

**CITIZEN DIPLOMACY IN NIGERIA'S IMAGE
BUILDING, 1999-2015**

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**CITIZEN DIPLOMACY IN NIGERIA'S IMAGE
BUILDING, 1999-2015**

by

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACTUs	Anti-Corruption and Transparency Units
ADB	African Development Bank ADF African Development Fund
AFRICOM	Africa Command
AFRODAD	African Forum and Network on Debt and Development
AIDS/HIV	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome/Human Immune Deficiency Virus
AU	African Union
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CAP	Capacity Acquisition Programme
CBN	Central Bank of Nigeria
CHOGM	Commonwealth's Heads of Government Meeting
CNN	Cable Network News
CoD	Community of Democracies
CR	Card Reader
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
DFI	Development Financial inflow
DMO	Debt Management Office
DPO	Due Process Office
DR	Direct Reduction
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ECOMOG	ECOWAS Monitoring Group
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EDF	European Development Fund
EFA	Education for All
EFCC	Economic and Financial Crime Commission
EPZ	Export Promotion Zone
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FGN	Federal Government of Nigeria
G 77	Group of Seventy-Seven

G8	Group of Eight Industrialized Countries
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GSM	Global System of Mobile
HDI	Human Development Index
HDR	Human Development Report
HIPC	Heavily Indebted Poor Countries
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICJ	International Court of Justice
ICPC	Independent Corrupt Practice Commission
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IDA	International Development Association
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INEC	Independent National Electoral Commission
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
IPA	International Peace Academy
IPCR	Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution
JTF	Joint Task Force
LEEDS	Local Government Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender
MAP	Mandatory Attachment Programme
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MEND	Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MNC	Multinational Corporations
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
MTN	Mobile Telephone Network
NAFDAC	National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control

NAM	Non- Aligned Movement
NAPEP	National Poverty Eradication Programme
NBS	National Bureau of Statistics
NCR	Neoclassical Realism
NDDC	Niger Delta Development Commission
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NEEDS	National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NEPD	Nigeria Enterprise Promotion Decree
NIDO	Nigerian in Diaspora Organisation
NIIA	Nigeria Institute of International of Affairs
NILS	Nigerian Institute of Legislative Studies
NIPC	Nigerian Investment Promotion Commission
NIPSS	Nigerian Institute for Policy and Strategies Studies
NNGO	National Non-Governmental Organization
NNPC	Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation
NNVS	Nigerian National Volunteer Service
NPF	Nigeria Police Force
NPT	Non-Proliferation Treaty (of Nuclear Weapon)
NSDA	Nigerian Steel Development Agency
OAU/AU	Organization of African Unity/African Union
ODA	Overseas Development Assistance
OMPADEC	Oil Mineral Producing Areas Development Fund Committee
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
ORO	Operation Restore Order
PPC	Public Procurement Commission
PRGF	Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PVC	Permanent Voters' Card

R&D	Research and Development
RNP	Rebrand Nigeria Project
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SEEDS	State Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy
UN	United Nations
UNCTAD	United Nation's Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP	United Nation Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
YES	Youth Empowerment Scheme

LIST OF FOREIGN WORDS

<i>Ab initio</i>	Initially; at the outset
<i>Ad hoc</i>	Up to this time; with respect to this
<i>Ad libitum</i>	Omissible; non-preparation
<i>Camaraderie</i>	Friendship
<i>Crème-de-la-crème</i>	Who is who
<i>Cul-de-sac</i>	Impasse; blind ally
<i>Vis-à-vis</i>	Regarding; in connection,
<i>Desideratum</i>	Necessity; wanted
<i>Détente</i>	Easing of tension, especially in a relationship
<i>Entente</i>	Understanding
<i>Manu military</i>	In a military fashion
<i>Note Verbale</i>	A type of diplomatic letter with standard opening format
<i>Pacta sunt servanda</i>	Sanctity of agreements
<i>Per se</i>	Intrinsically; by itself/himself/herself
<i>Raison d'être</i>	Reason for
<i>Rendez-vous</i>	Appointment; engagement
<i>Sine qua non</i>	Indispensable; very essential
<i>Status quo</i>	As it is now; current situation
<i>Tete-a-tete</i>	One on one
<i>Vie Internationale</i>	International Life

DIPLOMASI RAKYAT DALAM PEMBINAAN IMEJ NIGERIA, 1999-2015

ABSTRAK

Kajian ini bertitik tolak daripada dua isu berkaitan dengan projek Nigeria. Pertama, ia terhasil dari hasrat untuk menilai impak hubungan domestik dan luar Nigeria tentang masalah yang dihadapi oleh rakyatnya di tanah air sendiri dan juga di luar Negara; dan yang keduanya, tentang keperluan untuk menilai keberkesanan usaha-usaha kerajaan dalam menangani krisis berkaitan imej. Nigeria, yang mempunyai penduduk berkulit hitam paling ramai di dunia, yang menjadi satu pengukur bagi Afrika dan sebagai pusat bagi wilayah Afrika Barat, ia ‘pemain’ utama dalam hal-ehwal politik Afrika dan strategik terhadap masyarakat global sebagai sebuah negara yang kaya dengan hasil minyak. Kekayaan yang dimiliki daripada hasil galian dan sumber manusia telah memberi tanggapan bahawa Nigeria telah ditentukan peranannya di Afrika dan menjangkau sempadannya. Namun begitu, para pemerhati dan ilmuwan berkaitan hal kenegaraan Nigeria sedar tentang usaha pembentukan imej yang masih perlahan dan layanan buruk terhadap rakyat Nigeria di dalam dan juga di luar negara. Oleh yang demikian, kajian pertanyaan Kesan Diplomasi warga Nigeria reputasi pengurusan. Dalam mencari jawapan bagi persoalan ini, kajian ini telah menentukan perkaitan antara faktor-faktor dalaman dan luaran terhadap pembentukan polisi yang boleh membantu dalam krisis imej tersebut serta pengenalan bagi Diplomasi Rakyat dalam projek Nigeria ini. Secara khususnya, objektif kajian ini adalah: pertama, untuk mengenal pasti rasional di sebalik pendekatan berorientasikan rakyat dalam mendorong polisi luar Nigeria; kedua, untuk menganalisis kes-kes layanan buruk terhadap rakyat Nigeria; dan ketiga, untuk menilai strategi negara dalam membentuk imej yang positif. Oleh itu, kajian ini menilai impak Diplomasi Rakyat terhadap pembentukan imej Nigeria di antara tahun 1999 dan 2015. Apabila suasana antarabangsa memberi reaksi terhadap tindakan yang diambil dari polisi nasional, telah wujud persamaan di antara suasana amalan domestik dengan tanggapan dari luar. Oleh itu, konsep Kuasa Lembut dan fahaman ‘Neoclassical Realism’ telah membentuk teori berkaitan kefahaman tentang kajian ini.

Menggunakan kaedah primer (pemerhatian, temu duga dan kumpulan khusus) dan sekunder (penilaian dokumen dan bahan rujukan) dalam pengumpulan data, yang dibentuk secara kualitatif dan dianalisis melalui pendekatan deskriptif berlatar belakangkan sejarah dan induktif, kajian ini mendapati bahawa imej yang negatif telah terhasil berkaitan kefahaman teoretikal dalam kesedaran diplomatik terhadap Diplomasi Rakyat. Dalam proses menganalisis pelbagai tahap, wujud ruang kosong yang jelas dalam hubungan dalaman dan luaran berkaitan dengan pembentukan imej Nigeria disebabkan oleh jurang yang besar di antara kepimpinan yang tidak berfokus dan ketiadaan rasa patriotik para pengikut yang diburukkan lagi dengan gejala rasuah. Maka, kajian ini mencadangkan demi untuk mewujudkan tanggapan positif terhadap imej Nigeria, negara itu paling utamanya perlu memperbetulkan keutamaan domestiknya tanpa membezakan antara perkaitan dan hubungan antara politik dalaman dan antarabangsa. Manakala dari segi penelitian teori pula, perlu ada kesepakatan dan penggabungan yang terbentuk dari sebarang perbincangan dan tindakan. Kajian ini mencadangkan kombinasi strategi sosio-ekonomi, politik-keselamatan dan diplomatik dalam meningkatkan tahap kebajikan rakyat Nigeria di samping memperbaiki imej negara tersebut.

