

A CRITICAL REFLECTION ON THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF CITIZEN DIPLOMACY IN NIGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY AND EXTERNAL RELATIONS

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Abstract

The study sets out to examine the theory and practice of citizen diplomacy in Nigerian foreign policy and external relations. It attempts to appraise the issues/challenges inherent in the implementation of citizen diplomacy. Citizen diplomacy is of two main folds, viz.: Track I, and Track II diplomacy. Where Track I dimension of citizen diplomacy entails that the Nigerian government promote and protect the lives and properties of her citizens both at home and in Diaspora; Track II diplomacy on the other hand entails the participation of citizens as ambassadors and promoters of Nigeria's image anywhere in the world. The paper argues that there exist interminable variables that are internal and external to the functioning of citizen diplomacy as Nigeria's foreign policy plank such as the character of the Nigerian state, leadership, and Nigeria's negative image abroad. The theory of liberalism is applied as the theoretical framework of analysis. The study is anchored on explanatory research design, documentary source of data collection and qualitative method of data analysis. The study deciphered that the Nigerian state has not matched the theory/principles of citizen diplomacy with practice. As such, Nigerians are left on their own to survive both at home and in Diaspora, and most of the times to the detriment of the country's image. The paper recommends that Nigerian citizens should be wholeheartedly encouraged, supported, and protected by the Nigerian government using incisive critical appraisal, not as a tool to denigrate but as an encouragement tool for policy advice/information gathering through feed-back mechanism elicited from the citizens/nationals. This is expected to improve the attitude and disposition of the citizens towards the Nigerian state with respect to good reputation and image building.

Keywords: Diplomacy; Diplomacy Tracks; Citizen Diplomacy; Foreign Policy; National Interest.

Introduction

Since the attainment of independence in 1960, the Nigerian state like every other state the world over has been engaging in the practice of foreign policy, and her foreign policy is better appraised vis-à-vis the context of its regional and global aspirations rather than her internal issues/challenges. The history of Nigeria's foreign policy *ab initio* and the guiding objectives has remained constant. It is based on the aforesaid that Adigbuo (2013) observed that, "these objectives have found their way into the constitution of the federal republic of Nigeria which in no unmistakable manners spells out the key foreign policy interests or goals, the nation must pursue on

the world stage.” Albeit, Nigeria’s foreign policy principles and/or posture has been dynamic in nature due to the peculiarity and idiosyncrasies of the erstwhile and current leaders; thus, Nigeria’s foreign policy principles in flux. As different administrations since independence followed different policy agenda, constituting what is axiomatically ‘called change in continuity and continuity in change’.

In the wake of 2007, the Nigerian Government under the auspices of Late Umaru Musa Yar’Adua, announced a new foreign policy posture or direction on what the former Foreign Affairs Minister, Ojo Maduekwe called ‘citizen-centred diplomacy’. Albeit, scholars hold different perceptions and/or views vis-à-vis the concept of citizen diplomacy, yet, many commentators and scholars have come to see Citizen Diplomacy as a new Nigerian foreign policy plank that will be based on the Nigerian citizens at home and in Diaspora. In the words of the foreign Minister Chief Ojo Maduekwe, cited in Bakare (2007) “this is not necessarily a departure from the country’s traditional approach to foreign relations in which Africa is taken as the centre-piece; however, the policy is rebranded to focus on the citizen” (Bakare, 2007). The country will strive for a synergy between foreign policy and domestic affairs in such a way that the citizen is taken as the focus of foreign policy. In the view of Mbachu (2007) the basic thrust of the new foreign policy initiative revolves around concerns for the basic needs, human rights and socio-economic welfare of Nigerian citizens in bilateral and multilateral engagements with other countries. This foreign policy posture as a departure from the African-centred policy thrust is however, not without its issues and/or challenges. The Nigerian government has been accused by the citizens and nationals abroad as lacking the political will to adequately implement the foreign policy stride of citizen diplomacy. This is as result of a relatively perceived recurrent upsurge in the violation of human rights of Nigerians at home and in Diaspora, with the attendant consequences on the citizenry and the image of Nigeria at large; yet, little or no response to cushioning the effects through state’s diplomatic measures or instruments has been permanently instituted. The continuous misappropriation of the foreign policy of citizen diplomacy has become a recurring decimal. A case in mind is the recent xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa, India, and many other cases affecting the wellbeing of Nigerian citizens, occurring in various parts of the globe, with little or no action taken by the Nigerian state.

