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**INTERMESTIC POLITICS AND THE EVOLUTION OF NIGERIAN
FOREIGN POLICY IN THE POST-INDEPENDENCE ERA**



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**MASTER OF ARTS POLITICAL SCIENCE
UNIVERSITI UTARA MALAYSIA**

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**INTERMESTIC POLITICS AND THE EVOLUTION OF NIGERIAN
FOREIGN POLICY IN THE POST-INDEPENDENCE ERA**

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**A thesis submitted to the Ghazalie Shafie Graduate School of Government
in fulfilment of the requirement for the Master of art political
Science universiti utara Malaysia**



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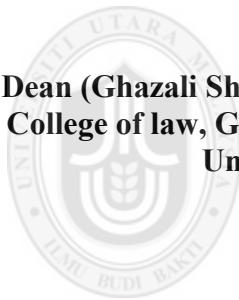
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Abstract

Internationally, state behaviour has long been acknowledged to be the result of a variety of factors originating both within the state and within its constituting external environment. These factors have widely different degrees of influence across states. Using Nigeria as an example, this study sought to determine whether Nigerian foreign policy is determined by internal or external factors. The framework of analysis used is neoclassical realism to capture the intersection of internal and external influences, namely, intermestic politics, in the formulation of Nigerian foreign policy. Following a review of the literature on foreign policy sources and a historical overview of Nigerian foreign policy, evidence of relevant sources in relation to Nigerian foreign policy was presented and Utilized to create a questionnaires, The Methodology utilized is mixed-methods sequential research design comprising both quantitative survey questionnaire and qualitative semi structure interview techniques. The evidence was then compared to the answers to the survey questionnaires and interview questions in the hopes of uncovering more information. The research findings from the quantitative hypotheses result collectively predicted that when it comes to Nigerian foreign policy, internal influences take precedence over external influences. Internal influences in the regard of Nigerian foreign policy have been found to be more pervasive than external influences, as expected. This is not to say that external influences have been non-existent, but rather that internal considerations account for the majority of Nigerian foreign policy decisions. The findings from the qualitative interview reveal and corroborated to quantitative results as the majority of the interviewers elaborated that external factors are part of the foreign policy but not a determinant of a state's foreign policy and Nigeria is not an exemption. Furthermore, the introduction of leadership personality and perception as a mediator shows positive impact on the relationship between external environment and foreign policy behaviour. Thus, this study recommends for the relevant stakeholders to formulate the policies that will enhance the internal and external environment to stimulate better foreign policy behaviour in and beyond Nigeria.

Keywords: Foreign policy, internal factors, external factors, leadership

personality, Neo-classical realism,

Abstrak

Di peringkat antarabangsa, tingkah laku negara telah lama diperakui dan terdiri daripada pelbagai faktor dalaman dan termasuklah persekitaran luar. Faktor-faktor ini mempunyai darjah pengaruh yang berbeza di seluruh negara. Kajian ini menggunakan Nigeria sebagai contoh untuk menentukan sama ada dasar luar sesebuah negara ditentukan oleh faktor dalaman atau faktor luaran. Kerangka analisis yang digunakan ialah realisme neoklasik iaitu untuk mengenal pasti hubungan di antara pengaruh dalaman dan luaran, yang dikenali sebagai politik intermestik. Selepas meninjau karya tentang sumber dasar luar dan gambaran keseluruhan sejarah dasar luar Nigeria, sumber bukti yang relevan dan dikenal pasti yang berhubung dengan dasar luar Nigeria telah dibentangkan dan ianya kemudian digunakan bagi membangunkan soal selidik tinjauan dan soalan temu bual. Metodologi yang digunakan ialah reka bentuk penyelidikan berurutan kaedah campuran yang terdiri daripada soal selidik tinjauan kuantitatif dan teknik temu bual semi struktur kualitatif. Bukti tersebut kemudian dibandingkan dengan jawapan kepada soal selidik tinjauan dan soalan temu bual bagi mendapatkan lebih banyak maklumat. Hasil penyelidikan dan kajian daripada hipotesis kuantitatif meramalkan bahawa dasar luar negara Nigeria lebih dipengaruhi oleh faktor dalaman berbanding dengan faktor luar. Pengaruh dalaman terhadap dasar luar Nigeria didapati wujud dengan lebih meluas berbanding pengaruh luar, seperti yang dijangkakan. Ini bukan bermakna pengaruh luar tidak wujud atau sekunder, sebaliknya pertimbangan dalaman didapati memberi sumbangan lebih besar kepada majoriti keputusan dasar luar Nigeria. Penemuan daripada temu bual kualitatif mendedahkan dan menyokong keputusan kuantitatif kerana majoriti penemuduga menghuraikan bahawa faktor luaran adalah sebahagian daripada dasar luar tetapi tidak menjadi penentu kepada dasar luar negara dan Nigeria bukan pengecualian. Tambahan pula, pengenalan personaliti dan persepsi kepemimpinan memberikan impak positif terhadap hubungan antara persekitaran luar dan tingkah laku dasar luar. Oleh itu, kajian ini mengesyorkan kepada pihak berkepentingan untuk menggubal dasar yang dapat meningkatkan persekitaran dalaman dan luaran bagi merangsang tingkah laku dasar luar yang lebih baik di dalam serta di luar Nigeria.

Kata kunci: Dasar luar, faktor dalaman, faktor luaran, personaliti kepimpinan, analisis dasar luar,

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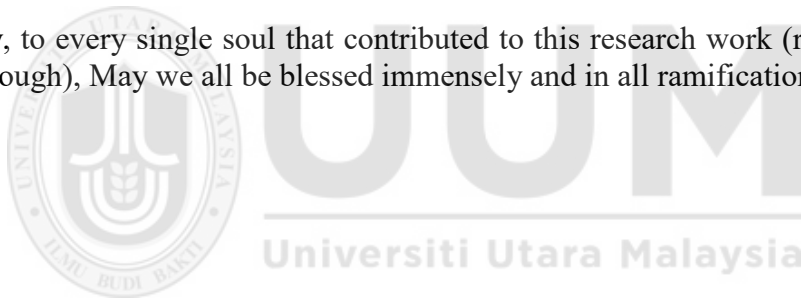


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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

R^2	: R -square values
UN	: United Nation
PLS	: Partial Least Square Regression
SPSS	: Statistical package for social sciences
DV	: Dependent Variable
IV	: Independent Variable
MV	: Mediation Variable
SD	: Standard Deviation
EX	: External factor
DPS	: Domestic political Situation
LPP	: Leadership Personality Perception
FP	: Foreign Policy
IF	: Internal Factor

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

The dynamics of the intersection or overlap of domestic politics and international politics is double-sided. Foreign policy actions or decisions can have domestic political consequences and domestically inspired actions can have foreign policy implications. Such a situation clarifies the dynamics of intermestic politics or show how domestic and foreign policy matters can become intertwined (Snow & Haney, 2013). The study of Nigerian Foreign policy reflects the intermestic distinction. It has two main focal points, namely, the systemic/international environment that forms the context and set of circumstances in the global community to which Nigerian foreign policy must react, and the Nigerian political structure and situation that provides the predispositions and processes by which Nigeria arrives at decisions, including those with foreign dimensions. Thus, both domestic and systemic factors are germane, and it is problematic to understand Nigerian foreign policy without a grounding in and appreciation of each. In other words, the foreign policy of a given state is the product of a number of actors and structures, both domestic and international (Carlsnaes, 2012, p.113).

The history of Nigeria foreign policy in the post-independence era period could be categorised into two distinctive phases, that is the phase before effective democratisation (the era of successive governments involving the civilian

administrations interspaced with other subsequent military regimes between (1960 to 1999) and the period of sustained democratisation (the period of the Fourth Republic since 1999) More importantly, Nigeria foreign policy principles and goals have stayed virtually the same since independence in 1960. The goals of Nigeria's foreign policy are vividly captured in both the 1979 and 1999 constitutional frameworks with the goal of promoting a just world economic order being the only additional one in the aforementioned constitutions. Despite of this minor adjustment, the substance of the foreign policy objectives has largely remained intact,

With this in mind, both Section 19 of the 1979 Constitution and Section 20 of the 1999 constitution of Nigeria capture the same substance of the foreign policy goals. These foreign policy objective as stated in Section 19 of the 1979 Constitution are that “the State shall promote African unity, as well as total political economic, social and cultural liberation of Africa and all other forms of international cooperation conducive of the consolidation of universal peace and mutual respect and friendship among all peoples and states, and shall combat racial discrimination in all its manifestations” Similarly, Section 20 of 1999 outlines the foreign policy goals as follows:

“Promotion and protection of national interest; Promotion of African integration and support of African unity; Promotion of international cooperation for the consolidation of universal peace and mutual respect among all nations; Respect for international law and treaty obligations as well as the seeking of settlement of international disputes by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration and adjudication and elimination of discrimination in all its manifestation; Promotion of a just world economic order.(P.15)”

In a related development, Nigerian national interest entailing what is good for the nation as a whole in world affairs is a key determinant of foreign policy as enshrined in the above goals of the 1979 and 1999 Constitutions. Basically, national interest is the domestic interest of Nigeria, which shapes her activities and position in international affairs. As indicated in the foregoing, Nigeria's core principles of foreign policy have been fairly constant since the attainment of independence in 1960 (Ashiru, 2013). Meanwhile, (Oshuntokun 1987) displays good understanding of what constitutes Nigeria's national interest. As aptly put by Oshuntokun, national interests includes "internal cohesion, national unity, the creation of a happy and egalitarian society, the creation of a state where career is open to talents and where there is employment for those who want to work and where there are the traditional freedoms of speech, political association, religion and equality before the Law, coupled with this is the defence of the humanity and rights of all black men through deliberate action and policies" (1987:1). Nonetheless, it is imperative to note that Nigeria national interests have been principally shaped and defined by the various leaderships and administrations that characterised the post-independence era. More intensely, (Ajayi 2004) and (Olukoshi 1992), broadly spell out what the national interests of Nigeria entails, as follows:

(i) The defence of her sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity; (ii) The creation of the necessary political and economic condition in the country, Africa and the rest of the world, which will facilitate the defence of the independence and territorial integrity of all African countries while at the same foster national self-reliance and rapid economic development; (iii) The promotion of equality and self-reliance in Africa and the rest of the developing world; (iv) The promotion and defence of justice and respect for human dignity especially the dignity of the black man; and (v) The defence and promotion of international peace and security. (p.47)

A key example will suffice to illustrate how national interests have shaped the country foreign policy preferences and trajectory. A critical national interest cited above, that has affected Nigeria's foreign policy choices is the defence of the country "sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity, internal cohesion and national unity". An instructive example that triggered this trajectory was the Nigerian civil war (also known as the Biafran War (1967-1970), which threatened the country territorial integrity following the Biafra secession. In this case, the former colonial master, Britain, the major supplier of Nigeria defence arms refused to supply offensive weapons to the federal government on humanitarian grounds, thereby creating a precarious scenario that heightened possible disintegration of the country.

Meanwhile, at more or less the same time, other Western countries including the United States (US) France, and the Dutch (Netherlands) pursued a similar approach of placing an arms embargo against the Federal regime in Nigeria. In reaction as well as being spurred by national strategic, the Yakubu Gowon's military regime turned to the Soviet Union Bloc for the supply of offensive weapons, during the critical juncture of the Cold War. Clearly, this policy shift was necessitated by Nigeria's desire to defend her territory integrity which under existential threat from the Biafran secessions movement, With a single act Gowon's military administration regime significantly changed Nigeria's foreign policy direction by abandoning the pro-Western posture acquired from Balewa's administration and which it had been tempted to follow. (Ashaver 2014). Bearing this in mind, this has given credence to the view that Nigeria national interest have been largely determined and define the country foreign policy choices (Oshuntokun, 1987) (Adeibijola, 2013) and (Asobie (2007)

On the opposing note, some critics have questioned Nigeria's nationalist credentials and aspirations in its foreign policy behavior (Adeibijola, 2013). The irony pointed out by these doubters is that Nigeria has spent a lot of money in being a champion of regional peace by enforcing peace and undertaking peacekeeping duties in neighboring countries such as Sierra Leone and Liberia. Yet in its own domestic affairs, most of the Nigerians do not enjoy the peace dividend, social welfare, and other basic fundamental human rights. To put it differently, whereas Nigeria presents a good image of peacekeeping operations, but at home the picture is not rosy. The word peace remains a fabrication of imagination for most Nigerians. Perhaps, this clarifies the infrastructural setback, social decadence, and the Insecurity growing by the Boko Haram insurgency, militancy in the Niger Delta, and other high-profile kidnapping incidents.

According report of (Asobie 2007) Nigerians in other African countries face rejection, deportation, condemnation, brutalization, and accusation, A synopsis of the evolution of Nigerian Foreign policy (Cold War) to the present is discussed as well to provide a context on Nigerian foreign policy. the so-called First Republic, the foundation of Nigeria foreign policy was directly associated with the overall vision of Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Nigeria's first Premeir and Head of government (Fawole, 2003). Notably, Balewa public communication including his Independence Day address on 1 st October, 1960 clearly indicated that the requirement of Nigeria foreign policy objectives was the advancement of the national interest of the federation and of its citizens. According to (Fawole 2003) Balewa articulated four broad principles at the independent day, the four broad principle that would underpin Nigeria foreign policy behaviour as follows:

“The First, it is the desire of Nigeria to remain on friendly terms with all nations and to participate actively in the work of the United Nations Organization. Second, Nigeria, a large and populous country of over thirty five millions, has absolutely no territorial or expansionist intentions. Third, we shall not forget our old friends and we are proud to have been accepted as a member of the commonwealth, but nevertheless we do not intend to align ourselves as a matter of routine with any of the power blocs. We are committed to the principles upon which the United Nations Organization is founded. Fourth, Nigeria hopes to work with other African states for the progress of Africa and to assist in bringing all African territories to a state of responsible independence (Fawole, 2003)” (p21)

In spite of the expressed intention of Balewa to pursue a non-aligned foreign policy as stated in the above declared foreign policy principles, Nigeria’s foreign policy immediately after independence was principally pro-British and shaped by British and Western interests (Ekenedirichukwu 2010). Unsurprisingly, during Balewa reign, there were lots of contradictions and inconsistencies in Nigeria foreign policy. For example, Balewa non-appearance at the maiden conference of the Non-aligned Movement (NAM) in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, his evasiveness over the formalization of diplomatic ties with the Sino-Soviet bloc until December 1961; and his initial support of the Anglo-Nigeria Defence Pact until he was forced to reverse it by students and the opposition, are instances that typify the pro-Western trajectory of Nigeria’s foreign policy in the first administration. As can be seen, one of the notable characteristic of the Balewa reign was that it was consistently pro-British and pro-West.

The military coup of January 15, 1966 ended Nigeria First Republic with General Aguiyi Ironsi taking over power in the confusion that ensued. However, Ironsi military regime

was short-lived and enjoyed power for six months. Ironsi rule and life were ended by a counter-coup that occurred on 1996 with General Yakubu Gowon assuming the role of military Head of State. With this in mind, Ironsi rule could not make any meaningful impact on Nigeria foreign policy direction. Meanwhile, the subsequent era under General Gowon, from 1966 to 1975, was significant in Nigerian political history as very critical events took place between 1967 to 1970 namely, the Nigerian civil war (also known as the Biafran war) which provided the country a new motivation to exercise her non-aligned posture in international affairs. Notably, during the civil war, there was pattern shift in foreign policy of Nigeria, from being pro-West to pro-Eastern bloc. Due to an arms embargo or restrictions imposed by some Western countries on the Federal government at the behest of former colonial power,

Britain, Gowon military administration nearly witnessed the disintegration of the country. As mentioned earlier, the Nigerian federal government turned to the Soviet bloc for military supplies in order to secure the country territorial integrity and sovereignty. The administration became pro-East. In a way, the Nigerian civil war became a major proxy war of opposing Cold War protagonists with Britain actively participating in staying off the Soviet Union's increasingly communist incursion in Nigeria. In a nutshell, the Gowon period was a very colourful decade of vibrant foreign policy leaning as the military regime adopted a number of principles such as non-interference in the sovereignty of African states, and respect for the principles governing the Organisation of African Union (OAU) and the United Nations (UN). Furthermore, Nigeria played a critical role in the setting up of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) as well as providing financial assistance to the OAU Liberation Committee

(Arowolo 2008). In July, 1975, Gowon was toppled from power by another military coup led by Brigadier Murtala Muhammad. The military governments of Murtala Mohammed and later Olusegun Obasanjo saw a full demonstration of Nigeria Africa strategy from 1975 to 1979. (Who took over after Murtala was assassinated in abortive coup in 1976). In this era, Nigeria displayed a well-defined and coherent Africa policy that was not stained with fear or favour to any major bloc or country. In his keynote address to the OAU, General Murtala Muhammad gave notice of the direction that Africa was going to follow with Nigeria leadership. Part of Murtala speech read thus:

“Africa has come of age, it is no longer in the orbit of any continental power. It should no longer take order from any country however powerful. The fortunes of Africa are in our hands to make or mar. This boldness exhibited by the Nigerian leader has been given as perhaps one of the many reasons given for his untimely elimination from the political scene. There is an issue of conspiracy by the West that could not stomach a revolutionary leader, a staunch believer in Africa and a soldier who was ready to do all it took to wrest Africa from the wrenches of the capitalist West that had continued to control the continent destiny many years after the declaration of independence (Ekenedirichukwu” 2010) (p.13”

Likewise, a number of scholars including (Damilola 2012). Regard the period between 1975 and 1979, as demonstrating Nigeria African leadership role. Nigeria led the anti-colonialism movement by actively participating in every African country trying to free itself from colonialism oppression, particularly in Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), and South Africa. An instructive example of Nigeria leader role in the anti-colonial struggle was its pivotal support to the eventual winner, the Soviet Bloc aided MPLA Government in Luanda. In this political contestation for power, Nigeria pitted itself against some western powers including Britain and America, which were rooting for other players such as the National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola

(UNITA) and National Liberation Front of Angola (FNLA). Nonetheless, Nigeria stood its ground as the great champion of Africa's interests. Similarly, Nigeria hard line position and support for the liberation movements on the Rhodesian political crisis was instrumental in the country gaining independence in April 1980 as Zimbabwe. Without a shadow of doubt, the period between 1975 and 1979 was Nigeria golden era in its foreign policy exploits. The country stature and image grew in the international community. Unsurprisingly, due to Nigeria growing influence in international affairs, the US President Jimmy Carter paid a visit to Nigeria in 1978, in reciprocation to Olusegun Obasanjo visit to the US in October 1977.

The implication of this visit also demonstrates the fact that at this juncture, Nigeria foreign policy had become largely independent and non-aligned. It was neither anti-West nor in support of the Eastern bloc. Meanwhile, from 1979-1983, the Second Republic came into being after democratic rule was restored in Nigeria. However, the country foreign policy experienced a reversal of fortunes since the Shehu Shehu Shagari civilian administration, was grossly incompetent. Nigeria lost its credibility as a result of lack of leadership, intuitive and direction. All in all, this period marked by a four year tenure of retreat and inaction in foreign policy was largely an outcome of economic mismanagement and corruption at the domestic level by the Shagari administration. Thus, as noted by (Arowolo 2008), a vibrant foreign policy needs a strong domestic economy and policy making. Arguing along similar lines, (Damilola, 2012). Concur that this era experienced a period of retreat and low profile in Nigeria foreign policy due to the conservative nature of the Shagari administration and the economic recession which struck the country. Although relations with former colonial power, Britain became very amiable again, it is important to note that Shagari administration continued

the earlier policy to champion African interests. In that regard, crude petroleum continued to be sold at lower prices to several poor African countries. Furthermore, financial aid was also extended to fellow African countries, notably the newly independent Zimbabwe as well as some liberation movements like the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) of Namibiaa. The major drawback of Shagari administration was its expulsion of illegal African aliens, the majority of whom were Ghanaians in 1983.

As expected, this incident raised questions about Nigeria Africa policy as well as her commitment to the ECOWAS treaty. following another coup in 1983, General Muhammadu Buhari took over power and replaced the corrupt Shagari. When the Buhari regime took over, the military regime confronted a sad state of affairs as the country coffers were nearly empty with economic decadence, corruption, mismanagement, and a high level of political violence abeing the order of the day. Clearly, the Shagari regime had lost the plot with the domestic environment characterized by ineptitude in governance and heated political violence in some parts of the Country. As a result, the immediate challenges that confronted the Buhari regime were related to nation rebuilding and the revivalal of the vibrant Nigerian foreign policy. In attempting to attain these lofty objectives, the Buhari regime was too overwhelmed by enthusiasm and ebullience in its attempt to succeed in its foreign policy exploits. Due to its hard line stance, the regime adopted a reactive approach in its foreign policy behavior which led to cooling of relation with Britain. This was noticeable in the abortive attempt to kidnap and fly former minister in the Shagari administration, Umaru Dikko, from London to Lagos in July 1984 to undergo trial for corruption. This incident negatively affected British-Nigerian relations for years because the kidnap had been

sanctioned by the Buhari regime. Like the previous regime, the Buhari military regime also expelled illegal West Africans resident in the country on grounds of being aliens. All things considered, the Buhari regime pursued a foreign policy that was vibrant, robust and pushing, but in a rather confrontational manner”

(Ekenedirichukwu 2010). From 1985-1993, the military regime of Ibrahim Babangida worked towards actualizing the ambitious goals of Nigeria foreign policy in various fora. The Babangida regime tried to revive Nigeria leadership role in African international affairs. Notably, its main focus was economic matters rather than political issues. In that regard, various trade and economic missions involving China, Germany, Japan, Brazil, and Argentina were undertaken. Likewise, in an effort to deepen South-South economic cooperation, Nigeria engaged a number of countries such as Singapore, Indonesia, Hong Kong, Korea, and Zimbabwe, to discuss possible ways of economic and technical cooperation. The Babangida regime was also infamous for having established diplomatic relations with Israel, a state much maligned by African states for violating the rights of Palestine. In the domain of conflict

Resolution, the military regime stance was unparalleled. Due to country desire to restore its leadership role in the African continent, the Liberian and Sierra Leone political and humanitarian crises attracted the attention of the Babangida military administration (Arowolo, 2008). Nigeria pursued its interventionist approach in Liberia and Sierra Leone of Nigeria via ECOWAS Cease fire monitoring group (ECOMOG). Accordingly, Nigeria managed to restore peace in its backyard of West Africa. However, the notable successes that the Babangida regime might have achieved through its interventionist foreign policy, particularly in peace enforcement and peacekeeping in West Africa,

quickly evaporated due to its domestic dynamics. The country human rights violations were appalling and the country image took a beating following the annulment of the June 12, 1993 election results, generally considered to have been the most credible in the political history of Nigeria. Unfortunately, the termination of the poll results occurred at a time, when the world, especially the Western world had made good governance, democracy, and respect for human rights as crucial criteria for positive behaviour in external relations. On the whole, these nefarious domestic postures expressed by the Babangida regime, dented Nigeria image abroad and its foreign policy exploitst

(Ekenedirichukwu 2010). From 1993 to 1998, given that General Sani Abacha assumed power by force needlessly and at a time the international community was gradually leaning towards liberal democratic principles, Nigeria became an outcast among the comity of nations. Generally, the Nigerian foreign policy trajectory during this era was isolationist and reactive. Furthermore, the Abacha military regime was so bold in disregarding diplomatic norms as well as displaying negative foreign policy behavior. An instructive example of this bold and infamous behavior by the Abacha regime was the inexcusable and indefensible killing of the Ogoni human rights activist, Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight others despite strong protestations and pleas from the international community. In the aftermath of such infamous actions, key members of the international community such traditional allies as the United States, Britain, France, Germany, South Africa, and Canada temporarily withdrew diplomatic representations and support for Nigeria. Although Abacha turned East for diplomatic support, it is evident that Nigeria had alienated dominant actors in the international community as Asian players did not really do much for the realization of foreign policy goals of Nigeria in that period. As

indicated by (Arowolo 2008) and (Ekenedirichukwu 2010), the tenure of the Abacha regime was the darkest period in the political history of Nigeria foreign policy. The country became an international outcast and pariah. As a result, the country attracted various sanctions which negatively affected the domestic economy. This was the situation obtaining in Nigeria till Abacha died suddenly in June 1998.