CITIZEN DIPLOMACY IN NIGERIA'S IMAGE BUILDING, 1999-2015

ABSTRACT

This research is developed from two related concerns about Nigeria project. First, the desire to evaluate the impact of Nigeria's domestic and external engagements on the plights of its citizens both at home and abroad, and second is the need to assess the effectiveness of government initiatives towards image crisis. Nigeria, with highest concentration of black people on earth, a bellwether for Africa and a hub for West Africa region, is a major player in Africa political affairs and strategic to the global society as an oil-rich country. The rich endowment of mineral and human resources contributes to the notion of Nigeria's manifest destiny in Africa and beyond. However, avid observers and scholars of Nigerian polity will notice a tottering image building and maltreatments of Nigerians both at home and abroad. Consequently, the study queries the impact of Citizen Diplomacy in Nigeria's reputation management. To respond to this query, the study establishes the synergy between the internal and external factors in policymaking that conduce to image crisis and the introduction of Citizen Diplomacy in Nigeria project. Specifically, the objectives of the study are: one, to identify the rationale for citizen-oriented approach in Nigeria's foreign policy thrust; two, to analyse the cases of ill-treatments on Nigerians; and three, to examine state's strategies towards positive image. Indeed, the study evaluates the impact of Citizen Diplomacy on Nigeria's Image Building between 1999 and 2015. Since international environment reacts to actions emanating from national policies, domestic conditioning is coterminous with external perception. Therefore, the concept of Soft Power and Neoclassical Realism provide the theoretical insight into the study. Applying primary (interviews and focus groups) and secondary (literature and document reviews) methods of data collection, which were qualitatively designed and analysed through historically descripto-explanatory and inductive approach, the study discovers growth in the tree of negative image and indifferent theoretical insight in diplomatic realization of Nigeria's Citizen Diplomacy. At the levels of analysis,

there is lack of well-articulated internal and external dynamics in Nigeria's image building because of wide gap between unfocused leadership and unpatriotic followership cum endemic corruption. Thus, the study shows that the ripple effect of the country's inability to address its internal exigencies coupled with ineffective utilization of Citizen/Public Diplomacy in power capabilities is the bad external image and highhandedness in the treatment meted to Nigerians by most foreign countries. Hence, the study posits that most image building initiatives in Nigeria are only addressing the symptoms of image crisis but not the root causes. For Nigeria's image to be positively perceived, the country must first get its domestic priorities right without separating the interface and dynamics between domestic and international politics, through the practice of public diplomacy. And on the theoretical rigor, the pattern of outcomes of state's interactions and its behaviours should be reconciled and incorporated. The study recommends multidimensional combinations of socioeconomic, politico-security and diplomatic strategies towards enhancing the welfare of Nigeria's citizenry as well as improving on the country's image climate.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The perception of a country's global standing is an indispensable item in the diplomatic market. It is based on this perception, like every other country in the world, that the quest for a good image of Nigeria that is reflective on its citizens both at home and abroad has been the enduring components of the Nigeria project and the country's policymaking on a range of issues like; the country's enablement to evaluate how specific political, socio-cultural, security, ethno-religious, economic and regional dynamics interconnect; and how to provide insights in support of successful policy engagement. Hence, this research is developed from two related concerns about Nigeria project. First, the impact of the country's policies on the welfare of Nigerian citizens. And second, the veracity and effectiveness of the government's programmes on reputation management.

1.1 Background to the Study

That every sovereign state exists and operates within a much larger community of states, and should relate with the other sovereign members of that community is globally incontestable and one of long history (Alons, 2007; Branch, 2011; Buzan & Lawson, 2015; Mahoney, 2000). Thus, foreign policy is the primary instrument for the conduct and management of that relationship, and its goal is to defend and uphold the national interest and the overall welfares of the citizenry, which is reducible to politico-security and socioeconomic evaluations. Similarly, how a country is perceived is an indispensable item in the diplomatic market which defines its international standing.

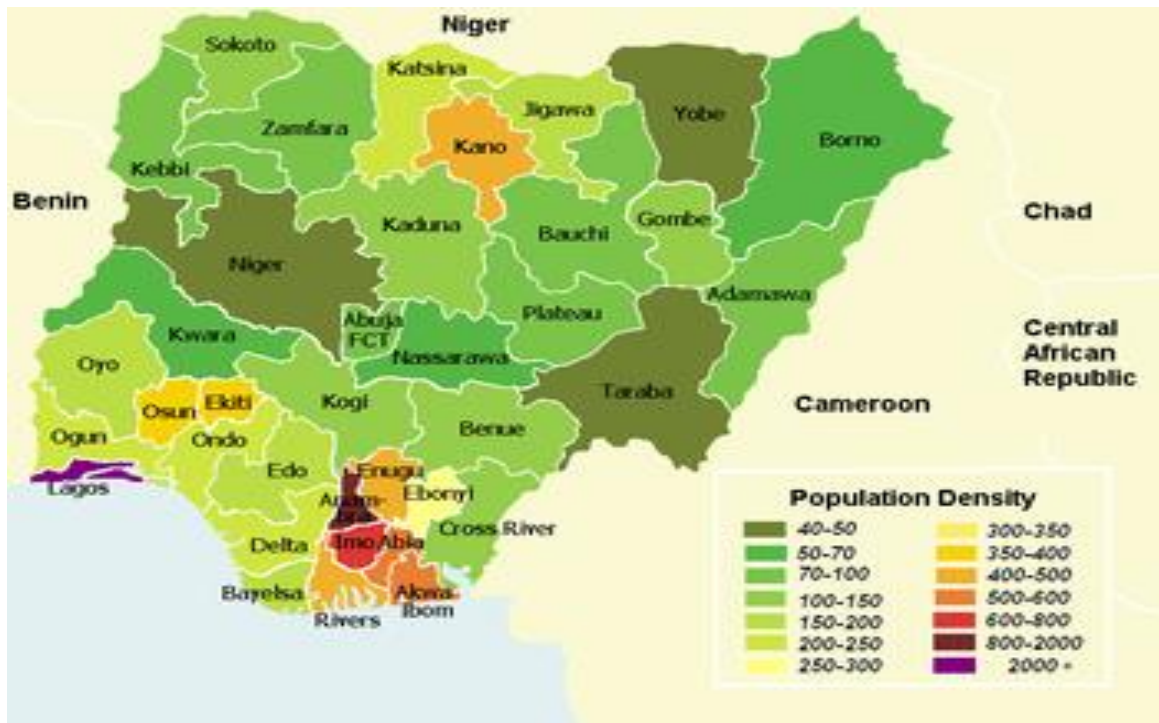
Simon Anholt, cited in Akinterinwa (2010), opines that "the country's reputation can be measured on the direct impact it has on every aspect of its socio-economic and politico-cultural progress" (p.199). In view of this, the study is developed out of the convergence of two related concerns about Nigeria's image climate. The first, which is the core and a more normative interest to the study, is a desire to evaluate the impact of Nigeria's domestic and external engagements on the plights of its citizens both at home and abroad. And the second is the need to assess the effectiveness of government initiatives towards image crisis.

This focus is important because Nigeria is strategic to the global society as an oil-rich country, a bellwether for Africa and a hub for West Africa region. Indeed, Nigeria is a major player in Africa's diplomatic market and an important actor on the global stage. The country

is not only Africa's most populous with second largest economy (after South Africa) but also has the highest concentration of black people on earth, with diverse natural and material endowments. Nigeria covers a whole area of about 923,768 square kilometers making it the 32nd largest country of the world by area (CIA World Factbook, 2016) and 7th most populous countries in the world with an estimated population rate of 182.2 million (UN Estimate, 2015).

