

IJEMD-SS, 3 (1) (2024), 1 – 25

https://doi.org10.54938/ijemdss.2024.03.1.361

IJEMD Internet of

SOCIALSCIENCE

International Journal of Emerging Multidisciplinaries: Social Science

> Research Paper Journal Homepage: <u>www.ojs.ijemd.com</u> ISSN (print): 2957-5311 ISSN (online): 2958-0277

# AN INSIGHT INTO NIGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES 2009-2021.

### Enoch Shehu\*1

1. Federal University of Lafia, Nigeria

# ABSTRACT

The research examined Nigeria's Foreign Policy from 2009 to 2021. Qualitative data were sourced from both primary and secondary, content analysis and elite theory was adopted. The paper was motivated to find out domestic challenges, foreign policy thrust and how the latter addressed the former. To aid understanding, the concepts of foreign policy and national interest were conceptualised and Nigeria's foreign policy objectives under the past administrations were condensed. The data indicated three personalities championed the course of Nigeria's foreign policy. Nigeria's internal environment was characterised by unemployment, insecurity, poverty and corruption. With the instrumentality of diplomacy, Nigeria's foreign policy thrust were economy, insecurity threat and anticorruption. These have not yielded expected outcomes in addressing the municipal problems. Hence, the paper recommended: inclusion of the private enterprise, trade union and general populace in outlining Nigeria's foreign policy. Continuation of policy in order to ensure it realisation.

Keywords: Citizen, Foreign Policy, Insecurity, National Interest, Nigeria.

# **INTRODUCTION**

Global resources are unequally distributed. This necessitated interaction first among people or communities and secondly nation-states. The post Westphalia states [15] have occupied a significant place in the international system. Motives behind state relations with others are numerous and differ from state to state and time. While the tool in which it engages others is commonly known as foreign policy thrust.

Nigeria commences making and implementation of foreign policy since independence on 1<sup>st</sup> October 1960. Just like any other states in post Westphalia, her foreign policy is defined by her national interest. National interest is "seen as an embodiment of the aggregation of a nation's interest as a sovereign political entity" [11]. [28] classified them as aspirational and operational. The former are mere desires, visions, plans and dreams of a state while the latter could be achieved using the state's capacities. An operational foreign policy objective is used interchangeably with the core objective. These centre on the security of a state and therefore have to do with self-preservation or the need to ensure survival, territorial integrity and sovereignty.

For many decades back, Nigeria's foreign policy thrust was Afro-centric in nature. Return to democratic rule in 1999 was expected to usher in a new dispensation in the country foreign policy in which it will reflect the citizens' wills and interests. This remained a mere aspiration as the codification of the country Foreign Policy is yet to translate into citizens' betterment.

Available literature has contributed significantly to Nigeria's foreign policy. For example [1] and [2] focus on the inter play between national interest and foreign policy, [19] worked on the making process, [5] examined Nigeria's foreign policy posture and global image with key emphasis on Goodluck Jonathan and Muhammadu Buhari's administrations, [21]; [22]; [23] took the security dimension of the Nigeria State, [7] focus on Nigeria placement on Corruption Perceptions Index and [26] and [17] work on Nigeria social policy. This study made a significant departure from existing scholarship by focusing on use of foreign policy to achieve national interest. The specific questions are: what were the major domestic challenges bedevilled Nigeria 2009-2021? What were Nigeria's foreign policy thrust 2009-2021? And how effective is Nigeria's Foreign Policy in addressing national problems?

# METHODOLOGY

The major sources of data of the research are secondary while observation and phone call interview complement the major sources. The secondary data were from text books, journal articles, national dailies, and all other forms of internet data relevant to the study. Semi-structured interview method was used in sourcing primary data from purposely selected stakeholders totalling 18 interviewees. Accidental or convenience sampling techniques are employed and in the words of [3] accidental or convenience sampling is used when the researcher is operating with little or no budget. Due to the nature of the data sources, a content analytical technique was employed while paying attention to ethical issues.