The succeeding regime of General Abdulsalami Abubakar reversed a lot of the negativity by repositioning the country and reinstating its leadership role in Africa. As a result of a number of measures, Nigeria restored its image in the international community. Some of these measures included the unconditional release of all political prisoners, and overall repositioning of the country foreign policy. By and large, the Abubakar administration embarked on Nigeria re-engagement with the international community to correct the negative state of affairs orchestrated by the Abacha military regime. Thus, Abubakar administration succeeded in returning Nigeria to its rightful position, and redeemed her image in the international system (Arowolo 2008) basically, in 1999 the Fourth Republic (which is still in existence) was Established when General Abdulsalami Abubakar transition programme ushered in Olusegun Obasanjo as a civilian Head of State after democratic elections. Emerging out of the obnoxious undemocratic regime of various military regimes, Nigeria Fourth Republic has sought to transform its post-military foreign policy trajectory in terms of content, orientation, and direction. For example, under obasanjo, Nigeria rebranded herself from the uncomplimentary image as a regional destabiliser and enforcer to a global crusader of human rights, peace, security and democratisation. To that end, obasanjo administration adopted a vibrant foreign policy aimed at fostering cordial relations with all nations, and it will continue to do so in the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, and

other international organisations. Nigeria foreign policy during this time was guided by its commitment to democratic values, human rights, the rule of law, and the strengthening of a culture of good governance at home. Nigeria conventional Afro-centric trajectory has not changed in regional dynamics. Africa continues to be the central focus of its foreign policy, although obasanjo laid a solid foundation in terms of foreign policy, his successors efforts of repositioning Nigeria in external relations have been hampered by the emergence of Boko Haram and terrorism. The successor regimes of Yaradua , Goodluck Jonathan and Buahri have had the challenge of building on the legacies of obasanjo administration but at the same time confronting serious domestic threats of militancy in the North, rising violence in the oil-rich Delta regions, and the resurgence of irredentism in the eastern part of the country. In the aftermath of obasanjo presidency,

However, the Fourth Republic Nigeria has displayed notable inconsistency, marked by the selective application of its foreign policy values and ethos. The inconsistencies and contradictions in Nigeria foreign policies have been evident not just in ECOWAS, but also in other international institutions such as the AU and the UN. In the final analysis, Nigeria foreign policies in international organizations demonstrate the huge gap between what it preaches and what it actually practices. As can be seen from the above discussion, foreign policy is a subject matter straddling the boundary between the domestic and the external environments of a state. As noted by (Neack 2003) Such a policy is conducted in complex internal and international environments; it results from coalitions of active actors and groups situated both inside and outside state boundaries; its substance emanates from issues both domestic and international politics; and it

involves processes of bargaining and compromise involving trade-off affecting the interests of both domestic and international groupings”

This Janus-faced nature of foreign policy has complicated the analysis of foreign policy. It has also added considerably to the challenges of conceptualising, explaining, and assessing the role of actors and structures in foreign policy analysis. As aptly put by Christopher (Hazlett , & Hill, F. 2003).

“Foreign policy making is a complex process of interaction between many actors, differentially embedded in a wide range of different structures. Their interaction is a dynamic process, leading to the constant evolution of both actors and structures “(p,33)

As can be seen, the main argument of this study is that a synthetic framework for analysis of foreign policy is indeed possible and achievable. An insightful attempt to develop a framework of analysis for identifying the main sources of a state’s foreign policy was developed by James N. Rosenau in 1971, This theoretical framework identified five potential sources that influence a state's foreign policy, namely "the external environment of the international system, the domestic/societal environment of a nation state, the governmental structure that specifies the foreign policy making process,, the bureaucratic roles occupied by individual policy makers, and finally the personal characteristics and idiosyncrasies of individual policy makers” (Cox & Stokes, 2012, p. 6). On close examination

Rosenau’s framework is a simplifying device that assists scholars to identify the diverse source of a country foreign policy. However, Rosenau framework did not provide a comprehensive theory of foreign policy specifying how each of the five sources directly influences foreign policy behaviour. Furthermore, Rosenau framework of analysis does

not assess the relative influence of each of the sources that shape a state foreign policy. Unsurprisingly, scholars who have attempted to develop a theory on foreign policy have disagreed about the most important source of a state foreign policy behaviour. Likewise, existing studies on Nigerian foreign policy have not concurred on which of the sources is most important. With this in mind, this study will utilise neo-classical realism, a theory of foreign policy that simultaneously attempts to combine systemic and domestic level factors in explaining a country external behaviour. A neo-classical realist explanation holds that both external and domestic factors are necessary to understand the foreign policy behaviour of Nigeria (The Cold war Period)

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Nigeria is already approaching her 62nd year as an independent country, and has been involved in all types of government and leadership in the past sixty years. Being a milestone in the life of the country, a review of Nigeria foreign policy within this period is pertinent. There seems to be unending debate as to the main key determinants of Nigerian foreign policy, the task of explaining Nigerian foreign policy is endlessly complex and intricate. Part of the challenge originates from the fact that there are so numerous factors at play that it is often tough to ascertain the underlying rationale for a given foreign policy decision. For instance, President Yakubu Gowon decision to receive weapons from the Soviet Bloc at the height of the Nigerian Civil War during the Cold War clearly reveals a complex web of factors that led to this foreign policy decision, The challenge confronting the foreign policy scholar is what set of factors, to focus on in order to explain the foreign policy behaviour of a country such as Nigeria, Should one focus on the personality factor? Should one focus on the alleged threat that

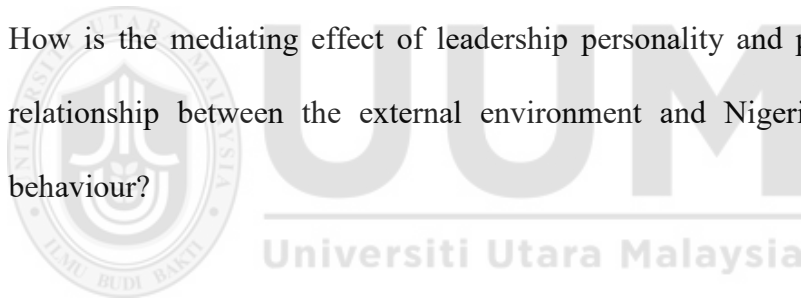
the Boko Haram and Global terror networks pose to Nigeria and regional stability? Or should one look inside Nigeria to see how the domestic political situation shape the objectives that Nigeria seeks to attain in its external relations with other states and actors? For instance Nigeria most populated nation, its major oil producer, and possessor of one of the continent's greatest economies that has various potential opportunities, Nigeria is positioned to take the lead on the African and global stages. Unfortunately, it has been failed to do so because of the enormous domestic economic and political obstacles it faces at home. Which have hindered the nation capability to lead, in the light of, despite these limitations, the nation has historically kept an active foreign policy on a continental and international level.

To comprehend how the nation has remained so active in its foreign policy, it is necessary to examine the factors that drive the development and implementation of its foreign policy objectives. However this study notes that there has been an interaction of systemic and domestic factors in the attainment of foreign policy objectives of the Nigerian State. Consequently, this complexity in explaining the external behaviour of Nigeria can be addressed by an overarching theory. Theory is unavoidable because decision makers approach the world from a particular paradigm or worldview that in turn generates specific theories. Employing the neo-classical realist theory for analytical purposes, As pointed out by some scholars there is in the foreign policy of most states a tension between on the one hand formal policy objectives and the rhetoric in which these are habitually projected, and on the other the energy with which they are pursued in practice”. Nigeria is no exception to this notion. All in all, the main purpose of this study is to examine the domestic and systemic factors that have influenced foreign policymaking in Nigeria since the post-independence era

1.3 Research Questions

Arising from the issues raised in the background of the study and problem identified in the statement of the problem, the following research questions are as follows:

- i. What are the various factors in the international environment that have shaped Nigerian foreign policy?
- ii. In what way has the domestic political situation of Nigeria influence the relationship between the external environment and a Nigeria foreign policy behaviour?
- iii. How is the mediating effect of leadership personality and perception on the relationship between the external environment and Nigeria foreign policy behaviour?



1.4 Research Objectives

The primary objective of the study is to examine the intermestic politics and the evolution of Nigerian foreign policy in the post-independence era the cold war, with the intervention of leadership personality and perception. However, the specific objectives are highlighted as follows:

- i. To examine the various factors in the international environment that have shaped Nigerian foreign policy
- ii. To investigate how the domestic political situation of Nigeria influence the relationship between external environment and foreign policy behaviour

- iii. To determine the mediating effect of leadership personality and perception on the relationship between external environment and foreign policy behaviour?

1.5 Research Hypotheses

Arrived from the research framework of this study, the development of the research

H1 External environment helps to explain the foreign policy behaviour in Nigerian.

H2 External environment Influence the leadership personality and perception.

H3 External environment has effect on the domestic political situation.

H4 There is an influence of domestic political situation on foreign policy behaviour of Nigerian.

H5 There is an influence of leadership personality and perception on foreign policy behaviour in Nigerian.

H6 Domestic political situation influence the relationship between external environment and foreign policy behaviour Nigeria.

H7 Leadership personality and perception mediate the relationship between external environment and foreign policy behaviour in Nigeria.

1.6 Significance of the study,

This study will lead to the development and enhancement of an overarching theory of foreign policy that is neo-classical realism. This theoretical premise holds that both external and internal factors are necessary to understand the foreign policy behaviour and nuances of Nigeria since her independent. Furthermore, the research findings

could be used as policy inputs and as well as contributing to the existing literature on Nigerian foreign policy.

1.7 Scope of the Study

This study will focus on the evolution of the Nigerian foreign policy in the post-independence era, however, there is a particular emphasis on the Fourth Republic (1999 to the present) because it is the longest period Nigeria has had a democratic dispensation.

1.8 Definition Key of Terms

Nigerian Foreign Policy: there is no commonly agreed-upon definition of foreign policy. The authors' backgrounds and circumstances are frequently reflected in the definitions. Despite the various definitions of foreign policy, some scholars have attempted to define the term in a way that is understandable to a wide range of people. Foreign policy for example, foreign policy is defined by (Kegley & Wittkopf 1999) as government activities directed at the external environment. as well as the conditions and causes that explain those actions. They went on to say that these factors can be both internal and external. such as the state nature and organisation, political configuration and interest groups, geographical location, economic strength, the nature and preferences of the ruling class, national (if any), and the current international environment. Scholars appear to be coming to the conclusion that, despite the importance of all other domestic variables on foreign policies, top leaders' personal attributes and preferences frequently have a greater influence. For example, in their various works, (Mingst 2008) & (Goldstein 1999), as well as (Kegley & Wittkopf 1999)

& (Rourke 1998) were all of the opinion that the character and personal traits of the highest-ranking government official not only shape the way foreign policies are constructed, but also affect how those policies are carried out. This propensity is strengthened, according to (Kegley & Wittkopf 1999:70), when we frequently link names of leaders to policies. The foregoing leads us to define Nigerian foreign policy as the objectives the country seeks to accomplish in the international system, as well as the domestic factors that influence these objectives, most notably the personal characteristics and attributes of the country most high ranking political leader

External Environment

According (Dickson 2017). External environment factors are factors that has influence on a country foreign policy but they are not part of the state's factors, these factors are the function of the qualities and characteristics of the international system within which state and Non-state actors operate. They include power structure, international organisation and economy interest.

Domestic Political Situation:

According to (Schraeder 2021) Domestic political actions procedures and state affairs occur inside one certain country, the type of government a state has has a big impact on how its domestic policies are made and carried out. In authoritarian governments, the group in charge can make decisions about domestic policy without the help or approval of the people who are being ruled.

on the other hand, In parliamentary democracy, the will of the people has much more power. The structured design of domestic policy is mostly the job of elected leaders, groups that make laws, and government agencies with specific jobs.

A state domestic policy can be identify from its bureaucracy process national interest policy. Including Internal security factors, economy interest factors, and cultural

Personality: Personality is derived from the Latin word personal which meaning mask, the mask used to depict or typify a character in the ancient Latin speaking world rather than its conventional usage. Personality is defined in a variety of ways, for example, the Britannica (Concise Dictionary2004) describes personality as "the totality of an individual behavioural and emotional qualities. "Personality refers to a person moods, attitudes, ideas, motives, and thinking, perceiving, speaking, and acting styles. It's part of what makes each person unique. Similarly, the American Psychological Association (2011) defines personality as individual variances in thought, mood, and behaviour patterns. There are many different definitions of personality, but for the sake of this study. (Ryckman 2004) definition of personality as a dynamic and ordered set of qualities possessed by a person that distinctively influences his or her cognitions, motives, and behaviours in diverse situations is relevant

1.9 Organisation Of the study

Five Chapters was presented in this thesis, Chapter one contained background information provided an Insightful to the past and present of Nigeria foreign policy through both military and democratic regime. The chapter also provided the problem statement, research question, research objective, and hypothesis, significant of the study, Scope of the study, definition of key terms and the organisation of the study

Chapter Two provided Literature review. Over view of the Nigeria foreign policy, external environment, domestic political situation, Leadership personality and perception, including the theoretical frame work and the literature gap

Chapter three presents the method used for data collection and the analysis. The chapter also provided a mixed method research design comprising both quantitative and qualitative Approach. Particularly the chapter covers research philosophy, research design, and population of the study, sampling techniques and sample size, and operational definition and measurement of the variables. Finally, the chapter also provided the procedure for data collection and data analysis. Pilot study as well as ethical consideration.

Chapter four provided and discuss the findings of both quantitative and qualitative study as well as data cleaning. The chapter also provides and discusses the fundamental assumptions of multiple regressions, reliability test and descriptive statistics such as mean and standard deviation and respondent profile. It also includes a measurement model and structural model analysis for hypothesis testing as well as direct and indirect effect analysis for testing the mediating effect. The second phase of the findings deals with the qualitative data that was gathered through interviewed and analysed

Chapter five covers the subject field and discusses the study findings in light of previous studies on foreign policy. In conclusion, Contribution of the study. The chapter addresses the survey limitations and provides some recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This Chapter provided Literature overview of Nigeria foreign policy since the post-independence era, as well as a review on external and internal factors on Nigeria foreign policy, It's first provides an overview of external influences and how they came to influence a particular states' foreign policies in general. Followed by exploration of domestic political Situation, Also the Chapter look into how sub theme selected external and domestic factors interact with one another to determine and influence Nigeria foreign policy. Lastly this chapter provide the clarification of the theoretical frame work And the Literature gap

2.2 Overview Of The Foreign Policy in Nigeria

The inconsistencies in Nigerian Foreign policies have been apparent since her independence in 1960. There is a disjuncture and even outright contradiction between what Nigeria professes and what it actually practices. This section provides a critical review of literature on Nigeria's foreign policy direction and practice.

Ezirin Ekenedirichukwu (2010) reviews Nigerian foreign policy from 1960 to 2010, The author notes that there has been a relatively foreign policy consistency during this period

under review. The author also highlights the impact of leadership personalities as a casual factor in foreign policy inconsistencies.

More interestingly, Ekenedirichukwu credits the domestic environment as the key determinant of the foreign environment. In that regard, he believes the downward spiral in the performance of the Nigerian foreign policy was due to its faulty domestic environment that is characterized by bad governance as well as an unstable economy. In a related development, Adeniji (2000) Claims that Nigeria faces a number of obstacles in achieving its economic and developmental goals due to policy inconsistency and discontinuity. And the lack of stability and continuity in policy programmed by succeeding governments has been the curse of Nigeria inferior growth and development over the years.

On the contrary, Akiba work on the continuities in Nigerian foreign policy in 1999 points out that the ruling elites since independence ensured that Nigeria relations with other African states as well as Western states have been such as to maintain their privileged status. Akiba proffers that Nigeria has always sought good relations with Western states even during the Cold War because the elites needed foreign investment to set up an industrial base in the country. However, when African opinion was strongly different from that of the West, Nigeria did pursue an independent foreign policy, for instance, over Rhodesia and South Africa in the 1970s and 1980s. In a nutshell, Akiba argues that there has been appearance of continuity in Nigerian foreign policy due to economic expediency sometimes tempered with moral principles. Arguing along similar lines, King (1999) observes that three strands, namely, the

country colonial roots, Pan-Africanism and non-alignment provided continuity in Nigerian foreign policy from independence until the mid-1980s.

Meanwhile, Akyemi (1980) and Wayas (1980) highlight Nigeria desire for a leadership role in Africa in the Cold War era. In essence, Akinyemi examine the constraints on Nigerian foreign policy. On the other hand, Wayas study asserts that Nigeria right and capability to take Africa leadership mantle” (p. 20) considering her dominant economic position due to oil wealth. His main purpose was to indicate that the Organization for African Unity (OAU) had failed to defend Africa against her internal and external adversaries (particularly, Arab and Western imperialism) and that, therefore, Nigeria must assume the leading role in reviving, revising, or ideally, replacing, the OAU. Nonetheless, both Akinyemi and Wayas, in different ways, assume that Nigeria as a regional hegemon, ought to act like one, and thus needed to discover the style and goals commensurate with that status. Such yearning for a new era in which Nigeria would act as the spokesman for Africa and the defender of African unity against imperialism and neocolonialism was not far-fetched especially after the 1975 coup d’etat. Under the more assertive Murtala Mohammad who replaced Yakubu Gowon,

Nigeria had acquired both the self-confidence and the economic independence (inspired by acquisition of the oil wealth) to begin to assert itself as the leader of Africa. The dawn of this new era in Nigerian foreign policy was demonstrated in 1975 when Nigeria announced its recognition of the MPLA-led government in Angola without waiting for the OAU permission as was the case in earlier contentious cases. By recognizing the Soviet Union backed MPLA-led government in Luanda, Nigeria

had assertively rejected American attempts to interfere in African affairs on this issue. It is pertinent to note that earlier post-independent regimes under the leadership of both Tafewa Balewa (1960-66) and Yakubu Gowon (1966-75), Nigeria sought to avoid confrontation with great powers, operated within the OAU framework, and generally pursued a low profile approach to international affairs.

Another book that highlight Nigeria eminence in international affairs in the 1970s is A. Bolaji Akinyemi effort entitled Nigeria and the World: Readings in Nigerian Foreign Policy which was published in 1978. According to Akinyemi, Nigeria leadership role in Africa was demonstrated by a number events, namely, Nigeria lead in the setting up of ECOWAS in 1975, her continental lead over the recognition of the MPLA-led government in Luanda as well as her leverage due to new-found oil wealth. Likewise Ojo, (1980) also takes note of Nigerian leadership role in the formation of ECOWAS Interestingly,

Ojo identifies external and domestic factors that account for Nigeria active commitment and leadership role in ECOWAS. The external determinants cited by Ojo include the need to have regional economic bloc in West Africa to enhance bargaining power in relation to the rest of the world, and to undermine Western political and economic dominance in Africa. On the domestic plane one main factor has been Nigeria desire to be the industrial hub of West Africa. Meanwhile, Abegunrin book entitled Nigeria and the Struggle for the Liberation of Zimbabwe published in 1992, demonstrates Nigeria leadership role in African affairs. The book indicates not only how Nigeria supported the liberation movements in Southern Africa but also how

Nigeria used its oil wealth to persuade great powers such as the United States and Britain to work for a peaceful settlement on the Zimbabwe/Rhodesia debacle.

A closer inspection shows a more complex picture of the Nigerian foreign policy background. According to Mayall (1992), Nigerian foreign policy in the Cold War era was almost invisible with the OAU providing the official frame for Nigerian foreign policy. In this regard, Mayall pointed out that in public pronouncements by Nigerian officials and voting at the UN, the Nigerian government was generally careful in endorsing policies which had been agreed collectively within the OAU. Mayall maintains that the acquisition of oil wealth has had superficial impact on Nigerian foreign policy which remained low profile. After all, the Nigerian government was aware since its independence that the size and economic potential of the country was regarded with suspicion by the smaller neighbors. In a related study by Nwokedi (1985), Nigeria is seen as apprehensive to the existence of defense pacts between some West African states and extra-regional or continental powers like France.

Nwokedi notes that these defense arrangements pose threats to Nigerian security and economic interests, particularly its leadership aspirations in the region. The study indicates that Nigeria alternative regional arrangements such as the establishment of the Chad Basin Commission, the River Niger Authority and the ECOWAS may undermine the existence of extra-African defense pacts by reducing the dependence of African states on external powers. Similarly, Ate and Akinterinwa, (2005). Bring to attention the security concerns of Nigeria with its immediate neighbors. More specifically, Ate and Akinterinwa highlight the external threat to Nigerian interests in West Africa particularly the presence of France in the region.

Notably, other studies cast doubt on Nigeria leadership credentials in Africa (Shaw & Aluko, (1983) highlights Nigeria leadership role inconsistency as an international player. Likewise, Gambari (1989), a former Nigeria Foreign Affairs minister notes that Nigeria leadership inconsistency is due to its failure to translate her potential and real resources into capabilities. As indicated by Gambari, Nigeria large physical size, big population and enormous natural resources including crude oil have become a curse instead of facilitating Nigeria leadership role in African affairs. These resources have become sources of conflict leading to Nigerian foreign policy facilitating between assertive interventionism and timid isolationism. The importance of Gambari book is that it highlights the importance of domestic factors in shaping a country foreign policy. Meanwhile, Oyediran (1980) examine the role of military rule in Nigerian foreign policy from 1966 to 1979. Oyediran manages to point out the importance to Nigeria, and to Africa, of Nigeria clash with the US especially over the recognition of the MPLA-led government in Angola at the height of the Cold War in the mid-1970s. Such assertiveness by Nigeria demonstrated the leadership role that Nigeria has been yearning since independence in 1960.

Recent studies on Nigerian foreign policy focus on the country war on terror' (Agbu, 2009; Elden, 2014; Obi 2008), regional security (Alli, 2012; Amao, 2019; Amao & Maiangwa, 2017; Oshewolo, 2018a; 2018b, Oshewolo, 2019d), afrocentricism (Oshewelo, 2019b; Oshewolo, 2019c). Other studies still focus on Nigeria's hegemonic designs (Ogunnubi & Okeke-Uzodike, 2016; Okpokpo, 2000; Oshewolo, 2019a; Osuntokun, 2008; Osuntokun, 2013; Tella, 2018; Saliu, & Oshewolo (2019). What is clear from the above literature review is that there is significant scholarly

interest in Nigerian foreign policy. The present study will fill the gap on the aspect of developing an overarching theory on Nigerian foreign policy behavior.

2.4 The Impact of External Environment on Nigeria foreign policy

External factors are those factors that influence a country's foreign policy but are not part of the country itself. These factors are outside of the state, they are the result of how state and non-state actors work together in the international system (Dickson, 2017).

As stated by Neack (2008), Studies of foreign policy at the systemic levels include contacts between states that occur bilaterally or multilaterally as well as domestically/internationally. This type of study is predicated on the idea that a country's foreign policy is determined by the nature of its diplomatic relationships with other countries in the system (p. 13) it's the way the system is set up to work and those factors established to influence foreign policy because they favour specific behaviours, such as power-based relations.

(Dickson 2017) stated that when it comes to Nigerian foreign policy, domestic factors take the lead, while external factors play a supporting role. As a result of globalization's burdens on Nigeria and its leaders, it has become clear that the country leaders prioritise responding to foreign demands, pressures, and interests over responding to domestic ones. Nuamah (2003). As previously said, Nigeria is no exception to the rule that a state foreign policy is dictated by its position/status in the international system, which is

determined by its relative capabilities, Nigeria foreign policy has been greatly impacted by its international status as a middle power. This attitude was reiterated in 1987, when Nigeria then-Foreign Minister, Bolaji Akinyemi, established the Concert of Medium Power, an informal club of sixteen countries with significant regional clout Aribisala, (2013). The effort, which was launched during the Lagos Forum, was one of the few times in the country history when it undertaken such a large-scale initiative, enlisting the participation of fifteen other countries, including Sweden, Switzerland, India, and Mexico. In addition to the initiative position-related justifications,

(Nigerian status as a middle/power), The programme was partly inspired by the bipolar power structure of the time, as there appeared to be a need for intermediate powers like Nigeria to express themselves in response to the superpowers increased use of threats – the US and the USSR (Salami 2013, p.140). Nigeria status as a regional leader assisted the development of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), demonstrating the tendency of such nations to favour multilateral action. In so far as it strives to project itself globally, it has attempted to establish a regional sphere of influence within which its security may be ensured. The formation of ECOWAS was also motivated by a desire to lessen France dominance in the region (Obi 2008, p. 188; 189). Where France meddling in the West African sub-region cause Nigeria to be more vigorous regionally, despite the effort contribution and a leader position Nigeria acquired among the ECOWAS, the key actor with the superpower like USA still manipulate her power one way or the other on Nigeria,

According to Gwaza, (2021) the study give insight about some of the external factors that influence Nigeria foreign policy including, power structure, economy interest and international-organisation, united Nation

Power Structure: foreign policy is influenced by the global power structure, which has its own unique characteristics; Nigeria has historically been linked to the global power actors ever since the colonial Master.

International-Organization United Nation: The United Nations is a unique organisation, notably in terms of its dedication to global economic and social development and its mission to preserve international peace. This Organization is an external factor that impacts every nation and Nigeria is no exception. Nigeria is a member of the United Nations and always complies with the organization's foreign assistance policy.

Economy Interest: In the field of collaborative, economy interest is one of the goals of every nation to achieve their internal objective for development. Most advanced and powerful countries in the international environment take advantage of undeveloped countries by taking their resources, and Nigeria is not an exception because the country wants to development and is willing to cooperate to the terms and conditions from advanced countries, the advance countries are always interested in Nigeria resources by loaning them money

Ota & Ecoma (2015), stated that the country inability to undertake and sustain an active foreign policy is a result of its international reliance. (p. 58), the country is dependent on external loans and help because of its internal reliance on oil money, president Obasanjo foreign policy initiatives were motivated by a desire to obtain debt relief from external creditors via economic diplomacy Lamido (2012). & Duke et al. (2018) conclude that despite deliberate efforts and attempts by president Jonathan and Buhari administrations (and those before them) to improve Nigeria's image and boost its socioeconomic and political outlook among nations in the international community, the results have been largely ineffective.