On the coastal boundary, Nigeria is surrounded with the Gulf of Guinea in the south and shared land boundary with Cameroon in the east and Benin in the west. In the North are Chad (North East) and Niger (North West) (see Figure 1). It shares maritime borders with Equatorial Guinea, Ghana, and São Tomé and Príncipe. The latitudinal and longitudinal extent of the country is 4° to 14°N and 2° to 15°E respectively (Nigeria's Profile, 2015). Abuja is Nigeria's Federal Capital Territory (FCT) with over 1 million people. Lagos is its largest city with over 21 million people. Other prominent cities in Nigeria include: Kano (2.5 - 3 million), Ibadan (3.2 million), Port Harcourt (1.4 million), Benin City (1.2 million), Kaduna (800,000), among others (Nigeria's Profile, 2015).

Figure 1: Physical Map of Nigeria Showing the 36 States and FCT, Populations Density and Neighbouring Countries



Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Population_densit_map_of_Nigerian_states_-_English.png

The most prominent feature of Nigeria is the main rivers, Niger (where it got its name from), and Benue, the main tributary of the Niger (Falola & Heaton, 2008). The country climatic

condition is equatorial, arid and tropic in the south, north and center respectively, with the topography of valleys, plateaus, and hilly areas. Nigeria got its independence from Britain on 1st October, 1960 and became the 99th member of the United Nations on the 7th October, 1960.

It practices a Presidential system of Government, where the Head of State is also the Head of Government, and multiparty system with bicameral and unicameral legislatures at the Federal and State levels respectively. The Federal legislative arm is also known as the National Assembly with two Chambers: The Senate made up of 109 Senators (3 senators from each state representing the 3 Senatorial districts and 1 senator from Abuja) led by the Senate President, and the House of Representatives made of 360 Representatives (seats shared among states per population size) headed by the Speaker. At the state levels, there exist Houses of Assembly as the law-making body which is headed by Speakers (Chapter V, Part I&II of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria).

Culturally, Nigeria is a heterogeneous society with a great cultural diversity. The country is a multiethnic nation without any official figure for the number of ethnic groups in the country (Falola & Heaton, 2008; Nbeta & Greene, 2013). While it is difficult to identify the exact number of ethnic groups in Nigeria, more than 250 ethnic groups have been estimated. There are three major ethnic groups (Hausa/Fulani, Yoruba, and Igbo) with no one enjoys absolute numeric majority. Economically, Nigeria has the strongest economies in Africa. This has been the foundation on which Nigeria's African policy is built since independence. In 2014, the country became the largest economy of Africa going by the 2013 economic rebasing in the continent. The presence of the oil reserves in the country has contributed in its growing economy.

Nigeria depends heavily on crude oil for revenue generation (95% exports) of the country while cocoa and rubber are other exports commodities with insignificant rate. Other natural resources of the country apart from petroleum which are yet untapped are: natural gas, tin, columbite, iron ore, coal, limestone, niobium, lead and zinc. Nigeria's arable land is put at 38.97%. Agriculturally, Nigeria is endowed with arable land. The country's agricultural products that are not exported include: cocoa, cassava (tapioca), yams, corn, millet, rice, sorghum, peanuts, rubber, cotton, palm oil, timber, cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, fish. Nigeria has a labour force of over 53.83 million, with over 23.9% unemployment rate (Nigeria's Government Profile, 2013).

Nevertheless, the ability of a nation to diplomatically interact with other nations reflects its acceptance internationally. This comprises a couple of evaluations, which includes among other things; external image, national development, and its level of civility in terms of behavioural conformity with legal principles codified in both domestic and international laws (Akinterinwa, 2013c). This means that the conduct and management of any country's foreign policy must recognize that international politics is a struggle for power, influence and prestige in a competitive international arena where the golden rule of state behaviour has always been self-help (Sampson, 2016). Therefore, it was no mistake seeing Nigeria returned to democracy in May 29, 1999 as a much-needed opportunity for the country to repair its relations with the international community which had been dented by a prolonged military rule (Alli, 2010a).

More so, a state's external actions and behaviour, which may otherwise refer to as foreign policy, is absolutely a vital tool for image building, national development and the ability to project power in the international arena (Aleyomi & Abu Bakar, 2015; Bulley, 2014; Cristian, 2014; Cantir & Kaarbo, 2012; Oppermann & Spencer, 2013). Foreign policy is the basis for external relations of any given social formation through the internal dynamics of that formation for achieving certain interest that is national in configuration and all-encompassing the populace (Ujara & Ibietan, 2014). These dynamics at the domestic level determine a state's foreign policy objectives.

Nigeria's strategic position in Africa, its teeming population, and rich endowment of mineral resources including oil have all contributed to the notion of its manifest destiny in Africa and beyond (Bach, 2007). Since independence, Nigeria's objectives in its relations with the rest of the international community reflect the determinations of promoting and defending Africa's interests while at the same time ensuring the defense of its national interest (Adejumobi, 2016; Eze, 2010). These foreign policy objectives as highlighted by Sir Tafawa Balewa, the only Prime Minister of Nigeria, are predicated on the national interest and enlightened self-interest of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and its citizens (Alao, 2011; Amao & Okeke-Uzodike, 2015).

To briefly situate its role in the international environment, Nigeria had championed, led, and participated in so many interventions of some countries that were majorly under the ravages of conflicts, colonialism, racial discrimination (apartheid) and in fact, internecine Wars that happened in various countries at West African sub-region, Africa, and other parts of the world by sending its troops for peacekeeping missions in various war-zones (Uduma &

Nwosu, 2015). Nigeria led the challenge against apartheid in South Africa and helped many countries like Congo, Namibia and Zimbabwe to achieve independence. Nigeria also engaged in the contributions of financial and material largesse to the wellbeing of fellow African as well as Caribbean countries. This impactful role and orientation earned Nigeria significant image of a responsible and well-respected member among the global comity of nations.

The predominant components of Nigeria's external relations have received ample attention in the literature and upon which actions and rhetoric have been deployed. Indeed, there is a general agreement among Nigerian scholars that the global perception of Nigeria, immediately after independence was that of a nation that had been destined to lead Africa and the entire black race, hence, necessitates Afrocentric posture (Akinyemi 2009; Akinterinwa, 2007; 2013c; Alao, 2011; Alli, 2011; Amao & Okeke-Uzodike, 2015; Bach, 2007; Effiong, 2012; Folarin, 2013; Fawole, 2003; Saliu 2006; 2014 etcetera). However, while not discarding Nigeria's diplomatic gains from Africa countries and other nation-states, the quest of this policy thrust has oscillated between activism and docility.

Hence, the investiture of civil rule (Fourth Republic) in May 29, 1999 signaled a break with decades of military dictatorship and the general usurpation of the political will of the Nigerian people, with a renewed hope and succor to repair the country's image and regain its lost glory with the global community (Alli, 2010a). Before the advent of the Fourth Republic, the image of the country was poisoned and relegated. Nigeria was in a state of disrepair which nosedive to a pariah status of the country. A once upon a time globally celebrated country plummeted into a state of ridicule not only in the international arena but also among its fellow Africa (Okeke & Aniche, 2014).

The Fourth Republic opened the hitherto constricted political space, which allows the welfare of Nigerian citizens and their rights to be guaranteed in line with the international instruments. The country in May 1999 'theoretically' assumed a changing role in its political leadership for Africa and foreign policy commitment to fend for the welfare and security of Nigeria and Nigerians partly because colonialism and apartheid was out of reach with reality in Africa. Nigeria government presents a policy thrust, anchors on responsibility and sensitivity to benefit the Nigerian citizenry irrespective of where they reside (Maduekwe, 2009; Nwogbaga, 2013; Pine, 2011). More so, the policy thrust was adopted to improve Nigeria's image and salvage its 'pariah status' that was bequeathed by several years of military rule (Okeke & Aniche, 2014; Ujara & Ibieta, 2014).