#### **Conceptual Framework**

To aid understanding, the concepts of foreign policy and national interest are conceptualization.

#### **Foreign Policy**

Foreign policy is defined as "the act of pursuing national interests guided by certain principles and influenced by domestic and external conditions" [28] National interest is the centre of state foreign policy as influenced by internal and external factors. [28] view of foreign policy can be deduced to national interest, guided by certain principles and influenced by domestic and external elements.

Selected national interests that are presumably formulated into a logically consistent whole that is then implemented is termed as foreign policy, Hartman as cited by [24] Hartman's conception of foreign policy revolved around national interest but selected once which implied they are many, only few can be captured in foreign policy.

[15] foreign policy is a cause of conduct that the state will follow while relating with other countries or actors in the global community with the aim of achieving a set goal. This implies, goals of any country are central to her foreign policy.

In the content of this study, foreign policy is Nigeria foreign policy from 2009-2021. And such is defined by national interest as emphasized by [28].

#### **National Interest**

The idea of national interest is vague and difficult to give a precise definition of the term that may appease all. National interest is rooted in the social consciousness on one hand and cultural identity of a people on the other. This gave the connotation that the national interest of a state is "what policy makers say it is" or that of her leader(s) [12].

In the words of [11] national interests are seen as the aggregate embodiment of the state's interest as a sovereign political entity. National interest of Nigeria is made up of security, grantee state's welfare of the state, and national honour. And he further noted that national security has to do with defence of the country's territorial integrity and political independence.

National interest is the condiment that adds to the execution and implementation of foreign policy of any state. And by national interest, hence can be said to be the broad goal(s) that all states share-political independence, economic growth, cultural preservation, and peace- and the distinct goals each

state seeks on specific goal(s). Thus, national interests are multidimensional-hierarchical objectives, which is likely changing all the time [1].

National interest is employed herein to be Nigeria's national interest. First a challenge to the existence of Nigeria's state and desires of Nigerians, such as security, peace, development inter alia and secondly it codification by her leaders toward its realization.

#### **Theoretical Framework: Elite Theory**

Elite theory was propounded in the 1930s by V. Pareto, Roberto Mitchel, Gaetano Mosca, James Buraham and J. Ortega. The theory emphasizes the inevitability of stratification in any human society (elite and non-elite or masses). That power (all kinds of powers) is confined to a ruling few at any given time. Elite must always rule, although it can be recycled within itself. Very few may be recruited into the elite during recycling [4]; [8]; [10]; [28]. The elite possess innate abilities, and they are geniuses in terms of leadership due to their exceptional abilities. They are blessed with leadership traits which give them natural position and edge to dominate and control the state comfortably and couple with the facts of being homogenous [28].

Central proposition of elitists can be sum under:

- 1. Every society is stratified into elite and non-elite;
- 2. Elite are inherently homogeneous, unified and self-conscious;
- 3. The elite are largely self-perpetuating and are drawn from a very exclusive segment of society; and
- 4. They are always the decision makers and answerable to no one.

Central to this research in terms of the significance of the theory is that Nigeria society like any others is stratified. Only a few have been making Nigeria's foreign policy. Notably since returning to democracy in 1999, the president has embodied the country foreign policy making and implantations.

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### **Nigeria's Foreign Policy Objective**

There is numerous literature on Nigeria foreign policy. Her foreign policy objectives date back to 1960 when Nigeria acquired statehood. To this day the country foreign policy objectives are rooted in that of 1960. Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa identified the following as captured by [28] and [19]

- 1. The promotion of the national interest of the federation and of its citizens.
- 2. Friendship and cooperation with all nations of the world which recognize and respect Nigeria's sovereignty.
- 3. Non-alignment to any power blocs;
- Assistance to African states in search of solution to their problems and encouragement of the development of the common ties among all Africa in so far as it is compatible with Nigeria's national interest;
- 5. Respect for the sovereign equality of all nations as well as non-intervention in the internal affairs of other states; and
- 6. Unimpeded decolonization.

