The Rationale For Nigeria's Peacekeeping Missions: An Appraisal

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Abstract: *This paper entitled "The Rationale for Nigeria's Peacekeeping Missions: An Appraisal" is aimed at ascertaining the rationale behind Nigeria's unwavering commitment to peacekeeping missions. This focus of the paper is predicated on the popular assumption that nations' involvement in peacekeeping is often intertwined with other motives and self interest, notwithstanding the sacrifice of enormous human and material resources associated with peace missions. The study is guided by a hypothesis and a research question. The survey method was employed using the questionnaire and semi structured interview (SSI) as data collection instruments. The population of the study consists of policy makers and image managers in relevant agencies of the federal government of Nigeria from which a sample size of 265 is drawn. The data were analyzed using various statistical tools and computer-based applications to validate and authenticate the research output. Findings show that Nigeria's involvement in peacekeeping missions is not motivated by rational reasons, but by sentiments, egoism and quest for showmanship. The study concludes that embarking on irrationally motivated peacekeeping missions is tantamount to monumental wastage of precious and scarce material and human resources of the nation. It thus recommends that genuine citizen and national interest should constitute the sole raison d'être for peacekeeping missions.*
Keywords: *Public relations, Peacekeeping mission, rationale and Nigeria.*

I. INTRODUCTION

The United Nations is not a state in its own right and both its capabilities and their deployment come from member states. Thus, although the international system has properties and dynamics of its own, the decision to participate in peacekeeping is the discretion of individual states in the international community. These States have their preferences and choose to participate in peacekeeping missions on the basis of a number or combination of motives. This means that individual nations make their decisions about where, when and how to send their military personnel for peacekeeping.

The Nigerian State is not an exception. There is no doubt that Nigeria has sacrificed a lot in terms of money, human lives and time through the instrumentality of peacekeeping missions so that peace, security and order will reign in troubled African countries and other conflict areas in the world. According to Al-Hassan (2008), in an official statement just before independence, precisely on August 20, 1960, the Prime Minister, Tafawa Balewa at the Federal House of Assembly stated that Nigeria was adopting clear and practical policies with regard to Africa. As such, it will be the country's aim to assist any country in finding solution to its problems. Thus, given this national commitment, Nigeria has relentlessly been performing the role of the "big brother" in Africa and this role includes promoting Peace and Security in conflict areas in Africa and other parts of the world. To underscore this national commitment, Nigeria dispatched her troops to participate in United Nations (UN) Peacekeeping Mission in Congo a few days after the country's independence in 1960 and barely a year after the country's independence, it played a key role that led to the suspension of South Africa from commonwealth of nations on account of its apartheid regime (Al-Hassan, 2008). Thus, the nation's giant strides in supporting international peacekeeping continue till date, but with mixed feelings from scholars and the citizenry.

Analysts and scholars have generally been critical of Nigeria's continuous participation in peacekeeping missions. Osadolor (2009) for example questioned the strategic interest of the nation in such missions other than the selfish agenda of the Nigerian leaders. Similarly, Angel (2010) decried the low returns on Nigeria's investment in peacekeeping. The criticisms leveled at the country's deep commitment to peace missions is not unconnected with the belief that nations' participation in peace keeping missions is driven by underlying motives that serve the interest of the nations. However, these motives vary from nation to nation according to their peculiarities and needs. A critical examination of the motivations that have been suggested by a number of scholars as explaining peacekeeping contribution indicates that many explanations have severe limitations while some are exclusive of others and therefore generalizations are difficult. Given the foregoing, a foray into the rationale for Nigeria's unflinching participation in peacekeeping is imperative considering the fact that peace missions involve enormous sacrifices of men, money and materials of participating nations. Hence,

this paper seeks to ascertain the reasons that propel Nigeria's key and regular participation in International peacekeeping missions, despite her own insecurity challenges at home. Interestingly, some of the states especially African countries that deploy contingents for peacekeeping missions can hardly protect their territorial integrity. Thus, deploying forces for peacekeeping for some states means the reduction in their ability to protect their home land which is the primary concern of states.

Several studies have been carried out concerning what motives drive individual nations to participate in peacekeeping in sovereign states. In 1996, Jakkie Cilliers and Mark Malan of Institute for Defense Policy, South Africa undertook an extensive study of the motive for nations involvement in peacekeeping .The study which is encompassed in the work entitled, "Regional Peacekeeping Role for South Africa: Pressures, Problems and Prognosis" showed that there are several motivations for countries' participation in peacekeeping missions. The study found that nations' participation in peacekeeping was often a demonstration of "good international citizenship." However, the study indicated that from 1980s to date the old order of consideration of mere altruism is on the wane while rational considerations of national prestige and self interest are dominant motivations for nations' participation in peacekeeping missions. Furthermore, the study found that peacekeeping can drive national prestige and influence. According to the authors, similar to Japan, Germany, Brazil, India and Indonesia, South Africa's aspiration for a permanent seat in the expanded   United Nations Security Council depends on a demonstration of a firm commitment to international peace and security through the instrumentality of peacekeeping.

One of the reasons adduced Jakkie Cilliers and Mark Malan (1996) for nations' involvement in peacekeeping according to the study is public opinion. Peacekeeping is the epitome of international morality. This means that humanitarian tragedies such as the one experienced in Rwanda, Somalia and Burundi could trigger pressure on governments from their respective citizens to intervene through peacekeeping to avert genocide. The study however found that from the onset of South Africa's independence, public opinion was not a significant consideration in peacekeeping policy of the country. This was because the government at that time was more concerned with the challenges of transition such as internal conflicts. However in 1995, a nationwide opinion poll conducted by Human Science Research Council and the Institute for Defense Policy favoured (i.e. two third of the sample size) South Africa's establishment of a peacekeeping force that could be utilized externally to help other countries maintain peace. The study showed that majority of the respondents (i.e. ANC 72% the PAC 71% and the NKATHA Freedom Party 69%) favoured the establishment of a peacekeeping force. The study indicated that such gesture will reciprocate the goodwill and solidarity of international community which was instrumental to the country's liberation (1996: 3).