Indeed, this policy initiative that is citizen-oriented in approach, in objective and in outcome was officially espoused by Chief Ojo Maduekwe, the then Foreign Affairs Minister, as Citizen Diplomacy in 2007, which is a technique for the conduct and management of diplomacy using the citizens. However, it is not only contentious if Nigeria is yet to appreciate and begin to take advantage of it, but also disconcerting to assert if there has been sensitive consideration and responsiveness in the pursuit of people-oriented policy, to both domestic and external issues, as it affects Nigerians since 1999. Consequently, this ‘new’ diplomacy is analyzed in terms of its contents, coverage, and impact.

Flowing from this background, it is essential to examine the impact of Citizen Diplomacy on Nigeria’s image building between 1999 and 2015 in making Nigeria’s external relations more constructive in design and beneficial in outcomes. Specifically, the study examines how Nigeria’s external relations have responded to domestic issues within its external context and vice versa, and considers the degree to which it has impacted Nigerian citizens and the country’s image between 1999 and 2015. It considers how policymakers articulate and distribute the country’s power capabilities (especially the people/Nigerian citizens) to advance its image officially and unofficially within West Africa sub-region, Africa, and the entire world, when politico-security and socioeconomic landscapes of the country are assessed. It is in the light of these considerations that this research proceeds to clarify the statement of problem.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The perception of Nigeria and Nigerians (both at home and abroad) by other independent countries across the globe constitutes, perhaps, the major and most critical domestic and external challenges to Nigeria’s political stability, economic development and social cohesion (security). Many scholarly studies on Nigeria’s polity have tended to pay attention on virtually every conceivable topic on Nigeria project that could culminate into good perception of Nigeria image climate. Some of these scholars include: Adebajo (2015); Adebajo and Mustapha (2008); Adeyemo (2002); Akinboye (2013); Akiba (1998); Akindele (1990); Akinterinwa (2007; 2010; 2013c); Aluko (1981); Ashiru (2013); Bach (2007; 2013); Best (2007); Coker (2003); Edomah, Foulds and Jones (2017); Effiong (2012); Eze (2010); Fayomi, Chidozie and Ajayi (2015); Folarin (2010); Idang (1973); Lafenwa (2016); Mazrui (2006); Nwanolue and Iwuoha (2012); and Obi (2008; 2013)

Others include: Ogunnubi and Isike (2015); Ota and Ecoma (2015); Otobo and Obaze (2015); Pine (2011); Saliu (2007; 2014); Sampson (2014; 2016) Shaw and Fasehun (1980);

Ubi and Akinkuotu (2014); Usman (2016); and non-African scholars like Ruddock (2009); Bach (2007; 2013); Basedau, Vullers and Korner (2013); Blanchard (2015); Bokpin (2017); Campbell (2013); Graham (2017); Page and Barabas (2000); Schmit (2014); Tuman and Shirali (2017); and among other international groups, have tended to pay attention on virtually every conceivable topic on Nigeria project that could culminate into good perception of Nigeria image climate.

But an important area which, however, seems not well covered in these scholarly works is the Nigeria's behaviour towards the use of relative power distributions (via the people or Nigerian public) that birthed citizen-oriented policy initiative, and inadequacy in addressing the lack of policy direction and focus in Nigeria's foreign policy objectives as they affect Nigeria's image building. In Nigeria, the ability to harness and judiciously distribute "power" between the domestic and international environments through people-to-people/citizen-to-citizen diplomatic means, towards articulating national interests and in enhancing positive image perceptions has not been clearly analyzed partly because of the ambiguity in Nigeria's foreign policy objectives which are semantically interpreted by different leaders and foreign policy actors, or maybe because of the vagueness in interpreting Nigeria's national interest (Adebajo & Mustapha, 2008; Akinterinwa, 2007; Anyaele, 2005; Bankole, 2015; Amao & Okeke-Uzodike, 2015; Eze, 2010).

Adebajo and Mustapha (2008) opine that the multi-ethnic nature of Nigeria with over 250 ethnic groups, its in-built cleavages, and dysfunctional inequalities, among other major issues, have made the definition of national interest problematic. The common agreement among scholars depicts that Nigeria's policy on external relations is in a state of fluctuations. Thus, there is insufficient rationale for power distributions vis-à-vis how the external forces influence internal reactions and vice-versa, thereby create a gap in Nigeria's image building in the body of literature. The study underscores this gap by identifying the reasons for internationalization of Nigeria's external relations, then, provides ways of domesticating the foreign policy of Nigeria for achieving its objectives and the overall national interest of the country, which is reducible to safeguarding Nigerians' welfare from mistreatments, and enhancing good image.

Notwithstanding the sizeable volume of scholarly contributions and literature in circulation on Nigeria project towards positive image, there is a dearth in scholars' attention on the impact of the country's policies making on Nigeria and Nigerian citizens both at home and abroad vis-à-vis the country's external image. Nigeria's external image has been of major

concern to the people and government of Nigeria. Without making any attempt of reviewing existing literature, Nigeria's external relations have focused on Nigeria immediate neighbours; dynamic of Nigeria foreign policy towards external exigencies; Nigeria external policy and image crisis; the structure of the external influence in African conflict (Adebajo, 2008; Akujuru & Ruddock, 2016; Bach, 2013; Brown, 2016).

More so, intellectual write-ups have focused on Nigeria's demographic and economic gigantism as rationale for pronouncing Africa as a centerpiece of Nigeria's foreign policy (Bach, 2007; Mailafia, 2010; Ojo & Aghedo, 2013; Usman, 2016). These scholars and many other commentators have paid attention to query the gains and the losses of this enterprise on domestic affairs. Yet, Nigeria has not only become progressively demobilized in the sight of its citizenry, but also has caught napping in regional power and global affairs. Thus, creates a gap of power game resulting to Nigeria's external image and continental leadership doldrums. This work aims at addressing this gap by examining the internal and external factors that inhibit Nigeria's image and continental power by providing ways of consolidating the country's initiatives on good image making at the continent and beyond.

Similarly, the question that arises from the conceptual issues is how has Nigerian government responded to the treatments of Nigerians both at home and abroad in improving on image climate? Several approaches and perspectives have been advanced to analyze Nigeria's policy behaviour. Extant literature focuses on pattern of issues and behaviours of Nigeria's interactions that affect Africa like continental integration and the pursuit of good neighbourliness (Adebajo & Landsberg, 2000; Mailafia, 2010; Nwanolue & Iwuoha, 2012); war against apartheid, decolonization and independence in Africa (Agbu, et al 2013; Bukarambe, 2000; James, 1999); security crises, peace-keeping operations and conflict resolution (Amao & Okeke-Uzodike, 2015; Bamidele, 2015; Obi, 2008; Sampson, 2016); development challenges (Bach, 2007); environmental degradation, political stability as well as economic development (Wogu, Sholarin & Chidozie 2015; Uddoh, 2016; Usman, 2016).

Whichever of these perspectives or combinations of them are employed depends on the writers' interest and focus. However, avid readers will notice an obvious palpable limitation to Nigeria's leadership and followership role especially in Citizen Diplomacy, hence create *Nigeriancentric* gap which has resulted into policy imbalance and conceptual reactions. There is little concentration of efforts on 'citizen-centered' diplomacy rather much concentration has been on the formations and malformations of Afrocentric policy and Nigeria's 'big-brother' role in Africa.

Besides, the challenges of having robust, altruistic, and all-encompassing national interest in State's policy architecture occupy a central concern not only in the academic circle, but also in the domains of civil society, foreign policy actors, analysts, the public policy and the entire citizenry from time immemorial (Effiong 2012; Flanik, 2011; Lafenwa, 2016; Saliu, 2014). Studies have tended to limit the effort on having foreign policy design that will enhance domestic interests in a globalized world chiefly because it is often a task difficult as establishing, if not much daunting, since there is difficulty in separating domestic policies from environmental factors and vice versa.

