under which the two levels are interlinked.

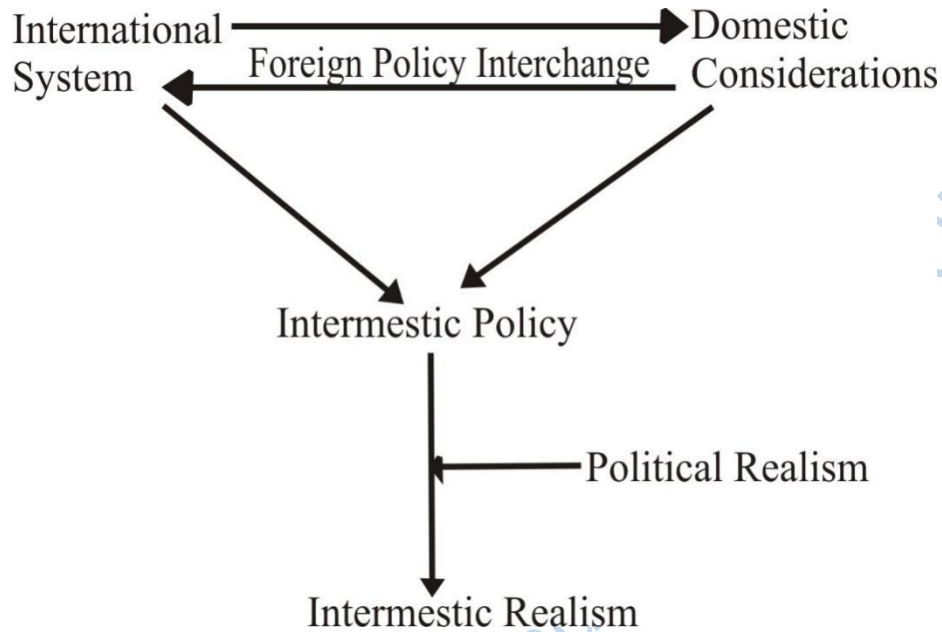
With its focus on government leaders as “gate keepers” and paramount actors in international negotiations, the two-level games model represent a distinct approach in foreign policy analysis. It serves to reintegrate the subfields of comparative politics and international relations⁴⁸.

The two-level games model have been variously applied by authors in the analysis of foreign relations among states. Putnam himself used illustrations from Western economic summits, the Panama Canal and Treaty of Versailles negotiations, IMF stabilization programmes, the European Community and many other diplomatic contexts in establishing the theory⁵⁰. The United States-Japan Impediment Initiative have also been used by other authors⁴⁹. Likewise, the two-level games theory has been applied by Hadiyah Al-Halim in the China-Panama and Panama-Taiwan relations. Panama broke diplomatic relations with Taiwan on June 13, 2017 and established ties with China. This brought up questions as to why despite more than one hundred years of relations between the two countries, Panama could unilaterally broke diplomatic ties with Taiwan. Using the two-level games approach, the author established that domestic and international level variables have the same size effects (overlap) in achieving a win-set for Panama which means the termination of diplomatic ties with Taiwan and establishing diplomatic relations with China⁵¹. Other authors have advanced the theory further such as Tom Meindets who proposed the theory of intermestic realism.

2.2.4 Intermestic Realism

This theory was put forward by Tom Meinderts. He argued that considerations grounded in intermestic affairs can be examined within a realist framework by approaching these considerations as a power struggle that plays out simultaneously on domestic and international levels⁴. Since realism is essentially a theory of the struggle for power, therefore, intermestic realism examines the power struggle that originates from a particular action both internationally and domestically. For instance, a government will choose to pursue a particular foreign policy if the domestic power to be gained from it is greater than the international power to be lost and vice-versa.

In establishing this theory, Tom Meinderts used the on-going trade dispute between the two largest economies in the world, the United States and China, as case study. The on-going trade war was used to demonstrate the intermestic economic challenges that emanates from demographic considerations. Both President Donald Trump of the United States and the Chinese President, Xi Jinping, were mindful of and weigh up domestic and international factors in the trade disputes.



Figure

2.2

Intermeistic Realism

Source: (Designed by the Researcher, 2024).

Combining the above theories and concepts, the present researcher proposes the theory of Intermeistic Realism of Demography as a model. The focus is to examining intermeistic issues grounded in demographic considerations from a realist framework. In this research work, the present researcher will argue that foreign policy are often shaped by demographic considerations and interrogate how the synergy between demography and foreign policy can be analyzed within a realist theoretical framework. This will be done with the study of Nigeria’s foreign policy from 2015 to 2023.

2.3 Review of Empirical Studies

2.3.1 An Overview of Nigeria's Foreign Policy

In carrying out an overview of Nigeria's foreign policy, some scholars have adopted the approach of dividing the historical evolution of Nigeria's external relations into periods or phases such as 1960-1965, 1966-1975, 1976--1985, 1985-1999, 1999 till date while others have analysed it by examining the relations along the line of the concentric circles of her foreign policy. That is, Nigeria's relations with her immediate neighbours, the West Africa sub-region, Africa and the wider world.

In this research work, Nigeria's foreign policy will be examined with a focus on her bilateral and multilateral relations. This is to emphasise the role of demography in the country's external relations which is the focus of the research work.

2.3.2 Nigeria: Country Facts and Statistics

Nigeria is a country located on the western coast of Africa in the Gulf of Guinea. It shares direct border with four countries namely: Benin Republic in the west. Niger Republic in the north, Chad Republic in the north-east and Cameroon in the east. Its entire southern border is with the Atlantic Ocean. It also indirectly share border with Equatorial Guinea as well as Sao Tome and Principe. The location of the country in Africa and her relations with neighboring countries have strong influences on and as well serve as great determinant of her foreign policy.

Nigeria has a diverse geography with climate that varies from arid in the northern part to humid equatorial in the southern part of the country. However, the most diverse feature is the people with hundreds of languages spoken in the country. There are an estimated 250 ethnic groups in Nigeria^{52,53}. Each ethnic group occupy a territory that it considers to be its own by right of first

occupancy and inheritance. The Nok people (500BC-AD 200) are thought to have been the first inhabitants of the territory called Nigeria⁵⁴. Others including the Kanuri, Hausa, Fulani, Yoruba and Igbo subsequently migrated there.

In terms of the land mass, Nigeria is one of the largest countries in Africa and 32nd biggest in the world⁵⁵. The total area of the country is 356,667 square miles (923, 768 square km) and the total coastline is 853 km (530 mile)^{55,56}.

English is the official language of the country. Hausa, Yoruba, Igbo are the other prominent local languages. However, there are over 500 additional indigenous languages in the country. By 2018 estimates, Muslims constitute 53.5% of the population, Christian 45.9% and adherents of other religion 0.6%. Many of the Muslims and Christians however combined elements of the traditional indigenous religion to their religious practices⁵³.

Nigeria ranks 10th among the countries with the highest birth rate. It is estimated that by 2050, the country will be the third most populous nation in the world. This is due to a high fertility rate and increasing life expectancy⁵⁷. The life expectancy in the country is 53 years (2020-estimate) and the population growth rate is 2.4 % (2021 estimate). Nigeria's population is estimated to be 213,401,323 (2021 estimate) ⁵⁸. However net migration is -76,364 which means that many Nigerians are leaving the country. This may be attributed majorly to high unemployment as many leave the country in search of better job opportunities.

Currently, the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) 2023 unemployment statistics shows that 33.3% unemployment, 22.8% underemployment and 42.5% youth unemployment⁵⁹. The percentage of youth unemployment is significant considering the fact that the youth constitute

more than half of the total population of the country. By 2021 estimate, the percentage of the population between ages 15 to 64 is 53.93%⁶⁰.

While most movement of Nigerians are across the country, there are significant emigration to neighboring countries and to other parts of the globe. The West serves as the major outlet for Nigerians looking for opportunities, seeking asylum and increasingly pursuing higher education⁵³. On the negative side, Nigerians are also engaged in drug and sex trafficking and other criminal activities outside the shores of the country in large numbers. The roles and activities of Nigerians (positive and negative) are increasing becoming important part of the foreign policy engagements of the country. The House of Representatives has a committee on Nigerians in Diaspora and the President also has a Special Adviser on Nigerians in Diaspora. In 2019, the Nigerians in Diaspora Commission (NiDCOM) was established. This is to show the increasing significance of Nigerian citizens living outside the shores of the country in the policy and decision making process.

Despite its increasing unemployment rates, Nigeria's trade balance helps maintain its economy. From 2001 to 2010, Nigeria had the fourth highest of GDP growth rate in the world. It was estimated that by 2020, Nigeria's GDP would exceed 500 billion U.S. dollars. Mainly attributed to the large oil and gas reserves, Nigeria's economy has developed rapidly and the country is becoming one of the world's largest economy⁵⁷. In 2014, it overtook South Africa as the biggest economy in Africa.

The Nigerian military is the largest and one of the most capable forces in Sub-Sahara Africa⁵³. The country is thus placed both economically and militarily to lead Africa. What is needed to be done is for Nigeria to harness the potentials of its burgeoning youth population in order to boost

economic development, reduce widespread poverty, and channel large numbers of unemployed youth into productive activities and away from religious and ethnic violence⁵³. By doing this, the country will be able to reap the "demographic dividend" from its foreign policy.

2.3.3 The Making of Nigeria's Foreign Policy

Section 2(1) of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (as amended) states that "Nigeria is one indivisible and indissoluble sovereign state to be known by the name of the Federal Republic of Nigeria"⁶¹. The adoption of a federal and republican form of government has significant ramifications on the country's foreign policy as both concepts 'federalism' and 'republic' have impacts on the conduct and administration of her foreign relations.

As a federal state, section 2(2) of the constitution provides that "Nigeria shall be a federation consisting of states and Federal Capital Territory"⁶¹. The states are further divided into local government areas. As a federation, powers and functions are divided between the federal government and the subordinate units. The matter of foreign policy is constitutionally exclusively under the federal government. However, there is tendency by some states to get involved in foreign policy issues. This has sometimes generated tensions.

2.3.3.1 Federalism and Nigeria's Foreign Policy

In a federal system of government, it is imperative that the central government consults the subordinate units and takes them on board while making decisions. This is because federalism is a mode of political arrangement that binds groups with varying social political backgrounds and interests into one political system. The variation in interests in most cases always calls for compromise whenever there is need for decision making. It even becomes more complex when it

has to do with foreign policy decision making. This might not be unconnected with the fact that each of the federating units may have diverse external interests which may be due to historical, religious or other factors. However, it has been observed that an effective foreign policy requires that the center will be in a position to draw the line and assert that the national interest must trump any other interest⁶². Thus, regardless of its seeming importance or significance, all other interests must be subsumed under a common interest. In reality, in many federal state such as the United States, India, Canada and Nigeria, this has always proved difficult as there is always a continuous struggle between the central government and the federating units as well as between the various groups making up the federation as to what the common interest should be and how best possible such can be achieved.

It has been stated that Nigeria route to federalism is borne out of the philosophical imperative for power sharing among governmental units and a host of other determinative factors⁶³. The Nigerian State was created out of the political cum economic exegesis by the British with the amalgamation of the Southern and Northern protectorates in 1914. Prior to the coming of the British, the processes of integration and differentiation of some of the groups that now made up the country had gone far. It has been argued that the colonial system united and/or divided the subjects as it suited its purposes⁶⁴. Today, Nigerians now numbering over 150 million people divided into over 250 ethnic groups who practice several religions with diverse histories and cultures. These diversities have created a perpetual struggle for the soul of Nigeria between the centripetal forces (those who are committed to the unity of the country) and centrifugal forces (those who want it to break apart).

In Nigeria, the internal political dynamics also contributed to the manner in which Nigeria behaved in the foreign arena⁶⁵. As a federation of contending political persuasions, arriving at

consensus position both on the formulation and management of foreign relations has sometimes been turbulent. Such turbulence is not unexpected in the country's foreign policy as the various socio-political tendencies in the country seek to influence foreign policy making. As it has been correctly observed that if states that are unitary in terms of their cultural and related make up experiences difficulties in not only arriving at their interests, but also how to continually guarantee them, the task is harder still in federal system⁶⁴. This is the experience in USA, Canada, India and other federal states. Nigeria too is not an exception.

Students of Nigerian federalism generally agreed that the earlier years of post-independence (1960 – 1965) exhibited more faithfulness to the “federal ideal” to the extent that the regions had their own constitutions and Coats of Arms. But, with military intervention from 1966, centralization of political life become the dominant feature⁶⁴. In the post-independence period, Nigeria's federal system has been tinkered by constitution suspensions and modifications by the military which has made many scholars to describe it as military federalism.

Nigeria demonstrated adherence to the principles of federalism in the early years of its independence including the areas of foreign policy. Although, foreign policy making was domiciled with the federal government, the regions were central to the implementation of any treaty. The regions also possessed quasi-diplomatic powers as they were allowed to establish diplomatic offices in London headed by Agents-General to look after specific interests of the regions that cut across educational, economic, cultural, and technical assistance^{63,64}. In spite of this, no overt conflicts that would jeopardize the interests of Nigeria were reported on account of the presence of these diplomatic offices of the sub-national government⁶⁴. This does not mean that the actions of the regions did not impact on the foreign policy making of Nigeria. Since the regions were rooted in varied ethno-regional political ideologies, they also had different

orientations on international issues and politics. This sometimes created conflicts of interest in the conduct of the country's foreign relations such as Nigeria's relations with the State of Israel and its membership of the Islamic commonwealth.

The entrance of the military into the Nigeria political landscape however weakened the influence of the federating units on foreign policy making. This may be alluded to the centralisation of political powers by the military and the further divisions of the country into smaller units which reduced their assertiveness in the matters of foreign policy. The return to full civilian rule in the second republic (1979-1983) and the fourth republic (1999 till date) had witnessed scanty changes as the long years of military rule had led to the militarization of psychology of federalism in Nigeria. Most decisions on foreign policy are taken by the federal government without consideration for the other component units. The ceding of Bakasi peninsula to Cameroon by the federal government of Nigeria following the ruling of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) without consultation with the peoples of the region who preferred to remain as part of Nigeria, the non-involvements of the Cross River government and National Assembly, and, the disregard for a valid Nigerian court judgment on the matter, has been cited as clear contradiction of the principle of federalism and imperative of mainstreaming domestic issues into the foreign policy machinery⁶³.

Still, many state governors either in breach of specific requirements or by exploiting ambiguities of certain provisions, appear to operate outside the purview of the foreign ministry in their more or less direct conduct of affairs with foreign countries. Beyond the often publicized foreign travels of many governors, there are serious issues relating to what they project while outside⁶⁴.

There were other instances when state governors had intervened on matters of foreign policy. When President Buhari visited China in the second week of April, 2016 to seek economic support for the implementation of the 2016 Annual budget, the then governor of Ekiti State, Ayo Fayose, had written a letter directly to the Chinese government opposing the federal government request. In return, Femi Gbajabiamila, the leader of the House of Representatives, also wrote to the Chinese President, Xi Jinping in support of President Buhari's decisions. These actions of Governor Fayose and Mr Gbajabiamila had been described as "Street Approach" to Nigeria's Foreign Policy as it is not in their briefs to do so⁶⁶. It has been observed that internal platforms within the country should have been adopted to address the issue and their actions constitute a credible threat to the country's image and her foreign policy⁶⁶.

Many devices have been adopted in Nigeria to address its socio-political diversities but the most elaborate and highly controversial is the federal character principle and its operating mechanism, the quota system. The federal character principle is provided for in section 14 (3 and 4) of the 1999 constitution and the Federal Character Commission is established under the Third Schedule of the 1999 constitution to see to the compliance with the provisions of the federal character principle⁶¹. However, while the federal character principle has been lauded by some for ensuring equal representation and promotion of sense of belonging among Nigerians, it has been noted that opponents of quotas have pointed to its danger as it fundamentally goes against the provision of section 150(1) of 1999 constitution making national unity a supreme goal as it states thus: "Accordingly, national integration shall be actively encouraged, whilst discrimination on the grounds of place of origin, sex, religion, states, ethnic or linguistic association or ties shall be prohibited"⁶⁴.

Despite the conditions, the federal character principle remains an important feature of Nigeria's federal system and has influenced its foreign policy. For instance, any federal bill that will domesticate an international treaty with respect to matters not included in the exclusive list must be ratified by all states' houses of assembly. Also, through the invocation of the federal character principle, the National Assembly is able to guarantee representation of diversities in managing Nigeria's foreign policy⁶⁴. Balancing of diversities in the management of Nigeria's foreign policy is however not new as the first twelve pioneer staff of the Foreign Service recruited by the British were, though without knowing it, based on regional consideration⁶⁷.

However, it has been observed that the application of quota system to Nigeria's Foreign Service has been producing unintended objectives⁶⁷. Although intended to lubricate Nigerian federalism for effective functioning, the experience so far has shown that it has not totally been helpful for the growth of Nigerian foreign policy. For instance, a situation in which a junior officers has gone on ambassadorial appointment and back and his senior on a higher salary scale is praying for own posting simply because he comes from a top heavy state is highly demoralizing⁶⁷. Such circumstances will not encourage officials to put in their best efforts.

2.3.3.2 The Republican Status and Nigeria's Foreign Policy

The republican status means that the citizens are directly in charge of their own affairs and not the monarch. They are responsible for the selection of their leaders and representatives. Therefore, they indirectly are involved in the conduct and administration of the country's foreign policy. This has become incorporated in Nigeria's foreign policy since the country became a republic in 1963. Therefore, the power to conduct Nigeria's foreign policy resides with the government who are the representatives of the people. It is in accordance with the 1963

republican constitution and other subsequent constitutions in Nigeria including the 1999 constitution and its amendments. The constitutions delineated power over the conduct of foreign policies among the various branches of government especially the executives and legislature.

Nigeria has been governed by several regimes ranging from civilian to military. The country has also practiced both the parliamentary and presidential forms of civilian administration. Since the return of civilian rule in 1999, the presidential system of government has been in practice. Thus, as regards her foreign policy decision-making, the country has followed the American-style executive presidential system procedures⁶⁸. In this type of government, the president is solely in charge of the making of foreign policy and enjoy considerable personal latitude in the area of external relations of the country. He is assisted by the minister of foreign affairs who heads the foreign affairs bureaucracy comprising the foreign affairs ministry and the country's diplomatic missions abroad. Other ministries and agencies including the ministries of defence, and finance, the National Intelligence Agency (NIA), Nigerian Immigration Services, Nigerian Custom Service, the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA), Nigeria Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS), and others whose functions and expertise opinion have impact on the making of Nigeria's foreign policy decisions are also involved.

The National Assembly is also assigned some non-policy making roles by the constitution in the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy. These include the confirmation of presidential ambassadorial nominees and ratification of international treaties entered into by the country¹¹. The National Assembly also approve appropriation for all governmental activities including external relations. It also approve declaration of war and the request for the deployment of Nigerian military for limited combat outside the borders of the country. In addition, the National Assembly performs

general oversight function in foreign policy matters and there are standing committees in both the Senate and House of Representatives on foreign affairs⁶⁸.

The question of how well the national assembly has performed its oversight function on foreign policy is still a matter of debate. Some have regarded the National Assembly as mere adjunct to the executive and has accepted its subordinate status to the executive on matters of foreign policy making¹¹. This is because since 1999 there has not been any major issue on the floor of the National Assembly that demonstrated the check on the executive by the legislators on matters of foreign relations.

2.3.3.3 The Ministry Of Foreign Affairs

In Nigeria, the body responsible for managing the country's international relations is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), previously known as the Ministry of External Affairs^{69,70}. The history of the ministry could be traced to 1957 when the foundation staff of the Nigerian Foreign Service were recruited by Britain, then colonial masters of Nigeria, to prepare the ground for the take-off of Nigeria's external relations as the country approached independence. At inception, the personnel strength of the ministry was twelve (12). These officers became the pioneer generation of Foreign Service Officers in Nigeria^{67,70}. They were recruited from essentially the legal and teaching professions and though without knowing it, some measure of balancing was introduced, as they were recruited based on regional consideration⁶⁷.

Prior to 1957, there was no governmental body or agency responsible for the conduct of Nigeria's external relations. Rather, like other British colonies, Nigeria's foreign policy was conducted on her behalf by the United Kingdom⁶⁷. However, as the dawn of independence of the country approached, the process of inaugurating her foreign external relations began. The

Department of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations was established. It started as a small unit in the Prime Minister's office with the secretary to the Prime Minister serving as the officer in charge of it^{69,70}. It was charged with the responsibility of articulating, formulating and conducting Nigeria's foreign policy⁶⁹. This was the situation until the country attained independence in 1960. After independence, the unit was renamed the Ministry of Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs. Meanwhile in 1963, when the country attained the republican status, the Ministry was designated as Ministry of External Affairs. Since then, it has undergone various alternations in name. For instance, in 1989, it was re-designated as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs⁷⁰.

The attainment of independence in 1960 did not result in the appointment of a substantive minister for external affairs and common wealth relations as the ministry was still domiciled in the Prime Minister's office⁶⁷. It was not until 1961 when Dr. J. A. Wachukwu was appointed as the first substantive minister for external relations. This marked the effective take-off of Nigeria's foreign relations^{67,70}. Since then, the ministry has undergone various phases of reforms and restructuring in order to rejuvenate it and make it relevant in the ever changing international environment.

From the very beginning, the federal government underscored its determination to establish an effective and professional ministry to undertake the conduct of its international relations. Since its establishment more than 60 years ago, the ministry has undergone various reforms in response to the growing demand of Nigeria's national interest as well as the changing domestic and international environment. The most recent of these reforms was an in-house work by Foreign Service Officers carried out in compliance with requirements prescribed by the Bureau of Public Service Reforms (BPSR) ⁶⁹. It was set out to revitalize and re-energize the ministry to bring

efficiency and encourage high productivity. The vision of the ministry, as adopted by the federal executive council in May 2007, is to make Nigeria one of the top 20 economies of the world, a beacon of hope for Africa, the black race and the developing world⁶⁷. Although, the vision seems good, it has, however, remained a pipeline dream in terms of implementation.

Beginning with a few diplomatic missions and officers in 1960, Nigeria's external relations has since witnessed a lot of expansion in both scope and nature. Nigeria's foreign relations now cut across all corners of the world involving bilateral and multilateral relations as well as effective representation at the level of international organisations. In some instances, Nigeria has more than one mission in some countries to address crucial issues⁶⁷. Nigeria currently maintains 110 diplomatic and consular missions abroad comprising embassies, high commissions, permanent mission to international organisations and consulates⁷⁰.

The staff strength of the ministry has also grown exponentially. With a few diplomatic staff in 1960, the staff strength of the ministry, according to 2020 estimate, was 2,189⁷⁰. The ministry is headed by the substantive minister and assisted by the minister of state, while the permanent secretary act as the administrative and accounting officer. As a statutory organ of government, the ministry of foreign affairs by nature and structure, operates from the headquarters in Abuja and the missions outside the country. Structurally, the ministry is divided into eight (8) departments and twenty-five (25) divisions with units and auxiliary offices⁷⁰. The ministry act as the machinery for coordinating Nigeria's ever-expanding foreign relations in line with the priorities of each of the country's administration.

The expansion in the scope of Nigeria's foreign relations has brought about attendant problems in the administration of the country's international relations. These problems has hampered the

effective performance of its functions. They include, but not limited to, shortage of adequate manpower, challenges in the appointments and posting of foreign service officers, issues of morale and staff motivation, home ministries-foreign services dichotomy, and issues as regard the funding of the Nigerian foreign service^{67,69}.

The perennial problem of gross under-funding of the Foreign Service sector can be seen in the annual budgetary allocation to the ministry by the federal government as shown in Table 2.1. This is despite the significance of the ministry as the ‘gateway’ of the country to the outside world.

Table 2.1 Percentage of Allocations to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from the National Budgets in Nigeria

Year	Percentage
2006	1.32%
2007	1.34%
2008	1.17%
2009	1.11%
2010	0.83%
2011	0.89%

Sources: ⁷⁶.

With the allocation of these paltry sums to the foreign affairs, one begin to wonder how the country can successfully carry out its many foreign policy engagements. It is no wonder therefore that on many occasions Nigeria failed to realise or achieve her foreign policy goals even on the Africa continent. For instance, while Nigeria spent \$306.6 million and \$232 million respectively in 2009 and 2010 on external relations, on the otherhand, South Africa spent \$702

million and \$634 million respectively during the same period. Although foreign policy cannot be reduced to monetary terms alone, there is no doubting the fact that it play a major role in driving a country's foreign policy. Therefore, based on the above comparison between Nigeria and South Africa, the latter has emerged in recent times as much assertive on the African continent⁷⁶.

2.3.4 Nigeria's Foreign Policy Thrust

The principles and objectives guiding the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy could be traced to the various speeches and statements of Nigeria's first prime minister and head of government, Alhaj, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, prior to and immediately after the country's independence⁷¹. In these speeches such as a statement on August 20, 1960 in the Nigeria's House of Representatives, the Independence Day address on October 1, 1960 and the acceptance speech on the occasion of Nigeria's admission as the 99th member of the United Nations on October 8, 1960, Alhaj Tafawa Balewa enumerated the fundamental principles that would guide and shape Nigeria's international relations. The fundamental objectives identified by the Prime Minister are:

- a. The promotion of the national interest of the federation and of its citizens
- b. Friendship and economic cooperation with all nations of the world which recognised and respect Nigeria's sovereignty
- c. Non-alignment to any power bloc

- d. Assistance to African states in search of solution to their problems and encouragement of the development of common ties among all African states to foster cooperation among countries of Africa in so far as it is compatible with Nigeria's national interest.
- e. Respect for the sovereign equality of all nations as well as non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States.
- f. Unimpeded decolonization

From these speeches, scholars have generally identified five major principles that have influenced and guided the pursuit of Nigeria's foreign policy over the years. These include the principle of non-alignment, the legal equality of states, non-interference in the domestic affairs of other states, multilateral diplomacy and Africa centeredness^{71,72}.

Since then, Nigeria has pursued her external relations on the basis of these cardinal principles and objectives. These principles were later incorporated into section 19 of Nigeria's 1960 independence constitution. They have been reviewed and sustained over time and adopted in the 1999 constitution⁶⁹. Thus, Section 19 of the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria provides that the foreign policy objectives of the country shall be: (a) promotion and protection of the national interest; (b) promotion of African integration and support for African Unity; (c) promotion of international cooperation for the consolidation of universal peace and mutual respect among all nations and elimination of discrimination in all manifestations; (d) respect for international law and treaty obligations as well as the seeking of settlement of international disputes by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration and adjudication, (e) promotion of a just world economic order²⁸.

There are divergent opinions among scholars about the nature of the principles that have underpinned Nigeria's foreign policy. While some scholars believe that the country's foreign policy is constantly in a state of flux due to internal and external dynamics, others are of the view that a close examination of Nigeria's foreign policy since independence demonstrates that the fundamental principles of the country's foreign policy have been fairly consistent notwithstanding frequent changes in regime^{3,71,72}. However, while the substance of Nigeria's foreign policy have remained largely the same, there are inconsistencies in their application. For example, Nigeria professed non-alignment during the period of the cold war, however, in practice, it was committed to the western bloc on many international issues. This could be attributed to the economic interests of the country as well as her historical ties^{71,72}.

One of the established traditions in the conduct of Nigeria's foreign relations is that each administration proclaim its foreign policy thrust in the light of the long-established ones⁷³. Therefore, since independence, the country has witnessed a number of ideological and conceptual themes. These concept which are the regime specific are borne out of attempts by each regime to have imprint on the evolution of Nigeria's foreign policy and are not in any way determined by the country's national interest⁷⁵. They include Afrocentrism, concentric circles, concert of medium powers, economic diplomacy, and citizen diplomacy, among others.

Some of the principles do not reflect the current trend and contemporary realities locally and internationally. This, has therefore, raised many questions. For instance, what does the statement “Africa is the centerpiece of Nigeria's foreign policy connotes”? How is it being adapted to the emerging domestic and international realities confronting the country? Is it still fit for purpose? While the notion of Africa-centeredness of Nigeria's foreign policy was predicated on eradication of colonialism and promotion of friendship and mutual cooperation among independent African

states and fit for purpose in the past, however, contemporary challenges in the domestic and international fronts faced by Nigeria calls for fresh thinking as to the suitability and adaptability of the concept to her national interests⁷⁷. For instance, till date Nigeria has continued to prioritize Africa in line with her principle of Afrocentrism without any reward and at the detriments of her own very citizens⁷¹. It is appalling that while the majority of her citizens suffer deprivations and death on a daily basis, the country continue to render assistance to her African counterparts who unfortunately on many occasions failed to repay the kind gesture.

The thrust of economic diplomacy in Nigeria's foreign policy was to make Nigeria's foreign policy serves the purpose of economic development at home. It was first officially pronounced by the Babangida administration that government would be adopting the instrumentality of economic diplomacy towards the attainment of Nigeria's foreign policy goal⁷⁵. The aim was to attract foreign investment and technical assistance to achieve the goals of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). Economic diplomacy was also later adopted by the civilian administration of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo. While the employment of economic diplomacy brought modest increments in foreign investment, it neither elevated the poverty level nor improve the quality of life of the citizens in the long run. It has been argued that inconsistency in economic policies, lack of infrastructural facilities, lack of transparency (leading to massive corruption) as well as insincerity on the part of the government did not allow for the success and survival of the policy⁷⁵.

The Concert of Medium Powers as a concept in Nigeria's foreign policy was the brainchild of Professor Bolaji Akinyemi as the Minister of External Affairs under President Ibrahim Babangida's regime. Introduced in 1986, Akinyemi's proposal for a Concert of Medium Powers, otherwise known as Lagos Forum, was for the creation of a third bloc comprising countries he

described as 'medium powers' as opposed to the superpowers⁷⁴. However, this policy died at birth because it was regarded as unrealistic based on the unfavourable condition of Nigeria's economy as that period. Also, there were opposition from the most senior Foreign Service officers as well as academicians to the policy. Therefore, as soon as Professor Bolaji Akinyemi was replaced in a cabinet shake-up in 1987, the policy was discarded⁷⁴.

In 2007, the Nigerian government under the administration of President Umaru Yar'adua announced the adoption of a new foreign policy approach called citizen diplomacy. The policy stipulated that Nigeria's foreign policy would focus on the positive rebranding of Nigeria and advancing the interest of Nigeria's citizens at home and abroad. Aside its theoretical understanding, the policy also means average citizens engaging as representative of the country either on purpose or unintentionally⁷⁵.

Citizen's diplomacy, according to the government, proceeds from the recognition that foreign policy can no longer exist independent of domestic policy. Its basic assumption is that foreign policy should be the external dimension of the conscientious quest for the welfare of the citizens, while the basic needs of citizen would become the rationale and justification for foreign policy engagements by the government⁷⁵.

However, the policy has been criticized as it fails to articulate whether it is the interest of citizens that would drive diplomacy or whether ordinary citizen themselves would be engaged in the diplomatic enterprise⁷⁴. Also, as a result of the interrelationship between domestic and international environment, the success of citizen diplomacy rest on the ability of Nigerian government to provide for the basic needs of her citizens and advocate for their rights during

bilateral and multilateral engagements. This has not been successfully fulfilled by the government.

Concentricism or the notion of concentric circle became part of the foreign policy thrust of Nigeria during the administration of Major General Muhammadu Buhari when it was introduced by the then minister of external affairs, Professor Ibrahim Gambari, in 1984. The new concept stated clearly a scale of priorities to be operated in Nigeria's foreign relations⁷⁵. The concept is based on the notion of four concentric circles which should define and determine the nature of Nigeria's foreign policy. It considers the country's national interest and the interest of her neighbouring states first. Next is the interest of the West African sub-region, followed by Africa's interest and finally the interest of the rest of the world⁷⁸. Therefore, the concept of concentric circles attempts to demonstrate that the interest of Nigeria and that of its neighbours comes first in the scale of priorities as it directly affect the security and well-being of Nigeria citizen. This is demonstrated in the fight against Boko Haram insurgency as the country, for instance, sought the support of the neighbouring countries first before seeking help beyond⁷⁵.

2.3.5 The Place of National Interest in Nigeria's Foreign Policy

In spite of the above, many questions still linger as to what Nigeria's foreign policy is about. The target of every foreign policy is to promote, protect and actualize the country's national interest but determining Nigeria's national interest has remained elusive.

Although defining the concept of national interest can be quiet ambiguous and contentious, it is nevertheless indispensable in any meaningful discussion of foreign policy as it is the vehicle which gives direction and determines the movement and action of a state at the domestic and

international sphere. That is, the conduct and administration of a state's foreign policy is governed by its national interest.

Every nation's foreign policy is or should be in the service of its national interest⁸⁰. Nigeria's foreign policy is a tool used by the country to achieve its national interest⁷⁸. In doing this, the country has either solely or in collaboration with others sought to promote and safeguard its national interest in the international system. The country has deployed several strategies in support of its national interest across the globe. For instance, Nigeria has sought to use the instrumentality of its membership of various multilateral organisations including the United Nations in pursuit of some of goals and objectives of her national interests and aspirations. Also, when necessary, Nigeria has not hesitated to use her military strength and deploy troops in support of perceived national interest either in the West Africa sub-region or beyond⁷⁹. In addition, Nigeria always sought to cultivate and maintain cordial relations with her immediate neighbouring countries in pursuit of her national interest. This has been done in a number of ways ranging from outright financial and material support to their governments and sometimes through participation in joint projects like the Lake Chad Basin Commission (LCBC) and the Multi-National Joint Task Force (MNJTF) to combat terrorism.

At the core of Nigeria's national interest is the safeguarding of the territorial integrity of the country as well as the achievement of security and social economic welfare of the citizens. While this may be clear enough, the conduct of foreign policy of the country which is meant to pursue these key elements of national interest has been questioned. Many have regarded it as not being well articulated.

To ordinary Nigerians, what is regarded as the national interest of the country is just the interest of the ruling elites. Therefore, the pursuit of this interest varies from period to period as there are changes in the ruling circle of the country. Some scholars have argued that most of what are regarded as the interest of the country, such as the creation of a new equitable and democratic international economic order, are ground objectives and goals which are clearly beyond Nigeria's capacity to pursue and attain⁷⁹.

Other scholars, like Bolaji Akinyemi, believe that Nigeria's national interest can be predicated on the nation's military, economic, political and social security. Anything that will enhance the nation's capacity to defend itself, promote its economic growth and development and make it politically stable is her national interest⁸¹.

In the words of the former Head of State of Nigeria, late General Sani Abacha, during his speech at the 1996 Annual Patron's Dinner of the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA), "no nation in human history has ever ignore the imperative of its national interest in the pursuit of external relations without dire consequences. Nigeria has not and will not be an exception to this general rule. Our desire, therefore, is to continue to focus our attention on the protection and projection of our national interest as a matrix of our foreign policy"⁸¹.

2.3.6 Nigeria in Bilateral Relations

Bilateral relations represent one of the means through which states conduct their relations in the international system. It is regarded as the political and non-political cross-border relations of two social actors (commonly sovereign states) within the global system⁸². Also known as bilateralism, bilateral relations comprise the political, economic or cultural relations between two sovereign or independent states⁸³. Unlike unilateralism which involve activity by a single state or

multilateralism which involve joint activities by many states, bilateral relations takes place when two states recognized each other as sovereign state and agreed to develop diplomatic relations. This will involve exchange of representatives such as ambassadors to facilitate dialogue and cooperation⁸³.

One of the major objectives of each state is to strengthen its position in the international system and to legitimize important decision-making force. Through bilateral relations, states can develop agreements that are tailored to apply to only the contracting state⁸³. Thus, bilateral relations has been described as the most tested and accredited means through which states can achieve its national interest. It is also a means of maintaining constructive political dialogue among states⁸⁴.

While bilateral relations is regarded as the oldest form of interstates cooperation, the increasing interdependence among states in the contemporary era in which problems and issues that can be handled successfully alone by one state or with another state are now infinitesimal compared to multiple issues and challenges that sovereign states are called upon to handle together has made multilateralism to blossom^{3,84}. However, this is not to create the impression that bilateralism is no longer relevant or has become subordinated to multilateralism. Rather, what should be understood is that both bilateralism and multilateralism are pathways of diplomacy which sometimes run parallel and sometimes meet. They are multiple levels of diplomatic instruments which are often intertwined and complementary to one another. What is important is that a state should be able to coordinate the two forms of relations as the absence of coordination in one can create problem for the other.

