

Nigeria's Foreign Policy And Gross Domestic Product In The Fourth Republic, 1999-2019: A General Appraisal

BY

Bailey Saleh, PhD

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF MAIDUGURI

ABSTRACT

Even when Nigeria's successive administrations and regimes from independence to date have been making efforts towards boosting internal revenue for growing the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) to serve as an effective launch-pad for the conduct of the country's foreign policy and economic relations; yet the country's GDP is largely dependent on the proceeds from the sale of crude petroleum. The anticipated attraction of other foreign capital to grow the domestic economy; is far from being realized. With one of the longest civil democratic administrations (1999-2019), it was expected that domestic reforms embarked upon by successive administrations of the Fourth Republic would make the business environment clean enough for doing business where Nigeria's foreign policy and economic relations will attract more Foreign Direct Investment that should be directed towards industrialization and manufacturing. A manufacture-driven economy will lead to the production of unique products in which the country has comparative competitive advantage in the international market. The sale of these unique products would earn for the country more foreign capital and expand its foreign revenue sources; as well augmenting the domestic revenue sources that will grow the GDP on a sustainable basis. The study is a qualitative one where document method was adopted in generating data for the study through secondary sources such as published books, academic journals, magazines, newspapers, periodicals, and internet facilities. The data generated was analyzed through discourse and explanatory methods. The concept of foreign policy, comparative administration theory and global political economy theory have been defined and clarified that served as anchors for the study. At the end, recommendations have been made towards diversifying the domestic revenue sources and expanding the country's foreign revenue sources for increasing the GDP. Principal among which is the need for our political leadership and foreign policy managers to focus more on industrialization and manufacturing for the local manufacture of unique products in which the country has comparative competitive advantage in the international market. These made in Nigeria products and goods will then be exported for more and enlarged foreign revenue sources that will augment the diversified internal revenue sources that will lead to increase in the GDP.

Keywords: Gross Domestic Product, Diversification, Internal Revenue, Foreign Revenue, Industrialization, Manufacturing.

INTRODUCTION

Since 1960, successive governments in Nigeria have adopted deliberate economic policies to increase the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). From the First Republic to the date (2019), the country has been vigorously pursuing both domestic and foreign economic policies to attain these lofty ideals. At the domestic level, there has been sustained effort at diversifying the economy that will enhance the GDP and generally grow the economy; which will make it a magnetic-pull for attracting Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and other foreign capital inflows. In the First Republic, domestic sources of revenue such as the export of primary commodities such as cocoa, groundnut, cotton, palm oil, hide & skin, and rubber; as well as traditional extractive minerals such as Tin, Coal, Columbite, Bauxite, etc; served as the main builders of Nigeria's GDP. However, with the explosion of oil wealth in the 1970s and 1980s, these traditional internal revenue sources, were unfortunately sidelined where crude petroleum has been serving as the major contributor to the country's GDP.

When Nigeria's economic fortune began to dwindle in the late 1980s as the result of drop in global oil prize, the country was forced to look outward for foreign revenue sources to increase her GDP. This effort was continued with, up to the ushering-in of the Fourth Republic on May 29, 1999 without attaining the desired result. As such, from the outset successive civilian administrations of the Fourth Republic focused more attention at the external environment for foreign revenue sources to increase the GDP and make it more conducive for the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy and economic relations. To attain this, the economic relations instrument of the country's foreign policy was utilized for attracting inflow of foreign capital through Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), foreign goodwill, debt relief, home remittances, recovery of looted funds and other non-oil exports in the Fourth Republic. In spite of all these efforts, yet Oil and Gas (O&G) remains the main foreign revenue sources as well as the major contributor to the country's GDP. Hence, the main aim of the study is to assess Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product as an Effective Launch-Pad for her Foreign Policy and Economic Relations in the Fourth Republic. More emphasis will be focused on the comparative assessment of the GDP performances of the four civilian administrations of the Fourth Republic. The comparison is based on available records obtained from qualitative data. Therefore, the main thrust is on the comparative assessment of the quantum and value (monetary terms) of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) from the period of Obasanjo's administration in 1999 up to Buhari's administration in 2018; as well as the sector-by-sector contribution to the nation's GDP; and to proffer workable alternatives to plug loopholes and improve on successes achieved.

AIM AND OBJECTIVES

The major aim of the study is to assess how Nigeria's foreign policy and economic relations under the four civilian administrations of the Fourth Republic had attracted inflow of

foreign revenue into the country that enhanced the growth of Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). The specific objectives are:

1. To assess how Nigeria's foreign policy had attracted inflow of foreign revenue that enhanced the growth of Nigeria's GDP under each of the four civilian administration of the Fourth Republic.
2. To make comparative assessment of the performance of the four civilian administrations in terms of how they have utilized Nigeria's foreign policy for growing the country's Gross Domestic Product.
3. To determine the extent to which these attracted foreign revenue sources have been directed at boosting the manufacturing subsector for a sustainable increase in the country's GDP.

METHODOLOGY

The study is a qualitative one where secondary sources of data were utilized in generating data for the study. The research, which is an assessment of how Nigeria's Foreign Policy and economic relations under the four civilian administrations of the Fourth Republic has attracted inflow of foreign revenue that enhanced the growth of the country's GDP, is essentially descriptive and explanatory. Secondary data that are statistically backed are presented in tabular and graphical forms.

Sources Of Data

The secondary sources are adopted and utilized in generating data for this study. Document studies was specifically utilized to scrutinize documents. Documents scrutinized include official documents such as annual reports, internal memoranda, policy manuals, circulars, bulletins and minutes of meetings. Other documents included published materials such as textbooks, academic journals, conference papers, newspapers, magazines and internet materials.

Data Analysis

The comparative analysis technique was adopted for analyzing data generated for this study. Data generated from different sources were compared and contrasted; Points of convergence and divergence in the performance of Nigeria's foreign policy and Gross Domestic Product of the four civilian administrations of the Fourth Republic were established. Other areas analyzed include comparative performance of each administration in terms of GDP resulting from inflow of foreign revenue into the country..

CONCEPTUAL/THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The concept/theories of Gross Domestic Product, Comparative Administration Theory and Global Political Economic Theory are as outlined and discussed below:

Gross Domestic Product

In any discussion of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), what readily comes to mind is that productive forces have to come into play in both the micro-economic and macro-economic activities of any given nation state. In the political science approach, all these economic activities, in both the domestic and external environment that are expected to grow the country's GDP, must be preceded by appropriate public policies. Without appropriate fiscal and monetary public policies, all these economic activities will lead to more exertion of energy (efforts) without positive result. While, William Collins in trying to conceptualize GDP sees it as the total value of the goods and services produced by the people of a nation during a year not including the value of income earned in foreign countries. It is the broadest quantitative measure of a nation's total economic activity. Most specifically, he maintains that GDP represents the monetary value of goods and services produced within a nation's geographic boundary/borders over a specified period of time (Collins, 1979).

Comparative Administration Theory

The comparative administration and government was first popularized by Herbert Simon (1957) who came up with normative and empirical approach aimed at making comparative analysis of administration towards establishing whether they are performing efficiently or not. If not the areas of convergence and divergence among them will be sorted out and appropriate strategies adopted towards making them perform efficiently. Other scholars such as; Gabriel Almond (1988), Betarlanfy (1969), Billy J. Dudley, (1973, 1982) and Christopher Kolade (2000) were the exponents and advocates of comparative government and administration (politics). They placed emphasis on the political and administrative institutions, governance style and the rate of development. The comparison could either be inter-state (i.e. comparing the governance style or system between one country or the other), or intra-state (i.e. the comparative study of one regime/administration and the other within the same country). The last one is the focus of this study where performances of each administration in terms of Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product from 1999 to 2019; as well as sector-by-sector contribution to the GDP are analyzed.