The paper examined citizen diplomacy in Nigeria’s foreign policy, with utmost emphasis on the issues or challenges, bringing to the fore the prospects. The paper also adopted exploratory research design; documentary method of data collection and qualitative descriptive method of analysis.

The Origin and Conceptual Dissection of Citizen Diplomacy

Citizen diplomacy is of American origin. It was first coined by David Hoffman in an article about an American physicist: Dr. Robert W. Fuller, in 1981 whose work appeared in a publication concerning his frequent traverse to the Soviet Union in the 1970s and 1980s in effort to alleviate the cold war between the two main power blocs of US-led capitalist West and the Russia-led socialist East. After the

collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, Dr. Fuller continued to pay visits to the concerned countries in order to reduce tension in the political hotspots around the world and he subsequently came up with the idea of reducing 'rankism', thus, promoting peace.

a) Citizen Diplomacy Defined

According to Gelder (2006) citizen diplomacy refers to a political situation in which all citizens-directly or indirectly-may participate in the foreign policy making process. It is a concept of average citizens engaging as representatives of a country or cause, either inadvertently or by design (Ojo, 2007). Eze (2009, p. 31), improved on the above thus:

Citizen Diplomacy articulates what is or should be implicit as the major goal of our foreign policy. Being people-centred, it is a step further in saying that, in both its national and international actions, the Nigerian state will be driven primarily by the need to promote the welfare and security of every Nigerian.

The key aspects of the above definition are the primacy attached on; first, the welfare and protection of citizens at home and in diaspora is the state's concern; second, is the need to use the citizen as un-official ambassadors in diplomatic engagements of and for the state.

Citizen diplomacy as averred by Nwogbaga (2013, p. 46) "is a citizen-centric model of governance that considers the nationals as both the end (essence) and the means (agents or instruments) of government." His conception of citizen diplomacy was vis-à-vis the Diaspora question and as a foreign policy response to it. He also pointed out that it would take the Nigerian government a concerted and conscious efforts to pursue the attainment of the basic needs, human rights, security and socioeconomic welfare of the citizens in conducting bilateral and multilateral engagements with other nations (Nwogbaga, 2013). He went further to stress that some of the contents of Nigeria's foreign policy as expressed in citizen diplomacy include thus: (a) Nigerians travelling or resident abroad are treated with respect by other nations; (b) the growing number of Nigerians in the Diaspora invest their resources in the development of the Nigerian economy; (c) the images of Nigeria and Nigerians are improved abroad; (d) Nigerian Diaspora who seek consular assistance receive sufficient and timely diplomatic attention (Nwogbaga, 2013). Similarly, Dickson (2010, p. 1) stated that citizen diplomacy is a foreign policy thrust, under which the Federal Government of Nigeria seeks the assistance of Nigerians at home and in diaspora in its effort to develop the country economically and politically. He advised that the policy should be reviewed and re-packaged in the light of new realities of the global order to make it "efficient, responsive, dynamic and proactive." Adduced from the forgoing, it will be germane to aver categorically that citizen diplomacy can be viewed from two perspectives, namely; track I citizen diplomacy and track II citizen diplomacy. The former talks about the official diplomatic engagements of state's officials or actors with other states with regards to diplomatic

negotiations, and the protection of her citizens including their businesses, properties, human rights and the like. Whereas, the latter refers to the un-official diplomatic engagements, via the integration and use of citizens or non-state actors both at home and abroad as ambassadors in shaping, representing, and promoting the image of their states or countries of origin.

b) Foreign Policy Defined

Foreign Policy, according to Frankel (1967) consists of decisions and actions which involve to some appreciable extent, relations between one state and others. Accordingly, Keith and Morrison (1977) defined foreign policy as “a set of explicit objectives with regard to the world beyond the borders of a given social unit and a set of strategies and tactics designed to achieve those objectives.” In other words, foreign policy of a state is pursued by the state, in the interest of the welfare of its people. Put differently, foreign policy could be seen as the totality of all actions, decisions, overtures, or interactions between states in the international system. Such could be directed or based on economics, politics, culture or creating understanding or-cooperation (Adesola, 2004). Foreign policy is defined as purposive courses of action adopted by a state in the interest of the welfare of its people.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of the study is anchored on the liberal international relations theory. Proponents of the theory are Carr and Schmidt. Liberal international relations theory, arose amongst the ‘institution-builders’ after World War II.