Depending on the situation, there are reasons why a state may prefer to adopt bilateralism over multilateralism and vice-versa. There are certain issues which a state which may choose to handle at the bilateral level rather than within a multilateral forum. Also, sometimes state utilize the umbrella of multilateral organisations to pursue bilateral interest. This is especially true among states that are yet or unable to establish resident diplomatic missions in their respective states or have previously broken off diplomatic relations between each other.

Bilateral relations can be of various forms or grades such as the establishment of Bi-National Commission (BNC) between two states. However, the failure or inability to establish a resident diplomatic mission in a particular state does not imply the absence of bilateral relations between the two states. While resident mission is significant for facilitating interactions between the two states, its absence does not translate to the death of bilateral relations between the states involved³.

Nigeria currently has 109 missions comprising 76 embassies, 22 high commissions and 11 consulates⁸⁵. These include 46 resident diplomatic missions in Africa, 26 in Asia, 21 in Europe, 4 in South America and one in the Oceania. Since there are more than 109 sovereign independent states, principal envoys and missions are usually accredited to concurrently handle the bilateral relations between Nigeria and other countries. For instance, Professor Alaba Ogunsanwo was once accredited as Nigeria's High Commissioner to Botswana and the Kingdom of Lesotho³.

Since her independence in 1960, Nigeria's bilateral relations with various countries have taken different dimensions. Due to her non-aligned stance and absence of a state ideology driving her political and economic relations, none of Nigeria's bilateral relations has been permanently hostile in nature. Generally, Nigeria's bilateral relations has been more of mutual understanding

in nature. However, some of her bilateral relations have oscillated between cooperation and competition and sometimes outright confrontation.

Nigeria's bilateral relation can be examined in various ways and from different perspectives. It may be based on the nature of the relations, that is, the interest of Nigeria in the particular state or power categorization of such state such as the superpowers, medium powers and small powers and the equal powers³. It may also be examined based on the location of the particular state using the concentric circle model of Nigeria's foreign relation.

With reference to Nigeria's bilateral relations, it should be noted that some relations are more important or significant to the country than others. This may be due to their historical, cultural, religious, economic, geographical or strategic importance or a combination of two or more of these. The special nature of this relationship is also reflected in the appointment of envoys and posting of diplomats by Nigeria to these countries. Some of the countries with which Nigeria's bilateral relation are considered significant especially for the reason of demography which is the focus of this research work shall be examined.

2.3.6.1 Nigeria-Britain Relations

The foundation of Nigeria's foreign relations was laid during the colonial rule and the first set of Nigeria's Foreign Service Officers were trained by the British. Thus, both the principles and the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy were influenced by Britain. Nigeria's worldview at the dawn of independence was coloured by her relations with Britain even though the country claim to be non-aligned. The fact that the country got her independence from Britain through peaceful means,

which unlike some other countries in Africa who got theirs through conflicts and armed struggles, also influenced her relations with Britain. However, this is not to say that her relations with Britain has always been peaceful. The Nigeria- Britain relations has passed through both the era of cordiality and hostility and has also generated tension and mutual respect. The historical ties Nigeria has with Britain has made the relationship significant and of a special nature.

Beginning with the master-servant form of relationship of the colonial period during which Nigeria was denied the status of a state and Nigeria's interest under international law was subordinated under those of Britain, Nigeria remained under this disability until her independence on October 1, 1960. However, the British were unwilling to relinquish their stronghold over Nigeria and this was demonstrated by the infamous Anglo-Nigerian Defence Pact which would have turned Nigeria into a semi-satellite state of Britain. The pact granted Britain unrestricted access of over-flight and air staging facilities in Nigeria and as well the establishment of British military bases in Nigeria in exchange for a number of defence and security commitments to Nigeria⁸⁶. The violent reaction of Nigerians, especially students, when the documents was leaked to the public led to its abrogation in 1962.

Generally, over the years the Nigeria-Britain relations has remained cordial and has been placed on vantage position heavily tilted towards Britain³. Of interest to Britain is her trade and investment in Nigeria. Britain hopes to reap the long-term benefits of trade and investment opportunities in Nigeria. British companies such as Guinness, Unilever, British American Tobacco Company and British Airways have benefited heavily from the large market Nigeria's huge population provides. Although the British government's stake in Nigeria's oil sector through the British Petroleum (BP) shareholding was nationalized in 1979, Shell (a British listed company) holds 20% equity in the joint venture in Nigeria. The federal government of Nigeria,

through the NNPC, owns the remaining 80%. This means that the profit Shell make reflect positively on British investment ratings⁸⁶.

The presence of British nationals in Nigeria, and of Nigerians in Britain has formed the bedrock of relations between the two countries. Over the years, there has been the presence of a large number of Nigerians living in the United Kingdom on a permanent basis and as well, Nigerians visiting Britain each year as tourists. British educational institution annually embark on admission drive to ensure thousands of Nigerian students are admitted to British tertiary institutions to pursue their studies³. Today, more than three million Nigerians and people of Nigerian descent are to be found in Britain³. On the otherhand, while we do not have many Britons visiting Nigeria as tourists, there have been an increasing number of job opportunities for British citizens in Nigeria. For instance, the Bonga Oil Field operated by Shell's Nigerian subsidiary which was personally commissioned by the then British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, in 2001 was said to create 1,000 jobs for oil service workers in Britain⁸⁶. Thus, there are increasing number of British nationals in Nigeria.

The interaction between the people of the two countries have helped to build a nexus or network of largely friendly relations between Nigeria and Britain. It has created lucrative opportunities which is being exploited by the government of the two countries. For instance, the London-Lagos route for British Airways was the most lucrative of all British Airways flight worldwide³. The Nigerian government is also exploiting the huge number of Nigerian diaspora in Britain for economic benefits³.

Instability in the Niger Delta and the Boko Haram insurgency have been of concern to the British government. This concern was based on the vested interest of Britain in Nigeria. Since the

discovery of oil by the British in Nigeria in the 1950s, there has been continued presence of British interest in Nigeria's petroleum industry. However, long before oil became a factor, Britain had recognized the significance of a unified Nigeria as it saw Nigeria's potential of becoming a major player in African politics and thereby a vehicle of maintaining British interest in an independent Africa. Therefore, the British government has had to adapt its approach of securing the future of its interest by delving into areas that would help establish growth in Nigeria⁸⁶. To ensure stability and security in Nigeria, the British government has embarked on a number activities. This include counter-terrorism training for Nigerian military personnel, provision of state-of-the-art security equipment, intelligence-gathering and even sometimes joint military operations with the Nigerian military against militants, kidnappers and other criminals.

In spite of this seeming cordiality, there are a number of contentious issues and incidents which have tended to derail the Nigeria-Britain relations. However, due to the remarkable capacity of the two countries to readjust, the relationship has not been greatly damaged⁸⁶. These issues include the nationalization of British assets in Nigeria in 1979 over the perceived support by Britain for apartheid South Africa, the failure of the British government to provide the requested support for the federal government of Nigeria during the Nigerian civil war and the acclaimed neutrality by Britain in the war, the series of extradition cases involving Nigerians living in the UK such as that of chief Anthony Enahoro who was extradited to Nigeria in 1962, General Yakubu Gowon whose request for extradition to Nigeria was rejected by the British government and the failed attempt by the agents of Nigerian government to forcefully extradite Umar Diko to Nigeria in 1984. Other areas of contention include the decision of Britain to support the suspension of Nigeria from the Commonwealth of Nations over Nigeria's alleged human rights abuses during the military rule of General Sani Abacha.

The inhuman treatment sometimes meted out to Nigerians traveling to the United Kingdom is also a source of tension in the relations between the two countries. Nigerians are regarded as drug smugglers and criminals in Britain even in cases when available evidence proved otherwise. It seems there is a racist undertone in the immigration policy of Britain towards Nigeria⁸⁶. Some of these actions of the British government are not always without consequences. For instance, when the British Airports authority in 1997 placed a ban on Nigerian planes flying into London on the ground that the servicing of one such plane has not been thorough (when in actual fact, the plane had been serviced in Britain and not Nigeria), the Nigerian government under General Sani Abacha who perceived the measure as an indirect political pressure on his administration retaliated by banning all British planes from flying into Nigeria. This caused considerable financial loss to British Airways as the Abacha administration refused to lift the ban until his demise. Subsequently, the British airport authorities have ceased to take such measures against Nigerian planes³.

2.3.6.2 Nigeria-China Relations

Another significant bilateral relation of Nigeria is with China. China has emerged as the fastest growing and biggest economy in the world and is seeking to expand its diplomatic and economic ties. While the two countries' relations in the period immediately after Nigeria's Independence was not cordial due to the aversion of the then Nigeria's government under Alhaj Tafawa Balewa's administration towards communism, the relations have since evolved since the 1970s in ways beneficial to both countries based on fundamental principles of mutual respect, non-

interference in the internal affairs, preservation of sovereignty and independence, non-aggression and peaceful co-existence⁸⁷. Demography plays a leading role in shaping Nigeria relations with China. With a population of about 1.5 billion, China is the most populous country in the world and Nigeria with an estimated population of 150 million is the highest in Africa. Therefore, the two countries cannot but do business for the mutual benefit of the citizens in this increasingly interdependent world³. Thus, the Nigeria-China relations is mostly economic in nature with several companies operating in their respective countries. However, while China has leveraged on its own demography to achieve development, Nigeria is still struggling economically.

As the current engine growth of global manufacturing of consumer goods, China needs the markets of the world to sell her products. Nigeria provides part of that market where made in China products are everywhere in Nigeria. There is also, as can be found in other countries, the establishment of China town where all kinds of made in China items can be procured. The Nigerian market represents the source of raw materials for Chinese industries, on the one hand, and a market for Nigerians to purchase consumer goods coming from China, on the other. This latter form had been the familiar pattern as far back as the early 1960s. For even though diplomatic relations were not established between the two countries until 1971. As at that point in time, the Nigerian market was, for many years the second largest for Chinese goods in Africa after Egypt³.

Since the establishment of Sino-Nigeria Strategic Partnership in 2005, the relationship between the two countries has remained very active resulting in the implementation of a number of projects and programmes. Since 2006, some of the Chinese Grant-in-Aid projects to Nigeria include: 598 boreholes drilled in 14 states of the federation and FCT and handed over to the Nigerian government by the Chinese government on April 18, 2010; 150-bed China-Aid Jabi,

Abuja National Staff Hospital Project that was completed in March 2012 in Abuja at the cost of US\$12.5million and handed over to the federal government; 4 rural primary schools constructed in Kaduna, Katsina, Ogun and FCT and handed over in February 2012; Over 120 public officials from various MDAs benefited from several Chinese capacity building programmes; 5,000 units of air conditioners, estimated at about US\$5million, donated by the Chinese government to the Bauchi State government in January 2013 ³.

Chinese made items to be found in the Nigerian market all over the country include textile materials and garments of all kinds, auto parts and accessories, automobiles and motorcycles, baby and children's products including toys, computer products of various types, electronic products and components. refrigerators, freezers, stabilizers, UPS units, electronic security items, home appliances, housewares, generators, microwaves, television sets, machinery and industrial supplies, medical and health products solar and energy saving products, shoes, bags, books, films, sports and leisure items, telecom products, among others. The production and manufacturing of all these items in China generate employment for the Chinese economy and their presence in the Nigerian market is of interest to China. As Nigeria is more of a care economy, dependent on imports even of refined petroleum products the manufacturing and productive capacity is low ensuring her exports to China which mainly involve crude oil and other non-value added items such as the 1.1 million metric tons of cassava chips in 2011 and other agricultural produce. The Chinese Ambassador to Nigeria, Deng Boqing, in a July, 2013, interview with Kinsley Oporum of Leadership newspaper, commended the bilateral relations between the two countries describing our economies as complementary ³.

One other area of interest which the Chinese find satisfying is the opportunity African states and Nigeria have provided China to demonstrate the country's executive capacity in construction.

Currently, Chinese companies are responsible for over 50 percent of construction work taking place on the African continent. Such capacity has not currently been demonstrated to be within the competence of other developed countries implementing development projects on the African continent. More than in any other country in Africa, the Chinese side would want to showcase this capability in Nigeria if given the opportunity to do so on projects that are enduring and not subject to abandonment simply because of change of regime or a change in the leadership of a ministry. The construction works also necessitate the influx of Chinese labour and expertise into African states and an enables materials for such works to be brought in from China. Obviously not against China's interest. For instance, the Chinese construction of the African Union Complex in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, was facilitated by the permission given by the Ethiopian government for the importation of all project-related materials from China duty free as well as free flow of a number of Chinese citizens needed for the project ³.

On April 27, 2018, Nigeria and China signed a currency swap agreement to bolster economic activities in both countries, the agreement signed between the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) and the People's Bank of China (PBOC), would further strengthen the strategic relations between the two countries as well as enable them to achieve a lot of development and economic prosperity. The currency swap is a mutually beneficial arrangement between both countries, and mirrored China's support for the Nigerian economic reform programme. The agreement would help both countries to boost trade relations, deepen bilateral relations and provide enabling business Environment as well as make business transactions much easier. It would also complement a series of measures taken by Nigeria for and instil unleashing the enormous potentials of her economy confidence by bolstering economic activities ³. Similarly, the agreement would allow both Nigeria and Chinese banking institutions to exchange payments in

their countries' original currency based on the agreed exchange control value. Therefore, this will further facilitate bilateral trade settlements and provide liquidity support to financial markets. Moreover, the agreement came as Nigeria adopted some measures for economic reform to revive her ailing economy, varying from raising the subsidized fuel prices and floating the Nigerian naira ³.

Table 2.2. Trade volume between Nigeria and China, 1995 – 2017

Period	Exports to Nigeria Million	Imports from Nigeria of US\$	Balance in favour of China
1995	152.736	59.711	93.025
1996	170.853	6.821	164.032
1997	316.463	10.632	305.831
1998	357.367	27.455	329.912
1999	395.995	182.485	213.51
2000	563.878	292.926	270.952
2001	917.154	227.436	689.718
2002	1047.088	121.308	925.78
2003	1787.492	71.678	1715.814
2004	1719.273	462.567	1256.706
2005	2305.275	527.064	1778.211
2006	2855.671	277.751	2577.92
2007	3800.231	538.167	3262.064
2008	6758.124	510.246	6247.878

2009	5476.251	989.237	4578.014
2010	6697.305	1070.145	5627.16
2011	9,207.235	1,581.411	7,625.907
2012	9,308.215	1,266.079	8,042.136
2013	11,044.175	1,544.411	9,499.589
2014	15,441.176	2,660.271	12,780.905
2015	13,704.223	1,241.336	12,462.887
2016	9,714.679	906.251	8,808.428
2017	18,254.307	1,834.509	16,419.798

Sources:³

2.3.6.3 Nigeria-Russia Relations

Nigeria established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union in November 1960. However, while the Soviet embassy in Lagos was opened in 1961, the Nigerian embassy was opened in Moscow in 1962. This, however, did not translate into key cordial relationship as it was the period of the cold war and the leadership of Nigeria at the time was averse to the communist ideology championed by Russia. Nigeria, at that time, was western leaning.

The relationship between Nigeria and the Soviet Union reached its peak during the Nigerian civil war. Due to the lack of support from Nigeria's traditional western allies, the war created the opportunity for a new phase in the Nigeria-Soviet relations. The Soviet Union was the world's largest arms producer and it requires buyers as much as Nigeria desperately needed weapons. The supply of weapons and the deployment of military and technical personnel to train Nigerians by the Soviet Union radically damaged the direction of the civil war in favor of Nigeria. Thus, it

was with the help of the Soviet Union that Nigeria surrounded the most crucial moment of her existence and preserved her unity. Expectedly, these opened the door of new operation between the two countries cutting across all spheres including security, political, economic and social cultural.

On December 31, 1991, the Soviet Union disintegrated and each of the 15 former Soviet republics assumed independent status within the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). This also led to the demise of world socialist system and its supporting institutions such as Warsaw Pact and Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA). The Russia Federation became the successor state to the Soviet Union. This did not radically change the relations between the two countries.

A personal representative of the Russian president attended the inauguration of President Olusegun Obasanjo in May 1999 and delivered an invitation to Nigeria's new president to visit Russia. The state visit of President Olusegun Obasanjo to Moscow between March 5 and 7, 2001 opened a new chapter in Nigeria-Russia relations. During the visit, Russian officials indicated that Russia's new policy towards Africa was to be defined by a commitment and support for the development and progress of the African continent. Several agreements were signed during the visit and these eventually led to the establishment of the Intergovernmental Commission on Economic and Scientific –Technical Cooperation (ICESTC) between the two countries.

However, Russia's top leadership were not very pleased that no high level executive Nigerian delegation has visited Russia in the recent past compared with numerous visits to other major powers. This is not good for the country's development since it is assumed that Nigeria's external relations have been transactional in nature in particular with the great powers. Nigeria and Russia

have a lot in common in their dependence on hydrocarbon resources - earning the needed revenue for economic activities. While the Russian Federation is the second largest arms exporting country in the world, indicating a high level of manufacturing capacity, that capacity has not been reflected in the area of consumer products which would have seen Nigerian market flooded with made in Russia products.

Since emphasise has always been made about the openness of Nigeria to foreign investors whose activities help to create jobs. Russian entrepreneurs have not been active in this direction. In its area of strength, however, Russia has been helpful to Nigeria in her hour of need. When the Obama administration prevented Nigeria from access to needed equipment to combat Boko Haram terrorists under the Jonathan administration, it was to Russia Nigeria turned for the weapons and training needed. The onslaught the reinvigorated Nigerian armed forces carried out in the second half of 2015 against Boko Haram, was only made possible with the equipment the Russians had made and were making available under a previous arrangement³.

2.3.6.4 Nigeria-Arab-Israel Relations

Demographic considerations also have significant bearings on the nature of Nigeria's relations with both the Arab countries and Israel. With her population almost divided equally between the mostly Muslim north and the Christian dominated south, religious influence has continued to play significant roles in the bilateral relations between Nigeria and these countries. On several occasions, the Nigerian government has had to play a balancing game when issues that dwell on religious sentiments arises in order not to offend a segment of the population. For instance, Nigerian government could not establish a residence diplomatic mission in Tel Aviv for a long period although Israel was allowed to have a diplomatic mission in Nigeria. This was based on

the decision of the governments of Nigeria to achieve balance between the position of the Muslim northerners who opposed relations with Israel and the Christian southerners who support the relations. It was not until 1992 under the regime of General Ibrahim Babangida that Israel was allowed to have a diplomatic mission in Nigeria³.

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict a major issue affecting Nigeria's foreign relations when it comes to her Arab-Israel relations. The Nigerian government consistently supported the Palestinian cause whenever that came up for discussion in international fora including the Non-Aligned Movement, OAU (AU), the UN and its agencies. Showing solidarity with the displaced Palestinians, driven out of their homeland for no fault of theirs, the Nigerian government was realistic enough to know that whatever decisions it made, it could not dramatically affect the outcome of the conflict. For the purpose of symbolic solidarity, the Nigerian government was willing to play ball. Following the October 1973 Arab-Israeli conflict, Nigeria joined OAU states in severing ties with Israel for crossing the Suez Canal and occupying Egyptian territory which was not in Asia Minor but in Africa. Even when Egypt ended her conflict with Israel in 1979, Nigeria did not restore relations with Israel citing the continued injustice to the Palestinian people. This gave the impression that Nigeria had now delinked the Israeli-Palestinian conflict from the Arab-Israeli conflict and in principle were ready to stand with the Palestinians³.

What the Palestinians have asked of Nigeria is political and diplomatic support in international fora where their problem/conflict with Israel has been raised. For the Nigerian government, acting within the collectivity of the OAU/AU, Non-Aligned Movement and the UN, had meant our not having to take difficult decisions except when singled out for pressure. Nigeria's membership of the UN Security Council was always an opportunity to affirm our position on the subject. However, in 2014, our Permanent Representative to the UN, Ambassador Joy Ogwu,

was directly instructed by President Goodluck Jonathan to abstain from voting on a resolution tainted as usual against Israel, after Prime Minister Netanyahu had called him on the phone to make the request and to remind him of the direct assistance the Israeli government was providing to Nigeria in the fight against Boko Haram. Nigeria's abstention in the Security Council denied the sponsors of the resolution the one vote needed to have the motion passed. The US did not then have to use her veto power to prevent the resolution from passing. Nigeria's abstention from voting in New York was heavily criticised by those who felt that our President was too weak to say no to Benjamin Netanyahu and that it was a national shame that we did not stick with our age-long practice to support all resolutions in favour of Palestine. At that point, Nigeria must have regretted being an elected member of the Council during that period which cast aspersion hitherto unblemished record on the issue. It did not matter the government that the US stood ready to cast the veto prevent the resolution being passed. What was important for them was that we failed to stand up for our oppressed friends in Palestine³.

2.3.6.5 Nigeria-France Relations

Although France is not Nigeria's colonial master, it has occupy an important place and played key roles that are relevant to Nigeria and the interest of Nigeria³. Since Nigeria's independence in 1960, the Franco-Nigeria relations have endured across various phases oscillating between cooperation and confrontation. The location of Nigeria in the middle of four former colonies of France has in some ways made relations with France a necessity.

Among the contentious issues in Nigeria France relations over the years include the controversial testing of the atomic bomb in the Sahara desert by France which provoke angry reactions from Nigeria, the alleged support of France to the Biafra side during the Nigerian Civil war,

ECOWAS monetary policy decisions which are contrary to the interests of France that continue to maintain control of monetary policies of Francophone countries in the West Africa sub-region.

In the 1960s, France was on a mission to become a nuclear power. French ambition to become an atomic and nuclear power could only be concretized at that time by carrying out atmospheric tests of the atomic bomb. Had France chosen to test the bomb on her continental landmass, a different reaction from Nigeria could have been expected. However, France chose Africa as the appropriate place to conduct the atomic bomb tests. The country's facilities in Algeria put in place for this purpose were considered adequate and attempts were made to assure other countries that no danger could or would arise from the radioactive fallout of dust particles to be carried by the wind downstream, as it were. The Nigerian government was not persuaded and warned of stern action should France go ahead with the test in the Sahara. To the French, their nuclear ambitions were not going to be disrupted by this threat. The bomb test followed and by that action Nigeria was boxed into a corner but the only severe action that could be taken was for the Balewa government to break diplomatic relations with France, and expelled the French Ambassador. While seen as a radical move, other African states even those closer to Algeria, did not follow Balewa's lead in sanctioning France through severance of diplomatic relations. French pride was hurt by what was regarded as an insolence which reinforced the thinking in some quarters that Nigeria ought to be taught a lesson. Thus, the French were not enthusiastic when later Nigeria attempted to work out an economic arrangement with the European Economic Community (E.C.C.)³.

Also, the French did not feel uncomfortable when Nigeria attempted to implode or self-destruct from inside during her civil war. While not formally according recognition to Biafra, no effort was made to make Biafran officials arriving in France feel unwelcome or on hostile territory.

Formal recognition would have had serious diplomatic and military implications in an area considered to be in the British sphere of influence which the Soviet Union was also now showing very strong interest in³.

Despite all these, Nigeria's relation with France has remained mostly cordial and France has large investment in the Nigerian economy. This is mostly due to the large market Nigeria's huge population offers for the French companies. In terms of demography, Nigeria is larger than all the Francophone countries in West Africa combined. Thus, relations with Nigeria become inevitable for France as the country's demography market potential remains sources of attraction to French companies that can hardly be gotten from the Francophone countries.

2.3.6.6 Nigeria-India Relations

India and Nigeria enjoy warm, friendly and deep-rooted bilateral relations. India established its Diplomatic House in Lagos in November 1958, two years before Nigeria became independent on 1 October 1960. Out of the five BRICS countries, India has by far the most extensive and multidimensional relations with Nigeria. Considering that India opened her diplomatic mission in Lagos in 1958, two years before her flag independence, with 2018 marking 60 years of relations with Nigeria, there should be no surprise that this is the situation. As the Indian government officials see it, members of the Indian community in many case, have no other country than Nigeria to call genuine home. Even when they visit India, it is just a visit as Nigeria has provided a home environment for them. They also seem not to be deterred by the absence of a double taxation avoidance arrangement between Nigeria and India which in itself is a deterrent for foreign investors³. An entire generation of Nigerians from the Northern Nigeria was taught by Indian teachers, treated by Indian doctors and grew up wearing Indian clothing and watching

Indian movies in the 1970s to 1990s. Both countries were in the forefront of international anti-colonial and anti-apartheid struggle and closely collaborated in various international fora. The presence of a large Indian expatriate community of about 50,000, the largest in West Africa, adds value to the importance of the long-standing relationship³.

India-Nigerian relations gained momentum with the state visit of President Olusegun Obasanjo to India in January 1999, as chief guest at the 50th Republic Day celebrations, and the visit of Shri Jaswant Singl, External Affairs Minister, to Nigeria in March 2000 to co-chair the Third Session of India-Nigeria Joint Commission, Former President Obasanjo also paid a working visit to New Delhi on November 3, 2004, and held discussions with the Prime Minister, particularly on strengthening cooperation in the hydrocarbon sector. Indian Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh paid an official visit to Nigeria, October 14 to 16, 2007. This historic visit took place in the 50th year of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. During the visit, an Abuja Declaration on Strategic Partnership was issued which elevated the bilateral relations to a much higher level while laying out the future contours of the bilateral relations. Indian Prime Minister's visit was followed by the visit of then Vice President Dr. Goodluck Jonathan and several ministerial and business delegations to invite Indian investors to take advantage of business opportunities in Nigeria. Nigerian President, Muhammadu Buhari, visited New Delhi, India, for the India-Africa Summit-III October 26-30, 2015. During his visit, President Buhari met with Prime Minister Narendra Modi. He was accompanied by a 121-member delegation. The visit of Indian Vice President, Hamid Ansari, to Nigeria, September 26 to 29, 2016, and his meetings with Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari and Vice President Yemi Osinbajo, provided yet another opportunity to further deepen the bilateral cooperation³.

At present, India is Nigeria's largest trading partner and Nigeria is India's largest trading partner in Africa. India is also the largest buyer of Nigerian crude oil. Over 135 companies are owned and/or operated by Indians or Persons-of-Indian Origin in Nigeria. The bilateral trade between India and Nigeria, during the year 2017-2018 registered US\$11.76billion, as against US\$9.42billion record during the year, 2016-2017. Indian exports to Nigeria during the period, 2017-2018, were US\$2.26billion, as against US\$1.77billion in 2016-2017. India's imports during the period, 2017-2018, recorded US\$9.5billion, as against US\$7.65billion in 2016-2017. India is the largest importer of Nigeria petroleum products. Out of the total India's imports of \$9.5billion from Nigeria, crude oil accounted for US\$9.29billion. In recent years, Nigeria has been one of the main sources of crude for India. Nigeria has emerged as the fourth largest supplier of crude oil and second largest supplier of LNG to India in 2017. It is informally estimated that there would be around US\$10billion of investment by Indian companies in Nigeria³.

The institutional framework for enhancing trade relations between both countries include the trade agreement signed between the Government of India and the Government of Nigeria in 1983. India and Nigeria also agreed, in 2017, to establish a Joint Trade Committee (JTC) at the level of Commerce Secretary from Indian side and Permanent Secretary (Trade) from Nigerian side to review the ongoing bilateral trade and commercial relations. Over 135 Indian companies that are owned and/or operated by Indians or persons-of-Indian origin (PIOs) are currently operating in Nigeria. Prominent among them are Bharti Airtel, Tata, Bajaj Auto, Birla Group. Kirloskar, Mahindra, Ashok Leyland, NIIT, Aptech, New India Assurance, Bhushan Steel, KEC, Skipper Nigeria, Dabur, Godrej, Ranbaxy and Primus Super-Speciality Hospital besides 15 prominent companies in the Nigerian power sector. Nigeria's pharmaceuticals, power and transmission sectors are dominated by Indian companies. Nigeria-based ethnic Indians are economically

active in areas relating to manufacturing and retailing of consumer goods, construction and air services. Indian owned/operated companies are estimated to be the second largest employer in Nigeria after the federal government or Nigeria³.

	2013-2014	2014-2015	2015-2016	2016-2017	2017-2018
India's Exports	2,668	2,681	2,222	1,764	2,255
India's Imports	14,098	13,683	9,949	7,659	9,501
Total	16,766	16,364	12,171	9,423	11,756

Table 2.3. Bilateral trade figure between Nigeria and India

Source:³

Therefore, it can be summarized that Nigeria-India relations has been largely mutually beneficial. Also, it has mostly been devoid of controversy and conflict.

2.3.6.7 Nigerian-Japan Relations

Japan relations with Nigeria pre-dated the establishment of bilateral diplomatic relations in 1964. From the beginning, Japanese interests in Nigeria, like in the rest of Africa, were linked more to trade matters than to the political changes taking place or demanded by Africans. Virtually in all situations, Japan was selling more made in Japan products to African states than it was buying from them. A dynamic or, what critics would call, an aggressive trade policy saw the entry of Japanese goods into African states including Nigeria and the then apartheid South Africa since

politics was for Japan completely delinked from trade. The interest of Japan in Nigeria was trade. Japan's exports to Nigeria of manufactured goods automobiles from Toyota, Nissan, Mitsubishi, Mazda, Honda, Suzuki, and electronics of all kinds - largely dominated the Nigerian market in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, and represented the focus of Japanese attention³.

As a global economic power, however, Japan was called upon, and felt the need, to embark on large-scale official direct assistance projects in developing countries, and Nigeria was not left out of this effort. The Japan Foundation offered and continues to offer fellowships tenable in Japanese educational institutions to scholars from outside Japan as well as the sponsoring of cultural activities designed to make Japan more understandable abroad. Participation in multilateral financial institutions enabled the country, at one point, to be responsible for some 40 percent of the funds made available by the World Bank for development purposes with the world countries including Nigeria. In terms of interests then, Japan can be said to be interested in Nigeria's growth, development and prosperity as well as the welfare and peaceful coexistence of the Nigerian people as it is only prosperous people that can buy Japanese made products which are now having to face a stiffer competition than in the past from the newly emerging Asian Tigers, namely, South Korea, Taiwan, and to a lesser extent, Indonesia and Thailand. While fewer Japanese construction companies operate in Nigeria, compared to the present scale of the Chinese participation, even those that are here do not import Japanese labour into Nigeria and Japanese production costs at home would not allow the dumping of such products on the Nigerian market. As an outlet for excess Japanese labour, therefore, Nigeria does not qualify. Japanese humanitarian assistance is felt in Nigeria and some state governments are beneficiaries of Japanese assistance³.

On October 23, 2012, the Speaker of the Nigerian House of Representatives, Honourable Aminu Tambuwal, met with Japanese Prime Minister Noda. Earlier on July 4, Nigeria's Foreign Affairs Minister at that time, Ambassador Gbenga Ashiru, had met with his Japanese counterpart, Koichiro Gemba, on the occasion of the former's attendance of a world ministerial conference on disaster reduction in Tohoku. Both sides discussed bilateral issues as well as issues relating to Mali and Guinea Bissau in West Africa, and the expected reforms of the UN Security Council which the two countries have interest in. Minister Gemba requested the attendance of Nigeria's President Goodluck Jonathan of the TICAD-V planned for June 2013, in Yokohama, Japan³.

2.3.6.8 Nigeria-South Africa Relations

The emergence of South Africa on the African political scene in its post-apartheid period has led to a challenge of the apparent dominance of Africa's political system by Nigeria. Although, it cannot boast of Nigeria's demographic strength, however, its economy is better organised and its military capability is superior to that of Nigeria. These areas of strength have given South Africa certain competitive edge over Nigeria making South Africa a force to be reckon with in Africa.

Nigeria-South Africa relations has been described by scholars as that of cooperation and competition^{88,89}. It has also witnessed period of hostility and tension. While Nigeria's roles in the anti-apartheid struggle is well-known but it is believed that it has not come with the expected reciprocity in post-apartheid South Africa. Nigerians have been faced with spate of xenophobic attacks in South Africa. The two countries have also been at loggerheads over election into certain positions in the African Union and representation of Africa in global bodies. However, it has been argued that despite these differences, being the two largest economy in Africa the two countries must cooperate for the advancement of African continent.

The first joint effort between Nigeria and post-apartheid South Africa was in ensuring that the Libyan leader Moammar Gaddafi's vision for a new continental body, which would be called United States of Africa, with one government and armed forces, got diverted to a less ambitious and less intrusive African Union. The second involved South African President Thabo Mbeki's initiative which was to bring in Senegal and Nigeria as active partners culminating in the establishment of New Economic Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) under which, at least US\$60 billion Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) would annually flow into the African continent to help jumpstart and sustain economic and social development on the continent. Nigeria and South Africa also established Bi-National Commission jointly chaired by Vice President, Atiku Abubakar, and Deputy President Jacob Zuma. The two countries also succeeded at the continental level in persuading the African Union to adopt a position demanding at least two permanent seats for the continent on the proposed reformed United Nations Security Council.

There have, of course, been areas of disagreement such as the elections in Cote d'Ivoire where South Africa supported Laurent Gbagbo as against Nigeria's and ECOWAS support for the winner of the election, Alassan Ouattara. Also, the overthrow of Libya's Moammar Gaddafi where South Africa opposed the unconstitutional overthrow of the government in violation of the African Union Constitutive Act but Nigeria supported the Clinton, Cameron and Zakozy initiative in toppling the Gaddafi regime. In addition, Nigeria's opposition to the nomination of South African candidate, Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma, as head of the African Union Commission, a position that was eventually overruled by the heads of state who gave the South African former Minister the mandate to head the Commission.

2.3.6.9 Nigeria-Brazil Relations

With its large demography of people of Nigerian descent, especially Yoruba descent, Brazil shared cultural ties with Nigeria dating back to the period of the slave trade. This has continued to have significant impact on the bilateral relations between the two countries leading to a kind of special relations between them. For instance, during Nigeria's independence in 1960, Brazil was the only country in South America invited to the Independence celebrations³. The mutual interest between the populations of the two countries is also reflected in the massive support Brazil usually receive from Nigerian football fans whenever its national team is playing against other countries except Nigeria. At the governmental level, Nigeria is the only country in West Africa to maintain Strategic Dialogue Mechanism with Brazil³. Since 1960, there has been a series of high-level contact between the two countries including exchange visits by Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Heads of State. For instance, the Brazilian Minister Aloysio Nunes Ferreira paid a working visit to Nigeria in October 2017 while Nigeria's Minister of Foreign Affairs Geoffrey Oyeama visited Brazil in June 2018.

There are several bilateral agreements between the two countries concerning defence, welfare, infrastructure, trade, mining and legal affairs. For instance, under a new agricultural programme called 'The Green Imperative', the federal government of Nigeria is collaborating with the government of Brazil. The Brazilian government is offering a loan of \$1.1 billion for the programme which is expected to create 5 million jobs³.

2.3.6.10 Nigeria-United States Relations

From 1960 until the end of the cold war in 1989, Nigeria-United States relations from the American perspective was predicated essentially upon the U.S. estimation of Nigeria's altitude

on the East-West conflict while Nigerian perception was based on the impetus to play a leading role in the decolonization process in Africa. While the relationship has since blossomed to almost every aspect of human endeavor, the beginning of this relationship had very little to do with any subsisting desire on the part of the U.S. to assist Nigeria in a programme to transform its colonial-based economy⁹⁰.

The economic dependent of Nigeria on the United States in particular and the Western countries in general and its constraints on the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy has made bilateral relations between the two countries very significant. In recent years, especially with the need to contain the onslaught of the Boko Haram insurgents in the north-eastern part of the country. Nigeria's security needs has also defined her relations with the United States. This security needs has been used as a leverage by the United States to influence Nigeria. For instance, the request by Nigeria for certain ammunitions and fighter jets to combat the Boko Haram terrorists from the United States have been based on certain conditionality.

During President Jonathan's administration, the Nigerian government's request for the purchase of fighter jets was rejected by the US government based on humanitarian ground. However, the request was approved when the President Buhari came to power.

Another factor that enhance the lopsidedness in Nigeria United States election is oil which has remain the lynchpin of the Nigerian economy. Oil has contributed annually an average of 82-93% of government revenues and 90% of total exports as well as foreign reserves⁹⁰. Being the largest importer of Nigeria's crude oil the United States possess the power to drastically alter the demand for Nigerian oil not only in internal market but also in the world market especially due to the presence of general decline for fossil fuel worldwide.