Global Political Economy Theory

The Global Political Economy Theory also called International Political Economy Theory; was popularized by Robert Cox (1987) and Robert Gilpin (2001) who in their separate views treaded on the path of David Ricardo (1951) and Adam Smith (1776). According to them, the theory looks at how power relations, international economics and politics interact in the international environment. They maintain that there are three main strands of International Political Economy, which include Economic Liberalism (free economy determined by market forces), Mercantilism (use of economy to enhance power, protectionist policies & promotion of state-led development) and Marxism (equality in ownership and distribution of resources). However, this study will like to state that economic globalization is the fourth strand, which they

omitted; and is now included. It is fashioned-out through the imposition of the New Global Agenda to further entangle the economies of underdeveloped countries.

Therefore, all the four economic systems treated under this theory originated from Europe (East or West); and are nothing but lethal instruments for the plunder and exploitation of the resources of third world countries. This is because they were *ab-initio* fashioned to advance and protect the exclusive interest of the Northern hemisphere. It is for this reason that scholars like Wallerstein (1989) and Saleh (2008) lamented that the unfortunate countries of the South were not consulted at the formulation stage of these economic systems; but were forced not only to accept, but also to domesticate them at their perils. This they maintained is to further increase European prosperity and their perpetual dominance of international affairs.

NIGERIA'S GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT UNDER OBASANJO'S ADMINISTRATION, 1999-2007

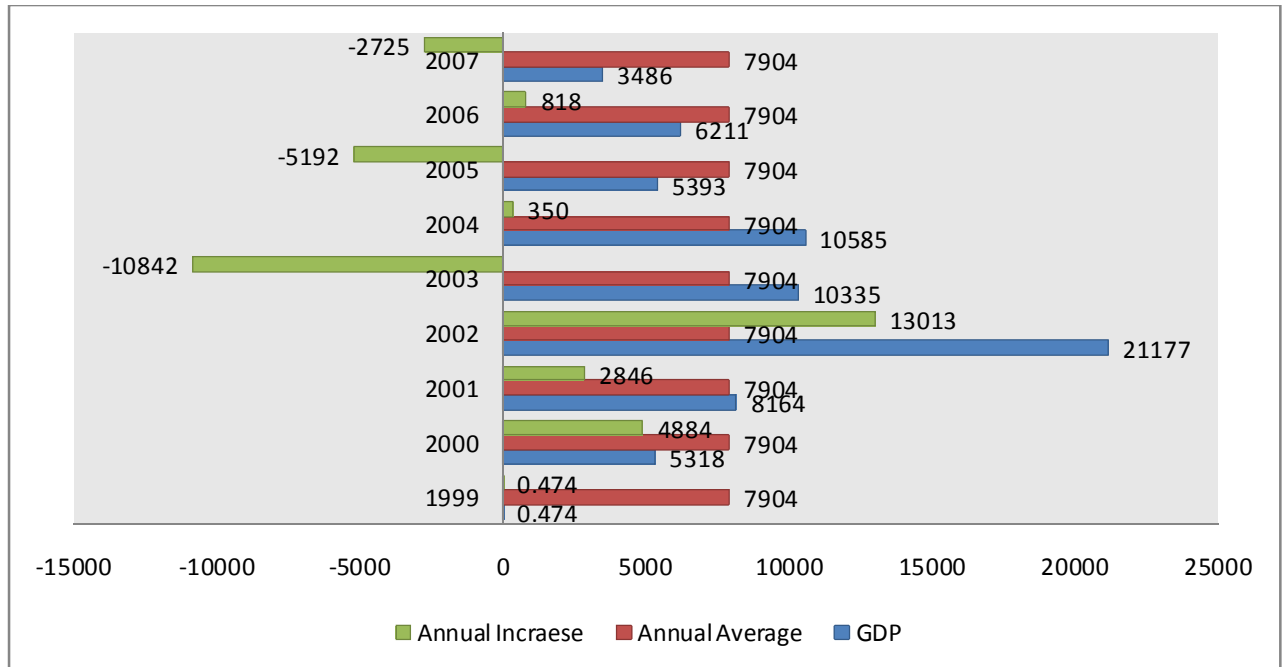
Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) also witnessed remarkable improvement between 1999 and 2007 with an average of \$5.720billion. While the average annual increase of the GDP during his tenure was \$476.7million. With a modest beginning of \$474million in 1999, it peaked at \$21.177 billion in 2002. The noose diving of Obasanjo's GDP in the latter years of his administration was attributable to his third-term bid. The summary of Obasanjo's GDP performance is as presented in Table 1 and Figure 1 below:

Table 1: Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product Under Obasanjo's Administration, 1999-2007(in \$Billions & in %)

| S/No. | Year | Cumulative | Annual Average | Annual Increase | Annual Decrease | Percentage |
|-------|--------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------|
| 1. | 1999 | \$0.474bn | \$7.904bn | \$0.474bn | | 0.7% |
| 2. | 2000 | \$5.318bn | \$7.904bn | \$4.884bn | | 7.5% |
| 3. | 2001 | \$8.164bn | \$7.904bn | \$2.846bn | | 11.5% |
| 4. | 2002 | \$21.177bn | \$7.904bn | \$13.013bn | | 29.8% |
| 5. | 2003 | \$10.335bn | \$7.904bn | | -\$10.842bn | 14.5% |
| 6. | 2004 | \$10.585bn | \$7.904bn | \$0.25bn | | 14.8% |
| 7. | 2005 | \$5.393bn | \$7.904bn | | -\$5.192bn | 7.6% |
| 8. | 2006 | \$6.211bn | \$7.904bn | \$0.818bn | | 8.7% |
| 9. | 2007 | \$3.486bn | \$7.904bn | | -\$2.725 | 6.9% |
| | Total | \$71.138bn | \$71.138bn | \$29.384bn | \$11.660bn | 100% |

Source: Generated by the Researcher in 2019 as adapted from International Monetary Fund, 2012.

Figure 1:
Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product under Obasanjo's Administration, 1999-2007 (\$Billions)



Source: Generated by the Researcher in 2019 as adapted from International Monetary Fund, 2012

NIGERIA'S GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT UNDER YA'ADUA'S ADMINISTRATION, 2007-2010

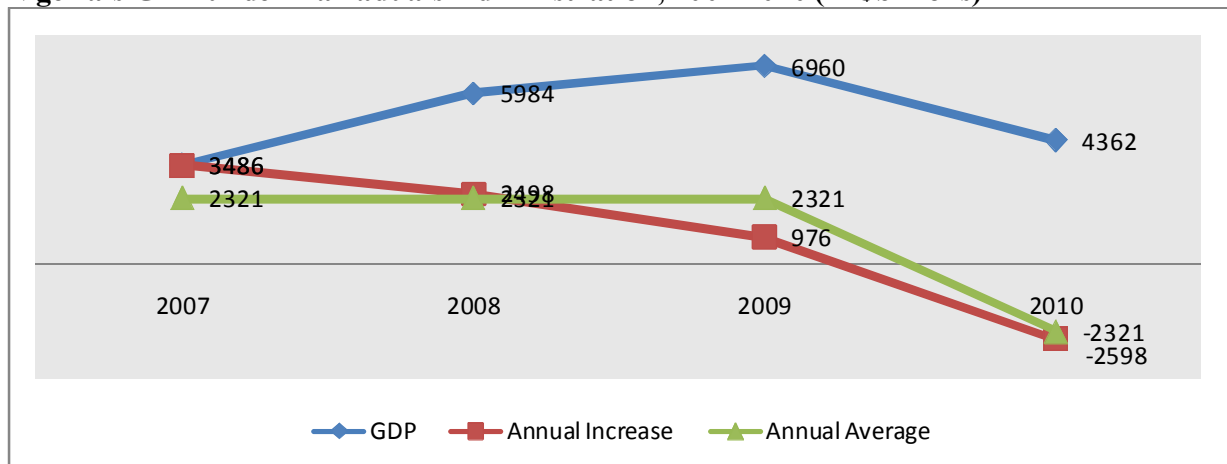
The performance of Nigeria's GDP under President Umaru Musa Yaradua was not so encouraging. This low performance was attributed to his short period in office, but more to his protracted ill-health that subsequently claimed his life while in office. It started with \$3.486 billion in 2007 where it peaked at \$7.270 billion in 2010 (point of his death) with an average of \$5.562 billion. The average annual increase of the GDP during his tenure was \$463.5 million. Therefore, summary of Nigeria's GDP performance under Yar'adua's administration is as presented in Table 2: and Figure 2: below:

Table 2: Nigeria's GDP under Yar'adua's Administration (in \$Billions & in %)

| S/No | Year | GDP | Annual Increase | Annual Average | Percentage |
|------|--------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------|
| 1. | 2007 | \$3,486bn | \$3,486bn | \$2,321bn | 17% |
| 2. | 2008 | \$5,984bn | \$2,498bn | \$2,321bn | 29% |
| 3. | 2009 | \$6,960bn | \$976bn | \$2,321bn | 33% |
| 4. | 2010 | \$4,362bn | -\$2,598bn | -\$2,321bn | 21% |
| | Total | \$20,792bn | \$6,960bn | \$6,960bn | 100% |

Source: Generated by the Researcher in 2019 as adapted from International Monetary Fund, 2012, 2016, 2018

Figure 2:
Nigeria's GDP under Yar'adua's Administration, 2007-2010 (in \$billions)



Source: Generated by the Researcher in 2019 as adapted from International Monetary Fund, 2012, 2016, 2018

NIGERIA'S GDP UNDER JONATHAN'S ADMINISTRATION, 2010-2015

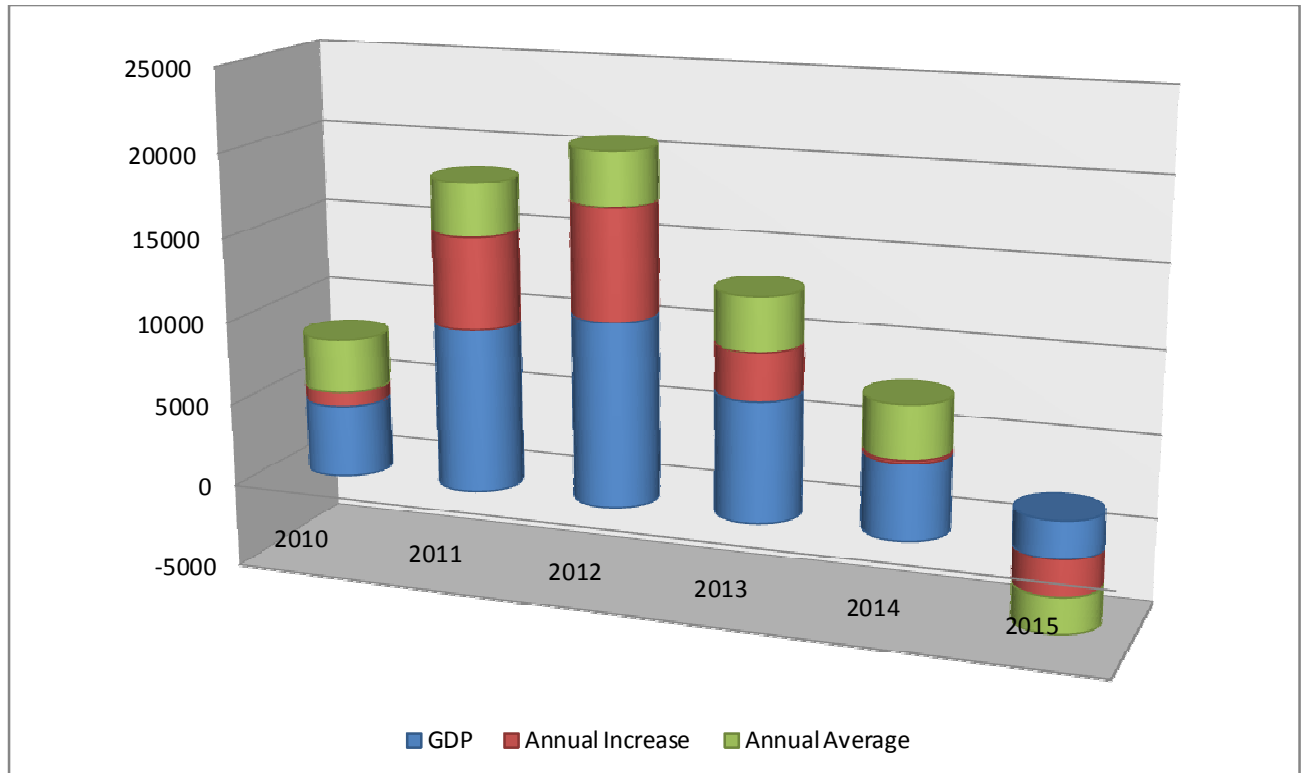
There was steady improvement in Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) under the administration of President Goodluck Jonathan between 2010 and 2012. However, the GDP started noose-diving from 2013 up to the time he handed over power to President Muhammadu Buhari in 2015. Jonathan's administration would have fare better if not for poor handling of domestic security issues that was capped with culture of impunity. The average GDP performance of his administration was \$5.674billion. The average annual increase of the GDP during his tenure was \$472.75billion. Summary of Jonathan's GDP performance is as depicted by Table 3 and Figure 3 below:

Table 3: Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product under Jonathan's Administration, 2010-2015 (in \$Billions & in %)

| S/No | Year | GDP | Annual Increase | Average Rate | Percentage |
|------|--------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------|
| 1. | 2010 | \$4,362bn | \$876bn | \$3,211bn | 12% |
| 2. | 2011 | \$9,824bn | \$5500bn | \$3,211bn | 26% |
| 3. | 2012 | \$1,1,024bn | \$6662bn | \$3,211bn | 30% |
| 4. | 2013 | \$7,210bn | \$2848bn | \$3,211bn | 20% |
| 5. | 2014 | \$4,532bn | \$170bn | \$3,211bn | 12% |
| 6. | 2015 | \$2,188bn | -\$2174bn | -\$2174bn | 0% |
| | Total | \$39,140bn | \$16,058bn | \$16058bn | 100% |

Source: Generated by the Researcher in 2019 as adapted from International Monetary Fund, 2012, 2016, 2018

Figure 3:
Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product under Jonathan's Administration, 2010-2015 (\$Billions)



Source: Generated by the Researcher in 2019 as adapted from International Monetary Fund, 2012, 2016, 2018