The liberal school of thought as an off-shoot of ‘idealism’ holds that state preferences, rather than state capabilities, are the primary determinant of state behaviour. It also holds that a state should make its internal political philosophy the goal of its foreign policy. For example, an idealist might believe that ending poverty at home should be coupled with tackling poverty abroad. Unlike realism, where the state is seen as a unitary actor, liberalism allows for plurality in state actions, (hence, the mutuality or symbiotic bilateral/multilateral relations of states on trade, peace, and other co-operations).

Thus, preferences will vary from state to state, depending on factors such as culture, economic system or type of government. Thus, instead of an anarchic international system, there are plenty of opportunities for cooperation and broader notions of power, such as cultural capital (for example, the influence of films leading to the popularity of the country’s culture and creating a market for its exports globally). Another assumption is that absolute gains can be made through co-operation and interdependence, thus peace can be achieved.

The applicability of the above theory is viewed from the angle that states like Nigeria seek to engage in mutual-beneficial and multi-sectoral bilateral/multilateral diplomatic relations and understanding with other states with regards to her citizens’ welfare and Diaspora diplomatic protection.

The History and Policy Posture of Citizen Diplomacy in Nigeria

Chief Ojo Maduekwe in 2007 as the foreign affairs minister came up with the new foreign policy plank of citizen diplomacy, as he made the new foreign policy posture to be citizen-centred. Citizen diplomacy, according to Eke (2009) is not unconnected to the following variables which include:

1. Nigeria and Nigerians should constitute the primary focus of the country's foreign policy, i.e. Nigerian citizens should be the centrepiece or focus of Nigeria's foreign policy, while ensuring and maintaining its avowed commitments to the development of Africa.
2. Nigerian foreign policy must accomplish the country's development aspirations and objectives to the improvement of the citizens, and indeed re-enforce and contribute significantly to the realization of the country's (dynamic) agenda and the attainment of Vision 2020.
3. Nigerian missions abroad must actively engage the Nigerian community and the Nigerians in Diaspora, and render quality consular and other services to them as a matter of rights of the citizens and duties and obligations of the missions of the Nigerian government.
4. Foreign policy making and implementation must be democratized to involve Nigerians from all the walks of life and not left for a narrow circle of experts and practitioners alone.
5. Nigeria will be guided by the principles of reciprocity in its international relations with rest of the countries of the world.
6. Nigeria will resist being profiled and showcased as a sanctuary of ardent criminals; simply on the basis of the despicable conduct of a few of its nationals, the propaganda machinery mounted against by a few states too envious about Nigeria's global acclaims and those who have sworn to take no due recognition of the country's tremendous contributions to the world civilization, socio-economic and scientific development as well as sub-regional, continental and global peace as well as security initiatives.
7. Every Nigerian foreign policy endeavour must meet litmus test of determining the extent to which it protects and advances what is best for Nigeria and what will best benefit the Nigerian citizens.
8. Nigerian citizens anywhere in the world would be protected and defended irrespective of charges of violation of laws of the host countries on such accused Nigerian nationals.
9. Nigerians are to serve as the country's ambassadors by exhibiting the most exemplary conduct, good behaviour and etiquette at all the times not just at home but most especially when they travel or live abroad.

Contrary to the above items factored into the new foreign policy posture, is that citizen diplomacy is yet to make any impact in the protection of lives and property of Nigerian citizens and nationals abroad (Saliu, 2010).

