

AN ASSESSMENT OF CHINA'S SOFT POWER IN NIGERIA

BY

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11/012992/ASS

**BEING A PROJECT SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT
OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND STRATEGIC
STUDIES, COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES,
IGBINEDION UNIVERSITY, OKADA**

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MAY, 2015

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**IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE
AWARD OF BACHELOR DEGREE (B. Sc.) IN INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS AND STRATEGIC STUDIES**

MAY, 2015

CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that this project work was carried out by Solomon Faith Oluomachi with matriculation number 11/012992/ASS and supervised by Dr. Femi Olufunmilade of Igbenidion University Okada, in partial fulfillment for the award of Bachelor Degree (B.Sc) in International Relations and Strategic Studies.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this project to God Almighty for His everlasting love and presence in me. I thank Him for his mercy, grace, favour, protection, wisdom, and the strength he has been showering upon me. With Him I came, saw, and conquered. He is indeed too faithful to fail .I say *morire Jesu*. I also dedicate this work to my wonderful family for their endless prayers towards my success.

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ABSTRACT

This research will critically assess the strategic ways at which China proliferate her soft power policy in Nigeria. It has become necessary because China's strategy of global expansion is "soft power"- a strategy predicated on economic attraction. While this strategy appears innocuous as it does not involve coercion but rather works with the consent of partnering nations, it has become necessary to study its effects on Nigeria critically. The study outline some objectives which are: to identify the dimensions of soft power in Nigeria; and to highlight how Nigeria can leverage the soft power exerted within its milieu by China. The work used both quantitative and qualitative methods to support empirical information from relevant bodies. The research also examine how China is manifesting its soft power in Nigeria through various initiatives, such as; trade, infrastructure projects, education, healthcare center etc. Having established these facts, I profound recommendations that will help leverage Nigeria from this soft power exerted within its milieu by China. Nigeria should lessen her import dependence on Chinese products and focus on building human capital, if Nigeria's government provides more accommodation on scholarships to graduates on skill acquisition, Nigeria's economy will become competitive with those external countries.

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1. BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

The rise of China is a phenomenon that has exerted tremendous impacts on the international system in the economic, political, and strategic spheres. China is now the second largest economy in the world – second only to the United States. At the United Nations, it is one of the five permanent members of the Security Council with veto power. Since its opening up to the world in 1978 under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping, with attendant raise to the status of what Jacques (2009) calls “economic superpower”, China has deepened its engagement with many countries, including the developing ones in Africa. The pace of engagement in Africa is such that China has displaced Western nations that traditionally regard the continent as their sphere of influence through attractive economic packages in the area of trade, investments, and finance. In essence, while the Western nations secured a foothold in Africa through military campaigns leading to colonization - i.e. through hard power – China, in its case, is penetrating Africa through ‘soft power’. It is against this background that this study attempts an interrogation of the extent of China’s foray into Nigeria. At this juncture, it is imperative to put China’s relations with Nigeria in its historical context.

Nigeria's first official contact with China took place in 1960 when a Chinese delegation, on the invitation of the Nigerian government, attended Nigeria's independent celebration on October 1st. The delegation brought a message from the Chinese government, congratulating Nigeria people on the victory won in their struggle against colonialism. Nigeria and China officially entered into diplomatic relations on 10th February, 1971. Both countries opened embassies in each other's capital within the year and, since then, relations between both countries have soared to great heights through cooperation in fields such as trade, investments, finance, health, communication, culture, education, agriculture, military, and so on (Omoweh, et al, 2005).

Politically, exchange of visits have taken place at the highest level of government beginning with a visit to China in September 1974 by the then Head of State, General Yakubu Gowon. In 1977, the Chinese premier, Li Peng visited Nigeria too to boost China's renewed interest in Africa, aimed at reversing the decline in China's trade with Africa. Nigeria-China relations intensified further during Obasanjo's second term in office from 2003 to 2007 (Salter, 2009), when both President Olusegun Obasanjo and President Jiang Zemin exchanged visits "to further consolidate the constructive and strategic relationship between both countries" (Omoweh et al, 2005 : 25). On 29th February, 2008, President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua visited China and together with his Chinese counterpart, President Hu Jintao, signed a series of energy deals.

In terms of trade, relations between Nigeria and China have come a long way. Back in 1969 its total value was recorded at just \$2.3 million (Bukarambe, 2008; 235) climbing to \$5million in 1970, to \$10.3million in 1976. Right from these early stages, the terms of trade were heavily in China's favor; by 1994, recorded bilateral trade had risen to \$96 million. Although the significant increase on the trade levels of two decades earlier, this was still a very low figure. Yet bilateral trade more than doubled to \$210million in 1995, and had climbed to \$830million by 2000 (ibid, 2008: 240). In 2008, bilateral trade was worth \$7.3billion, in 2011 Nigeria was the 4th largest trading partner of China in Africa and in the first eight months of 2012, it was the third.

In 1981, Nigeria and China signed their first agreement on cultural and educational cooperation. In this connection, the level of interaction between both countries has grown tremendously. Hundreds of Nigerians are in China, mostly on Chinese government scholarships, pursuing degree programmes in various academic fields. China appears to be taking the lead in this effort as she has funded the opening of two Confucius Institutes in Nigeria, where Nigerians interested in Chinese life, culture, and language can learn a lot without even visiting China. Similarly, Chinese restaurants have sprung up in various Nigerian cities such as Lagos, Abuja, Ibadan, and so on. By the same token, Nigerians are beginning to open Nigerian restaurants in major Chinese cities

such as Guangzhou to cater to the needs of Chinese interested in African food, as well as Nigerians who daily troop into China for business.

From the geo-political and strategic standpoint, Nigeria- China relations carry a huge potential. The two countries are the most populous in Africa and Asia respectively. They are also the largest economies in their regions. China as the fastest growing economy in the world with a population of 1.3 billion people has the highest number of consumers that could be found in any country, while Nigeria has oil. China needs Nigeria's oil for its booming industry, while Nigeria needs Chinese expertise, finance, technology, and industrial goods as well as market for its burgeoning non-oil export. In addition to these, China and Nigeria wield tremendous influence in global affairs, the former being a veto power-holder at the United Nations Security Council, while the latter is the main force for regional peace and stability whose military has been pivotal in restoring peace to war-torn countries like Congo, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Ivory Coast (Utomi, 2008).

However, whether in the area of trade, education and culture, investments and the like, China seems to be more proactive than Nigeria. China enjoys trade surplus over Nigeria and, as pointed out earlier it is taking the lead in exerting its cultural influence on Nigeria through scholarships and the Confucius Institutes, among other initiatives. It is in light of the foregoing that it becomes imperative

to examine critically the nature of China's deepened engagement with Nigeria through what can be described as a soft-power strategy.

1.2. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

While ordinarily it appears logical and indeed strategically astute for Nigeria to diversify the range of nations it relates with, especially within the international economic system, thereby making its deepened engagement with China since the turn of the new millennium a welcome development, it is equally important to ensure that its engagement of China serves its national interest advantageously.

China's strategy of global expansion is soft power – a strategy predicated on economic attraction. While this strategy appears innocuous as it does not involve coercion but rather works with the consent of partnering nations, it has become necessary to study its effects on Nigeria critically. Consequently, the following questions are posed as a guide for research and analysis:

1. What are the various dimensions of soft power in international relations?
2. What are the dimensions of China's soft power in Nigeria?
3. What are the effects of China's soft power in Nigeria?
4. How can Nigeria leverage the soft power exerted within its milieu by China?

1.3. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

1. To outline the dimensions of soft power in international relations.
2. To identify the dimensions of China's soft power in Nigeria.
3. To ascertain the effects of China's soft power in Nigeria.
4. To highlight how Nigeria can leverage the soft power exerted within its milieu by China.

1.4. SCOPE OF THE STUDY

In terms of time, the scope of the study spans 1971 when Nigeria and china began diplomatic relations till 2014. With respect to geographical scope, the study basically covers the sovereign territories of Nigeria and China.

1.5. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study is academically and governmentally relevant. Academically, it reduces the vast gap in literature with respect to the impacts of China's soft power on the Nigeria. Governmentally, the study is useful because it will enable Nigeria to appreciate the impacts of Chinese soft power on its national milieu and ipso facto be in a position to leverage same.

1.6. METHODOLOGY

A combination of qualitative and quantitative method was adopted to aid in examining facts and data to the development of the study.

Sources of Data: The sources of data collected include both primary and secondary source. The primary data was collected from structured questionnaire used in eliciting the opinion of Nigerians on various dimensions of China's soft power on Nigeria such as: Chinese products (e.g. mobile phones and laptops), Chinese TV programmes and movies, and Chinese restaurants. In this regard, 100 questionnaires targeted at students were distributed and circulated at the rate of 20 per college among five of the colleges of Igbinedion University Okada. Whereas the secondary data entail books, journal articles, newspaper materials, and internet publications.

Method of Data Analysis: In terms of primary data, analysis shall take the form of the statistical measurements of simple percentage with respect to the aggregated responses to questions posed in the questionnaire in view. On the other hand, secondary data will be analyzed through the rigour of logic and examination in the light of empirical primary data.

1.7. LIMITATIONS TO THE STUDY

The first limiting factor in researching this study is the fact that one does not understand the Chinese language either by hearing or reading. Whereas, a lot of materials are available on the internet in Mandarin (China's official language) but not in English, my study language.

