



## A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE IMPACT OF NIGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY ON NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT FROM 2011 – 2023

### ABSTRACT

*This study provides a comparative analysis of the impact of Nigeria's foreign policy on national development from 2011 to 2023. The research examines how Nigeria's foreign policy objectives, strategies, and outcomes have evolved over this period and the corresponding effects on the country's economic, social, and political development. The study utilized qualitative research methodologies; the study examines secondary data from sources such as government reports, international databases, and academic publications. The analysis focuses on key development indicators, including economic performance, social welfare, environmental sustainability, and security. Nigeria's geopolitical significance, diverse development challenges, and dynamic foreign policy landscape provide a rich context for this investigation. Data were collected from a variety of secondary sources, including the internet, newspapers, journals, and books, and analyzed through content analysis to identify patterns and insights. The study area encompasses Nigeria, a nation critical to regional and global geopolitics, which faced notable shifts in foreign policy priorities over the examined period. The research findings highlight that Nigeria's foreign policy from 2011 to 2023 had a profound impact on its national development, contributing to both successes and challenges. The study highlights the evolving foreign policy strategies under different political administrations and their varied impacts on economic, social, and political dimensions of development. The study concludes that while Nigeria achieved significant progress in areas such as foreign investment, regional integration, and international standing, it also faced persistent challenges related to domestic instability, resource dependence, and institutional weaknesses. The research provides recommendations for aligning foreign policy more strategically with national development goals, enhancing economic diplomacy, diversifying international partnerships, and strengthening institutional capacities. Suggestions for further research include comparative analyses of different administrations' foreign policy strategies and the integration of sustainability considerations into foreign policy frameworks.*

**Keywords:** Comparative analysis, foreign policy, National Development

### 1.1 Background to the Study

In every region of the world, pivotal powers take the lead. Such powers possess the geostrategic advantage to determine the direction of events and actions and shape arrangements regionally, continentally, etc. They adopt different strategies, from diplomacy- economic and public (Guzzini, 2015), security, economy, aid and assistance, grants, etc. in their relationships and interactions and also have critical say on issues relating to development and peace of the region. Such powers played critical roles in establishing important organizations like NATO, European Union-EU, the United Nations Organization- UN, etc. (Sklenka, 2007).

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Such was Nigeria's role after independence from British control in October 1960. Located in the Gulf of Guinea West Africa, Nigeria is the tenth largest country in Africa, with a landmass of 924,000 square kilometres (African Economic Outlook, 2003, Country Reports 2017), 853km long coastline. Prior to 1914, present-day Nigeria was simply regions and later Protectorates, of Southern and Northern Nigeria, including the Colony of Lagos. It was amalgamated in 1914 by the British government and later granted independence in what can be described as a negotiated self-rule (Abdul and Sodiq, 2013). Apart from oil, Nigeria has about thirty-three other varieties of solid minerals that when fully utilized will make Nigeria the leading economy in Africa. There are 371 ethnic nations spread across six geopolitical zones in Nigeria (Vanguard Newspaper, 2017). Nigeria's population stands at 185.989.640 million, accounting for 47% of West African population. In 2015, Nigeria had the largest GDP in SSA at \$521.8 billion. In 2016, it reduced to \$USD404.653 ((Didia et al, 2015:234; World Bank, 2018).

Nigeria was an agrarian monolithic society until 1970s. 75% of her revenue came from resources like cocoa, palm-fruits, maize, etc. (Hellman and Kaufmann, 2001). Oil was first discovered in Oloibiri, in Bayelsa State in 1956 making Nigeria the first oil-producer in Africa and a critical member of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries-OPEC. The Yom Kippur war led to increased global oil price and revenue from 1971. By 1980s, Nigeria relied on oil (crude) for 92% of her foreign earnings. Between 1979 and 1985, oil earnings stood at \$104.06 billion, making Nigeria a wealthy nation (Mbachu, 1998 in Obajilu 2012, 2016:28). Nigeria is estimated to have 37 billion barrels of oil with production capacity of 1427.3 barrels per day and crude oil exports (1000 b/d) 1,738.0 (OPEC, 2018). Her proven natural gas reserves is 120 trillion cubic feet, with recoverable gas reserves of 45 tcf, making her the 9<sup>th</sup> largest resources in the world, with reserveproduction ratio at 125 years for gas. Today, about 77-80% of Nigeria's revenue comes from oil amounting to USD 55.45 billion (Adi and Friday, 2017; Malden, 2017).

Nigeria has an army of 200,000, the second largest in sub-Saharan Africa (World Bank, 2018) according to 2016 estimates. Nigeria also has an estimated 50% of the potential for manufacturing production in West Africa, with Lagos as the engine-room for the region. The combination of human and natural resources, ethno-politics, the diplomatic and military engagement of successive regimes in the continent's affairs makes her a power in the continent (Olukoshi, 1992). These factors, especially oil and population were deciding factors in Nigeria's foreign policy formulation. Owing to the critical role played in the continent, Nigeria became a central locus in Africa. Whatever happens in Nigeria impacts Sub-Sahara Africa positively or negatively according to Gambari (2008). Mailafia, 2010 (in Ali, 2012) refers to Nigeria as a "regional hegemon," committed to integration through peace and security. Obaze, (2009) calls Nigeria a "Champion" which the Western powers would listen to, and that could champion causes that other nations were too weak to stand up to.

Despite a smooth independence, Nigeria was left with a weak and dependent economy given the many years of colonial domination and exploitation, and without real legacy for economic development or technological take-off (Obajilu 2012,). Nations across the world adopted modernization concept of development to achieve social and economic changes in postcolonial world and World War II. Developed States adopted the theory to push developing states and former colonies to economic growth (Nwankwo, 2013).

Foreign policy dictates how a State relates with other countries, socially, politically, economically and in a military sense. Nigeria's foreign policy covering aid, assistance, propaganda, grants, concessional loans, etc.

dictated her relationship. Indirectly, Nigeria took up the crucial leadership role as a continental hegemon, to fight colonialism, racism, apartheid (Ogidan, 2012), combat conflict and assist weak African nations to build stronger institutions and promote African unity. Nigeria's foreign policy was therefore interpreted along these lines, under different governments. In 58 years of independence, 27 years were under different military leaders with three intermittent attempts at democratization. Nigeria committed resources to financially weak African, Caribbean and Pacific nations.

