

# Citizen-Centric Diplomacy: The Challenges for Nigeria'S Defence and Security in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century

Barrister. Okeke, Vincent. Onyekwelu Sunday. Phd

Faculty of Social Sciences, Department of Political Science, Anambra State University, Igbariam, Anambra State  
okekevos@yahoo.com

## Abstract

Since Chief Ojo Maduekwe intimated the public about the new focus and strategy of Nigeria's foreign policy under his watch, many commentators have set to town to either demolish or support this vision. This strategic refocusing of foreign policy in Nigeria he called citizen diplomacy. In a nutshell, 'Citizen Diplomacy' requires the government of Nigeria to more consciously resort to the calculi of the basic needs, human rights, and socio-economic welfare of the citizen in conducting bilateral and multilateral engagements with other nations. This may sound fairly prosaic, but, its normative implications and transformative potentials are enormous. This paper titled "Citizen-Centric Diplomacy: The challenges for Nigeria's Defence and Security in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century" is divided into five chapters. The study is basically a historical research method relying mainly on secondary sources of data from internet sources, official documents and country websites as the method of data collection. We made use of qualitative-descriptive analysis as our method of data analyzing the secondary data. The major and the challenges of Nigeria's defense and security in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Thus we were able to make the following principal findings that, one, the citizen-centric diplomacy has not been able to enhance the achievement of Nigeria's defense and security interests. Two, that the citizenship diplomacy has not been able to ensure protection of Nigerians in Diaspora. On the basis of this, we recommend, one, that there is need to improve or transforming positively Nigerian's internal political environment. Two, that there is need to reform the ministry of Foreign Affairs itself necessary for improved implementation of the citizen diplomacy. Three and lastly, hat there is need to reform the entire government to evolve good governance necessary for transforming Nigeria.

## INTRODUCTION

The Nigeria's foreign policy has undergone certain processes and transformation since 1960 despite its conservative posture. From the outset Nigeria's foreign policy under Balewa's Administration (1960-1966) was predicated on certain principles or foreign policy; non-intervention in the internal affairs of other state; policy of good neighborliness; policy of non-alignment, policy of African decolonization; etc. Until recently, the policy of Africa, the centre-piece of Nigeria's foreign policy of pan-Africanism remains the most enduring principle of Nigeria foreign policy. The African centeredness of Nigeria's foreign policy revolve round; one, policy of African decolonization and eradication of pan-Africanism; three, African cooperation, friendship and unity; and finally, technical/financial assistance to African states (Aniche, 2009). However, the African centeredness of Nigeria's foreign policy has been vehemently criticized by scholars over the year. By 1985 under Babangida's Regime (1985-1993), Nigeria adopted a new foreign policy posture known as policy of economic diplomacy owing to the economic diplomacy then was aimed at achieving economic recovery through implementation of Breton Wood Institutions (BWIs) endorsed Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). The implementation of Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) was, however, haphazardly implemented leading to demise of economic diplomacy by 1990 as the two international finance institutions (IFIS) disengaged from Nigeria (Aniche, 2009). Subsequently, the policy of economic diplomacy staged a come back under Obasanjo's Civilian Administration (1999-2007) when the Word Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) reengaged Nigeria in 2001. This time around the policy of economic diplomacy was specifically targeted at obtaining debt relief attracting foreign direct investment (FDI) and soliciting for more loans through implementation of Breton Woods Institutions (BWIs) loan conditionality. Nigeria began to implement the World Bank and International Economics Monetary fund (IMF) endorsed National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategies (NEEDS). As Aniche (2009:436) puts it:

...economic diplomacy as a strategy of economic recovery or development bordering on how to manage relations with international finance institutions (IFIs) or donor agencies like World Bank Group (WBG), IMF, etc, in order to bring Nigeria to the path of economic development. It was this that Babangida's Regime (1985-1993) engaged in when it adopted/implemented Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) and Obasanjo's Administration (1999-2007) when it embarked on the task of debt relief and attracting foreign direct investment (FDI) Following the reform of Nigeria's foreign policy under Yar' Adua's Administration in 2007, Nigeria adopted citizenship diplomacy in order to correct anomalies of Nigeria's foreign policy since independence. Citizenship diplomacy was geared towards achieving Nigeria's foreign policy objectives and national interest that suffered under Afro-centric philosophy of Nigeria's foreign policy and economic diplomacy.

### **Statement of the problem**

A problem statement is a concise description of the issues that need to be addressed by a problem solving team and should be presented to them (or created by them) before they try to solve the problem. According to Obasi (1999) "Statement of the problem is the fundamental question that required an answer", and also Agu (1997) further stated that Statement of the problem "is the concise clear and persuasive information indicating what, the is, and why the study is considered significant". It is a worrying issue or task that needs to be properly examined and understood. The objectives of Nigeria's foreign policy according to 1999 Constitution of Federal Republic include (a) promotion and protection of the national interest; (b) promotion of African integration and support for African unity; (c) promotion of international cooperation for the consolidation of universal peace and mutual respect among all nations and elimination of discrimination in all its manifestation; (d) respect for international law and treaty obligations; and (e) promotion of a just world economic order. So far all the Nigeria's foreign policy posture since independence in 1960 Like Africa, the centre-piece of Nigeria's foreign policy, policy of good neighborliness, policy of economic diplomacy were not able to help Nigeria realize or achieve its foreign policy objectives. It is as a result of this that Nigeria undertook foreign policy reforms under Yar'Adua's Administration in 2001. The Yar'Adua's Administration, thus, introduced another dimension into Nigeria's foreign policy termed citizenship diplomacy. Citizenship diplomacy means the rebranding of Nigeria's foreign policy under which the External Affairs Ministry and Nigeria's missions abroad are totally committed to the welfare of Nigeria's at home and abroad with renewed vigor. It is also a policy under which the External Affairs Ministry is committed to the protection of rights of Nigerians even on situations where they reside. In other words, ensuring that they are treated according to the tenets of the rule of law in their countries of residence, or to ensure that they get what in the field of international law is generally referred to as the international minimum standard of treatment. It could also mean plea for clemency, or even demand the person should be trailed in Nigerian, when it is n doubt that the suspect will be given a fair hearing abroad (Aniche, 2009). Here, we assess the citizenship diplomacy of Nigeria's foreign policy of Yar'Adua's Administration and the extent it has been able to help Nigeria achieve its foreign policy objectives so far as articulated by the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

### **Research Questions**

Research Question is the question that leads the researcher to provide solution to the problem. According to Agu (2007) he define research question as the relevant question that guide the researcher to provide solution to the problem under investigation:

Following from the above, we pose the following questions:

1. Has the citizen-centric diplomacy been able to enhance the achievement of Nigeria's defense and security interest?
2. Has the citizenship diplomacy been able to ensure protection on Nigerians in Diaspora?

### **Objectives of the Study**

According to Obasi (1999) the purpose every research work is geared towards solving a specified problem. There are broad and specific objectives.

The broad objectives of study, therefore, are to assess the citizen-centric diplomacy and the challenges of Nigeria's defense and security in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. While, the specific objectives include the following:

1. To ascertain if the citizen-centric diplomacy enhances the achievement of Nigeria's defense and security interest.
2. To ascertain whether the citizenship diplomacy ensures protection of Nigerians in Diaspora.