Another limiting factor is funds. If there is adequacy of funds, one could expand the scope of the population being targeted with questionnaires to include students in five or four other university campuses and not restrict it to 100 students of Igbinedion University.

Finally, time is another limitation. Even if funds are available there is not enough time left from the commencement of the study to the deadline set for its submission by departmental authorities.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 CONCEPTUAL DISCOURSE

2.1.1 Power

The concept power is as ancient and ubiquitous as human society because it is often used in the context of man having some form of control over fellow men. Pallaver (2011), for instance, defines power as an essential element of human existence. While it is more often used in inter-personal relations of individual persons, it has also become a dominant theme of inter-state relations. In other words, a nation too can exercise control over other nations. However, while power remains a dominant issue of analysis in international relations, its definitions or measurement remains contentious and unsettled. Lasswell(1975: 177) defines power in a general sense, which makes it applicable to diverse contexts, as “the process of affecting policies of others with the help of (actual or threatened) severe deprivations for non-conformity with the policies intended.” Morgenthau (1972) is of the same position with Lasswell and, in fact, defines politics among nations or international politics as “the struggle for power” – an activity aimed at gaining dominance over one another by state actors. Morgenthau (1972: p. 7.) summarizes the matter thus:

Since the desire to attain a maximum of power is universal, all nations must always be afraid that their own miscalculations and the power increases of other nations might add up to an inferiority for themselves which they must at all costs try to avoid.

Power has a variety of forms and features. It can be exercised with different degree of intensity- with force and violence or, on the contrary with kindness and politeness. Historically, power has been measured by such criteria as population, size and territory, natural resources, economic strength, military force and social stability.

Nye (2004) makes further clarification making reference to what Machiavelli said that, for a prince it was safer to be feared than to be loved. Nye (2004) then argues that it is better to be both, going further to define power as the ability to influence the behavior of others to get the outcomes that you want. He identifies several approaches: “You can coerce them with threat, induce them with payment; or you can attract and co-opt them to want what you want. The first two approaches are classified as classical hard power, and the last two as soft power elements.

2.1.2 Soft Power

Everyone is familiar with hard power. Both military and economic might often get others to change their positions. Hard power can rest on inducements (carrot)

or threats (sticks). But sometimes you can get the outcomes you want without tangible threats or payoffs. A country may obtain the outcomes it wants in world politics because other countries admiring its values, emulating its example, aspiring to its level of prosperity and openness want to follow it. This therefore explains the ability to attract other countries and attraction often leads to acquiescence. Simply put in behavioral terms, soft power is attractive power (Wesley: 2003).

The idea “soft power” derives from the works of Hans J. Morgenthau, Klaus Knorr, and Ray Cline in the 19th century (Liu, 1980). It was formulated and coined by Joseph S. Nye Jr. in his book: *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power* (1990). He developed the concept further in “*Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (2004,)” whereupon he also coined the “smart power” concept further conceptualizing it in “*The Future of Power*” (2011.)

As a descriptive concept, soft power explains a state’s ability to influence the behavior or interests of others through a range of methods. In this sense, the concept of soft power is distinguished from the conventional understanding of power, normally focusing on military or economic inducement and coercion.

Nye (2004) conceptualized soft power as the ability to attract people to one’s side without coercion.

Soft power is often more difficult than hard power to measure, and success is dependent on the target's response. Using soft power to accomplish goals is often a longer-term investment, and many nations and citizens are unable to grasp the efficacy of using soft power. Nye believes soft power instruments are not possessed solely by the government. In fact, it is most robust when attractiveness is embedded in the people, civil society and innovative environments. This is a critical aspect for analyzing the role the Chinese government plays in growing its nation's soft power, which is often in a top-down central planning approach, much like its grip on key industries and institutions. Thus, nations might deploy a variety of other resources to achieve the same goals, and some will not involve strictly governmental resources or policies at all. For example, hard power is accomplished mainly by military force, or at least credible threat of it; other coercive techniques might be payments or institutional pressures; and soft power is developed by promoting cultural values and sympathy (Nye, 2004). Examples that Nye gives of US soft power include global brands, films and TV shows, universities, technological innovation and free markets. With America as the example, Nye also notes the negative relationship between hard power and soft power that occurs when America squandered its soft power after 9/11 because of its aggressive military excursions for the "War on Terror (Nye, 2008).

Finally, Nye has consistently argued that soft power primarily rests on three resources;

- Cultural, in places where it is attractive to others.
- Political values, where it lives up to them at home and abroad.
- Foreign policies, where they are seen as legitimate and having moral authority (Nye: 2004). He further argues that soft power is **pull**, whereas hard power is **push**, defining soft power as... “The ability to affect others through the co-opt means of framing agenda, persuading, and eliciting positive attraction in order to obtain preferred outcomes” (Nye, 2004).

2.2 REVIEW OF EXISTING LITERATURE

Akinterinwa (1994) observes that as of 1994, the level of cooperation between Nigeria and China was insignificant. He notes that Nigeria was suffering a deficit in the trade between both countries. Nevertheless, he concludes that Nigeria stands to gain more from the Chinese experience as she also seeks to reconstruct her economy and lead the African continent more effectively.

Bukarambe (2005) makes the point that relations between China and Nigeria have always been propelled by the former. This trend he couched as “the unacknowledged Sino-dynamics”. Importantly, he furnishes a range of bilateral agreements the two countries had entered into since 1972 covering cultural,

trade, technical, etc fields, concluding that this whole gamut of relations have been more advantageous to China than Nigeria.

Ani (2009) applauds the trend in China –Nigerian relations towards stepping up trade relations through various bilateral cooperation in agriculture, trade and industry, science and technology, as well as investment; but observes that there is trade imbalance. He further notes that the imbalance might be reduced as China began to make efforts towards increasing Nigeria's agricultural exports in 2006, where about 8900 tone of cassava chips were imported by China from Nigeria. He finally remarks that with this growing consensus, foreign investment will be more beneficial to Nigeria if she can maintain a stable democratic order and guarantees the security of life and prosperity for foreign investors, especially from China.

According to Odeh (2011), China's goodwill to Nigeria is deliberately calculated at capturing, dominating and controlling the Nigerian economy for the overriding interest of the expanding Chinese economic empire. He says that Nigeria's market is flooded with many Chinese products which in most cases are of sub-standard quality, ranging from simple toys to complex mobile phones, agricultural implements, drugs, electronic, textiles, clothing and shoes. And most of these Chinese products are counterfeits, smuggled into the country (Nigeria) by dubious Chinese businessmen in collaboration with some Nigerians, through all manner of unconventional methods.

Agubamah (2014) says that Nigeria and China's trade relation is not moving on a smooth sail because the structural economic dependency factor against Nigeria is still there. He points out that since the bilateral agreement of both countries, Nigeria has become over-dependent on China's manufactured products by selling her primary products to China at cheaper rate and importing finished goods from China. This, Agubamah, calls a new form of colonialism, where Nigeria is willingly opening herself up to be colonized by China. He calls this new form of colonialism "Sino-imperialism". He also says that their trade relations is not a win-win situation as claimed to be by China but rather, a win-lose situation in reality. While China's economy is rapidly diversifying, Nigeria's economy is still over dependent on oil as its main export product. This has shown that there is a chronic and growing trade imbalance between both countries in favor of China. Therefore the only solution to this problem is for Nigeria to seek to reduce this vast trade imbalance by increasing its non-oil exports to China.

Perhaps, the most comprehensive work on Sino-Nigeria relations is Chibundu's (2000) which discusses the problems and prospects of bilateral trade between both countries. In this connection, the issue of dumping of sub-standard goods in the Nigerian market is pointed out as a major concern on the Nigerian side in its relations with China. But the Chinese sides contended that it is Nigerian business men who without duly authenticated contracts arrange with willing

accomplices in China to bring sub-standard goods to Nigeria, which has nothing to do with China's official policy towards Nigeria.

2.3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Dependency Theory

One theory that helps to better understand China's soft power in Nigeria is Dependency theory. Dependency theory explains underdevelopment as a conditioning, or a situation in which the economies of one group of countries are conditioned by the development and expansions of others, to which the former is subjected and possibly exploited (Daniel, 1980). The main proponent of this theory is Dos Santos. Following the trend of relations between China and Nigeria, China is trying to condition Nigeria's development through imbalance trade, seemingly harmless loans, poor quality manufactured goods, and lopsided labour relations. The theory provides explanations on why developing countries stay poor while industrialized and developed countries grow wealthier. The Dependency theory is a social science tool of explanation that is predicated on the notion that resources flow from a "periphery" of poor and underdeveloped states to a "core" wealthy states enriching the latter at the expense of the former (Richard, 1977). Here Nigeria is the former and China is the latter.

In dependency theory, the terms of trade for underdeveloped countries relative to the developed countries had deteriorated overtime because of the exploitative nature of the relationship between the two worlds. It is the central contention of

this theory that poor states are impoverished and rich ones enriched by the way poor states are integrated into the world system. Joseph Nye and Robert Keohane (1994) have tried hard to establish that international relations are characterized by cooperation and interdependence with win-win, mutually benefiting outcomes. What this means is that both weak and strong economies have something to gain in a relationship, no matter the proportion. Yet the dynamics of unequal relations in international division of labour cannot be ignored. The content of imperialism applies so long as China's economic exploits are domineering by the propensity of unprecedented capital and productivity.