More so, previous studies have not adequately addressed the blurred distinctions between what is considered national and international interests and how to harmonize the basic parameters for Nigeria image building. Thus, there is a lacuna in reflecting on the internal and external factors that make up the country's diplomatic objectives and image climates. This affects the country's power, position and above all image climate in regional, continental, and global politics. In addressing this concern, the study introduces the politico-security and socioeconomic spheres as parameters to analyze Nigeria's diplomatic thrust in the Fourth Republic by suggesting some robust and altruistic recommendations that will enhance positive image and ensure the *Nigerianness* in public policymaking. This will give the country global preference and increase its regional recognition as Africa's hegemonic power.

In addition, scholars like Adebajo (2015), Bach (2007), Eze (2010) and host of others have made attempts to address the paucity of political will by the leadership and foreign policy actors towards the workability of economic development. Nigeria has virtually lost its autonomy in domestic economic policymaking because of lack of leadership political will. The country is dictated to by Western-oriented international institutions like the World Bank, World Trade Organization (WTO) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). This situation has continually weakened the management of nation's economy of the required independence and nationalism that can enable Nigeria to surmount dependency, underdevelopment, and poverty in a globalized world.

Lack of political will is a major issue of, and harmful influences on Nigeria's image projection and national development that is responsible for its low rating in the world particularly among the comity of African nations. The work tends to address this major concern which has been previously noticed but sparingly attended to, by suggesting the inclusion of Nigerians both at home and abroad (from every segment and agency of the

society) in the day to day affairs of the country's productive political economy and security development that can fend for beneficial economic and political engagement to enhance national development and citizens' welfare.

Unarguably, Nigeria's fate has a great impact on the concentric circle which defines its external *rendezvous* with West Africa as the inner concentric, the continent of Africa as the second, while the rest of the world is the third domain of the country's external relations in order of priority (Adejumobi, Osunkoya & Omotere, 2011; Ajulo, 2007; Akinterinwa, 2012c; Ashaver, 2014; Gambari, 2008). Nigeria's external relations reflect on the Member states of Gulf of Guinea, its immediate neighbours, ECOWAS, African Union, United States of America, European Union, United Nations, Common Wealth of Nations, Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries among others international institutions and engagements.

Significantly, Nigeria is a regional peacekeeper, ranking as the Africa largest economy in 2014, a generator of business and investment, and a key interlocutor on debt and continent-wide initiatives such as the African Union-led negotiations and peace-keeping operation in Dafur region of Sudan among other places. Regrettably, as Goldwyn and Morrison (2005) opine that "an alternative scenario in which Nigeria is wracked by internal conflict or unable to manage crime and violence within its borders would lead the country to become an exporter of refugees, criminal activities and in an extreme case, a safe-haven for terrorism..." (p. 5).

Indeed, until recently, the Nigeria's security challenge as a result of a terrorist group called Boko Haram was presumed to be an internal affair of Nigerian State that required an internal solution. The abduction of two hundred and seventy-six (276) Chibok school girls in April 14, 2014 and the international condemnations that were associated with the dastardly act, externalized the country's security crisis beyond the shores of Nigeria (Chothia; 2014). As Garuba (2011) opines that "the world is becoming a global village, and the development in communication and computer technology has made state behaviour to be subjected to global scrutiny" (p. 33). In his view, Gurtov (1996) maintains that the greatest advantage of the present New World Order is that "borders have become increasingly porous and have been wiped out or re-arranged by global economic forces, trans-boundary environmental problems, ethnic, religious and cultural ties..." (p. 10).

Above all, Rose (1998) incorporates both external and internal variables by updating and systematizing the assumptions from classical realism and maintained that "the scope and ambition of a country's foreign policy is driven first and foremost by its place in the

international system and specifically by its relative material power capabilities” (p. 146).

Rose (1998) clarifies further that:

...the impact of such power capabilities on foreign policy is indirect and complex, because systemic pressures must be translated through intervening variables at the unit level... relative material power establishes the basic parameters of a country’s foreign policy... Foreign policy choices are made by actual political leaders and elites, and so it is their perceptions of relative power that matter, not simply relative quantities of physical resources or forces in being... because these affect the proportion of national resources that can be allocated to foreign policy. This means that countries with comparable gross capabilities but different state structures are likely to act differently. And finally, systemic pressures and incentives may shape the broad contours and general direction of foreign policy... limiting the menu of foreign policy choices considered by a state’s leaders at a particular time, rather than in forcing the selection of one particular item on that menu over another (pp. 146-147).

Consequently, existing literature on Nigeria’s foreign policy thrusts seems to have ignored Rose’s (1998) assertion that deals with the State’s behaviour and relative material power capabilities which motivate the rationale for policy thrusts and domestic constraints, such as political, economic and military capabilities that influence State’s decisions towards image making. In this study, the application of neoclassical realism theory examines the specific details of state initiatives. This means that Nigeria’s foreign policy may not necessarily track the pattern of outcomes of its African policy, but must closely examine and understand the behavioural link between power and national interest within which State’s (foreign) policies are formulated and implemented.

Extant literature has not made significant attempt to link the internal and external exigencies to proffer solution for haphazard power distribution in Nigeria policymaking, hence create lacuna in the body of theoretical foundation. This work therefore attempts to fill this gap by interrogating the rationale for power distribution towards the exertion of Citizen Diplomacy; its impact on the treatment of Nigerians; and the efforts of the government towards image building/management in order to consolidate Nigeria’s global influence, positive perception, and national development.

1.3 Research Questions

To rationalize and put the above problem statement in proper perspective so as to understand the dynamics of Citizens Diplomacy on Nigeria’s Image Building, the study is designed to answer three basic questions:

1. What is the rationale for citizen-oriented approach as Nigeria's foreign policy thrusts?
2. How has Citizen Diplomacy impacted Nigeria's Image Building between 1999 and 2015?
3. In what ways has government initiatives helped to improve Nigeria's image perception?

1.4 Research Objectives

In line with the research problems, this work is generally aimed at establishing a clear connection between the domestic and the international environments; and how a synergy between the external and internal factors in policymaking can conduce to the nation's national interest, especially in terms of image management and protection of Nigerian citizens against mistreatment among the comity of nations. Specifically, the study is aimed at achieving the following objectives:

1. To identify the rationale for citizen-oriented approach as Nigeria's foreign policy thrusts.
2. To analyze the impact of Citizen Diplomacy on Nigeria's Image Building between 1999 and 2015.
3. To examine the government initiatives towards improving Nigeria's image perception

1.5 Significance of the Study

The pursuit of national interests within a framework of continuity and change is the hallmark of both domestic and foreign policymaking and execution. International politics is currently witnessing new environmental conditionings that affect the exercise of national sovereignty and individual citizens of the world. The new face of international terrorism; the deepening implications of globalization; the increasing emphasis on multilateralism, to the detriment of States' autonomy; the AIDS/HIV pandemic; and Africa's renewed determination to liberate itself from the clutches of economic poverty, scourge of diseases and political instability, etc., are some of these new international environmental conditionings. The immediate implication of this, without any jot of doubt, is the need for re-articulation of Nigeria's internal and external policies within an acceptable framework that considers, as a matter of priority, the survival of Nigerians, both at home and abroad, as a people and maintenance of the country's positive image externally

The significance of this study lies on the policymaking behaviour of Nigeria's State in the Fourth Republic. It is designed to know how policymaking has impacted the country's national interest and image climate when Nigeria's political, socioeconomic and security landscapes are assessed. The reason for this is to underscore a clear assessment of what led to Nigeria's pariah status and the perception of the country during the Fourth Republic (1999 - 2015), in order to explore where the nation is heading to. As Lars-Göran Stenelo, reframes from Effiong (2012), has argued that in the field of foreign policy, predictions and forecasting have characterized futurology. Consequently, some measures of credibility are made in this study to forecast and fill the lacuna existing in the corpus of literature on Nigeria's policymaking and image question.

