

RELEVANCE OF MIXED SCANNING MODEL IN OSCILLATION OF NIGERIAN FOREIGN POLICY THRUST: EVIDENCES FROM CITIZEN DIPLOMACY

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ABSTRACT

Citizen diplomacy explains what is or should be the major goals of Nigerian foreign policy to its citizens. Being people-centered, it is another way of saying that both Domestic and Foreign policy will be geared towards the promotion of the welfare and security of the citizens. Citizen diplomacy as Nigerian foreign policy thrust thus unveils a platform where all the citizens of the country are actively mobilized as agents of implementing its foreign policy such that every citizen sees himself to be a standard bearer of his country that will consolidate the nation's foreign policy goals rather than jeopardize it. It is however, important to note that the idea as a policy thrust in Nigerian foreign policy is not new, it is just that it has metamorphosed from stage to stage under different administrations with different names. Thus the quest to unveil how the concept of citizen diplomacy has oscillated from one policy thrust to another in relation to the mixed scanning model of public policy implementation necessitated this study. The paper equally assessed the achievements, challenges and prospects of using citizen diplomacy as a veritable developmental model to achieve both individual and group development aspirations of Nigerians. The methodology adopted for the study was descriptive method based on primary and secondary data from focus group discussion, text books, Newspapers, journals and the internet. Findings from the work show that the Nigerian state has patronized different foreign policy thrusts which have oscillated from Afro-centrism down to Citizen Diplomacy, in doing this, huge resources were involved. Despite the amount of resources committed to these efforts, the relationship between Nigerian Foreign policy and Citizens' wellbeing is not commensurate, hence the need to look inward and redress it.

Keywords:*Citizen; Diplomacy; Citizen Diplomacy;Oscillation.*

INTRODUCTION

Over the years, the impression of many Nigerians was that the Nigerian state is careless about the plight of its citizens both at home and abroad. Despite being clearly stated in the constitution that sovereignty belongs to the people, from whom the government gets its power , the people

still seems to be backward in terms of benefiting from foreign policy dividends. With the advent of Nigeria's Fourth republic in 1999 however, stakeholders reflected deeper on what should be the main focus of the country's foreign policy. The former President, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, alongside the minister of foreign affairs; Alhaji Sule Lamido told Nigerians that Nigerian foreign policy would be placed on a global context (Obasanjo, 2005). In 2003, Oluyemi Adeniji the succeeding minister of foreign affairs presented the constructive and beneficial concentricism approach as the new foreign policy thrust of Nigeria (Adeniji, 2005).

However with the emergence of Alhaji Umaru Musa Yar'Adua as Nigeria's president in 2007, further reflection was made on what should constitute the Nigerian foreign policy focus. In the light of this, the then minister of foreign affairs, Ojo Maduekwe, was prepared to make a difference with the initiation of the principle of *Citizen Diplomacy*. This principle, in accordance with the constitutional directive principles, placed priority on the protection of the *interest* of the Nigerian citizens both at home and abroad. This implies that, the protection of the rights, dignity and privileges of Nigerian citizens will be accorded priority wherever they are and whatever they may be. This shall remain the primary responsibility of Nigeria's diplomacy (Osita, 2009).

Citizen diplomacy as the new thrust of Nigerian foreign policy is meant to focus on the basic needs, human rights and socio-economic welfare of Nigerian citizens in conducting bilateral and multilateral engagements with other countries (Maduekwe, 2009). Citizen diplomacy entails the creation of an environment in which every citizen both at home and abroad sees himself as the symbol of his country's foreign policy; he is expected to work towards strengthening it rather than weaken it (Salihu, 2010). This stems from the realization that the progress, prosperity and survival of the nation must be the concern of every Nigerian at home and in the Diaspora (Mbachu, 2009). Thus, in order to make this materialize, the Nigerian Foreign policy will have to pursue a citizen-centric diplomacy.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Citizen Diplomacy is being practiced by different countries of the world with different magnitudes. Citizen diplomacy in United States is different from that of China or that of Nigeria. Citizen diplomacy wherever it exists is intended to support official efforts of the government, as

well as promote citizens wellbeing in general. The whole essence of a country's foreign policy is expected to be tailored towards the benefit of that country and its citizens.

However, reverse has been the case in Nigeria as less consideration is given to citizens' benefit and interest in formulating foreign policy agenda. Despite the amount of resources committed to these efforts, the relationship between Nigerian Foreign policy and Citizens' well being is not commensurate, in essence the country's diplomacy has not benefitted most Nigerians, many even see it as waste of time and resources. Fine, the new diplomatic policy is calling on other countries to look into the positive aspects of Nigeria and Nigerians and not just the negative, however charity they say begins at home, the fact still remains that there is institutional decadence in Nigeria which has led to corruption even in most vital arms and institutions of government including its foreign service.

It is against this backdrop that this work seeks to examine and answer the following questions;

- What necessitated the unparalleled relationship between Nigeria's Foreign policy and Citizens' wellbeing?
- Also the paper interrogates the extent to which the mixed scanning model has been applied in Nigerian Foreign Policy Thrust?
- And is it actually true that oscillation and choice of different policy thrusts by foreign policy makers was influenced by the application of mixed scanning approach, cautiously or incautiously?

OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

In its objective, this work intends to situate the relevance of mixed scanning model as a policy implementation tool in Nigerian foreign policy thrust with special reference to citizen diplomacy, how effective has it been. This will take us down memory lane by analyzing the various foreign policy thrusts employed to drive home the agenda set in the country's relationship with the international community since inception.