### **Significance of the Study**

The significance of the study is the value or contribution which the research is going to make to existing knowledge. Ogamaka (2002), significance of study means the relevance or importance of the study to the research and other interest groups. Obasi (1999) writes that the significance of the study is the value or contribution which the research is going to make to existing stock of knowledge or literature in terms of theoretical justification or relevance or the solution the research is going to provide towards ameliorating a practical problem of concern. It is a matter of who is going to benefit from the findings or discovering of research. A research can be justified because it is (i) timely, topical or auspicious (ii) closing an existing gap in knowledge or the literature (iii) theoretically relevant (iv) practically relevant (v) in accordance with national priority (vi) in accordance with priorities set by research funding agency (vii) wider in scope in terms of issues covered or geographical arrears covered, and (viii) useful for confirming/accepting or reflecting existing findings. This study therefore has theoretical and practical justifications. Theoretically, the study focuses on citizenship

diplomacy and the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy under Yar'Adua's/Jonathan's Administration, and provides information and insight to scholars, advance the frontiers of knowledge and enrich the extant literature.

### **Research Hypotheses**

A hypothesis (plural *hypotheses*) is a proposed explanation for a phenomenon. For a hypothesis to be a scientific hypothesis, the scientific method requires that one can test it. According to Obasi (1999:30) "a hypotheses is simply a tentative statement which is open to confirmation or rejection when exposed or subjected to empirical verification. It is an unsubstantiated generalization whose validity remains to be tested". Hypotheses propose a tentative relationship among variables, that is independent and dependent variables.

1. That the citizen-centric diplomacy has been able to enhance the achievement of Nigeria's defense and security interests.
2. That the citizenship diplomacy has been able to ensure protection of Nigerians in Diaspora.

### **Methodology**

Methodology is the systematic, theoretical analysis of the methods applied to a field of study, or the theoretical analysis of the body of methods and principles associated with a branch of knowledge. It, typically, encompasses concepts such as paradigm, theoretical model, phases and quantitative or qualitative techniques (Irny, and Rose, 2005). A methodology does not set out to provide solutions but offers the theoretical underpinning for understanding which method, set of methods or so called "best practices" can be applied to a specific case. Cornwall (1994) writes that methodology shapes and informs the process of research by providing the researcher with a framework for selecting the means to find out about issue. They define what can be known, how that should be represented and by and for whom this is done. While, Cohen and Manion (1980) mentions that the aim of methodology is to describe and analyze the methods used in collecting, analyzing and presenting data as well as recognizing their limitations and resources, clarifying their presupposition and consequences, and finally, relating their potentialities in advancing the frontier of knowledge. Methodology, thus, enables the researcher to understand in the broadest possible terms, not the products of scientific inquiry but the process of it. For Isaac (1969) methodology refers to the basic principles and assumption of inquiry. It is a systematic study of the subject matter and provides step-by-step procedure adopted in organizing the research study.

### **The Research Design**

A research design is a systematic plan to study a scientific problem. The design of a study defines the study type (descriptive, correlational, semi-experimental, experimental, review, meta-analytic) and sub-type (e.g., descriptive-longitudinal case study), research question, hypotheses, independent and dependent variables, experimental design, and, if applicable, data collection methods and a statistical analysis plan. Legee & Francis (1974) writes the research design is a blue print that leads the researcher to plausible answers to research problems by enabling the researcher to determine how much of the observed variance of the dependent variable can be attributed to other substantive variables, that is, extrinsic effect, and the research design itself, that is, intrinsic effects. While for Anikpo (1986) "a research design is a plan or structure of any aspect of the research procedure". Similarly, according to Nwana (1981:54) research design is "a term used to describe a number of decisions which used to be taken regarding the collection of data before ever data are collected". Consequently, Obasi (1999) identifies two major types of research design, viz, survey research design and experimental design. Survey research design is in turn divided into descriptive research, ex post factor research and historical research, however, in this study, we adopt historical research design. According to Obasi (1999) historical research deals with the determination, evaluation and explanation of past event mainly for the purpose of gaining a better and clearer understanding of the present; and making a reliable prediction of the future. It involves critical and objective methods of inquiry with generalizations made from organized knowledge. Its distinguishing features or elements include the use of qualitative hypotheses, critical analytical method and interpretation of findings. Historical research is a qualitative research, because the variables used in proving the hypotheses are not amenable to measurement or quantification. The variables are not quantifiable or measurable.

### **Method of Data Collection**

The method of data gathering for this study is qualitative method, specifically, documentary method. In qualitative method, information is gathered in form of words, pictures, descriptive, narratives and numerals from both primary sources like unstructured observations, interview schedules, focus group discussions, etc, and secondary sources such as documentary studies of official documents, library materials, internet (websites, etc). For Iwueze (2009) qualitative method aims at understanding through examination, description and interpretation of documented evidence, data and Information from secondary sources. Nze (2009) enumerates three main qualitative methods of data collection, which are interactive interviewing, written descriptions and observation.

In documentary studies, therefore, information is gathered in form of words, pictures, descriptions, narratives and numerals from secondary sources such as documentary studies of official documents, library materials, internet (websites), etc. In other words, documentary method is a secondary source of data or an indirect method of collecting data (Ezeah, 2004). Thus, we rely on secondary sources of data like documentary evidence, written descriptions, data and information. By using secondary sources of data a researcher relies on already collected data from official sources or documents, rather than generate data himself / herself as in the case of primary sources (White & Clark, 1076) “documents are published or unpublished materials on activities of public and private organizations, and found mainly in libraries, archives and in such public and private organizations”.

### **Method of Data Analysis**

The major method of data analysis adopted in this study is qualitative-descriptive analysis of documentary study of official documents like country websites, internet sources, etc. Nwana (1981:177) defines document as “any written material (whether handwritten, typed or printed) that was already in existence which was produced for some other purposes than the benefit of the investigator”. Similarly, for Obasi (1999:170-173) “documents are published or unpublished materials on activities of public and private organizations and found mainly in libraries, archives and in such public and private

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

Literature review is an important activity which critically examines previous studies done in the area of current concern or that are closely related to it. As a critical activity, the literature review focuses on identifying contributions already made on the subject under investigation (Obasi,1999) A review offers an opportunity to identify gaps in existing literature through the identification of such limitations, new research problems worth investigating can be discovered as Tuckman (1972:288-289) rightly observes, the purpose is to expand upon the context and background of the study to help further define the problem and to provide an empirical basis for the subsequent development of hypotheses.

### **Review of the Related Literature**

In this study, we review related literature on the impact of citizenship diplomacy on the conduct of Nigeria’s foreign under Yar’ Adua’s/Jonathan’s Administration (2007-2011). Our focus is on the concepts of citizenship, diplomacy in Nigeria under Yar’ Adua’s/Jonathan’s Administration (2007-2011).