Even though many scholars have written extensively on the Nigeria's project and foreign policymaking (Adebajo, 2000; Adebajo and Mustapha, 2008; Adigbuo, 2005; Akinboye, 2013, Akinyemi, 1985; 1986; 2009; 2014; Amusan, 2006; Bach, 2013; Bokpin, 2017; Chidozie, et al, 2013; Fawole, 1990; Folarin, 2010; Fayomi, Chidozie & Ajayi, 2015; Pine, 2011; Tuman and Shirali, 2017 etc.), their contributions have tended to accuse or acquit the role of Nigeria in Africa vis-à-vis Citizen Diplomacy among others. None of these scholars has analyzed the impact of Nigeria's policy thrust, using politico-security and socioeconomic capabilities as parameters, in an attempt to balance the distribution of elements of power to further enhance the country's national interest and development of image climate. Conceptually therefore, the study would contribute to the existing literature.

More so, the study is empirically significant to benefiting the Nigerian citizens and non-citizens. The investigation into this study would help the State, non-state actors, diplomatic corps and foreign policy analysts, sociopolitical analysts, and the public to pinpoint the reasons for Nigeria's behavioural pattern in its relationship with other countries. Also, it would allow the readers to analyze the objectives of Nigeria's policy thrust on how it will snowball the country into maintaining positive image, and enhancing national development among the comity of nations.

This will help in boosting for the small niche of diplomatic studies of Nigeria's external relations, and form the basis of a vibrant Nigeria that would be a pride and joy among the comity of nations and enhance the economic, political and security interests, domestically. Confronted with sweeping change, this study on Nigeria's foreign policy would help to reflect and theorize on current trends and innovations in diplomatic practice, or even turn to scenario study of what may lie ahead.

The recommendations from this study would serve as guiding tools to the policy makers to avoid the catastrophes of some groups in Nigeria, who for one reason or another, not satisfied with the present sociopolitical, economic, and security situation in Nigeria, to resort to arms like Boko Haram and Niger-Delta militancy. For illustrative purposes, the recent renew of efforts for the emancipation of a 'Biafran State' (a movement for a sovereign state that claims to fight politics of domestic marginalization) in Nigeria's south-eastern part, the challenges associated with Fulani herdsmen, and the allegedly 'skewed' anti-graft fight across the country are a good case of focus. This could weaken the Nigeria government and result in the disintegration into several splinter states, reminiscent of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia (Owugah, 2010).

1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study

To obtain well-shaped areas of investigation, the scope of this work stresses the importance of Citizen Diplomacy as foreign policy orientations of Nigeria between 1999 and 2015, on the country's national interest towards enhancing positive image perception and the aspirations for its citizens' welfare wherever they (citizens) reside. Because, it is sufficing to state that a vivacious and productive foreign policy depends on a fecund domestic polity and vice versa. So, for a nation to project its national interest, good foreign and domestic policy making and articulate implementation are indispensable. Hence, this study is delineated to assess the impact of Citizen Diplomacy in maintaining positive perception of Nigeria's image.

This clarification has become necessary because Nigeria's internal and external policymaking entails a lot of issues which a single study cannot contain all. Therefore, by limiting it to the dilemma of Nigeria's policy initiatives in the Fourth Republic ventilated by the operative words of 'image' and 'treatment' of Nigerians enables the researcher to give the study a focus and the necessary attention that it deserves. The study also identifies and makes insightful reference to the past events since 1960. It is pertinent to probe the past to prospectively project into the future to enhance *Nigerianness* abroad and nation-building.

More so, this study has a period which coverage ranges from 1999 to 2015. This period includes three civilian administrations (Olusegun Obasanjo, May 29, 1999 - May, 29, 2007; Umaru Musa Yar'Adua, May 29, 2007 – May 5, 2010; and Goodluck Jonathan, May 6, 2010 – May, 29, 2015). The research cautiously selects the Forth Republic because the

period is quintessential in Nigeria's political and diplomatic history that ostensibly symbolic in many respects.

First, in 1999 after a long period of military rule, Nigeria transitioned to civil rule which marks the new democratic dispensation and the beginning of Nigeria's Fourth Republic as an independent nation. Second, the period opens the way for democracy and democratization and gives room for Nigeria's rebirth. Third, it was also the period that President Obasanjo reawakened the country's hope in image building that has been dented by the praetorian rule. And indeed lastly, 1999 to 2015 which spans 16 years affords enough time to evaluate the dynamics of Nigeria project in image building and the perception of the international community about the country.

Consequently, the theoretical and methodological standpoints of the study emphasize Nigeria's image building and its diplomatic future. Nevertheless, to evaluate Nigeria foreign policy adequately, detail accounts of the foreign policies of the countries with whom Nigeria interacts is indispensable. This will be quite tasking for a work of this nature, hence, the problem of exhaustively dealing with the scope of subject. The scope is therefore drawn from empirical and theoretical formulations on various aspects in resetting Nigeria's external relations. In both cases, clear ideas, strategies, focus and political will underpinned Nigeria's policymaking, derived from strong intellectual basis and articulation.

1.7 Research Methodology

Blaikie (2003); Creswell (2014); Hennink (2007); Jonker and Pennink (2010); Newman (2011); and Obasi (1999) affirm that research methodology is the range of approaches used in research to gather data which are to be used as basis for inference, interpretation and for explanation and prediction either through qualitative or quantitative methods or the utilization of both. Thus, the research methodology for this study contains how the presented data was generated and analyzed in order to meet the objectives of the study. And so, the following techniques have been adopted.

1.7.1 Research Design

Indeed, all researches involve the elements of observation, description and analysis of what happens under certain circumstances either qualitatively or quantitatively or the combination of both (Creswell, 2014). However, this study adopts qualitative method due to its significant advantages. First, qualitative research is highly contextual, being collected

in a natural ‘field’ setting over periods of time. Second, it gives elaborate details of how and why events happen instead of giving a mere snapshot of events. And thirdly, it integrates participants’ enthusiasms, ideas/insights, manifestation of personal experience on a phenomenon or event either on agreement or conflict (Gray, 2013). It suggests that qualitative data are often inaccessible for immediate analysis without processing stage like transcription and editing notes before analyses.

Besides, Beasley et al (2012) and Patton (2004) posit that the use of qualitative approach in data gathering is advantageous as they are more open to changes and refinement of research ideas as the study progresses. This implies that qualitative data gathering tools are highly flexible that produce results that give meaning, experience and views. Qualitative method has been criticized for being lacking in methodological rigour, prone to researcher subjectivity, and based on small cases or limited evidence (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2009). However, it has been scientifically proven that qualitative research provides powerful source of analysis that describes and clarifies the flow of events chronologically leading to (un)expected findings (Creswell, 2014; Gray, 2013)

The adoption of qualitative instead of quantitative method enables the researcher to embark on an in-depth study of the Nigeria’s Citizen Diplomacy as well as appraising its impacts on national interests or image climates. As confirmed by Biereenu-Nnabugwu (2006) “...rather than emphasizing on the extent of objectivity and statistical manipulation...qualitative research is characteristically more involving” (p.159). Again, Baker (1999) declares that “qualitative research of all types, assumes a more naturalistic approach than quantitative research” (p.242). Qualitative method was also chosen because its aim is to construct meaning from social environment and helps to filter the data through a personal lens that is situated in a specific sociopolitical and historical moment (Creswell, 2014; Newman, 2011; Pope & Mays, 2000; Smith, 2004).

Consequently, the study is designed in a combination of historical ‘descripto-explanatory studies’ and inductive interpretation through thematic analysis, which helps to capture the normative dimensions of the study. Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2009) argue that when a “research project utilizes description, it is likely to be a precursor to explanation, such studies are known as descripto-explanatory studies” (p.140). The foregoing opinion suggests that descriptive study is a means to an end and not an end in itself. So, to further establish a causal relationship between citizen diplomacy and Nigeria’s image crisis through politico-security and socioeconomic considerations between internal and external

environmental conditionings necessitates the application of descripto-explanatory approach. Hence, the study adopts the historical descripto-explanatory throughout the analyses, and utilizes inductive interpretation to draw conclusions from data with ideas synthesized (Jonker & Pennink, 2010).