2.5 The Impact of Domestic Political Dynamics on Nigeria foreign policy

The domestic political environment in Nigeria is a major factor in the country foreign policy formulation. Since Independent the history of Nigeria political ruling been marked by two different government administration military rule and democratic rule, each with its own set of qualities and problems. For a vibrant and cohesive foreign policy to be pursued, a stable political structure is required through the civilian rule of abubakar Tafa balwewa in 1960, Nigeria was condition of political instability, then in the global politics Tafa balewa was unable to play active role When the most open and fair democratic election ever held in 1993 in the country was annulled by Gen. Ibrahim Babangida's military rule, the same event has been repeated

Arowolo (2008). If the first military coup in Nigeria had been successful, it may have resulted in a fundamental shift in Nigerian foreign policy, as the coup leaders advocated socialist ideas. Nigeria entered a new era in its foreign policy as a result of its failure. The civil war forced Nigerian leaders to broaden the scope of their foreign policy beyond pro-Westernization. Britain disagreed with several of the policies that the Nigerian government attempted to implement, such as the blockade of the waterways near Bonny to prevent Biafra from receiving oil revenue and the importation of arms and ammunition through the ports. Nigeria recognised that Britain attitude was primarily motivated by self-interest. Another reality is that in 1986, the United Kingdom imposed a ban on the transfer of weaponry to Nigeria federal government. The Soviet Union arrived to deliver the government with many-required arms. As a result, the Soviet Union remained thrust in the forefront of foreign policy for Nigeria considerations, a country it had previously rejected (Arowolo 2008).

Because of the human rights violations and the suspension of the 1993 Jun 12 election at a time when every government particularly the G7 and most OECD countries had made democracy a priority. Human rights and good governance are critical determining factors in international politics and interactions with emerging countries but the Babangida dictatorship distributed a fatal setback to Nigeria image and foreign policy. It's worth mentioning that, since President Mitterrand famous La Baule address in 1983, democracy has become a defining component in France dealings with developing countries, particularly African ones. This was likewise true of other Western countries. Worse, no official in Babangida government was able to provide convincing reasons for the annulment of the June 12 elections and claims of human rights violations after they were called off. As a result, the foreign community had reason to suspect our highest military officers of being involved in a cover-up. The fallout was awful. Nigeria mistrust of the international community – particularly the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, Commonwealth nations, and the European Union – began then Okpokpo (2000)

For example:

“On June 24, 1993, the Britain government suspended all new military training courses for members of the Nigerian armed forces in the United Kingdom (UK) as well as all assistance to National War College. Entry visa to the UK was suspended for members of the armed forces, the National Guard and state security service. Government officials going to the UK were not to be given preferential treatment in the issuance of visa. There were also moves to freeze an outstanding 14.5 million pound aid package due to Nigeria. Britain foreign office had described the annulment of the election as regrettable. British and other international observers present during the election found that the election provided Nigeria with a sincere and adequate opportunity to exercise their choice for a future democratically elected president. Hence, commenting on the effects of the annulment on Nigeria's foreign image, the then British foreign secretary Douglas Hurd said it was pathetic that while other

African countries were moving towards democracy, Nigeria was rapidly destroying the emerging structure of democracy. According to him: In country after country in Africa (he told the BBC) countries much smaller and less experienced than Nigeria are moving to democracy, you see the discussion in South Africa; you see what is happening in Malawi, is Nigeria really going to fall back right to the end of the Queue and content itself to be ruled by soldiers indefinitely? (Dauda, 2006:93-94)(p.4) ”

When General Sani Abacha overthrew interim President Chief Ernest Shonekan and took office 1993 June 12, the topic of how to improve Nigeria relations with the rest of the world, outside of its traditional African brother countries was indeed a contentious issue, Was still unresolved. Nigeria international reputation was tarnished by the coup. There was no credible transition plan revealed; Meanwhile, General Abacha launched an ego problem that brought Nigeria to the verge of civil war as a result of the most heinous human rights atrocities perpetrated by any military dictatorship in the country since independence. Nigeria has devolved into a failing state. With which no one engaged. With the exception of obedient African countries. At this point, competent diplomacy guidance would have rescued Nigeria, However, none of them were given the opportunity, Okpokpo, (2000) under General Abacha administration foreign policy was bluntly mismanaged during that time, and records show that Nigeria functioned as if it didn't have a foreign minister or a foreign policy.

There appears to have been no relevant policy advice given to General Abacha at the time. Otherwise, the regime should have been able to predict the devastating consequences of the hanging of the Ogoni nine, including Ken Saro Wiwa, and finally, why was there no government official capable of convincing the regime to postpone the heinous decision to hang the Ogoni activists until after the Commonwealth summit. Several people including former President Olusegun Obasanjo was unlawfully

imprisoned. And Ken Saro Wiwa was hanged in Australia during the Commonwealth Heads of State and Government summit. They were all terrible acts and diplomatic blunders because they neglected the importance of home policy. Especially democratic changes, and the role of human rights in international relations and diplomacy. During the Babangida-Abacha era, Nigeria's diplomacy was grounded, This illustrates during Obasanjo administration, the government withdrew all diplomats and elected new ones. According to Foreign Minister Lamido, they recalled heads of missions to deconstruct the old order because of the crucial responsibilities they served. The rejection of the presidential elections on June 12 1993, and the killing of the Ogoni nine were both severe knocks to Nigeria worldwide reputation. Okpokpo (2000) Because of the country domestic political crisis, the country foreign policy has a bad international reputation. As a result, internal factors had a significant impact on Nigeria foreign policy and relations at the time. The fact that a country Foreign Policy is largely governed by its domestic structure has become an axiomatic reality (DS). This viewpoint has been endorsed by many scholars and diplomats. They have attempted to demonstrate that the various constituent elements of the political system—government, political parties, pressure groups, civil service, political and bureaucratic elites, public opinion, and the press—operating within the democratic process provided by the constitution, exert direct or indirect influence in shaping a country foreign policy Nweke, (1986:34). Akokpari (1999:24) claimed that Sub-Saharan African (SSA) governments must constantly reposition their foreign policy to reflect or accommodate domestic and external vicissitudes, which is in line with this assertion.

As a result of these Variations in focus, SSA foreign policy have become fundamentally elastic and bendable. lacking in coherence and consistency. Shifts in the orientation of

SSA governments' foreign policy have been noticeable since the independence decade of the 1960s. Many academics and officials have undertaken an in-depth analysis of Nigeria fiscal policy. In researching Nigerian foreign policy, Idang, Akinyemi, Gambari, and Aluko concentrated solely on limited goals. Idang (1986) concentrated on the effects of institutions and social forces such as the legislature, political parties, and foreign policy elites. Akinyemi, on the other hand, carried out a dissection of the nature and character of the administrative structure in the foreign policy process when it was subjected to various DS pressures such as political parties and political elite attitudes (1970:2). According to Gambari, the nature and character of Nigerian foreign policy are significantly influenced by domestic political structure and process because they serve as a platform for the internalisation of international events and environments, making them understand the valuable to domestic political actors. (1980:1).

Aluko (1976) took up the challenge of resolving the impact of colonial heritage and the leadership formative experience. Other research has looked at the growth of Nigerian foreign policy by illustrating how internal pressures from the administrative system and society, as well as how organisations, influence foreign policy formulation, Philips (1973). Despite all of these academic efforts to elucidate the relationship between the DS and the foreign policy, Nweke (1986:35) has pointed out that there are flaws in all of these research. One of them was the question of institutional forces receiving more attention than the effects of socioeconomic structure and social classes. Their failure to evaluate beyond the levels of description and explanation is another major flaw.

Foreign policy according to conventional wisdom, are intended to improve a country ability to attain a specified goal. A foreign policy is defined as a programme (plan) aimed to handle some problems or pursue some goal that requires action toward foreign entities. The foreign policy of a country is determined by two primary factors: domestic and foreign factors. However, the formal is the emphasis of this study according to Otubanjo (1999:9) claims that

The phrase domestic environment refers to the characteristics, factors, and circumstances that drive foreign policy. Foreign policy is created in a manner that is unique to the state. The state's geographical location, characteristics, natural and human resources, the structure of the political system, the role of leadership, the mode of communication among groups in society, and so on are all part of the domestic environment. (p.10)

Domestic environmental challenges have a big influence on how a country makes decisions and policies. Northedge (1968:15) argues that a country foreign policy is a product of both internal and external environmental forces, which is predictable. As illustrated by the Babangida administration participation of personnel and financial resources in the Liberian crises at a time when public opinion in Nigeria was highly opposed to involvement in the crises, the strength of a domestic factor in determining a country foreign policy option is a complex equation Nwosu, (1993:17) & Synder (1962:5) point out not only is the number and complexity of elements influencing country activity in the international arena enormous, but the process of identifying the critical variables is still unfinished.

According to Marston (1968), it is in the homemade and aggregate of all external factors and forces that affect the life and development of organisms, including Foreign policy. In their speeches, Ogene (1998:68-81) and Kissinger (1969:503-05) discussed the role of internal systems in a country international relations. Domestic structures, according to modern diplomatic history, shape a nation Foreign policy Northedge (1968:20). Furthermore, a country position in the international system is defined by its home context. Even before the Soviet Union dissolution, the USSR was a strong supporter of communist policies nevertheless, the effects of perestroika and glasnost have had an impact on her international role. The DS has a significant impact on how other states' acts are understood. As a result, we cannot analyse the DS in isolation from the worldwide system, because any country technical breakthrough has an immediate impact on other countries, Nwosu, (1993:17). The variables of political development, economy, and press, public opinion, and pressure organisations will be examined in the following sub sections as they have been essential in the assessment of Nigeria Foreign policy response to Israel

Nigeria maintained diplomatic relations with Israel prior to her independence in 1960. In the late 1950s, mutual involvement in labour and socialist organisation meetings fostered several encounters between Nigerian and Israeli authorities, Ojo (1986:436). Many Nigerians were urged to visit Israel as a result of these efforts, which came at a time when Israel was aggressively forging ties with newly emerging Third World countries in order to bridge the diplomatic gap between her and the Third World, Curtis & Gitelson, (1976).

As evidenced by a Western Regional delegation led by its Minister of Agriculture, the Nigerian government constitutional provisions allowed the federation's regions to facilitate their own foreign policies, allowing regional delegations to be sent abroad to reach an agreement loans and other forms of support for their regions, in 1958, Chief Akindeko travelled to Israel to inspect cooperative movements. The team negotiated agricultural and cooperative cooperation agreements, as well as the formation of a number of joint ventures with Israel, which aided the development of the Nigersol Construction Company and the Nigerian Water Resources Development Corporation in 1959. Ojo (1986:437) In fact, the Northern People Congress (NPC) dominated Nigeria domestic cum political scene during the first republic, Nereus, (1993:19). As seen by Sir Ahmadu Bello public animosity and statements regarding Israel, the Northern aristocracy despised Israel and favoured external engagement with Muslim countries. The following statement was made at the World Islamic League by Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Chairman of the NPC and the former Premier of the Northern Region.:

‘At this juncture, it is also necessary to recall the countless attempts made by Jews to urge developing countries to join their cause. Only two years ago, they made a large loan to the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Except for the government in the north, which flatly denied the offer, all governments accepted it. At the time, I indicated categorically that Northern Nigeria would prefer to forego development in order to receive an Israeli loan to aid. We made this step only in good faith as Muslims (Paden, 1986:541)’

Sir Ahmadu Bello had traced his ancestry down to Prophet Mohammed (Bello, 1962:239), and the Northern leadership receptivity to Arab pressure drew accusations

of Egyptian covert backing for the NPC before 1960, as observed in an editorial in *West African* (1956:606). Despite the Northern region severe Mohammedanism stance, the Federal Government of the first republic established diplomatic relations with Israel. The adoption of a non-aligned stance by the National Council for Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC), the federal coalition's junior component, must have compelled such a move. When Alhaji Tafawa Balewa reiterated that Nigeria would "stay on amicable terms with every nation that recognises and respects our sovereignty and shall not mindlessly follow the lead of anyone, he had no choice but to establish formal diplomatic relations with Israel, Balewa, (1964:56-7). As a result of the necessity for national unity and economic progress, Ojo (1986:437) is correct in his strong argument that Nigeria may have adopted a open door foreign policy. Israel was thus permitted to create an embassy in Lagos, but the northern elite antagonism to her was to blame for a significant restraint in the Federal Government policy toward Israel, which was to refuse to open an embassy in Tel-Aviv in order to maintain the balance.

The 1966 military coup d'etat, Adefila (1979:635) and the accompanying civil war that bedevilled the country for almost 30 months also had a significant impact on Nigerian-Israeli relations. Nigeria perceived Israel as being unjust because of its supposed sympathetic engagement in the country civil conflict by supporting the defunct Republic of Biafra

Aluko, (1976:92). General Aguyi Ironsi became Nigeria first military head of state after a bloody coup against the first republic. He was brutally killed before he could settle down to deal with local, let alone foreign matters and his administration overturned via a counter coup (Operation Massacre) that instituted the Gowon Administration. It was

claimed at the start of Gowon reign that Israel was providing the Ibos with secret military training and ammunition New Nigerian, (1966). The Israeli mission in Lagos denied the allegations, but suspicion persisted throughout the war, and Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban confirmed after the war that Israel had exerted itself to a large extent in providing aid to former Biafra, and that the case would have been different if a dozen or twenty other countries had made the same gesture Aluko, (1976:50). The press in Nigeria was furious and reacted angrily to Eban statement.

General Gowon expressed his displeasure by writing to Israel Ambassador in Lagos to express his displeasure. Gowon, on the other hand, considered that Israeli aid to the defunct Biafra was less important than French aid, and that singling out Israel would appear selective and lead to more troublesome internal cleavages Ojo, (1986:455). Mathews (1987:534), on the other hand, claims that the Nigerian administration had a crazy love affair with North Africa and Arabs in the Middle East as a result of their military help during the civil war. As a result, Nigeria joined the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), an Arab-dominated oil cartel, in 1971. (OPEC).The commencement of the October 1973 Middle East conflict caused another setback in Nigeria-Israeli relations, with Gowon blaming Israel for the renewed antagonism. Despite the fact that Egypt fired the opening shots, Nigeria President insisted that the conflict would not have started if Israel had left Arab areas in accordance with the 1967 United Nations Resolution

West African (1973). Despite this, he has never given in to internal or external effort to terminate diplomatic ties West African, (1973). Israel's disobedience in the Middle East, including violations of the ceasefire agreement and the development of its footing on

the West Bank of the Suez Canal, prompted Gowon to accuse Israel of breaching confidence with Nigeria Ojo (1986:440). In his capacity as President of the Organization of the African Union, General Gowon had no choice but to cut ties with Israel (OAU). Following General Murtala Mohammed toppling of Gowon regime, following Nigerian administrations have backed the pro-Arab Foreign policy in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Regardless of the fact that Obasanjo dictatorship prohibited the use of terms like Zionism to identify Israel political system, Major General Shehu Musa Yar'Adua, the second in command, declared in Saudi Arabia in 1979 that our friends are the Arabs, and we must continuously support them Daily Times, (1979).

As a result, Obasanjo administration was unable to do anything to re-establish diplomatic relations with Israel, leaving the problem to the Second Republic Government to decide. The Nigerian Peoples Party (NPP) and the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) leaders lobbied for the restoration of diplomatic relations with Israel (Nigerian Forum 1983:740-45). The National Party of Nigeria (NPN) leadership), which is thought to represent the interests of Northern Muslims, was unenthusiastic. The Nigerian People's Party (UPN) and the National People's Party (NPP), both of which have a strong Christian background, backed the restoration of Nigerian-Israeli relations. When the military overthrew the civil government in 1983, however, the dispute raged on.

The dictatorship of General Muhammadu Buhari was controlled by Muslim officers, and little thought was given to resuming diplomatic relations with Israel. The military junta nominated Ibrahim Gambari as Foreign Affairs Minister to signal to the world that

the status quo will be maintained. Before his nomination, Gambari was known for his outspoken criticism and condemnation of Israel Middle East policy, and he was adamantly opposed to any move to normalise relations with Israel. By suspending the Emir of Kano and the Ooni of Ife from Visiting Israel, the government displayed its absolute dedication to anti-Israel policy. The Emir of Kano was also stripped of his position as Chancellor of the University of Nigeria, Nsukka Nigerian Tribune, (1985).

On August 27, 1985, the Buhari dictatorship was deposed by a coup d'etat that brought in the Babangida administration, which condemned Buhari Foreign policy and described it as retaliatory and illogical (1985:19, Newswatch). Major General Ike Nwachukwu, Nigeria Foreign Minister at the time, claimed in 1991 that Africa could not afford to be left out of the current attempt to restore peace to the Middle East and other parts of the world. He also admitted that the restoration of diplomatic relations with Israel was intended to put Africa back into the mainstream of world affairs African Concord, (1991:24). General Babangida, on his part, stated that Nigeria's diplomatic relations were renewed on purpose by his administration in order for Nigeria to stay relevant in world events, adding, we don't want to be left in an empty shell Nigerian Tribune, (1992).

He also stated that the Nigerian government intends to participate in the Middle East Peace Process, anticipating that one of the peace sessions will be held in Nigeria. As a result, the Nigerian government and its Israeli counterparts opened accounts, led to the move to restore diplomatic relations, (Nereus, 1993:21). "These days, diplomacy is built on things that unite people, not those that separate them," the Foreign Minister remarked

strongly Nigerian Tribune, (1992). However, it should be noted that Nigeria never sought OAU consent before renewing diplomatic relations with Israel.

However Musa & Ajibade, (2018).) Their study on Implication of Nigeria National Security Challenges on Foreign Policy. The study discover internal security is the major domestic factor Nigeria been dealing with Over 10 Years ago, The variables of Internal security will be examine in the following sub sections as it's essential in the assessment of Nigeria foreign policy to its external environment

Security: According to Francis (2005) Security can be defined as a state of being safe from danger and anxiety. A nation's security denotes conditions of peace, stability, order, and progress. Security is a state of being free of fear, danger, unemployment, worry, and oppression. Security is defined as the preservation of key values and the absence of threats to these core values.

As stated by Alli, (2010) the author laid emphasis either good or bad the dynamic of internal security of a nation always have effect on international environment, Nigeria Security issues in the region such as Boko Haram and the Niger Delta have attracted international attention and this has really paint a bad image for Nigeria in the international community. At least 250 people killed in bombings that took place in Kano Nigeria on January 20 2019. There are signs that the efforts to regulate in Islamic fundamentalists are either ineffective or not working at all. There were a lot of explosions in Kano and other parts of the northern Nigerian city, This is in the same way that Boko Haram members have attacked Maiduguri, Damaturu, Potiskum,

Gombe, Abuja, and Madalla in Niger State. People agree that the government should come up with a short-term solution to the problem and then come up with a long-term solution. This is because the government can't keep spending the huge amount of money on security that it has been spending without giving Nigerians security as well.

2.3 The effect of Leadership Characteristics and idiosyncrasies on Nigeria foreign policy

Debates over the influence of individual leader's personalities on public policy have been going on for millennia. At this point, one of the causes for the variations in policy formulation and implementation in Nigeria has been identified as the role played by inefficient or non-existent leadership institutions in various administrations. (Okpokpo, 1999) Abati (1999) and others such as Akinboye (2013: 39-42) provide an interesting and comprehensive overview of the influence of a weak and corrupt leadership institution and the role it plays in influencing Nigeria foreign policy image abroad as well as in the formulation and implementation of the same in Nigeria. They correctly saw that Nigerian authorities were extremely foolish in limiting Nigeria foreign strategy to Africa as its cornerstone Guardian Newspaper (1999). Before the 1990s, it was a noble objective, however, it must change to meet the challenges of contemporary diplomacy as we enter the new millennium. Africa as a focal point of Nigerian foreign policy' is no longer enough, a bigger view is required in determining what Nigeria foreign policy should be, and the country leaders must evaluate contemporary developments in international relations, diplomacy, globalisation, human rights, and democracy.

Globalisation, human rights, and democracy are the influence of personality on decision-Making in the field of foreign policy analysis, according to Smith (2012), is debatable. There is also the argument that using personality as a criterion for analysing and comprehending foreign policy behaviour is flawed. Hogan and Kaiser (2005:169-180) and Echono (2012), on the other hand, argue that personality influences the quality and effectiveness of leadership decision-making, which leads to development. Good decision-making ability, vision, charm, and competency are among the characteristics of good leaders, according to De Cremer & Knippenberg (2002:858-866) took a similar stance, asserting that charismatic of leadership does have a positive effect on collaboration that can result to progress Individual objectives, abilities, and foibles are critical to the state intentions, capacities, and strategies, according to Byman and Pollack (2001) as (cited in Rourke, 2008:74).

Since Nigeria's independence in 1960, the country foreign affairs machinery has been under the sole supervision of the ruling central authority. Nigeria decided to make Africa its centrepiece of her foreign policy, and she has maintained that position ever since. It has played major leadership roles in African politics. As Nigeria first prime minister, Alhaji Tafawa Balewa uttered the essential principles that govern the country external relations Fawole, (2003:38). Nigeria foreign policy goals are

to promote and protect the country national interests, to promote African integration and support African unity, to advance international Cooperation in order to ensure universal peace and respect and understanding between all nations, and to eliminate all forms of discrimination. It also included the promotion of a just world economic system, additionally to compliance with international law and agreements, the peaceful settlement of international conflicts by

discussion, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, and adjudication
(Fawole, 2003:38).(p.9)

Nigeria foreign policy and domestic politics and her international image have all suffered as a result of the behaviour of its successive rulers of state. Her foreign policy on the other hand has seen more consistency than change. For example, in the pursuit of Nigeria foreign policy, leaders such as Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, General Yakubu Gowon, General Murtala Mohammed, General Olusegun Obasanjo, and General Abdusalami have demonstrated attitudes such as discipline, patriotism, conservatism, and firmness, earning progressive recommendations for her. Some of them adopted anti-western policy, which harmed their popularity and acceptance in Western countries. Abegunrin, (2003) they were however, successful in bringing Nigeria forward, achieving unity, instituting national reform, and projecting a progressive global image. Kawu, (2011) & Aluko, (1976). When it came to formulating an effective foreign policy and maximising socioeconomic gains, Obasanjo's differentiation of international issues in his military and democratic ruling, Obasanjo hindered the formulation of an effective foreign policy. This is despite the fact that he had two different regimes

Ngara et al (2013) this isn't to suggest that their governments were without flaws. General Muhammadu Buhari and Tunde Idiagbon, for example, were ruthless in their authority. In their pursuit of national transformation, they were adamant, severe, and unyielding. They were focused with the War Against Indiscipline (WAI) agenda, which aimed to restore Nigeria's moral decency and reawaken its citizens to societal norms after identifying indiscipline and corruption as difficulties the country faced. Olanrewaju (2013) They promoted nationalism, patriotism, and allegiance to national symbols, as

well as participation in environmental sanitation, public demeanour, and better work ethics among citizens (The Library of Congress Country Studies & CIA World Fact book, 2004). Despite their enthusiasm and desire for change, the rule was marred by excesses such as human rights violations and a strict approach to national reform. Their harsh verdicts did not bode well for Nigeria International reputation. Musa YaraAdua was a compassionate leader. He exhibited firmness, dedication, probity, sensitivity to the concerns of Nigerians, and respect for their rights. When he reported his asset among other evidences, he showed his sense of integrity. In his approach to problem-solving, he was a peacemaker. For example, he used diplomacy to resolve militancy conflicts in the Niger delta over resource control Ndagi, (2012); Alli, (2011). While pursuing his foreign policy objectives, he was worried about Nigerians internal wellbeing. There are many different perspectives on President Good luck Jonathan personality. Some scores him low with respect to strong personality, while others think he is lively and charismatic. For the majority of Nigerians, he is weak, lacking in leadership charisma, and has even been referred to as a kindergarten president, Tega, (2013). His activities do not meet the Nigerian state's urgent and pressing demands, particularly in reference to the situation of the home environment and foreign policy Echono,(2012). His administration has not responded appropriately to rising levels of instability, corruption, and religious fanaticism. Like leaders General Ibrahim Babangida and General Sani Abacha were ambitious, self-centred, and autocratic. Tarnished Nigeria formerly excellent image. They were brutal dictators who violated human rights.