### **Concept of Citizenship, Diplomacy, National Interest and Foreign Policy**

The concept is new in our federal democracy. To Eke (2009:72-73) defines a citizen as “a national of a recognized sovereign state based on the provisions of a law. Thus, Dickson (2010) defines citizen diplomacy as a foreign policy thrust, under which the Federal Government of Nigeria seeks the assistance of Nigerians at home and in Diaspora in its effort to develop the country economically and politically. He further suggests that it is a part of the broad range of Nigeria’s foreign policy that promotes the aspects that look into the welfare of Nigeria’s citizens and seek to defend them wherever they are. Eke (2009:73) further defines “diplomacy as the creative and intuitive communication art employed for conveying and giving effect to the objective of foreign policy”. Swatow (1966:1) defines diplomacy as “the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between the governments of independent states”. For McDermott (1973:37) diplomacy is “a science which permits its practitioners to say nothing and shelter behind mysterious nods of the head...a science whose most successful exponent is he who can swim with his head above streams of events he pretends to conduct”. Morgenthau (1978:529) describes diplomacy as “the technique for accommodating conflicts of interest, and the promotion of national interest by peaceful means”.

According to him:

The tasks of diplomacy are four-fold. First, diplomacy must determine its objectives in the light of the power actually and potentially available for the pursuit of these objectives. Second, diplomacy must assess the objectives of other nations and the power actually and potentially available for the pursuit of these objectives. Third, diplomacy must determine to what extent these objectives are compatible with each other. Fourth, the diplomacy must employ the means suited to the pursuit of its objectives.

Plischke (1977) believes that diplomacy is the political process whereby states establish and nurture official interrelations, direct and indirect, to pursue their respective goals, interest and substantive and procedural policies in the international environment. In his view, Igwe (2002:119) conceives diplomacy as “the peaceful conduct of relations between mainly states, and the most important instrument of foreign policy”. It is simply an art or activity of managing relations between or among countries. International diplomacy is the art and practice of conducting negotiations between representatives of groups or states. Thus, Aniche (2009:429) defines international diplomacy as “connoting skills in handling international issues such as treaties, agreements, etc, in such a way as to prevent war and pursue peace and dialogue, and yet be able to achieve set out objectives with

the most minimal of resources and commitment". In this vein, Onuoha (2008:239) defines diplomacy as "a complex game of maneuver in which the goal is to other players to do what you want them to do". Consequently, Mingst (2004) notes that diplomacy entails states trying to influence the behavior of others by negotiating, by taking a specific action or refraining from such an action or by conducting public diplomacy. According to him:

A state might express to the target state, either publicly or privately, unhappiness with its policy choice; suggest that a better relationship would follow if the target states actions changed in a specific way; threaten that negative consequences will follow, if the target states continue to move in a specific direction, turn to an international body to seek multilateral legitimization for its behalf; give the target state what it wants (diplomatic recognition foreign aid) in return for desired actions; remove what target states wants (reduce foreign and withdraw diplomats, severe diplomatic tie) when it takes on undesirable actions.

National interest as Aniche (2009) puts it is an instrument of political action used to project, denounce and justify foreign policies of states. Ogunbambi (1986:162) defines national interests as it pertains to Nigeria:

The national interest of Nigeria which Ambassador, ideally should sell and prosecute include political stability, security, export promotion, access to external resources and technology, foreign aid, the protection of its citizens abroad, the cultural and moral expressions of Nigeria and a fair, effective and rigorous presentation of Nigeria's point of view on regional and global issues.

Robinson in Roseau (1969) corroborates the above viewpoint by maintaining that, the primary interest of all nations consists in the security of national territory and in safeguarding of the lives and values of the citizens. In the same vein, Hoist (1992) identifies the common objectives of states as falling into such categories as self preservation, security, well being, prestige, power and promotion and protection of ideology. For Childs (1984) foreign policy of a state is the substance of foreign relations whereas diplomacy is the process by which policy is carried out. He contends that policy is made by many different persons and agencies, but presumably on major matters in any state to many different kinds of controls. Then it is the purpose of diplomacy to provide the machinery and the personnel by which foreign policy is executed, one is substance the other is method. Mingst (2004) writes that diplomacy entails states trying to influence the behavior of others by negotiating, by taking a specific action, refraining from such an action, or by conducting public diplomacy. Holistic in Offiong and Idise (1999:85-112) define foreign policy as constituting "the sum total of these principles which have grown out of a nation's history, beliefs or ideologies, power potential and its cultural predilections". He further states that foreign policy of a nation determines its course of action toward other nations. Feld (1984) foreign policy is that segment of public policy of a state that either seeks to affect purely or affects inadvertently the relations with other states, intergovernmental organizations as well as the international environment. Similarly, Frankel (1963:1) defines foreign policy as that "segment of public policy of a state that is concerned with the relations to their states an international organization as well as with changes in the international environment. In the same vein, Okolie (2007) refers to foreign policy at protecting, maximizing and promoting the prescribed national interest of a given state.

Subsequently, Eke (2009) writes that foreign policy concerns all the government decisions that guide international relations. It is that aspect of public policy, which deals with principles of relations between foreign governments. Foreign policy is viewed as the interactions which based on domestic interests between governments, its agencies and non-governmental organizations across national borders.

### **Citizenship Diplomacy in Nigeria between 2007 and 2011**

Mbachu (2007) sees citizen diplomacy as an organized action that government takes to achieve the objectives that have been set by policy makers. The concept as currently being employed denotes reorientation, of Nigeria's foreign policy pursuit towards beneficial economic and political engagement so as to meet up with the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) for Africa. This arose from the realization that the progress, prosperity and survival of the nationals must be concern of every Nigerian at home and in the Diaspora. For Okocha and Nzechi (2007) citizen diplomacy is geared towards protecting the image and integrity of Nigeria and retaliates against countries who are hostile and who brand Nigeria as corrupt. Ogunsawo (2007) argues that citizens diplomacy could mean that from now on the Nigerian citizen abroad is the centre of Nigeria's national interest and therefore the country's entire diplomatic machinery should be geared towards protecting his/her interests such as economic welfare, etc. any diplomacy that does not take this into consideration will not be appropriate for our diplomatic missions abroad. Eze (2007), on his own, points out that citizen diplomacy articulates, what is or should be implicit as the major goal of our foreign policy, being people-oriented, it is a step in further stating that both national and international actions will be driven primarily by the need to promote the welfare and security of citizens. Consequently, Eke (2009) writes that citizen diplomacy is a renewed thrust of the Nigerian foreign policy. The new objectives in the citizen diplomacy is worthwhile and a pragmatic step to restore the image, prestige and glory of Nigeria and Nigerians anywhere in the world. It is the Yar'Adua Doctrine to ensure internal and external security for Nigerians with the theory that a stronger citizenry will better project the country's foreign policy initiatives globally. Eke (2009) further points out that citizen

diplomacy connotes a diplomatic practice in which the citizens of Nigeria are the primary focus or concern, that is, citizens centred such that the Nigerian citizens is the subject and object of Nigeria foreign policy; the first and last line of defence and a policy that strengthen Nigerian resolve to take her political and diplomatic weight in protection of her maltreated abroad or in protection of economic at home and abroad or in protection of economic assets at home and abroad. As Eke (2009:73) puts it:

It is, therefore, practiced at the level of citizen to citizen, a  
Form of reciprocal relationship; it is counter strike diplomacy;  
It is the tit-for-that diplomacy and it is interdependence  
Diplomacy because it hinges on the axiom that actions and  
Reactions are equal and opposite. It acts to wait for reciprocal  
Response or reacts in a pay back fashion. This is because it involves  
Essentially reciprocal relationships between Nigeria and other nations  
In terms of their citizens, lives, properties and business undertaking.