CONCEPTUAL DISCOURSE

Conceptual explanation is a step necessary for the development of deeper and efficient understanding of the concepts under study. Therefore, it is very necessary to provide the explanation of the principal concepts used in this study in order to minimize the possibility of misinterpretation. For this reason, the need to engage the analysis of "who is a citizen" and "what

is diplomacy” before we finally take the analysis of the two together becomes inevitable. Also the concepts of Foreign Policy and Mixed Scanning Model as well as Oscillation were looked into.

Citizen

Citizenship is a means of affiliation that is akin to an umbilical cord tying an unborn baby to a would-be mother and in our context here, connecting a person to a country. It is a mechanism of self-recognition, pride, self-protection and relationship with the outside world (Akinterinwa, 2010).Citizenship is generally acquired on the basis of birth, place of birth, registration, cultural and religion.

Chapter Three (3) of Nigeria’s 1999 constitution deals with the citizenship of Nigeria. The constitution distinguishes between citizenship by birth, citizenship by registration and citizenship by naturalization. It also permits dual and loss of citizenship (FGN Constitution, 1999).

Citizenship by birth can be said to have a higher status than other forms in Nigeria (Akinterinwa, 2010).Consequently, citizenship not only enables privileges but also duties and obligations. Meanwhile, how it is managed in a country’s relationship with the outside world makes it possible for diplomacy to become relevant. At this point it is important to take another cursory look at what diplomacy is all about before finally moving to citizen diplomacy.

Diplomacy

Satow (1966) defines diplomacy as the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between the governments of independent states. Scholars have criticized this definition on the ground that not all diplomats are intelligent and tactful (Ogunsanwo, A, 2009).Also diplomacy has been defined as the management of international relations with the use of negotiations; the method by which these relations are adjusted and managed by ambassadors and envoys (Nicolson, 1939).

The Great Soviet Encyclopedia (1926) defined diplomacy as “the activity of state agencies for foreign relations in representing the government abroad and defend by peaceful means its rights and interests for the achievement of the aims of the foreign policy of the ruling class in the state”

AKadiri(2003) asserted that:

The birth and evolution of diplomacy must be traced exclusively to the primordial needs for the acquisition or reinforcement of communal power for the purposes of self-preservation.

From the foregoing it is possible for us to say in a brief assertion that “Diplomacy is the conduct and management of official relations between states” and a diplomat is a “person who engages on behalf of his or her state, in the conduct and management of its official relations with other states”. This simple definition by Grady (2009) encapsulates the essence of diplomacy without necessarily coining words.

Through diplomacy, a state negotiates on issues relating to military alliances, trade agreements, peace treaties, general expectations and hopes sometimes through the establishment of international organization, bilateral or multi-lateral commissions (Mohammed, 2006).Presently, diplomacy has increasingly become multilateral; where many nations participate in open discussions of major international problems. For instance, the use of summit and conferences where Heads of states and government meet and engage in a direct negotiation over issues like international disputes, disarmament talk, economic cooperation, climate change and other global challenges.

Citizen diplomacy

Citizen Diplomacy is another way of saying citizen-centered diplomacy in which the citizen is not only reflected as the ultimate objective of any foreign policy action, but also a major stakeholder in the act of diplomacy (Akinterinwa,2010). Citizen diplomacy is quite different from citizenship diplomacy which refers to the manner of obtaining or losing of citizenship as spelled out in the constitution of a country. Citizen diplomacy is a foreign policy initiative that is citizen oriented in its approach, objective and outcome. It is a diplomacy run at the behest and benefit of the people (Maduekwe,2009).

From the above context, citizen diplomacy, can simply be summarized as the buildup of Nigerian foreign policy thrust, as well as a new philosophical approach to nation building in which the citizen is the most important instrument and the ultimate beneficiary of foreign policy dividends (Akinterinwa,2010).For the purpose of this research, it is possible for us to define citizen diplomacy as one of many techniques adopted by the government to augment official diplomacy and to engage law abiding Nigerians in nation building efforts, in such a way that the dignity and interests of the citizens are not only enhanced, but also coordinated in a manner that the Nigerian citizen is well respected and not subject to any form of undue maltreatment both at home and abroad.

Oscillation

An English word which means to keep changing from one extreme position to another, and back again or a repeated change between different feelings, types of behaviour or ideas (Oxford, 2010). In this context connotes the substitution or alternation of one policy thrust for another in the conduct of Nigeria's foreign relations.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This work adopts a theoretical combination of Concentric Circle theory and Mixed Scanning Theory due to the fact that the combination of these sets of theories offer the best guidance for the topic at hand both in terms of genesis and exegesis.

Concentric Circle Theory

Otherwise known as concentricism, Concentric circle theory was initially talked of by a Sociologist Ernest Burgess in 1925 when it was used to provide an insight into the organization of urban social structures(Burgess .E, 1925).Since then the theory had been used by scholars of economics, mass communication, political science and other field of endeavours. The central thrust of the theory was to accord priority to social phenomenon in order of their closeness and possible relevance or priority so as to bring about the intended benefit.

However in the Nigerian context, it was Former Nigerian Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Ibrahim Gambari that employed the theory to regulate Nigerian foreign policy thrust when he served as External Affairs Minister under Buhari/Idiagbon regime between 1984 and 1985(Benjamin 2014).So according to Gambari, the Nigerian Foreign policy will thrive

well if concerted efforts were made by scholars and policy makers alike to develop the segment approach to Nigerian foreign policy conduct. This he believed will help to protect and promote the country's national interest. By concentricism, Gambari upheld the value that Nigerian national interest should take priority over other interests, such that Citizens' welfare would come first, followed by West Africa Sub region, then Africa, then the extant world.