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

Nigeria got independence in the post United Nations-1945 and Westphalia treaty from Britain. Nigeria joined the families of United Nations members on 8 October 1960. The guiding principles of the United Nations have indirectly become Nigeria's foreign policy principles, which is the state's article of faith in international conduct.

[28] sum Nigeria foreign policy principles as:

- Sovereign equality of states irrespective of size, population, and military might, industrial capacity, and national endowment. Nigeria observed every state-statehood recognised by the United Nations.
- 2. Respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of all nations. Consonance with principle one, Nigeria respects and upholds the sovereignty of all states.
- 3. Non-interference in the internal affairs of other states. Nigeria since 1960 till date recognised the sole responsibility of the state's government, the management of her external and internal affairs. For example, Nigeria has the military might to invade Mali and restore order in 2021 but due to the principle of non-interference, it only persuaded via diplomacy for the restoration of law and order.
- Peaceful settlement of disputes. In 2002 Nigeria instead of a military campaign, Nigeria took Cameroon to the International Court of Justice.
- Multilateralism. Since 1<sup>st</sup> October 1960, Nigeria has joined many international organizations, signed many international treaties and ratified many.

# **Nigeria's Foreign Policy Orientation**

In the words of Holsti (1977) as cited in [28] foreign policy orientation refers to

State's general attitudes and commitments towards the external environment, its fundamental strategy for accomplishing its domestic and external objectives and aspiration and for coping with persisting threats. A nation's general strategy or orientation is seldom revealed in any one decision, but results from a series of cumulative decisions made in an effort to adjust objectives, values and interest to conditions and characteristics of the domestic and external environment.

Since 1960, Nigeria under various leaders have adopted many foreign policy orientations, among which are captured in table 1.

S/No	Orientation	Regime	Remarks
1	Non-alignment	All regime	Mostly in theory and practically pro-west while Abacha was pro-east
2	Eradication of colonialism and unity of Africa	Balewa, Gowon, Murtala/Obasanjo and Babangida	High level of commitment even at the detriment of Nigeria's state
3	Military alliance	Balewa and Buhari (civilian regime)	During Balewa it was not operational while still working to this day under President Buhari (multinational joint task force)
4	Isolation	Abacha	Negatively-partially employed

Source: researchers' compilation

### **Foreign Policy Instruments**

There are various techniques employed by the state and Nigeria's in particular in quest of her interest through her foreign policy thrust, internationally. The nature of the policy and leadership perception defined the kind of instruments to be used. For example, in order to gain prestige, Nigeria since the 1960s to date have been sending military forces under United Nations, African Union (formerly OAU) and ECOWAS to peacekeeping.

S/No	Instrument	Regime	Remarks
1	Diplomacy	Balewa, Babangida and Goodluck (economic diplomacy), Yar'adua (citizen diplomacy), Obasanjo and Buhari (shuttle diplomacy)	Its stood for military action, gave Nigeria good image and redeemed Nigeria's image
2	Technical Aids	Babangida	It gave Nigeria a new global role
3	Military personnel donation	Barely all administration	Effectively donated even at the detriment of Nigeria's state

**Table 2: Foreign Policy instruments** 

Sources: researchers' compilation

# Nigeria's Foreign Policy Objectives at a Glance

Nigeria since independence in 1960 has established and maintained defined foreign policy objectives. Administration emphasizes some or few of the long established objectives. Hence, the nomenclature of Nigeria's foreign policy named after her leader in an historical conjecture [20]. This nomenclature covers both the civilian i.e. democratically elected and military regime. Conception of national interest since the 1960s to this day has been a subject of concern. For example, how is Nigeria's sovereignty, territorial integrity viewed, projected and depended, what do Nigerians gain?