More so, Eke (2009) notes that what is most vital in explaining citizen diplomacy is the fact that every state's interest is dictated by the interests and core values of its citizens. This places the citizens at the epicenter of foreign policy considerations. Citizen diplomacy is therefore the tangential correlation of democratic values in Nigeria, because of the principle of all-inclusive participation in foreign policy formulation, execution, monitoring and evaluation. Ojo Maduekwe in Eke (2009) explained that citizen at home and abroad even when its citizens abroad have been accused of violating the laws of their host countries. Nigeria's citizen diplomacy is a foreign policy thrust that disposes the country to retaliate and reward foes and friends alike, it should cohere with nationalist and patriotic zeal of the leaders and led if it must be pragmatic instrument of image building, laundering and national security reinforcement. As an image boosting and security conscious policy, there is an additional challenge for Nigeria to evolve unified citizen's response to public issues in politics, economics, etc.

### **Theoretical framework**

This study is essentially predicated on realist paradigm of Hans Morgenthau. Realist paradigm is based on the principle of dominance and reciprocity in the international relations and foreign policy formulations and executions or foreign policy making and implementation. Realists believe that the actions of states can best be identified by identifying their national interests, and defining these national interests of states as national survival or national security interests or national self preservation. This interest is, therefore, an objective reality, in other words, it exists irrespective of whether or not it is perceived by decision makers or foreign policy makers Okeke and Aniche, (2011). The unit level of analysis, for realists therefore is the state. The nation-state is ipso facto regarded as the sole or principle actor in the international system. The analysis of pressures that emanate from the states domestic and external environment which shape the action of the government (Asobie, 2001, Ejiofor, 1981). In relations among states, realists assume that states are guarded by the principle of rationality. This means that states are consciously making calculations of the relationships between means and ends. States are not guarded primarily in their relations with one another by considerations of morality or law or by sensitivity to public opinion or conforming to resolutions made in international organizations following from the above is the assertion that there is no universal moral principle, so when statesmen make reference to such principles they are merely trying to legitimize their actions, which are motivated by other considerations, or more specifically their national (Morgenthau, 1971). Realists also assume that the international society is anarchical underscoring the Hobbesian philosophical foundation of the state of nature or the Machiavellian philosophical postulations. But more importantly realist paradigm focuses on "what is" rather than on "what ought to be" (Okeke and Aniche, 2010). Realist paradigm, therefore, posits that international politics is a self help system (Burchill and Link later) (2001).

## **CITIZEN-CENTRIC DIPLOMACY AND NIGERIA'S DEFENCE AND SECURITY INTERESTS**

### **Overview of Nigeria's Foreign Policy (1960-2010)**

Nigeria's foreign policy soon after independence in 1960 under Balewa's Administration (1960-1966) was anchored on; one, Africa, the centre-piece of Nigeria's foreign policy; two, the policy of pan-Africanism; three, the policy of decolonization and eradication of racial discrimination and segregation; four, the policy of good neighborliness; five, the policy of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries; and finally, the policy of non-alignment. However, the most enduring foreign policy thrust in Nigeria has been the Afro-centric philosophy of Nigeria's foreign policy in which Nigeria spent enormous resources in assisting other African countries like Namibia, Angola, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, etc, under colonial domination to gain independence. Under the African centeredness of Nigeria's foreign policy, also, Nigeria assisted in the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa as well as contributing in peacekeeping forces in crisis regions in Africa such as Chad, Niger, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Cote d'Ivoire, Sudan, Darfur, Somalia, Democratic Republic of Congo, etc (2009). Still under this policy thrust, Nigeria assisted other African countries financially and technically in their economy. Although, the foreign policy posture has

been seriously challenged or criticized by scholars and practitioners alike, it was not until recently that Nigeria started rescinding and reviewing its foreign policy in line with the foreign policy reform panel set up by Yar'Adua's Administration in 2007 soon after assuming office. The product of this policy reform is citizen diplomacy. Other foreign policy thrusts like policy of decolonization, eradication of racial discrimination and segregation, non-intervention and non-alignment naturally fizzled out with time. For example, policies of decolonization in Africa and racial discrimination and segregation naturally waned with the achievement of independence and sovereignty in all African territories and elimination of Apartheid policy in South Africa. Due to United Nations (UN) and African Union (AU) responsibility to intervene on humanitarian grounds in crisis regions, the policy of non-intervention has also falling into disuse. Policy of non-alignment became obsolete with the events of late 1980s and early 1990s leading to the end of cold war and the beginning of post-cold war era.

Under Gowon's Regime (1966-1975) the policy of African centeredness was utilized and geared towards regional integration in West Africa leading to the establishment of Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Whilst, under Murtala/Obasanjo Regime and Shagari Administration Nigeria countries and contributing in the National War of Liberation in some of African territories under colonial rule and anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa. During Babangida's Regime (1985-1993), a new lexicon found its way into Nigeria's foreign policy of economic diplomacy. The policy of economic diplomacy was aimed at achieving economic recovery and development through the collaboration of Breton Woods institutions (BWIs) under which conditionality's Nigeria undertook to implement Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) between 1986 and 1990. The policy of economic diplomacy is another enduring foreign policy thrust of Nigeria foreign policy. Thus, under Obasanjo's civilian Administration (1999-2007), Nigeria revisited the policy of economic diplomacy aimed at receiving debt relief and attracting foreign direct investment (FDI) through the instrumentalities of the Breton Woods institutions (BWIs). Nigeria agreed to implement the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) loan conditionality's as encapsulated in the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategies NEEDS (Aniche, 2009). Citizen diplomacy is a foreign policy thrust of Yar'Adua's Administration under which the Federal Government of Nigeria seeks the assistance of Nigerians at home and in Diaspora in its effort to develop the country economically and politically and politically. For being people-oriented, it is a part of the broad range of Nigeria's foreign policy that promotes the aspects that look into the welfare of Nigeria's citizens and seeks to defend them wherever they are (Dickson, 2010).

### **Internal Political Environment of Nigeria's Foreign Policy**

There is a link between internal or domestics and external or international politics known as linkage politics. The underlying idea of linkage politic is that the link between the internal political environment influences foreign policy making and implementation of wide reputation for astuteness in financial and other related crimes represent some of these problems. In addition to this is high mortality, where a majority of the population ostensibly living below poverty live in a country where the life expectancy is at zero point, and you get a country with a supposedly fragile base and foundation upon which such a policy can be founded. Adejumo (2007) further opines that for the citizen diplomacy to succeed, it must be backed up with the sincerity of purpose and approach to Nigeria's entire problem at home. After fifty years as a sovereign state, and with enormous resources both human and material Nigerians are still wallowing in abject poverty and desperation, while our leaders are looting the treasures all over the country and living unimaginable expensive lifestyle and depositing the loots in countries we are trying to force the citizen diplomacy on.