The dominant role of the United States in the world political economy and security architectures are significant implication on Nigeria United States relation. From the onset the United States was determined to make Nigeria a strategic ally in its overall Africa geo-strategic policy. This could be seen in the early entente established between the Kennedy administration and Balewa's regime⁹⁰. Except for the brief period under Muritala/ Obasanjo regime and years of General Sani Abacha's administration, Nigeria's foreign relations I have mostly being actioned not to be an agonistic to the American strategic designs.

It is worth noting that virtually all Nigerian leaders value the country's relations with the West. Indeed, in 2008, the late President Musa Yar'Adua lamented the failure of the G20 to invite Nigeria to her meeting that was held in London. President Goodluck Jonathan, while on his own presidential term, regretted the non-inclusion of the country in the group given her dominant position in Africa. The generality of informed Nigerians felt disappointed when the US government removed the name of the country from the list of African countries to be visited by President Obama in his second African tour in 2013 on the grounds of high level of official corruption and the spate of insecurity in Nigeria.

Having established the high value placed on the West by our leaders in the conduct of the country's international relations, the next logical question one can ask is: why has Nigeria not been able to derive much more benefits from the West especially the United States? Chief Olusegun Obasanjo was initially the good boy of America that he visited officially both as Military Head of State and Civilian President. The same question can also be posed to President Jonathan who was warmly supported in 2011 to become Nigeria's President, following the official visit he paid to Washington in 2010.

It is important to note that the US has her interests which she pursues and wants to impress on other nations. As a giant imperialist state, the US often displays a tendency of dictating to other parts of the world (some would argue that Nigeria too does so in the West African sub-region though with little success). Unfortunately, Nigeria is too insignificant to change the policing attitude of the US. This informed the arrogance that led to the formation of the US Africa High Command without any significant Inputs from African countries. Notwithstanding the opposition of Nigeria and South Africa, the Command is a reality. The Washington administration is also arm-twisting African countries to see the issue same-sex as a human right issue.

Also, the US was obviously unhappy with Nigeria over her refusal to support the trial of President Omar EL-Bashir of Sudan. The US and her allies want him to be tried over war crimes. The refusal of Jonathan's government to arrest him in Abuja when he attended the AU's Conference on HIV/ /AIDS angered the US government. It was certainly unimpressed by the excuse of Nigeria that the position of the African Union (AU) on the matter is not congruent with the US demand.

Unlike Nigeria, the American society has reached some consensus on some pertinent issues. The mistake often made by Nigerian leaders is to show little recognition to issues that enjoy broad consensus in the US. At some other time, Nigerians have failed to accord recognition to the phenomenon of double-standards in applying the rules on other countries by the United States. Depending on the mood of Washington, what some countries of high strategic value would have done to America and get away with, if done by some other countries, the whole weight of the US would fall on such countries. Knowing Nigeria's position on the global power calculus is important in understanding how she can cash in on her relations with the United States.

In all the bilateral relations of Nigeria examined, it is obvious that Nigeria could not compete favourably in terms of economic and technological advancement what has ever given the country the competitive edge is her demography. Demographic has been able to make Nigeria and an available partner to many countries in the net world. Even in countries with greater population than that of Nigeria and china the need for markets for their products as they become manufacturing and industrial Giants have made having bilateral relation with Nigeria irresistible to them. Even in the 'dark era' of General Sani Abacha regime imposition of international sanctions on Nigeria buy many of the Western countries did not prevent them formulating with Nigeria economically as many of their multinational companies could not afford to lose their market share of the Nigerian economy.

2.3.7 Nigeria in Multilateral Relations

Multilateralism simply means the coordinated interaction of three or more states or other actors in international politics⁹¹. Principally, it entails acting together of more than two actors in the international system. However, it often involves coordinated diplomatic interaction of more than two actors within the framework of international organisations and carried out in accordance with the rules and regulation that underlie those organisations (such as the United Nations charter for example)⁹¹.

Multilateral diplomacy has blossomed in an era of increasing interdependence in which issues that can be handled successfully unilateral or bilateral are now infinitesimal in comparison to those issues that involve many sovereign states³. Thus, multilateralism has now become an almost indispensable form of international diplomacy in view of the current challenges facing the world.

Nevertheless, the impression must not be created that bilateral and multilateral diplomacy are totally segregated. Rather, the two items are, and can even be, intertwined. They complement each other and some sovereign states may utilise the umbrella of multilateral platform to pursue bilateral objectives while there are issues which are multilateral in nature but some states may prefer to handle bilaterally³. The platform of multilateral organisations such as the United Nations often provide avenue for states to conduct bilateral relations with other states, especially those states in which due to reasons of limited resources or otherwise, are unable to establish resident diplomatic mission.

Multilateral diplomacy comes with many advantages. It offers better opportunities for dealing with complex tasks. It also gives legitimacy to decisions taken and makes them more sustainable as it involved joint efforts and representation. Multilateral relations take better account of the different objectives and interest of the parties involved and therefore multilateral agreements are generally broad and weighty.

On the other hand, there are inherent difficulties with multilateralism. These include situations resembling the classic game theory prisoner's dilemma in which the best solution to a conflict for all cannot be realised due to the absence of trust⁹¹. Also, multilateral negotiations are usually protracted, costly and ineffective as they require flexibility, compromises and legitimacy may have to be bought at the price of reduce effectiveness.

The significance of multilateral relations in the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy can be seen in the importance that the country placed on international organisations. Although the country's positions on various issues have changed over the years, her level of involvement in international organisations have increased⁹². Despite the fact that the federal government of Nigeria in 2017

promised to stop the country's membership of 90 international organisation out of 310 as a result of a backlog of \$120 million in membership dues and other financial obligations, by 2019 the country still retain and even raised her membership to 324 international organisations^{93,94}. These organisations cut across all spheres of human life in terms of function and are sub-regional, regional and international in outlook. Among the 324 international organisations, it is only the International Hydrological Programme that does not attract financial commitment from Nigeria⁹⁴. This demonstrates the financial implications of the membership of these organisations on Nigeria. As it relates to this research work, the germane questions are: what are the benefits and relevance of the membership of these organisations to the developmental foreign policy of Nigeria? In what ways have the membership of these organisations impacted Nigerian citizens? What are the demographic considerations in Nigeria membership of these organisations?

The promotion of international cooperation for the consolidation of universal peace and mutual respect among all nations which is one of the objectives of Nigeria's foreign policy is a major reason for the country's active participation in international organisations. Aside this, in the cases of OAU and ECOWAS, these organisations help to achieve another objectives of Nigeria's foreign policy which is the promotion of African integration and support for African unity. The need to achieve another of her foreign policy objectives which is respect for international and treaty obligations as well as the seeking of settlement of international disputes by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, and adjudication is the basis for Nigeria's membership of international organisations such as the International Court of Justice (ICJ) and the International Criminal Court (ICC). Nigeria's membership of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) is in line with her foreign policy objective of promotion of a just world economic order. Above all, Nigeria has been using the platform of these multilateral organisations to ensure the promotion

and protection of her national interest which is the number one and primary objective of her participation in the international organisations⁹⁵.

Nigeria's role in the international organisations is not limited to membership alone. The country has vied for positions in them and her citizens have occupied important positions in these organisations. For instance, Nigeria's former permanent representative to the United Nations, Joseph Garba, was elected in 1989 to a one-year term as president of the UN General Assembly. Also in 1989, Chief Emeka Anyaoku became the Secretary General of the Commonwealth of Nations. Other Nigerians including Teslim Elias, Prince Bola Ajibola, Professor Adebayo Adedeji, Professor Ibrahim Gambari, among others have at one time or the other held important positions within the UN or its affiliates. Recently, Professor Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala became the head of the World Trade Organization (WTO) and by that, she became the first woman and at the same time the first black person to hold the position.

Demographic consideration has a role to play in Nigeria's membership of these organisations. Not many countries in the world can boast of membership of such a large number of international organisations as Nigeria with 324. This huge number may be attributed to the large diversity interests which the country pursue aboard. These large diversity of interests may be a reflection of variations in interest due to the diversity in the country's population.

Demography can also account for the country's successful participation in peacekeeping missions, an area where the country has stood out and received recognition globally. The country was able to leverage on her large military to participate in many missions where in some cases countries with better military armaments could only provide technical assistance. Thus, Nigeria is able to compensate for what she lacks in term of military technical know-how with her large

population. As early as the 1960s in the period immediately after her Independence, Nigeria contributed personnel to many UN peacekeeping missions including operations in Congo, Tanzania and the observer mission in India/Pakistan⁹².

To underscore the importance of Nigeria placed on multilateralism, Nigeria initiated the Concert of Medium Powers, otherwise known as the Lagos Forum in 1987 to facilitate multilateral cooperation and to enable member states to exert greater collective influence on world affairs. Egypt, Sweden, Zimbabwe and Austria as some of its member . However, the removal of Professor Bolaji Akinyemi, the initiator of the idea, as Nigeria's Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1987 led to the collapse of the initiative^{75,92}.

2.3.7.1 Nigeria and the United Nations

Nigeria was admitted as the 99th member of the United Nations on 7 October, 1960 just six days after gaining independence. Since then, the UN has had productive engagement with Nigeria⁹⁶.

Since its establishment in 1945, the United Nations has been the most important international organisations. It was established as a replacement for the League of Nations which had failed in its mission of promoting global peace and security following the outbreak of the Second World War.

Currently, the United Nations System (UNS) in Nigeria comprised 19 residents and 4 non-resident entities⁹⁶. In the past six decades, Nigeria has been actively involved in the activities of the United Nations. The fact that many of the objectives of Nigeria's foreign policy aligned with the principles of the United Nations has made it easy for the country to function smoothly within the organization⁹⁵. As an international organisation that seeks to bring together its member states

to confront common challenges and manage shared responsibilities, the UN has found Nigeria to be an asset in the achievement of its set objectives. Membership of the organisation has afforded Nigeria the opportunity to work cooperatively with other countries of the world to address global problems. This has been reflected in Nigeria's active involvement in the activities of the world body which cut across a wide range of issues, from preventive diplomacy, conflict resolution, peacekeeping and the fight against terrorism, to social and economic development and the protection of human rights, among others⁹⁷.

At the same time, the United Nations has been a formidable supporter of and have developed strong partnership with Nigeria in terms of her developmental aspirations. The UN has collaborated with Nigeria in the formulation and implementation of several high-impact programs and intervention in humanitarian situation in the country. The UN has been active in the north-eastern region of Nigeria where the country is currently battling insurgency and other international conflict which has contributed to her developmental deficits⁹⁶.

Nigeria's involvement with the UN can also be extended to its specialised agencies where studies have shown that the country has benefited tremendously from the activities of the agencies. Many of the agencies have provided resources and made contributions to human capacity development which has assisted in the improvement of the quality of life of Nigerians⁹⁵. These include areas such as health care, infrastructural development, transport, educational facilities, agriculture, climate change, environmental issues, disaster management and other issues like the fight against terrorism, human trafficking and money laundering. Thus, in diverse ways the UN and its agencies has played important roles and contributed to Nigeria's development.

Just like Nigeria's foreign policy in general, an examination of Nigeria's involvement at the United Nations revealed the same pattern under different administrations in the country. While the substance has generally remained the same, however, domestic and international development have influenced areas of emphasis at different times⁹⁸. The strong position which the country maintained against apartheid was one area where she was very consistent. Nigeria used every available opportunity at the United Nations, especially from second half of the 1970s, to lead the crusade against apartheid and championed the cause of racial equality. Thus, Nigeria featured visibly in the leadership of the United Nations Special Committee against apartheid. Starting from 1972 when Edwin Ogebe Ogbu was elected as the chairman, the committee was headed by different Nigerians for over two decades until the end of apartheid rule in South Africa in 1994⁹⁵. The list of Nigerians that headed the committee include Edwin Ogebe ogbu (1972-1975), Leslie Harriman (1976-1979), Akporode Clanc (1979-1981), Yusuf Maitama Sule (1981-1983), Joseph Garba (1984- 1990), and Ibrahim Gambari (1990 - 1994). The only exemption was between 1975 and 1976 when Madam Jeanne Martin Cisse from Guinea chaired the committee. This demonstrated the belief of the UN in the ability of Nigeria in assisting in the fulfillment of some of its important undertakings⁹⁵.

Being the most visible African country in the UN through the fulfillment of important functions especially peacekeeping missions it is expected that the country should be able to easily occupy the African slot in the proposed expansion and reformed UN Security Council. However, this seems not to be the case as events surrounding the issue have shown. Detailed examination of Nigeria's quest for UN Security Council's permanent membership will be done in the latter part of this work.

2.3.7.2 Nigeria and Organisation of African Unity (OAU)/African Union (AU)

The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was formed primarily to provide a credible platform through which African states could engage the rest of the world with one voice and to fast-track the social, economic, political and cultural development of the continent⁹⁹. Prior to the establishment of the OAU African political leaders had recognised the need for cooperation and integration among various countries on the continent¹⁰⁰. For instance, Ghana, under the dynamic leadership of Kwame Nkrumah, had organised series of continental meetings and conferences including the first Conference of Independent African States and the All-African Peoples Conference, both of which were held in Accra in 1958¹⁰¹. Through these activities, Ghana gained international prominence and had acquired the status of an “Africa Mecca” of sort which African leaders, politicians, nationalists and intellectuals frequently visited¹⁰¹. The emergence of Nigeria as an independent state in 1960 changed this status quo as the country through her demographic strength backed by abundant natural resources was able to provide a better counterweight on the African political scene. Besides, the moderate and gradual approach adopted by Nigeria towards the process of African integration was well received and supported by many African states as compared to the radical and immediate wholesome political unification of African states that Kwame Nkrumah was canvassing.

Since independence in 1960, Nigeria had preoccupied herself with the cause of Africa. A critical review of Nigeria's foreign policy revealed the country's historical commitment to the political, economic, social and cultural development of Africa. Nigeria has invested unmatched effort by way of provision of financial, material and human assistance towards the progress of Africa. Despite incessant call among Nigerians for the country to shift her foreign policy away from Africa centeredness, the continent still occupy a permanent position in her foreign policy

considerations. This is underscored by the fact that section 19 sub-section b of the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (as amended in 2011) stipulates that the “promotion of African integration and support for African unity” shall be one of the objectives of Nigeria's foreign policy. Both in its initial conception as OAU and the subsequent transformation into African Union (AU), there is no doubt that the organisation has provided the platform for Nigeria to articulate this key objective of her foreign policy.

Nigeria's huge demography, the most populous in Africa, has conferred on her the leadership responsibility of the African continent. Many Nigerian leaders have been motivated by the fact the country should not appear as ‘big for nothing’ and thereby made strenuous efforts to fulfill the country's obligations on African continent. This, the country has done in no small measure. For instance, it is on record that Nigeria is the only country that has set up a trust fund in the African Development Bank for poorer African countries to borrow from with minimal interest rates⁹⁹. Nigeria contributed \$16.96 million to the budget of African Union in 2016 and she was also responsible for about 13% of the members’ contribution to the AU budget in 2015¹⁰⁰.

Aside financial support and contributions, Nigeria has performed creditably well in the critical area of peacekeeping on the continent. Nigeria has made significant contributions to peacemaking missions across Africa including in Congo, Somalia, Liberia, Sudan, Mali, Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast, Gambia and many others⁹⁹. Due to the strategic importance of peace and security to the continent's development, Nigeria’s role in peacekeeping is highly appreciated. Following the ratification of the protocol relating to the Peace and Security Council of the AU in December 2003, then Nigerian President, Olusegun Obasanjo served as the first chairman of the Council^{99,100}.

An area where Nigeria has clearly demonstrated her leadership responsibility in Africa is her intellectual contributions to the continent's development. Though the instrumentality of the Technical Aid Corps (TAC), Nigeria has been assisting needy African states with technical manpower to fast-track their socio-economic development. Yearly, the Nigerian government send out Nigerian professionals including doctors, teachers, engineers and a host of others to aid various African countries in their developmental aspirations and transformation. TAC, as a scheme, represents one of the soft instruments of Nigeria's foreign policy and involve the mobilization of well-trained domestic human resources and their deployment to African countries with weak human capacity needed for meaningful development. The scheme, which is well received in many African states, has impacted positively on Africa and also helped to booster Nigeria's image.

Nigeria's intellectual contribution to the OAU/AU and the continent at large also reflected in the making of the various charters and protocols including the charter of the OAU and the transformation to the African Union in which Nigerians played leading roles. Nigeria was credited with being the chief driver in the process that led to the formation of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)⁹⁹.

If the African Union is cast in the mould of United Nations Organisation, without any shred of doubt, Nigeria would be a permanent member of its 'Security Council'¹⁰⁰. This is to show the weight of the country within the Union. However, Nigeria has continued to face a lot of challenges in exercising her leadership role within the organisation and in her African relations in general. Some African countries have not felt the need to reciprocate Nigeria's goodwill despite being beneficiaries of her good gestures. Many of these countries have stood in strong

opposition to Nigeria whenever the country aspires for positions within the African Union or on the platforms of other international organisations.

Nigeria's consistent 'Big Brother' role in Africa has also been criticized as a demonstration of hegemonic pretence when in reality her domestic social, economic realities revealed a different picture. For a country embedded in insecurity and economic and political instability, mass poverty, hunger, social unrest and corruption, it is seemingly hypocritical for such a country to be a godfather¹⁰⁰.

All the above notwithstanding, Nigeria's relations with OAU/AU have been symbiotic. While the organisation provides the country with the platform to demonstrate her leadership credentials on the international stage, on the other hand, she has also provided the organisation with all support.

2.3.7.3 Nigeria and ECOWAS

Nigeria's relations with the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) are governed by history, fundamental beliefs, perception and even myth. As a driving power in the sub-region, Nigeria's policy planners have an expressed interest in enhancing her economic and security interests through ECOWAS for the transformation of prevailing regional and neo-colonial structure and power relations¹⁰². Since her independence in 1960, Nigeria's commitment to the security and stability of the West Africa sub-region has remained constant. The outbreak of the civil war in the country and its attendant experiences and effects on the country brought to the fore the need to expedite action on the formation of an institution or platform to regulate the relations among countries in the West Africa sub-region. The establishment of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in Lagos in 1975 has been described as one of the greatest achievements of Nigeria's foreign policy. The creation of ECOWAS was spearheaded

and funded almost exclusively by Nigeria and is therefore regarded as 'Nigeria's baby'. With this assertion, no Nigerian leader would like to see the collapse of ECOWAS under his or her watch. Thus, matters relating to ECOWAS has always occupied a central place in the conduct of Nigeria's foreign relations no matter the administration in power.

Nigeria's contribution to the ECOWAS project is without equal. Like her membership of other international organisations, the huge demography of the country makes the country a center of attraction and market destination for other countries in the sub-region. The presence of large number of Nigerians in neighbouring countries and their economic interest is always a factor affecting Nigeria's relations in the sub-region. Similarly citizens from other countries in the sub-region are also present in large numbers in Nigeria.

In terms of financial contributions, over the years, statistics have shown that Nigeria remains the financial backbone of ECOWAS. For instance, in the period between 2003 and 2015, a total of \$1.736 billion was contributed by all 15 member states with Nigeria's contribution amounting to 40.9% of the total. Therefore, Nigeria remains the live wire of the organisations without which the organisation's chances of survival is very slim.

The maintenance of peace and stability in the region through peace keeping operations is an area where Nigeria's contribution looms largest. The formation of ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) which Nigeria spearheaded and its subsequent successful intervention in the crisis in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Gambia and others has raised the status of Nigeria in the international community. Nigeria's efforts in the maintenance of peace and security in the sub-region was well appreciated by the United Nations¹⁰³.

Nigeria's relations with ECOWAS is not without challenges. The country's justification for her financial support for the organisation has been questioned. In 2022, the Nigeria's House of Representative set up a committee to review the benefits and contributions of ECOWAS to Nigeria's social and economic development¹⁰⁴. Aside this, the fear of Nigeria's domineering role and hegemony still persist among many member states of the sub-regional organisation.

Relations with francophone member states of ECOWAS is also a challenge to Nigeria. The francophone countries still maintain their political and economic ties with France. Nigeria's influence in the region is regarded by the French as a counterweight to the maintenance of her stronghold on the francophone countries. This perception has not only affected Nigeria's relations with ECOWAS but the effective functioning of the organisation as well.

2.3.7.4 Nigeria-OIC Relations

Similarly, Nigeria also belong to the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC). Previously known as the Organisation of Islamic Conference, it is the second largest organisation in the world after the United Nations with 57 member states that spread over four continents. The main of objective of the OIC is to safeguard and protect the interests of the Muslim world in the spirit of promoting international peace and harmony among various people of the world¹⁰⁵. It has consultative and cooperative relations with the UN and other intergovernmental organisations to protect the vital interests of the over 1.5 billion Muslims of the world and to work for the settlement of conflicts and disputes among member states¹⁰⁵.

While, generally, ethnic considerations play low role in Nigeria's membership of international organisations and foreign policy in general, the same cannot be said of religion. This is exemplified in Nigeria's relations with Israel. The country also has representation in the Vatican.

The history of Nigeria's membership of and participation in the OIC has been filled with debate and controversy. This is a consequence of the religious demographic pattern of the country where the mostly Muslim north support the country's membership of the organisation whereas it is mostly opposed in the south due to its large Christian population. However, an examination of Nigeria's membership of the OIC revealed that it was General Yakubu Gowon (a Christian of northern extraction) who initiated the country's membership of the organisation after its formation on 25 September 1969¹⁰⁶. During this period, Nigeria was embroiled in civil war and in his attempt to win the war, General Gowon took several decisions especially after many of the Western countries failed to give the federal government the needed support. Among these decisions was his approach of the Communist as well as Arab countries especially Egypt for support. General Gamal Abdel Nasser, the president of Egypt, in addition to supplying Nigeria with some sophisticated weapons also introduced General Gowon to the OIC with the aim of getting further support from other member states of the organization. Thus, Nigeria was granted observer status in the (OIC)¹⁰⁶.

For 17 years, Nigeria retained her observer status in the organisation until 1986 when her membership was regularised under the administration of General Ibrahim Babangida. It was believed that this action was a compromise for the settlement of the lingering crisis over Nigeria-Israel relations which has been facing stiff opposition from the northern part of the country³³. Therefore, by 1992 the dream of the Israelis to have a Nigerian embassy in Tel Aviv became a reality. This decision is to satisfy a large segment of the population in the Christian south who had been clamoring for better relations between Nigeria and Israel. In this, demographic considerations played a major role in the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy.

It has been argued that Nigeria's membership of the OIC should not be controversial since other countries with fewer Muslim population compared to Nigeria such as Cameroon, Uganda, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Mozambique, and several others are member states of the organization¹⁰⁶. Just like her relations with Israel and the Vatican, what should be of paramount importance are the benefits that are derivable in terms of development foreign policy for Nigeria due to her membership of the OIC or any other multilateral organization.

2.3.7.5 Nigeria and the G7

Nigeria's multilateral relations should not be viewed from the perspective of her relations as a member of international organisations alone. There are several other channels through which the country's multilateral relations are carried out. For instance, although Nigeria is not a member of the G7, the country has participated several times in the annual forum of the organisation. The G7 started as an informal club of the seven most industrialized non-communist nations of the world comprising Canada, Germany, Italy, France, Japan, the United Kingdom and the United States of America. However, since its formal recognition in 1975, member states have periodically opened the group's annual forum to non-members especially less-developed countries to participate as observers¹⁰⁷. In recent times, Nigeria has been invited to the annual forum of the organisation on several occasions. Under the administration of President Muhammad Buhari, Nigeria participated in the forum twice, in 2015 and 2017¹⁰⁸. Through her participation at the summit, Nigeria was able to gain the support of the G7 in the war against the Boko Haram insurgents as the member states pledged to provide the country with military and technical support. In addition, Nigeria made gains in respect to trade and foreign direct investment from the G7 member states¹⁰⁷. However, Nigeria's fragile and weak economy is a

major constraint in her relationship with the G7 as it made the country to play second fiddle to the more advanced and economically stable member states of the G7.

2.3.7.6 Nigeria and Her Neighbours

Demographic considerations also play important roles in the relations between Nigeria and her immediate neighbours. Ethnic and other affinities between Nigeria and its neighbours have helped in cementing good relations with these countries. This made Nigeria one of the countries in the continent with less number of border clashes with her immediate neighbours based on her policies which emphasizes tranquility, good relations and highest possible cooperation¹⁰⁸. It has also helped to gain the support of some of them during critical times especially during the period of Nigerian civil war. However, Nigeria relations with her neighbours has been damaged by increasing trans-border organised crimes such as kidnapping, armed banditry, terrorism, among others. It was an attempt to prevent this that made Nigeria to close her border with the neighbor states in 2018.

The fact that all the four immediate neighbours of Nigeria are francophone also has effect on her foreign relations. Since these countries still maintain economic, political and military ties with France, it means that Nigeria's relations with them signifies an indirect relations with France. For instance, should Nigeria go into military confrontation with any of these countries, the implication is that Nigeria is not only confronting the particular country but France as well since they maintain military pact with France which allowed France to support them whenever they are

faced with security threat. In spite of this, demographic considerations due to ethnic and other affinities between Nigeria and some of its neighbours has helped in getting some of them, principally in Niger Republic, out of the grip of France and firmly on the side of Nigeria³³.

2.3.7.7 Nigeria's Quest for UN Security Council Permanent Membership

Nigeria's huge demographic is one of her major credentials in the country's quest for a permanent seat in the proposed reformation of the United Nations Security Council. With over 150 million people, Nigeria remains the country with the largest concentration of black people in the world. It is estimated that one in every four black Africans is a Nigerian¹⁰⁹. Therefore, occupying the permanent seat will not only represent the interests of Africa but the entire black people.

Seven African countries including Algeria, Egypt, Ethiopia, Kenya, Libya, Senegal and South Africa have been touted as possible contenders with Nigeria for the slot (s) that may be reserved for Africa. Of the seven, South Africa and Egypt are regarded as the most formidable competitors¹⁰⁹. However, in terms of demography, South Africa only has about 40 million black people while the rest of her population are non-black. As for Egypt, it can only be regarded as an African country only by virtue of its physical location on the African continent while its population are non-black and are generally oriented towards the Middle East. Therefore, as regards demographic consideration, the two countries cannot realistically qualify to represent and speak for Africa where Nigeria is present.

There is considerable number of literatures on the remarkable contributions of Nigeria to the promotion and maintenance of international peace and security which is the primary responsibility of the Security Council. No other country in Africa can boast of the same achievements as Nigeria in terms of experience in UN affairs. Nigeria has participated in not less than 26 UN peacekeeping missions serving as Force commander in some of them. While South Africa is a newcomer in terms of active participation in UN activities on behalf of Africa, Nigeria has in many ways contributed to the UN effort towards the promotion of world peace by playing leading roles in the settlement of various conflicts and crises in Africa such as in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Sudan, among others¹⁰⁹.

Nigeria has also had more experience in the affair of the Security Council than her other African competitors. Aside being the only African country that has been elected into the UN Security Council four times, Nigeria has also had the opportunity to chair and presided over the meetings of the council¹⁰⁹. In this light, Nigeria's credentials for the membership of the UN Security Council is impressive compared to her opponents.

Although, there may be little or no doubt about Nigeria's outstanding record within the UN system, the challenges of political instability coupled with insecurity which have devilled the country will definitely reduce her chances of securing the permanent security seat. These challenges are consequences of the failure of the leadership of the country to properly manage the country's demographic diversity and utilise it to enhance her development. Thus, while demographic considerations is a major asset in Nigeria's quest for the permanent seat in the UN Security Council, it may also turn out to be a liability for the country due to internal insecurity and socio-political challenges it poses to the country.

2.3.8 Nigeria's Foreign Policy under President Muhammadu Buhari

As a former military head of state, President Muhammadu Buhari was not naive about Nigeria's foreign policy. In fact as some historians have observed, he was toppled by General Ibrahim Babangida on account of the displeasure by Nigerians with the harsh manner that he had handled the country's affairs as the head of state¹¹⁰. However, Nigeria's foreign policy under Buhari's civilian administration is reflective of and response to the realities of domestic and international environment. The democratic setting, unlike the military regime which is dictatorial in nature, requires balancing of various interests in the decision-making process.

President Muhammadu Buhari gained political power during one of the most critical period in the history of Nigeria. After three unsuccessful attempts in 2003, 2007 and 2015, he was able to defeat his main challenger, the then incumbent President, Dr. Goodluck Jonathan in the 2015 presidential election. The outcome of the 2015 presidential election was significant not only because it represented a historical landmark in which an opposition political party ousted the ruling party but also because of its far-reaching implications for Nigeria's foreign policy¹¹¹. For instance, the outcome of the election helped to burnish the image of Nigeria and her credentials as a true democratic nation and as well the global expectation of her leadership role on the African continent. Similarly, the election outcome helped put to rest the lingering questions over the country's future and survival as a nation¹¹¹.

On assumption of office, the Buhari administration was confronted with many challenges due to many years of mismanagement and maladministration. With his inauguration, many expected a new dawn for the country. This confidence was based on the personality of President Buhari as a visionary and anti-corruption crusader. Similarly, based on his campaign promises, it was

expected that Nigeria's foreign policy would witness a new era during his administration¹¹¹. However, the operating environment he met on ground was quite different from what he had experienced as a military ruler between 1983 and 1985. While Nigeria's foreign policy may be seen as a continuum, an accurate examination of Nigeria's foreign policy under Buhari administration cannot be done without considering the internal and external environments which constitutes the background for the conduct of the foreign policy. These include military, political, economy, among others.

The challenge of insecurity posed by Boko Haram terrorists in the north-eastern part of Nigeria represented the most difficult internal security problem in the history of the country since the end of the civil war. The activities of the Boko Haram terrorist had affected not only the north-east but almost all the sectors of the entire country as well. Therefore, security was on top of the Buhari government's agenda. The Buhari administration was proactive in tackling this problem. In doing this, he focused on strengthening relations with Nigeria's neighbor. Consequently, the Multinational Joint Task Force (MN JTF) was reinvigorated with fresh impetus, operational mandate, concept of operations, delineation of operational boundaries and considerable funding as well as troop contribution¹¹². Furthermore, on combating insecurity, the Buhari administration's foreign policy focused on strengthening cooperation and partnership at the regional, continental and global levels¹¹¹. Through these efforts, President Buhari was able to secure the purchase of Tucano aircrafts which was previously denied to his predecessor, President Goodluck Jonathan, by the United States to fight the terrorists. With these measures, the Buhari administration was able to prosecute the fight against the insurgents. Therefore, there is a general consensus that although bombing is still taking place, the administration has been able to reduce the capability of the Boko Haram insurgents¹¹⁰.

The fight against Boko Haram terrorists also generated a lot of humanitarian issues. The conflict has resulted in the destruction of properties and displacement of a large number of civilian population. It was estimated that between October and December 2018 alone, about 1.7 million people were in need of food. It was the attempt to alleviate condition of these vulnerable people in dire need of life-saving aid that the United Nations and its partners appealed for \$1.05 billion for 176 humanitarian projects. As at 31 October 2018, \$607 million (representing 58 percent) of the funds had been received¹¹³.

An important issue that cannot be ignored in the internal environment is the slow pace of the appointment of Ministers as well as ambassadors and high commissioners by President Buhari. The delay impacted on the country's foreign policy as the required follow-up steps to the initial presidential foreign trips could not be properly made. As a critical element of foreign policy pursuit, the diplomatic machinery must be fortified to the highest level. A condition whereby the country is starved of representation at the highest level for too long does not bode well for the conduct of her foreign policy^{110,114}.

On the economic front, Nigerian economy had just overtaken South Africa's economy to become the largest economy in Africa by the time President Buhari assumed office. Notwithstanding this, the situations of the critical sectors of the economy were nothing to write home about. The situation was compounded by a heavy drop in all price in the global market. Thus, within few months of coming to power of President Buhari, the Nigerian economy entered into recession for the first time in twenty five years¹¹⁴. To revitalize the economy, President Buhari embarked on foreign trips to attract foreign investment into the country. The president made more than 26 foreign trips within a short period of coming to power. Despite these efforts, the economy of Nigeria remained weak. It was only his trip to China that seemed to yield some positives with the

Chinese government offering a loan package of six billion dollar and a currency swap deal to reduce the lopsided trade imbalance between the two countries¹¹⁵.

The war against corruption represented one of the intermestic issues during Buhari's administration. To stabilize the dwindling economy, President Buhari focused on the recovery of looted funds by corrupt Nigerian officials. President Buhari requested the Obama administration to assist the government in curtailing corruption and improve the economy. This was followed by a meeting with the then American Vice President, Joe Biden, where it was agreed that the US would assist Nigeria in the fight against corruption. This process continued under the administration of President Donald Trump⁶⁸.

However, there were divergent opinions as to the extent of success of the fight against corruption and its modus operandi¹¹⁵. While several arrests were made and prosecution are still going on with over #3 trillion recovered, allegations have been levied on the selective charges and slowness of the prosecution of those being held for corruption¹¹⁰. This has eroded the initial trust of many Nigerians in the war against corruption.

On the aspect of relations with the neighbouring countries, President Buhari on assumption of office embarked on trips to Niger and Chad as part of his first international visits. This was subsequently followed by trips to Cameroon, Guinea and Benin Republic. The aims of the visits were to re-invigorate brotherly relations with these countries and to solicit their support in the war against terrorism. These diplomatic shuttles yielded positive result with the commitment of these countries to support Nigeria in the war against the Boko Haram insurgents¹¹⁶.

However, the decision of the Buhari administration to close the country's land borders with the neighbouring countries in August 2019 adversely affected the relations between Nigeria and the

countries concerned. The aim of the policy was to stop the smuggling of arms and ammunition and foreign goods, especially rice, into Nigeria in order to reduce insecurity and encourage domestic production. The border closure saw Nigeria caught between her desire for a strong economy with solid agricultural development and a good relationship with her neighbours¹¹⁷. With an estimated population of 200 million people, Nigeria leveraged on her demographic power which served as market for the rest of the West Africa owing to lack of compliance by the neighbouring countries to the rules guiding cross-border trade¹¹⁸. The borders were reopened after a year in December 2020.

Opinion differs on the consequences of the border closure on Nigeria's foreign policy and if the policy actually achieved the intended objectives of the closure. For the Nigerian government, the policy was a success as there was downturn in smuggling activities across the various borders of Nigeria and the government even claimed an improvement in the country's internal security as a result of the border closure¹¹⁷. Also, there was a reduction in the rice smuggling and domestic rice production skyrocketed. There was increased in rice export and local manufacturers saw a 10% increase in sales in Nigeria of their finished products^{116,117}.

On the otherhand, others have painted a more damning picture of the policy. Nigeria was accused by her neighbours of breaching the ECOWAS, Africa Continental Trade Organisation and the WTO protocols on the free movement of peoples, goods and services in the region with the border closure¹¹⁶. International trade between Nigeria and her neighbours has always being beneficial. For instance, Nigeria earned \$823.06 million from exports for ECOWAS countries in the first quarter of 2020¹¹⁸. Majority of the trade between Nigeria and her neighbours are at the informal level. Therefore, the closure of the border had a great impact on these informal sector. Traders from both Nigeria and her neighbouring countries found it difficult to trade or earn a

living. This arise as a result of the fact that in West Africa, the informal sector accounts for 90% of employment¹¹⁷. The effect of the border closure was further compounded by the ravaging Covid-19 pandemic at the time. Thus, it has been argued that at a time Nigeria needs to demonstrate her leadership credentials in the region, the policy dealt a serious blow to it.

An important area where demographic considerations influence the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy is on the issue of Nigerians in diaspora. It is estimated that there are about 70 million Nigerians living in diaspora¹¹⁸. Due to the poor economic situation of the country, the number of Nigerian professionals migrating abroad in search of greener pastures is on the increase. Also, Nigeria is one of the largest market and recruiting ground of students for major tertiary institutions around the world including those in China, Canada, Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States. It is estimated that nearly 100,000 Nigerian students enrolled abroad in 2020¹¹⁸.

In recognition of the significance of the diaspora in the conduct of Nigeria's external relations, President Buhari approved the creation of the Nigerians in Diaspora Commission (NiDCOM) to see to the interest of Nigerians in diaspora. The commission is domiciled in the foreign affairs ministry. Since its establishment in May 2019, NiDCOM, under the leadership of the former Senior Special Assistant to the President on Foreign Affairs and Diaspora Relations, Mrs. Abike Dabiri, had dedicated efforts towards addressing specific issues confronting Nigerians in diaspora. These include amongst others organisation of town hall meetings with Nigerians abroad, intervention during xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa and Ghana, evacuation of stranded Nigerians back home during the crisis in Ukraine and Sudan, provision of assistance to Nigerians who have experienced trafficking and responding to petitions from Nigerians abroad^{117,118}.