The theory arose as a reaction to modernization theory, an earlier theory of development which held that all societies progress through similar stages of development, that today's underdeveloped areas are thus in a similar situation to that of today's developed areas at sometime in the past, and that therefore the task in helping the underdeveloped areas out of poverty is to accelerate them along this supposed common path of development, by various means such as investment, technology transfer, and closer integration into the world market (Tony, 1979). Dependency theorists vehemently, rejected this view but rather opined that what is causing the under development in poor countries is the exploitative relationship that have characterized the interactions between the poor nations and the developed ones till date. The theory therefore perceives the

underdevelopment of the third world as a consequence of its unequal integration into the orbit of international capitalism and continued dependence on the advanced economies of the world. Though China is still regarded as a third world country, but it is also a known fact that China is the second biggest economy in the world. Sequence to that is the issue of trade imbalance and huge Chinese loans that is gradually sinking Nigeria into an abyss of debt. The dependency perspective attributes the existence and continuance of underdevelopment primarily to the historical evolution of highly unequal relationship perhaps because the rich nations are unintentionally exploitative or unintentionally neglectful. The interaction of this interdependence between China and Nigeria's economy assume the form of dependence when China can expand and can be self sustained while Nigeria can do this only as a positive or negative effect on its immediate development (Thomas, 2004). This precarious trend if not speedily checked will eventually make China to condition the development of Nigeria.

CHAPTER THREE

DIMENSIONS OF CHINA'S SOFTPOWER IN NIGERIA

3.0 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, we shall examine how China has been manifesting its soft power policy on Nigeria through various initiatives, such as; infrastructure projects, trade, education and culture. Hence enabling China attracts Nigeria into her economy.

By education, the research does not entail on the number of educational institutes China have established in Nigeria, but on the funding and establishment of two Confucius institutes in Nigeria, precisely at the Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Nigeria and the University of Lagos, Nigeria. These institutes are created for Nigerians who are interested and willing to learn more about China's culture, language and want to operate in China's business activities.

In terms of trade, Nigeria is receiving Chinese expertise, technology, industrial goods and services as well as financial aid in loans borrowed from the IMF and World Bank. All these and many other factors are growing like never before in Nigeria as China's soft power policy is attracting Nigeria and in no due time, Nigeria might deviate away from her colonial masters. Hence, this chapter will be a delve to the various dimensions of China's soft power in Nigeria.

3.1 CHINESE RESTAURANTS IN NIGERIA

Since the late 1970's when Chinese investors started coming into Nigeria, establishment of Chinese restaurants in Nigeria increased. Chinese restaurants in Nigeria have been established across regional areas in Nigeria to meet the needs of majorly Chinese indigenes in Nigeria and Nigerians who eats Chinese food. In Nigeria today, there are about twenty-six Chinese restaurants located in four of its geo-political zone; the southwest region, the south -south region, the northwest region and the north central region of Nigeria. In Lagos, there are about thirteen Chinese restaurant, two in Port-Harcourt, two in Calabar, one at Benin City, one in Kano, and seven in the North central region of Abuja (Morchy, 2005).

Lagos is the region with the highest number of Chinese restaurant because, it is the most populous city in Nigeria, and there are more Chinese occupants in Lagos than in any other part of Nigeria. It is also a metropolitan region where Chinese investments and industries are located. The table below gives a list of Chinese restaurants and location in Nigeria.

| Name of Restaurant | Location |
|---|---|
| Zenith Water Margin Chinese Restaurant. | 28, Adeniran Ogunsanya Street, Surulere, Lagos. |
| Pearl Garden | 10 Atramiyu Savage Street, Victoria Island Lagos. |

| | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| Jade Chinese restaurant | 15, Isaac John Street Ikeja Lagos |
| Oriental Garden | 3 Lekki Road, Victoria Island Lagos |
| Soho Intercontinental | Kofo A bayomi Street, Plot 52 Victoria Island |
| Marco Polo | 9A Karimu Kotun Street, Victoria Island Lagos |
| Bheerhugz café | Upper floor Ikeja Citymall, Alausa, Lagos. |
| Yin Yang Chinese Restaurant | 1613B Omega Bank Avenue, off Adeola Hopewell Street, Victoria Island , Lagos. |
| Chinaville Chinese Restaurant | 14 Akin Adesola Street Victoria Island, Lagos. |
| Asia Town | 24 Forces Avenue, Old GRA, PortHarcourt |
| The Hut Catering | Plot 20-22 Aminu Kano Cresent, Abuja |
| Ororo Restaurant | 45 Tombia Street GRA, phase 11, PortHarcourt |
| Cilantro Restaurant and Lounge | 67 Sultan Road, Kano. |
| The Palace Chinese Restaurant | Plot 56, Mamman Nasser Street, Asokoro, Abuja. |
| Banana Republic | PortHarcourt Crecent, Area 11, Abuja. |
| Sinoni Chinese Restaurant | ZETO COURT, Oshogbo close, Area 11, Garki, Abuja. |
| Chopsticks. | Plot 56 Mississippi Street Maitama, Abuja. |
| Su Chao Chinese | Eleganza Plaza, Lekki , Lagos |

| | |
|--|---|
| The Palace Chinese Restaurant | No.56, Mamman Nasir Street, Asokoro, Abuja |
| New China Restaurant | Mobolaji Bank Anthonyway, Opic Plaza, Ikeja, Lagos. |
| Prime Chinese Restaurant | Plot860, Bishop Abayode Cole Street, Victoria Island, Eti Osa, Lagos. |
| China Town Express Restaurant | 14, Idowu Martins, Lagos Island, Lagos. |
| Wan Tan Fusion Restaurant | 292E, Ajoye Adeogun Street, Victoria Island, Eti Osa, Lagos. |
| Chopsticks Cuisine Emperor Hotels and Restaurant | 12 Opebi Road, Lagos. |
| Happy Food | 127 Ndidem Usang Iso Road, Marian Road, Calabar. |

Source: Morchy, S. (2005) China enterprises sprout up in Nigeria.

3.2 CHINESE MARKET IN NIGERIA

The Chinese community in Nigeria is evolving in line with the recent trends in economic relations. Hong Kong and Taiwanese Chinese came to Nigeria in the late 1960s and early 1970s, setting up manufacturing operations, particularly textiles, in Kaduna. With increasing competition from cheap imports, many of these operations were forced to shut down. Their owners began to leave Nigeria, to be replaced by a new generation of mainland Chinese investors (Robert, 2008).

However, there is so far relatively little contact between Chinese workers and the local population. Chinese migrants can be found in the wholesale and retail markets in all Nigeria's major cities and are now also increasingly present in smaller towns. One of the most significant Chinese retail ventures is the Chinatown in Lagos built in 2004, which consists of about 120 shops selling a range of manufactured goods, particularly clothes, shoes, doors, electronics, shoes, bags, books, fashion accessories and films of which China owns about 75% of the stores (Greogory, 2009). In China market, Nigeria, a Chinese own at least two Nigerians as shop attendants. Enterprises in the market deal in products such as textiles and apparels, lace materials, baby wears and toys, foot-wears, handbags, household utensils, personal effects, items for decorations, electrical appliances, art works, among others (ibid).

It has been revealed that some products are produced by Chinese firms in Nigeria, while majority are imported from China. Other participants in the market are the transporters, food sellers and the market management.

3.2.1 INSIDE CHINA TOWN

According to Lampert (2011), before now, the Chinese were mainly into export or just have Nigerian businessmen come into their country with portfolio of requests for made-in-china products, which are quickly manufactured according to specifications. The story is not far different today. First, the Chinese developed a facility called Chinatown at Ikoyi, Lagos where they sell various

types of made-in-china products. The facility was later moved to Ojota, a Lagos suburb, where many Nigerians work as attendants in the shops, while it cost about 700,000 naira per annum to rent a shop at Chinatown. The retailing activities of Chinese businessmen are not restricted to Chinatown. Indeed, they can be found in major business districts, markets and plazas where they operate as big time importers of goods for their home country. Wholesalers and end users buy from them because they offer relatively good prices (Richard, 2013).

In Lagos, the Chinese operate in such places as Apapa, Ikeja (computer village), Alaba International Market, Amuwo GRA, Association of Progressive Traders (APT), and Balogun Business Association (BBA) plazas in Trade fair complex along Lagos Badagry expressway. These foreign traders have less than dignifying sales strategy. They crash the prices by flooding the markets with substandard products. Instructively, Chinese sell high quality products in Europe and America but the reverse is the case in Nigeria.

3.3 CHINA'S INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECT IN NIGERIA

3.3.1 Meaning of Infrastructure Project

Infrastructure is an umbrella term for many activities usually referred to as “social overhead capital” by development economists. Precisely, infrastructure refers to a network of transport, communication and public (social) services ; all functioning as a system or as a set of interrelated and mutually beneficial

services provided for the improvement of the general well-being of the population (Ogbuozobe, 1997).

The adequacy of infrastructure helps to determine a country's success or failure in diversifying production, coping with population growth, reducing poverty, improving environmental conditions, etc. Indeed, socio-economic development can be facilitated and accelerated by the presence of infrastructure. If these facilities and services are not in place, development will be very difficult and in fact can be likened to a very scarce commodity that can only be secured at a very high price and cost. Adequate access to social welfare services, such as medical services, education, potable water supply, roads, electricity, employment opportunities etc, are strong indices of development (Adeyemo, 1989).