Nigeria initiated the Economic Community of West African States-ECOWAS along with Togo and Ghana (Odetunde, 2008). Nigeria is the sixth largest contributor to the Commonwealth Secretariat budget (Akinrinade, 1997; Scotland and Morland, 2017). Nigerian Trust Fund, Technical Development Cooperation Fund and Technical Aid Corps have served many black nations in the last 30 years. Apart from the force of globalization which later replaced modernization, Nigeria's journey from independence, spanning 58 years is enough for the institutions responsible for external affairs to mature and gain practical experience (Warner, 2017; Nwankwo, 2009), firm up strategies and become very relevant in international development cooperation platforms like Organization for Economic Cooperation And Development-OECD. Rather, the different approaches to external affairs by the 14 Leaders led to positive and negative impacts on Nigeria's position and aspirations as a continental power. It has therefore become imperative to navigate the political, economic and social landscape of Nigeria over the years to comprehend the nature and content of her external affairs (Obajilu 2003). Nigeria's foreign policy has evolved since the country's independence in 1960, with a focus on promoting African unity, non-alignment, and economic cooperation (Akinboye, 2013). The country has played a leading role in regional organizations such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the African Union (AU), using its diplomatic influence to address issues of security, trade, and development in the continent (Aluko, 1981).

The implementation of Nigeria's foreign policy has been influenced by various factors, including its domestic politics, economic resources, and global geopolitical dynamics (Fawole, 2003). Scholars have argued that Nigeria's foreign policy has had both positive and negative impacts on its national development, with successes in areas such as peacekeeping operations and challenges in addressing issues of poverty, corruption, and infrastructure development (Ogwu, 2005). This study examined the specific ways in which Nigeria's foreign policy has affected its economic growth, social welfare, and political stability to provide a comprehensive analysis of the relationship between foreign policy and national development.

The study aims to compare the impact of Nigeria's foreign policy on national development from 2011 to 2023. It will examine foreign policy objectives, analyze their effects on economic, social, and political development, identify successes and challenges, compare strategies across different administrations, and recommend improvements for future foreign policy to better support national development.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **2.1 Introduction**

This Chapter seeks to review past theoretical literatures set for adoption and application that is, studies conducted to test theories and study subjects and relevant to this research; a conceptualized model outlining the variables and providing a summary of the literatures.

### 2.1.1 Conceptual Clarifications

Foreign policy is a concept that is commonly used in the fields of political science, history, international relations, diplomacy and the likes to mean relationship between one nation state and the other. But for proper understanding of the concept, Machiavelli (2012) has suggested that it is necessary to break the concept into foreign and policy. Accordingly, she sees Policy as “a decision or a guide of choosing actions to achieve one’s goals”. While “Foreign means anything beyond the state, to areas where state has no authority over territory and people”. So, when combined, foreign policy, simply put is a “guide of choosing actions outside the state boundary for achieving goals.” (Machiavelli, 2012). Sodiq and Sodiq (2022) have argued that policy may apply to government, private sector organizations and groups as well as individuals and states. These they highlighted to include: Presidential executive orders, corporate policies, and parliamentary rules. Foreign policy, to Nuamah, (2003) is “a category of actions a government takes which deals with defence, security, international political relations and international economic relations. It is the activity whereby a state deals with other states, non-governmental organizations, international organizations, and certain individuals”.

Foreign policy as defined by Eze, 2010 (2015) “consists of three elements. One is the overall orientation and policy intention of a particular country toward another. The second element is the objective that a country seeks to achieve in her relation or dealing with other countries. The third element of foreign policy is the means to achieving that particular goal or objectives”. Foreign policy also means goals values and different instruments which the government uses in making relations with different countries. Foreign policy emanates from the interactions at the domestic and international environments. And it is more often than not formulated particularly for the promotion and defence of national interest which include: the preservation of national sovereignty; the defence of territorial integrity; the promotion of economic, military and diplomatic interest; the increase and maintenance of power and prestige so as to influence international events, to communicate ones capability to both potentials and actual allies and adversaries (Giovann, 2016, Adie and Onyechere, 2018:81). The foreign policy of Nigeria is defined as the country's overall strategy and approach to its interactions and relationships with other nations, international organizations, and global actors (Akinterinwa, 2001). Foreign policy is a critical component of a nation's overall national security and development agenda, as it shapes the country's engagement with the international community and its ability to protect its interests and achieve its strategic objectives (Akinboye, 2013). In the case of Nigeria, the country's foreign policy is primarily guided by the principle of "Afrocentrism," which emphasizes the promotion of African unity, the protection of the continent's interests, and the pursuit of economic and social development (Alli, 2012). This principle is rooted in Nigeria's colonial history and its desire to assert its independence and leadership role within the African continent (Fawole, 2003).

Another aspect of Nigeria's foreign policy is the country's commitment to the principles of non-alignment and the pursuit of a "middle ground" approach in international relations (Ibraheem, 2017). This approach involves maintaining a delicate balance between different geopolitical blocs and ideological perspectives, rather than aligning itself firmly with any one side (Ogwu, 2005). This stance has allowed Nigeria to maintain a degree of independence and influence in global affairs while also navigating the complex web of international power dynamics. Additionally, Nigeria's foreign policy is shaped by the country's desire to promote its national interests, which include the protection of its territorial integrity, the preservation of its national sovereignty, and the advancement of its economic and social development (Saliu, 2006). This has led Nigeria to engage in

various regional and international initiatives, such as peacekeeping operations, economic cooperation agreements, and diplomatic interventions, in order to safeguard its interests and enhance its global standing (Akinterinwa, 2001).

Overall, the definition of Nigeria's foreign policy can be understood as a multifaceted and dynamic approach that seeks to balance the country's domestic priorities with its regional and global aspirations (Akinboye, 2013). As Nigeria continues to evolve as a regional and global power, its foreign policy is likely to remain a critical area of focus and a key determinant of the country's overall success and influence in the international arena.

### **2.1.2 National Development**

National development is a complex and multifaceted concept that encompasses various aspects of a country's growth and progress. In the case of Nigeria, national development has been a key focus for policymakers and researchers since the country gained independence in 1960. According to Todaro and Smith (2015), national development can be defined as "a sustained elevation of the entire society and national economy toward a 'better' or more humane life." This definition highlights the need for holistic and long-term improvements in the social, economic, and political spheres of a country. Scholars such as Ake (1996) have argued that national development in Nigeria should be centered on the improvement of the well-being of the people, rather than just the accumulation of wealth or the expansion of the economy. This view is echoed by Osaghae (2002), who emphasizes that national development in Nigeria must prioritize the reduction of poverty, inequality, and social marginalization.