While on one hand, the historical descripto-explanatory process is not only considered as an extension or forerunner of exploratory research, it involves investigating, recording, analyzing and interpreting the events of the past for the purpose of discovering perspective on present and future directions. In fact, the objective of descriptive research is “to portray an accurate profile of persons, events or situations” (Robson, 2002, p.59). On the other hand, the inductive approach, being non-experimental, helps to group and understand the relationship between variables and the development of generalizations, principles or theories that have universal validity (Creswell, 2014; Hennink, 2007; Johnson, 2015; Katz, 2015).

Be that as it may, the research design of this study allows for evidence-based enquiries to explore, as Evera (1997) opines that, “whether events unfold in the manner predicted and (if the subject involves human behaviour) whether actors speak and act as the theory predicts” (p. 23), the inductively historical description is required to understanding the contexts and contents of how states’ actions or inactions reflect on Nigeria’s image climate at both domestic and international levels of analysis. This helps to x-ray the perspectives of Citizen Diplomacy in Nigeria’s Image Building, 1999-2015.

1.7.2 Population of the Study

Indeed, in every research, the most important thing that attracts the researcher is whom or what to study. Ngulube (2005) describes population as the total collection of animate and inanimate objects under study. Based on this description, Biereenu-Nnabugwu (2006) defines population as not only to the number of people for study, but also institutions, things, objects or members of the target being studied or observed. Therefore, population could be seen as the entire group of people, events or things of interest that a researcher wishes to investigate.

Undeniably, Nigeria’s external relation is concerned with interaction between the domestic and the external environment vis-à-vis some changes in the opinion of decision makers, which lend credence to Beasley’s et al (2012) position on the use of qualitative method. Hence, in this study, the Nigerian state actors and its agencies especially the Presidency,

National Assembly, career diplomats in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Institutes, among others formed part of the population of the study. The non-state actors include National Non-Governmental Organizations (NNGOs), Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), selected individuals like Civil Servants, Businessmen, and Academia in the field of Political Science, International Relations and Foreign Policy among others also formed part of the population (see Appendices A & B).

Similarly, Nigerian foreign policy environment is anchored on concentric circles namely inner-most (Nigeria); inner (Africa); and outer (World) circles. Thus, these concentric circles equally constitute part of the population of the impact of “Citizen Diplomacy on Nigeria’s Image Building”.

1.7.3 Sample Size and Sampling Technique

Having accurate and reliable data from the entire population of the study as identified above, would be a daunting and unrealistic task. Hancock, Ockleford and Windridge (1998), Marshall (1996), and Smith (2004) rightly maintained that the main purpose of sampling is to effectively manage and reduce time and cost that would have been spent, if the total population were studied. Similarly, Johnson (2015), Marshall and Rossman (2014) also affirm that sampling is necessary when the entire population is large, when the time available for the project is limited and when resource (human and material) available for the project are inadequate.

Indeed, in line with the above observations, the study population is large and more importantly, the researcher does not have enough human and material resources to cover the entire population. Hence, the researcher restricts findings to key personalities selected across the state and non-state actors, research institutes and policy formulators which eventually constitute the sample size of the study (Jonker & Pennink, 2010; Onwuegbuzie, et al, 2009; Smith, 2004). Therefore, the choice of the key representative members drawn from both the State and Non-State actors assists in minimizing cost and ensuring timely completion of this study.

The representative members or the sample size include: State’s policymakers; diplomatic and business community; scholars and experts in Political Science and International Relations; seasoned foreign policy analysts (especially those that worked with the three administrations that form the scope of this study); the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA); the National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS); the Institute

for Peace and Conflict Resolution (IPCR); some selected NNGOs and CSOs; and the opinions of some selected individual public commentators were relied upon in giving useful information that assisted in completing this study (Creswell, 2014; Johnson, 2015).

Furthermore, the technique of the sampling, which the researcher adopts in generating data for this study, is purposive sampling. It is practically impossible on epistemological basis to use the entire samples that are as representative as possible of the population under study (Gray, 2013). Therefore, the study adopts small samples of people, cases and phenomenon nested in the context of citizen diplomacy and Nigeria's image crisis. The main goal of purposive sampling in this study is to focus on the perception of elites towards policy formulation, which enables us to achieve the objectives of the study and provides justification that forms generalizations (Patton, 2004).

Tongco (2007) observes that the use of purposive sampling technique depends on the goal of the study, and strongly recommends it for use; if the goal of the study is to obtain ideas, good insights and experience critical appraisal. Another justification for the use of purposive sampling in contrast to random sampling is the dynamic nature of data in qualitative method unlike the quantitative that is planned/pre-planned. In other words, samples in qualitative method may evolve during fieldwork and not necessarily need to be pre-planned unlike the random sampling.

Significantly therefore, this suggests flexibility in the selection of respondents. The choice of and consulting a participant may snowball into a decision to select another informant(s) which may not have been choosing initially by the researcher. Undeniably, in line with Tongco's position and the flexibility in the use of purposive sampling, the researcher engaged with quite a number of key informants who are well-informed on critical appraisal of the Nigeria's external image and the treatment of its Citizens both at home and abroad.

In terms of selection criteria in an attempt to measure the objectivity in the process yielding to the 'richest' data and not peripheral cases (Miles & Huberman, 1994), audience of the intelligentsia and the *crème-de-la-crème* (with prime focus of the study) across the highlighted sections of the population were selected for interview. The eligibility and inclusion criteria for sampling are knowledge of and contribution to the subject matter (most especially the policymakers who are not only knowledgeable but having the political 'willpower' to implement the result of the study), as well as expertise and active participation in Nigeria's foreign policy process which falls within Tongco (2007) and Johnson (2015) recommendations.

For instance, the researcher finds it appealing the wealth of experience and contributions of some intelligentsia like past and present Director-Generals of Nigeria Institute of International Affairs; Directors in Nigeria's Foreign Affairs Ministry; Director-Generals of Policymaking Institutes; some aides and Special Assistants to former Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Ministers of Interior (Domestic Affairs) between 1999 and 2015; some Nigeria's Legislatures and Legal Practitioners; Professors of Political Science and International Relations; and some seasoned scholar on Nigeria's foreign policy; NGOs and CSOs; and private individuals.

Specifically, to avoid the pitfall of generalization, some members of the Senate and House of Representatives committees on Foreign and Internal Affairs were also interviewed. Also interviewed was the former Chairperson, House Committee on Diaspora and now Senior Special Assistant to President Buhari on Diaspora Affairs, Hon. Abike Dabiri-Erewa. Similarly, Professor Oshita Oshita, the Director-General Institute of Peace and Conflict Resolution; Directors of Policy Planning Division; African Affairs and their counterpart in the Foreign Affairs Ministry of Nigeria; the Divisional Head of International Politics, Professor Osita Agbu, and some other Research Fellows at the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs among many other career diplomats were consulted.

Again, in view of the spread that the research required, and in line with the positions of Beasley et al (2012), Gilbert (2006), and Marshall and Rossman (2014), two Research Assistants (Mr. Babatunde Fashiku and Mr. Lahei Toma Minti) were engaged. Mr. Fashiku assisted the researcher to organize the conduct of interviews and Focus Group Discussions at the Foreign Affairs Ministry in Abuja and at its Institute in Lagos. In the same vein, Mr. Minti assisted the researcher in facilitating respondents for interview at National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS) in Kuru, Jos, and Ministries of Information and Internal Affairs (interior) in Abuja. Added to this, tape recorder was used as a tool for the entire interviews.

1.7.4 Data Collection Techniques

There is wide spectrum of data collection in any research specifically in qualitative method, but this study does source for its data via field studies and document reviews. In other words, the sources for data collection involve library and field research (Creswell, 2014; Onwuegbuzie, et al, 2009; Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2009; Smith, 2004). Based on the adoption of qualitative research design which is analytical in nature, it is more useful in evaluating data from both primary and secondary sources as imperative to this study than

any other method (Hennink, 2007; Marshall & Rossman, 2014; Wray, Markovic & Manderson, 2007).