NIGERIA'S GDP UNDER BUHARI'S ADMINISTRATION, 2015-2019

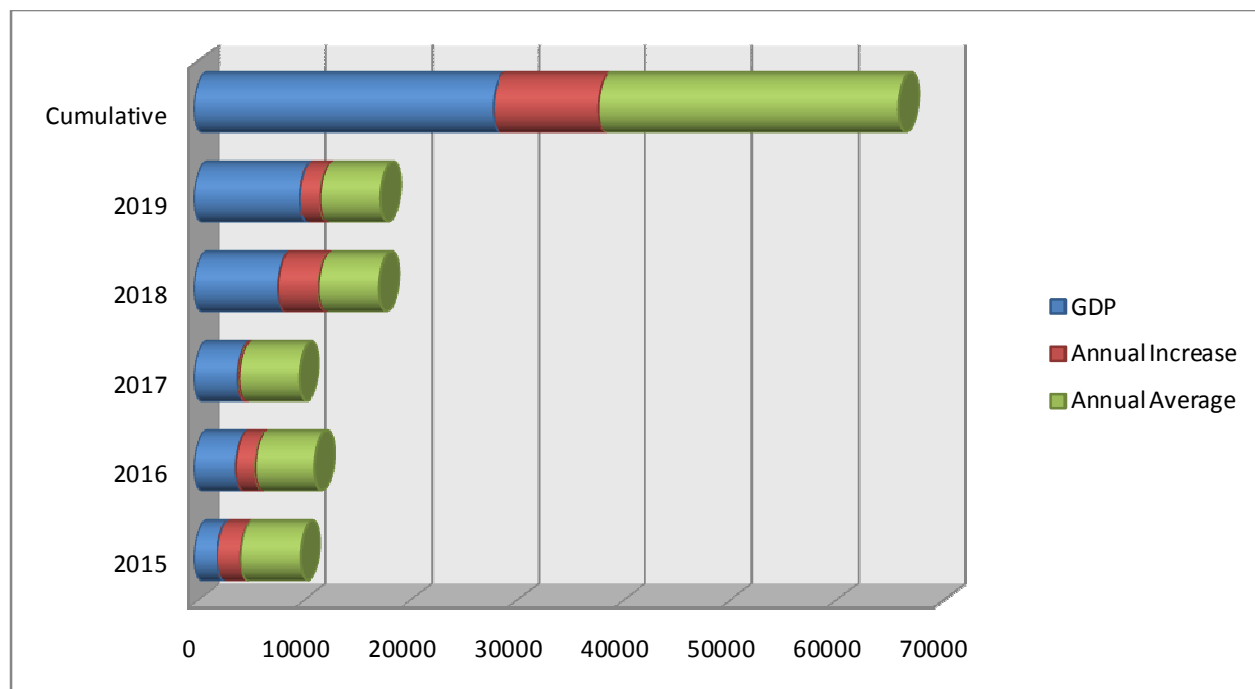
Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari suffered and steadily went down between 2015 and 2017 where it even entered recession. However, when the country eventually exited recession in 2018; the GDP went up and rose to \$7.930 billion in the same year from \$4.112 billion in 2017. The average GDP during his tenure is \$4.319.5billion. While, the annual average GDP increase of his administration is \$359.91billion. This is as depicted by Table 4 and Figure 4 below:

Table 4: Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product under Buhari's Administration, 2015-2019 (in \$Billions & in %)

| S/No | Year | GDP | Annual Increase | Annual Average | Percentage |
|------|--------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------|
| 1. | 2015 | \$2,188bn | \$2,188bn | \$5,621bn | 8% |
| 2. | 2016 | \$3,960bn | \$1,772bn | \$5,621bn | 14% |
| 3. | 2017 | \$4,112bn | \$152bn | \$5,621bn | 15% |
| 4. | 2018 | \$7,930bn | \$3,818bn | \$5,621bn | 28% |
| 5. | 2019 | \$9,913bn | \$1,983bn | \$5,621bn | 35% |
| | Total | \$28,103bn | \$9,913bn | \$28,103bn | 100% |

Source: Generated by the Researcher in 2019 as adapted from International Monetary Fund, 2012, 2016, 2018

Figure 4:
Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product under Buhari's Administration, 2015-2019 (\$Billions)



Sources: Generated by the Researcher in 2019 as adapted from International Monetary Fund, 2012, 2016, 2018, 2019

COMPARISON OF NIGERIA'S GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT (GDP) OF THE FOUR CIVILIAN ADMINISTRATIONS BETWEEN 1999 AND 2019

The Comparative performance of Nigeria's GDP for each of the four administrations of the Fourth Republic shows that Obasanjo's administration is leading with total GDP of \$70.669billion (representing 44.86%), with an average of \$7.852billion and an annual increase rate of \$654million. Furthermore, Obasanjo's eight years in office coupled with his domestic reforms and shuttle diplomacy might have contributed to his towering performance. Jonathan's administration came second with \$43.502 billion (representing 27%), recording an average of \$7.250billion and an annual increase rate of \$604billion. Jonathan could have performed better, if not for his poor handling of domestic issues such as soaring asymmetrical security challenges and the rubbishing of the anti-corruption crusade in the country. Yar'adua's administration came third with \$25.154billion (representing 15.97%); having an average of \$6.288billion and an annual increase rate of \$524million. His poor performance could be attributable to poor handling of the ant-corruption war and more to his protracted ill-health where he had been out of the country on medical vacation for most part of his tenure. Even though Buhari's administration is the least in terms of GDP performance, this can be attributable to the economic recession the country went through between 2016 and 2018. His administration therefore recorded \$28.103billion (representing 11.54%), with an average of \$4.319billion and an annual increase

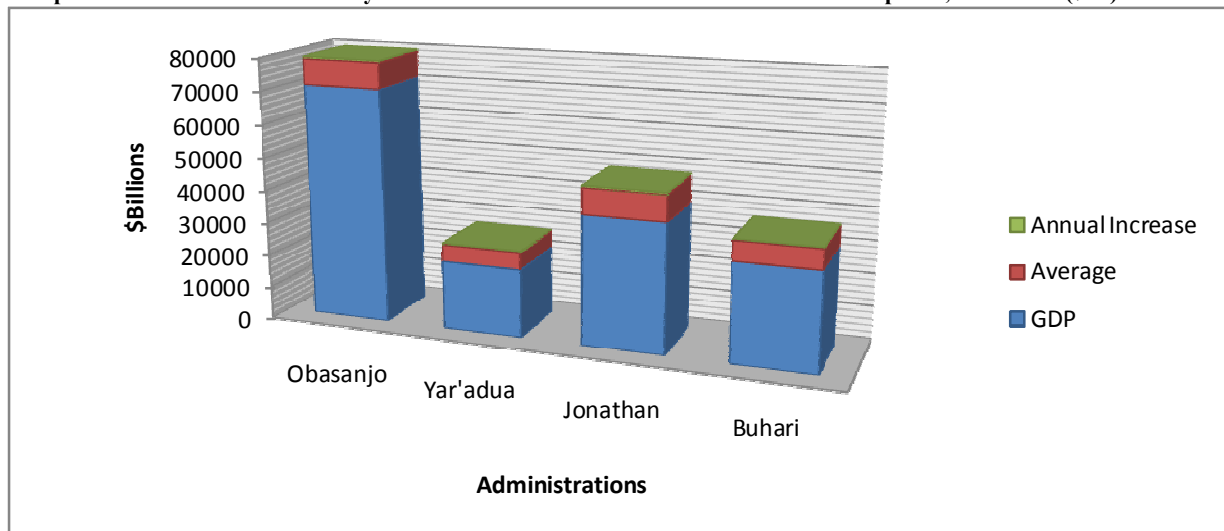
rate of \$379million. The whole of this explanation is as summarized and presented in Table 5 and Figures 5, 6 & 7 below:

Table 5: Comparison of GDP performance by each of the Four Administrations of the Fourth Republic, 1999-2019

| S/No | Administration | Amount | Average | Annual Increase | Percentage |
|------|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------|------------------|-------------|
| 1. | Obasanjo | \$71.138bn | \$7.905bn | \$0.659bn | 45% |
| 2. | Yar'adua | \$20.792bn | \$5.198bn | \$0.433bn | 13% |
| 3. | Jonathan | \$39.140bn | \$7.828bn | \$0.652bn | 25% |
| 4. | Buhari | \$29.943bn | \$5.988.6bn | \$0.379bn | 17% |
| | Cumulative | \$161.013bn | \$26.919.6bn | \$2.123bn | 100% |