# **Tafawa Balewa Administration 1960-1966**

Irrevocably Balewa set the principle, orientation and general foreign policy thrust of Nigeria's state. While addressing the parliament in 1960, he published Nigeria's foreign policy, and [28] captured it to include: 1) The promotion of the national interest of the federation and of its citizens;

 Friendship and cooperation with all nations of the world which recognize and respect Nigeria's sovereignty;

3) Non-alignment to any power blocs;

4) Assistance to African states in search of solution to their problems and encouragement of the development of the common ties among all Africa in so far as it is compatible with Nigeria's national interest;

5) Respect for the sovereign equality of all nations as well as non-intervention in the internal affairs of other states; and

6) Unimpeded decolonization.

#### Aguiyi Ironsi Regime (January-July 1966)

This was the first military and short-lived one in Nigeria. Some scholars often overlook it in Nigeria foreign policy analysis. However, engaging and not engaging the international environment is a foreign policy. [28] observed that he was preoccupied with national conditions although he made efforts to review Nigeria foreign policy. "Ironsi ordered the closure of the regional offices overseas and also put an end to the practice whereby regions sent economic missions abroad" [5].

#### Nigeria's Foreign Policy Under General Yakubu Gowon (1966-1975)

In the words of [5], Gowon when championing the Nigeria's foreign policy was preoccupied with containment of civil war and they further reaffirmed the obstacles that midwife Nigeria civil war inter alia were north-south dichotomy and 1962/63 census result. They further assert that 'Nigeria civil War was central internal determinants of Nigeria's foreign policy.

During Nigeria's civil war there was no change in the Nigeria foreign policy under Gowon. It learned the lesson of no permanent friend nor enemy but interest and good neighbourliness. The domestic situation that dictated Nigeria's behaviour in global affairs. External issues were only pursued in order to secure territorial integrity by mobilizing local and international support and resources to fight and win the war of unification; national sovereignty and to maintain the country's territorial integrity. Nigeria had learned [28]

#### Murtala/Obasanjo Military Junta (1975-1979)

Africa was the centre-piece of Nigeria foreign policy [28] In Murtala's address at Addis Ababa, he fearlessly says Africa is of age now, no longer under the control of any power. Hence, it will not take order any more from any one no matter how powerful [6].

# Shehu Shagari Administration (1979-1983)

Shehu Shagari administration foreign policy was pro-west and also expelled about two million illegal foreigners [5], while to [28] Shehu Shagari administration's foreign policy was anchored on the constitution of Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1979 in section 19:

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 to the consolidation of universal peace and mutual respect and friendship among peoples and state, and shall combat racial discrimination in all its manifestations.

# Buhari/Idiagbon Military Junta (1983-1985)

Concentric circles foreign policy was introduced in Nigeria purposely to rescue the ill image of Nigeria under the policy launched and code-named War Against Indiscipline [6]; [5]; [28].

### Ibrahim Babangida Junta (1985-1993)

Babangida came to power via the barrel of a gun and declared himself 'military president' [5]. His administration general foreign policy thrust was economic diplomacy while the specific include:

- 1. To attract foreign investment and market;
- 2. To secure soft loan and grants;
- 3. To reschedule Nigeria's foreign debt;
- 4. To promote the country external trade relationship; and
- 5. To encourage Nigeria business groups abroad to invest in the country's economy [28].

Technical Aids Corps Scheme (TACS) was a new foreign policy initiative. It gave young Nigeria professionals opportunities of services for a duration of two years in Africans, Caribbean and Pacific states [28]; [6].

# Ernest Shonekan's Administration (August-November 1993)

Shonekan's administration is the most short-lived administration in Nigeria history to this day while Ironsi's military regime was short-lived military administration (6 months). He came to power following the aborted 12 June 1993 general election. The political agitation of post June 12 continued increasing and on 17 November 1993 Abacha came to power in a palace coup. Before Shonekan left office he released political detainees and set a timetable for Nigeria's troop's withdrawal from Liberia peacekeeping mission [28]; [5].