In any discourse on infrastructure, it is important to note that infrastructure can be broadly classified in two: physical (roads, electricity, telecommunication, etc) and social (education, health, recreation, housing etc.). In some line, physical infrastructure is often referred to as economic infrastructure. Thus, the role of China's infrastructure project on Nigeria's economic development will be discoursed along this line.

3.3.2 Meeting Nigeria's Infrastructure Needs

Nigeria's underdeveloped infrastructure is often cited as one of the major impediments to economic development, and successive governments have

vowed to rectify the situation. China first became heavily involved in infrastructure improvements through the oil-for-infrastructure deals during the Obasanjo's era (Egbula et al, 2011). Although prior to then, both countries have had a long history of political and economic ties, which have greatly intensified in recent years. Chinese foreign direct investment (FDI) in Nigeria grew about in accomplishing a major influx of Chinese enterprises and workers into the region. The natural resource sector, principally petroleum and to a lesser extent minerals, has been the major focus for Chinese FDI to Nigeria (Foster, 2009).

Nevertheless, China remains a relatively large player in Nigeria's petroleum sector. Her growth in Nigeria towards infrastructure activity has been accompanied by a significant expansion of official economic assistance to the region, which is focused mainly on infrastructure and typically channeled through the China Ex-Im Bank.

Therefore, it appears safe to say that most of China's activities were divided fairly evenly between two main sectors: power (especially hydropower) and transport (especially railroads), followed by the ICT sector (mainly equipment supply). Water projects attracted the least amount of activity. A more extensive profile of Chinese-funded projects in each of the major infrastructure sectors is provided below.

Petroleum sector

Since 2004, Chinese petroleum companies have acquired various interests in Nigerian oil production. This began when Sinopec won an initial oil exploration contract for blocks 64 and 66 of the Chad Basin. In 2006, both China National Oil Corporation (CNOOC) and China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) won substantial interests in Nigerian oil exploration. CNOOC purchased 45 percent of block ML130 in the Niger Delta, with reserve estimates of 600 million barrels covering about 500 square miles of Akpo Oilfield and other discoveries. The total deal offered by CNOOC was worth US\$2.7 billion. Just several months later, CNPC completed the acquisition of a 51 percent stake in the Kaduna refinery for a total consideration of US\$2 billion. The refinery was designed to refine 110,000 barrels of oil a day, yet due to lack of maintenance, its actual refinery capacity was only 70 percent of that capacity (Foster et al , 2009). Together with this deal, CNPC received the license for four oil blocks—OPL471, 721, 732, and 298. As a result of these deals, Chinese state-owned oil companies committed to invest around US\$5 billion in Nigeria's petroleum industry. The deal was oil-backed such that in return, CNPC secured a deal to purchase 30,000 barrels of crude oil a day from the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) for a period of one year, renewable (Foster et al, 2009).

Power sector

Nigerian officials specified that power sectors would be one of the main targets for investment. Dating back to 2002, China relatively began to involve in a number of power sector project in Nigeria.

In 2006, a substantial scale up took place when US\$5 billion of infrastructure project were agreed upon, including the 2,600 MW Mambilla hydropower scheme (Butterfield, 2009). The China's Ex-Im Bank was involved in the funding of five thermal stations in Nigeria: Ugheli, Geregu, papalanto, Aloiji and Omotosho Power plants. Chinese government agreed to fund the 700mh and the 3050mh power plants in Mambila as well a promise to undertake the construction of a 7000mh in Nigeria. Nigeria's first loan from China Ex-Im Bank came in 2005 to support construction at three gas-fired power stations : Papalanto (335MW) in Ogun State developed by China's group of sepc, Omotosho (335MW) in Ondo, developed by China National Machinery and Equipment Import and Export Coporation (CMEC), and Geregu (138MW) in Kogi State, developed by siemens.

In July 2011, the Power Holding Company of Nigeria (PHCN) contracted Chinese companies Sino Hydro Corporation and Harbin Electricity Corporation to rehabilitate the Kainji hydropower station in Rivers State. The project, funded by a loan from the World Bank cost USD 82 million and was expected to add 340 megawatts to Nigeria's electricity generating capacity (ESI- Africa, 2008).

Information and Communication Technology sector

The initiation of activities dates back to 2002 with the agreement on the first phase of the National Rural Telephony Project (NRPT), when China's two telecom giants ZTE and Huawei began actively pursuing equipment supply and network roll out projects for both fixed and wireless services in Nigeria (World Bank: 2008).

Huawei and ZTE were, by all accounts, highly competitive with each other in Nigeria. The two companies 'compete very hard for the same bids, which are very useful to the end client as it reduces the cost of the project' (Salter, 2009). Despite this, Huawei and ZTE began collaboration in 2006 on the \$300 million National Rural Telephony Programme. This federal government programme involves connecting hundreds of rural communities to a telephone network, with the first \$200 million of the funding provided by a concessionary loan from China (ibid) of which phase I of the project finished in 2008.

Another aspect of Nigeria–China collaboration in communications is the NIGCOMSAT-1R satellite. The satellite was built and launched by the China Great Wall Corporation in May 2007, but, in an embarrassing development for the company and the Nigerian government, it disappeared into space in November 2008, apparently because of a solar power equipment failure. The satellite, which had never functioned properly, cost \$251 million, of which \$51 million was provided by the federal government and the balance by a federally

guaranteed loan from China. China Great Wall Corporation has reportedly promised to build and launch another satellite at no extra cost by 2011 (This Day, 2009).

Railway sector

China has been involved in the reconstruction and rehabilitation of Nigeria Rail Tract Authority, Nigeria Railway Engineering Plc. and the Nigeria Railway integrated Plc. This saw the arrival of the Chinese Civil Engineering Construction Company in Nigeria (CCECC) (Tell, 2006).

The Chinese committed to financing construction of the Abuja Rail Mass Transit System, and to rehabilitation of 1,315 kilometers of the Lagos-Kano line under the first phase of Nigeria railway modernization program. The total cost of the Lagos-Kano rail project was estimated to be US\$8.3 billion, of which the Chinese covered US\$2.5 billion through a line of credit part of which would be also be allocated to support power projects (Butterfield, 2009).

Water sector

In March 2005, China agreed to construct 598 boreholes in 18 of the 36 Nigerian States. Including the capital, Abuja, to support the country's water supply programme (Pushak, 2009). The aim of the free-aid water project was to provide "clean drinkable water to ordinary Nigerians living in out-of-the-way-areas". Nigeria also accepted another offer from China for the construction and

rehabilitation of small and large dams stated for national supply water programmes and irrigation (Chen, 2009).

3.3.3 Value of Chinese Infrastructure Finance

China and Nigeria have a long history of political and economic ties, which have greatly intensified in recent years. Both bilateral trade and Chinese Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in Nigeria grew about fourfold between 2002 and 2005, accompanied by a major influx of Chinese enterprises and workers into the region. The natural resource sector, principally petroleum and to a lesser extent minerals, has been the major focus for both Chinese FDI to Nigeria and Nigeria's exports to China. Nevertheless, China remains a relatively small player in Nigeria's petroleum sector relative to the OECD countries. The growth in commercial activity between China and Nigeria has been accompanied by a significant expansion of Chinese official economic assistance to the region, which is focused mainly on infrastructure and typically channelled through the China Ex-Im Bank (Pushaka, 2009).

To provide a clearer picture of the value and nature of this finance, it can be estimated that Chinese financial commitments to Nigerian infrastructure projects rose from around US\$0.5 billion per year in 2002–04 to around US\$1.5 billion per year in 2005–06, reached at least US\$7 billion in 2006, then trailed back to US\$4.5 billion in 2007 (Butterfield, 2009). About half of the confirmed projects involved Chinese commitments of less than US\$50 million.

However, Chinese finance has shown itself capable in about half a dozen cases of raising very large contributions of US\$1 billion or more in value for single projects. Overall, at least 15 states in Nigeria have benefited from Chinese finance or are actively discussing funding opportunities. Nigerian leadership has typically welcomed China's fresh approach to development assistance, which eschews any interference in domestic affairs, emphasizes partnership and solidarity among developing nations, and offers an alternative development model based on a more central role for the state (Agba E, 2015).

3.4 CHINA'S TRADE RELATIONS WITH NIGERIA

Historically, the agreement for diplomatic relations between China and Nigeria was struck on the 10th of February, 1971 and has been growing rapidly over the years (Utomi, 2012). Nigeria exports mostly crude oil to China and imports a large number of consumer goods such as electronics, clothes, textile materials etc. Bilateral trade between Nigeria and China has come a long way. Back in 1971, its total value was recorded at just GBP 10.3 million, climbing to GBP 56 million by 1975. Right from these early stages, the terms of trade were heavily in China's favour, with GBP 4 million of the trade recorded in 1970 derived from Chinese textile exports to Nigeria (Bukarambe: 2005).

By 1994, recorded bilateral trade had risen to \$90 million. Although a significant increase on the trade levels of two decades earlier, this was still a very low figure. Yet bilateral trade more than doubled to \$210 million in 1995,

and had climbed to \$830 million by 2000 (Ibid). Some of this increase was due to rising Nigerian exports to China. Nigerian exports to China were worth \$60 million in 1995, but \$293 million in 2000, a nearly five-fold increase. Yet the terms of trade still favoured China, whose exports represented 73% of the bilateral trade total in 1995 and 68% of the total in 2000 (Salter, 2009).