These actions drew international condemnation and sanctions, severing ties and earning the country the status of a pariah state Okpokpo, (1999) Sesay & Ukeje (1997: 25-48) Mahmud (001) Abegunrin, (2003). Nigeria public image had been shattered by the

previous administration of leadership before 1999, and the work of rebuilding was arduous. As a result, it was vital to choose competent leaders to rebuild her image. The failure of the institutions of the type of leadership that Nigerians have had in the past has resulted in the Nigerian foreign policy apparatus becoming dysfunctional, resulting to policies that have been demonstrated to be damaging to the interests of Nigeria good citizens Wogu et al., (2015) According to Jensen (1982:14-15) claims that personality will only have an impact pertaining to foreign policy decisions If the leader demonstrates a strong interest in foreign affairs and has too much of decision-making authority. Whenever political analysts examine the presidency, most simply focus on the impact of the personality of the president, while others emphasise the web of forces that surround presidents and their historical contexts. According to some, they stated impactful of decision makers are so constrained by their roles that they have tiny discretionary authority. Others say that individual tastes and styles can still have a significant impact on policy decisions

Teclock (1981:1). This literature review is based on the latter viewpoint. Personality and foreign policy were extensively studied by Kegley and Wittkopf (1999:66-7) in their broad work. They contend that state action is nothing more than the highest political office holder's preferences, acts, and suggestions. This helps to explain why president's names are associated with policies that were launched and enacted during their reign. They maintained that failures and achievements in international policy are attributed to the rulers in power at the time they occurred for same reason. As a result, the 'equation of US foreign policy with Nixon Doctrine in the 1970s, Reagan Doctrine in the 1980s, and Clinton Doctrine in the 1990s' all witness to the influence of personality in foreign policy determination. Leader-driven policies, according to Kegley and Wittkopf (1999),

irrational decisions are often made because of "temptation, and a lack of personality self-control, wrath, panic of being harmed, religious beliefs, as well as harmful behaviours." Individuals are the sole actual agents in international relations,

According to (Goldstein, 1999:152). A state decisions aren't made by chance; they're made by people working for the state, Goldstein dissected how the United States launched an atomic bomb on two Japanese cities and how President Harry S. Truman made all of the decisions that led to military action against Japan in 1945. Individual citizen decisions, according to Goldstein (1999), may seem insignificant when considered individually, but they combine to create an immense force that changes history globally, Rourke (2007) emphasises the importance of examining the leader's attitude toward himself, people, and power in order to comprehend the impact of personality on foreign policy, Along Using the "effective measure" and the "proactive measure, "he established four personality types. When it comes to policy, he says that active leaders are more creative, whereas weak leaders are much more reactors; in addition to the fact that good leaders are more open to feedback, whereas Bad leaders are more likely to be upset by it.

According to Rourke (2007) Despite the fact that each of the four personality types has its drawbacks, the majority of people prefer the active positive combination of personality and believe the active-negative combination to be worse, Rourke, on the other hand, thinks that personality types are mostly governed by elements such as (a) physical and mental health, (b) ego and ambition, (c) political history and Personal experience, and (d) perception and operational reality Rourke (2007) Tetlock (1981)

investigates the extent to which personality factors influence high level political decision in his Personality and Isolation study” their study opposes that While others have suggested that major decision makers are generally constrained by rules controlling the exercise of power that provide little room for discretion, others argue that there is a lot of room for leaders preferences to alter and influence a state policy choices

Tetlock, (1984) & Ziv (2008) Similarly found two psychological characteristics, openness and cognitive complexity, as essential in understanding leaders foreign policy orientation. Cognitive open leaders are more willing to learn new things and change their minds than the leaders who are closed-minded. In a similar way, leaders who are more cognitively complex are more likely to be adaptive than their counterparts who are less cognitively complex. Because they grasp that each circumstance has several dimensions. Teckock study applied cognitive theory to analyse Israel's Shimon Peres cognitive structure and how it aided his capacity to influence Israeli foreign policy from 1953 until 1977.

Richards C. A. (2008). Did not hesitate to back up the notion that leaders' personalities have a significant impact on their countries foreign policy. He compared the personalities of two European leaders, Tony Blair of the United Kingdom and Jack Chiraque of France, to see how their differing personalities, in spite of operational in related environments and historical contexts, influenced their foreign policies in the Gulf Wars against Iraq in 1990 and 2003, respectively. While the former was crucial in organising an international coalition against Iraq, the latter went in the opposite direction. He attributed the two leaders' differences in foreign policy behaviour to

differences in their perceptions of reality. Assessing the impact of personality factors on German public opinion foreign policy attitudes,

Schoen (2007) the author argues that personality characteristics such as reasons, goals, and ideals have a substantial influence on leader's judgement and perception of external stimuli, which in turn determines the leader's foreign policy viewpoint and attitude. The study of Schoen further developed a taxonomy and recognised five personality characteristics: neuroticism, extroversion, openness, conscientiousness, and agreeableness, all of which influence individual attributes, perception of the environment and the achievement of goals and response to external stimuli. Schoen (2007) concludes that an individual leader's stance toward foreign policy is determined by his personality trait, Ojieh (2016) sought to demonstrate how presidents use extraneous elements to their personalities to have a dominant voice in foreign policy decisions, even under ostensibly collective decision-making structures and in the face of institutionalised checks and balances.

In contrast, Schrodtt et al. (2009) Discrete sequential pattern recognition was applied to examine the effect of personality, popularity, and prosperity on Israeli Prime Ministers strategy toward Palestinian opponents from 1979 to 2008, and discovered that personality rather than popularity or prosperity had a greater impact on successive Israeli Prime Ministers foreign policy toward Palestine. Their personal characteristics showed whether or not they adopt a procedure principle concerning international policy strategy, the study also discovered that, in some cases, situational circumstances drive Israeli Prime Ministers with distinct personality traits to act in comparable ways, According to

Khuhro and Chandio (2009), in Third World countries, leaders charm is significant and vital in the foreign policy process. The study demonstrated Pakistani leader Z.A. Bhutto charismatic personality in transforming Pakistan foreign policy decision-making process through bilateralism. Three variables shaped Z.A. Bhutto leadership style, according to Khuhro and Chandio (2009): (a) experience; (b) family structure, and (c) societal norms and ideals. Leadership according to Von Doepp (2009), is the single most significant factor that can contribute to progress in Africa. While African leader's personal characteristics have a significant impact on policy choices, he points out that African leaders face major structural obstacles in making proper policy decisions. He claims the circumstances above which leaders develop, as well as their official behaviour, all are influenced by Africa diseased structures, which act as roadblocks to productive foreign policy. He came up with two criteria for evaluating a leader's official behaviour: (i) the leader's general character in terms of administration and growth; and (ii) the expected official behaviour of the leader.

2.6 Theoretical Framework

In this study, an attempt is made to combine domestic and systemic factors into a comprehensive theory of foreign policy. With this in mind, this study will utilize neo-classical realism which has been used by other scholars to explain foreign policy making in which systemic and domestic factors interact with one another" (Cox and Stokes, 2012). In many studies, it has been established that systemic factors particularly the relative amount of power that a state has and the effect this has on a country foreign policy, are crucial for establishing the broad parameters of foreign policy. In other words, the distribution of power help to establish what is and what is not possible. However, neo-classical realism shows that The relative amount of power that a country possess alone cannot explain the specific foreign policy behavior of a

country such as Nigeria. In some instances, Many experts insist that domestic sources of foreign policy are more crucial than external sources. Meanwhile, neoclassical realists proffer that domestic factors are needed to explain how systemic factors are translated or operationalized into particular foreign policy decisions. Steven Walt (2002) demonstrates the casual logic of neo-classical realism by placing “domestic politics as an intervening variable between the distribution of power and foreign policy behavior” (p. 211). It is important to note that neoclassical realism highlights decision makers’ perceptions of the distribution of power and domestic state structure/situation as two key intervening variables. Put another way, for neo-classical realism, “both individual decision makers and domestic politics, including the governmental structure, matter in understanding the foreign policy of a country” (Cox & Stokes, 2012, p. 13). The relationship between the external environment, domestic politics and Nigerian foreign policy behavior is illustrated in Figure 2.1 as indicated below:

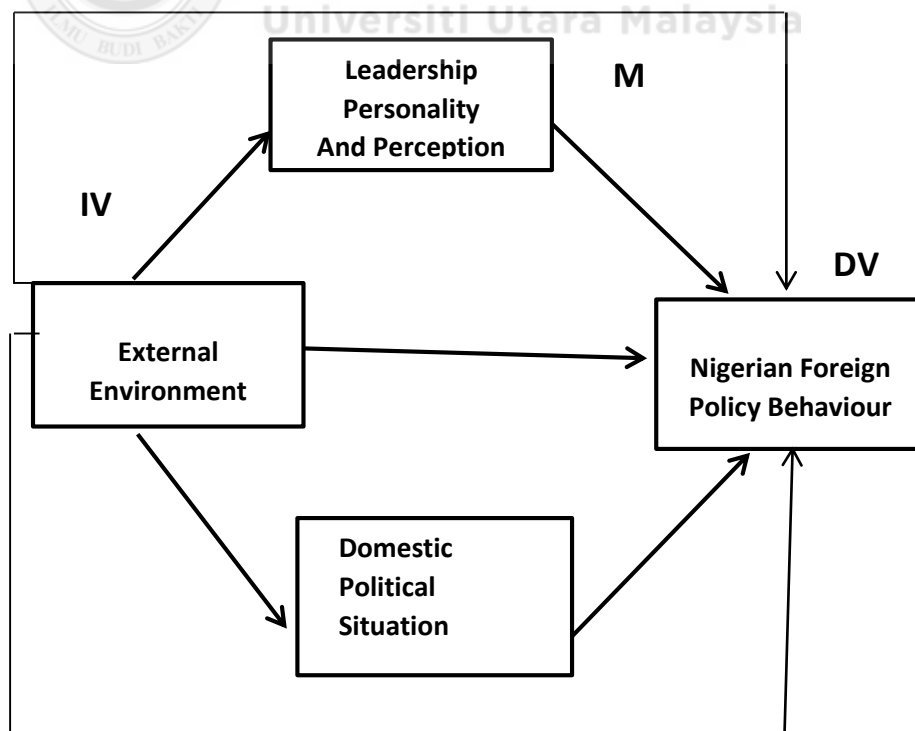


Figure 2.1
The Theoretical Framework

2.7 Gaps in the Literature

Several studies have been conducted on Nigeria foreign policy in which majority of these studies was carried out on the influence of internal and external factors on Nigeria Foreign Policy formulation and implementation such as Wogu et al., (2015), Duke et al., (2018), Dickson, (2017) & Ojieh, (2016).

Wogu et al. (2015) examined Nigeria's foreign policy utilising variables such as the main element of Nigeria foreign policy, Dynamic foreign policy, National consensus in foreign policy, Economic diplomacy, Citizen Diplomacy and the transformation agenda of Nigeria foreign policy. However, the study does not take leadership personality and perception and other variables into consideration. Duke et al., (2018) used insecurity, corruption, and economic downturns as the independent variables influencing the foreign policy but also failed to take leadership personality and perception and other variables into consideration as factors influencing the Nigeria Foreign Policy. Ojieh, (2016) used variables such as the leeway, loopholes, escape routes, or, better still, exceptions-to-the-rule inherent in the statutes and legislations, as well as the influence of the leader clique, cronies, or inner-inner circle,”.

However, Ojieh (2016) improved on his study by adding leader clique as a factor affecting Nigeria Foreign Policy but still failed to put other factors such as culture and history the media, and public opinion (at the societal level), the system of government,

political accountability, and diplomatic institutions, among other things. Dickson (2017) improved on previous studies' work by taking into account both external factors such as the country's position in the international system, the dominant force structure, membership in international bodies, and dominant international norms such as human rights, which underpin peacekeeping missions.. However, also considered internal factors such as the leaders themselves (individual level), role perception, culture and history, the media, and public opinion (societal level), the political system, political accountability, and the diplomatic institution (state level).

Although, Dickson (2017) tried by considering both external and internal factors extensively but never considered any of the variable as mediator in his work. While results from the above researches may be informative, one can be arguing that they may be biased and not representative enough to conclude on the impact of these variables on Nigeria Foreign Policy because of huge disparities in the results. Therefore, this study would make use of leadership personality and perception as mediating between the independent variables (external environment and domestic political situation) and dependent variable (Nigeria Foreign Policy) which no researchers has never utilized.

This Chapter conducts a review on the literature. An overview of foreign policy, in summary, the chapter reviewed and explored Nigeria foreign policy from the post independent era to the present, including the revealing of the various factors that influence and determine Nigeria foreign In both external environment and domestic, however this chapter also revealed how these various factors interact with one another to determine Nigeria foreign policy, an explanation Pertaining to the relationship between the subject's variables and how the study gap was established was discuss in this chapter, Additionally, the researcher discussed the theoretical underpinnings on this subject, and highlighted why neo-classical realism theory was appropriate for the study.



CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a justification, a discussion, and a description of the methodological strategy that forms the basis of this study. This methodological approach is centred on the research philosophy pragmatic paradigm and a mixed method approach. This chapter focuses on particular research design, as well as the study population, and discusses the strategy that surrounds the mixing of paradigms in this study, which combines qualitative and quantitative methodologies. The methods of sampling, the size of the samples taken, the operational definition of the variables' measurements, and the justification of using the data collection tools that were selected are all described here. This chapter also explains the methods involved in the gathering and analysis of quantitative and qualitative data. Lastly, this chapter explains how a pilot study was conducted

3.2 Research Philosophy

According to Wilson (2010), pragmatism philosophy can include both positivism and interpretivism positions within the scope of a single research based on the nature of the research issue. According to the nature of the research question, Saunders Lewis & Thornhill, (2012) Positivism and interpretivism are two extreme mutually exclusive paradigms about the nature and sources of knowledge. Thus, the research philosophy classified into positivism paradigm and Interpretivism paradigm.

Creswell (2012) the positivisms paradigm explained social reality can be study independently by the researcher which assume that social life can be represented quantitatively statistically using correlation and experimentation to identify cause and effect relationships among variables. The positivism mostly practice research paradigm in the social science.

Hence, this study used positivism paradigm to examine the relationship between external environment domestic political situation and foreign policies behaviour. Summarily, the positivism researchers advocate value free science, seeks precise quantitative measure, test of the causal theories with statistics as well as believes in the essence of replicating researches.

Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, (2012) interpretivism holds that social reality is subjective, socially constructed and a composite of multiple perspectives, collaborating to get a better understanding of problems from an individual viewpoint. Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, (2012) it's also known as Constructivist paradigm assumed that human social life can be qualitatively studied using an array of means that includes direct observation, case study, interviews, and among others. Creswell & Clark (2017)

Therefore, this study proposed to employ the mixed method as it represents the series of quantitative and qualitative characteristics that are indicated in terms of language, sampling, orientations types of data procedure for data collection. Research questions, as well as method of data analysis Tashakkori & Creswell, (2007).

As stated by Creswell and Clark (2017), one method of research method was inadequate to answer all the research questions. Thus, the combination of quantitative and qualitative design will bring about better understanding of the relationship between intermestic politics and foreign policies behaviour in Nigeria. This will assists to have better knowledge on the issues relationship to foreign policies behaviour in Nigerian especially in the post independent era The Cold war. Finally, the triangulation approach will be adopted through the use of empirical, descriptive and survey method to achieve the desirable outcomes.

3.3 Research Design

The Mixed-methods sequential research design comprising both quantitative and qualitative techniques was utilized. According to Zikmund (2010), the research design explained as the master plan or blueprint for the data collection, operational measurement and procedure for data analysis of the study. In addition, it is structural plan and strategy of the investigation considered used to answer to the research question and controlling constructs. Thus, two references period proposed to use to explain the past and the leverage on the present situation to predict the future. Furthermore, this study utilize both inductive and deductive reasoning.

Research Strategies

Quantitavely: the research strategies use in this study include questionnaire

Qualitatively: This study used semi structure interview. Hence a survey design was utilize where the researchers do not have total control over exogenous variables that determine the influence of the endogenous construct. Creswell & Clerk, (2017). This

study used mixed method due to the expectation of result and timing of the data collection including the design type that most suitable for the field Identified as the best method or approach for the study.

3.4 Population of the Study

According to Sekaran & Bougie (2016), the population of the study refer to as the interest group of the people or organisation that to be studied in the research. Thus, the target population in this study was the government official in the Nigerian foreign affairs Ministry as well as academic lecturers in the selected Universities in Nigeria. This reason for these selected population is due to their experience and capacity to provide relevant information to answer the research objectives stated in this study.

3.5 Sample Size

The sample size refer to the sub group or subset of the populations that comprise a selection of member of the specific population Sekaran & Bougie, (2016). Thus, as it was difficult to get the accurate and reliable sample frame for this research because of the lack of no reliable data of the study population most especially during the coronavirus pandemic where offices were temporarily closed, the sampling frame was employed from the multiple sources. This includes data from institutions, University of Oyo states Ibadan, University of kano, ministry of foreign affairs lagos state, also via google survey and online interview through telephone, zoom and webinar. The appropriate sample size is vital to minimise the total cost of sampling error in the survey, as the power of a statistical test is consider essential in this study.

As stated by (Hair et al. 2018), any models four constructs with require a minimum of 100 sample size or more. While, the 51 sample size for 1 tail hypothesis and 64 sample size for 2 tails test are recommended for the minimum sample size in a causal relative research techniques Onwuegbuzie & Johnson (2004) & Collins (2010).

Quantitatively: Sample size of this study (Hair et al. 2016) stated that the minimum require sample size for the research study primarily depends on the complexity of the measurement model. Also, (Awang 2013) recommended a study with no sample frame with seven or less latent variables require sample size of 300 or above. As a result, this study consider 300 respondent as the sample size for the quantitative of the study

Qualitatively sample size study According to Creswell (1998) suggests 5 – 25 sample Size These criteria can assist a researcher calculate how many participants they will need for overall, this study consider 10 participant as the sample Size, five (5) academic lecturers from the department of political science in the selected university in Nigeria as well as (5) government official from the Nigeria ministry of foreign affairs consider as the target of respondent

3.6 Sampling Techniques and Units of Analysis

The sampling techniques refer to the approaches of selecting the respondents that appropriate to the study from the entire population. Thus, none probability sampling used to measure both quantitative and qualitative research methods in this study.

Quantitatively quota sampling was used to select the participant from the group, Hence, the adoption of quota sampling is essential as many attempts have been made to obtain the list from the government official foreign affairs Ministry but were not possible due to this dispensation era that make office partially closed for a while (Corona-virus pandemic)

Qualitatively purposive sampling was adopted to choose the target of respondent from the entire group, the purposive sampling designed were adopted for ease generalisation of the study. This is due to the fact that purposive sampling is categorised as the sampling method confined to particular types of people that have the experience and appropriate information or needed data for the study Sekaran & Bougie, (2016). In addition, the purposive sampling can provide accurate and good information about the phenomenon.

.Based on the Units of analysis of this study, the individual government official staff from the Nigeria ministry of foreign affairs as well as the individual Academy lecturers in the selected university in Nigeria were considered as the units of analysis for the study. This is because, the unit of analysis must be consistence with the research questions and Objectives. The government official staffs in the foreign affairs Ministry and academy lecturer political science in the selected university in Nigeria seen as

suitable respondents due to the fact that they are parts of the decision makers and the tools for the execution of the foreign policies as indicated in the previous studies

3.7 Operational Definitions and Measurement of the Constructs

This study examine the intermestic politics and foreign policies behaviour of Nigeria during the post-independence era. Thus, this study considered four (4) major constructs to measure in the research objectives, This includes domestic political situation, external environment, leadership personality and perception as well as foreign policies behaviour. The variables mentioned above were measured via multiple items adapted from the prior studies. Also, demographical information were considered to know the profile information of the respondents. This includes, their age, gender, marital status, educational background as well as the working experience of the target respondent. Finally, all variables used in this study were measured using 5 points likert scales range from strongly disagree (SD=1) to strongly agree (SA=5). The summary of the constructs and their measurement were highlighted below in Table 3.1

Table 3.1 Organization of Constructs and their Measurements

Construct	Items	Sources
Foreign Policies Behaviour	10	Podsakoff et al. (1996); Podsakoff (1990)
External Environment	9	Gemino et al. (2007); Choi Jin Nam (1999); Timothy (1998); Hibbard et al. (2001)
Domestic Political Situation	7	Mansoor and Karabenick (2008)
Leadership Personality and Perception	12	Hulpia et al. (2011; 2009)

3.8 Data Collection Methods

Data collection refer to as procedure for getting data from the target respondents through different strategies that includes primary sources to generate information on the study variables. This study used the duo method to receive data from the study area

Quantitatively: this study utilize questionnaire to collected data from respondent, the questionnaire comprised of five sections whereby the section one highlight the demographical information of the respondents and the other sections (section 2 – section 5) covers the items or information about the main variables. Thus, the target respondents were given five options to choose the appropriate answer based on their experience ranging from strongly disagree (SD=1) to strongly agree (SA=5). The respondents can also select the neutral (N=3) option in case their opinion are not part of the option. By presenting the respondents with an even set of scale without consider neutral may cause response bias Canny (2006).

Qualitatively Primary data was used for the study, the primary data were gathered through interview via virtual method (Zoom meetings, Telephone conversation and skype meetings) due to the corona virus pandemic that make most of the offices partial closed. The interview was structured around a set of predetermined questions and the respondents were allowed to change their thoughts and opinions. The assurance of confidentiality and anonymity was given to the participants. The intensive interviews with a small sample of 10 respondents as indicated above, The 10 sample respondents was achieved for the interviewed of the study, finally, mixed method of research was

used in the data collection (questionnaire and interview) purposely for the robustness of the result of this study.

3.9 Data Analysis Techniques

Data analysis refer to statistical instrument employed for the research analysis to examine the contributing factor of the exogenous constructs on the endogenous construct.

Quantitatively: this study used the SPSS statistical tool version 25 window and structural equation modelling (PLS-SEM) to analyse the questionnaire answer by the participant, this study used descriptive statistics to analyse the demographical information of the respondents via SPSS. Whereas, the inferential statistics was used to test the hypothesize variables via SmartPLS software, These software have the capacity of evaluate latent constructs and their correlation with the corresponding items or indicators, as it is examine the relationship between

Constructs (Hair et al., 2012). SmartPLS software considered in this study because it have advantage over first generation statistical software in the area of indirect relationship (Moderation and mediation variables) and the multivariate analysis (Multiple models). This allow simultaneous regression analysis of hypothesize relationship between variables. Thus, it is allow the researchers to predict the influencing factor of intermestic politics on the foreign policies behaviour in Nigeria.

Qualitative Analysis design method: this study adopt constant Comparative Analysis method to analyse the data collected from the interview. As reported by Percy (2015), the constant Comparative Analysis method is one of the best approach to be used to answer research problems Thus, this study conducted to examine intermestic politics and the evolution of the foreign policies behaviour in the post independent era The Cold war

3.10 Pilot Study

The study by Gay, Mills and Airasian (2006) explained that the pilot test is a trial by which a small scale of the research instruments is conducted before the final full scale of the study carry out. Thus, the pilot test conducted with aim of achieving the stated objectives of the study through the actual reliability and validity of the instruments. To ascertain the validity and reliability of the instrument adapted from previous studies, the instrument was tested for its clarity, validity and reliability. After validity of the instruments by the experts, 50 copies of Questionnaires were distributed to the experts in the field foreign affairs as well as academic Expert in political science department of which, 36 copies of questionnaires were retrieved after duly completed representing 71%. This copies were key into SPSS for the pilot test to examine the construct validity and reliability of the instruments. Both cronbach alpha and the KMO bertlett test value for each variable were indicated to be above 0.7 and 0.5 respectively which in line with the suggestion of Hair et al (2014). Thus, the reliability and validity test revealed that all variables and measurement items are suitable, valid and reliable for further analysis. The result indicated in the table 3.2 below.

Table 3.2
Reliability and Validity Test (n=36)

Construct	Items	Cronbach's Alpha	KMO Bartlett Test
Foreign Policies Behaviour	10	0.732	0.685
External Environment	9	0.815	0.725
Domestic Political Situation	7	0.918	0.731
Leadership Personality and Perception	12	0.860	0.691

3.11 Chapter Summary

It is vital to keep in mind throughout the study that the theoretical framework powering this research is a pragmatic paradigm using a mixed method approach. The purpose of collecting quantitative data was to present an initial overview of the factors that influence and shape Nigeria foreign policy, And also to understand how this factors interact with one another to produce foreign policy of Nigeria state,

Geertz, 1973 Shaffer & Serlin, 2004) the purpose of collecting qualitative data in this research was to provide a thick description from the individual expert on the Nigeria foreign policy. In addition, and in order to comprehend the domestic and external factors that affect and influence Nigeria's foreign policy, both types of data must be analysed together, As necessary for a mixed method approach, keeping in mind that every method of data gathering is merely an interpretation of knowledge. Each delivers a different and usually correct picture of reality. The following part covers the instruments used to generate data in this study, questionnaires and interviews, and finally the pilot test was conducted to ensure the reliability and validity of the instruments. The next chapter analyse the data collected from the field of study

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter main objective is to provide and discuss the findings of both quantitative and qualitative studies, as well as data cleaning, which primarily concerns missing values and outliers. The chapter also provides and discusses the fundamental assumptions of multiple regressions, analysis of the goodness of measures such as factor analysis, reliability test, and descriptive statistics such as mean and standard deviation, and respondent of profile. It also includes the measurement model and structural model analysis for hypothesis testing, as well as an indirect effect analysis for testing the mediating effect. The second phase of the findings deals with the qualitative data that was gathered and analysed through interviews. The study main objective was to look into intermestic issues of Nigeria foreign policy behaviour

4.2 Survey Response Rate

In this study, 300 questionnaires were distributed to both government official staff in the selected Ministry of foreign affairs in Nigeria, as well as political science department academy lecturers at selected Nigeria public universities. 146 copies of questionnaires were duly completed and returned, representing a 48.7 percent response rate. However, only 129 of the 146 returned questionnaires were suitable for data analysis. Due to issues with both univariate and multivariate outliers, the remaining 17 questionnaires were excluded from the analysis. Exonerating such a large number of questionnaires is critical because they do not represent the sample. As a result, 129 questionnaire responses were usable for further analysis as shown in Table 4.1

Table 4.1
Questionnaire Distribution and Retention

Details	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Distributed Questionnaires	300	100
Returned Questionnaires	146	48.7
Rejected/Excluded Questionnaires	17	5.7
Retained Questionnaires	129	43

A total of 129 questionnaire were retained for this study which shows a good response rate of 43 percent that covers the entire respondents (experienced staffs of government official in the selected foreign affairs ministry in Nigerian, as well as academic expert selected in public universities in Nigeria). This rate is considered sufficient based on Sekaran (2003) argument that a 30 percent response rate is suitable for the survey.