#### Sani Abacha Regime (1993-1998)

Without a published foreign policy thrust, scholars are at the mercy of the state behaviour (external and internal). Nigeria's foreign policy 1993-1998 was isolationist, radical in nature and pro- China, Turkey, India and Iran [5]. Nigeria was expelled from the Commonwealth of Nations [28]; [5].

#### Abdulsam Abubakar Military Interregnum (1998-1999)

Abdulsam's eleven-months was a transitional epoch from military to civilian regime. At home it was focused on transfer of power to the elected democratic administration. While at international level to redeem the image of Nigeria from the Abacha regime via diplomacy. He advocated for peaceful resolution in Sierra Leone and Guinea Bissau [5]; Ekeredirichukwu, n.d).

#### Chief Olusegun Obasanjo's Foreign Policy Thrust (1999-2007)

One of the Abdulsalami transitional programs to civilian rule is the 1999 constitution. Section 19 of the constitution provide the foreign policy objectives as:

- 1. Promotion and protection of the national interests;
- 2. Promotion of African integration and support for African unity;
- 3. Promotion of international cooperation for the consolidation of universal peace and mutual respect among all nations and elimination of discrimination in all its manifestation;
- 4. Respect for international law and treaty obligations as well as the seeking of settlement of international disputes by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration and adjudication; and
- 5. Promotion of a just world economic order.

#### President Musa Yar' Adua (2007-2010)

The administration recognized that Nigeria had been engaged in pursuing international diplomacy aimed at achieving sub-continental and international objectives, yet attention was not paid to the country's benefits. He therefore ordered the redefinition of the state's foreign policy thrust in the view of citizen diplomacy. The main thrust was that Nigeria should be among the first 20 world largest economies by 2020 [28]; [5].

#### **Goodluck Jonathan Administration (2010-2015)**

Late president Musa Yar'adua when he assumed office noted that Nigerians have not been benefiting from her foreign policy since independence and henceforth it should be Nigerians centre by meeting the domestic challenges. And the main thrust was that Nigeria should be among the first 20 world largest economies by 2020. Due to his ill health and sudden death, President Goodluck took over in May 2010. "The security situation in Nigeria has deteriorated since 2010" as poverty and unemployment rate keep increasing and influx and proliferation of small weapons. President Goodluck ordered the review of Nigeria foreign policy to reflect international development after 50 years of independence and made it 'citizen focused' and to attract greater support for the economy. It adopted economic diplomacy and charged Nigeria's diplomatic mission to attract foreign direct investment which resulted in several bilateral agreements renewed, re-negotiated and new ones made [28]. The author has outlined significant changes made, foreign policy's instrument and at the same time he has not further interrogated the extent to which such changes were implemented.

According to [5] President Goodluck first completed their joint-ticket with late President Yar'adua and then won the 2011 presidential election. They concurred with[28] that Nigeria foreign policy needed to be reviewed after 50 years due to changes that took place. His foreign policy was generally perceived as a continuation of the foreign policy thrust of his predecessor. Nonetheless, the administration's foreign policy endeavours were embedded in the attainment of the administration's 'Transformation Agenda'. Such was gear to addressing the following: macroeconomics framework and economic direction; job creation; public expenditure management; governance; justice and judicially; legislature; education; health sector; labour and productivity; power sector; information and communication technology; Niger Delta; transportation; foreign policy and economic diplomacy [5].

[24] affirmed reassessment of the country foreign policy and further argued that it was carried under the leadership of Chief Emeka Anyaoku and "at the end of this brainstorming session, Nigeria's foreign policy shifted from Africa as the centre of her foreign policy to an investment and export driven foreign policy". He continues with citizen diplomacy of his predecessor with foreign policy thrust believed to create jobs and overall growth of the economy. In the same way Jonathan called for preventive diplomacy as a way of conflict precaution, Nigerian missions were ensured to be well focused and adequately funded' and rationalise missions to appoint honorary consuls where required [24].