In view of the anticipated diaspora voting in the future, NiDCOM is working with relevant stakeholders including the National Assembly, Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and the National Identity Management Commission (NIMC). The National Assembly is to assist in the amendment of the electoral act while the NIMC and INEC are to assist in diaspora mapping and data capturing of Nigerians. This has commenced in parts of West Africa, Europe, Asia and America¹¹⁸.

An important aspect of the discussion on Nigeria's relation with her citizens in the diaspora is the diaspora remittances. The annual remittances from Nigerians abroad in 2019 peaked at \$25 billion representing over 8% of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) with about one-third of the total value coming from the United States, followed by the United Kingdom with 20% and Cameroun with 12%. That diaspora remittances for 2017 and 2018 were estimated to be \$22 billion and \$23.6 billion respectively and was projected to be \$29.8 billion and \$34.8 billion for 2021 and 2023 respectively¹¹⁸.

Part of the mandate of NiDCOM is to leverage the diaspora resources for national development. To achieve this, the Buhari administration adopted and approved the National Diaspora Policy that would promote trade, foreign direct investments and guarantee the diaspora Nigerians their right of participation in the social-economic development of their homeland^{117,118}.

NiDCOM, in collaboration with the Debt Management Office (DMO), also planned to relaunch the diaspora bonds which was first introduced in 2017 which gave a \$300 million bills to the Nigerian economy. To the Nigerian government, this will serve as an alternative to external borrowing¹¹⁸.

However, the commission has been faced with a number of challenges in the discharge of its various mandate. For instance, many Nigerians living in diaspora are frustrated and always have complaints about the immigration whenever they want to renew their passports. Also the commission seems not to have the ability to preempt or forestall challenges arising from attack against Nigerians in diaspora.

To underscore the significance and influence of the diaspora on the Nigerian political system, presidential candidates in recent elections in Nigeria have had to travel abroad to meet with Nigerians to sell their political agenda and manifesto. Many political aspirants in Nigeria have taken time to campaign in places like London and Washington DC with huge Nigerian presence. The level of political engagement among the diaspora is also reflected in the various protest and demonstration usually organised at the embassies and high commissions of the country on issues going on in Nigeria. An example is the ENDSARS protest that took place in 2020.

On the African continent, the Buhari administration also recorded a number of achievements including its ability to resolve the political impasse in Gambia in 2016 between the incumbent President Yahya Jameel and the newly elected President Adama Barrow. Through this intervention, Gambia was saved from the likely civil uprising that would have engulfed the country. Also, the Buhari administration signed the African pipeline project with Morocco which is expected to impact on 300 million people through electrification projects in the West African sub-region¹¹⁵.

The ratification of the African Continental Free Trade Agreement (AfCFTA) generated a class of interest between Nigeria's local consideration and regional aspirations. Intra-Africa trade is one of the major objectives of Nigeria's foreign policy. Intra-Africa trade has always been beneficial

to Nigeria. For instance, in the second-quarter of 2020, export to the whole of Africa from Nigeria was estimated at #401.4 billion (J). Although AfCFTA is set to become the second largest free-trade area in the world, Nigeria was one of the last country to ratify it. The delay in the ratification were due to concerns that Nigeria's low level of productivity and high cost of doing business will make the goods from the country uncompetitive in a free-market. This position was supported by entities such as the manufacturers Association of Nigeria (MAN) and the National Association of Nigerian Traders (NANTS). However, it has been argued that if Nigeria can address the internal challenges affecting productivity she can take full advantage of the opportunities that AfCFTA is set to offer. With the signing of the treaty, Nigerian exports to the rest of Africa will increase owing to the AfCFTA. For instance, if Nigeria's is disadvantaged in the area of production of goods, its services sector such as cultural output in the film and music industry can benefit^{117,118}.

Under the Buhari administration, Nigerians were able to attain some key positions in international organisations. These include the election and re-election of Dr. Akinwumi Adesina as President of African Development Bank, the emergence of Dr. Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala as the Director-General of the World Trade Organisation (WTO), Arunma Oteh was the treasurer and vice-president of the World Bank between 2015 to 2018, Amina Mohammed was appointed and currently serving as the Deputy Secretary-General of the United Nations, Tijani Muhammad-Bande was elected as president of the 74th session of the United Nations General Assembly in 2019, Bankole Adeoye was elected Commissioner of Political Affairs, Peace and Security at the African Union, and President Buhari was also elected in August 2018 to chair the ECOWAS for a one-year term^{116,118}.

While Nigeria's foreign policy under President Muhammadu Buhari's administration was able to make some achievements, it has also failed in many other areas. It has been opined that Nigeria's foreign policy of industrialisation has not been able to address the issue of unemployment in the country under the administration¹¹⁹. Also the economic diplomacy of the administration has been criticized as it unleashed hardship on the people due to high cost of living¹²⁰.

The D-8, acronym for Developing-8 countries comprising Bangladesh, Egypt, Nigeria, Indonesia, Iran, Malaysia, Pakistan and Turkey, is among the multilateral organisations to which the Buhari administration pursue Nigeria's foreign policy. While some have argued that Nigeria has no business being a member of the D-8 as the organisation is made up of Muslim-majority countries, others are of the view that her membership should not be construed to mean that Nigeria has become a Muslim country. Rather, Nigeria should be able to utilise the resources available in D-8 in intervening in areas of her economy where this is most needed in infrastructural development, employment generation and agriculture¹²¹. Pricewaterhouse Coopers, a notable global auditing firm, stated that the D-8 countries have the potentials of becoming the leading economic powers by 2050¹²¹.

During the administration of President Buhari, Nigeria hosted the meeting of the D-8 Ministers of industry between November 14th and 17, 2017. Also, the Secretary-General of the D-8, Ambassador Dato'Ku Jaafar Ku Shaari paid a maiden visit to Nigeria from 16 to 19th December, 2018 during which he met with Nigeria's top government officials including the Minister of foreign affairs, Geoffrey Oyeama. The visit led to discussions on some initiatives and collaborations between the D-8 and Nigeria on areas such as healthcare, industry, trade, education, tourism, energy, agriculture, food security and finance. For instance, Dr. Ado Mohammed of Nigeria was appointed as special adviser to the D-8 secretariat to midwife a new

initiative called D-8 Health and Social Protection Program. The initiative is not to look only into primary health care but also to engage the private sector and businesses in the health sector¹²². On the education sector, the D-8 is in the process of establishing the D8 Network of Pioneers for Research and Innovation with the aim of motivating students to go into innovative research in science, technology and engineering. Three Nigerian universities, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife were selected to be part of the program.

The fight against corruption is one of the cornerstone of Buhari administration's policy framework with ramifications on both the domestic and foreign policies of this country. On foreign relations, the Buhari administration was consistent in exploring relevant bilateral and multilateral platforms on tackling issue of corruption and asset recovery. For instance, in September 2015, at the Conference of States parties to the United Nations Convention against Corruption, Nigeria and South Africa led the African countries to successfully sponsor and have the resolution on "Facilitating International Cooperation on Asset Recovery and the Return of Proceeds of Crime" adopted¹²³. Similarly, at the 72nd session of the United Nations General Assembly in 2017, President Buhari called on world leaders to support efforts to combat corruption and asset recovery. In addition, at the 30th Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the African Union, President Buhari urged African leaders to have a common position on asset recovery¹²³. These efforts led to the selection of President Buhari by African Union as Africa's Champion on Anti-Corruption.

2.3.9 Factors Influencing Nigeria's Foreign Policy

From the above analysis, it can be established that since her independence in 1960, certain factors have influenced or determined the conduct and administration of Nigeria's foreign policy. However, there are divergent opinions on the number as well as the actual influence of the factors in determining Nigeria's foreign policy. While there are agreement on the influence of some of these factors, some others have been more emphasized. Externally, the location of Nigeria in Africa has been regarded as a major determinant of her foreign policy and Africa has remained the center-piece of her foreign policy. Another critical factor in the external environment of Nigeria's foreign policy are the various international obligations which the country has centered into through treaties, agreement, conventions and protocols¹¹. Others include the power equations in the international system beginning with the period of cold war rivalry between the Soviet led communist bloc and the Western capitalist bloc of which the country opted for non-alignment. This was then followed by the collapsed of the Soviet Union and the domination by Western democratic system which the country has adopted. There was also the influence of international financial system dominated by Western liberal economic institutions as well as Nigeria's membership of various international organizations such as the United Nations¹.

The domestic context represents the local circumstances that form the settings of Nigeria's foreign policy. This include the internal issues and factors that shape and influence the formulation and implementation of Nigeria's foreign policy. They are the domestic environmental determinants of the foreign policy of Nigeria. At any point in time, different players within Nigeria's domestic environment attempt to make inputs into the foreign policy. Many of these domestic drivers of Nigeria's foreign policy have been identified by scholars. Some of these include the state of the country's economy, the personality and character of

Nigeria's leaders, the issue of ethno-religious diversity in a federal system, historical traditions, colonial legacy, organized vested interests and public opinion¹²⁴. Others include the military strength of Nigeria (the size, quality) and perception of the elite, the priority which government sets for itself and the nature of the political system^{4,11}.

2.3.10 Dynamics of Demography and Nigeria's Foreign Policy

The country's demography is a major influence in the determination of its foreign policy. Due to its diversity and the diversity of interests, successive administrations have not been able to develop a coherent foreign policy to accommodate the diverse interests which are sometimes conflicting.

Nigeria's huge population makes it a centre of great geo political interest to many world powers. This includes not only the quantity of the population but also the quality, the state of its ethno-religious diversity in a federal context and the various mechanisms (such as the federal character principles) adopted to manage the diversity and how all these have impacted on the conduct of the country's foreign policy.

Currently, Nigerians number over 150 million of people, divided into over 200 ethnic groups who practice several religions, whose histories and culture are diverse¹²⁵. To manage the diversity and foster unity, the country adopted federal system of government. However, the greatest challenges facing Nigeria in the 21st Century is that of identity⁶⁷. Another dimension to this is the unresolved issues of national questions¹¹. While the federal character principle have improved representativeness of government, it has been producing unintended consequences.

In the 1960s, Nigeria was considered as a major player in global politics due to the quantity and quality of her population. Many Nigerians assisted the newly independent African states by serving in top positions of their bureaucratic hierarchy. Infact, the expectation was high through the Black world that Nigeria would the black renaissance. This was also grounded in the speech of Nigeria's first Prime Minister, Tafawa Balewa.

However, unlike other countries with similar huge population like China and India who have been able to leverage the dynamics of their demography to emerge as global power houses, Nigeria's demographic changes has become a burden to her developmental aspirations.

The relevance of quantity and quality population in the determination of a country's foreign policy cannot be overestimated. It is an essential element of national power. For instance, the estimated population of Israel is 8.6 million which represent 0.11% of the total world population. Similarly, that of the United Arab Emirates is 9.8 million which is 0.13 % of the total world population¹²⁶. Despite their relatively low population, the two countries have been able to harness the quality of their population for developmental purposes. Even countries with similar population with Nigeria in the 1960s have been to utilize their huge population and are now more developed. Brazil is currently ranked 6th most populous country in the world followed immediately by Nigeria which is ranked 7th ¹²⁶. While in the 1960s, the two countries were almost at par in terms of development, the same could not be said of the present as Brazil now ranked among the top economies of the world. This is also true of China which has been estimated to have lifted millions of her citizens out of poverty utilizing the bargaining power of her demography for national development.

It is this seeming inability of Nigeria to leverage on her demographic dynamics for her development that this research work seeks to investigate. The researcher will also interrogate how demographic considerations have influenced Nigeria’s foreign policy within the intermestic realist framework.

2.4 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework for this research study is diagrammatically represented in figure 2.3. The figure presented the two variables of the study as revealed in the topic; Demographic Dynamics and Nigeria’s Foreign Policy under the Administration of President Muhammad Buhari (2015-2023). The dependent variable is Nigeria’s foreign policy while the independent variable is Dynamics of Demography. The independent variables includes indicators such as age, gender, migration, quality and religion.

The inter-relationship between these variables suggest that all the aforementioned indicators are directly linked to intermestic affairs. This is hinged on the theory adopted for this study which is intermestic realism.

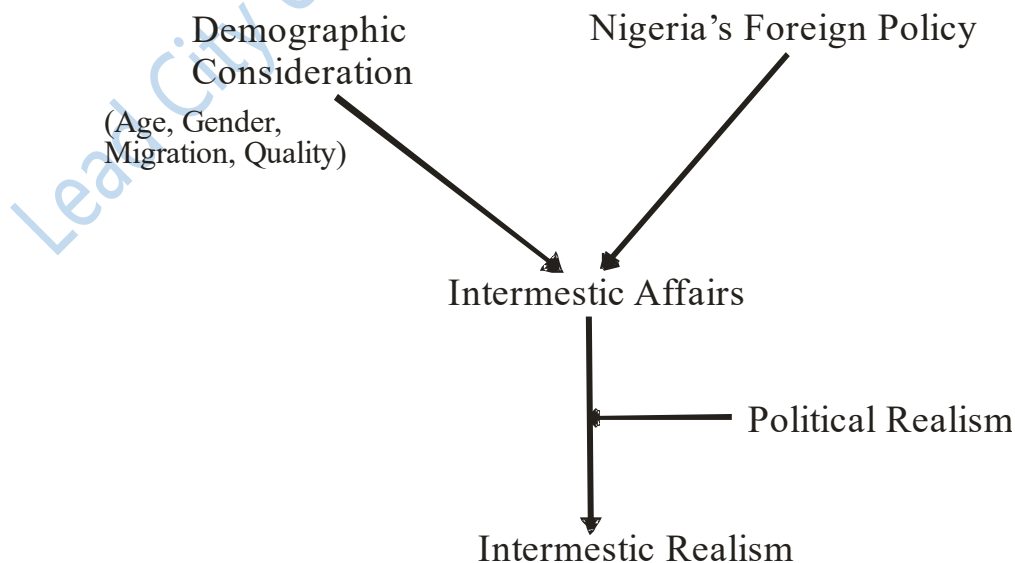


Figure 2.3: Conceptual Framework

Source: (Designed by the Researcher, 2024).

2.5 Summary of Gap in Literature Reviewed

From all the literature reviewed above, it is clear that there is no dearth of literature on Nigeria's foreign policy. Many of the literature have been able to address the principles and objectives, historical evolution and the factors influencing the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy. However, many of the literature were focused on the general discussion of the factors without deeply analyzing each of them to see how they have really impacted on the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy. This gap in the literature is what this study seek to fill. While it is difficult to analyse all the factors, this research work will be focusing on the influence of demographic considerations on the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy using the realist framework.

Similarly, existing literature have failed to clearly examine how demographic considerations have reflected on intermestic issues in the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy. That is, issues that play as a power struggle simultaneously on the domestic and international levels. This research work will also be examining how demographic considerations have influenced the decisions of the Nigerian government on issues that are intermestic in nature within the realist framework.

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Chapter Three

Methodology

3.1 Research Design

The research design for this study will be descriptive research design. Descriptive research design involves systematically describing a phenomenon or situation to answer ‘what’ questions¹. It involves capturing detailed information through observation, measurement, analysis, and representation in order to provide an objective and comprehensive understanding of the subject being studied.

3.2 Population of the Study

The population consist of all individuals or entities that researchers aim to understand or describe¹. The targeted population for this study were individuals with good knowledge of Nigeria’s foreign policy. These include experts from the Nigeria Institute for International Affairs, academicians, journalists and others with background in Nigeria’s foreign policy as well as diplomats. The participants also included Nigerians in diaspora who were selected for their views on Nigeria’s diaspora engagements which is part of the research work. For the purpose of this study, the population was twenty-nine (29) individuals.

3.3 Sample and Sampling Techniques

The sample for the study was selected from foreign policy experts. Purposive sampling techniques will be used to select participants. The choice of purposive sampling techniques is due to the fact that the primary data require for the research work can only be gotten from experts on foreign policy who are well informed and have adequate knowledge of the subject

matter of the research work. This requires a meticulous identification of such individuals². For the quantitative method, the study engaged 100 Nigerians in diaspora who were randomly selected. Simple random sampling is fundamental in collecting data from a large population size. The technique concentrates on population interest that is relatively homogenous and provides unbiased and high precision estimates. It requires little knowledge of the population and data collected through this method will be well-informed³.

3.4 Description of the Research Instrument

In-depth unstructured interview method will be used. Unstructured interview is a variety of interviews that are developed in a manner that the exact question the interviewer asks nor the responses of the subjects predetermined. It gives room for flexibility and is better suited to get varied responses. It is useful for intensive study of perception, attitudes and motion⁴.

For the questionnaire, it comprises series of questions or statements assembled to get information on set of variables which the respondents are expected to provide answers to. The questionnaire consists of two sections. Section A which deals with the demographic information of the respondents including age, sex, marital status, and years of stay outside Nigeria. Section B deals with items that are meant to elicit the opinions of the respondents on the question of perceptions of Nigerians in diapora on Nigeria-Diaspora engagement. It consists of twelve items.

3.5 Validity of Research Instrument

Validity means how accurately a measuring instrument measures what is intended to measure^{4,5}. For example, a test designed for measuring attitude should not measure aggressiveness⁴. To ensure the validity of the instruments used in this research study, the choice of methodology and

variables was guided by previous works related to the study. Also, the instrument was submitted to the supervisor to determine their adequacy to cover the basic components of the study.

3.6 Reliability of Research Instrument

This refers to the degree to which a research instrument consistently measures what it is designed to measure. For a research instrument to be considered reliable, it must consistently produce the same result using the same methods under the same circumstances⁵. For the purpose of this research work, the research work was empirically executed in order to arrive at logical conclusion. The reliability value is 0.7.

3.7 Method of Data Collection

Data for this study was from both primary and secondary sources. The qualitative and quantitative methods were used to collect data. Primary data was collected directly through the use of unstructured in-depth interview with foreign policy experts (academicians and practitioners). Also, for the quantitative approach, questionnaire was used to get the responses of the respondents. Copies of the questionnaire was designed and administered online through the use of google forms.

Secondary data was obtained from relevant literature, journals, term papers, material from the internet, newspapers, magazines, bulletins that are relevant to this study.

3.8 Method of Data Analysis

Data collected from the interview was analysed using content analysis technique. Content analysis allows researchers to quantify and analyse the presence, meanings, and relationships between words, themes and concepts in a given qualitative data⁶. This enable the researcher to

make an educated guess at some of the most likely interpretations that might be made of that text. However, a major weakness of this method is that it could be subjective in the process of analysis.

For the data collected through questionnaire, this will be analysed based on simple percentages using tables and statistical models such as bar charts.

3.9 Ethical Consideration

Ethical considerations for this study focused primarily on individuals involved in or associated with the study. Because this study involved partnership outside of academia and industry, norms of collaboration such as mutual respect, trust, and accountability were considered. To ensure social responsibility, research results are published and communicated in a morally appropriate manner. Anonymity was maintained throughout the process by using only comprehensive descriptions of participants' role and work areas when attributing quotes, ensuring transparency without revealing specific answers. Interview respondents and other participants were asked to participate voluntarily, and the goals of the study and how the data will be handled were disclosed at the outset. Interviews were conducted digitally and recorded to maintain focus on the participant. Anonymity was guaranteed to obtain honest answers, which is very important for this type of research.

Endnotes

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Chapter Four

Results and Discussion of Findings

4.1 Demographic Data Presentation

4.1.2 Presentation of Demographic Data of Interview Respondents

Table 4.1 Demographic Analysis of the respondents of the indepth unstructured interview

Academics	Researchers	Journalists	Diplomats	Others	Total
7	3	6	3	10	29

Source: Fieldwork, 2024

4.2 Presentation of Research Questions

In this section, the data gathered from the field are presented, using descriptive method. The findings of the study are examined in the context of each research question and related theoretical frameworks.

4.2.1 Research Question One: What is the nature of Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration of former President Muhammad Buhari (2015 – 2023)?

The underlining principles and objectives guiding the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy have remained mostly unchanged although the country has witnessed many changes of government. However, there are driving factors which shaped the implementation of foreign policy under each regime. These factors or determinants helped to define the nature of the foreign policy of the particular regime. These include factors or actions which may be domestic or external that give colour to Nigeria's external relations. Therefore, in considering the research question of

what the nature of Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration of President Muhammad Buhari (2015 – 2023) is?, the researcher seek to find out the core issues that affected the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy in the period under consideration.

The respondents agreed that like the previous administrations, Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari did not deviate entirely from the traditions. However, there were certain foreign policy thrust which shaped the focus of the administration. As observed by one of the respondents,

Like other administrations, President Muhammadu Buhari does not have a different foreign policy other than the one enshrined in the constitution which every government make use of. But there are foreign policy thrust of each administration. When we are looking at the foreign policy of Buhari administration, we look at the areas of diaspora funding, demography and development of Nigeria. Though experts have criticised the way and manner these foreign policy thrusts were pursued but that as it may, the administration of Buhari pursued these foreign policy thrusts to some extent¹.

A similar view was expressed by another respondent:

The core foreign policy issues under the regime of President Muhammadu Buhari was more to see the extent to which he could engage other countries, you know, on issues bordering around Nigeria and the globe, which is more like an extension of what successive regimes have done. There was more focus on the issue about citizen diplomacy as clearly you see that within that².

Thus, in answering this research question, first, it must be noted that the nature of Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari could generally be examined within the sphere of the country's traditional foreign policy as enshrined in the constitution. Specifically, however, there are certain core issues or foreign policy thrust that determined the nature of Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration.

For the respondents, among the core issues that determined the nature of Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari is the need to protect the interest of Nigerians in diaspora^{1,2,3}. In recognition of the significance of the diaspora in the conduct of Nigeria's foreign relations, the Nigerians in Diaspora Commission (NIDCOM) was established by the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari in May 2019 under the leadership of Honourable Abike Dabiri, the former Senior Special Assistant to the President on Foreign Affairs and Diaspora Relations.

For some of the respondents, the creation of NIDCOM was a notable achievement by the administration in terms of the country's external relations as it has helped in tackling one of the difficult issues confronting the country's external affairs, that is, the proper management of the concerns and interests of Nigerians living outside the shores of the country. For instance, it has been cited by some of the respondents that since the creation of NIDCOM, the country was quick to intervene during crisis situation involving Nigerians. The cases of the evacuation of Nigerians during the period of the civil unrest in Sudan in 2022 and the crisis in Ukraine was cited as well as the quick intervention on the side of Nigerians residing in South Africa who had visa issues^{1,2}.

As one of the respondents put it:

There was an increase in the activities of the NIDCOM headed by Abike Dabiri. There was a focus on looking at Nigerians not just within but outside. For instance, there were some quick interventions in the South African issue about Nigerians who had visa issues. I think the whole essence of NIDCOM is to ensure that Nigerians abroad do not suffer because they are far from home².

This is in line with the submissions of other respondents.

In terms of trying to protect Nigerians abroad, we believed that citizens centered diplomacy was employed. The members of NIDCOM were moving from one country to another ensuring that Nigerians

over there were not ill-treated. They visited embassies and local prisons to ensure proper justice for Nigerians and sometimes Nigerians who were illegally detained were bailed¹.

He stated further that:

The chairperson of NIDCOM, Abike Dabiri, rolled out many foreign policy programmes that has to do with Nigerian youths globally. Talking about diaspora funding, certain amount was set aside by the Buhari administration to encourage Nigerians who are doing well in their choosing career abroad especially in Artificial Intelligence and other ICT programmes. How well this was pursued I cannot really say but it was a programme put in place to help the working population of Nigerian youths in diaspora¹.

This position was corroborated by the submissions of some of the scholars in the reviewed literature who noted that among the notable accomplishments of NIDCOM are the organisations of town hall meetings with Nigerians in diaspora, evacuation of Nigerians back home during crisis, provision of assistance to Nigerians abroad and responding to petitions from them ^{4,5}.

It was also argued that it was as a result of the need to see to the welfare of Nigerians abroad that the NIDCOM encouraged the Nigerian government to establish new diplomatic ties with a host of other countries where Nigerians reside and which the government succeeded in doing ².

However, not all the respondents shared this view about the activities of NIDCOM in particular and the Nigerian government in general on matters relating to issues affecting Nigerians in diaspora. For instance, some of the respondents and in this case, Nigerians living in diaspora, are of the opinion that the Nigerian government is not doing enough as regards the welfare of Nigerians abroad ^{6,7}. According to them, compared to the citizens of other countries residing abroad, Nigerians always find it difficult getting help from the Nigerian embassies and consular offices when the need arise.

Other respondents expressed mixed reactions on the activities of the Nigerian government and NIDCOM on matters relating to Nigerians in diaspora. According to one of the respondents:

Nigerians are everywhere all over the world. So the way the government was able to react to issues that concern them in all the various countries of the world differed during the administration. During the COVID-19 pandemic, one of the things NIDCOM was able to achieve was to be able to transport a lot of Nigerians from wherever they were stranded and were able to bring several hundreds of Nigerians back home. However, in other cases like in Korea, in China, there have been complaints that the government did not do so much in trying to protect Nigerians abroad. Another one is the xenophobic issue in South Africa. The administration was not able to achieve much in protecting Nigerians in South Africa. So, I believe that it is the same way previous administrations have treated Nigerians abroad was the same way Buhari administration also treated them. Thus, there were instances where the administration was able to rise to the occasion but on day-to-day basis, I think the government did not do enough in protecting Nigerians abroad⁸.

A similar view was expressed by another respondent:

“Those that criticised the NIDCOM are genuine. For instance, in the case of Sudan, when other countries have evacuated their citizens, NIDCOM was still foot-dragging. They did not achieve enough when it comes to responding to international distress from Nigerians. But despite this to some extent, they still tried¹”.

Diaspora remittances is also an important aspect in the discussion of Nigeria's relations with her citizens outside the country under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari. By 2019, the annual remittances from Nigerians abroad peaked at \$25 billion which constituted over 8% of Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). One of the mandate of NIDCOM is to leverage the diaspora resources for Nigeria's development. For this to be realised, the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari adopted and approved the National Diaspora Policy that would promote trade, foreign direct investment and guarantee the diaspora Nigerians their right of participation in the socio-economic development of the country^{4,5}.

Many of the respondents recognised the great contributions of diaspora remittances to the growth and economic development of Nigeria. ^{1,2,9,10}. This involves payments to relatives at home, building of houses, establishment of industries and many more. However, according to them, the Nigerian government is yet to fully tap into the full potential of Nigerians in diaspora compared with other countries such as India. For instance, it has been argued that India has the highest diaspora presence in both the United States and Britain and this has not only allow the country to wage significance influence in the corridors of power in both countries but also benefit immensely in terms of economic development and technological advancement through remittances and knowledge transfer ¹¹.

One of the factors that has been identified by the respondents to be responsible for the failure of Nigerian government to benefit from the huge numbers of her citizens in diaspora is that many of them do not see themselves as relevant in the decision-making process or governance of the country. Therefore, they see no reason in being committed unnecessarily to Nigeria's development. To resolve this problem, some of the respondents have suggested that Nigeria government should expedite action on the lingering issue of diaspora voting ^{1,2,10,12}. It is believed that if diaspora voting can be achieved, it will give Nigeria citizens living abroad a sense of belonging and make them stakeholders in the relevant decision making process of the country.

As one of the respondents stated:

There is nothing wrong if Nigeria should allow diaspora voting. To whom much is given, much is being expected. If you welcome diaspora remittances, then you should allow diaspora voting. Why not provide for their political needs? The fact that they contribute to Nigeria's development through remittances and intellectual contributions, they should be allowed to have diaspora vote¹.

Still, questions have been raised about the effectiveness of diaspora voting in Nigeria. It has been argued that while elections which are currently conducted within Nigeria are full of irregularities, how can the credibility of diaspora voting be guaranteed? ^{2,8}.

As the respondents put it:

First and foremost, we don't have a way to know how many Nigerians are in the UK, how many of them are in France, how many of them are in the US? So we don't know how to plan for them, which is a problem. Our high commissions across these places, they have so much to do that they are not able to do either due to lack of funding or leadership issues. So we have a situation whereby the high commissions are not able to capture the database of Nigerians ².

I think the government is not doing enough or has not done enough up to this point to ensure diaspora voting. As it is now, we don't have the wherewithal to do that (diaspora voting) because even at home we see all the logistic problems with voting. You want to talk about voting abroad which involve technology and you know when it comes to technology anything can happen. People can hack the system and so on. So if you cannot even count the votes accurately at home, it will be difficult to get accurate votes from outside ⁸.

Despite this issue, all the respondents still believe that the fact that the credibility of diaspora voting cannot be 100% or totally guaranteed does not mean the country should jettison the process as smaller countries such as Togo and Kenya have adopted the system not to talk of the advanced countries where diaspora voting has been fully integrated into their electoral process.

As stated by the above respondent:

But I will still advocate diaspora voting. Diaspora voting is very important. Those who are abroad, they also contribute to the economy through remittances. So I think it will be right for them to vote. But the system has to be improved to ensure such ⁸.

Accordingly, Nigeria should look at the positive contributions that the diaspora voting is going to bring about as it will elevate the status of the country among the comity of democratic nations

and therefore Nigerian government should find a way to strengthen the system rather than abandoning it.

On the part of the Nigerian government, NIDCOM is working alongside with other relevant bodies including the National Assembly, the National Identity Management Commission (NIMC) and the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) to actualise diaspora voting for Nigerians living abroad. The National Assembly is to assist in ensuring the amendment of the relevant electoral act to allow diaspora voting while INEC and the NIMC are to assist in the data capturing and diaspora mapping of Nigerians living abroad. This has commenced in some parts of West Africa, Europe, Asia and America⁵.

The fight against corruption is another core issue that was identified by the respondents that influenced the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari (2015 – 2023). The economy of Nigeria had just become the largest economy in Africa after overtaken South Africa's economy just before the advent of the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari in 2015. However, in spite of this, the conditions of the critical sectors of the economy were nothing to write home about. Heavy drop in the price of crude oil in the global market at that time also worsened the condition of the country's economy. Therefore, within few months of ascending the presidency by Muhammadu Buhari, the Nigerian economy fell into recession for the first time in twenty five years¹³. Thus, in order to revitalise the economy, President Muhammadu Buhari embarked on numerous trips outside the country so as to attract foreign investment into the country. The President made more than 26 foreign trips within a short period of coming to power. These include visits to other countries on bilateral levels as well as multilateral visits to international organisations. Among

the major focus of these visits is the anticorruption campaign and the need to repatriate Nigerian stolen funds which are stashed away in foreign banks.

To stabilise the dwindling economy, President Buhari focused on the recovery of looted funds by corrupt Nigerian officials. For instance, President Muhammadu Buhari requested the administration of President Barack Obama of the United States to assist the government in curtailing corruption and improve the economy. This also continued under President Obama's successor, that is, President Donald Trump ¹⁴.

Among the respondents, opinion differed as to the extent of the success of the war against corruption under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari. This divergence is similar to what was obtained from the literature reviewed ¹⁵. For some of the respondents, despite the various foreign engagements of President Muhammadu Buhari on the anti-corruption crusade and his attempts to recover stolen funds, little or no achievement was realised in that regards. As one of the respondents put it:

The administration failed woefully in the anticorruption crusade both domestically and internationally. The Obasanjo administration got it right when we talk about debt cancellation returning of stolen funds. But I am not sure if what Buhari administration got back in terms of stolen funds in 8 years was up to what Yar'adua/ Jonathan administration received. Buhari was just being sugar-coated when it came to anticorruption. Buhari did not achieve much when it comes to the fight against corruption¹.

A similar opinion was expressed by another respondent:

His travels abroad did not achieve anything. I can say that his travels abroad did not in anyway achieve that. When we talk about corruption in Nigeria, you know that except there is another definition for corruption. What we know as corruption or the various dimensions of corruption that we know is as what was before the President came, is what he left

behind. So I will say that he did not achieve anything in the fight against corruption ... Personally, I do not think he was able to do much in the fight against corruption ⁸.

Although the fight against corruption was one of the signature trademark of President Muhammadu Buhari during his campaign, it has been argued that he failed to realise that unlike during his stint as military head of state when his rule and decisions could not be challenged or resisted, under the democratic settings, he would have to contend with other organs of government which influenced the decision-making process. This, by extension, also hampered his fight against corruption⁹.

For others, however, among the reasons for the failure of the anticorruption war was the allegations of selective prosecution of those who were alleged to be involved in corrupt practices. While many arrests were made and more than ₦3 trillion recovered, allegation were levied on the selective charges and slowness of the prosecution of individuals being held for corruption ¹⁶. This greatly eroded the initial trust of many Nigerians as well as the international community in the war against corruption by the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari.

Still, for other respondents, the fight against corruption represented one of the highlights in the foreign policy achievements under the administration of President Muhammdu Buhari. According to them, President Muhammad Buhari's anticorruption crusade not only helped in the recovery of Nigeria's looted fund but also helped to burnish the country's image internationally which helped in attracting foreign investment into the country ³. The fact that President Muhammdu Buhari was appointed by African leaders at the 29th African Union summit in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, unanimously as the AU anticorruption champion was cited as an example of the recognition of his commitment to fighting corruption in Nigeria and globally³. Accordingly, President Muhammadu Buhari in this role was expected to evolve a number of diplomatic

initiative to sensitize and raise awareness of the international community to the dire consequences of corruption on the African continent and map out collective strategies to eliminate it¹⁷. This, President Buhari was able to do through his engagements at various international fora where he called on countries where money looted from African countries had been stashed to release them without the usually long technicalities involved during repatriation process.

The above submission was in line with the opinions expressed in some of the literature reviewed. For instance, it has been argued that despite condemnations from some Nigerian quarters, the recognition of President Muhammadu Buhari's administration efforts in the war against corruption by the African Union and the wider international community represented a bright spot in the country's foreign policy which had been characterised by utmost conservation and elevated the profile of the country¹⁷.

Although among the campaign promises of President Muhammadu Buhari was to revitalize the economy and which he set out to do on assumption of office through his foreign policy engagements at both the bilateral and multilateral levels. However, for some of the respondents, despite making economic revitalisation a key component of his foreign policy, President Buhari could not achieve something in that regard. Rather, the economy of the country was left in a worse state than what was obtainable prior to his assumption of office with significant increment in the country's debt profile. According to one of the respondents:

.... There were a lot of issues with the economy (prior to Buhari's administration) and what was expected was that Nigeria's economy will improved and Nigeria will be able to get what we need and will not need to go and start getting more and more loans from Brettonwoods institutions. But we see that the reverse was the case. The depth profile of Nigeria

before the President came in was more than triple what the President left behind by the time he finished his administration⁸.

One should not fail to mention the Buhari government's anti-corruption posture in any discussion of its economic plans. Aside the various existing anti-corruption institutions such as the Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC), the Code of Conduct Tribunal (CCT), the Independent Corrupt Practices and other related Offences Commission (ICPC) and others, the administration of President Buhari also initiated several anti-corruption drives. These include the Presidential Initiative on Continuous Audit (PICA) to strengthen control over government finances, expansion of Treasury Single Account (TSA) system to enable government better manage its finances, Deployment of BVN for payroll and Social Investment Programmes and others¹⁸.

In general terms, the agenda of economic diplomacy includes the promotion of external trade relations, the promotion of national economic interest in other countries, providing relevant investment information and updating political investors about investment opportunities, negotiating economic trade agreements, and cooperation in order to overcome national economic divergences¹⁸.

I am of the opinion that President Buhari has been passionately committed to the fight against corruption. We have seen him demonstrate this commitment countless number of times, in clear and unambiguous terms such that no one is in doubt on the position of his administration on the issue of corruption. However, it appears that Nigeria's foreign policy on the war against corruption at the global level is not fully articulated nor adequately expressed in a policy document. However, this does not mean that President Buhari's administration lack policy directions on the war against corruption as section 19 of the 1999 constitution (as amended) and the National Anti-Corruption Strategy (2017) which was adopted by the Federal Executive Council on the 5th of July 2017 gave some context to the war against corruption¹⁹.