4.3 Data Screening

Data cleaning is important in conducting any multivariate analysis. This is due to the fact that the quality and significance of the analysis results are dependent on data screening and editing, Pallant, (2011) As a result, missing data and outliers were thoroughly examined and treated.

4.4 Treatment of Missing Value

Missing data are frequently a human-cantered issue in survey research, Missing data occur when a respondent either consciously or unconsciously fails to answer one or more question, which can have a negative impact on the outcome of the empirical research if not properly treated before analysing the data collected for the study. Hair et al. (2014) recommendations were taken into account when dealing with missing data.

When the amount of missing data on a questionnaire exceeds 10%, the observations should be removed from the data file, If a large proportion of responses are missing for a single construct, the entire observation may be removed even if the Overall missing data on the questionnaire does not exceed 10%; Other options include mean value replacement or case wise deletion can also be used in the treatment of missing data. In the remaining 129 questionnaire, 9 randomly missing values were treated using mean value replacement by making inferences based on vertical and horizontal pattern of response due to the small number of missing cases which according to Hair et al. (2010), “if there is less than 5% missing values per indicator, mean value replacement is recommended instead of case wise Deletion to treat the missing values when running PLS-SEM”. This is shown in Table 4.2.



Table 4.2
Total and Percentage of Missing Value

	Result Variable	N of Replaced Missing Values	Case Number of Non-Missing Values		N of Valid Cases	Creating Function
			First	Last		
1	FPB3_1	3	1	129	129	SMEAN(FPB3)
2	FPB8_1	1	1	129	129	SMEAN(FPB8)
3	EE4_1	2	1	129	129	SMEAN(EE4)
4	DPS3_1	2	1	129	129	SMEAN(DPS3)
5	LPP6_1	1	1	129	129	SMEAN(LPP6)

4.5 Treatment of Outliers

Byrne (2010) described outliers as those cases whose scores are significantly dissimilar from all the others in a given set of data. Tabachinich & Fidell (2007) recommended the identification of univariate outlier through observation of z-score. The z-score for each and every item must be within the range of ± 3.29 (0.001 sig. level). According to this investigation any value exceeding ± 3.29 were due to some mistake of data entry. A total of 7 cases of univariate outliers was recorded. In addition, Mahanalobis distance was examined to identify Multivariate outliers. All cases with Mahalanobis distance exceeding 32 at a degree of freedom of 0.001 are removed. Therefore, 10 cases were removed because they exceeded the critical Value of 83.56. The Mahalanobis distance was calculated again, and there were no more outliers in the data set. The remaining 129 cases were subjected to additional multivariate analysis.

4.6 Descriptive Statistics – Profile of Respondents

Below denotes the demographic profile of respondents. The respondents were asked to explain some of their demographic information, which includes gender, age, organisation, Years of working experience, Academic qualification, This study shows that male is the highest respondent gender to the questionnaire with the response rate of 90 (69.8 percent) while female respondent is with 39 response (30.2 percent) This is an indication that the sector is more dominated by male with less provision of female participant in the organisation, Regarding the Academic qualification attainment, those with Nce/Nd and below is with 8 response representing (6.2 percent) of the total responses, followed by Bsc/Hnd with 54 responses (41.9 percent), next are those with Msc/Mba with 47 responses, representing (36.4 percent) of the total response. Phd holders above total of 20 responses, which is exactly (15.5 percent).

This pointed out clearly that the majority of this organisation are the holders of Bsc/Hnd certificates followed by Msc/Mba holders, whereas those with PhD are few with least percentage of (15.5 percent) which is insignificant. However, there are 75 respondents in foreign affairs ministry (58.1 percent), 54 respondent from the selected university (41.9 percent), In terms of age of respondent, age bracket between 20-30years are 5 (3.9%) respondent, while 31-40years respondent are 59 with (45.7 percentage) respondents of 41-50 years are 34 with (26.4 percentage) 51-60years had 20 respondent with (15.5 percentage) while 61 year above has the less Years of age 11 with (8.5 percentage) Meanwhile, with regards to the number of years Working experience 34 respondents had below 5 years in operation (26.4 percent), 47 respondents had between 6-10 years (36.4 percent), 14 respondents had 11-15 years (10.9 percent), 27 respondents had between 16-20 years (20.9 Percent), 21 years above respondents had 7 years in operation (5.4 percent) as indicated in the Table 4.3 below

Table 4.3

Demographical Information of the Respondents

S/N	Detail	Frequency	Percentage
1	Gender		
	Male	90	69.8
	Female	39	30.2
2	20-30years	5	3.9
	31-40years	59	45.7
	Age 41-50years	34	26.4
	51-60years	20	15.5
	61years above	11	8.5
3	Organisation		

	Ministry foreign affairs	75	58.1
	University Lecturers	54	41.9
4	Academic qualification		
	NCE/ND and below	8	6.2
	BSC/HND	54	41.9
	MSC/MBA	47	36.4
	PHD and above	20	15.5
5	Working Experience		
	Below 5 years	34	26.4
	6-10 years	47	36.4
	11-15 years	14	10.9
	16-20 years	27	20.9
	21 years and above	7	5.4

4.7 Mean and Standard Deviation

The mean, which refers to the average value of the data set, is the most commonly used measure of central tendency (Sekaran & Bougie, 2010). Standard deviation is the square root of variance and is a measure of spread or dispersion that provides an index of variability in the data set. Mean and standard deviation are essential components of descriptive statistics for interval and ratio scales. This study used five point Likert scale, and Nik, Jantan and Taib (2010) interpretation of the level of score is adapted. They recommended that scores of less than 2.33 are low level, 2.33 to 3.67 are moderate level, and 3.67 and above are regarded as high level. Table 4.4 below presents the mean and standard deviation of the entire variables used in this study. External environment recorded the highest mean ($M = 3.96$, $SD = .81$) while foreign policy behaviour has the lowest mean ($M = 3.84$, $SD = .78$). Conclusively, the entire variables means were in the

range of high level, this is proven that the measurement of the mean standard deviation for Foreign policy behaviour, External environment, Domestic political situation, and Leadership personality are significantly adequate for components of descriptive statistics for interval and ratio scales for the Quantitative study

Table 4.4
Mean and Standard Deviation of the Study Variables

Items Description	Mean	SD
Foreign policy behaviour	3.84	.78
External environment	3.96	.81
Domestic political situation	3.90	.89
Leadership personality and perception	3.89	.80

4.8 Assumptions of Using Structural Equation Modeling (PLS-SEM)

The variables were checked for normality, linearity, multicollinearity and homoscedasticity to satisfy the basic and underlying assumptions of the multiple regression analysis in line with the suggestion by Hair *et al.*, (2010) & Pallant (2001).

4.9 Normality

Tabachnick & Fidell, (2007) asserted that one of the basic assumption of regression analysis is that each variable and all linear groupings of the variable are normally distributed. Normality is usually evaluated by either statistical or graphical methods. The basic mechanisms of statistically normality are skewness and kurtosis. When a distribution is normal, the value of both skewness and kurtosis should be close to zero. In graphical method, normality is usually determined through histogram residual plots.

This refers to a shape of data distribution to an individual continuous variable and its correspondence to normal distribution. If the assumption is met, the residuals should be normally and independently distributed (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). Figure 4.1 of the normal histogram showing that the normality assumption has been achieved since the entire bars on the histogram was closed to the normal curve level

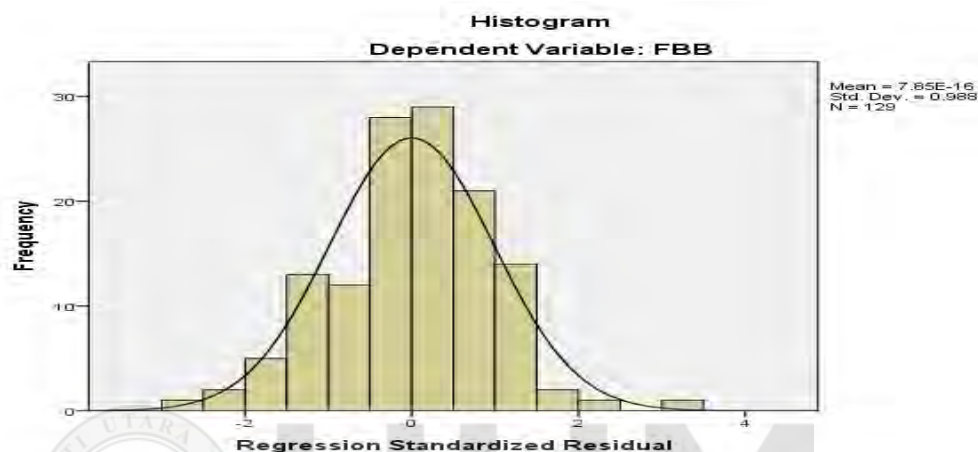


Figure 4.1. Histogram for test of normality

In this study, the normality assumption was diagnosed by checking at both skewness and kurtosis at the same time looking at histogram residual plots. Based on the analysis, the residual appears to be normal and the values of skewness and kurtosis were within the range of 2.58 as Recommended by Tabachnich and Fidel (2007). Therefore, the normality assumption was not violated.

Table 4.5

Normality Test (Skewness and Kurtosis)

Items Description	N	Skewness	Kurtosis
Foreign policy behaviour	129	3.84	.78
External environment	129	3.96	.81
Domestic political situation	129	3.90	.89
Leadership personality and perception	129	3.89	.80

4.10 Multicollinearity

Sekaran & Bougie (2010) described multicollinearity as a phenomenon in which two or more independent variables in a multiple regression model are extremely associated. The multiple regression procedure assumes that no independent or explanatory variable has a perfect linear relationship with one another Tabachnich & Fidell, (2007). The simplest way of detecting multicollinearity is to check the correlation matrix of the independent variables. Most people consider correlation of 0.7 and above as high Sekaran & Bougie, (2010), while to the others intercorrelation of greater than 0.8 is considered to be evidence of high multicollinearity (Berry & Feldman, 1985). According to Hair *et al.*, (2010) the value of independent variables is highly Correlated among themselves at 0.9. In an effort at identifying the multicollinearity problem, a bivariate correlation of the entire independent variables has been conducted, using Pearson's Correlation. The Pearson's correlation revealed no multicollinearity problem as values are not even close to 0.7 (see Table 46).

Table 4.6
Multicollinearity Test (VIF and Tolerance)

Constructs	FBB	EE	DPS	LPP
Foreign policy behaviour	1			
External environment	.513**	1		
Domestic political situation	.606**	.624**	1	
Leadership personality and perception	.550**	.452**	.552**	1

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Another device for finding multicollinearity is to look at the variance inflated factor (VIF) and tolerance value. Hair *et al.*, (2010) asserted that any VIF exceeding 10 and tolerance value lower than .10 indicates a problem of multicollinearity. Table 4.7 below shows the VIF and the Tolerance value of independent variables.

Table 4.7
Multicollinearity Test (VIF and Tolerance)

Items Description	Items	VIF	Tolerance
External environment	9	1.682	.595
Domestic political situation	8	1.925	.519
Leadership personality and perception	6	1.479	.676

The result in the table 4.7 above shows the absence of multicollinearity among the independent variables due to the fact that the VIF values are less than 5 while the Tolerance values are more Than .20 (Hair et al., 2014). An examination of these results indicated that multicollinearity was not a problem.

4.11 Assessment of PLS-SEM path model results

PLS-SEM data were evaluated and reported in this section of the study using a two-step procedure. The two-steps approaches suggested by Henseler et al. (2009) were (1) assessment of the measurement model and (2) assessment of the structural model, as exposed in the following Figure. Content validity, convergent validity, and discriminant validity made up construct validity, Sekaran & Bougie, (2019)

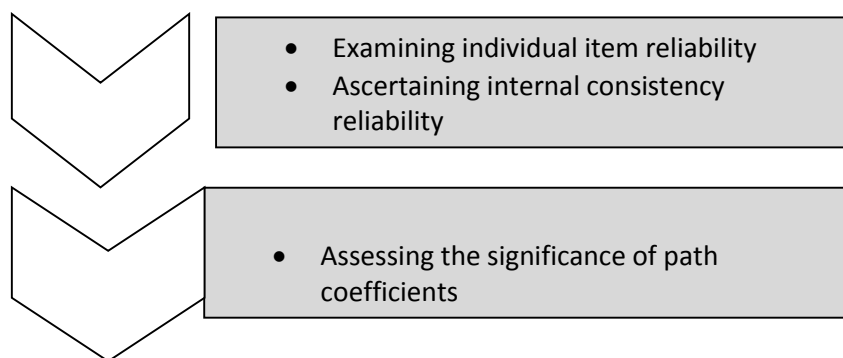


Figure 4.2
PLS path modeling assessment. Source: (Henseler et al., 2009).

4.12 Assessment of measurement model “outer model”

Testing the outer model is the initial stage in validating the study's hypotheses. Partial least squares structural equation modelling was used to test the measurement model (PLS-SEM). To obtain construct validity, two forms of validity must be performed. First, there's construct validity, which includes factor loading (item reliability), composite reliability (CR), Cronbach alpha, and extracted average variance (AVE). Second, the proposed method of Fornell and Larcker (1981) uses discriminant validity. The model's structural dimensions are shown in the figure below 4.3

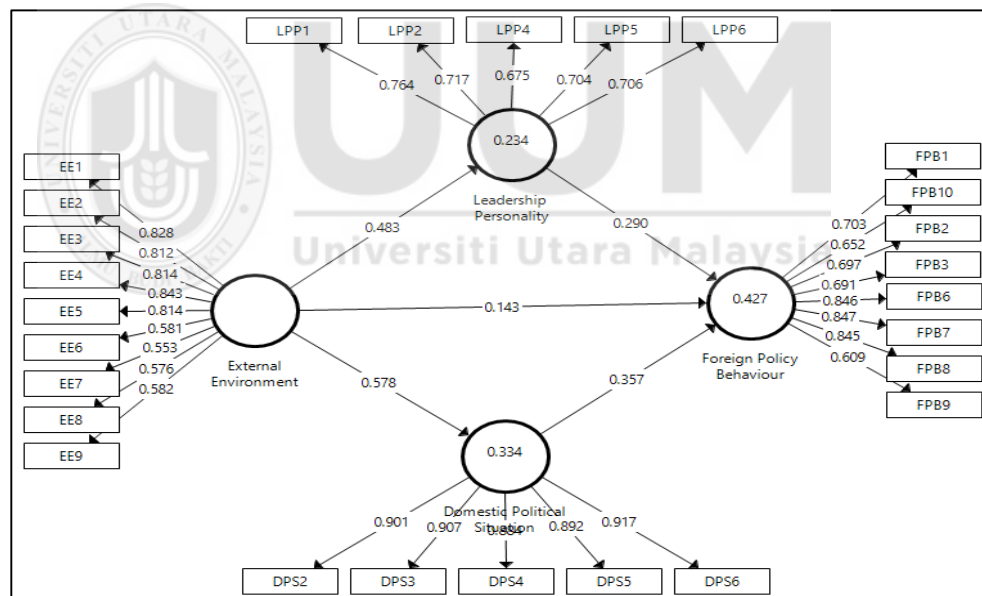


Figure 4.3
The research model (Measurement Model-Algorithm)

4.13 Individual item reliability

Hair et al. (2014) evaluated the model's individual item dependability by looking at the outer loadings of each of the constructs' measures. Due to low factor loading, all constructions' components from the current study were preserved, with the exception of

some items that are not meet requirement. The remaining elements of the outer loading values indicated up to the suggested threshold of 0.6 and above, with loadings ranging from .609 to .908, which is acceptable and good (Hair et al., 2014; Sekaran & Bougie, 2019). Table 4.8 illustrates that 27 items were used to represent the study's constructs.

Table 4.8
Convergent and reliability analysis

Constructs	Items	Loadings	Cronbach Alpha	CR	AVE
Domestic Political Situation	DPS2	0.901	0.942	0.955	0.811
	DPS3	0.908			
	DPS4	0.884			
	DPS5	0.893			
	DPS6	0.916			
External Environment	EE1	0.778	0.881	0.905	0.517
	EE2	0.761			
	EE3	0.769			
	EE4	0.802			
	EE5	0.765			
	EE6	0.650			
	EE7	0.623			
	EE8	0.646			
	EE9	0.646			
Foreign Policy	FPB1	0.703	0.881	0.906	0.550
Behaviour	FPB10	0.652			
	FPB2	0.698			
	FPB3	0.691			
	FPB6	0.846			
	FPB7	0.847			
	FPB8	0.845			

	FPB9	0.609			
Leadership Personality	LPP1	0.764	0.761	0.838	0.510
and Perception	LPP2	0.715			
	LPP4	0.674			
	LPP5	0.706			
	LPP6	0.708			

Secondly, Cronbach's alpha may over or under-estimate the scale reliability. The composite reliability takes into account that indicators have different loadings and can be interpreted in the same way as Cronbach's α (i.e., no matter which particular reliability coefficient is used, an internal consistency reliability value above 0.70 is regarded as satisfactory for an adequate model, whereas a value below 0.60 indicates a lack of reliability). Nevertheless, the interpretation of internal consistency reliability using composite reliability coefficient was based on the rule of thumb provided by Hair et al (2011), who suggest that the composite reliability coefficient should be at least 0.70 or more. As shown in Table 4.8, the composite reliability coefficient of each latent constructs ranged from 0.838 to 0.955, with each exceeding the minimum acceptable level of 0.70.

4.14 Convergent Validity

Convergent validity refers to the extent to which items truly represent the intended construct and indeed correlate with other measures of the same latent construct (Hair et al., 2006). Convergent validity was assessed by examining the Average Variance Extracted (AVE) of each latent construct, as suggested by Fornell and Larcker (1981). To achieve adequate convergent validity, Chin (1998) recommends that the AVE of each latent construct should be .50 or more. Following Chin (1998), the AVE values

(AVE ranged between 0.510 – 0.811) exhibited high loadings ($> .50$) on their respective constructs, indicating adequate convergent validity.

4.15 Discriminant Validity

Discriminant validity refers to the extent to which a particular construct is different from other constructs Duarte & Raposo, (2010). In the present study, discriminant validity was ascertained using AVE, as suggested by Fornell and Larcker (1981). This was achieved by comparing the correlations among the constructs with square roots of average variance extracted Fornell & Larcker, (1981). In addition, discriminant validity was determined following Chin's (1998) criterion by comparing the indicator loadings with other reflective indicators in the cross loadings table. First, as a rule of thumb for evaluating discriminant validity, Fornell and Larcker (1981) suggest the use of AVE with a score of .50 or more. To achieve adequate discriminant validity, Fornell and Larcker (1981) further suggest that the square root of the AVE should be greater than the correlations among latent constructs.

As indicated in Table 4.8, the values of the AVE range between .510 and .811, suggesting acceptable values. In Table 4.8, the correlations among the constructs were compared with the square root of the average variances extracted (values in bold face). Table 4.9 also shows that the square root of the average variances extracted were all greater than the correlations among latent constructs and the Heterotrait-Monotrait Ratio (HTMT), suggesting adequate discriminant validity Fornell & Larcker, (1981).

Table 4.9

Discriminant Validity (Fornell-Larcker Criterion)

Constructs	DPS	EE	FPB	LPP
Domestic Political Situation	0.9			
External Environment	0.562	0.719		
Foreign Policy Behaviour	0.575	0.503	0.742	
Leadership Personality	0.468	0.486	0.526	0.714

The HTMT value is likely to be below one, although Henseler, Ringle and Sarstedt (2015) adopted the use of .85 and that of .90 as the basic suggested threshold. The HTMT values of the current study as offered in Table 4.10 are all below 0.90, representing that the discriminant validity is not a problem.

Table 4.10

Heterotrait-Monotrait Ratio (HTMT Criterion)

Constructs	DPS	EE	FPB	LPP
Domestic Political Situation				
External Environment	0.616			
Foreign Policy Behaviour	0.621	0.56		
Leadership Personality	0.547	0.588	0.611	

Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, discriminant validity can be ascertained comparing the indicator loadings with cross-loadings (Chin, 1998). To achieve adequate discriminant validity, Chin (1998) suggests that all the indicator loadings should be higher than the cross-loadings. Table 4.11 compares the indicator loadings with other reflective indicators, regarding all the variable measurement. All indicator loadings were greater than the cross loadings. Domestic political situation has highest indicator (0.901) followed by external environment (0.778) and leadership personality (0.764) while

foreign policy has lowest number indicator(0.703) this is proving that all the variables measurement are fit and adequate for discriminant validity for quantitative study

Table 4.11

Cross Loading and Factor Loadings

Constructs	Items	DPS	EE	FPB	LPP
Domestic Political Situation	DPS2	0.901	0.489	0.519	0.395
	DPS3	0.908	0.482	0.544	0.414
	DPS4	0.884	0.543	0.52	0.458
	DPS5	0.893	0.506	0.495	0.437
	DPS6	0.916	0.509	0.509	0.4
External Environment	EE1	0.552	0.778	0.337	0.374
	EE2	0.545	0.761	0.341	0.341
	EE3	0.505	0.769	0.303	0.373
	EE4	0.519	0.802	0.342	0.407
	EE5	0.477	0.765	0.36	0.39
	EE6	0.222	0.65	0.42	0.279
	EE7	0.253	0.623	0.332	0.301
	EE8	0.226	0.646	0.404	0.347
	EE9	0.319	0.646	0.396	0.314
Foreign Policy Behaviour	FPB1	0.397	0.402	0.703	0.451
	FPB10	0.357	0.275	0.652	0.302
	FPB2	0.396	0.385	0.698	0.398
	FPB3	0.332	0.255	0.691	0.292
	FPB6	0.5	0.444	0.846	0.453
	FPB7	0.521	0.415	0.847	0.465
	FPB8	0.516	0.444	0.845	0.459
	FPB9	0.324	0.297	0.609	0.205
Leadership Personality and Perception	LPP1	0.37	0.385	0.453	0.764
	LPP2	0.343	0.354	0.457	0.715
	LPP4	0.259	0.286	0.295	0.674

LPP5	0.349	0.353	0.305	0.706
LPP6	0.336	0.345	0.327	0.708

4.16 Assessment of Significance of the Structural Model

The present study assessed the structural model and also applied the standard bootstrapping procedure with a number of 5000 bootstrap samples and 160 cases to assess significance of the path coefficients (Hair et al., 2014). The t-values in this study were calculated using a 5000 re sampling iterations in repetitive bootstrapping. The justification for the selection of 5000 samples is because it ensures that every model parameter has empirical sampling distribution and the standard deviation of the distribution will serve as proxy of the parameter empirical standard error (Hair *et al.*, 2012). Figure 4.4 and Table 4.12 show the result of the relationship between external environment, domestic political situation, leadership personality and perception as well as foreign policy behaviour in Nigeria.