Another important aspect of national development in Nigeria is the need for effective governance and the strengthening of democratic institutions. Akinola and Adesina (2017) argue that poor governance, corruption, and political instability have been major obstacles to Nigeria's national development. They suggest that the country must focus on improving the transparency and accountability of its political system, as well as strengthening the capacity of its public institutions to deliver public services effectively. In addition to governance, the role of infrastructure development in national development cannot be overstated. Okorie and Nwodo (2018) highlight the importance of investing in critical infrastructure, such as transportation, energy, and communication systems, to support economic growth and improve the quality of life for Nigerian citizens. Furthermore, the concept of national development in Nigeria must also encompass the sustainable management of the country's natural resources. Akinyemi and Adejumo (2020) emphasize the need for Nigeria to adopt more environmentally-friendly policies and practices in the extraction and utilization of its natural resources, such as oil, gas, and mineral resources. This, they argue, is essential for ensuring the long-term well-being of the Nigerian people and the preservation of the country's natural environment. Another key aspect of national development in Nigeria is the promotion of social and cultural development. Olutayo and Akanle (2013) argue that the preservation and promotion of Nigeria's diverse cultural heritage, as well as the improvement of social welfare and the reduction of inequality, are crucial for the country's overall development.

Finally, the role of human capital development in national development cannot be overlooked. Adawo (2011) highlights the importance of investing in the education and training of the Nigerian population, as well as the creation of employment opportunities that can harness the skills and talents of the country's citizens. This, according to Adawo, is essential for ensuring the sustainable and inclusive development of Nigeria. The

definition of national development in Nigeria is a complex and multifaceted concept that encompasses a wide range of social, economic, political, and environmental factors. Effective governance, infrastructure development, sustainable resource management, social and cultural development, and human capital development are all crucial elements of Nigeria's national development agenda.

### **2.1.3 Nigeria's Foreign Policy**

What constitutes the objectives of Nigeria's foreign policy since her political independence in 1960 has continued to be spelt out by the successive administrations in Nigeria. Just like every other country, Nigeria's foreign policy is principally guided by her national interest. The earlier administrations in Nigeria did not properly articulate what constituted Nigeria's national interest. It was only during the regime of General Murtala Muhammed that the Adedeji commission was set up to handle the assignment. In line with the commission's report, General Obasanjo in June 1976 outlined the objectives of Nigeria's foreign policy as follows: 46 South East Journal of Political Science Vol.2 No.2, 2016

1. The defense of our sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity;
2. The creation of the necessary political and economic conditions in Africa and the rest of the world which will facilitate the defense of the independence and territorial integrity of all African countries while at the same time, foster national self-reliance and rapid economic development;
3. The promotion of equality and self-reliance in Africa and the rest of the developing world;
4. The promotion and the defense of justice and respect for human dignity especially the dignity of the blackman;
5. The defense and promotion of world peace (Aluko, 1978: 1). Both sections 19 of the 1979 constitution and section 19 of the amended constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (1999) clearly spell out the foreign policy goals of the nation as follows:

The state shall promote African unity, as well as total political, economic, social and cultural liberation of Africa and all other forms of international cooperation conducive of the consolidation of universal peace and mutual respect and friendship among all peoples and states, and shall combat racial discrimination in all its manifestations (Section 19 of the 1979 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, as amended).

In line with Nigeria's constitutional provisions, the state has been making frantic efforts through the instrumentality of foreign policy to secure better relations between Nigeria and other members of the International Community. Hence, concerted efforts have continued to be made towards securing debt relief for the country, bilateral pacts and agreements as well as seeking international collaboration on the fight against terrorist insurgency.

### **2.1.6 Principles of Nigeria's Foreign Policy**

Despite differing orientations and leadership styles in Nigeria, both civilian and military regimes have consistently upheld key foreign policy principles. These include sovereign equality, respect for territorial integrity, non-interference in other states' internal affairs, support for self-determination, promoting cooperation and peaceful coexistence in Africa, and non-alignment with geopolitical power blocs (Olusanya & Akindele, 1986:3).

### **2.1.7 Evaluation of Nigeria's Foreign Policy Principles**

Nigeria's foreign policy since independence has been analyzed from different perspectives. Some scholars contend that Nigeria's foreign policy is constantly in a state of flux as a result of internal and external

dynamics inherent in various administrations (Okogwu, 2004) others maintain that notwithstanding frequent regime changes, that the substance of Nigeria's foreign policy has remained the same. Despite the divergent views of scholars about the nature of Nigeria's foreign policy, the principles that have underpinned the country's foreign policy has remained unchanged. Olusanya and Akindele (1986:3-5) agree with the five major principles enumerated above as having influenced and guided the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy. Akintola in Nuamah (2010:2) also identified the five basic principles of Nigeria's foreign policy from independence to include Non-alignment, Legal Equality of all States Non-Interference in the Domestic Affairs of Other States, Multilateralism and Afrocentrism. These principles are treated in details below:

### **2.1.8 Foreign Policy Thrusts in Nigeria's Foreign Policy on National Development**

Nigeria's foreign policy has been a critical component in the country's pursuit of national development since its independence in 1960. Three key foreign policy thrusts have been particularly influential in shaping Nigeria's development agenda (Akinterinwa, 2001). The first thrust is the principle of African solidarity and the promotion of African unity. Nigeria has consistently championed the cause of African liberation, decolonization, and the establishment of a new international economic order favorable to the continent (Akinboye, 2013). This is exemplified by Nigeria's leading role in the Organization of African Unity (OAU), now the African Union (AU), and its mediation efforts in conflicts across the region. The second thrust is the policy of non-alignment and the promotion of South-South cooperation. Nigeria has sought to maintain an independent foreign policy, not beholden to any major power bloc (Gambari, 1989). Instead, it has actively engaged with other developing countries in the Global South to foster economic, political, and cultural ties, with the aim of reducing dependence on the Global North and creating new avenues for development.

The third thrust is the principle of economic diplomacy and the pursuit of economic development through foreign policy. Nigeria has used its foreign policy to attract foreign investment, secure trade agreements, and gain access to global markets (Ojo, 2007). This has included initiatives such as the establishment of the Nigeria-South Africa Bi-National Commission and the Nigeria-China Strategic Partnership.

These three foreign policy thrusts have been instrumental in Nigeria's efforts to achieve national development. The emphasis on African solidarity and unity has strengthened Nigeria's regional influence and enabled it to play a key role in addressing challenges facing the continent (Ate, 1987). The non-alignment and South-South cooperation policies have diversified Nigeria's international relationships and opened up new avenues for economic and technological cooperation. Finally, the focus on economic diplomacy has helped to attract foreign investment, expand trade, and access global markets, all of which have contributed to Nigeria's economic growth and development (Akinterinwa, 2001). However, the implementation of these foreign policy thrusts has not been without its challenges. Factors such as internal political instability, economic challenges, and shifting global dynamics have at times hampered Nigeria's ability to fully realize the benefits of its foreign policy (Akinboye, 2013). Moreover, there have been debates about the extent to which Nigeria's foreign policy has truly prioritized national development over other strategic interests (Ojo, 2007).