### **Citizen-centric Diplomacy and the Achievement of Nigeria's Defense and Security Interests**

At a conference in Lagos under the auspices of Nigeria Institute of International Affairs (NIIA), the then External Affairs Minister Chief Ojo Madukwe articulated the strategic revision of Nigerian foreign policy, he called citizen diplomacy. In a nutshell, citizen diplomacy requires the Nigerian Government to more consciously resort to the calculi of basic needs, human rights and socio-economic welfare of its citizen in the conduct of bilateral and multilateral agreements with other states (Tuesday, October 31, 2007). Ojo Maduekwe in Eke (2009) explains that citizen diplomacy entails the responsibility of Nigeria to defend the right of its citizens at home and abroad even when its citizens abroad have been accused of violating the laws of their host countries. For instance, Nigeria's plea for the commuting of the death sentence passed on two Nigerian nationals over their involvement in drugs trafficking in Indonesia to serve prison term, if not outright pardon. Eke (2009), however, observes that at the domestic level, Nigeria's human right posture and observance is in abyss and meets no standard of international law. The spate of abuse of human rights in Nigeria appears irreconcilable with the citizen diplomacy. Also, political thuggery, wanton destruction, and political and religious assassinations are rife in Nigeria many of which are unresolved. Other despicable acts promoted by bad leadership include destruction of lives and economic life wires of citizens which constitute some of the domestic liabilities that may constrain the effective realization of the goals of the new foreign policy thrust by Nigeria. For Abati (2009) citizen diplomacy seems not to yield have yielded thirsty by Nigeria have yielded the envisaged dividend due to some factors that are both domestic and international. In Nigeria, the government does not value the lives of its citizens. At home and in Diaspora, Nigerians are left to their own survival

tactics as many have learnt not to expect anything from their government. Back home the average Nigerian is treated badly by the authorities, for instance, the Nigerian police force vested with the responsibility of maintaining internal peace and security have in all ramifications become agents of terrorism engaging on extra political killings, illegal arrest and detention of innocent citizen, extortion of multifarious dimensions and brutality. For example, on Sunday January 3, 2009, a detachment of policemen on patrol in Ilorin the Kwara State capital shot a taxicab when the driver allegedly failed to stop for inspection and subsequent payment of amount ranging from N20 to N100 while the bullets hit on a nursing mother, Titilayo Olutunde, age 20 years and her eight months old baby late Annoluwa and they died. Another good example, is the refusal of Nigerian prisoners in several attempts to be transferred to Nigeria alleging very poor conditions of imprisonment and likely infringement of their fundamental rights even as prisoners in Nigeria. This is despite the fact that many countries have negotiated with Nigeria the possibilities of transferring Nigeria prisoners back home to Nigeria with a pledge to assist in the skills acquisition centers for them and financial packages for initial take off. Nigeria's role is determined by its interests which are strategic in nature. The interests are also linked to the fact that a sizable number of its citizens reside in other African states. Nigeria is protecting the lives of her nationals anywhere as part of her defense policy objectives since regional crises impact directly on Nigeria and on Nigerians (Adedeji, 2007). But there are still other problems because Nigeria is yet to develop the capacity and legitimacy to influence the sub-region and fail sometimes to convince the states to follow its lead on vital political and security and economic issues. Of course, it is not as simple as that because there are other forces, for example regional bargainers, such as Senegal, Cote d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso and others, and even extra-sub-regional interests competing for influence in West Africa. Ironically, in identifying Nigeria's security interest in Africa, the 2008 NIIA/MFA conference, in urged its Communiqué for a closer focus on the Gulf of Guinea, considered as a future key battle ground for extra-African interests. Even as the US, other NATO countries and the emerging Asian powers of China and India are scrambling for influence in the region, Nigeria should provide leadership for the development of a sustainable security framework for the area (Eze, Anigbo and Dokubo, 2010). Just as security threats from external struggle for political power, threats stemming from socio-economic and political contradictions increasingly occurred. The latter were more and more understood as challenges to human security. They are caused by the failure of governments in several critical areas, such as unemployment and poverty, inadequate infrastructure, abuse of human rights and widespread corruption (Alli, 2012). This group of security threats now manifest as ethno-religious conflicts, political succession crises, military coups, insurgencies by militants, terrorism, environmental decay resulting from mineral exploitation, cross-border organized crimes, kidnapping, human trafficking, drug trafficking, armed robbery, piracy and all manner of criminal activities. Increasingly, the causes of conflict and threats to security have become so numerous that there is no ECOWAS member state that is unaffected, possibly in varying degrees. Speaking at the 26<sup>th</sup> chairman of the Committee, Air Marshall Paul Dike, observed that threats political, social and economic factors (Saturday Sun, December 26, 2009). Nigeria, a sub-regional power, is itself security-challenged domestically, with a long list of ethno-religious, communal, socio-economic and political conflicts, grow insurgency and terrorism since the return of civil democratic rule in 1999. The responses to these emerging security challenges took almost a decade to manifest in concrete policies (Alli, 2012). Therefore, we conclude that the citizen centric diplomacy has not been able to enhance the achievement of Nigeria's defense and security interests.

## **CITIZENSHIP DIPLOMACY, FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES AND PROTECTION OF NIGERIANS IN DIASPORA**

### **Citizen Diplomacy and Nigeria's Foreign Policy Objectives**

Nigerian has announced a retaliatory foreign policy warning that any country that presents Nigeria as corrupt without showcasing the intellects of Nigerians would be declared a hostile nation. This is geared towards protecting the image and integrity of Nigerian, and retaliating against countries that are hostile and that brand Nigeria as corrupt (Adejumo, 2007; Okocha and Nzechi, 2007). The new development as it were serves as a pragmatic step in achieving the fundamental objectives principles of Nigerian foreign policy based on the national interest of which the defense of territorial integrity and guarantee of security of lives, property and economic wellbeing of Nigeria and its citizen cannot be toyed with. The era contrast sharply with the old practice when for example in 1994, out of 270 alleged illegal immigrants that were held at the Gross-Bouquet Libreville Gabon 23 Nigerian nationals died while other states made attempts to seek explanations for the sordid development in Gabon, Nigeria was not seen to have dared or made it national public knowledge. At least if not for any other purpose but to pretend or create confidence in the minds of Nigerians that Nigeria cares and is always on track on issues that border on security of its citizens anywhere in the world (Eke, 2009). In the views of Mahmud (2009) with the president lacking international exposure and most of the Ministers in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also lacking any broad experience in diplomacy, there is no wonder that in foreign policy this government has not made any appreciable impact. Nigeria has initiated nothing from diplomacy activities under this administration.

In recent times Nigerians have been subjected to great sufferings in South Africa. Apart from loss of properties and reinstating segregation and discrimination against Nigerians in the country more often than not, most Nigerians are sexually abused, maimed killed in many cases, in mysterious and extrajudicial circumstances, for