Below is an illustration of what **Concentric Circle** looks like;

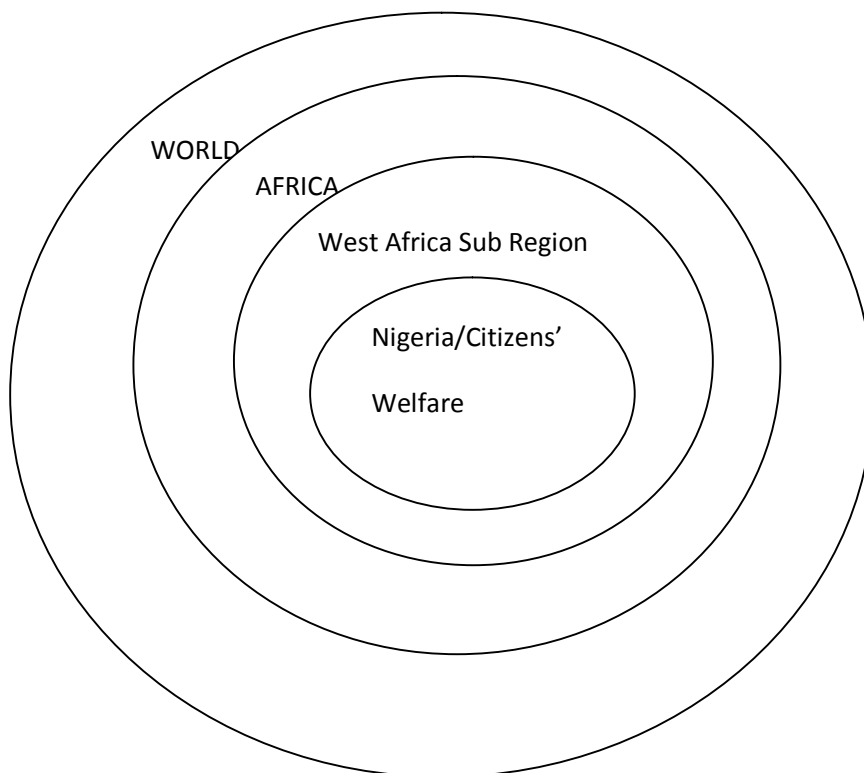


Figure 1: Concentric Circle

Mixed Scanning Theory

Since decision making is a matter of choice, policy makers will always want to choose policies that will be advancement and improvement over what is on ground and at the same time abide by the principle of rationality, and this remains the premise of mixed scanning theory.

The theory which was developed to avoid the problems of rationalistic and incremental models paved way for simultaneous utilization of the rational comprehensive and incremental models in appropriate situations (Olaniyi, 2001). By rationalistic it means policies are made based on

reasons and justifications and not emotion, and by incremental it means an appreciation or improvement over previous policy. Scholar like Amitai Etzioni brought this theory to limelight at the George Washington University in 1967. Mixed Scanning as suggested by Etzioni is akin to scanning via a two-lenses satellite: wide and zoom, instead of looking at the previous trouble spot (Etzioni ,1967).

The implication of this is that, the scanning process allows a time to time review of policies in order to know what has happened, accord detail attention to and provide an overview for future directions that will facilitate progress or improvement of the policy(s) in question. and if carefully examined, the Nigerian Foreign Policy thrusts have been moving in this direction since independence. Hence this account for the reason why the country had shifted from the utopian Africa-centered diplomacy to citizen diplomacy or citizen and economic diplomacy as the case may be.

Oscillation in Nigerian Foreign Policy Thrust : An Interface between Citizen Diplomacy and Mixed Scanning Model

The Mixed Scanning model as a tool of policy formulation, implementation and evaluation provides an explicit dual advantages by combining a high ordered policy making processes that set basic directions as well as enhance increment in fundamental issues. It equally provides strategies for evaluation with less assumption, while its flexibility is capable of equipping various actors in policy making to exercise control over their subjects due to steadily available information brought to lime light by the scanning process as well as the will to make simple progress.

Meanwhile, over the years, increasing attentions have been paid to improving and enhancing what might be termed the Nigerian foreign policy content. These efforts have given rise to the development of some foreign policy thrusts, which include but not limited to Citizen Diplomacy. Whereas, one model that has assisted us in understanding the wisdom behind the adoption, oscillation and consideration of one policy thrust over another is the mixed scanning model which is under study in this work. This is because, *rationally* the model is thinking along with the Nigerian citizens who preferred to be accorded priority, since the first law of nature is self-

preservation and *incrementally*, it is set to bring all round improvement and benefit to the country without leaving the citizens behind.

All the changes in the choice and preference of one thrust over the other under Nigerian Foreign Policy are reflection of mixed scanning approach to foreign policy making process. This is abound from the fact that, whether cautious or incautious, decision makers in Nigerian foreign policy have given preference for an improvement in the selection of foreign policy thrust(s) and at the same time put rational consideration in high esteem, thus making their decisions to align with the centre theme of mixed scanning model which simultaneously focuses on; policy increment/improvement and rationality.

Citizen diplomacy as a phenomenon in Nigeria's political dictionary is as old as the Nigerian foreign policy, just like the Nigerian foreign policy is as old as Nigeria itself. Thus, what we have discovered is that, different administrations/Regime practiced it with variant nomenclatures. This is very evident in the declaration of the first Nigerian Prime Minister Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, in his maiden address to the 15th Session of the United Nations General Assembly. The late Prime Minister of Nigeria made the pronouncement of the objectives of Nigeria's foreign policy, these objectives constitute in themselves the Nigerian national interest (Salami, 2007).