### **2.1.9 The Nexus between Nigeria's Foreign and National Development**

Nigeria's foreign policy has consistently aimed to support national development by leveraging international relations to achieve domestic goals, focusing on five key aspects. First, economic diplomacy and trade partnerships have driven national development through trade agreements and investment with global powers

and regional blocs like the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), as well as strategic partnerships with countries such as China, India, and the European Union (Akinterinwa, 2013; Adebajo, 2008).

Second, Nigeria has promoted regional integration and collective security in Africa through peacekeeping missions and conflict resolution efforts, such as the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) operations, fostering stability and development in West Africa (Akinboye, 2013).

Third, the country has engaged its diaspora to facilitate remittance flows, providing significant external financing for its economy (Akinrinade & Olukoya, 2011). Fourth, Nigeria has addressed environmental concerns through participation in international climate negotiations and global partnerships, supporting renewable energy development, forest conservation, and sustainable agriculture (Adebajo & Mustapha, 2008). Finally, cultural diplomacy has allowed Nigeria to project a positive international image and enhance its soft power through its vibrant music, film, and arts industries (Ogunsanwo, 2007).

## 2.2 Theoretical Framework

The following theories were discussed in line with the study. The strengths and weaknesses of the theories were also considered.

### 2.2.1 Realist Theory of Foreign Policy:

The realist theory of foreign policy posits that states pursue their national interests in the international system, which is characterized by anarchy and the constant struggle for power (Morgenthau, 1948). This theory suggests that Nigeria's foreign policy may have been primarily driven by the pursuit of national interests, such as security, economic gain, and international influence, rather than ideological or moral considerations.

*Explains Nigeria's pursuit of national interests like security, economic gain, and international influence.*

*Accounts for how Nigeria navigates the anarchic international system characterized by power struggles.*

*Useful for understanding Nigeria's pragmatic approach to foreign relations.*

*May oversimplify Nigeria's motivations by solely focusing on national interests.*

*Struggles to explain Nigeria's normative commitments and identity-based foreign policy positions.*

*Lacks explanatory power for Nigeria's embrace of multilateralism and global governance.*

### 2.2.2 Dependency Theory:

Dependency theory argues that the economic development of peripheral countries, such as Nigeria, is hindered by their subordinate position in the global capitalist system, which is dominated by developed core countries (Cardoso & Faletto, 1979). This theory suggests that Nigeria's foreign policy may have been influenced by its efforts to reduce its economic dependence on the developed world and to promote more equitable trade and investment relations.

*Highlights how Nigeria's peripheral position in the global economy has constrained its development.*

*Helps explain Nigeria's efforts to reduce economic dependence on the West and promote South-South cooperation.*

*Aligns with Nigeria's calls for a new international economic order.*

*Portrays Nigeria as a passive victim of global capitalist structures, overlooking its agency.*



*Struggles to account for Nigeria's selective engagement with the global economy.  
May oversimplify the complex factors shaping Nigeria's foreign economic relations.*

### **2.2.3 Constructivist Theory of Foreign Policy:**

Constructivist theory emphasizes the role of ideas, norms, and identities in shaping a state's foreign policy (Wendt, 1999). This theory suggests that Nigeria's foreign policy may have been influenced by its national identity, its historical experiences, and its normative commitments, such as pan-Africanism, non-alignment, and the promotion of South-South cooperation.

*Captures the role of Nigeria's national identity, historical experiences, and normative commitments in shaping its foreign policy.*

*Explains Nigeria's embrace of pan-Africanism, non-alignment, and South-South cooperation.*

*Accounts for the ideational factors behind Nigeria's foreign policy positions.*

*May downplay the influence of material interests and power dynamics in Nigeria's foreign relations.*

*Difficulty in empirically demonstrating the precise impact of ideas and identities.*

*Lacks specificity in predicting Nigeria's foreign policy choices in particular situations.*

### **2.2.4. Neoliberal Institutionalism:**

Neoliberal institutionalism focuses on the role of international institutions and cooperation in shaping foreign policy (Keohane, 1984). This theory suggests that Nigeria's foreign policy may have been influenced by its participation in international organizations, such as the United Nations, the African Union, and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and its efforts to promote regional integration and global governance.

*Highlights Nigeria's active engagement with international organizations and its efforts to promote regional integration.*

*Explains Nigeria's embrace of global governance mechanisms and multilateral cooperation.*

*Accounts for how international institutions shape Nigeria's foreign policy choices.*

*May overemphasize the role of institutions and cooperative mechanisms, overlooking other factors.*

*Struggles to explain Nigeria's occasional unilateral or confrontational foreign policy actions.*

*Difficulty in disentangling the causal influence of institutions from other variables.*

### **2.2.5. Soft Power Theory:**

Soft power theory emphasizes the importance of a state's cultural, political, and economic attractiveness in shaping its international influence (Nye, 2004). This theory suggests that Nigeria's foreign policy may have been influenced by its efforts to project a positive image of the country, to promote its cultural heritage, and to leverage its economic and diplomatic resources to achieve its international objectives.

Captures Nigeria's efforts to project a positive image, promote its culture, and leverage its economic and diplomatic resources.

*Explains Nigeria's attempts to increase its international influence through non-coercive means.*

*Aligns with Nigeria's foreign policy objectives of enhancing its global reputation and regional leadership.*

*May underestimate the importance of hard power factors, such as military capabilities and economic resources, in Nigeria's foreign policy.*

*Difficulty in empirically measuring and comparing Nigeria's soft power influence.*

*Tends to focus more on outcomes rather than the drivers of Nigeria's soft power initiatives.*

## **DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS**

### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents the data that was collected, the analysis that was performed on that data, and a discussion of the findings that resulted from the analysis. The data section outlines the information that was gathered for the study, describing the sources, types, and quantities of data.

### **2.2 Data Analysis**

The research questions were analyzed using the technique of content analysis. Content analysis is a systematic research methodology that allows researchers to make replicable and valid inferences about the meanings and relationships within textual or other symbolic data. This approach provides a means to analyze the contextual use and significance of language, themes, and patterns within the given research material. Through the application of content analysis, the research questions could be thoroughly investigated and interpreted in a structured and reproducible manner.

#### **2.2.1 Research Question 1: What were foreign policy objectives and initiatives implemented by the Nigerian government from 2011 to 2023?**

According to the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) (2011), the Nigerian government implemented monetary policy to improve liquidity and enhance financial market efficiency, aiming for monetary and price stability. Measures included six increases in the Monetary Policy Rate (MPR), maintaining a symmetric corridor of +/- 200 basis points, and introducing a reserve averaging framework to reduce interest rate volatility. Additionally, the CBN adjusted the foreign exchange net open position of banks, changed the midpoint of the target exchange rate band to protect the Naira's value, and introduced the Wholesale Dutch Auction System-Forwards (wDAS-Forwards) to improve the monetary transmission mechanism. To manage liquidity, the CBN conducted open market operations, used cash and liquidity ratios, standing facilities, and tenored repurchase transactions. These efforts led to significant improvements in banking system liquidity, with reserve money and broad money (M2) exceeding benchmarks for 2011. Aggregate bank credit to the domestic economy grew by 42.4 percent, compared to 10.0 percent the previous year and a target of 36.6 percent. Net claims on the Federal Government and credit to the private sector increased by 52.7 percent and 31.6 percent, respectively, surpassing targets of 29.3 percent and 29.1 percent. Nigeria's gross external reserves increased by 0.9 percent to US\$32.64 billion compared to the level at the end of December 2010. This amount was sufficient to support 6.5 months of imports of goods and services, significantly exceeding the 3.0 months requirement under the convergence criteria of the West African Monetary Zone (WAMZ).