Citizen Diplomacy and Citizen/Diaspora Protection

It is germane to know that the protection of the citizens is one of the fundamental objectives and directive principles of state policy provided in Chapter II, paragraph 14(ii) of Nigeria's 1999 Constitution as amended; where it was declared that the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government. This implies that the citizens constitute the centre, focus and major concern of Nigeria's foreign policy; as such, the country's entire diplomatic machineries are to be directed mainly towards protecting them and their legitimate interests at home and abroad (Ogunsanwo, 2009). This largely informed the government's declaration of citizen diplomacy as a foreign policy response to guarantee the welfare and security of Nigerians at home and abroad in the pursuit of her national interests. In this context, citizen diplomacy requires the government of Nigeria to more consciously resort to the calculi of the basic needs, human rights, security, and socio-economic welfare of the citizens in conducting bilateral and multilateral engagements with other nations (Opara, 2009; Ojo, 2007). The citizens are therefore perceived as both the end (essence) and the means (agents or instruments) of government (Eke, 2009). But Ashiru (2011) in his argument expressed some reservations with respect to the protection of the citizens abroad; first, he noted that:

a country like Nigeria cannot, and should not ask the host countries of Nigerian Diaspora not to apply their local laws on those who flout them because they would suffer similar penalty if they were found guilty of similar offences in Nigeria; second, Nigerians are not the only immigrants who are mistreated abroad as to attract special attention; third, the question of rendering consular services and other assistance to Nigerian Diaspora should not be extended to the illegal immigrants who give Nigeria bad name and image abroad because they are undesirable elements; fourth, Nigeria's foreign missions are not adequately funded to shoulder the cost of rendering consular assistance to the citizens when they get into trouble in their host countries (Ashiru, 2011).

These arguments or positions portend a great consequence for Nigerians both at home and in diaspora, because they were put forward by the then Minister of Foreign Affairs, Olugbenga Ashiru.

Conversely to the above argument on the practice of citizen diplomacy, Odoh and Nwogbaga (2014) comparatively stated that countries like Germany and France (unlike Nigeria) extend diplomatic protection to their citizens even when they are alleged to have committed crimes. As a corollary to the above, in October, 2007, some foreign nationals including some French citizens were intercepted at the N'djamena Airport, Chad, with a human Cargo of 132 African Children meant for export into European countries for neo-slavery (Al-Bashir, 2008). Considering the gravity of the crime, the former president Nicolas Sarkozy immediately took a flight to the Chadian Capital on a rescue mission; this showed that he cared more for his citizens than the African children (Al-Bashir, 2008).

Similarly, on the part of the German government, three German journalists were among the four persons arrested in Nigeria for alleged espionage. It did not take the German foreign affairs minister longer than expected for a swift action as he landed in Abuja to rescue them irrespective of the alleged crime (Al-Bashir, 2008). More so, European countries vehemently defended their nationals who injected 40 Libyan children with the HIV virus (Al-Bashir, 2008). The inference drawn from the European and American experience on the practice of citizen diplomacy and foreign policy entails that no state should forsake her citizens irrespective of the crime associated to their misconducts, just as most constitutions the world over, state that the primary responsibility of states is to guarantee the welfare and security of their citizens which includes at home and abroad. Based on the aforesaid premise, it is however, the direct obligation of the Nigerian government to guarantee the welfare and security of her citizens (Anda, 2012; Concern, 2009).

Yet, more Nigerians are being arrested and maltreated for different offences in many countries with little or no condemnation, intervention or repercussion from the Nigerian government. The mood or perception in the international system is that Nigerians are not to be trusted on the account of misunderstanding, and misbehaviour of a few citizens. Consequently, Nigerians are regularly on the death toll in Libya, Indonesia, China, Malaysia, Poland and Indonesia, among others. Between 2009 and 2014, about a hundred Nigerians have been deported from USA, Gabon, Congo and other countries under the guise of one issue or the other (Odoh and Nwogbaga, 2014). Many more Nigerian nationals abroad are being executed without fair hearing or trial after waiting in vain for Nigerian authorities to intercede; and others deported without extending the usual diplomatic courtesy to Nigeria (Saliu, 2010).

In the same vein, Saliu (2010) captured that a Nigerian was killed in Spain, another one was brutalized in Asia, routinely, and many more are beheaded in Saudi Arabia. At home and in Diaspora, Nigerians are left to their own survival tactics; many have learnt not to expect anything from the government. Also, regrettably, is the plight of Nigerians abroad as Saliu (2010) pointed out: that those who live abroad often complain about the cruelty of Nigerian embassy officials and/or diplomatic corps; and the failure to extend diplomatic protection to Nigerians in diaspora; and most times the failure or delay in the renewal of their passports; getting Nigerian passport or visas for their dual-nationality children is most times herculean.