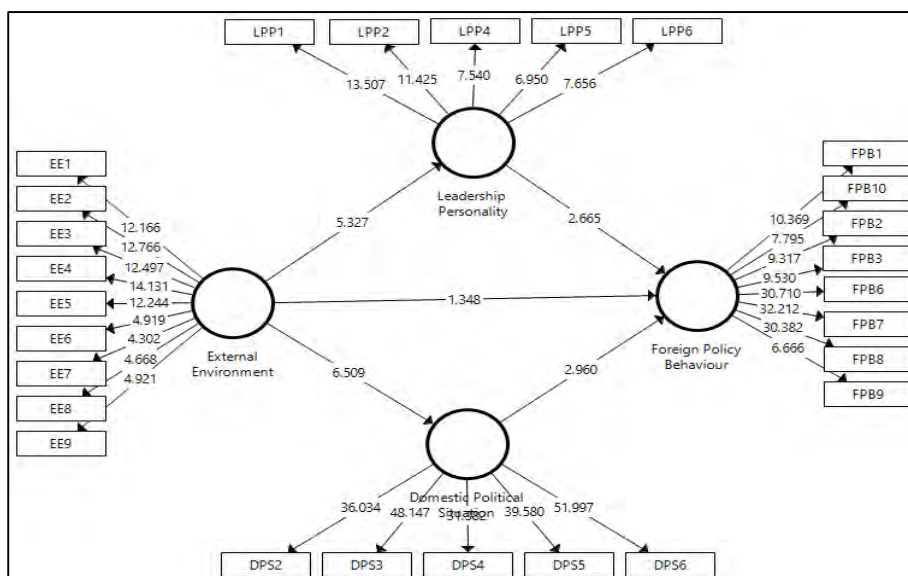


Figure 4.4 Structural Model (without mediator)

Table 4.12

Assessment Structural Model

Hypotheses	Coef.	se	T value	P Values	Decision
EE -> Foreign Policy Behaviour	0.143	0.106	1.348	0.178	Not Supported
EE -> Leadership Personality	0.483	0.091	5.327	0.000	Supported
EE -> DPS	0.578	0.089	6.509	0.000	Supported
DPS -> Foreign Policy Behaviour	0.357	0.121	2.960	0.003	Supported
LPP -> Foreign Policy Behaviour	0.290	0.109	2.665	0.008	Supported

The result from the table 4.12 above revealed that the statistical analysis result on the first Hypothesis (H_1) proves that there is a significant relationship between external environment and Foreign Policy Behaviour. The result of this hypothesis revealed that external environment does not influences the foreign policy behaviour as supported by ($\beta = .143$; T-value = 1.348^{**}; $P=.178$). Therefore, it is correct to say that H_1 is not supported. Figure 4.4 indicate that the hypothesis H_2 revealed the significant effect of external environment on leadership personality and perception ($\beta= 0.483$, $T= 5.327$, $P=.000$). This shows that external environment have significant effect on leadership personality and perception. Hence, the hypothesis H_2 is supported.

Based on the hypothesis three (3) of the study, the statistical analysis result on the Hypothesis (H_3) proves that there is a significant relationship between external environment and domestic political situation in Nigeria. In essence, it denotes that external environment influences the domestic political situation as supported by ($\beta =$

.578; T-value = 6.509***; P=.000). Therefore, it is correct to say that H₃ is positively supported. The results indicate an important relationship between external environment and domestic political situation in Nigeria.

As it also in the above Table 4.12 the statistical analysis which explains and supports the assumption of H₄ signifying that there is a significant (1%) relationship between domestic political situation and Foreign Policy Behaviour. Therefore, (β = .357; T-value = 2.960***; P=.003) proves that the H₄ is supported. This finding on the significant link among domestic political situation and Foreign Policy Behaviour fairly echoes those of the previous studies Therefore, The domestic political situation in the study reflects the personal understanding of Foreign Policy Behaviour. Meanwhile, the statistical analysis on the Hypothesis (H₅) stated that there is a significant (1%) relationship between leadership personality and perception towards Foreign Policy Behaviour. Thus, Hypothesis H₅ is proven to have a significant relationship as indicated by (β = .290; T-value = 2.665; P=.008). Hence, Hypothesis H₅ is supported.

4.17 Coefficient Determination (R²)

The R² value refer to the proportion of variation in the dependent construct that can be explained by one or more predictor variables (Hair et al., 2010). Although the acceptable level of R² value depends on the research context (Hair et al., 2010), Falk and Miller (1992) proposed an R-squared value of 0.10 as a minimum acceptable level. Meanwhile, Chin (1998) suggested that the R² values of 0.67, 0.33, and 0.19 in PLS-SEM can be considered as substantial, moderate, and weak, respectively”. Meanwhile, Hair et al. (2014) stated that, an R² value of 0.75 should be regarded as substantial, while an R² value of 0.50 should be taken as mediate, and R² value of 0.25 stands as weak; and the position was further corroborated by (Hair et al., 2011; Henseler et al., 2009). This is in

line with the benchmark for the coefficient of determination (R^2) of the endogenous construct concerning the direct relationship model presented in Table

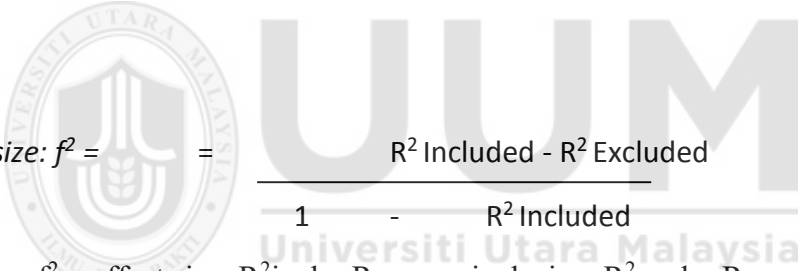
Table 4.13
Coefficient of Determination (R^2)

Constructs	R Square	R Square Adjusted
Foreign Policy Behaviour	0.427	0.413
Leadership Personality	0.234	0.227
Domestic Political Situation	0.334	0.328

As indicated in Table 4.13, the research model explains ($R^2 = 0.427$) 43% of the total variance in foreign policy behaviour. This suggests that the four sets of exogenous latent variables collectively explain 43% of the variance of the foreign policy behaviour. Thus, it is indicated that the exogenous constructs contributed 43% of the endogenous construct in terms of their direct relationship. Furthermore, Table 4.13, the research model explains ($R^2 = 0.234$) 23% of the total variance in leadership personality and perception as a mediating effect. This suggests that the exogenous latent variables collectively explain 23% of the variance of the leadership personality and perception. Table 4.13 revealed the research model explains ($R^2 = 0.334$) 33% of the total variance in domestic political situation as a mediating effect. This suggests that the external environment variables explain 33% of the variance of the domestic political situation, As indicated above by the total percentage of every each variable measured, this is to prove that all the direct and indirect relationship of the exogenous and the indirect relationship of the endogenous variable are significant adequate fit as their value are above 0.0 which indicate value fail

4.18 Assessment of Effective Size (f^2)

This refers to the measures used in examining how the predictor construct impacted the endogenous variables (Hair et al., 2017). According to the study of Chin (1998) effect size denoted as (f^2) signifies a relative effect relating to a specified exogenous Construct in relation to the endogenous construct or constructs via the variations or changes associated with the determination of coefficient. Also, based on Cohen, (1998), the effect size of 0.35, is measured to be strong effect, moderate at 0.15 and weak at 0.02. However, the tiniest value of f^2 should be considered because it can influence the endogenous construct. The formula below was used in calculating the effect size (f^2) of the exogenous construct.


$$\text{Effect size: } f^2 = \frac{R^2 \text{ Included} - R^2 \text{ Excluded}}{1 - R^2 \text{ Included}}$$

Whereas: f^2 = effect size; R^2_{incl} = R square inclusive; R^2_{excl} = R square exclusive; and 1 = is constant. The larger effective size the larger the difference between the average individual in each group in general. Based on Table 4.14 below, The effect sizes (f^2) of domestic political situation is (0.135) indicating medium size, this is to say domestic political situation is strong effective size and adequate for this study, While external environment indicate small size (0.032) this is to say external environment effective size is moderate and significant for the study, leadership personality indicate small size (0.098) this is to say leadership personality is moderate and significant for this study respectively. R-square is a good of fit measure

Table 4.14
Assessment of Effect Size (f^2)

Constructs	f^2
Domestic Political Situation	0.135
External Environment	0.032
Leadership Personality	0.098

4.19 Predictive Relevance (Q^2)

Model Q^2 capacity is another significant aspect in structural models (Vinzi, Trinchere & Amato, 2010). Blindfolding was used in this study denoting the sample reuse procedure resulting in excluding a portion of data matrix, and next utilizing the model estimation so as to predict the part that has been omitted (Hair et al., 2017). They equally stated that blindfolding indicates how strong the model sample is. This is otherwise known as its predictive power. Stone (1974) and Geisser (1974) focused on the prominent measure of predictive relevance. Thus, Q^2 will be determined via the cross validated redundancy measure to find the degree to which the model is capable of forecasting cases with respect to the omitted data (Chin, 1998). Based on the study by Hair et al. (2014) a Q^2 above zero was regarded to have predictive relevance; in other words, the higher the Q^2 , the better the predictive relevance. A cross validated redundancy for foreign policy behaviour has been established.

Table 4.15

Construct Cross-Validated Redundancy (Predictive Relevance Q^2)

Constructs	SSO	SSE	Q^2
Foreign Policy Behaviour	1032	888.231	0.139
Leadership Personality	645	554.597	0.140

From the result of the predictive relevance of foreign policy behaviour highlighted above, the predictive quality Q^2 of Foreign Policy Behaviour and Leadership Personality have values of 0.139 and 0.140 respectively which present larger predictive importance than the baseline criteria of Cohen (1988). Thus, it implies that the model has predictive relevance for the endogenous constructs of Foreign Policy Behaviour since their resulting Q^2 values are higher than zero.

4.20 Testing of Mediation Analysis

The theory explained that a mediating construct influences the direction, or strength of the relationship among the constructs in the structural model. To model the mediating effect, investigators produce terms of interaction, that express the joint effect of the exogenous variable and mediating construct on the endogenous construct. Furthermore, Mediation happens when the consequence of an exogenous construct on an endogenous construct depends on the values of another construct, which affect (i.e., mediates) the association. Thus, this study revealed that there was a relationship between domestic political situation, external environment and Foreign Policy Behaviour. The interaction of the mediation (domestic political situation and leadership personality and perception) on the relationship between Exogenous constructs and Foreign Policy Behaviour highlighted in the Figure 4.5 and Table 4:16 below

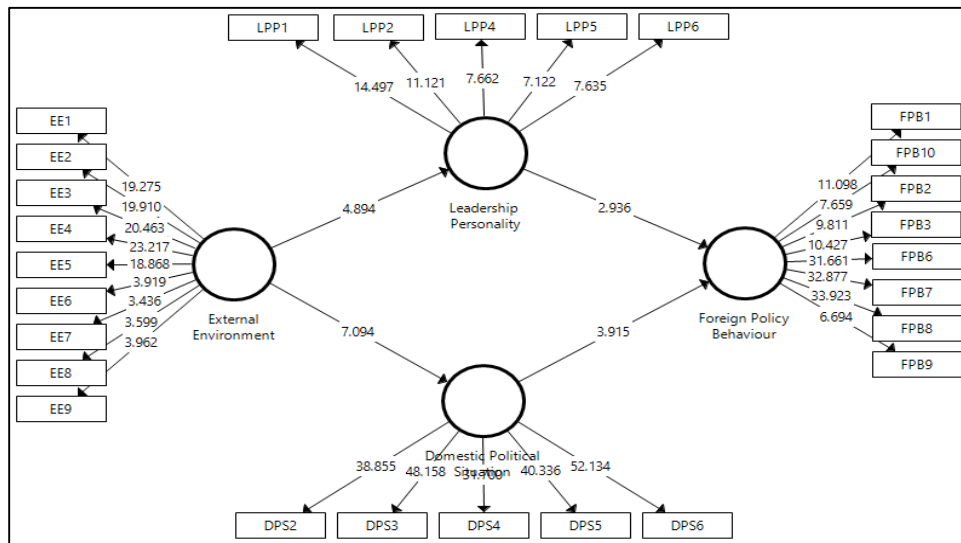


Figure 4.5
PLS-SEM Interaction Effect (Bootstrapping)

Table 4.16
Result of the Mediating effect of leadership personality and perception

Hypotheses	Coef.	se	T-value	P Values	Decisions	BCI-LL 2.5%	BCI-UP 97.5%
EE -> LPP -> FPB	0.157	0.066	2.402	0.017	Mediated	0.034	0.285
EE -> DPS -> FPB	0.246	0.081	3.045	0.002	Mediated	0.049	0.281

Note: BCI = Confidence Interval Bias Corrected; UL= upper limit; LL= lower limit

As indicated in Figure 4.4 and Table 4.15, the result of the hypothesis testing has indicated that leadership personality and perception has a substantial mediating impact on the relationship between external environment and Foreign Policy Behaviour. Based on the Hypothesis H₆, it was stated that domestic political situation mediate the relationship between external environment and Foreign Policy Behaviour indicate the result ($\beta=0.246$, $t=3.045$, $p=.002$). Thus, this shows that domestic political situation does mediate the relationship between external environment and Foreign Policy Behaviour. Therefore, the hypothesis H₆ is supported. Furthermore, the mediating effect of

Leadership personality and perception, meanwhile, has effect on the external environment and Foreign Policy Behaviour ($\beta=0.157$, $t=2.402^{**}$, $p=.017$). That is, the leadership personality and perception did mediate the relationship between external environment and Foreign Policy Behaviour. Therefore, the researcher concludes that H₇ is supported

4.21 Summary of Findings

All findings have been discussed, including the proceeding sections, and the outcomes of all the tested hypotheses in Table 4.17 are summarized.

Table 4.17
Recapitulation of the study Findings

Statement of Hypotheses	Hypo.	Decision
External environment directly affect foreign policy behaviour.	H ₁	Not Supported
External environment significantly affect Leadership personality and perception.	H ₂	Supported
External environment significantly affect Domestic political situation.	H ₃	Supported
Domestic political situation influenced the foreign policy behaviour.	H ₄	Supported
Leadership personality and perception shape foreign policy behaviour.	H ₅	Supported
Domestic political situation significantly mediate the relationship between External environment and foreign policy behaviour.	H ₆	Supported
Leadership personality and perception significantly mediate the relationship between external environment and foreign policy behaviour.	H ₇	Supported

The summary of this chapter consists of the statistical analysis of the quantitative data collected through the use of the questionnaires distributed to the government official expert in the foreign affairs Ministry and lecturers in the selected university in Nigeria, The above chapter presents the outcomes of the response rate and non-response bias. Consequently, conducted in this chapter is the data screening which comprises an examination of missing value, outliers, normality test, and multicollinearity test. This study uses the partial least square and analyzes the data collected from the field. From the starting stage, it calculated the measurement model using the PLS algorithm. The final hypotheses results were found using PLS bootstrapping, as shown in Table 4.16 above. The preceding chapter five discusses the summary of findings, discussion, and policy implications, limitation and future research directions and conclusion.

4.22 QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

4.23 Overview of the Interview Analysis

The second phase of the findings deal with the qualitative data that was gathered through interview and was analysed, the analysis presents answers to the research questions, the aim of the study was to investigate the issues of intermestic politics and foreign policy behaviour in Nigeria, the study would assists to provide a better understanding on the issues of Nigeria foreign policy determinant by examine both external and domestic factors, Percy (2015), using interview as a source of information assist to explore the past and understand the present and predict the future events. Prior to the main analysis, the preliminary analysis and the profile of the participants were presented. Next to the main analysis which sub-divided into three according to the research objectives. Finally, the summary of the findings were discussed.

4.24 Demographical Information of the Participants

This study collected data through (semi-structured interview) Ten (10) participants were purposively chosen to provide the relevant information required for this study. As indicated by the Patton (1990), nothing is more essential than making a proper selection of cases and the choice is based on the assumption that when one needed to discover, understand and gain Insight, one need to choose a sample from which once can lead the most. Thus, the chosen participants are academic lecturers in the selected university and government official working in the Ministry of foreign affairs in Nigeria where refer to as the participants. The Ten (10) participants interviewed in this study were highlighted in the Table 4.18 below

Table 4.18
Demographical information of participant

S/N	Names	Establishment	Position	Education Background	Working Experience
1	MrAjoba (Info 1)	Ministry of foreign Affairs	Accountant	Bachelor	20 years
2	Mr Ololade (Info, II)	Ministry of foreign Affairs	Senior Admin Officer	Master	17 years
3	Mr.Simon (Info.III)	Ministry of foreign Affairs	Admin officer	HND holder	15 years
4	Mrs Sandra (Info.IV)	Ministry of foreign Affairs	Headof admin	Master	9 years
5	Mr Ilori (Info V)	Ministry of foreign Affairs	Assistant Accountant	Master	9 Years
6	Dr Rafiu VI	University of Kano	Senior lecturer	P.h.d	9 years
7	Dr.Abiola (VII)	University of Kano	Assistant Lecturer	P.h.d	8 years

8	Dr victor (VIII)	University of Ibadan	Seniorlecturer	P.h.d	7 years
9	Dr Femi (Info IX)	University of Ibadan	Assistant Lecturer	P,h,d	7 years
10	DrYinusa (Info X)	University of Ibadan	Lecturer	Masters	6 Years

From the Table 4.1 above, the first participant is an accountant and deputy head of accounting section in the Ministry of foreign Affairs, He is a bachelor degree holder and has over 20 years working experience in the Ministry where he held several units and department as a director and head of units.

The second participant is a Master degree holder working in the Ministry of foreign affairs, he is a senior administrative officers and has worked for over 17 years in the Ministries. Mr Simon is the third participants who hold the position of administrative section in the ministry of foreign affairs, He has been administrative officer for over 15 years in the ministries. He is an excellent administrator who head the department for many years in the Ministry of foreign affairs. The fourth participant is Mrs. Sandra from the ministry of foreign affairs where she has been working as an Accountant for over 9 years in the Ministry. She study bachelor degree in Accounting from University of Ibadan. The fifth participant is the senior Accountant officer from the ministry of foreign affairs, She is a master degree holder and has over 9 years working experience in the Ministry where she head several units and department as a director and head of units.

Dr.Raufu is the sixth participants a senior lecturer from university of Kano, he is a PHD degree holder and been working in the university for 9 years. The seventh participant is

Dr Abiola an assistant lecturer from University of Kano, He is a PHD degree holder and has been working as a lecturer in the area of foreign policy for over 8 years. the eighth participant is Dr Victor also a lecturer from the University of Ibadan has 8 years working experience. Also the nine participant Dr Femi from the University of Ibadan is a lecturer and also an expert in the area foreign policy. Finally the ten participant, Dr Yinusa from the university of Ibadan, he is a lecturer and also an expert on foreign policy

4.25 Main Theme: Foreign Policy Behaviour in Nigeria

It is pertinent to know that the main theme of the qualitative study emerges from the research topic, since the whole issue rest on foreign policy behaviour in Nigeria. So many activities and actions of government are part of what bring about the foreign policy, Foreign policy is a set of principle policies and decision that must be followed by the nation in relation with the other nation, (Gimba & Ibrahim 2018) Stated foreign policy of a country objects and goals must fits it's national interest, as well as an articulated means to achieve them. It must have broad policy principle and decisions for conducting international relations. The figure 4.6 below show the main theme and sub theme that influence Nigeria foreign policy behaviour

4.26 Main Theme and Selected Factors Determine and Influence Nigeria Foreign Policy

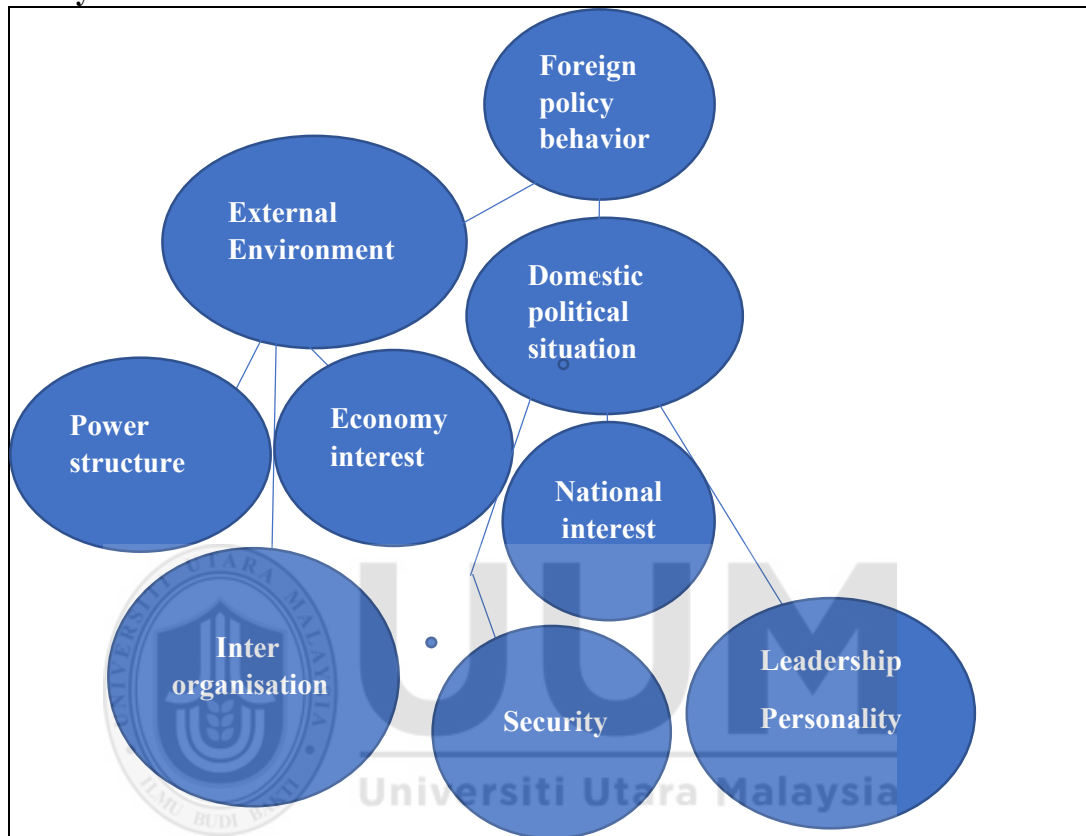


Figure 4.6

Regarding to the research question (1) what are the various Factors in the international Environment that have shaped Nigeria foreign policy?

Participant's frequently stated the above external factors that Shape Nigerian foreign policy, these factors are include power structure, International organisation-United nation and Economy interest Therefore, the study proposed to answer the following questions to bring Knowledge of External factors that shape and influence Nigeria foreign policy behaviour.

External Environment factors (a) how does power structure has effect on Nigeria foreign policy? (b) How does economy interest influence Nigeria foreign policy behaviour? (c) What are the role of International organization united nation play on Nigeria Foreign policy?

However the Participant where subsequently ask how this factors influence and determine Nigeria foreign policy behaviour and weather this factors still consistently determine Nigeria foreign policy till present. Their views were illustrated in the following section

4.27 External Environment Factors That Influence Foreign Policy Behaviour in Nigeria

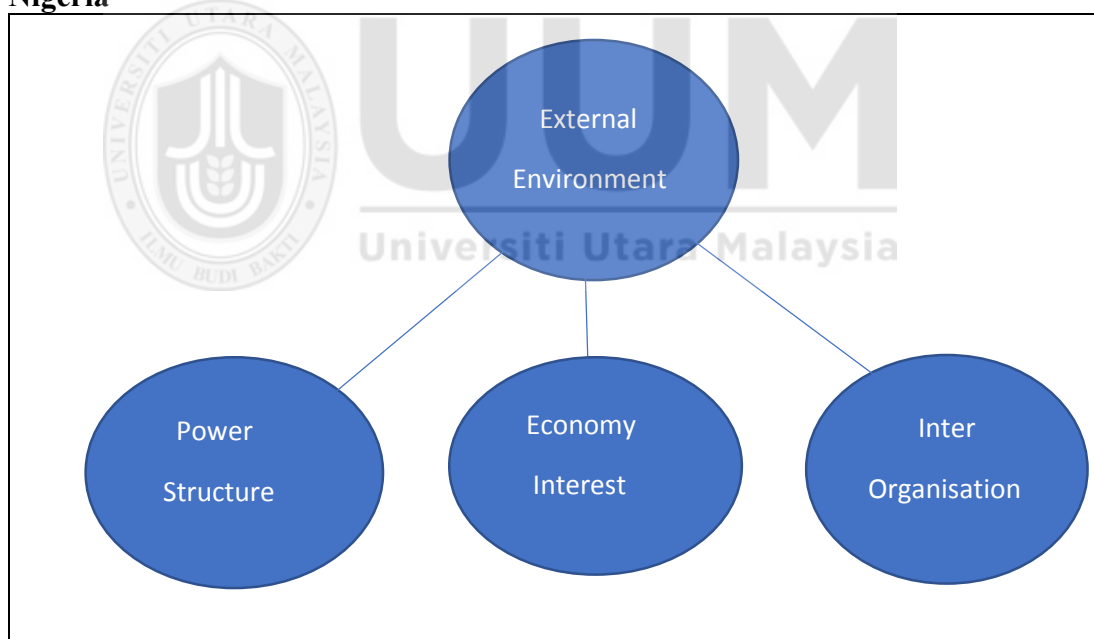


Figure 4.7

4.28 General Thought on Power Structure Influencing Nigeria Foreign Policy

Nigeria historical relationship with Colonial legacies from independence linkages have closely tied Nigeria to traditional power structure countries. The result of the interview

reveal the genesis and the Consistency policy of how global power structure has shape Nigeria foreign policy.