In 2011, the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) guaranteed 56,328 loans worth N10.19 billion under the Agricultural Credit Guarantee Scheme Fund (ACGSF), bringing the total guaranteed loans since 1978 to 754,528, valued at N52.34 billion. There were no new placements under the Trust Fund Model (TFM), with MoUs and pledges remaining at fifty-six and N5.52 billion, respectively. The CBN increased the Refinancing and Restructuring Fund (RRF) by N35.0 billion to support the restructuring of loan portfolios for manufacturers and SMEs. The Small and Medium Enterprise Credit Guarantee Scheme (SMECGS) continued

to disburse funds, and disbursements under the Power and Airline Intervention Fund also continued. The CBN's audited financial statements showed a 44.6 percent decline in total income to N311.2 billion, mainly due to an 88.4 percent fall in income from realized gains on foreign currency, but operating costs also decreased by 23.0 percent, resulting in an operating surplus before provisions of N80.2 billion. The balance sheet grew by 66.6 percent to N11.3 trillion, driven by significant growth in investments, despite a decline in loans and advances. The CBN approved a Technology Refresh Project to update its IT infrastructure and acquired a new Real-Time Gross Settlement (RTGS) system. The Bank recruited 827 personnel and increased staff strength to 5,844 by the end of December 2011. Various measures were implemented to sustain financial stability, improve liquidity, and strengthen the supervisory framework, resulting in mixed financial developments. Broad money supply (M2) to nominal GDP ratio decreased to 36.4 percent, while total money market assets increased by 24.7 percent. Yields on fixed income securities were generally higher, and the yield curve remained normal for most of the year but inverted towards the end due to the CBN's tight monetary policy stance. Activities on the Nigerian Stock Exchange showed mixed developments.

### **2.2.1.1 Fiscal Operations of Government**

in 2011, Nigeria's consolidated expenditure reached N9,774.3 billion, while revenue totaled N8,486.5 billion, resulting in a notional deficit of N1,287.8 billion, or 3.6 percent of GDP. Federally-collected revenue increased by 52.2 percent to N11,116.9 billion, driven by higher oil production and favorable prices, with non-oil revenue rising by 17.3 percent to N2,237.9 billion. The Federation Account received N6,158.4 billion, leading to a distributable total of N6,941.8 billion shared among the tiers of government. The Federal Government's retained revenue grew by 15.0 percent, while aggregate expenditure increased by 12.3 percent, resulting in a deficit of N1,158.5 billion. By December 2011, the Federal Government's debt stock was N6,519.6 billion, or 18.4 percent of GDP, with external debt rising to US\$5.7 billion.

### **2.2.1.2 The Real Sector**

The real Gross Domestic Product (GDP), calculated at 1990 base prices, experienced a 7.4% increase in 2011. This compares to a 7.9% rise in 2010 and an average annual growth rate of 7.0% from 2007 to 2011. All five key sectors—service, agriculture, wholesale/retail, building/construction, and industry—contributed to this growth, with contributions of 2.4, 2.3, 2.1, 0.2, and 0.6 percentage points, respectively. Additionally, the oil sector saw a 1.5% growth, contributing 0.2 percentage points to the total growth. This growth was primarily driven by a supportive macroeconomic environment, which included favorable credit conditions aiding private sector financing, increased crude oil production, and favorable weather conditions enhancing agricultural output, among other factors.

Inflationary pressures in Nigeria eased in 2011, with headline inflation decreasing from 11.8% in December 2010 to 10.3% in December 2011, driven by favorable weather conditions and a strict monetary policy. Food and core inflation also fell to 11.0% and 10.8%, respectively. However, in Q2 2023, inflation rose to 23.79% from 22.04%, largely due to the removal of the fuel subsidy and a market-determined exchange rate, which increased production and logistics costs. Despite this, the economy continued to grow, with real GDP increasing by 2.51% year-on-year, supported by investments in the non-oil sector, particularly in information and communication and financial services. The oil industry negatively impacted growth, contracting by

13.43% and contributing -0.85 percentage points to GDP due to a drop in crude oil production from 1.28 million barrels per day in Q1 to 1.14 million in Q2, exacerbated by on-going security and infrastructure.

### 2.2.2 Research Question 2: How have Nigeria's foreign policy decisions and actions during this period impacted the country's economic, social, and political development?

KEY FOREIGN POLICIES	Goodluck Jonathan (2011–2015)	Muhammadu Buhari (2015–2023)
<b>Economic Diplomacy</b>	Strong emphasis on economic diplomacy; sought to attract foreign direct investment and promote Nigeria's economic interests abroad through international trade fairs and bilateral trade agreements. (Osaghae, 2011)	Focused on leveraging Nigeria's economic potential to attract foreign investment and improve trade relations. (Akinterinwa, 2017)
<b>Gross Domestic Product (GDP)</b>	In 2011, the year Jonathan was president, the economy grew by 5.31%. In 2014, the greatest growth rate was 6.22%. Under his direction, Nigeria's GDP grew by 4.80% on average between 2011 and 2015.	Nigeria's GDP per capita has fallen to its forty-year-old level due to inflation during Buhari's administration. Despite some growth, the average GDP increase from 2016 to 2020 was only 0.31%.
<b>Nigerian Inflation Rate</b>	During Goodluck Jonathan's administration, the rate of inflation began at 4.64%, rose to 15.04% by the end of his first term, and then fell again to 9% before the end of his second.	The inflation rate during Muhammadu Buhari's regime (2015–2023) started at 9% and increased to 22.03% by the end of his tenure.
<b>Regional Integration</b>	Supported regional and continental integration initiatives such as ECOWAS and the African Union, including involvement in peacekeeping missions and addressing regional security challenges. (Adebajo, 2013)	Played a leading role in strengthening regional integration initiatives through ECOWAS and the African Union to promote economic development and address common challenges. (Akinboade, 2018)
<b>Engagement with International Community</b>	Engaged actively with the international community on issues such as global security, counterterrorism, and economic development, participating in various international organizations like the UN and ECOWAS. (Akinboye, 2015)	Continued engagement with the international community, particularly in anti-corruption efforts and counterterrorism cooperation with international partners. (Obayuwana, 2019; Langan, 2017)
<b>Anti-Corruption Focus</b>	Not a prominent focus in Jonathan's administration.	Placed a strong emphasis on anti-corruption diplomacy, involving international cooperation to recover stolen assets and prosecute corrupt