However, over the years , the Nigerian national interests through the engagement of different foreign policy thrusts have oscillated from Afrocentricism under Alhaji TafawaBalewa, General Yakubu Gowon, General Muritala Muhammad and Alhaji SheuShagari in the 1960s and 1970s to foreign policy concetricism under General Muhammadu Buhari as Head of State and Ibrahim Gambari, as the foreign affairs minister. It does not end there; under General Ibrahim. B. Babangida the minister of foreign affairs Bolaji Akinyemi introduced the consultation doctrine. His successor, General Ike Nwachukwu advanced the economic diplomacy approach to foreign policy. Under General Sanni Abacha, with Tom Ikimi as the foreign affairs minister, there was no special platform for Nigeria's national interest than to react to the then international hostility

that gave Nigeria the title of a pariah state. Gabriel Olusanya cited in Akinterinwa, (2010) described Nigeria's diplomacy then as '*Area boy diplomacy*'.

With the success of the democratic transition programme of General Abdussalam Abubakar and with the advent of the fourth republic, foreign policy stakeholders have unveiled some new dimensions in Nigerian foreign policy agenda. First, Alhaji Sule Lamido as the foreign affairs minister introduced the global-centric diplomacy as Nigeria's foreign policy approach i.e. The world will now be the centre-piece of Nigerian foreign policy as foreign policy initiatives would be focused on how to convince the world that Nigeria is no longer a lawless country having been successfully painted a pariah state under Abacha's regime by the international media.

His successor in 2003, Oluyemi Adeniji propounded the constructive and beneficial concentricism approach intended to bring more benefits to Nigeria which Ojo Maduekwe improved upon and tagged citizen diplomacy (Akinterinwa 2010).

Citizen diplomacy as a foreign policy thrust in Nigeria's international relations was unveiled and initiated by the former Minister of foreign affairs Ojo Maduekwe under President Yar'adua, when he declared opened, a one-day seminar on "citizen diplomacy and Nigerian foreign policy" on Thursday 29 November 2007 (Osita, 2009). Though, different governments have made attempts to foster the prosperity and welfare of the citizens with their different foreign policy approach, it was the administration of late President Umar Musa Yar'adua that was prepared to make a difference using the appropriate measures ranging from the name given to it, to the platform in which it will be consolidated. The principle of "citizen diplomacy" as postulated by Ojo Maduekwe on the platform of the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA) is meant to prioritize the protection of the interest of the Nigerian citizen both at home and abroad. And this shall remain the primary responsibility (objective) of Nigerian foreign policy.

The Importance of Citizen Diplomacy in International Relations

Different countries of the world practice citizen diplomacy in different dimensions. Citizen diplomacy in United States is different from that of Saudi-Arabia or that of Nigeria. Citizen

diplomacy wherever it exists is meant to support official efforts of the government, as well as promote citizens wellbeing in general. For example in Saudi-Arabia where religion plays prominent role in almost every sector of the country, the kingdom of Saudi-Arabia (KSA) has made it mandatory on itself to provide qualitative religious education up to the university level at a zero cost. While secular education is being paid for by the citizens. On marital ground, in trying to protect the dignity of its citizens especially women, stringent conditions have been put in place ranging from heavy bride price and keen recommendation from the government before a Saudi-lady can marry a foreigner.

Some years back, the KSA went through a national program which was aimed at limiting foreign workers because unemployment in the kingdom had become so high and KSA felt it should employ its own citizens before employing foreigners (Sabah, 2005). No doubt all these measures taken by the Saudi government is all about citizen diplomacy.

In the United State where citizen diplomacy is more developed than any country of the world, the US can go to war in order to salvage the interest of its citizen. Citizen diplomacy in the United State is largely associated with the deployment of citizens to foster peace and better understanding in American foreign relations. The initiative is usually led by the citizens with or without government support. At several instances Americans were seen canvassing support for their citizen diplomacy by calling on president Barak Obama to give support to their 'Global citizen diplomacy initiative' (Akinterinwa, 2010).

The importance of citizen diplomacy in international relations cannot however be underestimated. This is because the adequate recognition and care displayed by different countries over their citizens will no doubt boost the morale of the citizens and arouse their interest in assisting their various countries in accomplishing their foreign policy agenda, including making peace. As observed by the Conflict Research Consortium of the University of Colorado:

The unofficial contacts of citizens of one country with the citizens of other countries assist in different ways to de-escalate a conflict before any official

negotiator can do so (See, University of Colorado's conflict research consortium, 1998).

The consortium posited further that the contacts increase trust and build bridges between people, as well as correct misgivings and misconceptions.

Citizen Diplomacy as a Plank of Nigerian Foreign Policy

In 2007 when the idea of citizen diplomacy was first introduced on the platform of the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA), it was simply presented to the general public as a new foreign policy guide. This has made scholars to engage themselves in different conceptualization of the idea. Some analysts perceived citizen diplomacy as a new phenomenon in Nigerian foreign policy to promote global peace, international understanding and the defense of Nigerians against any ill-treatment abroad. This does not imply that the Nigerian government will unjustly intervene in preventing punishment of its citizens, but the reason for which its citizen will undergo punishment in foreign land must be justified and not maltreatment.

Citizen diplomacy as a major shift in focus in Nigeria's foreign policy reveals that the citizens will now be the centre-piece of Nigeria's diplomacy. Also this does not mean that Africa centre-piece will be abandoned, but the citizen centrism shall be the focal point for the realization of Afro-centrism. This is traceable to the fact that Africa as a centre-piece of Nigerian foreign policy is more about geographical scope and space while citizen diplomacy is about people of Nigeria that are highly instrumental to the success or failure of any foreign policy goal(s). Consequently, citizen diplomacy has many ways of defining and understanding it. For the strength of this paper, it is important to analyze the concept from the perspective of the initiator himself, Ojo Maduekwe, Nigeria's former Minister of Foreign Affairs.