According to Alao (2011) since independent Nigeria as a country with the highest population in African, Nigeria under Civilian rule with the policy of democracy allow friendship and smooth relationship with the other nation who are interested in Nigeria resources. The military hijacked the civilian administration few years after the independent and things to fell apart between the Nigeria government and the Pro Western global power actors in the international community. The international powerful actors force and redirect Nigeria back to democracy by restricting Nigeria from the international relations activities, Specifically Mr Ololade Informant II from the ministry of foreign affairs alluded that

“there is global power structure and there is middle power structure, the both has influence and effect on every nation. global power structure been historically tied Nigeria down since the British colonial masters, this global power structure still exist within the powerful countries has they have power of sanctioning just like the united states did to Nigeria in some years back (INF,II)

The above statement was equally supported by Mrs. Sandra (Inf. IV) who stated that Nigeria relations with the united nation and particularly US became difficult during the Nigeria Military ruling administration, The US had slapped a travel ban and sanctions on the abacha administration in 1995 for the execution of the ogoni activists. This is to tell you that the countries with global power has influence on most of the other nation and Nigeria is not exemption till date, this is not different what explained

by the Informant I (Mr. Ajibola Hassan) who share his knowledge on his field of international relation

“Global power structure shape Nigeria foreign policy, in 2009 A key obstacle between US-Nigeria occurred, when a Nigeria man, Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab, was apprehended after a failed effort to bomb Northwest Airlines Flight 253, which was travelling into Detroit from Amsterdam, The United States instant reaction was to add Nigeria to its Terror Watch List 18th. Most of the Nigeria citizen visa were denied in United States embassy also other pro-Western Allies Countries joined this sanction.
(Informant I)

However based on the power structure some of the participant give their different narrative that at as some point Nigeria became a middle power and defend itself from the super power, As highlighted by the (Informant VII) in the university of Kano, he stated that

“Nigeria also became a Middle Power, the middle-power status of Nigeria heavily Influence by her foreign policy, the Position was reset at the time initiated concert of middle power, This Initiative took place at the Lagos Nigeria Compromised of sixteen Country who attend on behalf of their regions including Sweden, Switzerland, India, and Mexico, Brazil and others, Nigeria position as one middle power, It was also influenced by the bipolar power structure of the time, (Info II)

This was also supported by Dr Victor (Informant VIII), who stated that

“Nigeria as a middle power felt compelled to express themselves in reaction to the superpowers' greater use of threats, but despite the fact Nigeria emerge the position of middle power,

the global power structure in the international environment still have Influence on Nigeria foreign policy, but it reduce when When the Ecowas was created with the Nigeria foreign policy objective” (Ifo VIII)

Summarily power structure has a huge influence on Nigeria foreign policy but at some point Nigeria became a middle power and have chances to express herself in reaction to the superpower threat which reduce the huge effective threat from the superpower countries. This is to say the power structure from the external environment has influence on Nigeria foreign policy

4.29 The Influence of Economy Interest on Nigeria foreign Policy

International relation of most countries is based on economy interest among other Countries, these have impact on national welfare, stability of the economy, variation and political engagements that also in turn and has an impact on economic policymaking, a country that wishes to trade with foreigners must first establish a solid foundation of trading partners.

In truth, every country requires these because each has strengths and limitations based on its geographical position and environment. For example, it's hard to grow excellent apples in a desert or to eat seafood when the country lacks access to the sea.

According to Kemi, (2019) Economy interest is an external factors that can't be in isolation, it's a factor seeking trading interest and relationship with another nation, Nigeria has trading partners who are interested in Nigerian products and natural

resources, specifically, Mr. Ajibola Hassan (Info I) from ministry of foreign affairs stated that:

“Economy interest is one of the external factors that drives Nigeria foreign policy after decades the independent, the African continent became an important arena of economy interest for not only the United States but also for China and other countries. The main reason for this is quite simple, Africa particularly Nigeria is the final frontier in terms of the world energy resources, with global competition for both oil and natural gas, (Inf. I)

In fact some of the participant lecturer in the university explained that Nigeria As a rich country with numerous of resources, Not only foreign countries are interested in doing business with Nigeria, As explained by Dr Femi (Informant IX)) in the university of Ibadan “Several Years back Nigeria also looking for development in her country, And this development has yet to yield the desired results despite numerous strategies, programmes as well as projects, the main objective of poverty reduction stays the same.” This above statement was supported by Dr Yinusa (Info X) in the university of Ibadan

he stated that

“Nigeria's domestic market is large, but it is very small when it comes to modern technology. As a result, there is a need to request out beneficial foreign market both at global and regional Levels. And to attract foreign direct investment and direct it to the right sectors some policies are required (Info X)

Some of the participant from the ministry of foreign affairs highlighted that economy interest is an external factors that consistently has Influence on Nigeria foreign policy till date, As it was stated by Mrs Sandra (Info.IV) in the ministry of foreign affairs

‘Nigeria and Europe including United States have come a long way, in a traditional development trading partners, region agreement and policy exist between countries, and Nigeria and China have had economic relations since 1971, when the two countries signed the Joint Communiqué on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations. China needs Nigeria's oil to fuel its economic growth, while Nigeria is searching for Chinese expertise, finance, technology, and heavy manufacturing, as well as a market for its non-oil exports. Both nations had also provided financial and technical assistance to each other in order to help one another’ (Info IV)

4.30 The Influence of Inter-government Organisation-United nation

The United Nations is an intergovernmental organisation whose mission is to ensure world peace and promote cordial relations among nations, also promote international collaboration and serve as a centre piece for nations' actions to be harmonised. It is the largest and most well-known international organisation in the world, (UN) are active in a number of activities related to each nation's foreign policy, such as advocacy, service delivery, and conflict resolution. They work in a variety of fields, many of which combine such as democratisation, development, humanitarianism, and environmental protection for human rights around the world (Fendi, 2021)).

(Ojukwu, 2011) Since Nigeria's independence, the united nation system (UN) has had a fruitful relationship with the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Nigeria development aspirations have been catalysed by the support of (UN) which has been a reliable partner. As highlighted by Dr Femi (Info IX) from the university of Ibadan

“United Nation have Influence on most of every Nation and Nigeria is not an exemption, this organisation mission is to bring the world together, Nigeria was seen as a rising African power and there were high expectations. In October 1960, our then-prime minister who also served as foreign minister, addressed the United Nations professing goodwill with our economic trading partners as well as other democratic nations around the globe and mention Nigeria will defend the right of the black people anywhere in the world,, this speech is one for the foreign policy rules of United Nation (Info I)

Similarly Dr Victor (Info VIII,) in the university of Ibadan alluded to the above statement that Nigeria been playing a good role as member of united nation base on the organisation foreign Policy since 1960 to the current. Nigeria has established itself as a troop contributor among most UN peacekeeping operations. Nigeria has indeed been elected to the United Nations Security Council once or twice and the country has however always abide to UN foreign policy by maintaining peace among other nation. No doubt that united nation Organisation has influence on Nigeria foreign policy behaviour

(Informant IV) Mrs Sandra from the Ministry of foreign affairs share her Experience as a one of the united nation on social worker for so many years, she stated that

“International organisation given their legendary passion for international relations, they have enhanced the application of human rights in external affairs which has given Nigeria and its

leaders the advantage to fashion joint relations with foreign countries and conduct business in multilateral settings in a more principled manner. They shape Nigerian foreign policy both externally and internally by ensuring that the rights of the people are protected” (info IV)

Some of the participant argue differently since Nigeria been playing a major role in the UN Organisation as a member Their human right activities didn't go as honest as back then in the 80's, and I see them have no effective power on their foreign policy as they do before As Dr Yinusa (Informant X) in the university of Ibadan stated that

take a look at the Movement of the End Sars police brutality that occurred recently in Nigeria recently, The Nigeria army shot a live bullet on the protester, many life were lost and many were injured, since then till date the united Nation hasn't put a Sanction on Nigeria government for violating the human right, though human right organisation have influence on Nigeria foreign policy, but their activities recently seems bias and not effective (Info X)

Summarily all of the participant agreed that united nation is an external factor that has influence on every nation and Nigeria is not exemption, more also some others informant agree that united nation has become weak organisation and bias to the human right

4.31 Domestic political Situation Factors That Influence the Relationship Between External Environment And Foreign Policy Behaviour of Nigeria

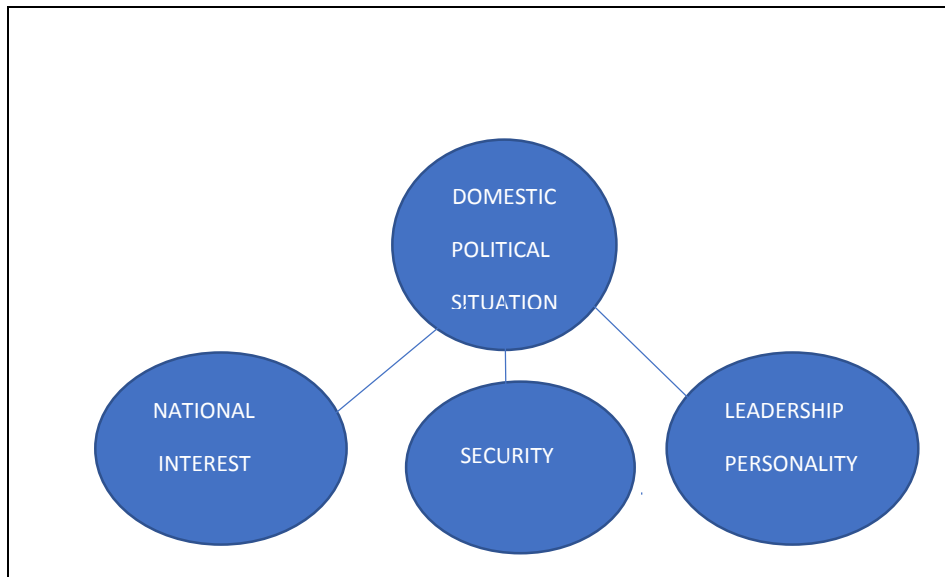


Figure: 4.8

(Lanre & Olumide 2015) Nigeria Domestic politics and foreign policy are organically interconnected, the totality of the domestic structure determines or conditions the character of Nigeria foreign policy.

Answering to research question (2) in what ways has the domestic political situation of Nigeria Influence between external environment and foreign policy?

Majority of the Participants mentioned mention the above Factors as the domestic political situation factors that Influence external environment, these factors include National interest, Security and leadership personality,

the study proposed to answer the following questions in giving Knowledge on how these domestic factors Influence external environment and Nigeria foreign policy,

(a) how does national interest determine Nigeria foreign policy? (b) To what extent the internal security influence the external environment? (c) What is the mediating

effect of leadership personality between external environment and foreign policy behaviour in Nigeria?

However the Participant where also ask weather this factors still shape or determine Nigeria foreign policy till present , their views were illustrated in the following section

4.32 The Influence of Nigeria National Interest on external environment

According to Ebegbulem (2019) the term national interest is used to describe the motivations underlying Nigeria international relations. The country international policy is guided by a set of goals and principles that the government intends to achieve in its interactions with other nations. As a result, Nigeria national interest is computed as the totality of the interests of her given State. As highlighted by (Informant II) Mr Ololade from the ministry of foreign affairs stated that

‘National Interest is a domestic factor that determine Nigeria foreign policy objectives and principles, the zeal at which the country pursued as well as the resources available for their accomplish, The interest comprised of the following at independence: The safeguarding of Nigeria sovereignty and territorial integrity; The advancement of Nigeria image and position in the world at large; the growth of Nigerians social and economic well-being; this one the major domestic factor that drive Nigeria foreign policy’ (Info II)

(Infomat V) Mr Ilori from the ministry of foreign affairs alluded to the above statement that

‘The national interest is the Nigeria first priority domestic factor that decide Nigeria foreign policy to support of unity as well as our state and African total, Since the country declaration of independence in 1960, prior administrations have spelled out these goals and ideals in broad and clear terms’ (Info V)

Other five Informant have different view that some of these objectives of the national interest are unattainable and hence cannot serve as a rational and practical foundation for the country exterior actions Specifically (Informant X) DrYinusa from the University of Ibadan stated

‘The second and third targets objectives look to be beyond Nigeria capability. Nigeria weak Economic Standing has failed from using its huge Investment in the global peace support to its advantage, Nigeria Authorities failed to realized this fundamental flaw, This is an embarrassing situation because there is no reason why external issues should be more important over internal issues. For a country whose internal security has drastically worsened due to ethno-religious confrontations, robbery, kidnapping and recently terrorism” (Info X)

Summarily all the participant agreed national interest is first priority of Nigeria domestic factor, they mention national interest is the driver of Nigeria foreign policy, also some other participants mention these objectives of the national interest are unattainable, and hence cannot serve as a rational and practical foundation for the country exterior actions

4.33 The Influence of Internal Security on External Environment and Nigeria

Foreign policy Behaviour

According to (Francis 2005) Security can be characterized as of being safe from danger and anxiety. A nation security denotes conditions of peace, stability,

Ade-Ibijola (2013) Nigeria central role in ECOWAS, it's large population and strong economy make it a major actor in West Africa and Sub-Saharan African, This also combined with her political and economic influence makes Nigeria an important security actor in the Gulf of Guinea and West Africa and this has also shape her foreign policy, since the majority of neighbouring states rely on the Nigerian economy, As highlighted by (Informant VIII) Dr Victor from the university of Ibadan he stated

“internal security in Nigeria has a significant impact on neighbouring countries since most of them rely on Nigeria's economy, internal insecurity threats are now rapped the region, such as Boko Haram and the Niger Delta have grown and Nigeria is ranked 41st out of 52 countries, behind countries such as Mali, which required foreign assistance to maintain peace” (Info VIII)

The above statement supported by Dr.Abiola (Informant VII) from the University of Ibadan he stated

“The case of the kidnapped Chibouk girls in Nigeria extremely call the international attention while at that time the American first lady Michelle Obama also joined the movement of the Bring back our girls, that influential is on Nigerian foreign policy, also Nigeria security issues have a lot of political ramifications in Nigeria relations with other West African countries. The country reputation has been tarnished by insecurity” (Info VII)

The interview conducted with the participant VII AND VII from the University of Ibadan also corroborate with other participants from the Ministry of foreign affairs As specifically stated by (Informant I) Mr Ajibola from ministry of foreign affairs he stated that

“Nigeria image on the global stage would continue to degrade until it was able to solve the amount of violence across the country, In a globalised world, no investor, whether local or foreign, will be inspired to invest in a dangerous and insecure environment. As a result of the increasing amount of insecurity in Nigeria, its economy has become unattractive to international investors, and it's has negatively impacting on development and the growth of economy” (Info I)

Summarily all the informant agreed inter security has influence on external environment, they mention what happen internally paint the image of the country in the external environment

4.34 The Mediating Effect of Leadership personality And Perception on External Environment and Foreign Policy Behaviour in Nigeria

According to Saputra & Mahaputra (2022) leadership is the way people act that allows them to lead other people or their activities in organised efforts, these distinctions through leadership style and personality of a country do have an impact on the external environment and foreign policy both directly and indirect ways. Prime ministers and the whole states government differ in their leadership style, work behaviour patterns, and how they relate to those around them, how they prefer to obtain information, and how they make a decision.

Balogun & Ajayi (2018) what makes up a country foreign policy is the views feelings, opinions and more significantly the perceptions of the leaders who are ultimately responsible for governing, Since 1960 Nigeria have been through inconsistent of leadership this is because of her frame work of leadership style and this has brought set back upon the Country economy and development As highlighted by (informant IV) Mr Sandra from the ministry of foreign affairs shat stated that

since the independent Nigeria has been ruling with different leadership that has different personality, the ruling of Military era was different from the ruling of civilian era, The abacha Military rule was like the foreign policy of Nigeria government towards the western at that moment and every other external country is not too friendly because abacha was more of like concentrating on Nigeria and doesn't want any other countries to interfere in his leadership and that was abacha personality, (Info IV)

Some of the participant clearly mentioned during the former president Olusegun democratic regime the return of his fourth republic as a civilian president, we could see his personality role in terms of Nigeria foreign policy during his foreign policy driving, he was able to make sure that the debt Nigeria is owing the other countries was either taking off or may be reduce to the barest minimum, President Obasanjo did his best and he got a good credit from international community and from the people, now this personality of the president obasanjo leadership, specifically one of the informant from the university (Informant VI) Dr Rafiu from the university of Kano stated

I would say leadership is a key factor when it comes to the growth of a state, a failed state mostly have failed leadership, and every past leadership has their own personality which has effect on policy including external environment, for example Nigeria after a series of Military rule, and 1999 returned to democratic dispensation, based on the fact that we are under military rule which was not been supportive by the western world and some other democratic state, then Obasanjo realise that the image of Nigeria needed then to be redirect, then he started as a person using his own leadership skill to embark on what we call shuttle diplomacy (Info VI)

Most of the participant from the ministry also alluded to the above statement specifically (Info V) Mr Ilori from the ministry of foreign affairs he stated

Leadership has actually contributed to the past and current situation in Nigeria, Nigeria. domestic economy problems which where trace to Nigeria indebted foreign lenders. the effort of former president Obasanjo to get cancelation for Nigeria debt and other African countries, and since president Obasanjo left the office other president the country provide have been stand has diplomatic illiterate, the past and present leadership has huge effect on the country, (Info V)

Informant (Informant III) Mr Simon from the ministry of foreign affairs also alluded to above statement he stated

We can all see the diplomatic blunder in the video presentation from all various president since 1999 , we saw president yaradua and president Jonathan and president buhari, in the way they even carried them self-compared to president olusegun obasanjo. For instance a Nigeria leader that knows we have social economy problem at home, who also knows Nigeria has national security challenges at home would appear before the international community and seek for assistant, in addition domestic policy it has affected the formulation and implementation of Nigeria foreign policy (Info III)

Summarily all the informant agreed leadership personality is an important domestic factors that has huge influence on a country particularly a country policy and economic, specifically most of the informant mention since the president obasanjo left the office, nigeria have not been able to provide a vibrant diplomatic president which brought negative effect and backwardness to country and economy as whole, this result is corroborated to the quantitative statically findings that show leadership personality has significant influence on foreign policy behaviour of Nigeria

4.35 The General Conclusions for all Participants

Table: 4.19 Respondent Common factors

External environment factors	Domestic political situation Factors
Power Structure Influence NFP	National Interest determinant NfP
Inter- Organisation United nation shape NFP	Internal Security Influence External Environment and NFP
Economy Interest Influence NFP	The Mediating effect of Leadership personality On NFP

Table 4.19 above shows the respondents' common themes which are the result of specific interview questions in the concluding part. According to all respondents. They agreed Internal factors were considerably more deterministic of Nigerian foreign policy than external factors, This was attributed to the diversified nature of the domestic socio-political environment as Nigeria policymakers are required to consider internal factors first while making foreign policy decisions in order not to upset the

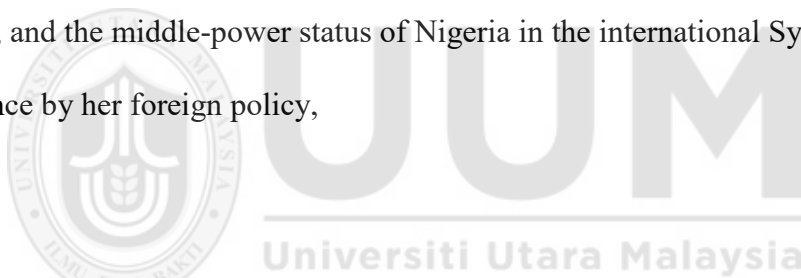
Constitution. As it was stated by Bauka Reagan eloquently, that domestic factors are paramount since they have an impact on the administration basic survival or existence. This result in line with quantitative result base on the statically analysis that show not supported of external environment did not directly Influence Nigeria foreign policy but significantly has effect on domestic political situation of Nigeria as the statically says

4.36 Power structure

The majority of the participant from both ministry of foreign affairs and academy staff result show that power structure, united Nation and economy interest has Influence on Nigeria foreign policy behaviour,

they all made mention there is global power structure and there is middle power structure, the both has influence and effect on every nation and Nigeria is not an exemption, they mention global power structure been historically tied Nigeria down since the British colonial masters

They also mention Nigeria suffered banned and sanction from international actors with global power during Nigeria Military rule era , and Nigeria also became a Middle Power, and the middle-power status of Nigeria in the international System heavily Influence by her foreign policy,



4.37 Economy Interest

all the participant agreed economy interest is an external factor that influence Nigeria foreign policy, The result from foreign affairs expert participant show that Nigeria and Europe including United States have come a long way in a traditional development trading partners, region agreement and policy exist between these countries, also Nigeria and China have had economic relations since 1971 when the two countries signed the Joint Communiqué on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations. China needs Nigeria's oil to fuel its economic growth, While Nigeria is searching for Chinese expertise, finance, technology, while The result also show that economy interest still Influence Nigeria foreign policy till date, While the result from the academy staff Show Economy interest is one of the external factors that drives Nigeria foreign policy after

decades of Cold War 1990s, the African continent became an important arena of economy interest for not only the United States, but also for China and other new emerging countries

4.38 International organisation- united Nation

The majority of the participant agreed and made mention that International organisation United nation gave their legendary passion for international relations by ensuring that the right of the

People are protected, they have enhanced the application of human rights in both external and internal affairs which has given Nigeria and its leaders the advantage to fashion joint relations with foreign countries and conduct business in multilateral settings in a more principled manner

While The (Participant 10) academy expert result was different, his result show that United nation is not proactive bias recently to Nigeria citizen, because till date no sanction was place on Nigeria government after the recent incident of police brutality in Nigeria while the Military shut on innocent citizen, the reason of this bias is because Nigeria government as occupied a big position in the Organisation

4.39 National Interest

All participant agreed that National Interest is a domestic factor

The result from the majority of foreign affairs participant show that national interest is the determinant of Nigeria's foreign policy objectives and principles, the zeal at which the country pursued as well as the resources available for their accomplish, The interest

comprised of the following at independence: The safeguarding of Nigeria's sovereignty and territorial integrity; The advancement of Nigeria's image and position in the world at large; the growth of Nigerians' social and economic well-being;

They also made mention this objectives foreign policy have stayed largely unchanged, various governments have pursued this objectives with varying degrees of concentration and focus. This is simply to say that the objectives were consistent,

While the majority of participant from Academy result show some of these objectives are unattainable, and hence cannot serve as a rational and practical foundation for the country's exterior actions. The second and third targets objectives look to be beyond Nigeria's capability. Nigeria weak Economic Standing has failed from using its huge Investment in the global peace support to its advantage, Nigeria Authorities failed to realized this fundamental flaw, This is an embarrassing situation because there is no reason why external issues

4.40 Internal Security

All the participant agreed that internal security is a domestic factors

The response from the government official show that internal security of Nigeria has a significant impact on neighbouring countries since most of them rely on Nigeria's economy, internal insecurity threats are now rapped the region, such as Boko Haram and the Niger Delta have grown and Nigeria is ranked 41st out of 52 countries, behind countries such as Mali, which required foreign assistance to maintain peace

On the hand the response from the academics expert were in Line with the government officer they made mention The case of the kidnapped Chibouk girls in Nigeria extremely call the international attention while at that time the American first lady Michelle Obama also joined the movement of the Bring back our girls, The findings show that internal security shape Nigeria foreign policy

4.41 Leadership Personality

All the Participant agreed that leadership personality is a domestic factor that influence Nigeria foreign policy, The response from the majority government Official Show that since the independent Nigeria has been ruling with different leadership and their personalities, the ruling of Military era was different from the ruling of civilian era, The abacha Military rule era was like the foreign policy of Nigeria government towards the western at that moment and every other external country is more of are not too friendly because abacha Military rule era was more of like concentrating on Nigeria and doesn't want any other countries to interfere in his Leadership, Abacah military administration brought a lot of back on Nigeria Economy as the majority pro-western countries cut out relationship and business with Nigeria, On the other hand the findings from the academy expert show consensus that the civilian rule leadership style has a positive Influence on Nigeria foreign policy and external environment, after series of Military and in 1999 Nigeria returned to democratic dispensation, and former president Olusegun Obasanjo that happened to be the president he realise that the country had suffer a lot's in terms and is not having a very good relationship with some international community when the country was a under military rule which was not been supportive by the western world and some other democratic state, president Obasanjo realise that the image of Nigeria

needed then to be redirect, then he started as a person using his own leadership skill to embark on what we call shuttle diplomacy with the international community

4.42

Chapter Summary

The findings from the interview according to all respondents. They agreed Internal factors were considerably more deterministic of Nigerian foreign policy than external factors, This was attributed to the diversified nature of the domestic socio-political environment as Nigeria policymakers are required to consider internal factors first while making foreign policy decisions in order not to upset the Constitution, As it was stated by Bauka Reagan eloquently, that domestic factors are paramount since they have an impact on the administration's basic survival or existence. The quantitative statistical analysis findings reveal that external environment did not directly Influence Nigeria foreign policy, but external environment significantly has effect on domestic political situation. the conclusion of the findings show that external internal factors play a leading role where foreign policy is concerned, while external factors play a supporting role

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Introduction

This section covers the subject field and discusses the study findings in light of previous studies including findings of the various factors that influence and determine Nigeria foreign policy behavior, this chapter also discuss and elaborate the practical contribution, theoretical contribution of the study as well as methodological contribution of the study. However the chapter further addresses the survey limitations and provides some recommendation to what extent other researcher can further explore other effective factors on Nigeria foreign policy.