From less than USD 2 billion in 2000, trade between China and Nigeria reached nearly USD 18 billion just ten years later. Between 2003 and 2009, Nigeria was a top destination for Chinese Foreign Direct Investment on the continent, second only to South Africa. Its attractions are clear: vast energy reserves and a large domestic market of 150 million inhabitants with growing disposable incomes (Qi Zeheng et al, 2011).

In August 2001, Nigeria and China signed an agreement on investment promotion and protection. In April 2002, they signed another agreement for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion as regards taxes on incomes (Gbadamosi et al 2009). Drawing from the content of these agreements, Gbadamosi (2009) assert that the relationship between Nigeria and China is largely meant for China to source raw materials for her burgeoning economy. He went further to say that this development was geared towards the win-win principle in FOCAC (Forum on China and Africa cooperation).

In 2005, Sino-Nigeria trade ties were upgraded to a strategic partnership, and ever since then, their relations have witnessed rapid development. High-level

exchanges remain active and political mutual trust enhanced. The economic ties have been strengthened, bringing mutual benefits to people of both countries. People-to-people communications and cultural exchanges between the two sides have been fully dynamic, ensuring vigorous interaction and enhancing mutual understanding amongst them. .

Nigeria and China intensified after 2000 and there has been a corresponding dramatic rise in bilateral trade levels since then. Bilateral trade in 2008 was worth \$7.3 billion, nearly nine times its level in 2000. Still the trade imbalance has persisted and indeed worsened. Chinese exports represented 93% of the bilateral trade total in 2008.

In 2006, bilateral trade reached US\$3 billion (NEWSGD, 2006), there was a substantial scale-up in China Ex-Im Bank financing with almost U.S \$5billion of projects agreed. These included contributions of U.S \$2.5billions to a major Lagos-Kano railway up grading project, contribution of U.S \$1billion to Abuja Rail Mass Transit project, which involves the construction of a high speed rail link between Lagos and Abuja, as well as a light railway system connecting Murtala Mohammed International Airport and Nnamdi Azikiwe International Airport with the Lagos and Abuja city centers respectively.

Between 2000 and 2010 annual Nigerian-Chinese trade increased nine-fold, from \$2 billion to \$18 billion. Ten major bilateral agreements concerning commerce, agriculture, tourism and security were signed during that period.

Nigeria imported more goods from China in 2012 than it did from the U.S. and India combined (Nigeria's number two and three import partners, respectively). In 2010, trade between the two countries was worth US\$7.8 billion. At the end of 2010 China declared its new plan for a strategic partnership with Nigeria, featuring political equality, mutual trust, economic win-win co-operation and cultural exchange (Tribune: 2010). The key objectives of the new plan were to: enhance political mutual trust to promote strategic co-operation; expand co-operation in areas including oil, electricity, infrastructure construction, telecommunications and satellite; expand cultural exchanges and cooperation in combating various diseases including malaria and bird flu; strengthen cooperation in inter-national affairs to promote world peace, enhance coordination and human rights, anti-terrorism and peacekeeping efforts and promote south-south and south-north dialogue.

Today, more than 200 Chinese firms operate in Nigeria. While in Beijing last week, Nigerian President Jonathan signed nine memoranda of understanding with the Chinese government. China agreed to provide Nigeria with a soft loan of \$1.1 billion loan in exchange for Nigeria agreeing to increase its daily supply of oil to China ten-fold (from 20,000 barrels per day to 200,000) by 2015.

China has become the second largest oil importer, behind the USA, thus accounting for about 40% of the world's oil demands (Utomi, 2012). Being the 6th largest oil exporter in the world, Nigeria becomes a fertile ground on which

to satisfy her vociferous oil demand. While some scholars admit that both countries depend on each other for the achievement of their goals at the international arena (Ekedegwa, 2010). Others believe that it is triggering dependency for the Nigerian economy (Adekola, 2013).

In 2011 Nigeria was the 4th largest trading partner of China in Africa and in the first 8 months of 2012 it was the 3rd. (Ekedegwa, 2010). In 2012, the trade volume between the two countries reached USD 10.57 billion. Nigeria has been a fertile ground for Chinese investors over the years, and the bilateral relations rose to a new level in 2014. This has resulted in improved trades totaling \$18.1 billion last year. The rise in trading is owed to the relative increase in the exchange of goods and services over the last year. This has made Nigeria China's third largest export destination in Africa after South Africa and Angola. China on the other hand, is Nigeria's largest source of imports. (Peter Oyagbile, 2015). The Consul-General of the People's Republic of China in Lagos, Mr. Liu Kan, revealed that the volume of trade between Nigeria and China in 2014 was about \$18.1 billion.

3.4.1 An Evaluation of Nigeria-China Trade Relation

The problem of the study does not propose as one of its goals, to portray China in a bad light. Neither is it denying that Nigeria has benefited from its relations with China. But the task taken up here is a wakeup call to acknowledge the prominence of trade as the chief reason for the penetration of Nigerian economy

by China and to as well ring the danger bell that the overwhelmingly unequal commercial diplomacy between Nigeria and China does not prognosticate good for the transformation especially of the manufacturing sector of the Nigeria economy.

Since 1971 when the two countries signed the Joint Communiqué on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations, trade relations between Nigeria and China have grown from the limited and intermittent contact to an increasingly complex and expensive business engagement. The volume of trade between Nigeria and China grew at low levels until rapid growth turned China in 1993 from a net exporter of crude oil to the second-largest importer of crude oil in the world (Akoh, 2014). The trade volume between the two countries grew by nearly 300 percent since 2004 and reached the peak of \$7.2 billion in 2008. The trade volume between the two countries in 2009 reached \$7.3 billion and \$7.7 billion in 2010 respectively. With that level of trade in 2009, Nigeria was the second biggest China trade partner in Africa, after South Africa (Ayoola, 2013). A flood in Nigeria by imports of Chinese goods in comparison with Nigeria's exports to China has resulted in a trade deficit with China and this is growing significantly in view of Nigeria's inability to offer the manufacturing sector a conducive environment to produce home grown alternatives to the China made goods. Nigerian markets are target for

substandard products and because of stiff competition from these products; local manufacturing firms have withered away.

Financial Vanguard (2014) revealed that Chinese goods are highly subsidized for export which makes it possible for them to be sold at very cheap prices in Nigeria than similar products produced locally. And because Nigerian consumers are highly sensitive to prices, they easily go for Chinese products as against the locally manufactured ones. The main outlet through which China made goods flood Nigerian markets is the popular China town market in Lagos from where other major markets in Lagos are penetrated and then to other parts of the country. Worse still, the dumping goods are also coming into the country through unapproved borders. Importers connive with Custom officials and other security agents to smuggle even contraband goods into the country.

The Menace is so alarming and will continue to be if concerted efforts are not made to curtail the situation. Financial analysts have argued that the recent rebasing of the Nigerian Gross Domestic Product (GDP) which now puts the nation's economy at 26th in the world and first in Africa, bypassed the normal growth channel which is the manufacturing sector. Even more controversial is the fact that this momentous growth happened in the face of dwindling competitiveness rating of the country's economy by the World Economic Forum. Further, there are complaints of cases of breach in signed

Contractual Agreements, a good example is Everglades Agencies Ltd (a Nigerian Company) wrote to the Federal Ministry of Trade, Investment and Industry that Yanfeng Plastics Machinery co Ltd. (a Chinese company) has not complied with the contract Agreement signed by both parties in 2008 for installation, training of staff and supply of spare parts for machineries bought from the Chinese company.

Secondly, the issue of Counterfeit products by Chinese companies of Nigerian products has become a serious menace. A case in point is the Products of Lee Group Nigeria Ltd (a footwear manufacturing company in Nigeria. From the year 2000 to 2012 Nigeria has constantly experienced negative trade balance in her transactions with China. The most debilitating perhaps, is the fact that despite the relative increase of Nigeria's export to China, the negative trade balance continuous to surge on as the trade volume increases. While Nigeria's export increased from- N106,733,131,758 in 2009 to N216,506,104,707 in 2010, the negative trade balances sky rocketed from N - 786,461,617,718 in 2009 to N -884,274,401,292 in the following year. Between year 2000 and 2008 Nigeria lost a total of 18262.1 million dollars to trade deficit in a total transaction of 24785.7 million dollars.

However, exports to that country increased more than four times to N933.31bn in 2012 from the N216.51bn recorded in 2010. Though these figures show that Nigeria's exports to China are gradually stepping up with its imports level, one

might argue that the increase in exports to China was as a result of the decline in oil exports to other countries such as the United States. Thus, more oil was available to be exported to China. Therefore, the manufacturing sector is not responsible for this relative leap forward (Akoh, 2014).

Trade liberalization facilitated by the current wave of globalization has increasingly and inescapably integrated the economies of the world to the benefit of the developed world. The present competitiveness indicators of the Nigerian economy apparently exhibit acute inability to accommodate the pressure of globalization and trade liberalization being exploited by China (Ayoola, 2013). The two countries are on different rungs of the development ladder. Thus it is not unexpected that they relate at an unequally mutually beneficial level. Though the first world through the instrument of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) has weightily liberalized the economies of the world this has not denigrated the potency of diplomacy as an instrument of negotiations. Nigeria must employ this to shield her market from being a dumping center for cheap and in some cases substandard Chinese goods.