According to Maduekwe, citizen diplomacy is based on the following eight (8) major considerations:

- i) Nigeria and Nigerians should be at the centre of Nigerian foreign policy;
- ii) Nigerian foreign policy must meet its development aspirations and objectives in a manner that impacts more directly on the lives of the citizenry. Indeed, Nigerian foreign policy must reinforce and contribute favorably to the realization of the seven point agenda of the then administration;

- iii) Nigerian foreign policy must seek a synergy with domestic policy to ensure that the former benefits ordinary Nigerians. Indeed the boundary between domestic policy and foreign policy has buckled into national security for the collective well-being of Nigerians;
- iv) In line with the servant-leadership philosophy of late President Yar’adua, Nigerian missions abroad must actively involve the Nigerian community and the Nigerian Diaspora and render quality consular and other services as a matter of rights, duties and obligations;
- v) Foreign policy making and implementation must be democratized to include Nigerians from all walks of life, and not left for a small circle of experts and practitioners alone;
- vi) Every foreign policy endeavours must meet the litmus test of determining the degree at which it protects and advocates what is best for Nigeria and what will best benefit the Nigerian people;
- vii) Nigeria should be directed by the principle of reciprocity or “diplomacy of consequence” in its interactions with the rest of the world, and
- viii) Nigeria and Nigerians will not accept being criminalized by the international community simply on the basis of the disgraceful conduct of a few of their nationals. Due recognition must be given to the extraordinary feats and tremendous contributions of Nigeria and Nigerians to world civilization, socio-economic and scientific development as well as international peace and security.

The above articulation is graphically represented in figure 2:

Functional Organigram of Citizen Diplomacy

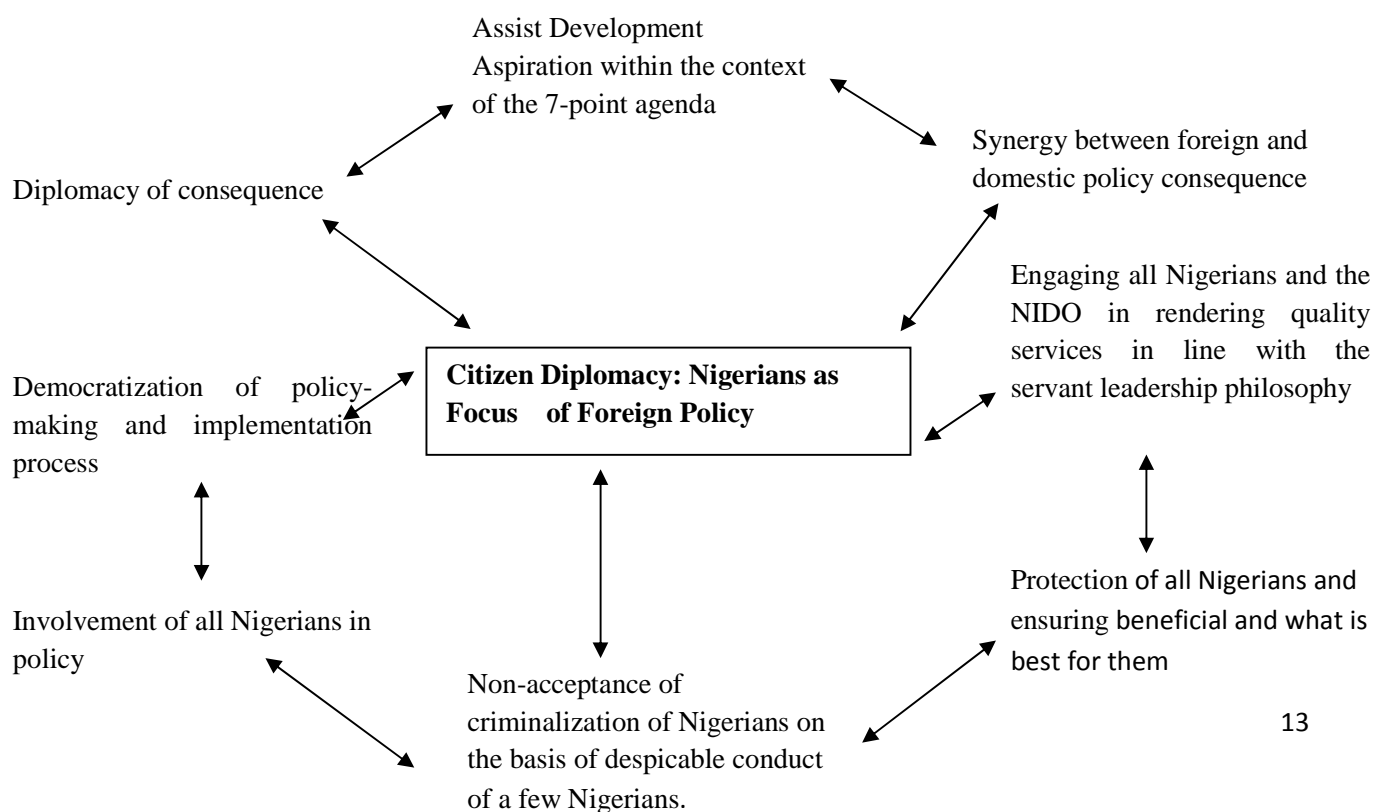


Figure 2: Organigram of Citizen Diplomacy
Source(Akinterinwa, 2010)pp 64-66.

From the above organigram, what is evident is that all the component elements of citizen diplomacy are interconnected. What this means is that citizen diplomacy can be equated with a whole part in which its component parts must all function well simultaneously (Akinterinwa, 2010). For it to be successful and enhance the attainment of the objectives of the 7-point agenda as well as that of vision 20: 20:20, all hands have to be on deck unconditionally. Laconically, citizen diplomacy as enunciated by OjoMaduekwe can be said to be a concept that is all encompassing.