1.7.4(a) Primary Sources

The Primary data is sourced through the utilization of interviews and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs). Field notes which are supplemented by diaries written by the researcher, tape recordings were transcribed as quickly as possible for an overview of data and provide a guide as to which files and transcripts to consult at the analysis stage (Flick, 1998; Gray, 2013). While 32 Key-Informant Interviews (KII) was conducted (see Appendix B), a total number of twelve (12) NNGOs and CSOs (see Appendix A) in five different open free-flow focused group discussions (FGDs) (see Appendix C), were equally drafted to volunteer their perceptions, attitudes, and opinions towards the government initiative on the introduction of Citizen Diplomacy and its impacts on Nigeria's image (Flick, 1998; Robson, 2002; Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2009). The interviews and FGDs were conducted by the researcher and the two research assistants (Mr. Tunde Fashiku and Mr. Lahei Toma Minti)

The Key-Informants and FGDs respondents were selected purposively due to their knowledge, insights and experienced in appraising Nigeria project as it concerns the country's diplomatic relations. Five (5) groups were formed for the FGDs with minimum of five (5) participants in each group (Blaikie, 2002; Marshall & Rossman, 2014). The high cost of logistics and time constraint limit selection of members in the FGD to five, apart from the fact that it is the minimum requirements for qualitative research (Marshall & Rossman, 2014). The key-informants for the interview increased to 28 as a result of qualitative advice by some of the interviewees of the need for the researcher to consult some suggested names of people for further information/data. This is in line with Marshall and Rossman (2014) who opine that the beauty of qualitative method is its openness to changes as the study progresses. The researcher came to a conclusion that the selected samples were sufficient at the saturation stage of information.

On the technical aspects during the interviews and FGDs, respondents were encouraged to relate their experiences on the significance of Citizen Diplomacy and Nigeria's image. They were also free to narrate useful events that could assist in confirming or rejecting information derived from other sources in line with McNabb (2015) who affirms that unstructured interview assists the respondents to provide their own definitions of their opinions and attitudes as they see fit. Babbie (2007) explains further that "the interviewer

has a great deal of freedom to probe various areas and raise specific queries during the course of the interview” (p. 265).

Other primary source consists of unprocessed information from government and diplomatic documentations (like diplomatic notes, memoir, and correspondences). The ‘raw’ nature of data collection makes primary source of data high reliable in social research (Babbie, 2007; McNabb, 2015). However, the possibility of participants distorting information is likely (Marshall & Rossman, 2014; Onwuegbuzie, et al, 2009; Tongco, 2007). Hence, to avoid this pitfall, all the sources (fieldwork and literature) including raw data from official gazettes were scrutinized by the researcher via Gilbert’s (2001; 2006) and Wray, Markovic and Manderson (2007) principles of data triangulation and intensive-research practices.

The primary source helps to reconcile the data collected from governmental institutions and other sources, which inform the findings and position of this study (Hennink, 2007; McLafferty, 2004; Onwuegbuzie, et al, 2009). The study adopts both semi-structured and unstructured interview as one of the instrument of data collection. The reason for semi-structured interview was connected to the fact that some key informants complained about time constraint and unavoidable logistics to meet them one-on-one. So, they responded to the questions via email (Gray, 2013; Harrell & Bradley, 2009; Newman, 2011).

1.7.4(b) Secondary Sources

The secondary data from literature and document reviews, on the other hand, is sourced through library materials such as books, journal articles, published official gazettes, national dailies, published and unpublished materials like thesis, monographs, besides materials from surfing the internet (Hennink, 2007; Marshall & Rossman, 2014). They constitute greater percentage of data sources and used extensively in this study. The secondary data helps to increase the validity of research findings and minimize likely biases from the primary sources. The materials were obtained from Universiti Sains Malaysia, University of Ilorin, Nigerian Institute of International Affairs and Nigeria’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs Libraries, National Library Ilorin, as well as National Library Abuja.

1.7.5 Data Analysis Techniques

Data analysis involves the process of separating or deconstructing the whole data into its smaller component units to reveal the meaning, observable elements, nature and structure of the data (Creswell, 2014; Gilbert, 2006; Gray, 2013). Indeed, Blaikie (2003) opined that data analysis is the process of evaluating and treating data collected for answering the

research question(s). Thus, the study applies thematic analysis to qualitatively scrutinize data collected. Also, thematic and direct quotations were applied as the techniques of analysis for the interviews transcription and FGDs. Data were gathered and repeatedly scrutinised via ‘immersion’ with the intention of finding emerging patterns, themes, and sub-themes (Gray, 2013). This allows the researcher to categorize the data under different sections.

Thematic analysis makes inferences about data, which is usually text, by systematically and objectively identifying special categorized characteristics within them for themes or sub-themes (Wray, Markovic & Manderson, 2007). The study applies historical descripto-explanatory and inductively interpreted. The historical-descriptive cum explanatory approach lays the basis for analysis while inductive interpretation helps to explain, understand and gain insights to reach a generally acceptable conclusion.

The application of thematic analysis in this study is quite significant due to the following factors among others. One, it is simple, less time consuming, cost-effective and flexible without the need to design and issue costly questionnaires. And two, it allows the use of existing documentation such as high-powered committee reports, unpublished government gazettes, memoranda, memoire, or electronic mails to serve as the basis for data (Gray, 2013). However, some researchers have criticized thematic analysis that the approach relies on simple ‘old’ data, rather than gathering fresh information. More so, it has been disparaged of incapability of exploring association and causal relationships between variables (Flick, 1998). Notwithstanding the above criticisms, the justification of thematic analysis in this study apart from using field studies is to provide a description and understanding the motivation and result of the study. Also, the motivation is not to locate or establish a ‘new’ theory unlike grounded theory approach rather the study is designed to identify and interpret state’s behaviour and external perceptions on Nigeria and Nigerians (Locke, 2001)

On the units of analysis, the state behaviour and external perceptions of Nigeria at the domestic and international levels become indispensable. In other words, the level of analysis is focused on two indices. First, is the nexus between the domestic and external policies in the distribution of power and drafting of Citizen Diplomacy, and second, is the role of state in the implementation of Citizen Diplomacy. These two levels necessitate the theoretical framework of the study, which highlights the structural focus in explaining foreign policy decisions of individual states rather than predicting patterns of outcomes at the system level.

This helps to assess the Nigeria's diplomatic thrust and its performance on the national interests and the country's image building over a period of time.

From the foregoing, the study focuses on very important parameters. There are many indicators that can be deployed to explain Nigeria's project/initiatives that influence the country's national interests and its image perception. They include: personal idiosyncrasies of the leaders/actors, geographical location, socio-cultural factor, ethno-religious milieu, political, economic, military among other environmental factors, but based on this research work, three main indicators namely; socioeconomic, political, and military/security are employed.

These politico-security and socioeconomic tools are critical parameters for domestic and international levels of analyses in this study because they form the essence and the whole existence of any state (Adeola & Ogunnoiki, 2015; Bach, 2013; Obi, 2008). Besides, they facilitate the understanding of how other environmental factors influence the behaviour of Nigeria State towards image perception and management. These levels of analysis also corroborate the loopholes in domestic and external milieus of Nigeria's policymaking, cum leadership/elite's perceptions in choosing, framing and implementing Nigeria's Citizen Diplomacy.

Consequently, the research applies triangulation technique comprises of three different tools (primary source, secondary source, and unprocessed official materials). These different tools reliably help to validate the efficacy of each other data collected (Creswell, 2014; Onwuegbuzie, Dickinson, Leech & Zoran, 2009; Yeasmin & Rahman, 2012). Golafshani (2003) and Gray (2013) observe that triangulation is an authoritative and scientific technique in research design, especially a qualitative one that helps to validate several collected data by adopting cross-confirmation, to strengthening the credibility and defensibility of results. Indeed, the triangulation principle concerns the use of different tools in the same study to collect data to verify the validity of any findings and enhancing their robustness

Therefore, the researcher held three principles of objectivity in line with Gilbert (2001; 2006) in mind to achieve the goals of triangulation as a method of social research namely: "Authenticity", which explains if the evidence is genuinely obtained without any questionable biases. Secondly, "representativeness", explains if the data is distinctly