Nigeria and China have signed a number of bilateral trade agreements and Memorandums of Understanding (M oUs). This has facilitated trade relations between the two countries over the years. But The Bilateral Trade Agreement (BTA) signed by both countries has lapsed and the

Nigeria Federal Ministry of Trade, Investment and Industry is in the process of reviewing and forwarding a new BTA through diplomatic channel to China for negotiation. The MoU signed on Economic Cooperation Agreement between Nigeria and Guandong Xinguang International Group of China is still valid and remains valid, unless either Party gives written notice to terminate the MoU. But instruments of ratification were not exchanged by both countries so that the Agreement can come into effect. Therefore, it is subject to renegotiation. This is a window of opportunity and Nigeria has to maximally utilize this to renegotiates the terms of agreement for the benefit of its domestic economy. Exports to China include bituminous minerals, Sesame seeds, rubber, oil and natural Gas, dry cassava chips, liquefied and polyethylene.

While the imports from China include unglazed ceramics, vans wall tiles, motorcycles, machinery equipment, auto parts, tyres, chemical products, textiles and garments footwear, cement, oil, etc.

3.4.2 Bilateral Trade Agreements and MoUs with China

According to The Federal Ministry of Industry, Trade and Investment, Nigeria, (2014), In order to build investors' confidence, the two countries signed the following Agreement and MoUs. These are:

- i) The Bilateral Trade Agreement signed on 27th August, 2001;

- ii) Memorandum of Understanding on Investment Cooperation between the Ministry of Commerce of both Countries signed on 28th February, 2006; and
- iii) Memorandum of Understanding on Economic Cooperation Agreement between Nigeria and Guandong Xinguang International Group of China on 15th March, 2006.
- iv) Nigeria and China signed Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement (IPPA) in 2001. It was ratified on 31st December, 2002.
- v) Memorandum of Understanding between Federal Ministry of Industry Trade and Investment of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and Asia and Africa International Investment Company on Investment in Automobile, Exhibition Centre's, Construction of Industrial Zone and Eco- Agriculture Zone.

Source: Federal Ministry of Industry, Trade and Investment, Nigeria, 2014.

3.5 CONFUCIUS INSTITUTE IN NIGERIA

The name Confucius institute was derived from a famous Chinese philosopher, Confucius (551-479BC). The institute is a non-profit public institution affiliated with the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China (Sahlins; 2013), whose stated aim is to promote Chinese language and culture, support

local Chinese teaching internationally, and facilitate cultural exchanges across the globe (Peter; 2012). The programme was founded in 2004 with its location at 129 Deshengmenwai Street, Xicheng District, Beijing, P.C, China and is overseen by Hanban (The office of Chinese language council international).

The programme is governed by a council whose top-level members are drawn from the communist party of China leadership and various state ministers (Sahlins, 2013). The institute operates with local affiliated institutes, universities, colleges, and secondary schools around the world, providing funding, teachers and educational materials. The essence of this has raised concerns over their influence on academic freedom, the possibility of industrial espionage, and concerns that the institutes present a selective and politicized view of China as a means of advancing her country's soft power internationally (Brierliey, 2013).

The Confucius institute soft power goals are seen as an attempt by the PRC to modernize away from Soviet influence propaganda of the Maoist era (Golden, 2011), other initiatives include Chinese contemporary art exhibitions, television programmes, translation of Chinese literature, the expansion of state-run news channels such as Xinhua News Agency (Brady;2011) etc.

The Confucius Institute Project

According to Beijing (2007), there are three main objectives of the Confucius institutes, they include;

- To teach Chinese
- To promote Chinese cultural exchange
- To facilitate business activities

3.5.1 Confucius Institute: China's Global Presence.

The initiative taken by China to establish university branch campuses in the world as reported by Roger Chao is not at all surprising. It is unquestionable that China wants to play a major role in global higher education to match its aspiration of becoming the world's leading economic power. China has understood what many countries fail to appreciate; higher education is a key vehicle not only to achieve economic development but also to attain "soft power" regionally and globally.

China has adopted a very strategic approach in its long-term objective, with education playing a very crucial role. English being the acknowledge global language has been promoted across the globe. Now China is trying to promote its own language and culture by offering thousands of scholarships, especially to developing countries, for higher educational studies in China. But what perhaps has become China's boldest move is the launching of Confucius institutes across

the globe. The first Confucius institutes was set up in 2004 and today there are over 300 institutes in more than 90 countries in the world of which Nigeria is amongst one of the African country who has taken part in the signing of Confucius Institutes in her country.

3.5.2 Confucius Institute Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Nigeria.

The Confucius institute at Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Nigeria is the first Confucius institute in Nigeria and the one of only two Confucius institutes in Nigeria. The institute which is for the leaning of Chinese language and culture is the 6th in Africa and 127th in the world. Nnamdi Azikiwe University has long shown a close interest in China's modern development and in Chinese culture (This Day, 2009).

In 2005, the university held a Chinese cultural festival which brought to the notice of China, and on 24th January 2007, an agreement was established for the signing of the Confucius institutes at the Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Nigeria where professor Ilochi A. Okafor (SAN), the vice chancellor of Nnamdi Azikiwe University visited Xiamen University and officially signed an agreement for the establishment of the institute in Nigeria (ibid).

Teaching Activities

The Confucius institute was launched and commissioned on February 7, 2008 by the Chinese Ambassador to Nigeria. It now has three programmes in which

Chinese courses are taught. They are; Diploma, Degree, and Certificate programme. Some of these courses are offered to the students in spoken Chinese, listening/phonetics, reading comprehension, Chinese literature, Chinese movies, Chinese culture and songs.

3.5.3 Confucius Institute, University of Lagos, Nigeria

The Confucius institute at University of Lagos, Nigeria was signed by both the University of Lagos and Beijing institute of Technology, China on May 20, 2009 and the opening ceremony was in October 16, 2009. Both sides strives on the focus on implementing and operating the effectiveness of its unique feature which is committed to meet the people's understanding of Chinese language and culture to enhance the educational and cultural exchange between the two countries, to develop friendly relations of both countries at various aspect like, language teaching, teacher training, theoretical research, and cultural exchange. In the University of Lagos, the activities of Confucius institute include short-term courses for interested businessmen and visitors to China, translation of documents, provision of information for prospective students on institution of higher learning in China and ultimately, the offering of degree courses in Chinese language and culture.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter involves the data presentation and analysis from the questionnaires distributed to the sample population in the course of this research. The data collated will answer to the aforementioned research questions, and provide possible panaceas to the problem.

4.1 Have you ever been to China?

| Respondents | Male | Female | Total |
|-------------|------|--------|-------|
| Yes | 6 | 5 | 11 |
| No | 38 | 41 | 79 |
| Total | 44 | 46 | 90 |

Total number of those who visits to China

$$= \frac{11}{90} \times \frac{100}{1} = 12.22 \text{ or } 12\%$$

Total number of those who have not visited China

$$= \frac{79}{90} \times \frac{100}{1} = 87.77 \text{ or } 88\%$$

4.1.1 Data Analysis

The table above shows that an average of 12% Nigerians have been to China. This 12% of Nigerians claim they visit China for business, education, tourism, to learn Chinese language, to learn martial arts and for healthcare service. They claim China is a very popular country for foreign tourists, that they travel to China to fascinate with its different culture and way of life, its natural highlights, ancient cities, and fast modernization. Whereas 88% Nigerians who either as a result of not having opportunity to visit China or because they deliberately decide not to visit a country like China claim it is as a result of 'racism'. By racism, they believe that all humans should be treated equally, irrespective of their nationality. They believe that human rights should not be violated and that wherever an individual is, they should not be given a position as second class; To them, Nigeria as their homeland is a home of liberty where they live as royalties. They also claim that; In China, the people communicate with their official language more than any other language. And this will be difficult for them to interact if the only language most Chinese people understand is Mandarin.

4.2 Do you eat Chinese food?

| Respondents | Male | Female | Total |
|-------------|------|--------|-------|
| Yes | 16 | 17 | 33 |
| No | 28 | 29 | 57 |
| Total | 44 | 46 | 90 |

Total number of those who eat Chinese food

$$= \frac{33}{90} \times \frac{100}{1} = 36.66\% \text{ or } 37\%$$

Total number of those who do not eat Chinese food

$$= \frac{57}{90} \times \frac{100}{1} = 63.33 \text{ or } 63\%$$

4.2.1 Data Analysis

From table two above, it shows that 63% of Nigerians do not eat Chinese food. Although Nigeria in accordance with China have established numerous Chinese restaurants in Nigeria, unfortunately the volume of Nigerians who do not eat Chinese food appear to be unappreciative. In analyzing this, interviews were derived from students of Igbinedion University on why they don't eat Chinese food. On response, majority claim Chinese meals are disgusting, others explain that Chinese meals appear to be unattractive, unappetizing, and for the fact that China is not their country, their culture is unacceptable and that includes Chinese meals. On the other hand, the decline in 37% who eat Chinese food claim to like the taste, enjoy the fact that the meals are served with chopstick as

cutlery, and wishes that all Nigerian meals would have a pinch of Chinese recipe.