5.2 Summary of the Findings

Based on a review of the literature on the various factors of foreign policy, it was discovered that the external factors are include foreign policy but are limited to the states. The international power structure, and the state membership in international organizations and alliances, including economy Interest, This are the systemic external environment factors in the global community which the states foreign policy must react too.

The internal factors that play a leading role include National interest of the states, leadership personality, and internal security of the states, Nigeria foreign policy through history was explored with the factors outlined above in with the aim of finding evidence of which of this factors determine and influence Nigeria foreign policy. Subsequently, a series of interview questions were developed on Nigeria foreign policy and sent out to experts to help achieve the stated research objectives. Also a Survey was utilize to collect information from the expert regarding foreign policy, the Survey respond was later key into PLS and SPSS statistic for further analysis, the findings from both interview and statistic are further discuss below

5.3 External Environment And Foreign Policy Behavior

The discussion findings of the external environment variable is based on the research question one of the study to identify various factors in the international environment that have shape Nigerian foreign policy, the idea of the theoretical frame work is that this study combine domestic and systemic factors to achieve comprehensive theory of foreign policy, the identify factors under external environment are power structure, international organization and economy interest, this findings give insight on how external factors interact with domestic political situation to influence and determine Nigeria foreign policy

The findings from the interview reveal as the majority of the informant elaborated that external factors are part of the foreign policy but not determine a sates foreign policy and Nigeria is not exemption, likewise one of the interviewer (Informant II) Mr ololade from the Ministry of foreign affairs stated that

“Systemic power structure is an external factor that has influence and effect on every nation, this factors historically tied Nigeria down since the British colonial masters, this power structure still exist within the powerful countries has they have power of sanctioning just like the united states did to Nigeria in some years back, but the power structure became less effective when Nigeria became middle power” (INF,II)

In fact some of the findings from the interview also explained about the economy interest as an external factor that has influence on Nigeria foreign policy, they further explained that this factor does not determine Nigeria foreign policy specifically As explained by Mr. Ajibola Hassan (Info I) of ministry of foreign affairs stated that:

“Economy interest is one of the external factors that drives Nigeria foreign policy after decades of Cold War 1990s, the African continent became an important arena of economy interest for not only the United States, but also for China and other new emerging countries. The main reason for this is quite simple, Africa particularly Nigeria is the final frontier in terms of the world energy resources, with global competition for both oil and natural gas” (Inf. I)

Findings from the interview also explain about International organisation such as united nation as a systemic external factors that has effect on Nigeria foreign policy, but also not determinant of Nigeria foreign policy specifically one of the interviewer (Informant IV) Mrs Sandra from the Ministry of foreign affairs share her Experience as one of the united nation staff for so many years, she stated that

“International organisation given their legendary passion for international relations they have enhanced the application of human rights in external affairs, which has given Nigeria and its leaders the advantage to fashion joint relations with foreign countries and conduct business in multilateral settings in a more principled manner. They shape Nigerian foreign policy both externally and internally by ensuring that the rights of the people are protected”
(infoIV)

The above findings from qualitative interview is also in line with the quantitative statistical analysis findings which explains and supports the assumption of (H₁) proves that there is an insignificant relationship between external environment and Foreign Policy Behavior. The result of this hypothesis revealed that external environment does not directly influences the foreign Policy behavior without the combination of domestic factors supported by ($\beta = .143$; T-value = 1.348^{**}; P=.178). Therefore, it is correct to say that H₁ is not supported,

Based on the hypothesis three (3) of the study, the statistical analysis result on the Hypothesis (H₃) proves that there is a significant relationship between external environment and domestic political situation in Nigeria. In essence, it denotes that external environment influences the domestic political situation as supported by ($\beta = .578$; T-value = 6.509^{***}; P=.000). Therefore, it is correct to say that H₃ is positively supported. The results indicate an important relationship between external environment and domestic political situation in Nigeria, this was also corroborated with the result of the qualitative were by the majority of the participant agreed external and internal factors are the driver of Nigeria foreign policy behaviour

5.4 Domestic Political Situation, External Environment And Foreign Policy

Behaviour

The discussion findings of the domestic variable is based on the research question two of the study, in what ways has the domestic political situation of Nigeria influence the relationship between the external environment and a Nigeria foreign policy behaviour? The aforementioned factors under domestic variable mentioned by the participant include national interest, internal security, and leadership personality

The findings from interview reveal as all the informant agreed on the above factors are domestic factors that influence and determine Nigeria foreign policy, they further elaborated that these factors have relationship and influence on external environment Specifically (Informant II) Mr Ololade from the ministry of foreign affairs highlighted that

National Interest is a domestic factor that determine Nigeria foreign policy objectives and principles, the zeal at which the country pursued as well as the resources available for their accomplish, The interest comprised of the following at independence: The safeguarding of Nigeria sovereignty and territorial integrity; The advancement of Nigeria image and position in the world at large”(info II)

Participants also elaborated the issues about internal security factor, they all agreed that internal security is a domestic factors that has influence on external environment and foreign policy, they lay emphasis on what happen internally either good or bad paint the

image of a country in the external environment, Specifically Dr.Abiola (Informant VII) from the University of Ibadan he stated

“The case of the kidnapped Chibouk girls in Nigeria extremely call the international attention while at that time the American first lady Michelle Obama also joined the movement of the Bring back our girls, that influential is on Nigerian foreign policy, also Nigeria security issues have a lot of political ramifications in Nigeria relations with other West African countries. The country reputation has been tarnished by insecurity” (Info VII)

This above result in line with the statistical quantitative analysis finding Based on the Hypothesis H₆, it was stated that domestic political situation mediate the relationship between external environment and Foreign Policy Behaviour indicate the result ($\beta=0.246$, $t=3.045$, $p=.002$). Thus, this shows that domestic political situation does mediate the relationship between external environment and Foreign Policy Behaviour. Therefore, the hypothesis H₆ is supported.

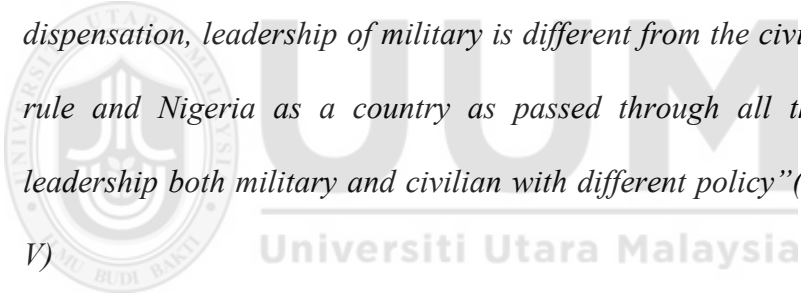
5.5 Leadership personality And perception, External Environment And Foreign Policy Behaviour

The discussion findings of the leadership personality variable is based on the research question three, How is the mediating effect of leadership personality and perception on the relationship between the external environment and Nigeria foreign policy behaviour?

The findings from the interview reveal as the majority of the informant agreed that leadership personality is an important domestic factors that has huge effect on external environment and foreign policy of a country and it's economic, some participant further

lay emphasis that since 1197 the president obasanjo left the office as prime minister, Nigeria have not been able to provide a vibrant diplomatic president, the lack of providing a vibrant president has brought negative effect and backwardness to country and economy as whole, this result, specifically (Info V) Mr Ilori from the ministry of foreign affairs stated that

“I would say leadership is a key factor when it comes to the growth of s state, a fail state mostly have a failed leadership, and every past leadership has their own personality which has effect on policy including external environment, for example Nigeria after a series of Military rule, and 1999 returned to democratic dispensation, leadership of military is different from the civilian rule and Nigeria as a country as passed through all these leadership both military and civilian with different policy”(Info V)



This above result of leadership personality Variables In line with findings of statistic findings of the quantitative study, the result of the hypothesis testing indicated that leadership personality and perception has a substantial mediating impact on the relationship between external environment and Foreign Policy Behaviour. The mediating effect of leadership personality and perception, meanwhile, has effect on the external environment and Foreign Policy Behaviour ($\beta=0.157$, $t=2.402^{**}$, $p=.017$). That is to say the leadership personality and perception did mediate the relationship between external environment and Foreign Policy Behaviour. Therefore, the researcher concludes that H₇ is supported

Base on the above findings it would be careless not to caution agreeing that internal factors are dominant and external factors are less dominant, for Nigeria foreign policy it is not to say there has never been place where external factors take a dominance, under normal circumstances, Nigerian lawmakers tend to prioritise internal factors when developing the country foreign policy. Summarily both external factors and domestic factors are working in conjunction of Nigeria foreign policy, Take the case of the Sanction and travel banned Impose on Nigeria during the Abacha Military administration When Saro Wiwa was killed, it was a large responsive from the external environment to domestic factors at that time,

Also according to the statically the result does not show that one factors is dominant than the other, the findings shows both external and the internal factors are combination of Nigeria foreign policy and also show that there is a relationship between both factors when it comes to Nigeria foreign policy, Therefore all the

Statically analysis result hypothesis were supported except hypothesis 1 that shows external environment factors does not directly influence foreign policy without combination domestic factors

Overall this was also being supported by the result of the qualitative where All of the Informant agreed that foreign policy of a country cannot be isolated from a domestic and external affairs, they both working in conjunction, also majority of the informant agreed that all the president in Nigeria under the democratic dispensation has been very positive, Even though their diplomatic leadership is active than one another but their

personality abroad has not been bad because they have a good relation with other countries,

5.6 Research Implication

The conceptual framework offered here in this study includes both direct and indirect relationships that are used to investigate the impact of the elements that influence Nigeria foreign policy. The availability of the direct relationship indicates that the strength of the external environment, domestic political situation, and leadership personality and perception all significantly related to the effectiveness of Nigeria foreign policy behaviour in the context of policy making., An indirect relationship distributed between domestic political situation and leadership personality and perception on the relationship between external environment are considered to mediate Nigeria foreign policy behaviour, Therefore, as suggested by Hallinger (2010), The conceptual framework specification has practical, theoretical, and methodological aspects. To conduct a valid and usable empirical inquiry, a clear explanation of the nature of the relationship that existed between the variables under study, as demonstrated in the conceptual model, is essential for intellectual discourse clarity.

5.7 Theoretical Contribution

This study findings contributed to empirical research on the relationship between domestic political situation, external environment, leadership style and perception of foreign policy behaviour in Nigeria, The study confirms up that external environment has a positive impact on domestic politics, However external environment does not directly has a positive relationship on foreign policy without the combination of domestic political situation, therefore, a good leadership Style policy must be adopted

in order to improve the leadership personality and perception of the effectiveness of Nigeria foreign policy. As a result, the purpose of this research is to add to the reviewed literature while also contributing to world betterment, particularly in poor countries such as Nigeria.

this study reveal the recurrent discussion on foreign policy literature regarding the aspect how foreign policy linked to domestic political situation, external environment and leadership personality and perception, As revealed in the proposed model in this study, is to the development and enhancement of an overarching theory of foreign policy, effectiveness of foreign policy is achieved by domestic political situation, external environment, and leadership personality and perception, Therefore, this study test all the variables with the both mediation effect of leadership personality and perception and domestic political situation,

Additionally, this study integrates several measures that capture the multidimensionality of all three main construct of this study, (domestic political situation, external environment, leadership personality and perception will serve as substantial contributions to the development and enhancement of foreign policy making and performance of the government, this is the first empirical study of its kind to investigate the mediating impact of leadership personality and perception, domestic political situation on the relationship between external environment and foreign policy behaviour., this study combines several studies that include foreign policy theory, activity in other to explain the relationship between domestic political situation, external environment, leadership personality and perception on foreign policy, Therefore, if

domestic political situation, External environment, leadership personality, and perception are tactically fit into intermestic politics context and holistically applied instead of disjointed; the research findings of this study are evidence to support the premise of resource base on view and neoclassical theory, and thus the approach of neoclassical theory will enhance Nigeria foreign policy effectiveness.

5.8 Methodological Contribution

In this study both quantitative and qualitative methods was applied to treat its objectives. The statically analysis was used dominantly while the adopted constant cooperate analysis qualitative inquiry method approach applied less dominant to complement The need for this direction was stressed by Gottfried (2001) this study contributes to knowledge by filling the gap with methodological Triangulation of both quantitative and qualitative study that enabling the researchers to investigate various points of view and discover correlations in between complex layers of the research questions on foreign policy behaviour in Nigeria, in order to aid scholars and for suitable analysis on the influence of foreign policy, The investigation would be useful in understanding the factors that influence and determine Nigerian foreign policy in the past and present. The investigation may shed light on policies. Designed to assist governments in working more successfully on their foreign policy making

5.9 Practical Contribution

This research work is important in theoretical and practical for human behaviour knowledge. It is imperative for government to be active on their policy making, the exploration of foreign policy through domestic and external factors and leadership personality will provide adequate knowledge to the foreign policy of Nigeria and enlighten government to be active on their policy making, The researcher focused on intermistic politics of Nigeria foreign policy that include domestic political situation, external environment and leadership personality and perception, Lastly, the study is helpful to researchers wishing to undertake related or similar research on the topic. It is obvious that this study is of great importance to the body of Knowledge, the law makers, the state government, and the Federal government of Nigeria at large will benefited,

Another practical contribution of this study is that domestic political situation of Nigeria need to be more active well and handle by the individual stakeholders in the public sector, for example heads of state and legislators, public officials and government bureaucrats from different sectors because this study findings discover that the current situation of domestic political Situation of Nigeria has currently not been proactive in their domestic political issue. Whatever happen internally either good or bad paint the paint Nigeria image externally in the international environment, therefore they need to do better

5.10 Limitation of the study

According to Price & Murnan (2004) The study limitations are number of challenges which researchers encounters during the course of the study that may influence the results of the study, One of the limitation of this study is that it's was difficult to get a

sample frame of the participant for the quantitative aspect, due to the corona virus pandemic issues as many offices were closed, Another limitation of this study is that most of the participant could not be interviewed physically due to the policy of social distance,

5.11 Suggestions for Further research

While this thesis has laid considerable groundwork by using different methodology in regards to Nigerian foreign policy behaviour, internal and external factors is what form a nation foreign policy particularly Nigeria, little was done in exploring the specific factors, As such, further study is needed to explore other factors on external and domestic issue to how and to what degree these factors come to influence Nigeria foreign policy, suggested factors Include History, population, geographical and culture, also studies should additionally strive to go beyond the realm of mere correlation and attempt to establish causality between said specific factors

5.12 Conclusion

The origins of state foreign policy have long piqued the interest of academics. They have taken issue in particular with what factors tend to be deterministic state behaviour in relation to their external ties led by their foreign policy. This thesis attempted to accomplish the same goal by focusing on Nigeria Africa most populated country, in acknowledgment of the reality that state foreign policy is influenced by a range of factors. And it important to know if internal and external factors have historically driven Nigerian foreign policy. To that purpose, this thesis drew on a variety of theoretical grounds for its foundation.

It borrows and later endorses the notion that foreign policymakers engage in a two-level game that includes both the domestic and external scenes from Putnam (1988) It borrows and later endorses the notion that foreign policymakers engage from neo-classical realist theory, It also borrows the idea that systemic pressures on state foreign policy that are filtered through domestic considerations Rose (1998)

This thesis also employed the typology proposed by Rosenau (1966) to determine Nigeria genotype in order to make preliminary predictions about which factors will be more influential in its foreign policy, The state position in the international system, the international power structure, and the state membership in international organisations and alliances and all examples of external sources of foreign policy. Domestic political situation , leadership personality are among the internal factors that cover several levels of analysis, The evolution of Nigeria foreign policy particularly during the post-independence-era was examined with the goal of understanding of the factors that has impact and influence on Nigeria foreign policy, Subsequently a series of interview questions were structure and survey questionnaire where developed and sent out to experts that deal with foreign affairs on Nigeria foreign policy, The questionnaire was sent out to help achieve the stated research objectives. The results of the questionnaire and interviews uncovered certain factors and principles the respondents claimed to have played an important role on Nigeria foreign policy, the revealed factors Include power structure, economy interest, international organisation, national interest. Internal security and leadership personality, overall, most of the respondents indicated Nigeria foreign policy are the combination of both internal and external factors, thus confirming earlier predictions and the thesis“ hypotheses. The thesis concludes therefore

that internal factors play a leading role where Nigerian foreign policy is concerned while external factors play a more supporting role.



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APPENDIX A



GAZALI SHAFIE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT UNIVERSITI UTARA MALAYSIA

ACADEMIC RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

INTERESTIC POLITICS AND THE EVOLUTION OF NIGERIAN FOREIGN POLICY IN THE POST-INDEPENDENCE ERA: THE COLD WAR PERIOD

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am a postgraduate student from Gazali Shafie Graduate School of Government, Universiti Utara Malaysia and currently conducting a survey to examine Interestic Politics and the Evolution of Nigerian Foreign Policy in the Post-Independence Era: The Cold War Period as part of the M.Sc. requirement.

For the purpose of this research study, a survey has been developed to help disclose the interactions among these important elements. This questionnaire is solely for the academic purpose. All information provided shall be treated with utmost confidentiality with the researcher and the Supervisors. I undertake to report the result in such a way that anonymity of the respondent is preserved.

Thank you very much for your participation.

Sincerely,

Ajijola Oladele Demola

Tel No: +601151344539E-mail: oladele90@outlook.com

INFORMATION

The questionnaire comprises two parts. Part I represents the demographic information while Part II (Sections A-D) consists of questions on intermetric politics (external environment, domestic political situation and leadership personality and perception) and foreign policy behaviour.

PART I: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Please tick ☒ the option that correctly and accurately describes your circumstance:

1. Gender of the Respondent?

- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female

2. Age of the Respondents?

- ☐ 20 - 30 years
- ☐ 31 – 40 years
- ☐ 41 – 50 years
- ☐ 51 – 60 years
- ☐ 60 years and above

3. Organization of the respondents?

- ☐ Academic Lecturers
- ☐ Ministry foreign affairs

4. Academic Qualifications?

- ☐ ND/NCE and Below
- ☐ BSc/HND
- ☐ MSc/MBA
- ☐ PhD and above

5. Working Experience?

- ☐ Below 5yrs
- ☐ 6 – 10yrs
- ☐ 11 – 15yrs
- ☐ 16 – 20yrs

☐ 21yrs and above

PART II (SECTIONS A – D)
SECTION A: FOREIGN POLICY BEHAVIOUR

GUIDELINES In section A, please rate your level of agreement with the following statements as all questions have the same options (1= Strongly Disagree (SD), 2 = Disagree (D), 3 = Neutral (N), 4 = Agree (A), 5 = Strongly Agree (SD)):

S.NO	Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	Foreign policy decision is always seeking new opportunities for the country	1	2	3	4	5
2	Nigerian state behaviour bring a clear understanding of where we are going.	1	2	3	4	5
3	Foreign policy is able to get others committed to dream of the future.	1	2	3	4	5
4	Foreign policy fosters collaboration among countries groups	1	2	3	4	5
5	It gets the countries to work together for the same goal.	1	2	3	4	5
6	Foreign policy develops a team attitude and spirit among countries.	1	2	3	4	5
7	Foreign policy on insists on only the best performance.	1	2	3	4	5
8	Foreign policy stimulate to think about old problems in new ways.	1	2	3	4	5
9	Foreign policy bring ideas that have forced to rethink some ideas never questioned before	1	2	3	4	5
10	It provided the new ways of looking at things which used to be a puzzle.	1	2	3	4	5

SECTION B: EXTERNAL ENVIRONMENT

GUIDELINES: In section B, please rate your level of agreement with the following statements as all questions have the same options (1= Strongly Disagree (SD), 2 = Disagree (D), 3 = Neutral (N), 4 = Agree (A), 5 = Strongly Agree (SD)):

S.NO	Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
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1	There was a change in the systemic pressure that affected the nation.	1	2	3	4	5
2	There was a change in the systemic incentives that affected the other countries.	1	2	3	4	5
3	I would have acted differently if relative power of Nigeria in the international system that surround me had been different..	1	2	3	4	5
4	There was a change in the political environment that affected the other countries.	1	2	3	4	5
5	There was a regulatory/governmental change that affected the other countries.	1	2	3	4	5
6	The current environment in the country was responsible for the other countries action.	1	2	3	4	5
7	Most people will tell a lie if they can gain by it.	1	2	3	4	5
8	Competitive conditions forced the foreign investors to take this action.	1	2	3	4	5
9	We obtained information and other resources from other countries within our nation.	1	2	3	4	5

SECTION C: DOMESTIC POLITICAL SITUATION

GUIDELINES: In section C, please rate your level of agreement with the following statements as all questions have the same options (1= Strongly Disagree (SD), 2 = Disagree (D), 3 = Neutral (N), 4 = Agree (A), 5 = Strongly Agree (SA)):

S.NO	Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	Relatives Materials power and capabilities enhance foreign policy behaviour	1	2	3	4	5

2	The perception of leaders and elites of Nigeria relative power have influence on foreign policy.	1	2	3	4	5
3	Strength and structure of the Nigeria state relative to the Nigeria society	1	2	3	4	5
4	The Nigeria political economic ideology affect foreign policy in behaviour.	1	2	3	4	5
5	The national character determine how countries behave toward the world beyond their border.	1	2	3	4	5
6	The social economic structure determine how countries behave toward the world beyond their border.	1	2	3	4	5
7	The partisan politics determine how countries behave toward the world beyond their border..	1	2	3	4	5

SECTION D: LEADERSHIP PERSONALITY AND PERCEPTION

GUIDELINES In section D, please rate your level of agreement with the following statements as all questions have the same options (1= Strongly Disagree (SD), 2 = Disagree (D), 3 = Neutral (N), 4 = Agree (A), 5 = Strongly Agree (SA)):

S.NO	Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	Keeps up to date with global trends, reviews the company's position, develops business relationships in other countries	1	2	3	4	5
2	Helps people to think differently about a problem, gets buy-in for creative ideas, turns novel ideas into reality.	1	2	3	4	5
3	Defines acceptable workplace behavior, challenges bias and intolerance, acts as a role model of inclusive behavior.	1	2	3	4	5
4	Assesses options and risks, consults people and takes their views and ideas into account, acts decisively.	1	2	3	4	5
5	Communicates high expectations of people, trusts capable people to do	1	2	3	4	5

	their work, celebrates team achievement.					
6	Does what is right despite personal risk, says no when necessary, has the courage to take tough decisions.	1	2	3	4	5
7	Seeks feedback, sets personal development goals, shows a sense of humor and perspective.	1	2	3	4	5
8	Gathers information from a wide variety of sources, approaches problems from different angles, brainstorms possible solutions with others.	1	2	3	4	5
9	Creates a climate where people share views and ideas, exchanges information with the team, bosses and stakeholders.	1	2	3	4	5
10	Demonstrates presence, communicates with self-assurance, gives effective presentations to groups.	1	2	3	4	5
11	Encourages debate, brings disagreements into the open, addresses and resolves conflict early.	1	2	3	4	5
12	Works effectively with other people, builds rapport and keep others in the loop, uses networks to get things done.	1	2	3	4	5

Please indicate any comments you have in order to improve this questionnaire:

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Please, feel free to contact me on any issue(s) regarding to this questionnaire.

Thank you for your participation in answering this questionnaire.

APPNDIX B



QUALITATIVE INTERVIEW GUIDE

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW **INTERMESTIC POLITICS AND NIGERIAN FOREIGN POLICY**

I am a Master student at College of Law, Government and International Studies, Universiti Utara Malaysia. Currently, I am undertaking a research on the above title. This structured interview is being conducted to generate information from you or your establishment on the prospect of refocusing intermestic politics and the evolution of Nigerian foreign policy behaviour. **Please be assured that information generated is purely for this research, and will be treated with the utmost confidentiality it deserves.** Your cooperation is hereby solicited. Kindly give sincere response to the questions. Thank you for your participation.

About You

- 1) What is your position in this reputable establishment?
- 2) What is your role in this establishment with regards to foreign policy behaviour in Nigeria?
- 3) How long have you been working in this establishment?

Interview Research question

1) What are the various factors in the external environment that have shaped Nigerian foreign policy behaviour?

(a) How does power structure has effect on Nigeria foreign policy?

(b) How does economy interest influence Nigeria foreign policy?

(c) What are the role of International organization united nation play on Nigeria Foreign policy?

(2) In what ways has the domestic political situation of Nigeria been a determinant of her foreign policy?

(a) how does national interest determine Nigeria foreign policy?

(b) To what extent the internal security influence the external environment?

(c) What is the mediating effect of leadership personality between external environment and foreign policy behaviour in Nigeria?

(3) What is the leadership perception and personality towards foreign policy behaviour in Nigeria and how the leadership affect the relationship between external environment and foreign policy?