The National Anti – Corruption Strategy is an attempt at having a single, coherent and effective anti-corruption strategy that all stakeholders can work with in prosecuting government’s anti-corruption agenda. The NACS places emphases on five main points: prevention of corruption, enforcement and sanctions, public engagements, campaign for ethical reorientation and recovery of proceeds of corruption¹⁹.

It has been argued that while the NACS and other anti-corruption initiatives adopted by Nigeria have been effective domestically to some extent in stemming the tide of corruption, however, the war against corruption at the international level operates differently and requires an entirely different approach. At this level, the country’s foreign policy and diplomatic instruments must be brought to bear in order to achieve the desired result. This is because the global fight against corruption requires the attainment of certain international consensus on the issue. Therefore, the anti-corruption crusade and the level of its success is a barometer for determining the nature of the foreign policy of Nigeria under the administration of President Muhammdu Buhari.

Some of the successes recorded by the administration of President Buhari in its global anti-corruption drive include increased bilateral, regional, and international partnership under the African Union, United Nations and World Bank on issues of asset tracing, recovery and return. The administration of President Buhari was consistent in exploring relevant platforms in international and regional gathering to emphasizing the need for world leaders to fight corruption, encourage asset recovery and return and increase punishment for corruption. Furthermore, the administration of President Buhari also engaged the governments of the United States, United Kingdom, Switzerland, United Arab Emirates and others in an effort to ensure the identification and repatriation of Nigeria’s stolen assets^{18,19}.

The need to combat insecurity was also identified as a major influence that shaped the nature of Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari. The challenges posed by the Boko Haram insurgency in the north-eastern part of the country as well as other security threats posed by kidnapers, armed bandits, farmers-herders clashes and the insecurity in the Niger-Delta region affected almost the entire country. Thus, security was on top of the agenda of the government under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari. Like other issues previously examined, there was divergent opinions among the respondents as to the methods and level of success of President Buhari's administration in dealing with security challenges as well as its overall implication on the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy.

The challenge of insecurity posed by Boko Haram insurgents could be regarded as the most difficult internal security problem Nigeria has encountered since the end of the country's civil war. The activities of the terrorist group had not only impacted on the north-eastern part of the country alone but almost all the entire sector of the country with negative consequences on the country's image internationally. There have been many responses by the Nigerian government to this insecurity some of which predated the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari (2015 – 2023). For instance, Operation Restore Order I, II and III which was the codename for a militarily contributed Joint Task Force established in June 2011 during the administration of President Goodluck Jonathan with the mandate to restore law and order to the north-eastern part of the country.

Under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari, Operation Lafiya Dole was launched on the 19 July 2016 to combat the activities of the Boko Haram terrorists. Also, Operation Rescue Finale was launched with the mandate of rescuing the Chibok abducted girls as well as every other hostage taken by the insurgents. Overall, Operation Rescue Finale was regarded to

have achieved partial success as about 5,235 hostage including 2,054 children and 1,560 women were rescued from the insurgents. However, the Operation failed to achieve its mandate of rescuing the abducted Chibok Girls²⁰. Operation Deep Punch I and II was also launched with the mandate to dislodge the Boko Haram terrorists from the Sambisa forest. The operation was successful in clearing the Sambisa forest of the terrorists and even the military was able to exploit deeply into the far ends of the north-eastern part of the country²¹.

The administration of President Muhammadu Buhari also adopted some soft approach to complement the military approach to addressing the security challenges in the north-eastern region of the country. This involved the establishment of some developmental agencies for the reconstruction and development of the North-eastern part of Nigeria²⁰. For instance, President Muhammadu Buhari inaugurated the Presidential Initiative on North East (PINE) on the 26 October, 2016 with the mandate of providing effective coordination towards addressing the humanitarian crisis, the resettlement and reconstruction of the North-East region. Following this, the Presidential Committee on North East (PCNE) was then constituted as the apex body to coordinate all interventions and supports from private, public, national and international organisations. It was initially headed by General T.Y. Danjuma although domiciled at the presidency. However, despite the special nature of the task, the committee was hindered by issues bordering on paucity of fund as well as allegations of abuses and corruption surrounding the activities of the committee²⁰.

Another milestone in the Nigerian government's efforts aimed at addressing the problems in the north east region using the soft approach was the signing into law and the establishment of the North East Development Commission (NEDC) in October 2017. The commission has the mandate of coordinating projects and programmes within the Master Plan for the rehabilitation,

resettlement, reconciliation, reconstruction and sustainable development of the North East region. It was argued that the establishment of NEDC would replace other initiatives such as the Presidential Committee on the North East (PCNE), Victims Support Fund (VSP) and the Presidential Initiative on the North East (PINE). Major General Paul Tarfa (retired) was appointed as the Chairman of the commission and Muhammed Alkali as the Managing Director and Chief Executive Officer alongside nine other members of the board. The Federal Government of Nigeria, local donors, internal donors such as the African Development Bank, the World Bank, the United Nations, the European Union, USAID and the UKAID/DFID are to provide funding²⁰.

The Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF) represent the most comprehensive approach in tackling the Boko Haram insurgency in terms of both its domestic and foreign policy implications. This is because the MNJTF requires strategic objectives, deliberations and planning of activities towards the harmonisation of the relevant political and defensive concerns of the various states involved. It involve harmonising the end states of its various components as a defensive, offensive and stability operations platform dealing with the resurgence of terrorism and insurgency in the Lake Chad region²⁰. The MNJTF has been able to record a number of successes in its fight against the insurgents.

For some of the respondents, the administration of President Muhammdu Buhari could be credited with revamping the war against the Boko Haram insurgents which under the previous administration has nosedived with the terrorist group taking over large segments of the country⁹. Under President Buhari, the military was able to push back the terrorist group and reclaimed the territories which was previously under its control. To achieve this success, one of the foreign policy thrust of President Buhari was to combine the assistance of neighbouring countries of

Chad, Niger and Cameroon in fighting the insurgents. This was demonstrated in his first foreign trip as president to these countries.

While the President Muhammad Buhari could be credited with achieving some level of success in the fight against Boko Haram, for some respondents, the same could not be said about the overall security situation of the country under his administration. This, according to them, could be due to other security challenges facing the country such as the increased activities of armed bandits and kidnapers, killings and other atrocities attributed to herders, youth violence and extrajudicial killings by security officials which led to the ENDSARS protest and many more^{9,11}.

For some respondents, the administration of President Buhari did not achieve anything significant in terms of improving the security situation of the country. As one of the respondents opined:

... of course the insurgency affected practically our neighbouring countries Cameroon, Niger, Chad and the likes. So I can see that the President Muhammadu Buhari administration was unable to achieve much in terms of at least trying to work on security in relation to Nigeria and our neighbour considering that the Boko Haram insurgency kept escalating and escalating. Of course there were point that they said that the Boko Haram insurgents had been decimated and so on. But well on that for all we know the northern part of the country is still feeling the brunt of the insurgents and the neighbouring countries also that are supposed to benefit from a reduction or a total eradication of the Boko Haram insurgency were not able to enjoy that kind of pivotal that they were hoping for. So I will say that in line with the Boko Haram insurgency in addition to (general) insecurity, you see that the administration was not able to achieve much⁸.

Therefore, for this respondent, the administration was unable to deal effectively with the insecurity in the country especially as it has to do with Nigeria's relations with the neighbouring countries although it was still acknowledged that at a point in time the insurgents were decimated.

Many factors have been identified as responsible for the failure of the administration of President Buhari to deal effectively with the challenges of insecurity in the country. Among the factors identified for the failure was corruption. This caught across both the military and political elites. As a result of corruption, members of the military involved in the war against the insurgents were denied the much needed military hardware required to prosecute the war as the funds meant for it were embezzled. This has led to loss of many lives among the military personnel who had to fight against the terrorists that were equipped with weapons that are much more advanced. This always dampened the morale and the fighting spirit of the military officers.

Also, there were corruption allegations against some individuals involved in the various humanitarian intervention programmes. For instance, in the Presidential Committee on North East (PCNE), there were petitions against abuses and corruption surrounding this intervention, particularly the alleged involvement of a former Secretary to the Government of the Federation²². Such allegations remain a stumbling block to the achievement of humanitarian support for the victims of violence from both local and international donors.

The counterinsurgency operations also suffered from allegations of human rights abuses against the military officers involved. For example, the military has been accused of highhandedness in response to the asymmetric war the Boko Haram has been waging against them²². The military was accused of indiscriminate killings and other abuses in some of their operations by both local and international human rights organisations. This has impacted negatively on the public image of the military and somewhat affected their moral high ground to fight the war.

For the Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF), the existence of distrust and mutual suspicion among the countries that contribute troops to the MNJTF was identified as one of the challenges

militating against its effectiveness. It was argued that the relationship between the troops contributing countries (TCCs) has remained tense over the years, with reports of difficulties in command and coordination, persistence of uncoordinated actions by countries, and self-claims of victory against Boko Haram by individual member states during joint operations²⁰. For instance, the Headquarters sector 2 Chad of the MNJTF was initially located at Gambarou but the Chadians refused because it was perceived that Chadian Military Headquarters cannot be in Nigeria. Fatokol in Cameroon was therefore suggested by the Chadians. Eventually, Baga-Sola in Chad was finally selected and the Headquarters Sector 2 was relocated there²⁰. These were other instances of disagreements among the TCCs especially as related to the perceived hegemony of Nigeria which greatly hinder the smooth operations of the MNJTF.

Despite the various criticisms, for some respondents, the fact that Nigeria was able to mobilise other neighbouring countries in the fight against the insurgents is a positive testament to the good conduct of the country's foreign engagement with her neighbours^{3,9}. Also, the ability of President Muhammadu Buhari to mobilize technical assistance and support from international partners such as the European Union, G7, United States and others which was hitherto denied to the previous administration of President Goodluck Jonathan represented a diplomatic victory for the administration. The sale of Apache fighter jets to Nigeria under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari which the previous administration failed to secure was cited as example^{3,9}.

Thus, the fight against Boko Haram and the need to combat other forms of insecurity was a major determinant of the nature of Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration of President Buhari.

4.2.2: Research Question Two: What are the demographic considerations that influence Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari (2015-2023)?

Demographic dynamics involve both changes in the quantity and quality of a population over time. The characteristics of a given population at a given moment increases or decreases the likelihood of conflict and the levels of social instability and economic growth. It also influences political stability, security, social cohesion, economic development. Demographic changes impacts not only the capability of a given state to defend itself from external threats but also help it to prevent collapsing and can even contribute to guarantee reasonable well-being standard of its citizens²³.

Political demography has to do with the study of population size, composition and distribution in relation to both government and politics. The focus is on the political consequences of population change especially the effects of population change on the demand made upon government, on the performance of government, on the distribution of political power within states, and on the distribution of national power among states²⁴. In the 20th and 21st century, changes in demography represent one of the key development with both domestic and international implications. Due to rapid expansion the world population today now stand at more than 7 billion from the initial figure of about 1.7 billion in the early 20th century²⁵. These radical changes are having enormous influence on the international system with countries with the highest population such as China and India becoming key players and centers of influence. In these countries, availability of plentiful labor and increased national savings has led to economic boom and technological advancement. This has been described as “demographic dividend”²⁶.

Nigeria, which is currently ranked 7th most populous country in the world, has not really benefited from the demographic dividend like other countries with similar populations²⁷. This is

the view of some of the respondents of this research work^{2,8}. In spite of this, demographic consideration is regarded as one of the influential factors in the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy. This is also true under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari. Certain demographic dynamics were identified by the respondents to have influence the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy during the period under consideration.

For the respondents, changes in Nigeria's demography due to migration was identified as one of the demographic dynamics that influenced the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy during the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari. It was argued that during this period, there were significant movements of foreigners into Nigeria as well as many Nigerians relocating outside the country^{8,9,10}. These movements had significant implications on the security and economy of the country and consequently impacted on the conduct of its foreign policy.

One of the key foreign policy decisions of the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari was the closure of Nigeria's land borders. The aim was to check the increased level of insecurity in the country some of which have been blamed on the porous nature of Nigeria's borders with the neighbouring countries which permit unrestricted access into the country by foreigners. It also allowed the transfer of small and light weapons into the country which are used in criminal activities such as terrorism, kidnapping and armed banditry. The decision to close the border not only impacted on the official relationship between Nigeria and her neighbours but also on the citizens of the countries involved who suddenly saw their means of livelihood cut short.

For some of the respondents why the Nigerian government reserved the right to close the borders in the country's national interest, this should not have been at the expense of foreigners who are legitimately seeking livelihood in Nigeria. For them, the onus lies on the government of Nigeria

to put in place a working system to ensure proper record of movements across the borders of the country. As one of the respondents explained:

People have the right to move wherever they find themselves if they come into the country legally. They have their own rights too as foreigners. But in a situation where you have illegal immigrants or migrants, as the case may be, well I think the government should have proper records of those. And it is when the system is working that you can even talk about having proper records. If you have proper surveillance of what is happening in a neighbourhood, then the issue of Boko Haram and so on will be easily managed. So there should be proper monitoring of those who goes and comes out. I think there should be proper monitoring of those who are from outside⁸.

The opinion was similar to that of another respondent who stated thus:

"The only thing we can do is to improve on our own security because isolationism is a luxury no state can afford. We need them they need us. But the only thing we can do is to improve on our own security"².

He went further to debunk the claim that the foreigners are largely responsible for the increased level of insecurity in the country.

We cannot be talking about foreigners or those who are migrants to Nigeria only in the negative light. That shows we are not being fair to them in terms of their own contributions. Although in some part of the northern region there have been all kinds of reports, you know, to say that most of those guys who are migrating within those borderless regions, they have been a source of insecurity. And there are still other ones that say whenever they commit offenses they are quick to run out of the country through those places (borders). Those are issues that are not really well founded. They can be true and they can also cannot be true. I believe strongly that if there is no crack on the wall the lizard will not go in².

Therefore for those respondents while the migration of foreigners represent one of the demographic considerations that influence the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration of President Buhari as it relates to the closure of Nigeria's land borders especially on the issue of increased level of insecurity and criminal activities such as kidnapping, armed

banditry and terrorism, it has not been well established that the foreigners are responsible for these negative actions. Rather, the foreigners should be viewed in terms of their positive contributions to the development of Nigeria while the government should do the needful by ensuring proper surveillance at the borders to check the movement of illegal migrants.

The border closure never achieved the aim that led to government closing borders. There are two to three reasons government gave. Firstly, insecurity, people that came into the country, strike and tomorrow, they are back in their country. Second one is the economic reason. Many goods are being brought that affect the Nigeria economy. But the issue is why you would say people should not come into your country. Are you not going into other people's country? Nigeria should not say people should not come into the country and close border. What we need to do is to formalize our immigration policy. There should be immigration polices especially for our immediate neighbours Benin, Niger, Chad and Cameroon guiding the coming in and going out of the country. When we are talking about border closure, what is the state of our border where we have 10 legal borders and 1000 illegal borders? Don't forget all our borders are colonial creations. There are border where Nigerians and their kinsmen live side by side and the partition is only the wall. They have families across the border and they inter married. That is more common in Ogun state, Katsina, Kano, Kebi and many other northern state. The Hausa Fulani and the Yorubas have Kinsmen across border. There are places where you can eat in one place and wash your hand in another place across the borders. In such places both currencies are welcome. It affect our security programmes when these people come to Nigeria, they transact their business in Nigeria. We find them everywhere, you can hardly pick their faces and say this is not a Nigerian. So they can perform havoc and go scot free because those borders are not well managed. Despite the closure of the borders goods such as rice are still being moved in and even ammunition. So although closure of borders is welcome development to tame smuggling but that can only be done in our registered borders and not the illegal routes which are very many and therefore make it ineffective. So the Nigerian government sill has a lot do and we should not wait until something bad happened before we react as it will always give us bad image¹.

As regards the movement of Nigerian citizens outside the country, for the respondents the unconducive domestic environment occasioned by the harsh economic conditions of the country

under the administration of President Buhari led to a large exodus of Nigerians from the country. This was symbolized by the 'japa' syndrome which have come to represent migration of Nigerians especially professionals outside the country in search of better working conditions or greener pastures^{11,12}. These migration not only created vacuum at home as sometimes there are not adequate qualified personnel to replace those who left but also impacted on the country's image abroad based on the activities of those Nigerians in the places where they choose to reside outside the country. It is the activities of this individuals that impacted on the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy.

This is evidenced from the views of the respondents:

Majority of them left on the basis of pull and push factors. And that was a problem, it was a problem because we have a lot of Nigerians who are out of the country that are practically not doing anything right. So just a frustration across board with those people who felt that internal mechanism, internal dynamics of conflict at home, insecurity and economic stagnation informed they are moving out².

Accordingly, most of those people who left the country out of frustration ended up engaging in illegal activities abroad which sometimes required the Nigerian government to interfere.

As the respondent further stated:

We have a lot of issues where Nigerians have been involved in some kinds of trouble that ordinarily will require due process to address them in which the Nigerian government could only interfere by first associated with those people involved².

Among the efforts made by the Nigerian government as identified by the respondent was the prisoner swap or exchange. However, this did not materialize because perhaps some of them also think that the Nigerian justice system might not be able to hold those people accountable.

Another issue where activities of Nigerians outside the country influence the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari was during the ENDSARS protest. The protest which spread across many states in Nigeria eventually gained international attention as some Nigerians living outside the country joined the protest by demonstrating at the various embassies of Nigeria such as in London and New York.

In October 2020, thousands of Nigerians youths took to the street protesting against police brutality and calling for the disbandment of the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS), a unit of the Nigerian police established to tackle violent crimes. The protest movement tagged ENDSARS rock the country for some weeks. Mass demonstrations were held across major cities in Nigeria. This was also backed by huge social media campaigns with over 28 million tweets bearing the hashtag #ENDSARS accumulated on Twitter alone²⁸. There were also solidarity demonstrations by Nigerians in the diaspora. Similar protest were held by sympathizers across many major cities in the world. International protest were held in Canada, Germany, Hungary, United Kingdom, Ireland, United States and South Africa^{29,30,31,32,33,34}. This gave the protest international dimensions with implications on the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy.

The ENDSARS demonstration was effective largely because of the influence of social media. Mass mobilization of protesters, communications as well as real-time updates were done through the internet. It was reported that between October 5 and 14, 2020, the online protest was responsible for 48 million mentions and tweets from 5 million unique authors³⁵. Accordingly, the online campaign brought global attention and consciousness to the activities of the Nigerian police and impact negatively on the image of Nigerian government internationally. During the period that the demonstration lasted, the Nigerian government was kept on its toes as to how to react or manage the negative public relation it was receiving internationally.

Added to the international dimension was the declaration of many international personalities, organizations and celebrities in support of the protest. For instance, Jack Dorsey, the C.E.O. of Twitter endorsed the protest and promoted donation for it through Bitcoin³⁶. Also, it was reported that international celebrities such as Cardi B, Beyoncé, Rihanna, Trey Songz, Kanye West, Lewis Hamilton, Marcus Rashford and others also supported the demonstrations^{37,38}.

However, it was on October 20, 2020 that the protest reached its climax when the demonstration at Lekki Toll Gate in Lagos were forcefully dispersed allegedly by the men of Nigerian police and other security apparatus. This was followed similarly in other parts of the country. This led to the death and injury of many of the protesters. According to witnesses, at least 15 people died during the incident at Lekki Toll Gate. However, there are dispute as to the actual number of death recorded.³⁹ Also it was reported that about 352 protesters were arrested during the demonstration³⁹.

These actions further led to the internalization of the protest as many international human right organizations including Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International led international calls for the investigation of the actions of security operatives against the demonstrators. According to them, since Nigeria has ratified the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the African Charter on Human and People's Right (ACHPR) which guarantee the right of citizens to assemble freely and associate with others, the Nigerian law enforcement officials should not make use of forceful means to disperse the protesters but rather should resort to nonviolence means.

Both Amnesty International and Human Right Watch conducted investigation and interviewed the protesters, witnesses and their relatives. For instance, Human Right Watch interviewed 54

individuals including victims and their family members, protesters and protest supporters, representatives of civil society groups, medical service providers, political analysts and journalists on how the crackdown unfolded and affected the victims³⁹. Similarly, Amnesty International also interviewed some of those affected by the crackdown on demonstration. Among these was Daniel Joy-Igbo, a foreigner from Benin Republic who was arrested and detained by the Nigerian police. The involvement of foreigners in the protest also added international dimension to it.

The conclusion from the investigations of the international human right organizations was that the Nigerian government demonstrated little or no regard for human rights in dealing with those involved in the protest. In the words of the Director, Amnesty International Nigeria, on the fate of those arrested over the protests.

*"Our investigation shows the Nigerian authorities utter disdain for human rights. Three years in detention without trial is a travesty of justice. This shows the authorities' contempt for due process of law"*⁴⁰.

A similar opinion was expressed by a researcher at the Human Rights Watch on the need for the Nigerian authority to take concrete action on those involved in the crackdown on the protest.

*Nigerian authorities should clearly demonstrate that they are concerned about holding those responsible for abuses against protesters to account. Failure to pursue justice will strengthen the culture of impunity and reinforce the perceptions that brought protesters to the street in the first place*⁴⁰.

The reports of these international human right organizations, in the views of some of the respondents of this research work, led to the negative projection of the country internationally with consequences on investment as many international investors were not willing to invest in a country where citizens' rights are not being respected¹.

The crackdown also led to increase desire among young Nigerians to leave the country as they felt that their future lies outside the country where their basic freedoms could not be protected. This was made worse by the poor economic condition in the country and the emergence of the 'japa' syndrome among Nigerians.

It is critical and necessary to assess the political and economic implications of the ENDSARS protest on the conduct of Nigeria's external relations. For the respondents, opinion differed as to the causes, organization and effects of the protest. Some of the respondents saw the protest as a legitimate clamour by young Nigerians to end police brutality and also make the government accountable¹. In terms of its international implications, they believe that the protest and the subsequent actions of government portrayed Nigeria internationally as a country which did not respect human rights and democratic values of freedom of expression and assembly.

Other respondents were of the view that the success of the protest especially it in international dimension could be traced to the effective use of social media to spread information. As one of the respondents noted;

At the heat of ENDSARS protest, there was a lot of the diaspora media. Something that was causing all kinds of hate speeches and indoctrinations online. I know in this age where people can mobilize protest via online we cannot underrate the likely chances of this kind of information. Either they are real information or fake information. Let us not forget that if they are real information they can be source of insecurity. If they are fake, they can also worsen security².

Thus, for this respondent, while the use of social media to spread information during the ENDSARS protest led to the internalization of the protest, it also became a source of threat to the country's security internationally. This was due to the emergence of online media platforms

especially among the Nigerian diaspora community many of which were responsible for spreading hate speeches and fake news in order to garner international sympathy for the protest.

A point of concern among some of the respondents on the ENDSARS protest was that while it started as a spontaneous protest, there was no plan for the end game.

The ENDSARS protest was a spontaneous reaction. It was a reaction against the arm of the police that was believed to be torturing the youth. But after that, the youth that protested did not have end plan. There was no plan⁸.

The ENDSARS protest was badly managed by Buhari administration. In fact, it were to be in advanced country, the government would have been acquired of genocide. Up till tomorrow, there are still confusion on the number of people that died during the protest. There are video footage showing how government official buses were used to attack those who were legitimately protesting against SARS brutality.

ENDSARS protest is one of the well organised youth protest in Nigeria until when the government come and scattered. Demonstration, complaints are part of government and when it comes, government may handle it with care taking into cognisance the citizens fundamental human rights but Buhari government due to hardline postures the crisis was not well managed. When we are talking about its impact on the country image, it does not present Nigeria as a democratic country among county of states. We love complaints from different parts of the world. For instance, there was a document from the soialist movement in Germany lambasting Nigeria government on the matter. I know many democratic country we see Nigerian as a country that does not respect human rights. The country that mobilise army to kill her citizens. That does not portray the Buhari administration has been serious with a greater segment of her demography. The ENDSARS was not well managed and does not portray the country as a democratic nation internationally. There countries who were to gibe aids to Nigeria but withdrew it as a result of that. They cannot give aids to a country where the citizens will not have a say^{1,41}.

This, it was believed, was responsible for the failure of the protest to achieve its objectives.

Another demographic dynamics that was identified by the respondents was the quality of the population. As regards the quantity of the population, all the respondents agreed that Nigeria has the required number to succeed globally. However, the concern is about the quality of the population especially as it relates to social and economic standards. For the respondents, Nigeria possesses a vibrant young population that should be a source of economic strength for the country to compete globally but there was no enabling environment for such potential to be fully realized. This was responsible for the inability of the country to achieve development compared to countries such as China, India and Brazil with similar demography as Nigeria. As one of the respondents explained:

Demographic strength is one of the important determinants of a country's position internationally especially when it comes with the right quality and quantity. For a country to succeed very well internationally, it must possess a good mix of demography in terms of quality and quantity. For instance, countries such as United Arab Emirates and Israel are not on the high side in terms of quantity but they are able to balance this with the quality of their population. For Canada, though with a large land mass, it is also limited in terms of quantity of population but it is able to overcome this limitation through the quality of the population. These made these countries to be relevant internationally. However, it is countries such as China and India that are ascending rapidly on the international stage as these countries have been able to leverage on their demography in terms of both quantity and improved quality. This has made them to become global power houses and internationally relevant⁴¹.

In contrast, Nigeria has failed in this regard and instead of reaping “demographic dividend” it is the other way round as the country has been faced with demographic disasters with serious implication on the conduct of its foreign policy. This is the view expressed by the British Council in its report that stated thus:

Nigeria's booming population of young people may be a great boom for the country's economy in the coming decades. But if the Nigerian

government does not take steps to engage them the country would face a 'demographic disaster'⁴².

The report further stated:

By 2030, it (Nigeria) will be one of the few countries in the world which has got a plentiful supply of younger workers. So the expectations is that if there is investment in youth Nigeria would rip huge economic benefit in a similar way as has been experienced in South East Asia⁴².

The 'demographic disaster' which the country is currently faced as a result of the poor demographic quality especially among the youth include high jobless rate, increased criminal activities such as militancy, armed banditry, kidnapping, terrorism and other social unrests with great ramifications on the country's external relations. For instance, it has been opined that many of the youths who engaged in militancy and demonstrations are not well educated. Thus demography has been identified as a threat to the country due to quality of the population. As another respondent observed:

"The biggest threat for Nigeria is around the demography. Everyone talks about the demographic dividend and I firmly believe that it is a possibility but there is a scenario or a demographic disaster"⁴³.

As regards the conduct of foreign policy under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari, the respondents expressed different opinions on the engagement of young Nigerians.

Another demographic dynamics that was identified by the respondents is in terms of the ethnic and religious composition of Nigeria's population. Over the years, these demographic factors at one time or the other have played key roles in the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy. This was in terms of both the appointment and recruitment of Foreign Service personnel as well as Nigeria's actual external relations. For instance, the need to maintain ethnic and religious balance in terms of composition of Foreign Service officers has been identified as one of the factors

influencing recruitment, appointment and promotion in the Foreign Service⁴¹. However, these considerations are sometimes done at the expense of and by sacrificing competence and merit^{9,41}.

Ethnic considerations has also been identified to play key roles in Nigeria's relation with neighboring countries. This is because of the existence of ethnic affiliation among tribes along the Nigerian borders and those of other neighbouring countries. This affiliation, which has been existing for centuries, predated creation of Nigeria and other countries in Africa. It has led to intermarriages across the borders of countries and existence of informal trading across the borders. As a result of this, successive administrations in Nigeria always consider these informal relations during the conduct and implementation of Nigeria's foreign policy.

Under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari, it has been argued by some of the respondents that while the closure of Nigeria's border with her neighbours was strictly enforced in the other parts of the country, the same could not be said of some parts in the north. This was allegedly due to ethnic consideration as a result of the affiliation between the people in the border areas between Nigeria and Niger Republic.

Religious consideration as a demographic dynamics most usually play out in the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy when it has to do with the international politics in the Middle East especially when it involves Israel and Palestine and Nigeria's membership of international bodies such as the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC). For the respondents, under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari, religious issues did not really impacted on the conduct of the country's foreign policy. This was because in terms of foreign policy the administration was able to maintain the traditional Nigeria stand on many of the divisive issues. For instance, on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the administration maintained the country's

support for the internationally accepted two-state solution to the conflict. This position was usually stated in the country's address at the United Nations General Assembly during eight years of the administration⁴⁴.

In terms of gender as a demographic dynamics, for the respondents, gender consideration did not play any major role under the administration in terms of the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy. Nigeria's foreign policy environment has been dominated by males and this is sometimes manifested in the conduct of country's foreign policy⁸. Gender issues do not featured prominently in the country's external relations except those that has to do with international human and sexual trafficking involving Nigerians. However, some of the respondents was still able to identify some prominent Nigerian females who are able to excel in the areas of international relations. These include Dr Ngozi Okonjo-Eweala and Mrs Aminat Muhammad, the Director General of the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the Deputy Secretary-General of the United Nations respectively during the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari. Despite this, the respondents believe it is still low in terms of gender balance and representation. This, according to the respondents, is due to environmental constraint on the roles of the female.

The environment does not encourage the female to be in politics or to take part in international activities. Of course, we have people like Okonjo-Eweala and the likes that are shining in the international system but how many are they? So we have a lot of barriers especially along the lines of cultural, religious things that prevent the female having the capability to achieve a full potential in the international system⁸.

Under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari, there was not much in terms of gender consideration as a demographic factor in the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy.

4.2.3 Research Question Three: What is the relationship between dynamics of demography and Nigeria's foreign policy within the intermestic realist framework under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari (2015-2023)?

It has been observed that some foreign policies have such a significant direct effect on the domestic sphere that deliberations behind them are rooted in both international and domestic considerations⁴⁵. These considerations include economic, security, political, demographic and other considerations and they are regarded as intermestic affairs. Intermestic affairs refers to those matters of the international relations which by their very nature closely involve the domestic economy of the nation⁴⁶. It is not only those matters that concern the domestic economy alone but all matters with consequences simultaneously on the domestic front and the international arena. Intermestic policy therefore means an international policy that affects or has implications on the domestic discourse.

Considerations grounded in the intermestic affairs can be examined within a realist framework by approaching this considerations as a power struggle that plays out simultaneously on the domestic and international levels. This is termed an intermestic realism and such an approach is called intermestic realist framework.

In answering this research question, the researcher analyzed how demographic considerations influences the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari within the intermestic realist framework. This is done by approaching or establishing these demographic considerations as a power struggle that interconnect the domestic and international levels by using relevant cases under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari (2015-2023). On this basis, a new theory 'Intermestic realism of demography' shall be proposed.

Issues such as immigration, transnational crimes, energy security and international trade are all intermestic in nature⁴⁷. For the purpose of this research, issues that have to do with transborder crimes, security and international trade under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari shall be examined.

The ratification of the African Continental Free Trade Agreement (AFCFTA) generated a class interest between Nigeria's domestic considerations and regional aspirations thereby making it an intermestic affair in the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari. Inter-Africa trade is one of the major objectives of Nigeria's foreign policy. Inter-Africa trade has always been beneficial to Nigeria. For instance, in the second quarter of 2020, exports to the whole of Africa from Nigeria was estimated at 401.4 billion naira.

Although, the AFCFTA is set to become the second largest free trade area in the world, Nigeria was one of the last country to ratify it. The delay in the ratification was due to concerns that Nigeria's low level of productivity and high cost of doing business will make locally produce goods uncompetitive in a free market. Thus, the demographic considerations of Nigeria was instrumental in the decision making. The opposition to the ratification of the agreement was led by domestic interest groups such as the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC), the Manufacturers Association of Nigeria (MAN) and other interest bodies such as National Association of Nigeria Traders (NANTS).

In theory, the AFCFTA is a market integration agreement that present an equal opportunity and open market. It is designed to substantially remove obstructions to the movement of goods and services across Africa at the initial implementation stages. It is envisaged that ultimately the

initial progression would result into a customs union with free movement of capital and business persons¹⁵.

The AFCFTA is predicated on the potential of creating an enlarged marketplace for the estimated 1.2 billion people inhabiting the continent. The immediate benefit anticipated is the increase in intra-Africa trade which currently stands at a paltry 10% of the total trade in Africa. It is emphasized that an increase in inter-Africa trade would positively impact industrial development, economic diversification and growth and as well it would help to showcase to the world Africa's robust potential for global investments, among other key advantages. When fully implemented, AFCFTA is expected to significantly impact how individual countries negotiate with the rest of the world in terms of trade agreement. Therefore, it is envisaged that African leaders would have stronger bargaining power on all continental and global trade issues under the AFC FTA¹⁵.

Despite these lofty goals and in view of the pivotal roles that Nigeria played in bringing to reality the AFC FTA, the country was among the 11 countries that failed to sign the draft agreement at the 18th extraordinary session of the Assembly of the African Union Heads of State and Government on March 21 2018 in Kigali, Rwanda. The Nigerian government announced that it was delaying the signature so as to widen and deepen domestic consultations to ensure all concerns were addressed. This came on the heels of stiff opposition by the Nigerian Labor Congress (NLC) and other interest groups in the country. For these groups, the attempt by the Nigerian government to sign the treaty without proper consultation and input of all interested groups has been received on issues concerning market access and enforcement of rules of origin as "extremely dangerous" as it would open the country's airports, seaports and other businesses to unbridled foreign interference and domination¹⁵.

On the other hand, some other Nigerians expressed opposition to the delay by the Nigerian government to sign the treaty. For instance, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, the former President of Nigeria, expressed disappointment that despite the leading role the country played in promoting the idea, it was not among the 44 countries that signed the treaty¹⁵.

As a result of these divergent views, President Muhammadu Buhari inaugurated a Presidential Committee for Impact and Readiness Assessment of the African Continental Free Trade Area (AFC FTA) on October 23, 2018 with the mandate to advise the government on the key concerns relating to rule of origin, smuggling arising from the difficulties of border controls, preferential trade agreements, low capacity and capability of local businesses to conduct international trade, costly finance, insufficient energy and transport logistics. The committee comprised the Minister of industry, trade and investment (as the head), the Chief of staff to the President, Ministers of budget and national planning, foreign affairs, finance, Justice and Economic advisors to the President, representatives of Nigerian Governors Forum, President of Nigeria Labor Congress and President of Nigeria Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry.

President Muhammadu Buhari noted that Nigeria will no longer sign any treaty without assessing the impact it will have on its citizens¹⁵. This gave evidence to demographic consideration on the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari.

Furthermore, Nigeria's refusal to join the AFCFTA would no doubt have greatly detracted from its credibility. This is because demographically, Nigeria constituted the largest share in the estimated 1.2 billion people (the market force) in the free trade area. This would not only affect the volume of inter- Africa trade but also the bargaining power of the continent on global trade

issues. At the same time, the refusal would have impacted negatively on Nigeria's standing on the Africa continents. This would be unthinkable for a country whose constitution (or by law) makes Africa the center of her foreign policy. Therefore, as regards the signing of AFC FTA treaty, the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari carefully weighed up Nigeria's domestic consideration (demography) and her continental obligations (international). This made the issue an intermestic affair.

After careful consideration of the country's domestic needs (citizens' interests) and her continental commitment as well as the expected benefits that could accrued to the country, the AFCFTA treaty was eventually ratified by Nigeria.

In the lights of the above discussions, the initial refusal and the eventual signing of the AFCFTA treaty by Nigeria under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari could be regarded as a power struggle (political realism) between the country's domestic and international interests (intermestic realism) through demographic consideration. On this basis, the theory of Intermestic realism of demography could be proposed.

For the respondents of this research work, almost all of them were of the opinion that it was the right thing to do for Nigeria to sign the treaty of AFCFTA^{1,2,6,9,10}. However, they were not unanimous on the delay by Nigerian government in signing the agreement. This was due to the concern of some of them on the effect of the agreement on Nigerian citizens. For instance, as one of the respondent stated:

If the environment is not conducive there is nothing we can be talking about in free trade. The local producers are not able to benefit. Of course they will be reluctant until the government do what is right and make the environment conducive for local production. Even if you sign all the treaties in the world it will not make any difference. If the

industries are coming and the environment is not conducive for production, then will kill local businesses and that will not be of benefit to anybody. So signing only the treaty is not the right thing for Nigeria to do. Nigeria can sign the treaty which is supposed to ginger the government to do better. That is the real essence⁸.

Thus, for this respondent, the real essence of Nigeria's signing the treaty and joining the AFCFTA is to make life better for Nigerian citizens by ginging the government to make the domestic environment conducive for local production. This is in line with the stand of the labour unions and the other interest groups in Nigeria.