		officials abroad. (Obayuwana, 2019)
Diaspora Engagement	Not highlighted as a significant policy.	Actively sought to engage with the Nigerian diaspora, recognizing their potential role in development through remittances, investment, and skills transfer. (Ogunnubi & Amao, 2016)
Counterterrorism Cooperation	Addressed regional security challenges but did not place a strong emphasis on counterterrorism cooperation.	Worked closely with neighboring countries and international partners to combat Boko Haram and other terrorist groups in the Lake Chad basin region, including intelligence sharing, joint military operations, and securing borders. (Langan, 2017)
Environmental Initiatives	Participated in international climate change initiatives and discussions. (Okereke, 2014)	Launched the Green Wall project to combat desertification and invested in agricultural sector development. (Federal Ministry of Environment, 2021)

*Source: Data extracted from CBN portal*

During Goodluck Jonathan's presidency (2011–2015), Nigeria's foreign policy prioritized economic diplomacy, aiming to attract foreign investment through trade fairs and bilateral agreements, which contributed to an average GDP growth of 4.80%, peaking at 6.22% in 2014. Inflation fluctuated, starting at 4.64%, peaking at 15.04%, and settling at 9%. In contrast, Muhammadu Buhari's presidency (2015–2023) aimed to leverage Nigeria's economic potential but saw average GDP growth drop to 0.31%, with GDP per capita declining due to rising inflation from 9% to 22.03%. Both administrations supported regional integration through ECOWAS and the AU, but Buhari was more active in these initiatives. Jonathan focused on global security and economic development, while Buhari emphasized anti-corruption, engaging with the diaspora, and strengthening counterterrorism efforts against groups like Boko Haram through intelligence sharing and joint operations. Additionally, Buhari launched the Green Wall project to address desertification and invested in agriculture, while Jonathan participated in international climate discussions.

### **2.2.2 Research question 3: What were the major successes and challenges encountered in Nigeria's foreign policy approach, and what were the implications for national development?**

Nigeria's foreign policy has been a critical factor in shaping the country's national development since its independence in 1960. As Africa's most populous nation and a regional powerhouse, Nigeria's foreign policy decisions have had significant implications, both positive and negative, for its economic, political, and social progress (Akinterinwa, 2001). This paper will explore the major successes and challenges encountered in Nigeria's foreign policy approach and analyze how these have impacted the country's overall national development.

One of the major successes of Nigeria's foreign policy has been its active role in promoting peace and stability in the West African region. Nigeria has been a key contributor to peacekeeping operations, conflict mediation, and regional integration efforts through bodies such as the Economic Community of West African

States (ECOWAS) (Saliu & Omotola, 2008). For instance, Nigeria's military intervention in the Liberian civil war in the 1990s, as part of the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), was instrumental in restoring peace and stability in the country (Adebajo, 2002).

Another success of Nigeria's foreign policy has been its advocacy for the interests of developing countries on the global stage. Nigeria has been a vocal proponent of the New International Economic Order (NIEO), calling for a more equitable distribution of global resources and a reform of the international financial system (Ogwu, 1986). Additionally, Nigeria has played a leading role in the Non-Aligned Movement, championing the principles of national sovereignty, non-interference, and South-South cooperation (Akinterinwa, 2001).

Nigeria's foreign policy has also been instrumental in strengthening its diplomatic ties with other African nations, particularly through its leadership in the Organization of African Unity (OAU), now the African Union (AU) (Saliu & Omotola, 2008). Nigeria's support for the liberation struggles of various African countries, such as South Africa's anti-apartheid movement, has earned it significant goodwill and influence on the continent (Adebajo, 2002).

Despite these successes, Nigeria's foreign policy has also faced several challenges that have hindered its national development. One of the persistent challenges has been the lack of consistency and coherence in its foreign policy approach, as successive governments have often pursued divergent agendas (Akinterinwa, 2001). This has resulted in a lack of long-term strategic planning and undermined Nigeria's ability to effectively leverage its diplomatic resources.

Another challenge has been the mismatch between Nigeria's ambitious foreign policy objectives and its limited economic and military capabilities. As a developing country, Nigeria has often struggled to provide the necessary financial and logistical support for its foreign policy initiatives, particularly in the areas of peacekeeping and regional integration (Saliu & Omotola, 2008). This has sometimes led to a perception of Nigeria as a "regional hegemon" with limited capacity to follow through on its commitments. Furthermore, Nigeria's foreign policy has been hampered by domestic political instability and the prevalence of corruption within its government institutions (Adebajo, 2002). The frequent military coups, political crises, and mismanagement of public resources have undermined Nigeria's international credibility and its ability to effectively pursue its foreign policy goals.

Additionally, Nigeria's foreign policy has been criticized for its over-emphasis on military interventionism and the use of force, particularly in its dealings with neighboring countries (Akinterinwa, 2001). This has sometimes alienated other African nations and damaged Nigeria's reputation as a regional peacekeeper and mediator.

The successes and challenges of Nigeria's foreign policy have had far-reaching implications for its national development. On the positive side, Nigeria's diplomatic achievements in promoting regional stability, advocating for the interests of developing countries, and strengthening its ties with other African nations have contributed to its regional influence and global standing (Ogwu, 1986). This, in turn, has helped to attract foreign investment, foster economic cooperation, and improve Nigeria's access to international markets and resources.

However, the persistent challenges faced by Nigeria's foreign policy, such as the lack of consistency, limited capabilities, domestic instability, and over-reliance on military force, have undermined its national

development efforts (Saliu & Omotola, 2008). These challenges have made it more difficult for Nigeria to attract the necessary foreign investment, technology, and expertise to drive its economic transformation and improve the living standards of its citizens.

### **2.2.3 Research Question 4: How did the foreign policy strategies and their developmental impacts differ across the various political administrations in Nigeria from 2011 to 2023?**

Nigeria, the most populous country in Africa, has experienced significant political and economic changes over the past decade. Its foreign policy strategies have been shaped by the leadership of successive presidential administrations, each with distinct approaches to engaging with the international community. This paper aims to analyze and compare the foreign policy strategies and their developmental impacts during the different political administrations in Nigeria from 2011 to 2023.