4.3 Do you use Chinese products?

| Respondents | Male | Female | Total |
|-------------|------|--------|-------|
| Yes | 27 | 34 | 61 |
| No | 17 | 12 | 29 |
| Total | 44 | 46 | 90 |

Total number of those who use Chinese products

$$= \frac{61}{90} \times \frac{100}{1} = 67.77 \text{ or } 68\%$$

Total number of those who do not use Chinese products

$$= \frac{29}{90} \times \frac{100}{1} = 32.22 \text{ or } 32\%$$

4.3.1 Data Analysis

Question three above proves that 68% of Nigerian students from Igbinedion University use China's products than 32% that don't. These products which include phones, laptops, cloths, electronics, etc. have become more accessible to them. Nigerians who use China's products claim that they are cheap and very affordable, appears in different varieties, high quality standard although of different grades. Whereas the remaining 32% who claim not to use China's

products gave reasons like; low quality standard, counterfeit products, and that China's products are rampant.

4.4 Is it possible for Nigeria to meet up to China's economy?

| Respondents | Male | Female | Total |
|-------------|------|--------|-------|
| Yes | 34 | 31 | 65 |
| No | 10 | 15 | 25 |
| Total | 44 | 46 | 90 |

Total number of positive response

$$= \frac{65}{90} \times \frac{100}{1} = 72.22 \text{ or } 72\%$$

Total number of negative response

$$= \frac{25}{90} \times \frac{100}{1} = 27.77 \text{ or } 28\%$$

4.4.1 Data Analysis

In analyzing the table above, majority of Nigerians believe in the capacity and ability of Nigeria. With the volume of about 72% Nigerians gotten from the populated sample of 100 Igbinedion University on my questionnaires distributed, they explained on how Nigeria can meet up to China's economy in future to come. The following statements appear to be their facts.

- **By enforcing zero tolerance in corruption:** if corruption can be curbed, or rather minimized, Nigeria's economy will meet that of China.
- **Diversification of Nigeria's economy:** before the emergence of oil in the '70s, agriculture was booming as Nigeria's source of livelihood. If Nigeria diversifies and encourages the establishment of small scale and medium scale enterprise, Nigeria will be a better place.
- **Skill Acquisition:** education should be synonymous with practical knowledge. It is true that Nigeria do not have the technology, and skill. if Nigeria's government could give out scholarships to some certain number of educated graduates, to study in the diaspora in order to enhance their skills on the practical aspects in their fields of study, and come back to Nigeria to work in established industrial organizations, Nigeria will in no due time meet up to China's economy. Because practical knowledge is what meets up to material production.
- **Youth Entrepreneurship:** poverty and unemployment are amongst the backdrop of Nigeria's economy. if Nigeria's government can support youth entrepreneurship by giving out loans to individuals engaged in light or micro industries, Nigeria's economy will meet up to China's economy.
- **Bilateral Trade Relations:** if Nigeria could focus more on bilateral trade relations, most especially with the economically developed and advanced nations, Nigeria will not only be better than China's economy, but will be amongst the top best economies in the world.

- **Patronage:** Majority of Nigeria’s products produced are branded “made in China” are usually “Nigeria made products”, but the fear of less patronage prevent Nigerian’s from carrying the logo of where these goods are produced.

Whereas the remaining 28% who disagree claims that; Nigeria is not as developed as China, so it is impossible to meet up to China’s economy, that China is a world power whereas Nigeria is still striving to become one, corruption from the apex has tarnished the image of Nigeria in that her corrupt leaders are ruling without vision for the country, that China is an industrialized nation whereas Nigeria is a consuming nation, that Nigeria is one the highest producers of oil but often times, Nigeria experiences fuel scarcity or increase in prices of petroleum products, Nigeria offers a strong enabling environment for the large-scale theft of crude oil. Corruption and fraud are rampant in the country’s oil sector. A dynamic, overcrowded political economy drives competition for looted resources, that poor governance has encouraged violent opportunism around oil and opened doors for organized crime.

4.5 Do you think Nigeria is benefiting more from China?

| Respondents | Male | Female | Total |
|-------------|------|--------|-------|
| Yes | 18 | 21 | 39 |
| No | 26 | 25 | 51 |
| Total | 44 | 46 | 90 |

Total number of positive response

$$= \frac{39}{90} \times \frac{100}{1} = 43.33 \text{ or } 43\%$$

Total number of negative response

$$= \frac{51}{90} \times \frac{100}{1} = 56.66 \text{ or } 57\%$$

4.5.1 Data Analysis

From the data above, 43% agree that Nigeria is benefiting more from China's economy. They explain that Chinese goods are rampant in Nigeria, and are sold at cheaper prices compared to similar products produced by other manufacturers, e.g. China android phones compared to original Samsung android, China tablets compared to iPad, etc. They also claimed that since Sino-Nigeria bilateral relations, Nigeria have been receiving more from China, making her more beneficial than China.

On the other hand, Nigeria exports majorly oil and cash crops and imports finished products from China, of which these products are sold double the price of Nigeria's crud oil export to China, making Nigeria to have little or low profit in her trade relation with China. Also, they claim Nigeria is not benefiting from China because, China is over exploiting Nigeria's economy, making Nigeria's

believe that they are living in the midst of plenty by exporting substandard goods to them and rubbing Nigerian of their natural resources.

More so, Nigeria is benefiting nothing because, China is becoming more technologically advanced and industrialized, have moved from light industries to heavy industries and now high technological industries whereas Nigeria remains stagnant.

4.6 Do you think China has attracted her soft power influence on Nigerians?

| Respondents | Male | Female | Total |
|-------------|------|--------|-------|
| Yes | 38 | 41 | 79 |
| No | 6 | 5 | 11 |
| Total | 44 | 46 | 90 |

Total number of positive response

$$= \frac{79}{90} \times \frac{100}{1} = 87.77 \text{ or } 88\%$$

Total number of negative response

$$= \frac{11}{90} \times \frac{100}{1} = 12.22 \text{ or } 12\%$$

4.6.1 Data Analysis

In analyzing the table above, more Nigerians have expressed fact that China to some extent has influenced her soft power policy in Nigeria. 88% claim that

China has attracted Nigeria on trade, education and culture. The following reasons below explain more on their expression;

- That Nigeria's market is filled mostly with foreign products that are either manufactured in China, or are tagged "made in China".
- The best of Nigerians restaurants are Chinese cuisine. These restaurants are interiorly made in China's designs and have been there for ages, improving China's culture at the same time reducing Nigeria's.
- China since 2002 has been embarking on infrastructure projects in Nigeria. Building roads, bridges, constructing power stations, providing pipe born water, among others.
- China is exerting its cultural influence in Nigeria through scholarships and establishment of Confucius institutes, this thereby making Nigerians to take little or no cognizance to their culture.
- Nigerians are more of cordial relations with China than with other countries of the world. In terms of trade, financial aids, etc. Nigeria chooses more to engage with China than with others.

On the negative side, concerning those who disagree with China's soft power influence taking a large space in Nigeria, they have centered their claims that Nigeria's culture remains Nigeria's culture. Coupled with the number of Chinese restaurants established across Nigeria, Nigerians still patronize African dishes. This is why in China's restaurants like the Guangzhou are

established to cater for the needs of Nigerians on daily troops to China for business or otherwise.

4.7 Do you watch Chinese movies?

| Respondents | Male | Female | Total |
|-------------|------|--------|-------|
| Yes | 29 | 31 | 60 |
| No | 15 | 15 | 30 |
| Total | 44 | 46 | 90 |

Total number of positive response

$$= \frac{60}{90} \times \frac{100}{1} = 66.66 \text{ or } 67\%$$

Total number of negative response

$$= \frac{30}{90} \times \frac{100}{1} = 33.33 \text{ or } 33\%$$

4.7.1 Data Analysis

From the table above, it show that an average of 66% Nigerians watch Chinese movies. They claim their facts that China is a nation that is proud of its culture, and language. Chinese culture is always integrated, while watching Chinese movies; one can learn one or two about China's culture. That Chinese movie teaches more on Chinese culture such as parties, weddings, funerals and

festivities, they also Learning Chinese emotions – how Chinese people react when they are angry, sad, excited, confused etc. Whereas on the other hand, those who don't watch Chinese movies claim that China's culture is difficult to understand and hardly are there movies on English subtitle, that Chinese movies centers mostly on tradition thereby promoting their culture, and this they say is unjust to them.

CHAPTER FIVE

GENERAL CONCLUSION

5.1 SUMMARY

China has deepened its engagement with many countries, including the developing ones in Africa. The pace of engagement in Africa is such that China has displaced Western nations that traditionally regard the continent as their sphere of influence through attractive economic packages in the area of trade, investments, and finance. In essence, while the Western nations secured a foothold in Africa through military campaigns leading to colonization - i.e. through hard power – China, in its case, is penetrating Africa through ‘soft power’. The study therefore, attempts on interrogation of the extent of China’s foray in Nigeria.

In the introductory part of chapter one, the research talked on Nigeria’s first contact with China which was in 1960 when a Chinese delegation, on the invitation of the Nigerian government, attended Nigeria’s independence celebrations. But official diplomatic ties between both countries were established in February, 1971. Since then relations between both countries have been soaring into great heights through cooperation in fields such as trade, investments, health, education, military, etc. The study provided possible panaceas to the problem, which involve around the objectives, including:

identifying the dimensions of China's soft power in Nigeria; ascertaining the effects of China's soft power in Nigeria; and highlighting how Nigeria have leverage the soft power exerted within its milieu by China.