Nigeria's domestic environment was characterised by homelessness, unemployment, poverty and general abysmal living standards. The regime nominated 56 career diplomats to ambassadorial posts

out of 88 nominees. Its foreign policy was tied to foreign direct investments and aims as synergising foreign policy with national one for poverty reduction, creation of employment opportunities and economic diversification. It seeks to make the country investment friendly and the diplomatic mission assumes a new role [9]. The authors have taken into consideration the domestic state of the Nigeria state, action taken and foreign policy implementation method without international response.

#### Muhammadu Buhari Civilian Administration (2015-2021)

[5] first observed the personality of president Buhari military experience and non-tolerance on corruption practices qualified him to confront insurgency and terrorism in order to ensure security. Foreign policy thrust were 'Boko Haram, make domestic economy investment friendly, and seeking cosmos support against corruption'. "The administration just like its predecessors adopted economic diplomacy as an instrument of foreign policy". Immediately assuming power he was travelling and seeking neighbouring states and global cooperation which led to the establishment of the Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF).

[18] maintained the personality perception and shuttle diplomacy of [5] and further opinion "the All-Progressives Congress (APC), had to tackle burning issues such as Boko Haram insurgency in Northeast, the Niger Delta militancy, the secessionists' threats by Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), increasing unemployment rates, poverty and poor infrastructures among other problems confronting Nigeria". Buhari's civilian government placed the wiping out of insurgent groups and corruption practices as the main agenda of his administration [18].

[20] observed that Nigeria since independence in 1960 has established and maintained defined foreign policy objectives. Thus, there is a tradition in which each regime or administration focuses or emphasizes on some or few of the long established foreign policy objectives. Hence the nomenclature of Nigeria foreign policy named after her leader in an historical conjecture. Two factors during Jonathan's government gave Nigeria a negative image in the global community: negligent to address the Boko Haram insurgent group and high level of corruption. President Buhari administration foreign policy thrust were security, fight against corruption and the economic growth and shuttle diplomacy as means of achieving its goals. The administration made some policies that were contradictory in nature such as border closure and visa on arrival [20] The authors concluded that Nigeria's foreign policy 2015-2019 was concentric. The part of the innermost concentric circle that was given due attention and success recorded was not interrogated.

In summary, Nigeria international engagement was geared toward addressing insecurity, economy and fight against corruption as it foreign policy thrust.

# **DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS**

The course of the state's foreign policy within the period under review was champion by three distinct personalities, in person of late President Musa Yar-Adu'a, President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan and President Muhammadu Buhari [20]; [18]; [5];[28]. On Nigeria's domestic obstacles, responders' responses were in consonance with [20]; [28] and [24] that was characterised by homelessness, unemployment, poverty, insecurity and general abysmal living standards.

93% respondents argued that the Nigeria's foreign policy was in light of domestic issues include:

- 1. Economic;
- Insecurity (Niger Delta crisis, Boko Haram insurgency, banditry, kidnapping, influx of individuals kinetic);
- 3. And corruption.

And they further argued that these were conceived in foreign policy and pursued at different pace by the three personalities that championed the course of Nigeria's foreign policy 2009-2021. These are in turn with [20]; [18]; [28]; [9]; [5] analysis of Nigeria's foreign policy from 2009-2021. [20] Nigeria's foreign policy was concentric: from inmost circle to outer circle. National interests of a country include three vital elements of internal security, protection and preservation of the welfare of the country, and national reputation. And further noted that national security has to do with defence of the country's territorial integrity and political independence [11].

Diplomacy as a means of achieving foreign policy was used in the light of citizens, economic and shuttle diplomacy. The three personalities affirmed the elite theory tenet of recycling of elite. The slice changes in the perception, conception, formation of economic, security and corruption and its pursuit pace has a lot to do with the time and rate at which problem manifested and leadership style.