However for other respondents, the fear that was expressed by the labour unions and the manufacturers might not actually be true in reality. As one of the respondents explained:

Although we had some little dilly dally in signing the agreement and we eventually agreed. But some of these fears to me are not unexpected, but they are not genuine. Most of these arguments are just projections. Yes, they are projections which may actually be right. And they can be wrong because projections are tentative statements. That projection is not cast in stone because the fear that Nigeria or Nigerians have is also the fear that other countries have. And if we have all these kind of fears around, that means there was no need to have initiated this policy in the first place².

Although he agreed with the fact that the fear of Nigerians was due to the low level of production, he argued that the focus should be on the benefits of the AFCFTA to Nigerians. He stated thus:

The fears of those manufacturers I think is that they fear that the level of manufacturing in Nigeria is very low. All industrialization in Nigeria is still very, very low. That is true. Yes but you see we must think about the positive aspect of the union and not just the negative. If Africa form a strong union we will be able to interact more with the world. If there is an open border and there is open movement, commerce will boost, trade will boost. Some of these fears might end up becoming farce².

He believed that it would be misnomer for Nigeria not to sign the agreement.

"Thank God Nigerians and Nigeria eventually think that it was right to sign the AFCFTA because it would have been misnomer that Nigeria is not going to play a role in such policy in Africa"².

He concluded that for Nigeria to benefit from the agreement,

"We need to build institutions. We need not only to build institutions we need to be seeing as supporting these institutions"².

Nigeria has no choice than to sign the agreement. The Africa free trade zone should be a welcome development if we take our economy seriously but Nigeria is a rental state because we don't produce anything. Nigeria will be affected we are not producing. The free trade zone would be a gain for Nigeria if we keep producing. If we say everything like rice, cassava, and others that we consume locally are also produce locally there will not be any issue. If we are patronising other countries on what we can produce, then the agreement will not be favourable to us. President Buhari is right in being sceptical in signing the agreement because he knows Nigeria is not producing anything. So it will be a wide decision for the administration to delay the signing of the agreement. But at the end of the day, Nigeria has no choice than to sign it because the ECOWAS has key into it, the AU is pursuing it and Nigeria is a leading light in African affairs and therefore cannot be sceptical in signing it. What the Federal government should do is to make Nigeria a producing state so that we can have advantage in the African Continental Free Trade Zone¹.

Similarly, Nigeria's foreign policy as it relates to the relations with her neighbours under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari especially as it has to do with the closure of Nigeria's land borders could also be considered as an intermestic affair within the realist framework. As a realist, President Muhammadu Buhari accorded top priority to national interest in foreign affairs especially with Nigeria's immediate neighbours. This is in the light of its utility in helping to achieve the administration's set domestic objectives on security and economy. Thus, making it an intermestic affair.

Nigeria's relations with her immediate neighbours constitute the first circle in the concentric circles model of her foreign policy. Historically, relations between Nigeria and her immediate

neighbours with the exception of Cameroon over the issue of Bakassi peninsula have been mostly cordial. In fact, the guiding principle of Nigeria's regional foreign policy is that of good neighbourliness and friendship. Therefore, the country has maintained rewarding bilateral relations with her neighbors⁴⁸. Also, the country has established a number of multilateral platforms and agreements with her neighbours such as the Lake Chad Basin Commission (LCBC).

The closure of Nigeria's border with her neighbours by the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari in August 2019, therefore, in the view of the respondents, represented a shift from the traditional policy of cordiality between Nigeria and her neighbours. The move was aimed at stopping the smugglings of arms and foreign goods into the country which has constituted a source of both security and economic threats to Nigeria. The border closure saw Nigeria caught between her desire for a strong economy and security (political stability) and the need to maintain good neighbourliness. With an estimated population of 200 million people, Nigeria's leverage on her demographic power which served as markets for the rest of the West Africa has helped to maintain her status as the undisputed leader in the region. However, this is sometimes at variance with her domestic economic and security concerns which has been exacerbated by increased transborder crimes and economic sabotage. View from this perspective, the policy of Nigerian government to close the Nigerian land borders can be regarded as an intermestic policy as the deliberations behind it are rooted in both international and domestic considerations. Also it can be regarded as a kind of power struggle (political realism) involving her domestic and international interests. As one of the respondents stated:

Informal cross border trade has been one major feature in the Nigeria-Benin relations. While it is vital for both countries and the sub-region, it forms an informal dynamics for interactions and

integration, the well-known illegal flow of goods from both countries that takes the advantage of price disparity of such goods as well as the extant exchange rate disparity remains a major feature of concern in the relationship between the two neighbours. And because borderlands especially in West Africa are naturally the melting pots and security hotpots, security consideration has remained a core determinant in the relationship among countries with contiguous borders as it has been the case between Nigeria and Benin Republic⁴⁸.

He further explained the nature of the borders which could be seen as a justifiable reason for the closure of the borders by the Nigerian government.

Informal cross-border trade and activities among people separated by 'artificial' colonial borders and sanctified national frontiers are healthy for the economy and people. Its major challenge however is that the porosity and permeability of the West African borders, which are hardly coordinated and monitored effectively and secured by overstretched government security agencies, is not a guarantee to stopping transnational organized crimes (TOC). This is especially true nowadays in the context of globalization when TOC has been growing and getting more complicated across the sub-region⁴⁸.

The respondents expressed diverse opinions on the issue viz-a-viz the domestic considerations and the international implications. For instance, a respondent stated:

We cannot be talking about foreigners or those who come to Nigeria only in the negative light. That shows we are not being fair to them in terms of their own contributions. Although in some parts of the northern region, there have been all kind of reports to say that most of those who are migrating within those borderless region have been a source of insecurity. There are still some other ones that say that whenever offenses are committed there, it is quick to run out of those places. Those are issues that are not really well founded, they can be true and they also cannot be true².

He also explained the complicated nature of the border areas and its control:

Let us not also forget that the communities in the border region have long shared long historical ties. There is going to be problem in trying to label them because you might be labelling your own citizens as foreigners thinking that they are aliens and the other way round. In the case of the coup in Niger Republic, everybody was saying that our

brothers are there, our sisters are there. So if Nigeria must intervene you must ensure it is not about war because we are going to lose our brothers and our sisters. So if we have a situation like that addressing insecurity will be very difficult. My experience in some part of the north is that you would find it very difficult to distinguish which is which particularly as they speak the same language².

This situation is not true for the north alone but similar situation exists in other border regions of the country where ethnic affiliations and affinity exist among communities in the border region of Nigeria and the neighbouring country. For instance, deep historical ties exist between Yoruba communities along the borders of Nigeria and the Yoruba communities in the border region of Benin Republic and this will make policies aimed at border control in those areas very complex as it will be difficult to identify who is who and what is what.

He therefore suggested improved security as the way forward;

The only thing we can do is to improve our own security because isolationism is a luxury no state can afford. We cannot close our borders forever. We need them, they need us. But the only thing we can do is to improve on our own security and believe that every other thing will be fine².

In answering the question of whether the border closure really achieved the intended purpose, he responded thus:

I would be fairly frank with you that either the government did not understand the context of the border closure or they did not weigh what were their expectations or likely consequences of the border closure. Because first there are reasons why a country decides to close its border. I don't think we have well-grounded reasons. One, we are only responding in the light of insecurity negating other key aspects. Border is a life of its own. What bother means to you is different from what brother means to me. What we really achieved was that there was an official lockdown and closure of borders. But we are not able to say after five months, let us appraise. This is what we aim to achieve. We aim to achieve 100% production of local rice in Nigeria. Five months after, what did we achieve? Did we achieve 40% of it? Does it justify for further closure or not? So it is not enough to set up

a policy like that. We need to monitor that policy. We need to look at the implementation phases and we need to have a room for re-evaluation. But in a nutshell, I don't think that the reason for the closure of the border was achieved because we did not end up addressing the core problem. If we have closed the border because we want to grow local foods, where are the foods now?².

He further added that:

There is a lot going on in Nigeria's border with neighbouring countries. For instance, in the west where Nigeria shares border with Benin Republic, the majority of people in Benin Republic are Yorubas. So if Nigerian government decides to close the border, they will be inflicting pain one way or the other on their own people because it may be very difficult to distinguish between who is who. If you say you want to close the border, you may not know whether it is the Yoruba people of Nigeria you are closing the border against because most of the businesses in the West Africa region are in the informal setting¹.

Another respondents also corroborated the fact that the closure of the border failed to achieve the intended objectives.

I will say that it did not achieve what they claim it was supposed to be because it turned out to be more political than economic. The borders that were closed are in the south. The northern borders were open. People were still smuggling. People were still bringing goods across from the northern part of the country. Whereas in the southern parts where border closure was effective, smuggling increased. The more the border is shut and it is difficult to bring those things in, the more expensive those things turned out to be. So I will say that the closure of the border did not achieve its objective. In fact it even brought more hardship to the people than what the government intended in the first instance⁸.

4.2.4 Research Question Four: What are the mechanisms to be adopted by Nigeria to benefit from her demography through her foreign policy?

In answering this question, it is necessary to establish the relevance of quantity and quality of population in the determination of a country's foreign policy. The quality and quantity of a country's demography cannot be overestimated. It is an essential element of national power. A

country can achieve global relevance through demography depending on how it is able to harness it both quantitatively and qualitatively. For instance, the estimated population of Israel and the United Arab Emirates is 8.6 million and 9.8 million respectively which represent 0.11% and 0.13% of the world population in that order ²⁶. Despite these relatively low population, the two countries have been able to leverage on the quality of the population for developmental purposes.

On the other hand, countries like China, India and Brazil with huge population have been able to harness the power of their demography quantitatively. They have been able to utilize the bargaining power of the demography to establish themselves as true contenders on the international political stage. For countries like the United States, the ability to maintain her demography both quantitatively and qualitatively has helped her to maintain her status at the apex of global power rankings.

For Nigeria, which is blessed with abundant vibrant population as the majority are of youthful age, what is needed to be done is to provide the right conditions to improve the quality of the population in order for the country to benefit maximally from her foreign policy engagement through her demography. If done, the country will be empowered to bargain both quantitatively and qualitatively in terms of demography on the international political stage.

This is the view of the respondents. As one of them explained:

I think it has to do with leadership. Nigeria, for example, we have almost 200 million people. We have both quality and quantity in terms of population but we are unable to utilize that because the environment is not conducive. About half of the 200 million people want to run away from the country. The problem is that we are not able to tap into the resources that we have. For instance, we do not need to import teachers, we do not need to import doctors and we do not need to import lawyers. We have all that. So under normal

circumstance, we are supposed to leverage on population to be able to get anything⁸.

For this respondent, comparatively Nigeria has advantage over many other countries in terms of demography both quantitatively and qualitatively. Unlike other countries that spend a lot of money to import trained professionals, Nigeria has them in abundance and could even if properly coordinated leverage on their expertise as a means of foreign exchange earnings.

This respondent, however, put the failure to do this on the absence of the right environment and leadership. As she further explained:

And then it is even more saddening the fact that we cannot even raise quality leaders from the huge population. So I think it has to do with the environment. It has to do with environmental factors such as corruption⁸.

She concluded by encouraging the creation of the right environment.

"...the environment needs to be conducive. The government needs to put in effort to make local environment conducive so that people will be okay⁸".

This position was also supported by other respondents. For instance, another respondent emphasize the need to empower the citizens.

There must be a deliberate policy in place. They can be for education, employment, social security and social welfare. In abroad, you go to school on the government covers and when you start working, you start paying back. So the system gets you engaged till you become old. That is what is missing here. So many people resort to self-help because they feel eliminated from government. So we really need to do much in the areas of youth empowerment. We need to redouble our efforts. That is the only way we can ensure that Nigerian youths also contribute to nation building. A lot of them do not see themselves that they are indebted to the country because they feel the country has not done anything for them. Therefore there is no way for them to pay back².

In every demographic populated by the youth, such a population is a futuristic. What we need is for the government to have programmes for the youths. Programme that will promote the economy, policy that will encourage youth participation. Government should identify those that are doing well, encourage them and support them financially. Government should not make policies to witchhunt the youth. Government should support them internationally by providing international support whenever they are needed¹.

For all the respondents, youth empowerment represent a major way through which Nigeria can improve the quality of its demography and benefit maximally from it ^{2,6,8,10}. For instance, it has been argued that in the entertainment sector, many Nigerian youths have contributed to the upliftment of Nigeria's image globally and the Nollywood industry is becoming a significant source of foreign exchange earnings for Nigeria. However, despite this, the entertainment sector has not been able to receive the required support from the government. For the respondent, if this is done the entertainment sector would not only serve as a source of employment to the youth but also assist in the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy as it will serve as a soft power to positively project the image of the country¹².

4.2.5 Research Question Five: What are the influence of diaspora engagements on Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari?

This research question deals with the quantitative method which involves the use of the questionnaires. From the analysis of the data collected through the questionnaires, the following information were obtained.

4.2.5.1 Presentation of Demographic Data of Questionnaire Respondents

Table 4.2 Age distribution of respondents

AGE	Count of AGE
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25-34	29
35-44	45
45 and above	25

Source: Fieldwork, 2024

The table presents the distribution of individuals across different age groups, categorized as 25-34, 35-44, and 45 and above. The data suggests that the largest proportion of individuals falls within the 35-44 age range, with 45 individuals counted. This age group seems to be the most represented in the dataset.

Following closely behind is the 25-34 age group, comprising 29 individuals. This indicates a significant presence of younger adults within the data, although slightly fewer in number compared to the 35-44 age bracket.

Lastly, the table shows that there are 25 individuals aged 45 and above. While this group is smaller in count compared to the other two categories, it still represents a notable portion of the dataset.

Table 4.3 Sex distribution of the respondents

Sex	Count of Sex
Female	10
Male	90

Source: Fieldwork, 2024

The table presents the distribution of individuals based on their sex, categorized as female and male. It indicates that the dataset predominantly consists of males, with 90 individuals identified as male. On the other hand, there are 10 individuals identified as female.

Understanding the sex distribution within a dataset can be crucial for various analyses, such as examining gender disparities, ensuring inclusivity in research or decision-making processes. It also provides insights into the demographics of the population under study and helps in formulating targeted approaches based on gender-specific needs or preferences.

Table 4.4 Marital status of the respondents

MARITAL STATUS	Count of MARITAL STATUS
Married	87
Single	13

Source: Fieldwork, 2024

The table illustrates the distribution of individuals based on their marital status, categorized as married and single. It indicates that the majority of individuals in the dataset are married, with 87 individuals falling into this category. Conversely, there are 13 individuals classified as single.

Understanding the marital status distribution within the population provides valuable insights into social dynamics, family structures, and potential dependencies.

Table 4.5 Years of stay outside Nigeria of the respondents

YEARS OF STAY OUTSIDE NIGERIA	Count of YEARS OF STAY OUTSIDE NIGERIA
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16-20	12
21 and above	5
1-5	57
6-10	12
11-15	13

Source: Fieldwork, 2024

The table provides the distribution of individuals based on the number of years they have stayed outside Nigeria, categorized into different ranges

This distribution offers insights into the length of time individuals have spent living outside Nigeria. It can be useful for various analyses, such as understanding migration patterns, assimilation into new cultures, or assessing the potential impact of transnational experiences on individuals' lives.

4.2.4.1 Presentation of Data from Questionare Respondents

Table 4.6 Perception of the activities of Nigerians in diaspora in terms of contributions to the country's development

What is your perception of the activities of Nigerians in diaspora in terms of contributions to the country's development?	Number
Positive	75
Very Positive	25

Source: Fieldwork, 2024

The data suggested a generally positive perception of the activities of Nigerians in the diaspora regarding their contributions to the country's development. The majority of respondents, 75%, view these contributions as positive, while 25% perceive them as very positive.

Nigerians in the diaspora play a significant role in contributing to the development of their home country through various means such as remittances, investments, knowledge transfer, philanthropy, and advocacy. Remittances alone constitute a substantial financial flow into Nigeria's economy, providing essential support to families and contributing to poverty reduction and economic stability. Additionally, diaspora Nigerians often leverage their skills, expertise, and networks to support initiatives in areas such as education, healthcare, infrastructure, technology, and entrepreneurship⁵⁸.

“Their contributions go beyond economic aspects and also include cultural exchange, promoting Nigeria's image globally, and fostering international partnerships and collaborations”⁵⁸.

Overall, the perception of Nigerians in the diaspora as positive contributors to the country's development aligns with their tangible impacts and the recognition of their potential to drive progress and innovation in various sectors. Efforts to harness and maximize these contributions can further accelerate Nigeria's development trajectory and strengthen its global presence.

Table 4.7 Area(s) that Nigerians in diaspora has contributed more to the country's image and development

Which area(s) do you think Nigerians in diaspora has contributed more to the country's image and development?	
You can pick more than one option	Number
Academics/Research	46
Being brilliant at their job	5
Business/Investment	24
Entertainment	12
Sport	9
Sports, academic and business	4

Source: Fieldwork, 2024

The data showed that Nigerians in the diaspora have made significant contributions to various aspects of the country's image and development, spanning academia, research, business, investment, entertainment, and sports. These contributions not only showcase the talent and expertise of Nigerians globally but also play a vital role in shaping perceptions of the nation and fostering its socio-economic growth.

One area where Nigerians in the diaspora have notably excelled is academia and research. With their advanced education and expertise, many diaspora Nigerians have established themselves as leading scholars, researchers, and educators in prestigious institutions worldwide. They have made ground breaking contributions to fields such as science, technology, engineering, mathematics (STEM), medicine, social sciences, and humanities. Through their research publications, patents, and academic collaborations, they have not only advanced knowledge but also brought recognition to Nigeria on the global stage⁵⁹.

Furthermore, Nigerians in the diaspora have demonstrated exceptional prowess in business and investment. Leveraging their skills, entrepreneurial spirit, and global networks, they have established successful enterprises, startups, and investment ventures both within Nigeria and abroad. Their contributions range from creating employment opportunities and driving economic growth to fostering innovation and technology transfer. Diaspora Nigerians often play a significant role in attracting foreign direct investment (FDI) and promoting trade relations between Nigeria and other countries, thus contributing to the country's economic development and international integration⁵⁹.

In the realm of entertainment, Nigerian talent in music, film, literature, and the arts has garnered widespread acclaim and recognition worldwide. Diaspora Nigerian artists, actors, musicians, and authors have not only achieved remarkable success in their respective fields but have also played a crucial role in popularizing Nigerian culture and creativity globally. Their artistic expressions serve as powerful ambassadors for Nigeria, showcasing its rich cultural heritage and diversity to international audiences⁶⁰.

Similarly, Nigerians in the diaspora have made notable strides in sports, representing the country with distinction on the global stage. From athletics to football, basketball, boxing, and more, diaspora Nigerian athletes have achieved remarkable feats, winning medals, championships, and accolades in various international competitions. Their successes not only bring pride to Nigeria but also inspire the next generation of athletes and contribute to the country's sports development and reputation worldwide^{60,61}.

Overall, the contributions of Nigerians in the diaspora across these diverse areas have significantly enhanced the country's image, influence, and development on the global stage.

Their achievements underscore the immense talent, resilience, and potential of the Nigerian people, transcending geographical boundaries and enriching the fabric of society both at home and abroad. As Nigeria continues to strive for progress and prosperity, harnessing the collective efforts and talents of its diaspora will remain essential in driving sustainable development and building a brighter future for generations to come.

Table 4.8 Area(s) that Nigerians in diaspora has contributed negatively to the country's image and development

Which area(s) do you think Nigerians in diaspora has contributed negatively to the country's image and development?	
You can pick more than one option	Number
All of the above	4
Bad attitude	4
Driving offence.	4
Drug trafficking	25
Financial crime	46
Human trafficking	12
I don't know	4

Source: Fieldwork, 2024

The data indicated that Nigerians in the diaspora have contributed negatively to the countries image and development in areas such as human trafficking, financial crime, drug trafficking, driving offence and bad attitudes.

One area where negative perceptions may arise is financial crime. While it's crucial to recognize that only a small fraction of diaspora Nigerians may be involved in such activities, instances of fraud, money laundering, and other financial crimes can have damaging repercussions for Nigeria's reputation and economic stability. These activities undermine trust in financial institutions, deter foreign investment, and erode public confidence in Nigeria's business environment⁶².

Similarly, drug trafficking is another area that can contribute to negative perceptions of Nigerians in the diaspora. Involvement in drug trafficking not only tarnishes Nigeria's image but also has serious social, health, and security implications both domestically and internationally. It reinforces stereotypes and stigmatization of Nigerians as criminals and undermines efforts to combat drug abuse and trafficking⁶³.

Human trafficking is yet another concern that can impact Nigeria's image and development negatively. The exploitation and trafficking of individuals, often for labor or sex trafficking purposes, not only violate human rights but also reflect poorly on Nigeria's commitment to combating such crimes and protecting its citizens. Addressing human trafficking requires coordinated efforts both domestically and internationally to prevent, prosecute, and provide support to victims⁶⁴.

Additionally, while not directly related to criminal activities, instances of bad attitudes or driving offenses by diaspora Nigerians can contribute to negative perceptions. Such behaviors may reinforce stereotypes of Nigerians as reckless or disrespectful, undermining efforts to promote positive cultural exchanges and cooperation between Nigeria and other countries⁶⁴.

The perception of negative contributions from Nigerians in the diaspora is a complex and sensitive issue, often influenced by isolated incidents or stereotypes that do not accurately represent the vast majority of diaspora Nigerians' contributions. However, it's important to acknowledge and address concerns where they exist to foster a more nuanced understanding of the diaspora's impact on Nigeria's image and development⁶⁵.

It's important to note that negative contributions from diaspora Nigerians should not overshadow the vast majority's positive impacts and contributions to Nigeria's development. Addressing these concerns requires comprehensive strategies that address root causes, strengthen institutional

frameworks, promote ethical behavior, and foster greater collaboration between Nigeria and its diaspora communities. By addressing challenges effectively and highlighting positive contributions, Nigeria can leverage its diaspora's potential as a valuable asset for sustainable development and global engagement.

Table 4.9 Perception of Nigeria’s government relations with Nigerians in diaspora

What is your perception of Nigeria’s government relations with Nigerians in diaspora?	Number
Negative	12
Neutral	37
Positive	37
Very Negative	9
Very positive	4

Source: Fieldwork, 2024

The data suggests mixed perceptions regarding Nigeria's government relations with Nigerians in the diaspora. While a significant portion of respondents view these relations as neutral (37%) or positive (37%), a notable minority perceive them as negative (12%), very negative (9%), or very positive (4%).

Perceptions of government-diaspora relations can be influenced by various factors, including the effectiveness of policies and initiatives aimed at engaging the diaspora, the responsiveness of government institutions to diaspora concerns, and the extent to which diaspora Nigerians feel valued and supported by their home country⁶⁶.

Positive perceptions may stem from efforts by the Nigerian government to engage with the diaspora through initiatives such as the establishment of diaspora desks, forums, or advisory councils, as well as policies aimed at facilitating diaspora investment, voting rights, and participation in national development initiatives. Positive interactions, support for diaspora-led projects, and recognition of diaspora contributions can also contribute to favorable perceptions⁶⁶.

On the other hand, negative perceptions may arise from challenges such as bureaucratic hurdles, lack of responsiveness to diaspora concerns, limited access to consular services, or instances of discrimination or neglect experienced by diaspora Nigerians. Additionally, concerns about corruption, political instability, or security issues in Nigeria may impact perceptions of the government's ability to effectively engage with the diaspora and address their needs^{65,66}.

Addressing negative perceptions and strengthening government-diaspora relations require proactive efforts to address diaspora concerns, improve communication channels, streamline processes, and foster trust and collaboration. By leveraging the skills, resources, and networks of diaspora Nigerians, Nigeria can enhance its global engagement, promote economic development, and address key challenges facing the nation.

Table 4.10 Awareness of the establishment of the Nigerians in Diaspora Commission (NiDCOM)

Are you aware of the establishment of the Nigerians in Diaspora Commission (NiDCOM)?	Number
No	18
Yes	82

Source: Fieldwork, 2024

The majority of respondents, 82%, are aware of the establishment of the Nigerians in Diaspora Commission (NiDCOM), while 18% are not aware of its existence.

NiDCOM was established by the Nigerian government to engage with Nigerians living abroad, harness their potential for national development, and address their concerns and challenges. The commission serves as a platform for facilitating diaspora engagement, promoting collaboration and partnerships between Nigeria and its diaspora communities, and advocating for the rights and interests of Nigerians living abroad⁶⁷.

Awareness of NiDCOM is crucial for diaspora Nigerians to access its services, programs, and initiatives aimed at promoting diaspora contributions to Nigeria's socio-economic development. By fostering effective communication, outreach, and coordination with diaspora communities, NiDCOM plays a vital role in strengthening ties between Nigeria and its diaspora, leveraging their skills, resources, and networks for mutual benefit⁶⁷.

Table 4.11 Previous interactions with NiDCOM

If Yes, have you had any previous interactions with NiDCOM?	Number
No	91
Yes	9

Source: Fieldwork, 2024

The data showed that the vast majority of respondents, 91%, have not had any previous interactions with NiDCOM, while only 9% have had interactions with the commission.

Interactions with NiDCOM could include participating in its programs, attending events or workshops organized by the commission, seeking assistance or information on diaspora-related matters, or engaging with NiDCOM officials through various communication channels⁶⁸.

For those who have not had interactions with NiDCOM, it may be an opportunity to explore the services and resources offered by the commission and to potentially benefit from its initiatives aimed at fostering diaspora engagement and promoting collaboration between Nigeria and its diaspora communities. Increased awareness and engagement with NiDCOM can facilitate stronger ties and partnerships between Nigeria and its diaspora, contributing to the country's development and global engagement efforts⁶⁸.

Table 4.12 Impression of the activities of NiDCOM

What is your impression of the activities of NiDCOM?	Number
Effective	25
Highly effective	5
Ineffective	8
Less effective	4
Neutral	58

Source: Fieldwork, 2024

The responses indicate a mixed perception of the activities of NiDCOM, with a significant portion of respondents expressing a neutral stance (58%). However, there are also respondents who perceive NiDCOM's activities as effective (25%), highly effective (5%), ineffective (8%), or less effective (4%).

For those who view NiDCOM's activities as effective or highly effective, they may recognize the commission's efforts in engaging with diaspora Nigerians, facilitating collaborations, and advocating for their interests. They may appreciate the initiatives undertaken by NiDCOM to harness the potential of the diaspora

for national development, as well as its role in providing support and assistance to diaspora communities⁶⁹.

Conversely, respondents who perceive NiDCOM's activities as ineffective or less effective may have concerns about the commission's ability to achieve its objectives, address diaspora concerns, or deliver tangible outcomes. They may cite issues such as bureaucratic hurdles, limited resources, or gaps in communication and outreach as factors contributing to their negative assessment⁶⁹.

Overall, perceptions of NiDCOM's activities may vary based on individuals' experiences, expectations, and awareness of the commission's initiatives. Addressing feedback and concerns from stakeholders can help NiDCOM enhance its effectiveness, improve service delivery, and strengthen its engagement with diaspora Nigerians for mutual benefit and national development.

Table 4.13 Inclusion of diaspora voting in the Nigerian electoral process

What is your opinion on the inclusion of diaspora voting in the Nigerian electoral process?	Number
Highly Necessary	47
Necessary	25
Neutral	16
Not Necessary	12

Source: Fieldwork, 2024

The responses indicate a varied opinion on the inclusion of diaspora voting in Nigeria's electoral process. A significant portion of respondents, 72% (combining Highly Necessary and Necessary), view the inclusion of diaspora voting as either highly necessary or necessary. This suggests recognition among respondents of the importance of diaspora participation in Nigeria's electoral

process. Advocates for diaspora voting may argue that it ensures inclusivity, enables Nigerians living abroad to have a say in their country's affairs, and strengthens democratic representation.

On the other hand, 29% of respondents (Neutral and Not Necessary) express reservations or uncertainty about the inclusion of diaspora voting. Reasons for this stance could include concerns about logistical challenges, such as verifying the eligibility of diaspora voters and ensuring the integrity of the electoral process, as well as questions about the practical impact of diaspora voting on Nigeria's political landscape.

Overall, the responses suggest that while there is support for the idea of diaspora voting, there are also concerns and uncertainties that need to be addressed. Engaging in further dialogue and deliberation on this topic could help clarify issues, identify solutions, and inform decision-making regarding the potential inclusion of diaspora voting in Nigeria's electoral framework.

Table 4.14 Diaspora voting will encourage the participation of Nigerians in diaspora in the country's decision making process

Do you agree that diaspora voting will encourage the participation of Nigerians in diaspora in the country's decision making process?	Number
No	24
Yes	76

Source: Fieldwork, 2024

The responses suggest a significant level of support for the inclusion of diaspora voting in Nigeria's electoral process, with 72% of respondents considering it highly necessary or necessary. Additionally, 16% of respondents expressed a neutral stance, while 12% believe it is not necessary.

Advocates for the inclusion of diaspora voting likely perceive it as a crucial step towards enhancing democratic participation and representation for Nigerians living abroad. They may argue that diaspora voting rights are essential for ensuring that all Nigerian citizens, regardless of their geographical location, have a voice in shaping the country's governance and policies. They may also highlight the potential benefits of diaspora voting in fostering a stronger sense of connection and engagement among Nigerians abroad with their homeland, as well as promoting diaspora contributions to national development⁷⁰.

On the other hand, those who believe diaspora voting is not necessary may raise concerns about logistical challenges, such as verifying the eligibility of diaspora voters, ensuring the integrity of the electoral process, and managing the practicalities of voting from abroad. They may also question the priorities of allocating resources towards implementing diaspora voting when there are other pressing issues facing Nigeria's electoral system and governance⁷¹.

Overall, the inclusion of diaspora voting in Nigeria's electoral process is a topic that warrants careful consideration and discussion among policymakers, electoral authorities, and stakeholders. Balancing the potential benefits of increased diaspora participation with the practical challenges and implications is essential in determining the feasibility and desirability of implementing diaspora voting in Nigeria.

Table 4.15 Diaspora remittances is a veritable tool for Nigeria’s development

Do you agree that diaspora remittances is a veritable tool for Nigeria’s development?	Number
No	8
Yes	92

Source: Fieldwork, 2024

The overwhelming majority of respondents, 92%, agree that diaspora remittances are a veritable tool for Nigeria's development, while only 8% disagree.

Diaspora remittances play a significant role in Nigeria's economy, contributing to its development in various ways. Remittances from Nigerians living abroad represent a substantial financial inflow, providing crucial support to families, boosting household income, and alleviating poverty for millions of Nigerians. These funds are often used to cover essential expenses such as food, education, healthcare, and housing, thus improving living standards and enhancing economic resilience at the household level⁷².

Moreover, diaspora remittances have broader macroeconomic implications, including stimulating consumption, promoting investment, and supporting economic growth. Remittance inflows contribute to foreign exchange reserves, bolstering Nigeria's balance of payments and providing stability to the currency. They also serve as a source of capital for investment in productive activities, entrepreneurship, and infrastructure development, thereby fuelling job creation, innovation, and productivity enhancements across various sectors of the economy⁷³.

Additionally, diaspora remittances can foster social development and human capital formation by supporting education and skill development initiatives. By investing in education and training, remittance recipients can improve their earning potential, expand economic opportunities, and contribute to long-term sustainable development outcomes^{73,74}.

Overall, the consensus among respondents underscores the recognition of diaspora remittances as a vital and reliable tool for Nigeria's development. Leveraging remittance flows effectively through policies and programs that promote financial inclusion, investment, and productive use of funds can maximize their positive impact on poverty reduction, economic growth, and social progress in Nigeria.

Table 4.16 Forms of making diaspora remittances

In what forms have you been making your remittances?	
You can pick more than one option	
option	Number
Business Investment	13
Business investment, housing, community development, charity	4
Ceremonies	4
Community development	16
Families, friends and colleagues.	5
Family support	4
Family up keep	4
Housing	25
Payment of Tuition fees	25

Source: Fieldwork, 2024

The responses indicate various forms through which individuals have been making remittances: Business Investment (13), Business investment, housing, community development, charity (4) Ceremonies (4), Community development (16), Families, friends, and colleagues (5), Family support (4), Family upkeep (4), Housing (25), Payment of Tuition fees (25).

These forms of remittances reflect a diverse range of purposes and beneficiaries, including investments in businesses, housing, and community development, as well as support for family members, education, and charitable activities. Remittances serve as a lifeline for many recipients, enabling them to meet various needs and aspirations, improve their livelihoods, and contribute to broader socio-economic development.

Table 4.17 Challenges facing diaspora investment/remittances in Nigeria

What are the challenges facing diaspora investment/remittances in Nigeria?	Count of 21. What are the challenges facing diaspora investment/remittances in Nigeria?
All of the options above apply	4
Bad economic polices	46
Corruption	24
Insecurity	17
Insecurity, currency instability and poor amenities, corruption	4
Poor amenities	4

Source: Fieldwork, 2024

The challenges facing diaspora investment and remittances in Nigeria are multifaceted and encompass various factors:

1. **Bad Economic Policies:** Forty-six respondents identified bad economic policies as a significant challenge. Inconsistent or ineffective policies can deter diaspora investment by creating uncertainty, increasing risk, and limiting opportunities for growth and profitability.
2. **Corruption:** Twenty-four respondents highlighted corruption as a major obstacle. Corruption undermines trust in institutions, increases transaction costs, and hampers the effectiveness of investment and remittance channels. It can deter diaspora investors and erode confidence in Nigeria's economic environment.
3. **Insecurity:** Seventeen respondents identified insecurity as a significant challenge. Persistent security concerns, including terrorism, insurgency, and criminal activities, can deter diaspora investment and remittances by posing risks to personal safety, property, and business operations.
4. **Poor Amenities:** Five respondents mentioned poor amenities as a challenge. Inadequate infrastructure, including unreliable power supply, inadequate transportation networks, and deficient healthcare and education systems, can hinder investment and remittance utilization by increasing operating costs, reducing productivity, and lowering quality of life.
5. **Currency Instability:** One respondent highlighted currency instability as a challenge. Fluctuations in the value of the Nigerian currency can impact the purchasing power of remittances and investments, affecting their real impact and sustainability.

Addressing these challenges requires concerted efforts by the Nigerian government, policymakers, and stakeholders to implement reforms that promote transparency, accountability,

and good governance. Strengthening institutions, improving infrastructure, enhancing security, and fostering an enabling business environment can encourage diaspora investment and maximize the developmental impact of remittances in Nigeria.

4.3 Discussion of Findings

The respondents of this research work are well versed on the topic and issues that were raised. These was demonstrated in their deep analysis of the issues that emanated from the research work. Many of their responses were supported by the positions held by authors in reviewed literatures. Thus, it was easy for the researcher to synchronize the findings and fill the gaps in the literatures.

On the question of nature of Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari, the respondents agreed that like other previous administrations, there was not a major shift in the foreign policy of Nigeria under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari as it was in line with what the country's constitutions spelled out. However, for the respondents there were certain foreign policy thrust which the administration focused on that eventually defined the nature of Nigeria's foreign policy under it. Among the foreign policy thrust of the administration identified by the respondents was the need to care for the interests of Nigerians living outside the country ^{1,2}. That is, Nigeria's diaspora relations. For many of them, diaspora relations played a key role in the determining the nature of Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari. It was established that Nigerians in the diaspora through their various activities impacted on the conduct of the country's foreign policy. This included in areas such as the intellectual contributions, economic contributions through diaspora remittances, international representation of the country at various fora. It was

also established that the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari quickly realized the significance of the diaspora relations in the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy such that it established the Nigeria in Diaspora Commission (NIDCOM) to oversee the relationship between the Nigeria government and the citizens of the country in diaspora. This was a first in the history of the country.

Also, in line with the views expressed by the scholars in the reviewed literature, many of the respondents submitted that it is high time that diaspora voting be included in the electoral process in Nigeria ^{9,12}. This, they believed, will not only encourage Nigerians in the diaspora to be involved in country's decision-making process but as well will give them a sense of belonging which will make them to be more committed to the development of the country in terms of the diaspora remittances, intellectual contributions and many more ways. For the respondents, there is no justification for Nigeria not include diaspora voting in her electoral process while smaller countries in Africa such as Togo and Kenya are already doing so ¹². However, the respondents recognized the need to exercise caution as adequate measures must be put in place in order to prevent electoral malpractices. Also, the need for the capturing of the data profile of Nigerians outside the country was also suggested in order to make it comprehensive and credible.