example, the death of Ikechukwu Obiakor in Lindela Detention Camp in Johannesburg while waiting for deportation and Ekele Mbakwe who was shot in his shop by South Africa police patrol team also in Johannesburg are among the over 84 Nigerians who have been killed in South Africa between January 2007 and April 2008 (Eke, 2009). In the Immediate sub-region of ECOWAS whose institution Nigeria is hosting and substantially funding, Nigerians are not even employed as drivers. Not only did Nigeria donate substantially towards ECOWAS set up costs including Secretariat, it regularly pays its annual contribution of approximately 32.5% of community's budget which was subsequently revised upwards to 40%. Yet in the ECOWAS Court of Justice only 7 percent of the staff are Nigerians and it is situated here in Abuja. At the African Union (AU) since 2003 when Obasanjo fielded two female candidates from Nigeria for the same post, making the country look unserious, no Nigerian has been elected in the AU Commission for the last six years. A country that has the largest population in Africa not represented in the African Union Commission (AUC) is appalling. Even Burkina Faso defeated Nigeria in 2007 (Dickson, 2010). Another case in point which undermined Nigerian citizen diplomacy is the unseriousness that led to the loss of the position of UN Assistant Secretary-General by a highly qualified Nigerian, Dr Ngozi Ugo. This is despite the fact that Dr Ngozi Ugo has a brighter chance of clinching the position having worked in various high positions in the United Nations (UN). Dr Ugo's presence in the UN system would have enhanced Nigeria's prospects for the UN permanent seat. Other more serious countries would have campaigned for their citizens like the highest ranking African in the UN system is a Tanzanian woman. Similarly, in the Commonwealth Secretariat, there is a large number of Indians working there. This is because the Nigerian government has not been helpful to Nigerians living in Nigeria not to talk of the ones abroad indeed Nigerian foreign missions have not been very helpful to Nigerians living abroad (Adejumo, 2007, Mahmud, 2009). Eke (2009) also condemns the manner the Nigerian government handled the gruesome murder of Nigerian citizen, Dennis Nwankwo in Malaysia, and as well the strangle to death on March 2, 2009 of Nigerian woman, Mrs. Evelyn Uche Amarin in Belgium by her Belgian husband, Mr. Wim Vinacker in addition, the spate of killing of Nigerians in foreign countries, for example, the case of murder of 16 Nigerian citizens in Equatorial Guinea while 128 others are languishing in prison on alleged plot to overthrow the government of Equatorial Guinea.

There is also mistreatment of Nigerians in Togo of all places given the assistance of Nigerian government to Togolese government under the doctrine of Africa, the centerpiece of Nigeria's foreign policy. Some Nigerian prisoners and detainees are currently under inhuman treatment in Togo some of whom are innocent but illegally detained under flimsy allegations. Thus, there is unwarranted arrest and detention where many have been clamped in prison simply because they refused to be extorted or protest vehemently. Apart from this, many of the Nigerian prisoners or detainees have opted for or applied to be extradited and tried in Nigeria where they are likely to receive fairer hearing and trial. Some were clamped into detention for minor immigration offences (This Day November 13, 2010). Citizen diplomacy as conceived by Chief Ojo Maduekwe, former Minister of Foreign Affairs is about the protection of Nigerians wherever they may find themselves. It is about making Nigerians live correctly in accordance with the rules and regulations of their host countries as well as creating a basis for responsible citizenship in Nigeria. In this regard, Nigerians' attitudinal disposition is to be guided by the policy of reciprocity or what the former Minister of Foreign Affairs called Diplomacy of Consequence. Nigeria owes it as a responsibility to ensure that the Nigerian prisoners in Togo are not unnecessarily mistreated. It is all about achieving the foreign policy objectives as contained in the Section 19 of the 1999 Constitution of Federal Republic of Nigeria. The Development is coming on the heels of the recent arrest of Nigerians at Indian airport for allegedly possessing 30 grams of cocaine. The policy was formulated to strike back at the negative view and treatment Nigerians experience in foreign countries. It is geared towards protecting the image and integrity of Nigeria and retaliating against countries who are hostile and who brand Nigeria as corrupt. The thrust of the new policy in other words, it is meant to benefit, Nigeria and Nigerians. The former foreign Affairs Minister, Chief Ojo Maduekwe bemoans the fact that global news on Nigeria was almost negative, but with the new policy; it is expected that with every negative story about Nigeria, stories of the positive impacts, Nigerians are doing these countries should also be reported (<http://www.abujainquireronline.com>, retrieved on 10/09/2011). Yet nothing has changed with the Nigerian embassies. For decades now, they have been nothing more than enclaves of ethnicity, favoritism and indolence. Most are citadels of corruption and psychosomatic abuse. Any wonder that majority of Nigerians dread going to their country embassies in several of these places. The embassies are not prepared or willing to assist Nigerians abroad (Ogbobode, 2008).

Therefore, we concur that the diplomacy of Yar'Adua, Jonathan Administration (2003-2011) has not been able to facilitate the achievement of Nigeria's foreign public objective.

### **Citizenship Diplomacy and Protection of Nigeria in Diaspora**

Then Nigeria citizen diplomacy has some basic elements which according to Eke (2009:76-77) include: one, Nigeria, and Nigerians should constitute the focus of the country's foreign policy while insurance and maintaining its avowed commitments to the commitment of African Tow, Nigeria foreign policy must accomplish the country's development aspirations and objective to the improvement of the citizen and indeed re-enforce and contribute significantly to the realization of the president Musa Yar'Adua enunciated Seven-point Against for the attainment of vision 2020. Three, Nigerians missions abroad must actively engage the Nigeria community and the Nigeria Diaspora render quality

consular and other service to them as a Matter of rights of the citizens and duties and obligations of the missions of the Nigeria government. Four, foreign policy making and implementation must be democratized to involve Nigerians from all walks of life and not left for a narrow circle of experts and practitioners alone. Five, Nigeria will be guided by the principle of reciprocity in its international relations with the rest of the countries of the world. Six, Nigeria will resist being profiled and showcase as a sanctuary of ardent criminals, simply on the basis of the despicable conduct of a few of its nationals, and the propaganda machinery mounted against by a few states too envious about Nigeria's global acclaim and those who have sworn to take no due recognition of the country's tremendous contributions to world civilization, socio-economic and scientific development as well as sub-regional, continental and global peace and security initiatives.

Seven, every Nigerian foreign policy endeavor must meet litmus test of determining the extent to which it protects and advances what is best for Nigeria and what will best benefit the Nigerian citizens. Eight, Nigerian citizen anywhere in the world would be protected and defended irrespective of charges of violation of laws of the host countries on such accused Nigerian nationals. Nine and last, Nigerians are to serve as the country's ambassador by exhibiting the most exemplary conduct, good behavior, and etiquette at all times not just at home but most especially when they travel or live abroad (Eke, 2009). The trust of the policy would be citizen centered foreign policy. This is because the global news on Nigeria is usually negative, but with the new policy it is expected that with every negative story about Nigerians, stories of the positive impact Nigerians are doing in this countries should also be reported for every Nigerian drug pusher, arrested or fraudster arrested, or a suspect arrested in other countries of the world, they have a responsibility to showcase those Nigerian surgeons that are making a difference in their communities of this countries; and failure to tell the good story about Nigeria from now on, would be considered as a hostile act. This is the diplomacy of consequence or reciprocity, Nigeria will be nice only to those who are nice to Nigeria. Those who brand Nigeria as a county of scammers, as a country where nothing works which undermines its national unity and scares away investors and ultimately creates unemployment and poverty. (<http://www.abujainquireronline.com>, retrieved on 20/09/2011).