In security terms, Nigeria government within the period under review via foreign engagement have recorded some success. According to 93% of the interviewees, the insurgent has made Nigeria seek for assistance and cooperation from states such as her neighbours (Niger, Cameroon, Chad and Benin), South Africa, Israel, US, UK, France, India, Pakistan, Belarus, Canada, Russia and Ukraine. These assistance and cooperation includes loans, intelligence gathering, purchase of military hardware, training and retraining and military alliance (Multinational Joint Task Force). This is in turn with [20];

and [22] observed cooperation among the Multinational Joint Task Force in both completive and individual member operations. Order of pursuit is helping the member state to enter each country during join and individual operation.

These efforts have not ushered in security of life and properties of Nigerians. Interviewees stated that within the period, insecurity in Nigeria has been on increase in rate and dimensions. Scholars such as [23]; [17] and [21] observed that insecurity in Nigeria has been on increase.

According to the respondents, Nigeria's anti-corruption is always biased. This is in consonance with [18], finding on former President Buhari anti-corruption campaign. The bias was rendering it ineffective. Data obtained from [25] as captured in table 3, show that Nigeria corruption is moving from bad to worse. Only in the years: 2014, 2015 and 2016 Nigeria global ranking was stable. Thus not a positive progress.

Year	CPI score	Global rank
2010	2.4	134
2011	2.4	143
2012	27	139
2013	25	144
2014	27	136
2015	26	136
2016	28	136
2017	27	148
2018	27	144
2019	26	146
2020	25	149
2021	24	154

 Table 3: Nigeria in Corruption Perception Index (CPI)

Source: researcher compilation from [25] and [7]

Nigeria economic growth in the view of interviewees was not stable. Different programs were introduced to aid economic development in the country such as Youwin, National Social Investment Program and creation of job opportunities. Inflation has been the order of the day. [17] concluded that the national social investment package has not yielded an expected result. The National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) in 2020 released a report as captured in [27] based on data Nigeria Living Standards

Survey, conducted in 2018-2019 which showed that "Poverty and Inequality in Nigeria" has 40% of Nigerians living in poverty. While data from [13] show gross domestic product in US billions dollars as capture in table 4:

S/No	Year	GDP
1	2009	291.88
2	2010	361.46
3	2011	404.99
4	2012	455.50
5	2013	508.69
6	2014	546.68
7	2015	486.80
8	2016	404.65
9	2017	375.75
10	2018	397.19
11	2019	449.12
12	2020	432.298

Table 4: Nigeria's Gross domestic product

Source: Macro trends

# **CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

Foreign policy was employed as a tool to achieve the national goal from 2009-2021 in the light of codification. While as related to realization less was realised. Elitism in outlining the foreign policy thrust accounts for differences, the objective not necessarily the absence of the problem within an historical conjecture. Corrupt practices hinder the success of economic growth and development and inability to address the insecurity in the country. Hence, the following recommendations are made:

- 1. Inclusion of the private enterprise, trade union and general populace in outlining Nigeria's foreign policy.
- 2. Synergy should be ensured between the foreign policy and national policy.
- 3. Continuation of policy in order to ensure its realisation.