The role of Nigerians in the diaspora during the ENDSARS protest and its effect on the country's international relation was also discussed. It was established that the involvement of Nigerians outside the country led to the internationalization of the protest and its subsequent impact on Nigeria's external relations such as the withdrawal of foreign aid by some countries ¹.

Therefore from the above analysis it can be established that the diaspora relations and activities of Nigerians in the diaspora was one of the factors that shaped the nature of Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari (2015-2023).

The fight against corruption and the return of stolen funds was also recognized as one of the foreign policy trust of the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari. It was established that the anticorruption crusade was one of the major factors that shaped the nature of Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration. Like the authors in the reviewed literature, the respondents cited the many foreign trips embarked upon by President Muhammadu Buhari in his quest to solicit international cooperation and support for the fight against corruption and recovery of stolen funds which was both at the bilateral level and multilateral fora ^{8,9}. However, they differed on the extent to which the aims of the trips were achieved.

For some of the respondents, the recognition of President Muhammadu Buhari by the African Union (AU) as the African Anti-Corruption Champion was a positive and great achievement in the conduct of the country's foreign policy ^{2,3}. For other respondents, however, this is not enough as the country not only failed domestically in terms of the anticorruption war but also internationally tangible result could not be demonstrated compared to other previous administrations ^{8,10}.

Similarly, the need to revitalize Nigeria's economy was also established among the factors that shaped the nature of Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari. It was agreed that in order to revive the country's economy, President Muhammadu Buhari took some decisions that borders on the Nigeria's international relations which consequently affected the nature of her foreign policy ^{9,67}. Foreign policy decisions such as the

closure of Nigeria's borders with her neighbours and the country's relations with international financial institutions were cited. This was in line with submissions by the authors in the reviewed literatures.

The efforts of President Muhammadu Buhari in reviving the economy was recognized especially as it affected the conduct of Nigeria's Foreign Policy. It was acknowledged that the emergence of Dr. Ngozi Okonjo-Eweala as the Director-General of the World Trade Organization (WTO) during the tenure of President Muhammadu Buhari could be considered as an achievement by the president as part of his economic diplomacy ¹¹. From the analysis, it was recognized that President Muhammadu Buhari made efforts which were aimed at reviving the country's economy which impacted on the conduct of her foreign policy but these efforts did not yield the expected result on the country's economy.

The challenges of insecurity faced by the country was a major concern for the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari. It was established that the need to combat insecurity posed by the Boko Haram terrorists and other security threats such as armed banditry and kidnapping was a major influence and determinant of the nature of Nigeria's Foreign Policy under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari. For the respondents, Nigeria's external relations viz-a-viz her neighbours Niger, Cameroon, Chad, and even Benin Republic was shaped mostly by security concerns during this period ^{2,10}. Beyond her immediate neighbors, the ability of President Muhammadu Buhari to mobilise technical assistance and support from international partners such as the European Union, G7, United States and others for the counterinsurgency operations which was hitherto denied to the previous administration of President Goodluck Jonathan, represented a diplomatic victory for the administration. This view is similar to the opinions expressed in the reviewed literatures.

Despite this, not all the respondents agreed on the success of the administration in the fight against the insurgents ⁸. It was pointed out by others that the administration was unable to deal effectively with the challenges of insecurity in the country. Allegations of corruption among officers as well as human right abuses by military officer were made which affected not only the smooth conduct of the counterterrorism operations but also the international image of the country.

From the analysis, although it cannot be said that the administration was successful in totally tackling the country's security challenges, however without doubt, the administration made tremendous efforts in the fight against terrorism which supersede the previously administration.

On the research question dealing with the demographic considerations that influenced Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari, the respondents agreed that due to the fact of the country's huge population, demographic considerations formed an important element in the determination of her foreign policy ^{9,11}. The youthful composition of Nigeria's population was cited as a major demographic consideration that influenced the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration, it was established that youth as a demographic factor contributed both positively and otherwise in determining the nature of her foreign policy ¹. It was demonstrated that while the country possess the required demography in terms of youth, which represent the productive power of the population so as to harness the potential 'demographic dividends', however the failure to do this has resulted in 'demographic disasters'. From the analysis, events such as the ENDSARS protest which profoundly affected the country's international relations under the administrations was an aftermath of this 'demographic disasters'. Other manifestations include kidnapping, armed banditry and financial fraud by the youth (widely known as yahoo yahoo) which also imparted negatively on the country's image internationally.

From the findings, immigration was also established as one of the dynamics of demography that served as a consideration in the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari ^{11,12}. Migration issues involving the movement of Nigerians outside the country as well as movement of foreigners into Nigeria was a major demographic consideration under the administration. The decision of the administration to close Nigeria's borders was related to the alleged negative activities of the foreigners. However, for the respondents, the actions of the foreigners should not be viewed in one direction alone but also in terms of their positive contributions to the development of Nigeria.

As for the movement of Nigerians outside the country, it was established that movement of Nigerians outside the country was necessitated mostly by the harsh economic conditions at home which has led to the 'japa' syndrome and the subsequent brain drain affecting major aspects of the country ^{3,9}.

Also, from the findings, ethnic and religious considerations as demographic dynamics, was also identified ^{9,11}. However, it was established that unlike some of the previous administrations, religious consideration did not really impacted on the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari. It was established that this was due to the fact that the administration was able to maintain the traditional Nigeria's stand on divisive international issues bordering on religious consideration such as the Israel-Palestine conflict. This is in line with the view of the authors in the literatures reviewed.

From the findings, ethnic consideration was established to have play a key role in Nigeria's relations with her neighbours. This is because of the existence of ethnic affiliations between communities along Nigerian borders and those of other neighbouring countries. As such, it

represent a significant consideration in the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy. For the respondents, the existence of these ethnic affinities affected the effective implementation of some the Nigerian government policy towards her neighbours such as border closure ^{1,2}.

From the findings, gender factor did not feature prominently as a demographic consideration in the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari. It was established that Nigeria's foreign policy environment was dominated by males but this did not impact in any real way on the conduct of her foreign policy ⁸. Moreover, it was also found out that the administration witnessed the appointment of female Nigerians into prominent positions on the global scene.

For the research question on the relationship between dynamics of demography and Nigeria's foreign policy within the intermestic realist framework under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari, it was established from the findings that the signing of the African Continental Free Trade Agreement (AfCFTA) by Nigeria and the closure of Nigeria's borders are all intermestic issues with demographic considerations ^{2,11}. To analyse these issues within the realist framework required the use of the realist approach, the two level-game theory approach and the intermestic realism theory model.

In the two cases cited, Nigeria's action could be viewed in the context of the international system, which according to realists, exists in an anarchical state and the principal actors on the international stage are states, who in the absence of a central authority, have to rely on their capability to ensure self-survival. These states are concerned with their national interest and struggle for survival⁴⁹. To the states, the most important interest is the survival of the state, including its people, political system and territorial integrity. Realists contend that, as long as the

world is divided into sovereign states in an international setting, national interest will remain the basis of international relations⁵⁰. Thus, Nigeria's behaviour in the two cases (the delay in the signing of the AFCFTA treaty and the closure of the borders) could be regarded as political realism as the country prioritize her national interest and economic survival including its people and political stability over other considerations in these cases.

This is in consonance with the positions of authors in the literature who believed that in terms of foreign policy, realists believe that a state in its interaction with other states should prioritize its national interest by normally using its foreign policy to promote its national interest against others at all cost. Thus, at the core of realist paradigm is an emphasis on a state's protection of its own vital interest at all cost⁵¹.

However, Nigeria's actions should not be viewed in the context of extreme or radial realism which denied the existence of ethics, morality and institutionalism in international relations. Rather, as it can be seen with the opening of the borders later and the eventual signing of the AFCFTA treaty, while the country prioritize her interest as a realist, this was not allow to jeopardize her moral and ethical standings in the West African sub-region and the African region in the two cases respectively.

Furthermore, Nigeria's behaviour in the signing of the AFCFTA treaty can be further analysed using the two-level game theory. The theory proposed by Robert Putnam posited that the power struggle is a two-level game wherein a government is pressured domestically by interest groups for domestically favourable policies while trying to minimize the possible negative consequences of pursuing such a policy internationally⁵². Under this theoretical framework, there exists two levels; the national level and the international level. At the national level (called level II),

domestic constituents pursue their interest by pressuring government to adopt favourable policies. At the international level (called level I), government attempts to meet the pressures and demands of their domestic constituents, while at the same time seek to minimize the possible negative efforts ⁴⁵. Thus, the manifestations of this is that for a successful foreign policy conduct, a leader must be able to manage the pressure of the domestic demands at the international level and vice-versa.

The two-level game theory addresses the role of domestic preferences and coalition, political institutions and dynamics on foreign policy. This means that by examining a state's domestic constituents, an accurate indication of how domestic influences affect foreign policy making can be made. Domestic influence on foreign policy exists in the form of the range of foreign policy options being restricted by what is acceptable at a domestic level ⁴⁵.

The two-level game theory as a model considers international negotiations among states as those which consists of simultaneous negotiations at the domestic and international levels. That is, between groups within a state and different national governments. The theory addresses the role of domestic preferences and coalitions, domestic political institutions and practices, the strategies and duties of negotiators, uncertainty, the domestic reverberation of international pressures and the interest of the Chief negotiator ^{53,54}.

Pressures from international negotiations and bargaining sometimes create domestic reverberations. This is inform of reactions from domestic interest groups who are concerned about the outcome of such negotiations and the impact or consequences on them or their interest. Therefore, whether at the bilateral or multilateral levels, government officials regularly engage in "two-level games" played simultaneously at the domestic and international levels. The focus of

the two-level game is on the effects of intra-national interest groups on foreign policy and vice-versa ^{55,56}. That is, how the domestic interest groups affect the nation's relations at the international level and how the various interests at the international levels affect the domestic setting.

Reactions from AFCFTA negotiations and beginning created domestic reverberations in Nigeria. These reactions came from domestic interest groups including the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC), Manufacturers Association of Nigeria (MAN) and others that are concerned about the outcome and the consequences of the signing of the treaty on them and their interests. Therefore, they exerted pressure on the Nigerian government which led to the restrictions in the range of foreign policy options that is acceptable at the domestic level. This caused the delay in the signing of the treaty by the Nigerian government.

On the other hand, the administrations tried to manage the domestic pressure and demands at the international level through limiting or by minimizing the possible negative consequences of it on the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy. This was done by reaching a favourable agreement with domestic groups which also satisfy the country's interest on the continent.

However, the embarrassment caused by the last minute refusal of Nigeria's to sign the treaty created the impression that Nigeria's national interest is not well defined and the country's foreign policy objectives are not well articulated.

From the foregoing analysis, it has been established that demographic considerations has major influence on Nigeria's foreign policy and this can be analysed using the intermestic realist framework. Issues such as the signing of the AFCFTA and the closure of Nigeria's border has been analysed and affirmed to be intermestic affairs. Also, the deliberations behind these foreign



and Nigeria’s foreign policy using the intermestic realist framework. This relationship is represented by the proposed model “**Intermestic Demographic Realism**” as shown in figure 4.1

decision have
 shown to have
 demographic
 considerations.
 Therefore, it has
 established that
 exist a
 relationship
 between
 demographic
 consideration

Lead City University

Figure 4.1 Interstitial Demographic Realism

Source: (Designed by the Researcher, 2024)

On the questions of the mechanisms to be adopted for Nigeria to benefit from her demography through her foreign policy, it has been established that there is a nexus between foreign policy and national development. That is, the role of foreign policy in promoting the development of a state ⁵⁷. This is termed developmental foreign policy. When analyzing the role of foreign policy in the promotion of development, the relevance and capability of the state to harness both its tangible and intangible resources for the attainment of national development has to be acknowledged. Based on this, foreign policy can be divided into two major aspects through which it influences the development of the country. These are the economic and political aspects. In this two aspects the quantity and the quality of the population is very germane as the capacity of the state to harness its resources to attain development depends on this.

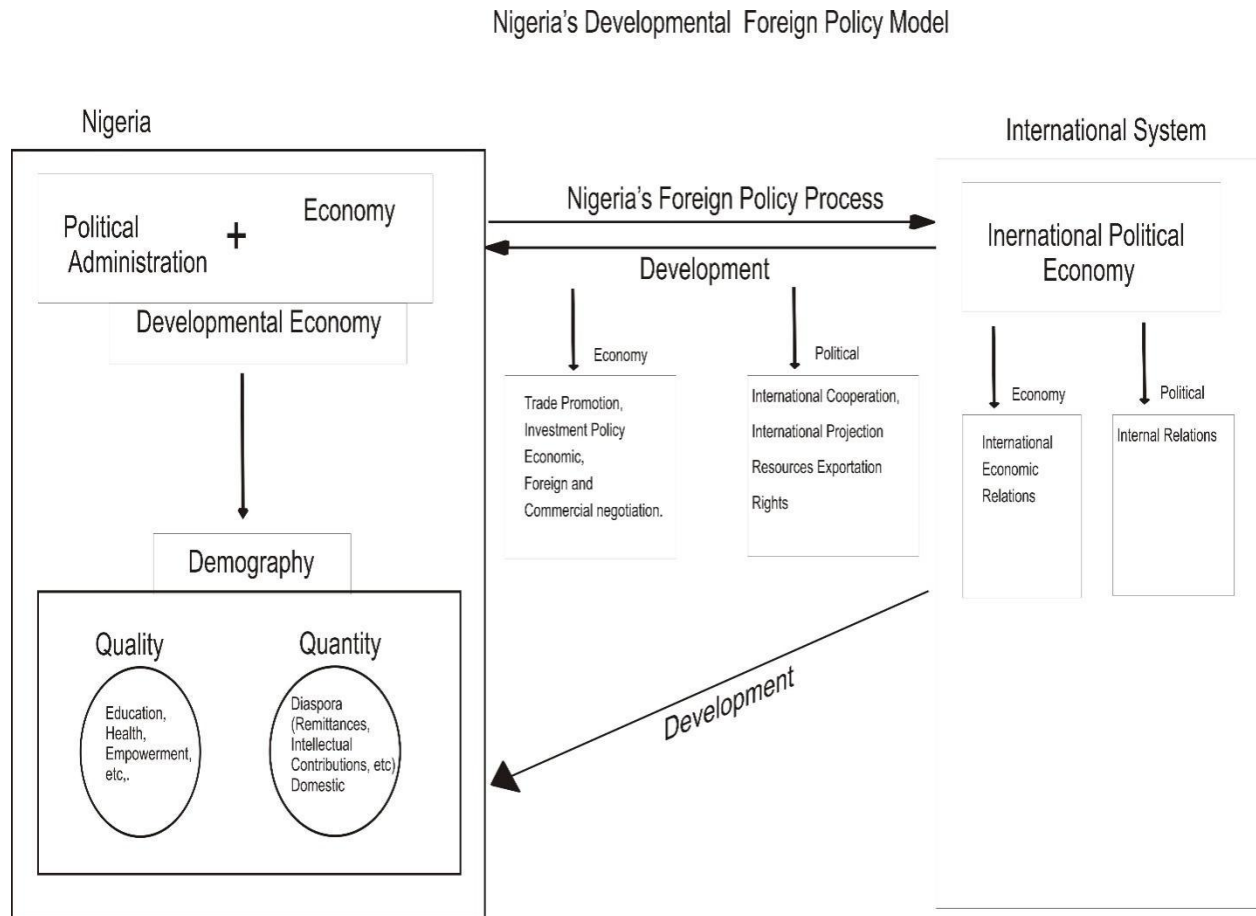
From the findings, it was established that for Nigeria to benefit from her huge demography (demographic dividend) through her foreign policy for development, there is a need to improve the quality of her demography. This is where the role of the state comes in and as discussed above, this can come in two ways, the political and economic aspect. Nigeria must leverage on her foreign policy engagements both politically and economically through demographic power in

order to bring about development. At the same time, this cannot be done without improving on the quality of her demography.

From the findings, it was established that Nigeria's already possess adequate population in terms of quantity, however, what is required for the country to benefit from her huge demography (demographic dividend) through her foreign policy for development (Developmental Foreign Policy) is the need to improve the quality of her demography. This is where the role of the state comes in play. Nigerian government must ensure to improve in the quality of the population by putting in place policies that encourage such. Also, as part of her demographic power, the government must leverage on the high number of Nigerians in diaspora through her foreign policy engagements in order to bring about development. This is represented in figure 4.2 as designed by the researcher.

Figure 4.2 Nigeria’s Developmental Foreign Policy Model

Source: (Designed by the Researcher, 2024)



Endnotes

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Chapter Five

Conclusion

This chapter presents the summary of the research work including the conclusions drawn from the study as well as the recommendations made for further studies. The study was generally guided and focused on the dynamics of demography and the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari (2015-2023). This chapter details the significant conclusion drawn from findings on the demographic considerations that influenced the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari.

There are five chapters in this work. The first chapter covers the study's background dealing with the evolution of Nigeria's foreign policy and the significance of demography, the statement of problem, the objectives of the study and the related research questions which guide the study, the scope and the limitations of the study as well as the significance of the study. Also, the operational definition of terms is included.

In the second chapter, the review of related literature was done. This provided the background to the study. The chapter covered conceptual review, theoretical framework and the empirical studies. The third chapter discussed the methodology used in the research. The study employed a qualitative and descriptive approach based on data obtained from both primary sources and secondary sources. The research design, population of the study, description of the research instruments, method of data collection and analysis used in the research work was also presented.

In the fourth chapter, data gotten from the interviews (primary sources) as well as secondary sources such as scholarly articles in journals, textbooks, newspapers, magazines and so on were presented. The discussions on the findings from the data analyzed were also presented.

Chapter five provided summary of the research work, conclusion and recommendations. Contribution to knowledge as well as suggestions for further studies were also presented.

5.1 Summary of Findings

This research work focused on the relationship between dynamics of demography and Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari. It aimed to bring to the fore the nature of Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration. It also highlighted the demographic considerations that influenced the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration.

On the nature of Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari, the respondents were unanimous in their believe that there was no major shift in the country's foreign policy under the administration but rather the administration continued with the Nigeria's traditions in terms of foreign policy as enshrined in the country's constitution. However, the respondents were able to identify certain foreign policy thrust which served as determinants of the nature of Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration. These include the Nigeria's diaspora relations, the fight against corruption, the need to revitalize the Nigerian economy and the need to combat insecurity posed by Boko Haram insurgents and others.

From the analysis of the responses, it was established that while these factors shaped the nature of Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari, the level

of their impacts as well as the extent to which the administration was able to deal with them viz-a-viz the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy varies. As a demographic elements, the huge number of Nigerians in diaspora was recognized as a major consideration in the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy. This is manifested in the establishment of Nigerians in Diaspora Commission (NIDCOM) and the increasing role it is playing in Nigeria's external relations.

Also, from the analysis, it was established that the fight against terrorism and other forms of insecurity had a major influence on the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari. The country's relations with her immediate neighbours during this period was shaped by the needs combine efforts with these neighbouring countries to collectively deal with the insurgents. This is also true of the country's relations with the western countries as the administration seek both their technical and humanitarian support in dealing with this crisis. This made the administration to pursue a foreign policy based on cordiality and not hostility with her neighbors and western countries.

Similarly, the anticorruption crusade and the need to revamp the country's economy was also a key determinant of the nature of Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari. The fact that the country's economy entered recession immediately after the accession of the administration made it a necessity. This made the administration to pursue a foreign policy focused on the repatriation of stolen funds and attraction of foreign investment. However, these efforts, for the respondents, did not really yield the desired result.

As regards the demographic dynamics that influenced the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari, migration, age, qualitylity, religion, ethnic and gender considerations were identified. Migration of Nigerians outside the country as

well as the movement of foreigners into Nigeria affected foreign policy decision under the administration. This is manifested in terms of its economic and security implications for the country. The movement of foreigners into the country led to such foreign policy decision as the closure of Nigeria's borders with her neighbours as they were considered as sources of insecurity or security threat to the country. However, it was also highlighted that these foreigners should not only be seen in the negative light but also in terms of their positive contributions to the country.

The quality of the population especially as it has to do with growth, which represent the majority, has a lot of influence on the government's decision making. For the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari, its failure to properly manage the huge demographic potential of Nigerian youth led to such social unrest as the ENDSARS protest with significant implication on the country's international image and the conduct of her foreign policy. This failure was further exemplified by the exodus of Nigerian youths in large numbers from the country termed 'Japa Syndrome' as a result of the harsh economic conditions and security situation of the country. While the administration did put in place certain measures to benefit the youth, it was not enough to avert the 'demographic disaster' caused by its failure to improve the quality of the population especially the youth.

Religious and gender considerations as demographic dynamics did not feature prominently in the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration of Presidents Muhammadu Buhari. As for ethnic considerations, its involvement was especially in terms of Nigeria's relations with her neighbours as a result of the existence of ethnic affiliations among communities along the border areas of Nigeria and the neighboring countries. This usually impacted on the effectiveness of the implementation of such foreign policy decisions as the closure of Nigeria's land borders.

The delay and the eventual signing of the African Continental Free Trade Agreement (AFCFTA) by the Nigerian government as well as the closure of Nigeria's land borders with her neighbors are the intermestic issues cited under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari. Intermestic issues are issues that of international concern but with deliberations behind them rooted in the domestic sphere. The delay in the signing of AFCFTA treaty by the government of Nigeria was due to the opposition by local interest groups such as the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) and the Manufacturers Association of Nigeria (MAN).

Similarly, the closure of Nigeria's land borders with her neighbors was regarded as intermestic in nature as the decision behind it by the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari was rooted in the consideration of Nigeria's domestic economic and security interests. The two cases cited pointed to the interplay of demographic consideration on the conduct of international affairs within the realist framework. This led to the proposal of the theory of intermestic realism of demography.

For Nigeria to benefit from her huge demography, 'demography dividend' through her foreign policy, 'Developmental foreign policy', the government must ensure the improvement of the quality of the demography.

To do this, the Nigerian government must leverage on those areas that mostly concern development, which is the economic and political aspect. Like other countries with similar population in terms of quantity, Nigeria's foreign policy must be conducted within the framework of the bargaining it can make through its demographic potentials.

5.2 Conclusion

Demography is a vital element and a major determinant of the national power. For Nigeria, while the huge population has helped to attract international investors making her a source of geopolitical interest and also assisted in the fulfilment of international obligations, the challenge has always been the inability of the country to properly manage her demographic resources for developmental purposes through her foreign policy engagements. Under the administration of President Muhammdu Buhari, foreign policy occupied the front burner and it was found that certain factors determined the nature of Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration. Among these was demography as this research work established, the nature of the influence and the issues that emanated and the consequences of these on Nigeria external relations under the administration was highly significant.

While the country is supposed to reap 'demographic dividend' for her huge population, this has not been the case. This was due to the failure of the country to properly manage its demographic resources. This research has shown that the huge number of young people growing up in the country with high level of unemployment have greatly jeopardized the economic and security interest of the country both locally and internationally. This is manifested in cases of social unrest such as the EndSARS protest, increased in violent crimes like kidnapping, armed banditry, terrorism and other kinds of demographic disasters.

Demographic considerations also reflected on the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari as key foreign policy decisions such as the closure of Nigeria land borders with her neighbours was linked to the consideration of the interest of Nigerian citizens in term of economic and security interest. While good neighbourliness is a vital element of the country's foreign policy, the overall wellbeing of Nigeria and her citizens was prioritise in making that foreign policy decision.

Furthermore, demographic dynamics was also relevant in the decision of the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari to accord high priority to issues relating to Nigerians in diaspora. This was reflected in the decision of the administration to establish the Nigerians in Diaspora Commission (NIDCOM). The increasing number of Nigerians in diaspora and the recognition of the significant role they are playing and can still play has brought about dynamics in the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy as it relates to Nigerians in diaspora. This is further highlighted by the increasing calls to include diaspora voting in the Nigerian electoral process in order to make Nigerians in diaspora to feel more involved in the country's decision making and increase their sense of belonging.

The decision of the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari to delay the signing of the African Continental Free Trade Agreement (AFCFTA) treaty though seeing as afterthought by many, is also due to demographic considerations. This is due to the intermestic nature of this foreign policy decision as it has both domestic and international ramifications. Though eventually signed, but it showed that the administration was not negligent and recalcitrant about the demands and interest of the local population in the pursuit of foreign policy. At the same time, the administration was able to maintain the country's good standing on the continent by eventually signing the agreement.

Nigeria's huge population represent a potential driving force in her quest for development and the attainment of the desired standing on the global stage.

5.3 Recommendations

In the light of the findings and conclusion drawn from the study, the following recommendations are made:

1. More priority and attention should be accorded to the interest and needs of Nigerians in diaspora. Efforts should be made to ensure the inclusion of diaspora voting in the Nigeria's electoral process.
2. Effective strategies should be developed to ensure the empowerment of young Nigerians for gainful employment.
3. Abuse of power by the Nigeria Police and other security units should be readdressed. To aid this, information sharing mechanisms and channels of complaints about the activities of the Nigeria Police and other security units should be developed.
4. Federal government of Nigeria should adopt real inclusive foreign policy deliberation mechanisms to engage Nigerians on foreign policy decisions that impact on their general wellbeing.
5. Nigeria should adopt a comprehensive developmental foreign policy that will see to how Nigeria can benefit from her foreign policy engagement. This can be done by the establishment of a Developmental Foreign Policy Administration as a unit in the ministry of foreign Affairs.

5.4 Contribution to Knowledge

This study revealed the influence of demographic consideration on the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy. Unlike the previous works on Nigeria's foreign policy, the study was able to undertake an in-depth analysis of how dynamic of demography impacted on the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy. Also, through the findings of the study, the researcher proposed the theory of intermestic realism of demography using cases from the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari.

5.5 Suggestions for Further Studies

This study focused mostly on the influence of demographic considerations on the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy. As such, every findings and conclusions were drawn on this aspect of Nigeria's foreign policy. Therefore, the following recommendations have been made for further studies.

1. The theory of intermestic realism of demography should be further worked on in order to develop the theoretical foundation for the study of the relationship between demography and foreign policy within the intermestic realist framework.
2. Further studies should be carried out on the role of Nigerians in diaspora vis-a-viz the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy. This will help to better understand their inputs and their huge numbers can be maximized for Nigeria's development.
3. There is also need to carry out further studies on the methodologies to be adopted by the Nigeria government in her dealings with her neighbours.
4. Also, other factors such as gender issues as a factor in the conduct of Nigeria's policy requires further studies in order to enhance the overall contributions of the female folks in the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy.

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3. Abubakar, R. interviewed by researcher, on nature of Nigeria's foreign policy, Lagos, December 6, 2023
4. Adedapo, A. interviewed by researcher, on Nigeria's Diaspora engagement, Birmingham, England, April 5, 2023
5. Adeniran, L. A. interviewed by researcher, on nature of Nigeria's foreign policy, Oyo, December 15, 2023
6. Adesanya, P. interviewed by researcher, on nature of Nigeria's foreign policy, Ado Ekiti, December 2, 2023
7. Adesina, B. interviewed by researcher, on nature of Nigeria's foreign policy, Ibadan, November 2, 2023
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9. Azeez, H. interviewed by researcher, on Nigeria's Diaspora engagement, New Dehli, India, November 8, 2023
10. Badmus, K. interviewed by researcher, on Nigeria's Diaspora engagement, Dublin, Northern Highland, February 21, 2023
11. Bolarinwa, S. interviewed by researcher, on nature of Nigeria's foreign policy, Lagos, January 5, 2024
12. Erameh, N. I. interviewed by researcher, on nature of Nigeria's foreign policy, Lagos, Nigeria, December 5, 2023
13. Gideon, Y. interviewed by researcher, on nature of Nigeria's foreign policy, Abuja, Nigeria, June 15, 2023

14. Ismail, F. interviewed by researcher, on Nigeria's Diaspora engagement, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, October 4, 2023
15. Iyiola, A. interviewed by researcher, on Nigeria's Diaspora engagement, Sydney, Australia, October 4, 2023
16. Johnson, I. interviewed by researcher, on nature of Nigeria's foreign policy, Ibadan, Nigeria, June 10, 2023
17. Kola-Aderoju, S. interviewed by researcher, on nature of Nigeria's foreign policy, Ibadan, Nigeria, April 12, 2023
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Plate 1: The Researcher with Dr Nicholas I. Erameh of the Nigeria Institute of



International Affairs

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Plate 2: The Researcher with Ambassador Babatunde Mustapha of the Nigeria Embassy in France



Plate 3: The Researcher with Dr Sekinat Kola-Aderoju of the Department of History and International Studies, Kola Daisi University, Ibadan

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Appendix I

Interview Guide

The researcher asked questions to ascertain certain responses regarding the influence of dynamics of demography on Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari (2015-2023). The interviews focused on the under listed questions.

Survey 2023

S/N	Interview Questions
1.	How has Nigeria been able to harness her demography for development through her foreign policy?
2.	What are the implications of the demographic considerations on the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy within the realist framework?
3.	What are the emerging challenges and opportunities for Nigeria's foreign policy through her demographic considerations?
4.	What are the dominant issues in Nigeria's foreign policy under President Muhammadu Buhari's administration (2015-2023)?
5.	What are the intermestic issues in Nigeria's foreign policy under President Muhammadu Buhari's administration (2015-2023)?
6.	How did the quality of Nigeria's demography affect the conduct of Nigeria's foreign

policy under President Muhammad Buhari's administration (especially involvement in activities like militancy, kidnapping, armed banditry, financial crimes)?

7. What role did the age composition of Nigeria's demography play in the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy under President Muhammad Buhari's administration (for example, the EndSARS protest)?
 8. What were the effects of demographic distribution/migration on Nigeria's foreign policy under President Muhammadu Buhari's administration (for example, foreigner's involvement in criminal activities in Nigeria, activities of Nigeria's in diaspora, the japa syndrome and human trafficking in Libya)?
 9. Did gender based issues reflect on the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy under President Muhammadu Buhari's administration?
 10. What were the effects of ethnic and religious considerations on the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy during President Muhammadu Buhari's administration (for example, Nigeria's relations with her neighbors, Nigeria's membership/involvement in international organizations)?
-

Appendix II

Good day, I am a Ph.D student researching on the role of the diaspora in Nigeria's national development. The purpose of this research is to investigate the influence and contributions of Nigerians in diaspora to Nigeria's development as well as the challenges facing them.

Kindly note that **only Nigerians in Diaspora are eligible** to participate voluntarily. You have the right to skip the question(s) you do not wish to answer. Your responses shall be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Thanks.

Please feel free to use the link below

Section A

Bio-data of the respondents

Instruction: Please fill the spaces and put a tick (√) in the appropriate column

Age: (18 – 24) (25 – 34) (35 – 44) (45 and above)

Sex: Male female

Marital Status: Single Married Divorce

Years of stay outside Nigeria: 1 – 5 6 – 10 11 – 15 16 – 20 21 and above

Section B

Instruction: Please express your opinion on the influence of diaspora engagements on Nigeria's foreign policy

1. What is your perception of the activities of Nigerians in diaspora in terms of contributions to the country's development?

Very positive () Positive () Negative () Very negative ()

2. Which area(s) do you think Nigerians in diaspora has contributed more to the country's image and development?

Sport () Entertainment () Membership of international bodies ()

Academics/Research () Business/Investment () Others (specify).....

3. Which area(s) do you think Nigerians in diaspora has contributed negatively to the country's image and development?

Drug trafficking () Financial crime () Human trafficking () Others.....

4. What is your perception of Nigeria's government relations with Nigerians in diaspora?

Very positive () Positive () Negative () Very Negative () Neutral ()

5. Describe your experience (s) at the Nigerian embassies / consular offices

Very positive () Positive () Negative () Very Negative () Neutral ()

6. If Negative/ Highly Negative, what do you think is responsible? _____

7. Suggest way(s) through which the performance of the Nigerian embassies/consular offices can be improved

8. Are you aware of the establishment of the Nigerians in Diaspora Commission (NiDCOM)?

Yes () No ()

9. If Yes, have you had any previous interactions with NiDCOM?

Yes () No ()

10. If Yes, through what means? State specifically

11. What is your impression of the activities of NiDCOM?

Highly effective () effective () Neutral () Less effective () Ineffective
()

12. What area(s) has NiDCOM contributed to the need(s)/welfare of Nigerians in diaspora?

13. How can NiDCOM perform more effectively to improve the welfare of Nigerians in diaspora? _____

14. In what way(s) can NiDCOM contribute to the development of Nigeria through the diaspora? _____

15. What is your opinion on the inclusion of diaspora voting in the Nigeria's electoral process?

Highly Necessary () Necessary () Neutral () Not Necessary ()

16. Do you agree that diaspora voting will encourage the participation of Nigerians in diaspora in the country's decision making process? Yes () No ()

17. What do you consider as the limitation(s) to the diaspora voting? State specifically

18. Do you agree that diaspora remittances is a veritable tool for Nigeria's development?
Yes () No ()

19. In what forms have you been making your remittances? You can pick more than one option
Business Investment () Housing () Payment of Tuition fees ()
Ceremonies () Community development () others (specify)

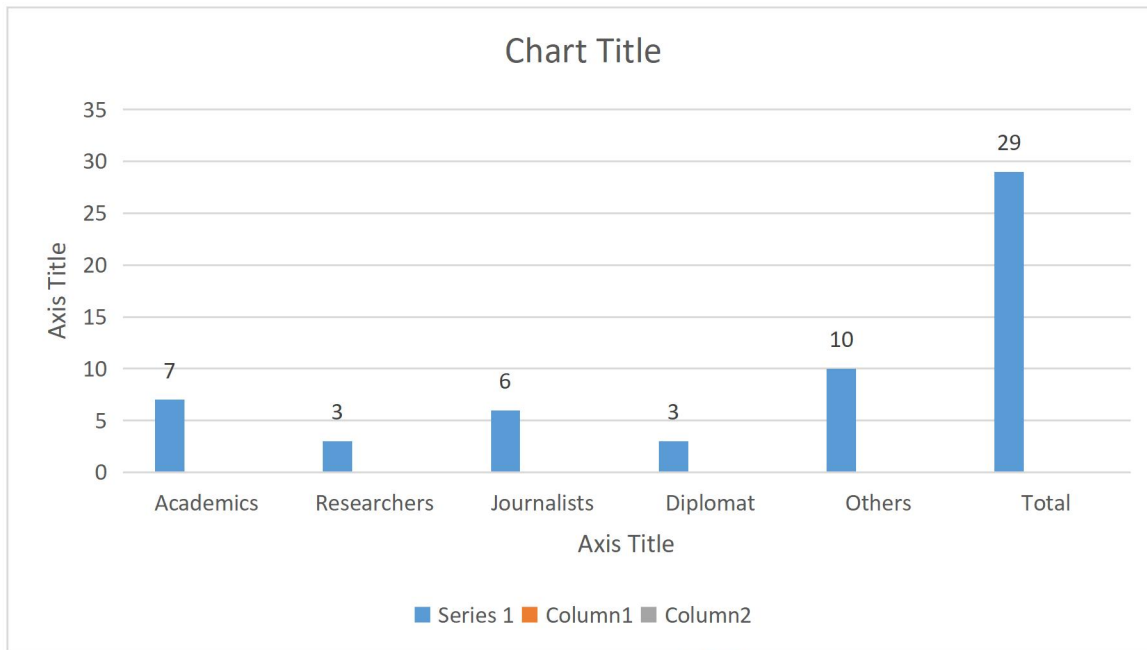
20. What are the challenges facing diaspora investment/remittances in Nigeria?
Insecurity () Bad economic polices () Poor amenities () Corruption
() Others (Specify).....