During the Goodluck Jonathan administration, Nigeria's foreign policy was primarily focused on strengthening regional and continental cooperation, particularly within the framework of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the African Union (AU) (Adebajo, 2013). The administration placed emphasis on addressing regional security challenges, such as the Boko Haram insurgency, through multilateral cooperation and peacekeeping operations (Akinola, 2015). However, the administration's foreign policy was also criticized for its perceived lack of a clear strategic direction and its inability to effectively harness Nigeria's economic potential to drive development (Omede, 2011).

The Muhammadu Buhari administration, which came to power in 2015, adopted a more assertive and pragmatic approach to foreign policy (Fawole, 2016). The administration placed a strong emphasis on combating terrorism and extremism, particularly through its efforts to defeat the Boko Haram insurgency (Osumah, 2019). Additionally, the administration sought to strengthen economic ties with strategic partners, such as China and India, in order to attract foreign investment and promote sustainable development (Omonobi, 2018).

The Bola Ahmed Tinubu administration, which took office in 2023, has continued to build on the foreign policy initiatives of the previous administration, while also introducing some new strategic priorities (Adebajo, 2023). The administration has placed a strong emphasis on diversifying Nigeria's economic partnerships, with a particular focus on strengthening ties with emerging markets in Asia and Latin America (Ogunade, 2023). Additionally, the administration has sought to position Nigeria as a regional leader in addressing climate change and promoting sustainable development (Akinola, 2023).

The foreign policy strategies of the different political administrations in Nigeria from 2011 to 2023 have had varying impacts on the country's development. The Goodluck Jonathan administration's focus on regional cooperation and security challenges had some success in addressing the Boko Haram insurgency, but failed to capitalize on Nigeria's economic potential to drive sustainable development (Omede, 2011). The Muhammadu Buhari administration, on the other hand, adopted a more assertive and pragmatic approach, which helped to strengthen Nigeria's economic ties with strategic partners and attract foreign investment (Fawole, 2016; Omonobi, 2018). The Bola Ahmed Tinubu administration has continued to build on these initiatives, while also introducing new priorities, such as diversifying economic partnerships and addressing climate change (Adebajo, 2023; Ogunade, 2023; Akinola, 2023).

### **2.2.4 Research Question 5: What recommendations can be made to help Nigeria optimize its foreign policy to better support and accelerate national development in the future?**

As a leading economic and political power in Africa, Nigeria's foreign policy plays a crucial role in shaping the country's national development trajectory. The previous administrations from 2011 to 2023 have each pursued distinct foreign policy approaches, with varying degrees of success in translating these strategies into tangible developmental gains. To ensure that Nigeria's foreign policy more effectively supports and accelerates national development in the future, this analysis presents a set of recommendations based on an assessment of best practices and emerging global trends.

One of the areas for optimizing Nigeria's foreign policy is to place a greater emphasis on economic diplomacy and the diversification of trade partnerships (Adebajo, 2016). This should involve:

1. Actively pursuing bilateral and multilateral trade agreements that provide preferential access to Nigerian exports, particularly in non-oil sectors such as agriculture, manufacturing, and services (Ogunnubi & Idom, 2017).
2. Leveraging Nigeria's membership in regional economic blocs like ECOWAS and the AfCFTA to negotiate more favorable terms of trade and investment (Odjo & Ogunleye, 2023).
3. Establishing dedicated trade and investment promotion agencies to attract foreign direct investment (FDI) in strategic sectors that align with Nigeria's industrialization and diversification goals (Akinboade et al., 2015).

Nigeria's foreign policy should place a stronger emphasis on regional integration and cooperation, particularly within the West African sub-region and the broader African continent (Bagaji, 2017). This could involve:

1. Taking a more proactive leadership role in ECOWAS and the African Union, using these platforms to drive policy harmonization and the implementation of regional infrastructure projects (Adeyemo & Akande, 2023).
2. Championing the development of regional value chains and cross-border economic corridors to facilitate trade, investment, and the movement of people and goods (Ogunnubi & Idom, 2017).
3. Strengthening Nigeria's diplomatic ties with neighboring countries to address shared security challenges, such as the threat of Boko Haram, and promote regional stability (Eze, 2017).

Effective foreign policy implementation requires strong and capable institutions, as well as good governance practices. Nigeria should focus on:

1. Strengthening the capacity of its foreign service and diplomatic corps, ensuring they are equipped with the necessary skills and resources to engage effectively on the global stage (Adebajo, 2016).
2. Improving coordination and information-sharing among various government agencies and ministries involved in foreign policy formulation and implementation (Ogundiya, 2012).
3. Enhancing transparency and accountability in the management of resources generated from foreign economic engagements, such as trade, investment, and debt negotiations (Eze, 2017).

Nigeria's foreign policy should be aligned with the country's long-term sustainable development goals, as outlined in national development plans and international frameworks such as the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (Adeyemo & Akande, 2023). This can be achieved by:

1. Integrating sustainable development principles and targets into the formulation and implementation of foreign policy initiatives (Akinboade et al., 2015).



2. Actively participating in and championing global efforts to address shared challenges, such as climate change, global health, and the promotion of gender equality and human rights (Ogunnubi & Idom, 2017).

3. Leveraging Nigeria's diplomatic influence and partnerships to mobilize resources and technical assistance for the implementation of sustainable development projects at the national and regional levels (Odjo & Ogunleye, 2023).

Nigeria's foreign policy should also place greater emphasis on public diplomacy and the strategic use of soft power to enhance the country's global image and influence (Bagaji, 2017). This could involve:

1. Investing in cultural diplomacy initiatives, such as the promotion of Nigerian arts, music, and cuisine, to showcase the country's rich heritage and diversity (Adebajo, 2016).

2. Strengthening Nigeria's role in global knowledge production and dissemination, through initiatives such as supporting research, academic exchanges, and the establishment of regional centers of excellence (Ogundiya, 2012).

3. Utilizing digital platforms and social media to amplify Nigeria's voice on global issues and engage with international audiences, especially the diaspora community (Adeyemo & Akande, 2023).

### 3.3 SUMMARY OF MAJOR FINDINGS

Nigeria's foreign policy has evolved significantly since gaining independence in 1960, adapting to the changing dynamics of global politics and regional challenges. This paper examines the foreign policy strategies of two recent administrations: Goodluck Jonathan (2011-2015) and Muhammadu Buhari (2015-2023). Both administrations operated under distinct global and domestic circumstances, influencing their foreign policy priorities and approaches.

#### 3.3.1 Goodluck Jonathan Administration (2011-2015)

Foreign Policy Objectives and Initiatives:

1. **Economic Diplomacy:** Strong emphasis on economic diplomacy to attract foreign direct investment. Promoted Nigeria's economic interests through international trade fairs and bilateral trade agreements (Osaghae, 2011).
2. **Regional Integration:** Supported regional and continental integration initiatives such as ECOWAS and the African Union. Involved in peacekeeping missions and addressing regional security challenges (Adebajo, 201).
3. **Engagement with International Community:** Actively engaged with the international community on global security, counterterrorism, and economic development. Participated in various international organizations like the UN and ECOWAS (Akinboye, 2015).
4. **Counterterrorism Cooperation:** Addressed regional security challenges but did not place a strong emphasis on counterterrorism cooperation.
5. **Environmental Initiatives:** Participated in international climate change initiatives and discussions (Okereke, 2014).