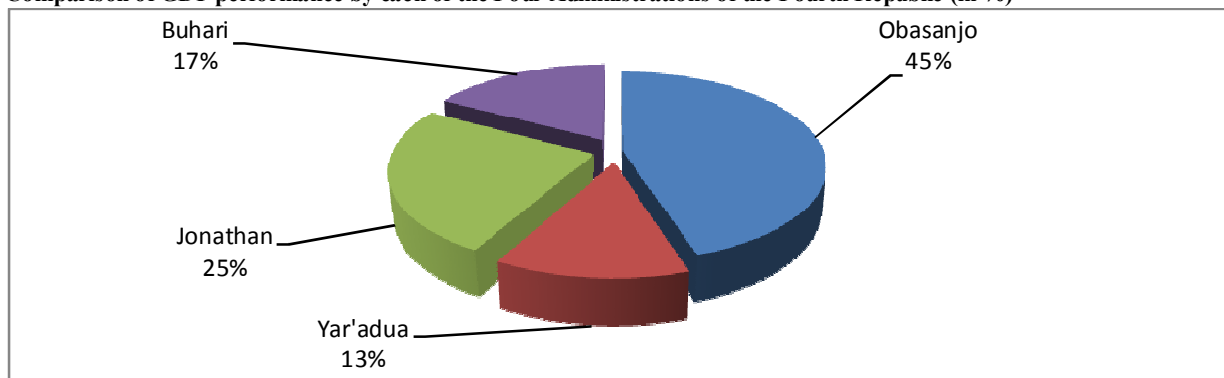
Source: Generated by the Researcher in 2019 as adapted from International Monetary Fund, 2012, 2016, 2018

Figure 5: Comparison of GDP Performance by each of the Four Administrations of the Fourth Republic, 1999-2019 (\$bn)



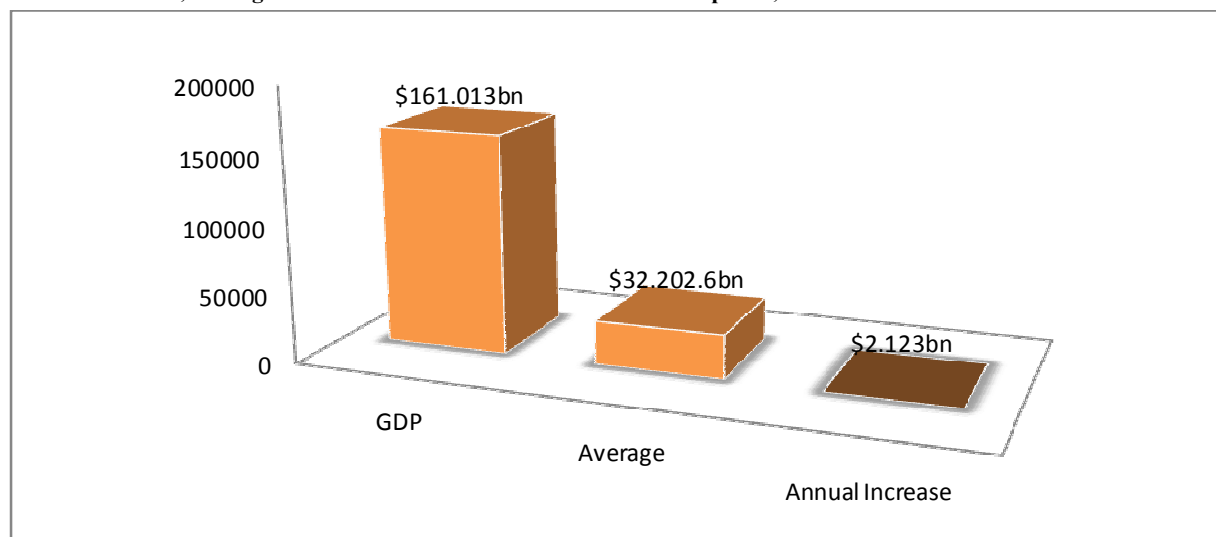
Source: Generated by the Researcher in 2019 as adapted from International Monetary Fund, 2012, 2016, 2018

Figure 6: Comparison of GDP performance by each of the Four Administrations of the Fourth Republic (in %)



Source: Generated by the Researcher in 2019 as adapted from International Monetary Fund, 2012, 2016, 2018, 2019

Figure 7:
Cumulative GDP, Average and Annual Increase Rate in the Fourth Republic, 1999-2019



Source: Generated by the Researcher in 2019 as adapted from International Monetary Fund, 2012, 2016, 2018

OVERALL NIGERIA'S GDP IN THE FOURTH REPUBLIC, 1999-2019

From the foregoing concepts/theories, comparison of each administration's foreign policy and their impact on Nigeria's foreign capital drive through economic relations is being, made in respect of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). For a more rational analysis, details of Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product, between 1999 and 2019 is hereby, presented in both statistics in Table 6 and graphical form in Figure 8 below:

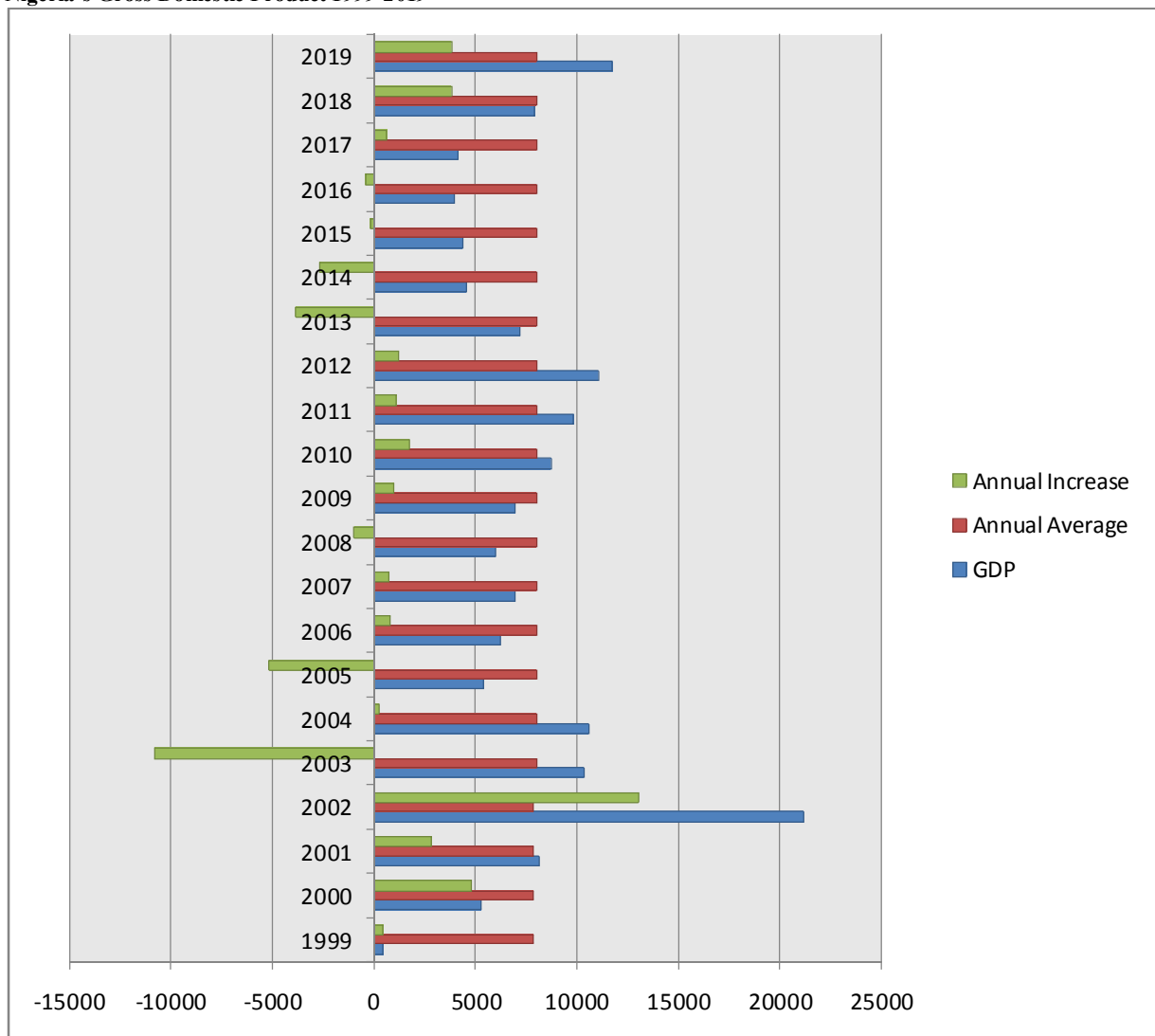
Table 6: Over all Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product in the Fourth Republic, 1999 - 2019