Consequently from this eight (8) point pillar it is clear to us that citizen diplomacy should be an instrument for promoting Nigeria's national interest, protecting the dignity of Nigerian people, deepening democratic development, removing taints on Nigeria's international image, by denouncing the involvement of a few Nigerians in criminal activities as a yard stick to give the entire Nigerian people a bad name, enhancing national unity at home and abroad, strengthening the linkages between domestic and foreign policies, and more significantly making foreign policy more beneficial to all and sundry.

Achievements, Challenges and Prospects of Citizen Diplomacy in Nigeria

In 1999, when Nigeria returned to civil rule , the foreign policy actors then told Nigerians that the country's foreign policy thrust will be global centric, that is focused on relationship with the outside world. This is only being rational, especially in its bid to correct the country's tainted image, thus an advancement was made on this policy to make it beneficial concentricism, this is also an increment , although it is not explicitly stated what beneficial connotes. Is it beneficial for the elites? Leaving the masses out or beneficial for the masses alone? Whereas with the adoption of citizen diplomacy as a concept and thrust, and with explicit explanation of what it is targeted at, it is evident that all actors, subjects and objects of Nigerian Foreign Policy stand to gain. In essence, the Nigerian state, its foreign policy actors, the elite class as well other citizens will be the immediate beneficiaries of foreign policy dividends. This is no doubt occasioned by the adoption of *Mixed Scanning Approach* in addressing what should be the nation's foreign

policy motives. This is aided by the fact that the mixed scanning model had not only employed rationality when it was needed but also stepped forward by improving on previous feats of Nigerian Foreign Policy.

At this juncture, it is important to specifically identify the achievements of the thrust, its challenges and possible prospects.

Achievements

With an interface between citizen diplomacy and mixed scanning model, the nation's foreign policy has been able to carry more citizens along in its conduct, unlike before when foreign policy making process was an exclusive right of the ministry of foreign affairs.

It has equally reawakened the cautiousness of Nigerian citizens. More Nigerians now perceived themselves as responsible citizens and standard bearers of the country that will promote the country's value wherever they found themselves rather than jeopardize it.

With Citizen Diplomacy in place Nigerian leaders are held more responsible for their action and inaction in the exercise of their mandate. This has improved the sense of belonging and accountability, hence giving power back to its original owners. The media have equally played prominent role to this effect by supplementing citizen's efforts and communicating their values to policy actors.

Similarly, today in Nigeria more platforms have been created for Nigerians to offer wise suggestions for Nigerian Foreign Policy consortium. These suggestions have in turn reshaped the Modus Operandi of foreign policy exercise. A typical example was the adoption of Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, NIIA as an outreach for the average citizens to bear their mind on issues that have linkages with Nigerian Foreign Policy, most especially attitude of its missions abroad towards Nigerians in Diaspora.

However, more still have to be done especially with regards to creating more outlets that could enable Nigerians to ventilate their opinions and offer inputs that could better the dissemination of

foreign policy goals. This is because not every citizen can have access to NIIA which is situated in Lagos, leaving other 35 states of the Federation out.

Challenges and Discussion

Since 2007, when Ojo Maduekwe suggested that the citizens should henceforth be the focal point of Nigeria's foreign policy in such a way that the concern for basic needs, human rights and socio-economic welfare of Nigerian citizens will be given priority in conducting bilateral and multilateral engagement with other countries, series of acknowledgment and commendation have been received by the initiative.

However as student of knowledge, we will like to look beyond mere rhetoric that Nigerian leaders and representatives have been displaying over the years. The problem is that most of them do not mean what they say, neither do they practice what they preach, not only to their fellow Nigerians, but also at the world stage. In most cases, Nigerian leaders who turned themselves to rulers come up with great ideas and policy initiatives that are capable of sharpening the country's image and better the lives of their people, but end up doing nothing, of course Nigerians are used to this but it is our sincere hope that this will not be the same way as things were since independence.

We quite agree with Ojo Maduekwe's diplomatic policy that is calling on other countries to look into the positive aspects of Nigeria and Nigerians and not just the negative. However charity they say begins at home the fact still remains that there is institutional decadence in Nigeria which has led to corruption even in most vital arm of government. An instance is the case of the former speaker of the house of representative, Mrs. Patricia Etteh, who has proved that what a Nigerian man can do in terms of corruption, a Nigerian woman can surely do better. The issue we are referring to is the "official house renovation contract scam". Another case in hand is the trial of number three man in the country, Senate President Bukola Saraki before the code of conduct tribunal also on allegation of corruption. If the number three (3) and number four (4) citizen of Nigeria can be involved in such a mess, what is the point in asking the world to have a positive image about Nigeria and unleashing firestorm of criticism on those countries that do not? This

kind of situation no doubt portends serious challenge for Nigerian citizen diplomacy. This is because resources carted away by these people could have been used to bring benefit to the citizens home and abroad. All the ideas that the international community should have a positive thinking about Nigerians have been jeopardized due to the involvement of high profile politicians. The signal received by the world from this and many more is that Nigerians are still corrupt and will be treated as such on arrival at their airports and boarder lines. A witness to this was the comment of the British Prime Minister, David Cameron when he described Nigeria as *fantastically corrupt* at the 2016 anti-corruption summit in London, even with the physical presence of Nigeria's President Muhammadu Buhari in his country (BBC, 2016). The implication of this is that, the goal of citizen diplomacy to run a government for the benefit and behest of the people has been defeated. Why? Because, with the advent of citizen diplomacy, foreign policy makers explained among other things that it would protect all Nigerians, the image of the country and ensure what is beneficial for them, previous and present situations have not been able to meet that goal.