### **3.3.1.1 Economic Impact:**

1. Gross Domestic Product (GDP): The economy grew by an average of 4.80% from 2011 to 2015, peaking at 6.22% in 2014.
2. Inflation: Inflation fluctuated, starting at 4.64%, peaking at 15.04%, and falling back to 9%.

### **3.3.1.2 Successes:**

1. Regional Stability: Played a key role in promoting peace and stability in West Africa through ECOWAS and peacekeeping operations (Saliu & Omotola, 2008).
2. Advocacy for Developing Countries: Advocated for the interests of developing countries on the global stage, promoting a more equitable distribution of global resources (Ogwu, 1986).
3. Strengthening Diplomatic Ties: Strengthened diplomatic ties with other African nations and supported liberation struggles such as South Africa's anti-apartheid movement (Adebajo, 2002).

### **3.3.1.3 Challenges:**

1. Lack of Consistency: Inconsistencies in foreign policy approach due to successive governments pursuing divergent agendas (Akinterinwa, 2001).
2. Limited Capabilities: Mismatch between ambitious foreign policy objectives and limited economic and military capabilities (Saliu & Omotola, 200).
3. Domestic Political Instability: Domestic instability and corruption undermined international credibility and effectiveness (Adebajo, 2002).
4. Over-Emphasis on Military Intervention: Criticized for over-emphasizing military interventionism, which sometimes alienated other African nations (Akinterinwa, 2001).

### **3.3.2 Muhammadu Buhari Administration (2015-2023)**

#### Foreign Policy Objectives and Initiatives:

1. Economic Diplomacy: Focused on leveraging Nigeria's economic potential to attract foreign investment and improve trade relations (Akinterinwa, 2017)
2. Regional Integration: Played a leading role in strengthening regional integration initiatives through ECOWAS and the African Union to promote economic development and address common challenges (Akinboade, 2018).
3. Engagement with International Community: Continued engagement with the international community, particularly in anti-corruption efforts and counterterrorism cooperation with international partners (Obayuwana, 2019; Langan, 2017).
4. Anti-Corruption Focus: Strong emphasis on anti-corruption diplomacy, involving international cooperation to recover stolen assets and prosecute corrupt officials abroad (Obayuwana, 2019).

5. **Diaspora Engagement:** Actively sought to engage with the Nigerian diaspora, recognizing their potential role in development through remittances, investment, and skills transfer (Ogunnubi & Amao, 2016).
6. **Counterterrorism Cooperation:** Worked closely with neighboring countries and international partners to combat Boko Haram and other terrorist groups, including intelligence sharing, joint military operations, and securing borders (Langan, 2017).
7. **Environmental Initiatives:** Launched the Green Wall project to combat desertification and invested in agricultural sector development (Federal Ministry of Environment, 2021).

### **3.3.2.1 Economic Impact:**

1. **Gross Domestic Product (GDP):** The average GDP growth from 2016 to 2020 was only 0.31%, and Nigeria's GDP per capita fell to its forty-year-old level due to high inflation.
2. **Inflation:** Inflation began at 9% and increased to 22.03% by the end of Buhari's tenure.

### **3.3.2.2 Successes:**

1. **Regional Stability:** Continued to play a significant role in regional stability and integration through ECOWAS and the African Union (Akinboade, 2018).
2. **Anti-Corruption Efforts:** Emphasized anti-corruption diplomacy, recovering stolen assets and prosecuting corrupt officials (Obayuwana, 2019).
3. **Engagement with Diaspora:** Engaged the Nigerian diaspora for development through remittances, investment, and skills transfer (Ogunnubi & Amao, 2016).
4. **Counterterrorism Cooperation:** Strengthened counterterrorism efforts with neighboring countries and international partners, particularly against Boko Haram (Langan, 2017).

### **3.3.2.3 Challenges:**

1. **Economic Challenges:** Despite efforts to attract foreign investment, economic growth was minimal, and inflation significantly increased.
2. **Domestic Instability:** Continued domestic political instability and corruption issues (Adebajo, 2002).
3. **Security Issues:** Persistent security challenges, particularly with Boko Haram, affecting national development.

### **3.3.2.4 Summary of Findings:**

1. **Foreign Policy Strategies and Developmental Impacts:** Both administrations focused on economic diplomacy and regional integration but faced different economic outcomes and challenges. Jonathan's

administration saw higher GDP growth and significant diplomatic successes in regional stability and advocacy for developing countries. Buhari's administration emphasized anti-corruption, diaspora engagement, and counterterrorism but faced significant economic challenges and high inflation.

2. Implications for National Development: Successful foreign policy initiatives contributed to regional stability, economic cooperation, and international goodwill, aiding national development. Challenges such as inconsistent foreign policy approaches, limited capabilities, domestic instability, and security issues hindered the full realization of foreign policy objectives and impacted national development negatively.

### 3.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Enhance Consistency in Foreign Policy: Establish a long-term strategic framework that ensures continuity across different administrations. This will help in maintaining coherence and achieving sustained progress in foreign policy objectives.
2. Strengthen Economic and Military Capabilities: Invest in economic development and military modernization to better support ambitious foreign policy goals. Improved capabilities will enhance Nigeria's ability to fulfill its commitments and exert influence effectively.
3. Promote Domestic Stability and Governance: Address domestic political instability and corruption to bolster international credibility. Strong governance and political stability will enhance Nigeria's effectiveness in foreign policy and attract more foreign investment.
4. Diversify Foreign Policy Approaches: Reduce reliance on military intervention by exploring diplomatic, economic, and cultural engagements with neighboring countries. This will improve Nigeria's reputation as a regional peacekeeper and mediator.
5. Focus on Sustainable Economic Diplomacy: Develop and implement policies that attract sustainable foreign direct investment, emphasizing sectors that promote long-term economic growth and development.
6. Strengthen Regional Integration Efforts: Continue to play a leading role in ECOWAS and the African Union, focusing on economic development, peacekeeping, and addressing common regional challenges. Enhanced regional integration will boost collective economic and security outcomes.
7. Enhance Counterterrorism Cooperation: Foster deeper collaboration with international partners and neighboring countries to combat terrorism. This includes intelligence sharing, joint operations, and securing borders to ensure regional stability.
8. Engage the Nigerian Diaspora: Implement structured programs to leverage the skills, investments, and remittances of the Nigerian diaspora. Encourage diaspora contributions to national development through favorable policies and initiatives.

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