| S/No. | Year | GDP | Average | Annual Increase | Percentage |
|-------|------|-----------------|-------------------|------------------|------------|
| 1. | 1999 | \$0.474billion | \$8,050.65billion | \$0.474billion | 0.3% |
| 2. | 2000 | \$5,318billion | \$8,050.65billion | \$4844billion | 3.6% |
| 3. | 2001 | \$8,164billion | \$8,050.65billion | \$2,846billion | 5.5% |
| 4. | 2002 | \$21,177billion | \$8,050.65billion | \$13,013billion | 14% |
| 5. | 2003 | \$10,335billion | \$8,050.65billion | -\$10,842billion | 6.9% |
| 6. | 2004 | \$10,585billion | \$8,050.65billion | \$250billion | 7% |
| 7. | 2005 | \$5,383billion | \$8,050.65billion | -\$5,202billion | 3.6% |
| 8. | 2006 | \$6,211billion | \$8,050.65billion | \$828billion | 4% |
| 9. | 2007 | \$6,972billion | \$8,050.65billion | \$761billion | 4.7% |
| 10. | 2008 | \$5,984billion | \$8,050.65billion | -\$988billion | 4% |
| 11. | 2009 | \$6,960billion | \$8,050.65billion | \$976billion | 4.7% |
| 12. | 2010 | \$8,724billion | \$8,050.65billion | \$1764billion | 5.9% |
| 13. | 2011 | \$9,824billion | \$8,050.65billion | \$1,100billion | 6.6% |
| 14. | 2012 | \$11,024billion | \$8,050.65billion | \$1,200billion | 7% |
| 15. | 2013 | \$7,210billion | \$8,050.65billion | -\$3,814billion | 4.8% |
| 16. | 2014 | \$4,532billion | \$8,050.65billion | -\$2,678billion | 3% |
| 17. | 2015 | \$4,376billion | \$8,050.65billion | -\$156billion | 2.9% |

| | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|-------------|
| 18. | 2016 | \$3,960billion | \$8,050.65billion | -\$416billion | 2.7% |
| 19. | 2017 | \$4,596billion | \$8,050.65billion | \$636billion | 2.8% |
| 20. | 2018 | \$7,930billion | \$8,050.65billion | \$3818billion | 5% |
| 21. | 2019 | \$11,748billion | \$8,050.65billion | \$3818billion | 2% |
| | Total | \$161,013billion | \$161,013billion | \$36,328billion | 100% |

Source: Generated by the Researcher in 2019 as adapted from International Monetary Fund, 2012, 2016, 2018

Figure 8:
 Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product 1999-2019



Source: Generated by the Researcher in 2019 as adapted from International Monetary Fund, 2012, 2016, 2018

The high intensity of the dynamics of both domestic policies and foreign policy by Nigeria; as well as the wider employment of foreign policy instruments, have impacted positively on Nigeria's GDP where it peaked at \$21.177 billion in 2002 from a very low GDP of

\$0.474 billion in 1999. The very low performance of 1999 as depicted by the graph in Figure 7 above, where the figure for the year could not even appear on the Bar Chart was because it was so poor that it fell below \$1 billion minimum calibration. This was recorded at the height of military misrule in the country. Even though the GDP peak performance of \$21.177 billion was recorded in 2002, it subsequently dropped to \$10.335 billion in 2003. The country maintained an average annual GDP rate of \$8.050 billion between 1999 and 2019 with a positive balance of payment (pbop) of \$36.328 billion.

Nigeria's GDP growth percentage performance among D8 countries was outstanding where it ranked first with 49.9% between 2004 and 2011 (World Bank, 2012). In the same vein, Nigeria recorded another feat where her export to USA peaked at \$252,090 million with a favourable balance of payment of \$224,968.7 million between 1999 and 2011 (USSD, 2012). Nigeria's export value index among D8 countries was not as outstanding as its export to the USA; but it is on an increasing mode where it started from a mere \$143 million in 2004 to \$285 million in 2008 (World Bank, 2010). The performance of Nigeria's Gross National Income (GNI) among the D8 countries was not so encouraging where it ranked second to the last at the bottom of the ladder with a total of \$1,244,540,000 billion. Even then, there was a marginal annual increase with an average of \$248,908,000 million (World Bank, 2010).

SECTOR-BY-SECTOR CONTRIBUTION TO NIGERIA'S GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT IN THE FOURTH REPUBLIC, 1999-2019

The sector-by sector contribution to Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product shows that crude petroleum leads other sectors as the major contributor with over ₦950 billion representing 21%. Whereas the manufacturing sector which is supposed to be the main driver of the economy is the least performer where its total contribution to the GDP for the period of the study is a little over ₦80 billion representing 1.77%. Surprisingly combined contributions of utilities, wholesale & retail, real estate & business services, hotel & restaurant, communication, producers of government services, as well as community, social and personal services; overwhelmed that of manufacturing. All these seven sectors can be regarded as services sectors contributed a total of ₦2,046,766.60tr representing 45% of the total GDP for the period of the study which is ₦4,518,055,60tr. The detail sector-by-sector by contribution to Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product in the Fourth Republic is as presented in Table 7 and Figures 9 and 10 below:

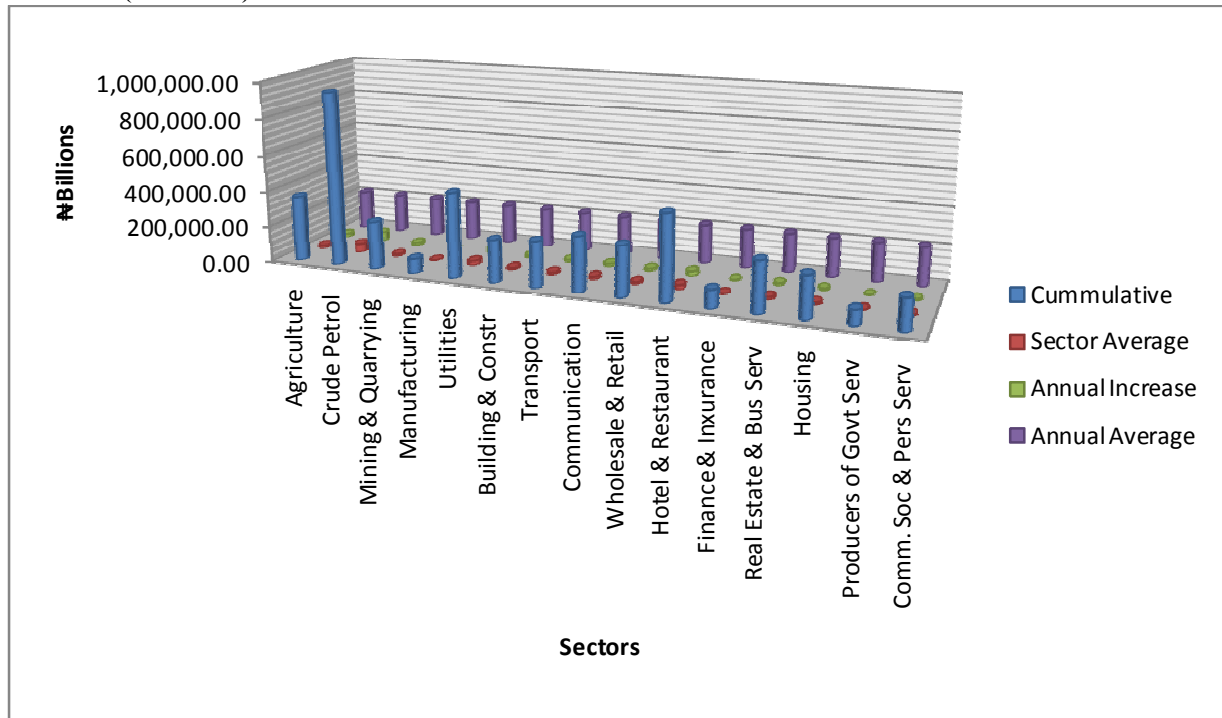
Table 7: Cumulative Sector-by-Sector Contribution to Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product in the Fourth Republic, 1999–2019 (in ₦ Billions & in %)