# REFERENCES

- [1] Adamu, A., Muda, M. & Ahmad, M. Z. (2016). Conceptualising national interest in Nigerian foreign policy: a focus on Abacha regime. Journal of education and social sciences, 5(2), pp. 346-351
- [2] Ajayi, I., Njoaguani, T., Olorunyomi, B. & Folarin, S. (2015). Nigeria's foreign policy and codification of national interest: a prescriptive analysis. Covenant university journal of politics and international affairs (CUJPIA), 3(2), pp. 68-81
- [3] Asika, N. (2008). Research methodology in the behavioural sciences. Longman Nigeria Plc
- [4] Asirvatham, E. & Misra, K.K. (2011). Political Theory. S. Chand
- [5] Duke, O. O., Agbaji, D. D., Charles, R. O., Akhabue, A. G. & Alaga, E. (2018). Nigerian foreign policy posture and global image: an assessment of Nigeria's foreign policy in The Goodluck Jonathan and Muhammadu Buhari's administrations (2011 – 2017). Journal of humanities and social science (IOSR-JHSS), 23(9), pp. 58-73
- [6] Ekenedirichukwu, E. G. (n.d). Fifty years of Nigeria's foreign policy: a critical review. www.researchgate.net
- [7] Erezi, D. (21 January, 2022). Nigeria ranks five places worse on 2021 Corruption Perceptions Index. https://guardian.ng/news/nigeria-ranks-five-places-worse-on-2021-corruptionperceptions-index/
- [8] Gauba, O. P. (2011). An Introduction to Political Theory. New Delhi: Vikrant Publishers
- [9] Jaji, R. & Ayotunde, A. Y. (2016). The contour and depth of Nigeria's foreign policy under Goodluck Jonathan. International affairs and global strategy, Vol 48, pp. 13-17
- [10] Johari, J.C. (2012). Contemporary Political Theory. New Delhi: Oxford
- [11] Kums, S. N. (2021). Introduction to international relations. Jos. Jos University press
- [12] Lukpata, V. I. (2013). National interest and national development in Nigeria. International journal of public administration and management research (IJPAMR), 2(1), pp. 63-68
- [13] Macro trends: https://www.macrotrends.net/countries/NGA/nigeria/economic-growth-rate
- [14] National Open University of Nigeria (2015). Nigeria foreign policy I. National Open University of Nigeria
- [15] Odo, C, U. (2012). An introductory text on international relations. Jos. Matkol Publishing house
- [16] Okoli, Al. C. & Abubakar, M. (2021). Crimelordis: understanding a new phenomenon in armed banditry in Nigeria. Journal of Asian and African studies, 1-14

- [17] Okoli, Al. C. & Eze, C. (2021). Baby factory versus the objectification of surrogacy cum child adoption in Nigeria. Human affairs 31, 212-222
- [18] Olowojolu, O. (2017). Mid-term report of President Muhammadu Buhari foreign policy. Journal of Arts and Contemporary Society, 9(2), pp. 1-12
- [19] Osondu-Oti, A. & Tolu, I. (2016). Nigeria's foreign policy: structure and decision making processes. Friedrich ebert stiftung, 5, pp. 69-86
- [20] Shehu, E. A. & Garba, A. K. (2020). Concentric circles theory and Nigeria's foreign policy 2015-2019. Asian journal of current research, 5(1), pp. 1-8
- [21] Sule, B. & Gombe, S. Y. (2020). Overview of Boko Haram's sources of finance, weapons and logistics. African journal on terrorism, 9(2), pp. 23-55
- [22] Reza, S. M. (n.d). The multinational joint task force as a means of resolving Boko Haram conflicts in Lake Chad region. A seminar paper. Department of political science and international studies, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria Nigeria
- [23] Rufa'i, M. A. (2021, September 9). 'I am a bandit': a decade of research in Zamfara state, Bandit's den. Usman Danfodiyo University Sokoto. 15th University seminar series
- [24] Thom-otuya, B. E. N. (2015). President Goodluck Jonathan's transformation agenda and Nigeria foreign policy. Social science review, 1(1), pp. 23-35
- [25] Transparency international: https://www.transparency.org/en/publications/
- [26] Ugwu, A. C. Okoli, Al. C. (2021). Alleviation or politicization of poverty in Africa? A critique of Nigeria's social investment programs under Buhari-led administration, 2015-2020. Pan African journal of governance and development, 2(2), pp. 206-231
- [27] World Bank (2020). Nigeria releases new report on poverty and inequality in the country. https://www.worldbank.org/en/programs/lsms/brief/nigeria-releases-new-reporton-povertyand-inequality-in-country
- [28] Yakubu, A. Y. (2014). Nigeria's foreign policy: a basic text. (Rev. ed.) Zaria. Ahmadu Bello university press Limited.