In the history of Nigeria, the last administration under President Goodluck Jonathan (2009-2016) witnessed the highest pyramid of corruption across rank and file of public office holders which did not only contribute to the country's insecurity problem as money meant to procure arms for security personnel to fight insurgency was diverted to private pockets, but also prompted the down fall of Nigerian economy. The impact of this was felt in nook and crannies of the country. In addition to that, what seems to be the last hope of the masses in the election of Muhammadu Buhari as Nigeria's new president has not yielded much in comparison with the hope and believe people vested in him and his party. In fact more Nigerians had suffered directly from different disturbances ranging from scarcity and hike in petroleum pump price as well as other basic necessities of lives.

In a country where a convicted ex-governor can return to his country home and be given a heroic welcome, where the same convict was contacted by the President of the country as to what to be done with the Niger-Delta problem as a "consultant". This does not sound well for Maduekwe and the government of Nigeria's position on citizen diplomacy. In fact it is sending the wrong

signals from the government to the world that they are not serious since citizen diplomacy is a linkage between happenings in the domestic and international environment.

At this point, we should ask some hard questions: to what extent has Nigerian foreign policy benefited Nigerians? To what magnitude has Nigerian foreign policy put food on people's tables? In other words, where is the citizen in the country's foreign policy? How helpful have Nigerian foreign missions all over the world been towards Nigerians living abroad? One Nigerian was killed in Spain; another one was brutalized in Asia (Dickson 2010), many were imprisoned in the USA others were lynched in South Africa's xenophobic attacks. At home and in Diaspora, Nigerians are left to their own survival tactics. Regretting the plight of Nigerians abroad, Reuben Abati asserted 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 (Abati, 2009).

There are too many instances of neglect to be mentioned, but it is all the same sad stories. Nigerian diplomats have not been up and doing in taking care of either the country's image or its citizens living abroad. This no doubt constitute another setback to one of the aspirations of citizen diplomacy, which is caring for the needs of Nigerians in Diaspora as well as engaging them to meet both individual, group and national development. What kind of human development effort can be rendered to or by a Nigerian in foreign land whose country has forsaken him.

In fact, one can ask; how helpful have the different Nigerian governments been to even Nigerians living in Nigeria, let alone the ones abroad? Is Nigeria going to showcase poverty, suffering, high mortality, lack of basic health care, moribund education, inadequate electricity, water, good roads etc. that have characterized the Nigerian state as a result of the greed and corrupt behavior of our leaders as our foreign policy dividends?(Adejumo, 2007) . How do we want to convince Nigerians at home and abroad that the government cares for them and need their support in

accomplishing its foreign policy goals? These kinds of scenario engulf a great setback for citizen diplomacy.

Another factor that is capable of causing setback for Citizen Diplomacy is in the aspect of citizen's little or no affection for the country which has been gingered or stimulated by the attitude of constituted authorities to the average Nigerian. The average Nigerian is treated with contempt 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 in extra-judicial killing, arrest, and detention of innocent citizens, extortion of different dimensions and brutality.

A critical example of the maltreatment of Nigerian citizens by constituted authority is that which happened on Sunday, January 3, 2009, when men of the Nigerian Police Force on patrol in Ilorin, Kwara State, Nigeria shot a taxi cab when the driver allegedly failed to stop for inspection and subsequent payment of less than ₦100:00, while the bullets hit on a nursing mother; Titilayo Olutunde aged 20 years and her eight months old baby late Anuoluwa, in which both of them died. Titilayo and her daughter's brutal murder by the police have since occupied front page in legal interpretation (Jimoh, 2010). The question now is that, what kind of citizen diplomacy are we talking about? When the Citizen's life is being toyed with, by the state apparatus that is supposed to bring succour to it. This will no doubt enable the citizens to be at least apathetic to the Government and its programmes if they can't evict it out rightly.

In the immediate sub-region of ECOWAS whose institutions Nigeria have been hosting and substantially funding, Nigerians are not even employed as drivers (Dickson, 2010). As succinctly put by Onyearu, not only did the country Nigeria donate generously towards ECOWAS set up costs including the secretariat, it regularly paid its annual contribution of approximately 32.5% of the community's budget which was subsequently revised upwards to 40%. In the ECOWAS community court of justice only 7% of the staff is Nigerian, and it is situated in Abuja, the country's capital. At the African Union, since 2003 when former president Obasanjo nominated two female candidates from Nigeria for the same post, no Nigerian has been elected in the AU

commission for the last few years (Dickson, 2010). A nation that has the largest population in Africa is not adequately represented in the African Union commission. Burkina Faso equally defeated Nigeria in 2007 AU executive post election. Then what manner of citizen diplomacy is it when the citizens lack representation here and there.

Another case in point where the efficacy of Nigerian citizen diplomacy has been questioned is the matter that involved Dr. Ngozi Ugo. As narrated by Abba Mahmood, she is a citizen of Nigeria who had done so much for the UN for so many years especially in the area of human rights, international law, conflict handling and peace building and was able to win a lot of international awards. On three different occasions, the UN found her worthy of being nominated for the position of Assistant Secretary General of the organization even under the present government of Barack Obama, a position that required the endorsement of her home government in Nigeria. However, between the ministry of foreign Affairs and the office of the Attorney-General of the federation, she was being dribbled till she lost. Then what manner of citizen diplomacy is it when on merit a citizen is found worthy of holding a very important position by the whole world but her country refused to certify her.

As observed by Mahmood (2009):

Dr. Ugo's presence in the UN system would have enhanced Nigeria's position for the UN permanent seat. Other more serious countries campaign for their citizens and that is why the highest ranking African in the UN system is a Tanzanian woman. Go to the Commonwealth secretariat in London you may think you are in Indian ministry of foreign Affairs because of the number of Indians there. And this is where our own chief Anyaoku served for almost four decades. When is Nigeria going to stand and recognize its own? It is sad, unfortunate and indeed painful.