Citizen diplomacy demands that from the standpoint of a renewed national search for image of pride which is correspondingly move around the new foreign policy thrust, Nigerians should reciprocate, develop and impose on themselves self-worth in the conduct of their affairs in and outside the shores of the country if they must be defended and respected. For Nigerians abroad to attract consular supports when they are affected in such a manner that their arrest and detention in foreign country can be monitored in order that get fair treatment (Eke, 2009). Eke (2009:79) observes that the citizen diplomacy of the Yar'Adua's Administration is beginning to yield or bear fruits. This is demonstrated in, one the unanimous election of Baba K. Kaigama, an ambassador and permanent secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the United Nations Advisory Committee for a three-year term on March 26, 2008. Two, Nigeria's election on December 11, 2008 as the first African member of International Institute for the Unification of Private Law (UNIDROIT) whose responsibility is to study needs and method for modernism and coordinating private international law as it affects members. The election of Nigerian to head the 47-member United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC). Dickson (2010) on his own, has noted that there are too many instances of neglect to be mentioned but it is all the same sad stories. Nigerian diplomats have never taken care of either our image or the Nigerians living abroad. Nigeria has no moral, social or economic foundation or basis to seek reciprocity in its dealings with other states. Thus, citizen diplomacy is yet to be properly articulated as its impacts is yet to be felt and the result is yet to manifest.

Hence, Nigerian's image abroad is that of country that is congenially corrupt where the basic necessities of life are denied the citizens; where basic infrastructure does not work, where leaders steal rather than serve, a country where even the highest officers of the law can be assassinated with impunity (Eke, 2009). Not surprisingly, Nigeria's corruption perception index (CPI) of the Transparency International (TI) has not improved significantly. For example, Nigeria ranking in 2006 a year before citizen diplomacy was formulated and implemented was 142 and with a score of 2.2 within the score range of 0.0 to 10.0. Nigeria's ranking moved down to 147<sup>th</sup> while its core remains in 2.2 in 2007 the year citizen diplomacy was introduced. In 2008, Nigeria's ranking moved up to 121<sup>st</sup> while the score increases to 2.7 and in 2009, Nigeria's ranking moved down again to 130<sup>th</sup> with a decrease in score to 2.4. the rankings and scores of 2011 are not yet available as 2011 is still on going but there is no likely going to be significant improvement either in ranking or scores. This means that so far Nigeria's ranking in corruption perception index (CPI) is insignificant as it moved from 142<sup>nd</sup> in 2006 to 134<sup>th</sup> in 2010 while the scores improved insignificantly from 2.2 in 2006 to 2.4 in 2010. For details of these rankings scores see Table 4.1 below.

**Table 4.1: Nigeria's CPI Ranking and Scores from 2006 to 2011**

Year	Ranking	Scores
2006	142 <sup>nd</sup>	2.2
2007	147 <sup>th</sup>	2.2
2008	121 <sup>st</sup>	2.7
2009	130 <sup>th</sup>	2.5
2010	134 <sup>th</sup>	2.4

**Sources:** Adapted from Transparency International

Abati (2009) writes that Nigerian government does not value the lives of its citizens or national. One Nigerian was killed in Spain, another one was brutalized in Arasia, routinely Nigerian nationals are beheaded I Saudi Arabia. At home and in Diaspora, Nigerians are left to their own survival tactics; many have learnt not to expect anything from their government. Regretting the plight of Nigerians abroad Abati (2009) stated further that “Those who live abroad often complain about the cruelty of Nigerian embassy officials: to renew their passports, to get Nigerian passport or visas for their dual-nationality children could be a nightmare”. Adejumo (2007) in Dickson (2010) said that there are too many instances of neglect to be mentioned, but it is all the same sad stories. Nigerian diplomats have never taken care of either our image or the Nigerians living abroad. Mahmud (2009) in Dickson (2010) further observed that, the concept-citizen diplomacy is yet to be properly articulated, its impact is yet to be felt and the result is yet to manifest. Therefore, we conclude that the citizenship diplomacy has not been able to ensure protection of Nigerians in Diaspora.

## SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### The Summary

In the course of this study, we raised a number of questions like (i) Has the citizen-centric diplomacy been able to enhance the achievement of Nigeria's defense and security interests? (ii) Has the citizenship diplomacy been able to ensure protection of Nigerians in Diaspora? We as well stated the objectives of the study in line with the research question, and proceeded to formulate four hypotheses. We tried to justify this study base on timing, contributions and relevance. We, thereafter, reviewed relevant, related and existing literature on concepts of diplomacy, foreign policy and national interest as well as citizenship diplomacy of Yar'Adua's/Jonathan's Administration. We continued by examining, one, the nexus between the citizen-centric diplomacy has not been able to enhance the achievement of Nigeria's defense and security interest; and two, the interface between the policy of citizen diplomacy and protection of Nigerians in Diaspora.

### Conclusions

We therefore arrive at the following conclusions;

1. That the citizen-centric diplomacy has not been able to enhance the achievement of Nigeria's defense and security interests.
2. That the citizen diplomacy has not been able to ensure protection of Nigerians in Diaspora.

### Recommendations

On the basis of the above conclusions or main findings we make the following recommendations:

1. That there is need to improve or transforming positively Nigerian's internal political environment.
2. That there is need to reform the Ministry of Foreign Affairs itself necessary for improved implementation of the citizen diplomacy.
3. That there is need to reform the entire government to evolve good governance necessary for transforming Nigeria.

## REFERENCES

### A. Books

- Aniche, E.T. (2009) A modern Introduction to Political Science, Onitsha: Device Publishers.
- Anikpo, M. (1986) Foundations of social science research: A Methodological Guide for students, Enugu: ABIC Publishers.
- Burchill, s. and linklater, A. (2001) theories of international relations, New York: Palgrave.
- Childs, J.R. (1948) American Foreign Service, New York: Holt.
- Cohen, L. and Manion, L. (1980) Research Method in Education, Lodon: Croom Helm.
- Cornwal, A. et al. (1994) “Acknowledging Process: Methodological Challenges for Agricultural Research and Extension” in I. scones & J. Thompson (eds) Beyond Farmer First, London: Intermediate Technology Publications.
- Ejiofor, L.U. (1981) Africa in World Politics, Onitsha: African Educational Publishers.

- Eke, O.A. (2009) *Globalization Challenges and Nigerian Foreign Policy*, Abakiliki: Willy Rose & Appleseed Publishing Coy.
- Ezeah, P.C. (2004) *Foundations of Social Science Research Methods*, Enugu: John Jacob's Classic Publishers Ltd.
- Eze, O.C. (2007) "Citizen Diplomacy, Legal Perspective, National/International Dimension" A Paper Presented at the One Day Seminar on Citizens Diplomacy Organized by the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA), Lagos on November 29.
- Frankel, J. (1963) *The Making of Foreign Policy*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Goldstein, J.S. and Pevehouse, J.C. (2008) *International Relations*, New York: Pearson Longman.
- Igwe, O. (2002) *Politics and Globe Dictionary*, Enugu: Jamoe Enterprise.
- Isaak, A. (1969) *Scope and Methods of Political Science*, Homewood: Dorsey Press.
- Iwueze, S.I. (2009) "Quantitative Research Design: Method and Analysis" in P.C. Nnabude et al (eds) *Readings in Research Methodology and Grant writing*, Awka: Rex Charles & Patrick Ltd.
- Kerlinger, F.N. (1977) *Foundations of Behavioral Research*, New York: Holt Rintehart and Winston.
- Lundberg, G.A. (1951) *Social Research: A Stud in Methods of Gathering Data*, New York: Basic Book Publishers.
- Leege, D. and Francis, W. (1974) *Political research: Design, Measurement and Analysis*, New York: Basic Book Publishers.
- McDermott, G. (1973) *The Diplomacy and its Apparatus*, London: Plume Press.
- Mingst, K. (2004) *Essentials of International Relations*, New York: Norton & Company.
- Morgenthau, H. (1971) *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Nwana, O.C. (1981) *Introductions to Education Research*, Ibadan: University.
- Nze, F.C. (2009) "Perspectives on Qualitative Research Methods" in P.C. Nnabude, et al (eds) *Readings in Research Methodology and Grant Writing*, Awka: Rex Charles & Patrick Ltd.
- Obasi, I.N. (1999) *Research Methodology*, in Political Science Enugu: Academic Publishing Company.
- Offordile, C. (2002) *Foundation of Educational Behavior Research: Issues and Methodology*, Enugu: Academic Publishing Company.
- Pliske, E. (1961) *Conduct of American Diplomacy*, Priceton: D. Van Nostrand Company Inc.
- Sartow, E. (1966) *A Guide to Diplomatic Practice*, London: Longman, Green and Co. Ltd.
- Tuckman, B.W. (1972) *Conducting Educational Research*, New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Inc.
- White, I. and Clark, R. (1976) *Political Analysis: Technique and Practice*, Pacific Groove: Cole Publishing Company.