21. In what way(s) can the Nigerian government improve relations with Nigerians in diaspora?
Partnership with diaspora organizations/communities ()
Organisation of regular town hall meetings ()
Digitalization of the activities of the embassies/consular offices ()
Support for diaspora investment ()
Appointment of diaspora officers ()
Support/empowerment of Diaspora Youths ()
Others (specify) _____

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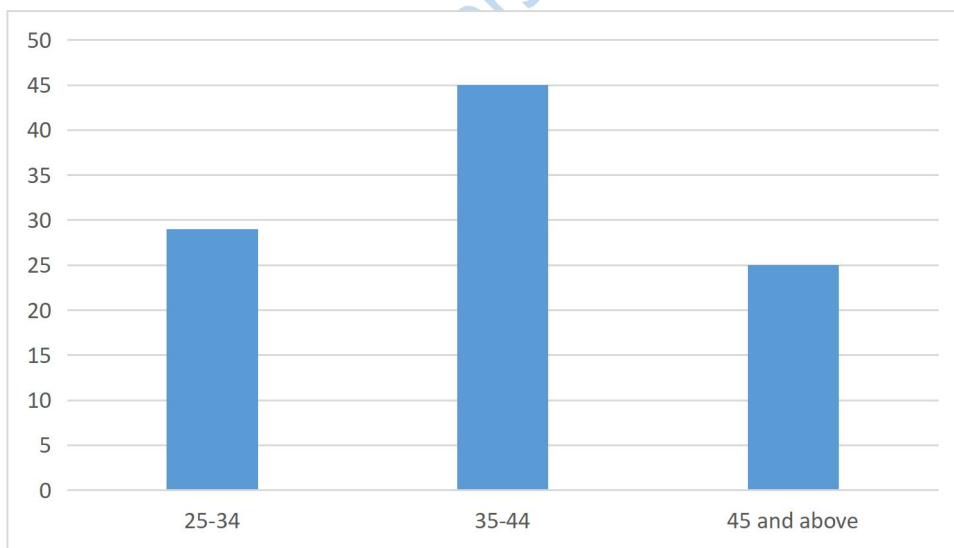
Appendix III

Demographic Characteristics of Respondents



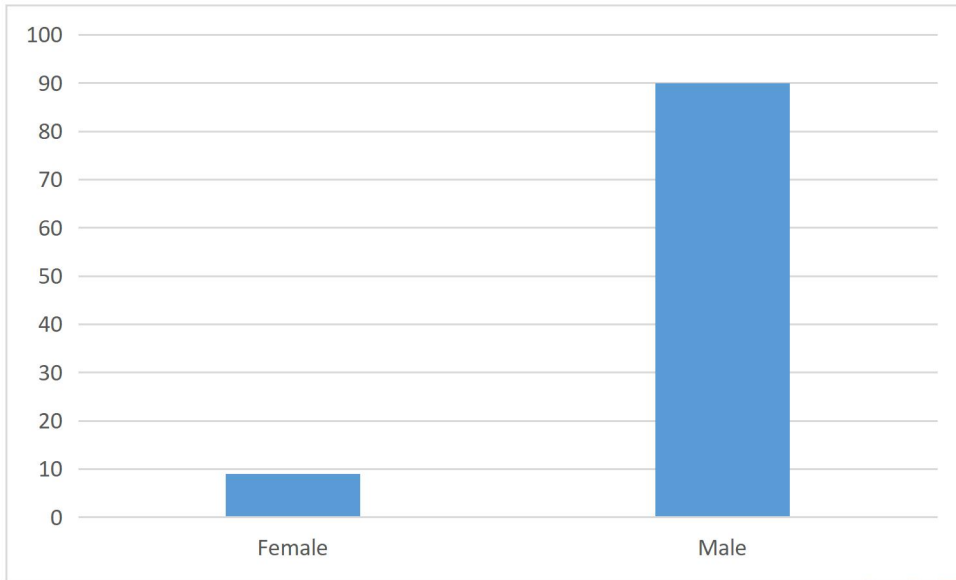
Source: Fieldwork, 2024

Figure 4.3 Demographic Analysis of the respondents of the in-depth unstructured interview



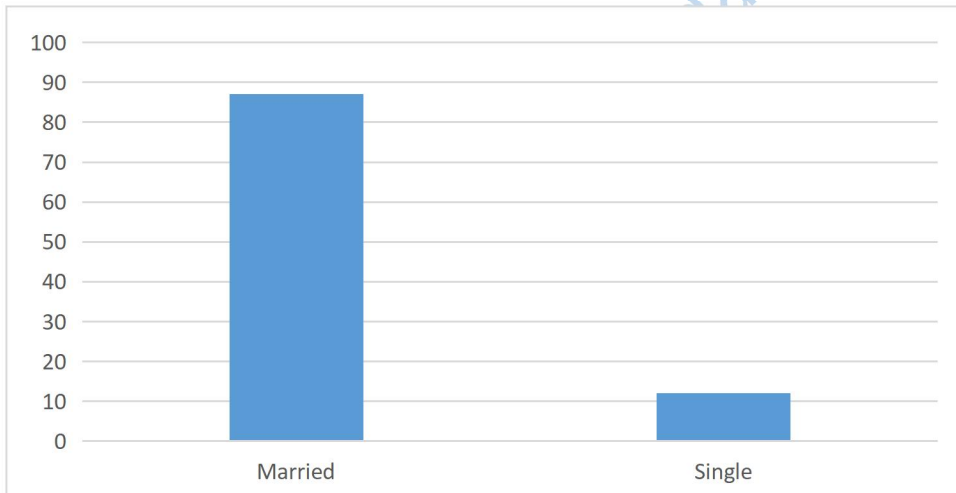
Source: Fieldwork, 2024

Figure 4.4 Age distribution of Questionnaire respondents



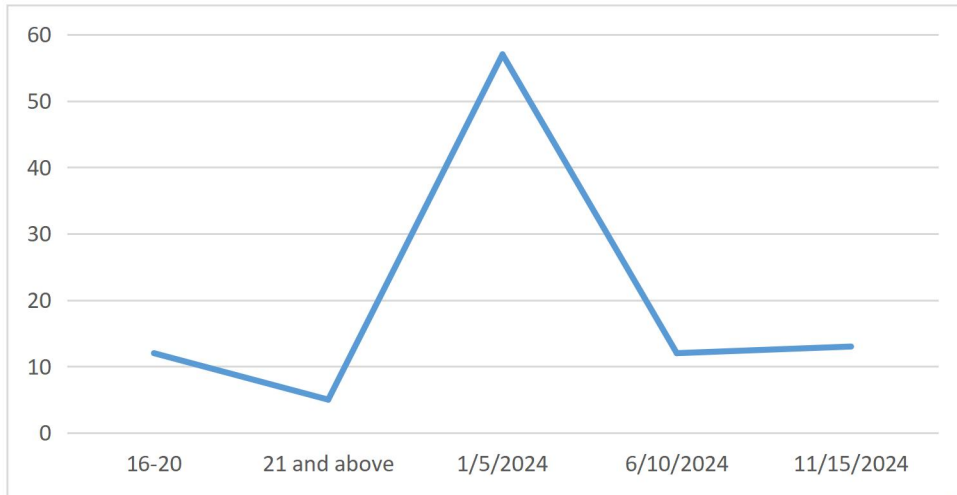
Source: Fieldwork, 2024

Figure 4.5 Sex distribution of the respondents



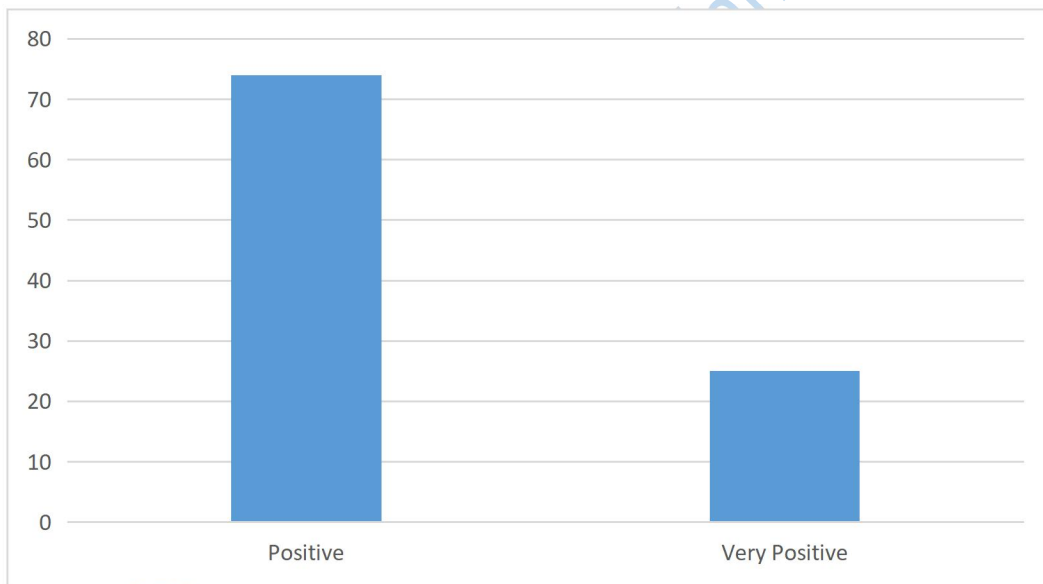
Source: Fieldwork, 2024

Figure 4.6 Marital status of the respondents



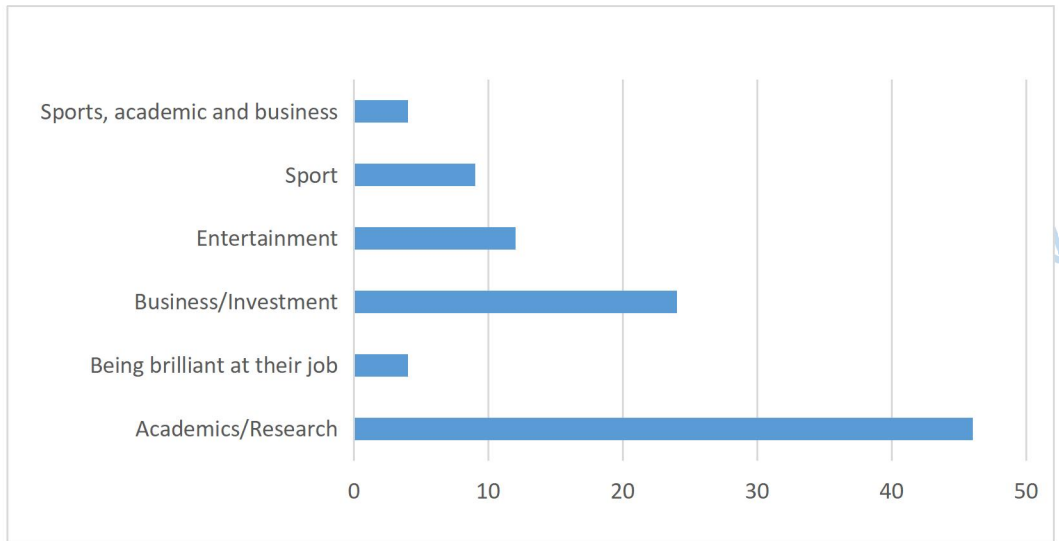
Source: Fieldwork, 2024

Figure 4.7 years of stay outside Nigeria of the respondents



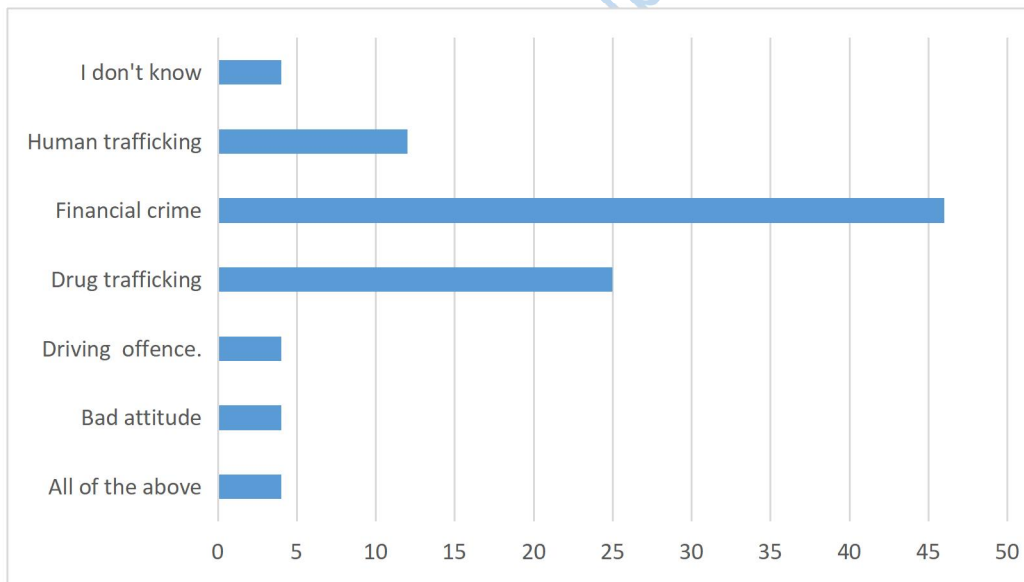
Source: Fieldwork, 2024

Figure 4.8 Perception of the activities of Nigerians in diaspora in terms of contributions to the country's development?



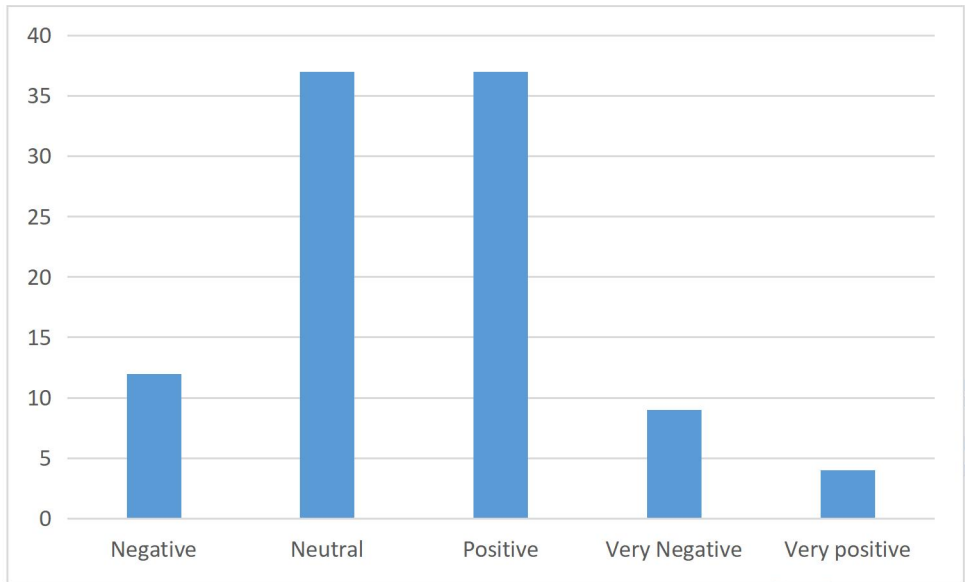
Source: Fieldwork, 2024

Figure 4.9 Area(s) that Nigerians in diaspora has contributed more to the country's image and development.



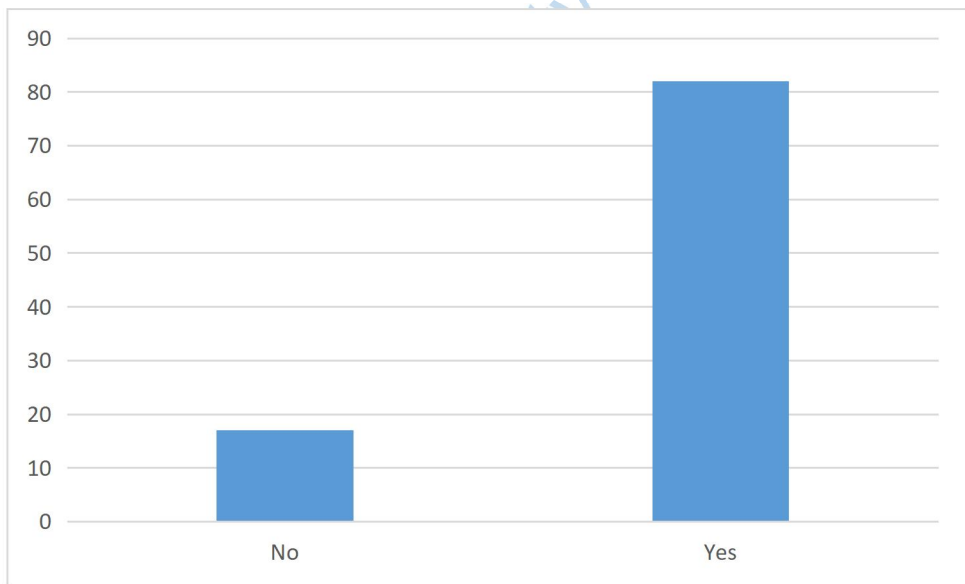
Source: Fieldwork, 2024

Figure 4.10 Area(s) that Nigerians in diaspora has contributed negatively to the country's image and development.



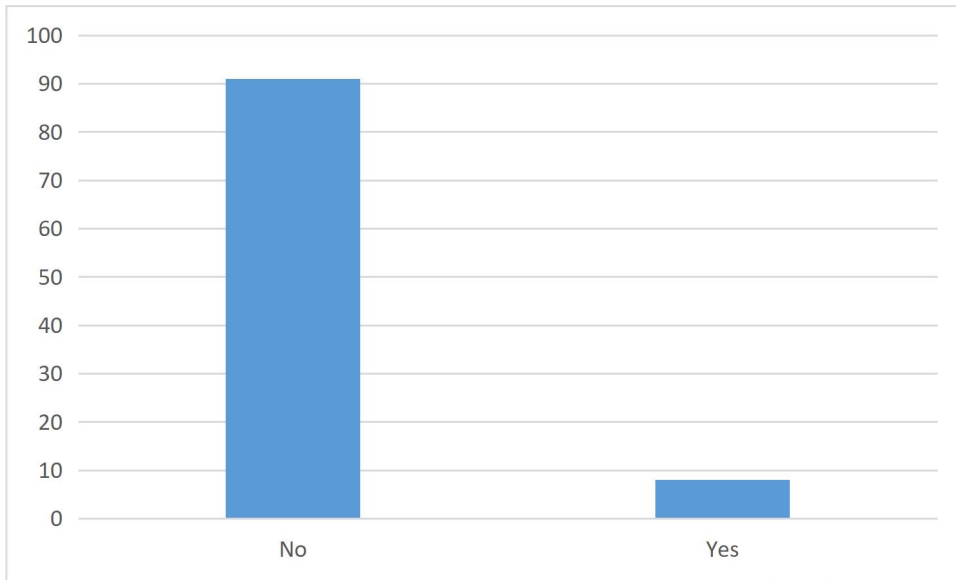
Source: Fieldwork, 2024

Figure 4.11 Perception of Nigeria's government relations with Nigerians in diaspora.



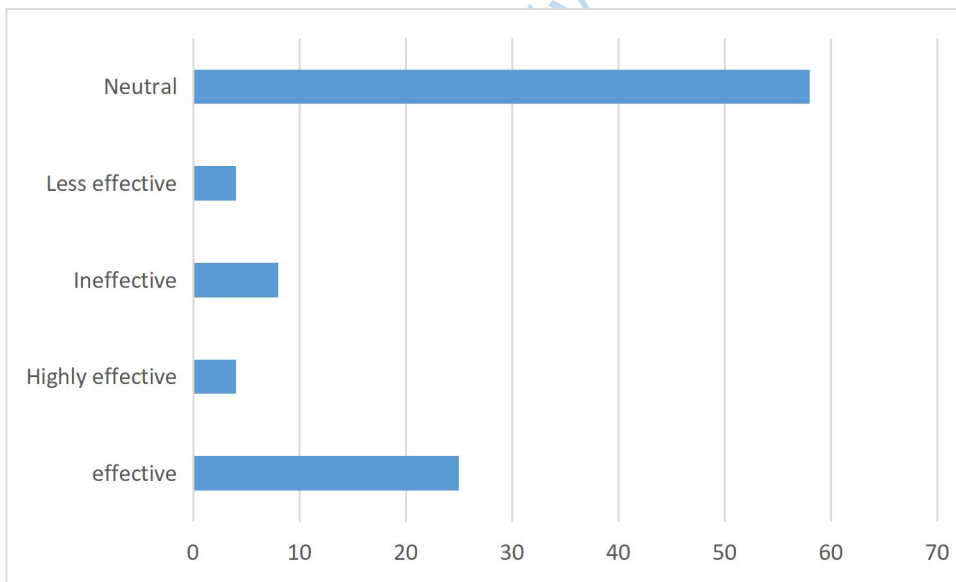
Source: Fieldwork, 2024

Figure 4.12 Awareness of the establishment of the Nigerians in Diaspora Commission (NiDCOM).



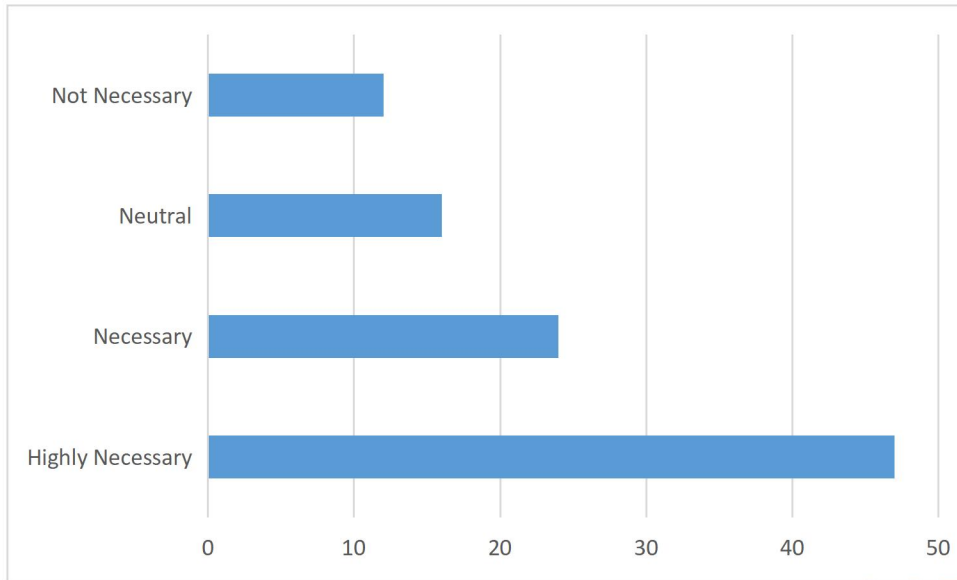
Source: Fieldwork, 2024

Figure 4.13 Previous interactions with NiDCOM.



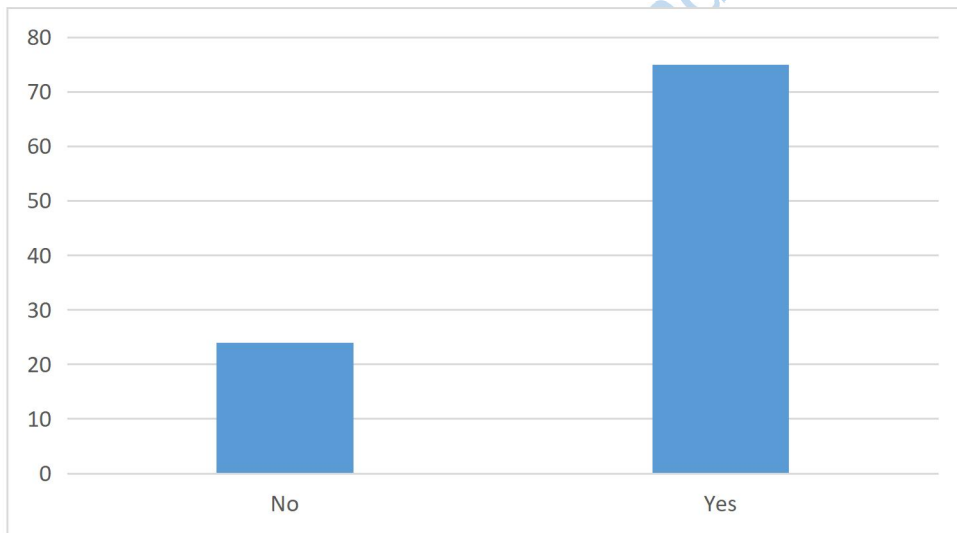
Source: Fieldwork, 2024

Figure 4.14 Impression of the activities of NiDCOM



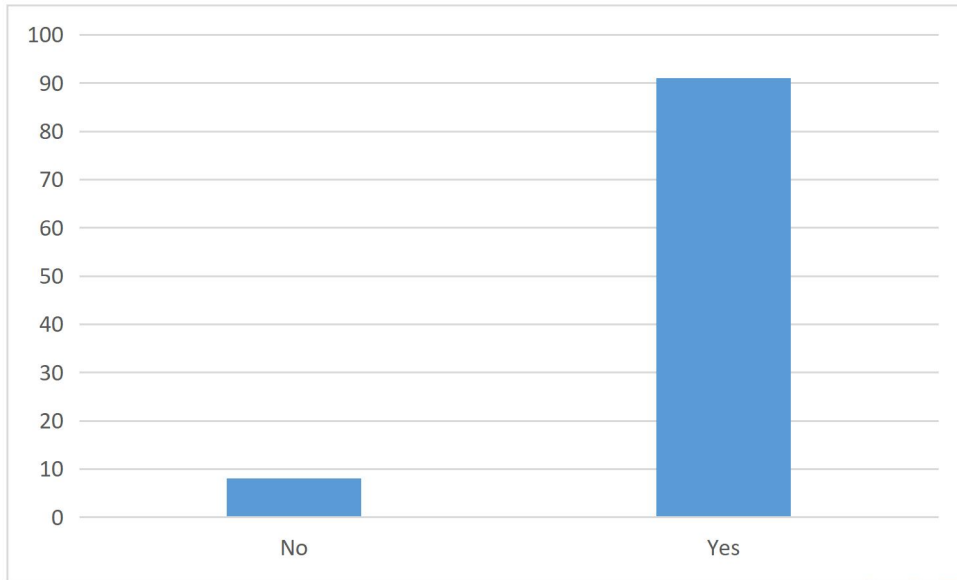
Source: Fieldwork, 2024

Figure 4.15 Inclusion of diaspora voting in the Nigerian electoral process.



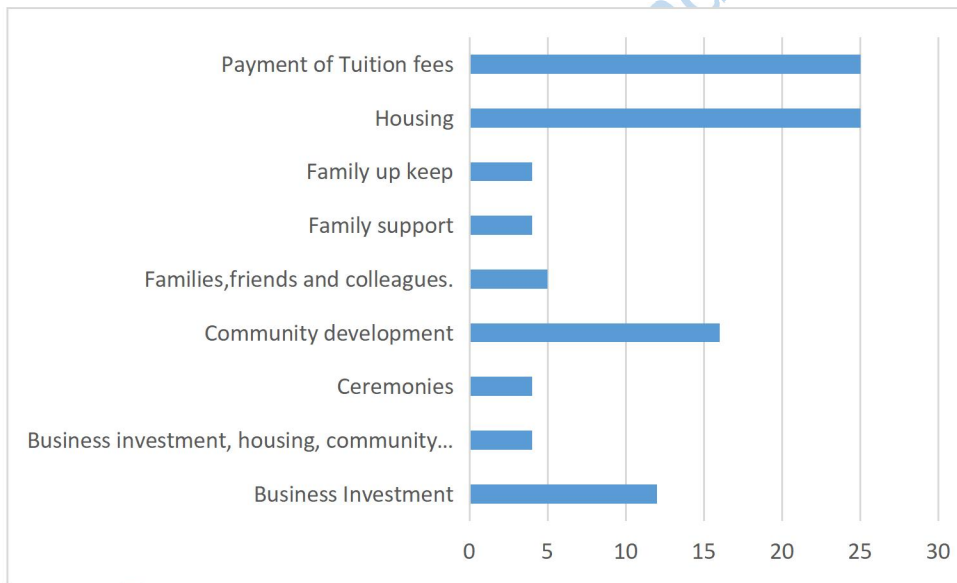
Source: Fieldwork, 2024

Figure 4.16 Diaspora voting will encourage the participation of Nigerians in diaspora in the country's decision making process



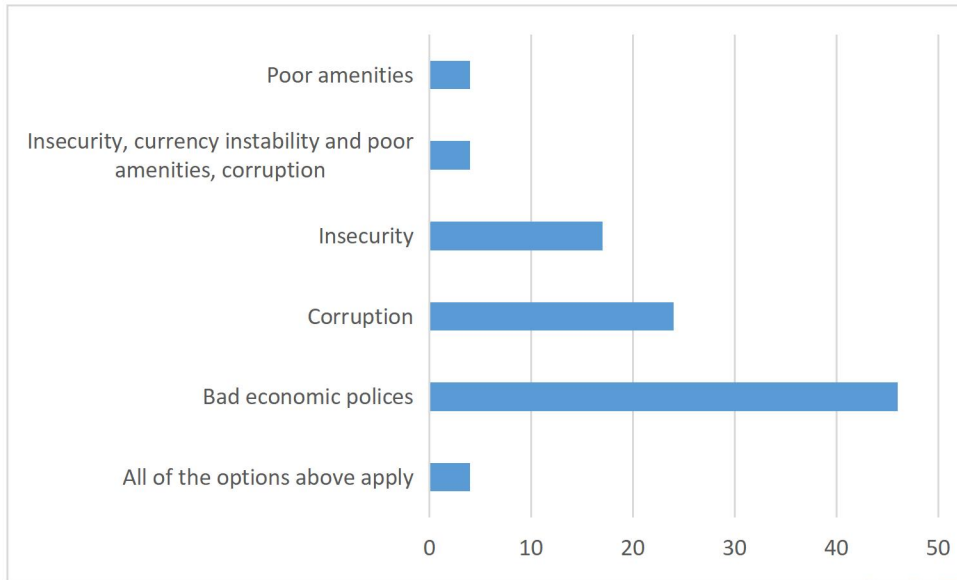
Source: Fieldwork, 2024

Figure 4.17 Diaspora remittances is a veritable tool for Nigeria's development.



Source: Fieldwork, 2024

Figure 4.18 Forms of making diaspora remittances.



Source: Fieldwork, 2024

Figure 4.19 Challenges facing diaspora investment/remittances in Nigeria

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Bio-data

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- West African Examination Council Senior School Certificate
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C. Working Experience with Dates

- i. Federal College of Education (Special), Oyo 2017 – Date
- ii. Crescent Heights, Oyo 2016-2017
- iii. Academic Excellence Initiative, Oyo 2012-2016

D. Award and Fellowship

- a. Certificate of Course Completion in Conflict Analysis Course by United States Institute of Peace 2009
- b. Certificate of Course Completion in Interfaith Conflict Resolution Course by United States Institute of Peace 2009
- c. Letter of Commendation for Excellent Performance during COEASU South West Conference 2019 by COEASU FCE (Special) Chapter

E. Membership of Academic/Professional Bodies:

- a. Member, The Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA)
- b. Member, Teacher Registration Council of Nigeria (TRCN)

- c. Member, COEASU, Federal College of Education (Special), Oyo chapter

F. Publications:

- i. **Adebimpe, T.A. (2019).** The question of constitutionalism and democracy in Africa: Impact on political stability. *Atiba Journal of Arts and Social Sciences*. 6 (2), 248-258.
- ii. **Adebimpe, T.A. (2019).** The interconnection between efficient public administration and effective governance in Nigeria. *The Pace Setter Journal of Emmanuel Alayande College of Education, Oyo*. 23 (1), 117-123
- iii. **Adebimpe, T.A (2020).** The role of political education in achieving national integration and sustainable development in Nigeria. *Knowledge Resort, A Journal of School of Education Federal College of Education (Special) Oyo*, 3 (1), 220-226.
- iv. **Adebimpe, T.A. (2021).** Influences of federalism on foreign policy making in Nigeria. *The Pacesetter-Journal of Emmanuel Alayande College of Education, Oyo*. 25 (1), 28–34
- v. **Adebimpe T.A (2022).** The place of state government in the Nigerian political system: Issues, roles and challenges. *Erudite Journal, A Journal of COEASU Federal College of Education (Special) Oyo*. 4 (1), 738-747.
- vi. **Adebimpe, T.A. (2018).** Religion, ethnicity and the quest for good governance. In P.A. Ojebade, and R.A. Kehinde (Eds). *Good governance in Nigeria: Challenges and strategies*. A book in Honor of Ayanrinde Samuel Ayangbile (pp. 159-170). Nathy Publishers.
- vii. **Adebimpe, T.A. & Oyeleke O.K. (2020).** Nigeria federalism and the quest for its restructuring. In S.A. Adeyera and R.A. Kehinde (Eds). *Religion, governance and poverty eradication in Nigeria*. A book in honor of Ismaila B.R. and Akinyemi D.Y. (pp. 85-91). Success the Great Publishers.
- viii. **Adebimpe, T.A. (2022).** Importance of human rights education in achieving security and national development in Nigeria. In O.A. Adegbite, R.A. Olatunji and A.A. Mohammed (Eds). *Contemporary issues in teacher education in Nigeria: A multidisciplinary approach*. A Publication of COEASU FCE, Special, Oyo in Honour of Retired Members (pp. 109-116). Adeyoung Printing Press.
- ix. **Adebimpe, T.A., Abimbola M.O. & Oyeleke O.K. (2022).** An assessment of the contributions of local government to rural development in Nigeria: A study of Atiba local government area of Oyo state. In K. Quadri, A.O. Fagunwa & O.A. Odeleye (Eds). *Re-Imagining education in the 21st century*. A Book of Readings in Honour of S.O. Akinpelu, C.C. Nnaji, B.S. Obaja, O.B. Sanni & K.O. Olayanju (pp. 214-223). Adeyoung Printing Press.
- x. **Adebimpe, T.A. (2023).** Leveraging on demography and quality leadership to achieve national development through Nigeria’s foreign policy. In J.K. Ayantayo, R.A. Sanusi, O.B. Jegede, O.A. Adegbite & S.A. Ojediran (Eds), *Leadership and mentorship for remarkable administrative development reflection of professor Kamoru Olayiwola Usman’s administration* (pp. 528-538). Adeniran Prints.

G. Conference Attended with Papers Presented and Published

- i. **Adebimpe T.A. (2017).** Nigeria and the challenges of globalization. A Paper Presented at the 13th Annual National Conference of School of Secondary Education (Arts and Social Science Programmes), Federal College of Education (Special), Oyo between 3rd-7th July.

- ii. **Adebimpe T.A. (2018).** Restructuring Nigeria foreign policy towards achieving sustainable development. A paper presented at the 14th Annual National Conference of School of Secondary Education (Arts and Social Science Programmes), Federal College of Education (Special), Oyo between 23rd and 27th July.
- iii. **Adebimpe T.A. (2019).** The role of political education in achieving national integration and development in Nigeria. A paper presented at the 10th National Conference of COEASU Southwest zone held at Federal College of Education (Special), Oyo between 6th and 10th May.
- iv. **Adebimpe T.A. (2022).** Influences of federalism on foreign policy making in Nigeria. A paper presented at the 16th Annual National Conference of School of Secondary Education (Arts and Social Science Programmes), Federal College of Education (Special), Oyo between 21st-25th February.
- v. **Adebimpe T.A. (2022).** Importance of human rights education in achieving security and national development in Nigeria. A paper presented at the 12th National Conference of COEASU Southwest zone held at Emmanuel Alayande College of Education, Oyo between 28th - 31st March.
- vi. **Adebimpe T.A. (2023).** The place of state government in the Nigerian political System: Issues, Roles and Challenges. A paper presented at the 1st International Conference of School of General Studies Education, Federal College of Education (Special), Oyo between 13th - 17th February.

H. Workshop Attended:

- i. A day staff development capacity workshop organized by School Of Secondary Education (Arts and Social Sciences Programmes), Federal College of Education (Special), Oyo on Tuesday 15th May 2018.
- ii. A one day workshop on research writing and official communication in workplace: Rules of engagement organized by School of Secondary Education (Arts and Social Sciences Programmes), Federal College of Education (Special), Oyo On Wednesday 11th March, 2020.
- iii. Research and administration in a special education environment. A Day Workshop in ICT for Instruction organized by MOY Educational Consultancy and Development in collaboration with Federal College of Education (Special), Oyo on Tuesday 31st January, 2023.
- iv. Advanced digital appreciation programme for tertiary institutions (ADAPTI). A Five-day Advanced Digital Appreciation Programme organized by Federal College of Education (Special), Oyo in collaboration with International Centre for Information and Communications Technology Studies. Held between 5th and 9th July, 2021.

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The University Compliance Certification

This is to certify that this thesis written by **Teslim Ademola ADEBIMPE** with the matriculation number **LCU/PG/002324** in the Department of Politics and International Relations, Faculty of Management and Social Sciences, Lead City University, Ibadan and is in full compliance with the approved University format and style.

Signature

Date

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