There are too many instances of weaknesses summed up against citizen diplomacy that time and space would not allow us to penetrate further with our analyses.

Prospects

Prospectively however, citizen diplomacy as a policy thrust of the Nigerian government is a logical continuation of the Obasanjo foreign policy that was aimed at rehabilitating Nigeria and getting it back into the comity of nations (Osita, A, 2009) . Under Yar'Adua it is targeted at obtaining gains from this re-integration through the protection of the citizen's interest. This has no doubt encapsulated great challenges as it has been previously revealed to us.

Meanwhile, incrementally and with the strengthening of democracy and renewed political will on the part of Nigerian leaders it is hopeful that foreign policy goals and national aspirations will be met. Placing the citizens at the center of the national programmes reinforces the original purpose of the government and when those in power offer necessary leadership, they will without much effort secure the trust of the general populace and establish centers of national solidarity and more agents of national progress (Osita, A, 2009). With that, citizen diplomacy stands a higher chance of yielding the envisaged dividends and consequently make Nigerian Foreign Policy to be robust in terms of implementation and accomplishment. Citizen diplomacy if well-articulated and executed with passion could lead to better management and allocation of resources, using resources to meet the pressing needs of citizens everywhere (Mbachu, 2007).

Another prospect of Citizen Diplomacy is that, it is capable of re-charting Nigerian Foreign Policy pursuit towards beneficial economic and political engagements that will enhance national development and citizen's welfare. A situation that is capable of enhancing national unity and integration in a multi-ethnic society like Nigeria. The future of Citizen Diplomacy could be brightened in Nigeria in terms of implementation and goals accomplishment, especially if it is made the cotton head of the country's external pursuits. This is because the adequate recognitions and care displayed by Nigeria over its citizens will no doubt boost the morale of the citizens and ginger their interest in assisting their country to accomplish its foreign policy agenda, including making peace.

The Nigerian citizen diplomacy needs sincerity of purpose from our leaders; they need to portray leadership by example in all their endeavours as this will ginger the citizens to follow their footsteps. The sincerity of purpose is equally expected from the Nigerian missions abroad to

redress as a matter of urgency their attitude towards Nigerians abroad, they must positively engage the citizens and make their agenda inclusive. This would help to create a mechanism that will deal with any adverse reports against Nigerians and Nigeria. This implies that Nigerian missions abroad must take these responsibilities as their personal goals. Operational directives must be issued to them, it will be very important that resources are made available for this purpose also. Additionally there should be improved monitoring directed at the mission's activities to ensure that identified objectives are accomplished.

In conclusion, the introduction of citizen diplomacy in Nigeria is desirable, timely and must be pursued to the summit, it is a policy that is dynamic, proactive, full of potentials and could achieve numerous feats (Salihu, 2010). Rather than propose unproductive drawbacks, the ministry of foreign affairs should be whole heartedly encouraged and supported.

The Federal Government should sit up and study Nigerian foreign policy machinery and try to make it more dynamic, more focused and more responsive to the needs of vibrant citizen diplomacy. Staff of the ministry of foreign affairs should be given adequate training to perform their duties more effectively, not downsizing as canvassed for by the presidential advisory council (PAC) on foreign relations. This is a scientific era when Nigeria needs meticulous planning and deployment of sufficient skills to achieve her goals. (Mahmood ,2009).

In support of the above articulation, as a matter of fact, Nigerian foreign policy should be urgently reviewed and re packaged in line with new realities of the globalised world in order to make it more efficient, responsive, dynamic and full of punch based on citizen diplomacy. Finally, we are of the opinion that future success of citizen diplomacy requires that, Nigerian foreign policy must be tailored towards result-oriented and directed at aggressively pursuing its interest in Africa and around the world. The era of "Big Brother" and "free food basket" should be considered to be over in view of the new economic realities at home and other challenges around the world.

CONCLUSION

From the historical excursion into Nigerian foreign policy, it is evident that the Nigerian state has patronized different foreign policy thrusts which national interests have oscillated from Afrocentricism to foreign policy concentricism to consultation doctrine to economic diplomacy, and from economic diplomacy to Area boy diplomacy to global-centric to constructive and beneficial concentricism and finally landed at citizen diplomacy. Without mincing words, all these changes are reflection of mixed scanning approach to policy making process. This is because, whether cautious or incautious, decision makers in Nigerian foreign policy have given preference for an increment or improvement in the choice of foreign policy thrust(s) and at the same time put rational consideration in high esteem, thus allowing their decisions to align with the centre theme of mixed scanning model which simultaneously focuses on; policy increment/improvement and rationality.

Citizen diplomacy is another way of saying citizen-centered diplomacy in which the citizen is not only considered the ultimate objective of any foreign policy action, but also a major stakeholder in the art and act of diplomacy. However, it is no longer news that the adoption of citizen diplomacy by the federal government does not seem to have changed the poor perception about Nigeria and Nigerians because of the inability of Nigeria's leadership to clearly define her national interest.

It is however recommended that, the Nigerian foreign policy should be urgently reviewed and repackaged in concord with the new realities of a changing world and particularly in a post oil wealth era, to make it more efficient, responsive, inclusive and proactive, based on citizen diplomacy. As a final point, citizen diplomacy should be offered as a message of self-help in which the future of Nigeria would not be decided by foreigners but by Nigerians themselves. Consequently, it will be better if citizen diplomacy is taken as a project before all Nigerians to be collectively looked after and talked about as a phenomenon, collectively defined as a concept and jointly promoted as Nigerian foreign policy thrust.

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