### **B. Journals**

- Ajayi, K. (2005) "Nigeria's Foreign Policy and Image Crisis" *AJPAM*, 26 (2): 50-63.
- Dickson, M. (2010) "Citizen Diplomacy in President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua's Nigeria, 2007-2009: An Assessment" *International Journal of Politics and Good Governance*, 1(1): 1-13.
- Offiong, O.J. and Idise, G.E. (1999) "The Determinants of African Foreign Relations, Continuities, Change and Constraints: A Theoretical Overview", *Nigeria Journal of International Affairs* 25 (20).
- Okeke, V.O.S. and Aniche, E.T. (2010) "Politics, Immunity and International Law: some Case Illustration" *Nigeria Journal of Emancipation* 1 (4): 100-122.
- Okolie, A. (2007) "Nigeria States and Conduct of External relations with South Africa: An Appraisal", *Journal of International Politics and Development Studies*, 3 (1).
- Okpokpo, E. (2000) "The Challenges Facing Nigeria's Foreign Policy in Next Millennium" *African Studies Quarterly* 3 (3).

### **C. Conference and Seminar Papers**

- Agbu, O. (2007) "Nigeria Foreign Policy under President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua: Challenges and Prospect" A paper Presented at the One Day Seminar on Citizens Diplomacy organized by the Nigerians Institute of International Affairs (NIIA), Lagos on November 29.
- Asobie, H.A. (2001) "Redefining Nigeria's National Interest in a Globalizing World: emerging challenges and Policy Options" A Paper Presented at the International Conference on Nigeria and World after Forty Years: International Affairs (NIIA), Lagos on December 6.
- Asobie, H.A. (2002) "Nigeria: Economic Diplomacy and National Interest: An Analysis of Politics of the Nigeria's External Economic Relations" in J. Ogwu and O. Adebayo (eds) *The Economic Diplomacy of the Nigerian State*, Lagos: Frankad publishers.
- Eze, O.C. (2007) "Citizen Diplomacy, Legal Perspective, National/International Dimension" A Paper Presented at the One-Day Seminar on Citizen Diplomacy Organized by the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, Lagos on November 29.

Mbachu, O. (2007) "Citizen Diplomacy: The Challenges for Nigerian Defense and Security in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century" A Paper Presented at a Seminar on Citizen Diplomacy Organized by the Nigeria Institute of International Affairs, Lagos on November 29.

Nwozor, A. (2008) "Nigeria's External Economic Relations and Afro-centric Foreign Policy: An Evaluation" A PhD Seminar Paper Presented to the Department of Political Science, University of Nigeria Nsukka.

Ogunsanwo, A. (2007) "Citizens Diplomacy: Challenges for Nigeria's Foreign policy", A Paper Presented at the One Day Seminar on Citizens Diplomacy Organized by the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA), Lagos on November 29.

Okafor, C.E. (2008) "Economic Diplomacy: A Critical Appraisal of Nigeria-China Relations (1999-2007)" A PhD Seminar Paper Presented to the Department of Political Science, University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

Irny, S.I. and Rose, A.A. (2005) "Designing a Strategic Information Systems Planning Methodology for Malaysian Institutes of Higher Learning (isp- ipta), Issues in Information System, Volume VI, No. 1, 2005.

#### **D. Newspapers and official Documents**

Abati, R. (2009) "North Korea and Clinton's Citizen Diplomacy" Nigerian Village Square, August.

This Day October 31, 2007/

This Day November 13, 2010, retrieved from <http://www.thisdaylive.com> on 20/09/2011.

The 199 Constitution of Federal Republic of Nigeria.

#### **E. Internet Sources**

Abidde, S.O. (2008) "Ojo Maduekwe and Nigerian Foreign policy: A Dissenting Opinion" retrieved from <http://www.nigeriansinamerica.com> on 05/09/2011.

Adejumo, A. (2007) "Re-Ojo Maduekwe's Citizenship Diplomacy" retrieved from <http://www.nigeriansinamerica.com/articles>, on 21/10/2011. <http://www.abujainquireronline.com>, retrieved on 20/09/2011.

Idumange, J. (2011) "Jonathan's Transformational Diplomacy", retrieved from <http://www.thisdaylive.com> on 15/08/2011/

Manmood, A. (2009) "What Manner of Citizen Diplomacy", retrieved from <http://www.leadershipnigeria.com/index.php>, on 20/09/2011.

Manmood, A. (2009) "What Manner of Citizen Diplomacy", retrieved from <http://www.leadershipnigeria.com/index.php>, on 20/09/2011.

Okocha, C. and Nzechi, O. (2007) "Nigeria to Adopt Citizenship Diplomacy" retrieved from <http://qw/wwwj.nigeriandrums.blogspot.com> on 21/10/2011.

\The Abuja Inquirers, retrieved from <http://www.thisdaylive.com> on 20/09/2011.

This Day, October 31, 2007 retrieved from <http://www.thisdaylive.com> on 20/09/2011.

This Day, November 13, 2010 retrieved from <http://www.thisdaylive.com> on 20/09/2011.

Transparency International retrieved from <http://www.transparency.org>. on 15/10/2011.

The IISTE is a pioneer in the Open-Access hosting service and academic event management. The aim of the firm is Accelerating Global Knowledge Sharing.

More information about the firm can be found on the homepage:

<http://www.iiste.org>

## CALL FOR JOURNAL PAPERS

There are more than 30 peer-reviewed academic journals hosted under the hosting platform.

**Prospective authors of journals can find the submission instruction on the following page:** <http://www.iiste.org/journals/> All the journals articles are available online to the readers all over the world without financial, legal, or technical barriers other than those inseparable from gaining access to the internet itself. Paper version of the journals is also available upon request of readers and authors.

## MORE RESOURCES

Book publication information: <http://www.iiste.org/book/>

Academic conference: <http://www.iiste.org/conference/upcoming-conferences-call-for-paper/>

## IISTE Knowledge Sharing Partners

EBSCO, Index Copernicus, Ulrich's Periodicals Directory, JournalTOCS, PKP Open Archives Harvester, Bielefeld Academic Search Engine, Elektronische Zeitschriftenbibliothek EZB, Open J-Gate, OCLC WorldCat, Universe Digital Library, NewJour, Google Scholar