The method adopted in this research was both quantitative and qualitative method which took forms of simple percentage in calculating the aggregate responses to questions posed in the questionnaire, and secondary data was analyzed through the rigor of logic and examination the light of empirical primary data.

In the second chapter, the work delved on review on existing literature, conceptual discourse on power and soft power, and used dependency theory to show that the amiable and heart satisfying description by the Chinese government does not tally with the reality on ground towards Nigeria – therefore discussing how Nigeria's relations with China is lopsided, and how the terms of trade for Nigeria relative to China had deteriorated overtime because of the exploitative nature of the relationship between the two worlds.

The third chapter centered on the various dimensions of China's soft power in Nigeria. It delved on Chinese infrastructure projects in Nigeria, China's trade relation with Nigeria, China's restaurants in Nigeria, and establishment of Confucius institutes in Nigeria.

The fourth chapter of the study involves data presented and analyzed from questionnaires distributed during the research. In conclusion note in chapter five

of my work, I made recommendations on how Nigeria can leverage itself from Sino-imperialism. For clarity sake, the work is compartmentalized into five sections: Introduction, literature review and theoretical framework, dimensions of China's soft power in Nigeria, data presentation and analysis, and general conclusion.

5.2 CONCLUSION

Soft power approach is used because states are increasingly realizing that in this global information and high technological era, there are multiple ways of getting to one's objectives; and the success of a state in this era does not depend solely on the size of its army or the victories it records but is connected to a lot of variables including whose habit is appealing and who respects and is fair towards others. China seems to have understood this quite well and is busy using its soft power to attract Nigeria, putting on a saint-like comportment, giving little interest, and supporting Nigeria's-led efforts to sustainability. Let us therefore have our eyes fixed on this new relationship and see what becomes of it's positive and negative effects.

Since 2004, there have been at least 40 official development projects financed by China in Nigeria, including a \$2.5billion loan for the Nigerian rail, power, and telecommunications projects; also, China has established Confucius Institutes in two of Nigeria's University, precisely at Nnamdi Azikiwe University, and University of Lagos Nigeria, where Chinese experts are teaching

Chinese, promoting China's culture, and facilitating China's business activities to Nigerians who are interested in learning China's life and culture.

Also, in the '70s, Chinese investors started investing in Nigeria. This encouraged massive number of Chinese indigenes into the country which sort for the establishment of Chinese restaurants in Nigeria, in other to meet the needs of these Chinese individuals in the country. Today in Nigeria, there are about 28 recognized Chinese restaurants occupying four geographical areas in Nigeria, which are meeting both the needs of Chinese individuals in Nigeria, and Nigerians who enjoy eating Chinese meals.

On the negative effect, it is true that Nigeria has become an important source of oil and petroleum for China's fast growing economy while simultaneously looking to China for assistance in achieving higher economic growth. Unfortunately, this evolving Nigeria-China economic partnership provides most Nigerians with reason for hopefulness on China's continuous expansion on their economy, making both nations economy equal. But little do they know that since their relationship with China evolved, hardly will it metamorphose to a symmetric relation because; China as the second largest economy in the world today might not appear to be as rigid as the West in exploiting a nation, but it is indirectly over exploiting Nigeria than the West, but this time, using attraction rather than coercion. China is over exploiting Nigeria's resources and exporting to them substandard goods, therefore adding more to number of conquered

nations through soft power, gaining more fame and recognition to match its aspiration of becoming the world's leading economic power.

It is hence possible that China's interest in Nigeria is just like every other country's interest in the past. The only difference is that while China appears to be transparent about why they are investing, other countries who have invested in Nigeria came across as agents of change while in reality they were draining Nigerian resources and acting solely on their own interest and not of the Nigerian people. Despite all the concerns expressed by certain constituencies within Nigeria, however, it seems most Nigerians don't acknowledge that China's growing presence is developing Nigeria's economy.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the issue raised in the research work, recommendations will be derived from data analyzed in the questionnaires distributed to the sampled populated students from Igbinedion University, Okada. Therefore, the following are ways on how Nigeria can leverage the soft power exerted within its milieu by China.

Nigerians have not fully capitalized on potential benefits from China's economy. Far more needs to be done to expand policy creation, institution building, human capital, entrepreneurship, skill acquisition and leadership capabilities to maximize gains. Most importantly, Nigeria needs to develop a comprehensive strategy to more effectively balance the engagement of China to

leverage its own strength and create a plan for sustainable development that resonates with its citizens.

Nigeria's first priority lies in developing the capacity to better manage its own policies toward China's engagement. Nigeria needs to realize that China's engagement gives it a unique opportunity to significantly expand its development and articulate a comprehensive strategy that addresses its long-term needs. Therefore, Nigerians should learn from the successes and failures of other states' relations with China and their policies toward development, while also learning from their own experiences. Nigeria should undertake a thorough review to investigate what policies have been beneficial for Nigeria's long-term development and what areas need improvement. Nigeria should also more closely examine the United States' relationship with China and replicate successful policies. The United States has a long history of trade disputes with China, challenging it in such multilateral institutions as the World Trade Organization. Nigeria appeared successful in its ability to confront China when it was being inundated with inferior goods by threatening a WTO complaint. Whether they learned anything from the United States experience is unclear, but Nigerians could certainly tap into the vast array of Western expertise on how to better manage a difficult economic relationship and how to protect important sectors of the economy against foreign competition.

Greater emphasis should be placed on building human capital and overcoming language and cultural barriers to facilitate the transfer of business knowledge and technology to a wider array of the Nigerian population. Exchanges between Chinese and Nigerian businessmen in the manufacturing sector seem to be a first step, but Nigerian businessmen need to develop the capacity to become leading entrepreneurs independent of the Chinese. World class business schools and public administration institutes focusing on building competences, leadership skills, and values need to be more greatly supported in Nigeria.

Advances in entrepreneurial skills need to be accompanied by similar advances in building a culture of leadership that is not only concerned about enriching themselves but about enriching their country as well. The fact that Nigerian businessmen have been accused of ordering the same inferior products that Nigerian citizens have complained about demonstrates that stronger values are needed. Nigeria needs business leaders who are willing to press for reform and advocate the added value of transparent business practices. The limited success of the Lagos Business School in its passionate emphasis on business ethics shows the possibilities for considerable support of such initiatives.

Nigeria has to use the window for negotiation in the bilateral trade agreement so as to be able to impose tariffs for the protection of the dying domestic production. Effective border patrol must be encouraged so as to checkmate the importation of substandard goods into the country.

Nigeria is in dire need of investment not trade. This will translate into job creation for the teeming unemployed population and consequently poverty eradication.

One of the most critical elements in institution building is support for civil society organizations and social enterprises that enable the emergence of market institutions, transparent and accountable governance, and budget-monitoring mechanisms. Nigerian civil society organizations should press the Nigerian government to make their processes more transparent and to join such programs as the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI). This will enable as its administration remains honest, combats and not engages in corruption, and places the interests of the country and its people first.

Hopefully, as long as education takes center stage, the issue of corruption may begin to be solved, enabling Nigeria to eventually have the upper hand in business, much as China does at the moment, which could enable them to bargain for their precious resources.

Nigeria may need to propose a more pragmatic framework that provides markets for her exports to China. In essence, the trade relationship between China and Nigeria should be symbiotic rather than being lopsided. Expectedly, based on the nature of endowed resources, Nigeria have comparative advantages in the production of some goods and services and thus she should facilitate and design a more proactive bilateral agreements

with China, among others, where such products can be optimally traded and utilized.

There is need for Nigeria to lessen her import dependence from China. It is pertinent to note that before the emergence of oil, agriculture was booming as Nigeria's source of livelihood. If Nigeria can diversify in her economy and also encourage the establishment of small scale and medium scale enterprise, Nigeria's economy will become competitive with those external countries.

Lastly, in order to meet all of these important needs, Nigerians should utilize their own talent by pooling together leading officials, scholars, businessmen, and civil society representatives to form a committee dedicated to prescribing ideas on how to optimize Western and Chinese engagement. At the same time, an inter-ministerial implementation committee drawn from the ministries of foreign affairs, industry, trade, agriculture, and investment promotion, should be set up to reduce all the protocols, using a critical path analysis of action plans, with civil society as monitors. On specific "accelerator" infrastructure interventions, like energy and transport, a project team with people seconded from the private sector, diaspora experts, and key government technocrats will be required to drive some key timelines.

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APPENDIX

Instruction; please kindly tick in the box space provided

INTRODUCTION

This questionnaire is to aid the assessment of China's soft power in Nigeria amongst the students of Igbinedion University, Okada.

BIODATA

Department: _____

Gender: _____

Age: _____

1. Have you ever visited China? Yes [], No []

2. If yes, please state the purpose of your visitation

3. Do you eat Chinese food? Yes [] No []

4. What will you say about Chinese food? _____

5. Do you use Chinese products? Yes [] No []

6. What are your reasons for your answer? _____

7. How will you rate Chinese products to your local product?

8. Do you watch Chinese movies? Yes [] No []

9. Please state reasons _____

10. Is Nigeria benefiting more from China's economy? Yes [] No []

11. Please state reasons _____

12. Is it possible for Nigeria to meet up to China's economy? Yes [] No []

13. Please state reasons _____

14. Have China attracted her soft power in Nigeria? Yes [] No []

15. Please state reasons if yes or no _____