| S/No | Sectors | Cumulative | Sector Average | Annual Increase | Percentage |
|------|-----------------|---------------|----------------|-----------------|------------|
| 1. | Agriculture | ₦360,419.60bn | ₦18,969.45 | ₦18,969.45 | 7.97% |
| 2. | Crude Petroleum | ₦951,557.90bn | ₦50,081.99 | ₦50,081.99 | 21.06% |

| | | | | | |
|-----|---|------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------|
| 3. | Mining and Quarrying | □260,892.06bn | □13,731.16 | □13,731.16 | 5.77% |
| 4. | Manufacturing | □80,272.60bn | □4,224.87 | □4,224.87 | 1.77% |
| 5. | Utilities | □466,608.20bn | □24,558.32 | □24,558.32 | 10.32% |
| 6. | Building and Construction | □234,710.60bn | □12,353.19 | □12,353.19 | 5.19% |
| 7. | Transport | □251,429.10bn | □13,233.11 | □13,233.11 | 5.56% |
| 8. | Communication | □302,545.40bn | □15,823.44 | □15,823.44 | 6.69% |
| 9. | Wholesale and Retail | □279,489.60bn | □14,709.98 | □14,709.98 | 6.18% |
| 10. | Hotel and Restaurant | □467,373.20bn | □24,598.59 | □24,598.59 | 10.34% |
| 11. | Finance and Insurance | □102,031.60bn | □5,370.08 | □5,370.08 | 2.25% |
| 12. | Real Estate and Business Services | □276,487.90bn | □14,551.99 | □14,551.99 | 6.11% |
| 13. | Housing | □229,975.00bn | □12,103.95 | □12,103.95 | 5.09% |
| 14. | Producers of Government Services | □82,754.40bn | □4,355.49 | □4,355.49 | 1.83% |
| 15. | Community, Social and Personal Services | □171,507.90bn | □9,026.73 | □9,026.73 | 3.79% |
| | Total | □4,518,055,60tr | □237,692.34bn | □237,692.34bn | 100% |

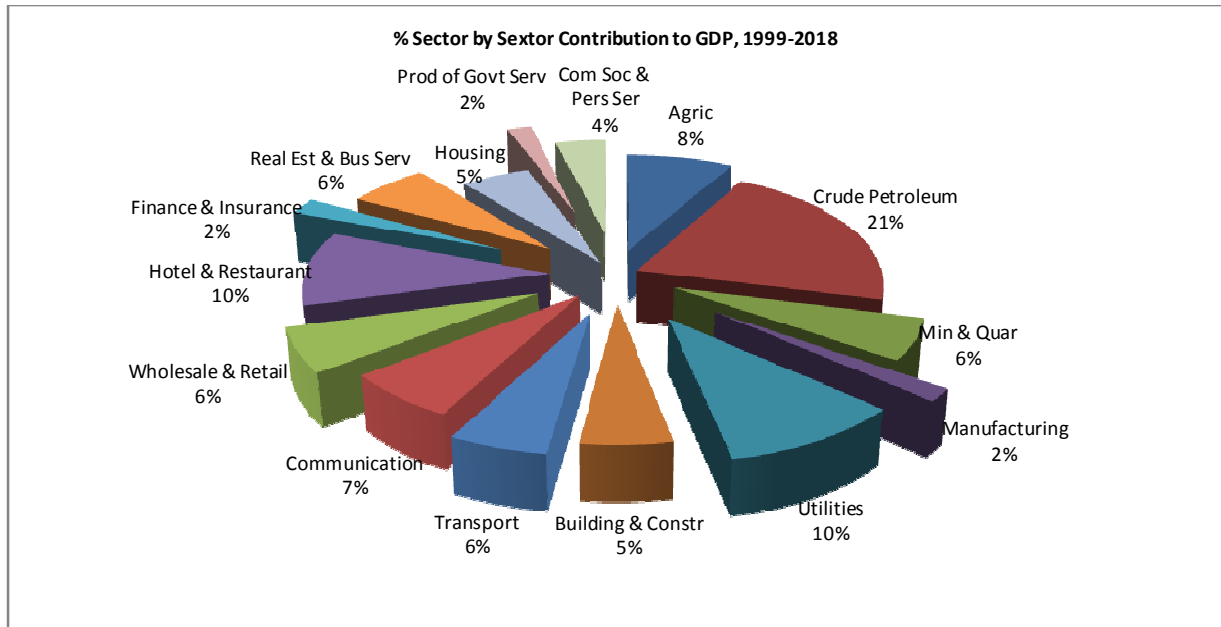
Source: Generated by the Researcher in 2019 as adapted from Central Bank of Nigeria, 2014, 2017, 2018

Figure 9:
Cumulative Sector-by-Sector Contribution to Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product in the Fourth Republic, 1999-2019 (□ Billions)



Source: Generated by the Researcher in 2019 as adapted from Central Bank of Nigeria, 2014, 2017, 2018

Figure 10:
Sector-by-Sector Contribution to Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product, 1999-2019 (in %)



Source: Generated by the Researcher in 2019 as adapted from Central Bank of Nigeria, 2014, 2017, 2018

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

From the analysis so far, the following summary of findings have been sieved:

1. That the Nigerian economy is mono-culturally based (not diversified); where emphasis is placed on the Oil & Gas (O & G) sector.
2. There is also neglect of the agricultural sectors where peasant farmers rely heavily on traditional mode of farming for the production of industrial raw materials such as cotton, cocoa, palm oil, groundnut, etc., which the country is naturally, endowed with. There is also failure on the part of government in not stimulating local farmers to access loans at the lowest interest rate.
3. The study further established that the mining of traditional minerals such Tin, Coal, Bauxite, Gold, precious stones have been relegated to the background.
4. The study also established that there is manifest failure on the part of the political leadership to domesticate foreign manufacturing companies.
5. The study has in addition established that successive governments have failed to stimulate local industrialists and manufacturers to boost production processes in the domestic economy.