Saliu (2010) further argues succinctly that citizen diplomacy is a dubious intellectual construction, not energizing for Nigerians and incapable of addressing the wide gap that exists between the citizens and the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy. Since its adoption, the gap is widening or expanding as the external image of Nigeria has not improved; the perception of Nigerians living abroad has not snowballed the Nigerian foreign policy to a higher level of delivery in meeting their expectations.

Citizen Diplomacy and Citizen's Participation in Foreign Policy

Despite the plethora of foreign policy conferences and reviews, the citizens have been continually neglected in the implementation of Nigerian foreign policy. Odoh and Nwogbaga (2014) submitted that Nigerian foreign policy and citizen

diplomacy is elite oriented, and a sham both in theory and practice. In their words, they stressed that:

...what the elites conceived as national interests was scarcely people-oriented. Between 1975 and 1999, the various bodies charged with the responsibility of reviewing Nigeria's foreign policy to extensively reflect the interests and needs of the citizens were not only elitist but also unsuccessful (Odoh and Nwogbaga, 2014, p. 8).

In view of the elitist orientation of the various foreign policy initiatives, it is notable that the efforts made so far lacked the input of the popular masses and therefore could not fall into the category of citizen diplomacy within the context of democracy and democratisation. Suffice it to say that the efforts were anti-people, and that the ordinary Nigerians did not participate (Odoh and Nwogbaga, 2014). A seemingly citizen diplomacy in practice was extended to Israel in 1984 by two prominent Nigerian traditional rulers (Oni of Ife – Oba Okunade and the Emir of Kano – Alhaji. Ado Bayero) when Nigeria and Israel were in serious diplomatic feud (Birai, 1996; Fawole, 2003). The individual visit to Israel by the two traditional rulers elicited considerable diplomatic issues and consequently incurred the wrath and punishment of the Nigerian government through swift suspension of the duo for six months, restricting them to their domains, and also seized their international passports (Fawole, 2003). These actions sent strong signals that the Nigerian government did not condone their naive attempt to conduct diplomacy on its behalf. The argument was that in the first instance, they had no mandate to conduct diplomacy on behalf of the Nigerian government, and at least, not on such sensitive matter as the recognition of Israel (Fawole, 2003).

Albeit, as agents of informal diplomacy, the citizens stand to complement the functions of the overstretched official diplomats who cannot in any way adequately advance Nigeria's foreign policy extensively to the nooks and corners of every country where they are domiciled or resident, especially where there exist limited funds, shortage of diplomatic officials, diplomatic row, and absence of diplomatic missions (Birai, 1996; Eke, 2009). Take for example, within the period of the diplomatic row between Nigeria and Israel, (in 1973-1992) the citizens of Israel doing business in Nigeria effectively served as diplomatic links for their government as they continued their transactions (Birai, 1996; Fawole, 2003). The Nigerian diaspora could therefore serve as the country's ambassadors by exhibiting the most exemplary conduct, good behaviour and etiquette if they are adequately mobilized and oriented.

Issues/Challenges arising from the Practice of Citizen Diplomacy

It is worthy to note that from 2007 to date, citizen diplomacy has not yielded the envisaged dividend due to factors that are both domestic and international (Abati, 2009; Saliu, 2010). According to Abati (2009), placing the citizen at the centre of the national programme reinforces the original purpose of any Government and when those in power provide necessary leadership, they will without much effort secure the

trust of the general populace and create centres of national solidarity and more agents for national progress. In Nigeria, the government does not value the lives of its citizens, at home and in diaspora, as Nigerians are left to their own survival tactics as many have learnt not to expect anything from their government. Back home the average Nigerian is treated badly by the authorities, for instance, the Nigeria Police Force vested with the responsibility of maintaining internal peace and security have in all ramifications become agents of terrorism, engaging in extra judicial killings, illegal arrests and detention of innocent citizens, extortion of multifarious dimensions and brutality.