CONCLUSION

From the analysis so far and the summary of findings, it can be concluded that Nigeria's domestic and foreign policies in the Fourth Republic have led to steady increase in the country's

Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Statistical data indicated that the four civilian administrations of the Fourth Republic have all worked hard towards improving the country's GDP during the period of the study. The study has also observed that Nigeria's GDP during the first eight years of the Fourth Republic, which falls under the administration of President Obasanjo, has performed very well with a towering GDP of \$70,669 billion; which was almost half of the total GDP of the four civilian administrations put together. The study has however established underperformance by the remaining three administrations after Obasanjo because of poor handling of domestic issues such as security challenges, culture of impunity and the rubbishing of the anti-corruption war started by Obasanjo. The sector-by-sector analysis has further established that bulk of the GDP comes from crude petroleum; where the manufacturing sector, which is supposed to be the major contributor as well as the main driver of Nigerian economy, underperformed where it is the least of all the sectors. This underperformance by the manufacturing sector is not healthy for the country's domestic imperatives for a sustainable GDP growth that is expected to serve as an effective launch-pad for the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy and economic relations in the future. As such, as long as Nigeria fails to diversify her domestic economic bases as well as her foreign revenue sources (and make the country manufacture-driven); the anticipated steady GDP growth will remain elusive. Moreover, it will make Nigeria's dream of being one of the 20 biggest global economies by 2020 a near impossibility with barely a year to the dateline.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Drawing from the analysis and the conclusion above, the following recommendations are hereby proffered towards the steady growth of Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product:

1. Aggressive diversification of the domestic economy should be embarked upon where more emphasis should be placed on the non-oil sector.
2. The political leadership should encourage peasant farmers with modern farm inputs (such as seeds, tractors, and other equipments) towards boosting the production of industrial raw materials as cotton, cocoa, palm oil, groundnut, etc., which the country is naturally, endowed with. In addition, government should stimulate local farmers by enabling them to access loans at the lowest interest rate (where possible at a single digit).
3. The mining of traditional minerals such Tin, Coal, Bauxite, Gold, precious stones should revamped where they will be processed locally into finished and exportable products and goods.
4. As a deliberate policy, the political leadership should encourage and promote the domestication of foreign manufacturing companies through FDI that should be tilted

more in the utilization of local content (local strategic thinking and raw materials) for the manufacture of local unique products with comparative competitive advantage in the international market. The sales of these unique locally manufactured goods earned more revenue for growing the GDP.

5. Government should evolve and progressively maintain deliberate policy of stimulating local industrialists and manufacturers on a sustainable basis. Such stimulants should include tax holidays for genuine local and foreign investors with Portfolio Investment and FDI that will invest domestically in the non-oil sectors and more specifically in the industrial/manufacturing sector/sub-sectors. This will create more national wealth that will steadily grow Nigeria's GDP, which will in turn make the domestic environment an effective launch-pad for the conduct of the country's foreign policy and economic relations in the years ahead.

REFERENCES

- Adeleke, K. M; Olowe, S. O. & Fasesin, O. O. (2014). Impact of FDI on Nigeria's Economic Growth. *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Studies*,4(8). Pp. 234-242.
- Adeniji, A. (2007). *Introduction to Foreign Policy*. Abuja: National Open University of Nigeria Publication.
- Alike, E. (2011). Federal Government Ceded Olorunshogo Power Plant to Chinese Firm. Lagos: *ThisDay*, Feb, 16.
- Almond, G. (1988). "The Return of the State." *American Political Science Review*, Stanford University, JSTOR.
- Awolusi. O. D. (2012). Foreign Direct Investment and Economic Growth in Nigeria: A Vector Error Correcting Modeling. *Journal of Research in Economics and International Finance*. 1(3), Sept.
- Betarlanfy, L. (1969). *General Systems Theory: Foundations, Development, Applications*. New York: G. Braziller.
- Central Bank of Nigeria (2011). *Central Bank of Nigeria Statistical Bulletin for Year 2011*. Abuja: CBN Publication.
- Central Bank of Nigeria (2014). *Central Bank of Nigeria Statistical Bulletin Annual Report for Year 2014*. Abuja: CBN Publication.
- Central Bank of Nigeria (2017). *Central Bank of Nigeria Statistical Bulletin Annual Report for Year 2017*. Abuja: CBN Publication.
- Central Bank of Nigeria (2018). *Central Bank of Nigeria Statistical Bulletin Annual Report for Year 2018*. Abuja: CBN Publication.
- Collin, W. (1979, 2012). *Financial Definition of Gross Domestic Product*. New York: Harper Collins Publishers.
- Dudley, B. J. (1973). *Instability and Political Order: Politics and Crisis in Nigeria*. Ibadan: University Press Limited.

- Dudley, B. J. (1982). *An Introduction to Nigerian Government and Politics*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Hurst, C. (2006). China's Oil Rush in Africa. *Institute for Analysis of Global Security*.
- International Monetary Fund, (2012). *International Monetary Fund Report for the Year 2012*. Washington D. C: IMF Publications.
- International Monetary Fund, (2016). *International Monetary Fund Report for the Year 2016*. Washington D. C: IMF Publications.
- International Monetary Fund (2018). *International Monetary Fund Report for the Year 2018*. Washington D. C: IMF Publications.
- Kegly, C. & Wittkopt, P. (1968). *World Politics: Trends and Transformation*. New York: Saint Martins Press.
- Keohane, R. O. & Nye, J. S. (1977). *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition*. Boston: Little Brown & Co.
- Keohane, R. O. & Nye, J. S. (1987). Power and Interdependence Revisited: *International Organization*. 41(4).
- Kolade, C. (2000). *Comparing Foreign Policy: Trends, Findings and Methods*. Ibadan: Freeman Press.
- Lamy, P. (2012). WTO International Trade Statistics. Geneva: World Trade Organization Publication.
- Mandara, M. (2013). Interview Granted BBC Hausa Service by Dr. Mairo Mandara Country Representative of Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation in Nigeria while declaring opened the Foundation's Office in Abuja on November 15, 2013.
- Migration Policy Institute (2013). *Migration Policy Institute Annual Report for the Year 2013*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota.
- Migration Policy Institute (2015). *Migration Policy Institute Annual Report for the Year 2015*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota.
- Migration Policy Institute (2016). *Migration Policy Institute Annual Report for the Year 2016*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota.
- Moses, C. O.; Anigbogu, T. U. Okoli, M. I. & Anyanwu, K. N. (2013). Domestic Investment and FDI flows to Nigeria. *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, 13(1). Pp. 1-12.
- Olusanya, G. O. & Akindele, R. A (1986). *Nigeria's External Relations: The First Twenty Five Years*. Ibadan: University Press Limited.
- Onakoya, A. B. (2012). Foreign Direct Investment and Economic Growth in Nigeria. *Journal of Economics and Sustainable Development*. 3(10).
- Onyali, C. I. & Okafor, T. (2014). FDI and the Nigerian Economy: Vision 20 2020 Mission. *International Journal of Business and Financial Management Research*, 2(1). Pp. 8-16.
- Osinbajo, Y. (2015). A Speech Delivered by Nigeria's Vice President Professor Yemi Osinbajo at the Annual Nigerian's in Diaspora Organization (NIDO) Day held at the Banquet Hall, Presidential Villa, Abuja.
- Oyatoye, et-al (2011). FDI, Export and Economic Growth in Nigeria. *European Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, 2(1).

- Ricardo, D. (1951). "On the Principles of Political Economy and Taxation." In: Sraffa, P. (ed.), *The Works and Correspondence of David Ricardo*, Vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ricardo, H; Hwang, J. & Rodrick, D. (2005). What You Export Matters. "Working Papers." Harvard University, USA: Center for International Development.
- Simon, H. A. (1957). *Administrative Behavior: A Study of Decision-Making Process in Administrative Organization*, 2nd Ed. New York: The Free Press.
- Taylor, I. (2006). *China and Africa: Engagement and Cooperation*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Todaro, M. P. & Smith, S. C. (2009). *Economic Development*. London, England: Pearson Education Limited.
- United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (2009). *United Nations Conference on Trade and Development Report of 2011*. Geneva: UNCTAD Publications.
- US-State Department-CBJFO/USCBFT (2012). United States – State Department Report on Export-Import Statistics between United States of America and Nigeria. Washington DC: USSD Publication.
- World Bank (2010). *World Bank Report of 2010*. Washington DC: World Bank Publication.
- World Bank (2012/13). *World Bank Report of 2012/13*. Washington DC: World Bank Publication.
- World Bank (2014). *World Bank Report of 2014*. Washington DC: World Bank Publication.
- World Bank (2015). *World Bank Development Indicators*. Washington DC: World Bank Publication.
- World Bank (2016). *World Bank Development Indicators*. Washington DC: World Bank Publication.
- World Bank (2018). *World Bank Report of 2018*. Washington DC: World Bank Publication.
- World Trade Organization (2012). *World Trade Organization Report of 2012*. Geneva: WTO Publication.