As this perfect hatred against Nigerians abroad increases and spreads like wild fire, no compelling consequential pronouncement or action has ever been made or suggested by the Nigerian leadership. Possibly, a bold diplomatic statement laden with practical repercussions would have been very instrumental and helpful in quelling and/or serving as deterrent to the persecuting states. It is pertinent to note that the full consequential effects or repercussions of the failure to oblige or grant such bargains/pleas vis-à-vis the principle and purpose of citizenship diplomacy were never articulated or presented before the persecuting countries. This blurredness of direction and purpose, of not definitely and firmly articulating and pronouncing what the said consequences and repercussions were or should be, has practically diluted and watered down the concept of citizenship diplomacy. In return, this misplacement and insensitivity of purpose have negatively affected the desired outcome of citizen diplomacy.

Albeit, one cannot say for sure why apart from the purported hope that the Nigerian government was compiling list of Nigerian victims in the recent xenophobic attacks in South Africa in order to seek redress and compensations from the South African government, no further concrete actions were taken or heard concerning the matter. On the other hand, other victimized countries, especially Kenya, had threatened diplomatic severance to press home their grievances. It is upon all these staring realities that the issue of leadership action clearly comes to play. Even though the Nigerian legislature had time after time made somewhat condemning statements against the countries involved, yet no Presidential decision in form of repercussive or reciprocity action was ever achieved.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The paper took a cursory look at some topical issues inherent in the theory and practice of citizen diplomacy and Nigerian foreign policy, with utmost interest in the challenges/issues and prospects. The paper categorically concludes that the internal political environment in Nigeria hinders the implementation of citizen diplomacy of Nigerian foreign policy thrust right from its inception. After all, it is assumed that charity begins at home, not from other countries. Nigeria is seen as giant at home, but dwarf abroad. By implication, she remains a bully at home but seemingly very weak abroad. Nigerian citizens are brutalized at home and maltreated abroad. The mistake made by the formulators of the citizen diplomacy is to think just like the traditionalists that domestic politics can be separated from international

politics whereas the two are interlaced and have reciprocal impact or influence on one another. Citizen diplomacy seems not to have yielded the envisaged dividend due to some factors that are both domestic and international. And these factors are viz.:

- The Nigerian leadership's inability to take reciprocal actions on persecuting countries has become a recurring decimal.
- The Nigerian government does not value the lives of its citizens both at home and in Diaspora. Nigerians are left on their own to survive both at home and in Diaspora, and most of the times denting the image of the country.
- Track II diplomacy includes un-official diplomatic engagement by citizens and professional bodies; yet, the Nigerian government does not recognize and support them as ambassadors representing and protecting Nigeria's image both at home and abroad.
- There exists perceived hatred against Nigerians abroad, necessitating the violence, dehumanization, abuse of human rights, repatriation/deportation and most recently the xenophobic attacks in South Africa, India, etc.
- The idiosyncratic dispositions of leaders and successive administrations in Nigeria since her independence are characterised with fluidity and in constant flux. Hence, the 'change in continuity and continuity in change'; having different internal or domestic policies/agenda which also rob-off on Nigerian foreign policy.

The paper however suggests the following recommendations bearing in mind that citizen diplomacy is a policy that is inherently proactive to achieve, rather than ventilate unproductive drawbacks. Thus;

1. Nigerian citizens should be wholeheartedly encouraged and supported, and protected by the Nigerian government using incisive critical appraisal not as a tool to denigrate but as an encouragement tool for policy advice, and data/information gathering through feed-back mechanism elicited from the citizens.
2. The Nigerians in diaspora could therefore serve as the country's ambassadors by exhibiting the most exemplary conduct, good behaviour and etiquette at all times if they are adequately mobilized and oriented.
3. There is need to improve or transform positively Nigerian's internal political and economic environments, by creating enabling environment for businesses to thrive; and job creation in order to discourage out-flux of Nigerians in search for greener pastures.
4. There is also need to reform the Ministry of Foreign Affairs itself necessary for improved implementation of the citizen diplomacy.
5. There is need to reform the entire social system and government to evolve good governance necessary for transforming Nigeria. Nigerian Missions abroad should be overhauled to include credibility, professionalism, nationalism/patriotism, swift responses, and responsibility in the selection and appointment of foreign missions.

6. Nigeria should develop an agenda of engagement that would entail creating a mechanism to identify, collate, investigate and deal with any adverse publicity reports relating to Nigeria.
7. Operational directions must be formulated, issued and implemented worldwide within Nigerian foreign missions. It is critical that resources are made available for this purpose. Additionally, there should be enhanced monitoring of the missions' activities to ensure that identified objectives are being met.

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