The authors also identified other reasons such as fear of regional hegemony as in the case of the three Baltic States namely Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania who live under the shadow of Russia. This means that their participation according to the study serves as a down payment for the day when they themselves will need assistance of the international community when Russia tries to reassert itself in the region. The study also observed that some nations particularly Argentina and Nigeria participate in peacekeeping as a means of keeping the armed forces gainfully occupied rather than contemplating military intervention in domestic political affairs as well as a means of improving the professionalism of the force and also respect for civilian authority which is often lacking. The study could not establish the relevance of this motivation in the case study namely South Africa but argued that the inherent distrust between the political leadership and the top brass of the armed forces dominated by the white minority in that country make the above a likely motive for involvement in future peacekeeping missions. According to the study, another reason often listed by United Nations officials when commenting on African participation in United Nations peacekeeping operations is the desire to profit from the re-imbursement of costs for troop contributions. Poor African countries profit from such participations and the troops receive remuneration well above their normal packages at home on a regular basis.

Similarly, Vincenzo Bove and Leandro Elia undertook a study in 2010 titled, "Supply side peacekeeping: Theories and New evidence from a panel data analysis". The authors observed that although, moral imperatives are generally recognized as the crucial consideration for nations' involvement in peacekeeping, the imperatives of self interest and geo-strategic factors are dominant motives. Specifically, Bove and Elia (2010) stated that "individual nations make their decision about where, when and how to send their military personnel as well as the justifications on which they base their involvement in sovereign States. Moral imperatives for peacekeeping maybe universally accepted but a country's decision to participate is also based on self interest combined with the geo-strategic dimension." The desire to make peace is thus intertwined with other motives. This means that nations usually do not get involved in peacekeeping blindly without definitive self interest since peacekeeping mission involve the sacrifice of enormous human and material resources. The authors accordingly identified a number of motives that necessitate nations' involvement in peacekeeping.

The first of the motives noted is domestic dynamics. These include public pressure resulting from humanitarian tragedies caused by civil wars. In this case, public opinion and media pressure urge national governments to intervene for purely humanitarian altruistic reasons to avert further killings and human

sufferings. The physiological effect of the media coverage of civil war encourages leaders to want to be seen as being responsive to human tragedy. Similarly, a public that feels insecure and has a perception of international security threats is likely to support demanding international operations. The authors, in this vein, argued that United States of America intervened in Afghanistan in 2001 to protect the most vital of United States' interests namely the security of the people and homeland. Thus, the United States intervened with overwhelming force with the intent to topple the ruling government. This event, according to Agbyoko (2010) "highlights a basic principle in the intervention dynamics: in the presence of a clear threat to national interests, there is no lack of political will and the deployments are rapid and powerful." This means that nations participate in peacekeeping missions to circumvent threats to their national interests. The authors, however, observed that wealthier nations have a greater sensitivity to the higher value of life hence they prefer peacekeeping missions with lower casualties. This perhaps explains the unexpected withdrawal of United States from Somalia in 1994. In advanced democracies according to Freeman (2007) intervening countries have to demonstrate to their domestic populations that their military efforts are worthwhile, successful and at a tolerable cost. The authors also observed that for less democratic countries that have experienced military involvement in national politics, peacekeeping can be a stratagem to insulate domestic politics from military interference by dividing armed forces from the domestic to the international arena. Valazquez (2002) cited by Bove and Elia (2010) called this strategy "diversionary peace".

The second reason adduced is technical factors. According to the study, technical factors such as the number of national armed forces personnel, the military expenditure per capita, the mission costs and reimbursements, the participation in multiple missions are significant considerations regarding decisions concerning involvements in peacekeeping missions by nations. Some smaller nations do not have contingents that satisfy minimum United Nations standards for deployment. The study quoting Centre on International Co operations (2009) revealed that, "only 62 United Nations member states - roughly 40% of the total- maintain forces ready for intensive missions". The study also pointed out that financial costs limit the number of troops that a nation can deploy for peacekeeping. Developing countries including Nigeria are also motivated to contribute troops to peacekeeping by financial benefits. According to the authors, the cost of United nations peacekeeping include the compensation for troop contribution at a rate of US$ 1,028 per month per troop, the repayment for use of provider's own equipment and clothing (US$68) the repayment for personnel weaponry (US$5), a supplementary pay for specialists (US$303) and disability cost. Similarly, Findlay (1996) agrees that some poor countries do make a profit on peacekeeping. The study is however concerned that well equipped and well trained troops from the western nations are less inclined to participate in peacekeeping missions in the developing countries. The authors observe that regions such as Africa with huge demand for peacekeeping have a low quality provision of troops.

Writing on International Component as one of the motives for embarking on peace missions, Bove and Elia (2010) observe that a vague commitment to international security is not a sufficient motivation for nations' involvement in Peacekeeping. Rather, troop contribution to peacekeeping is strictly linked with the level of ambition of countries and regional organizations. Evidently, the desire of nations to establish and assert a role in international security matters is a critical motivation. Peacekeeping is part of a strategy that fosters the integration and increases the state recognition into international and regional organizations.

According to security study conducted by the Austrian Ministry of Defense in 2006 and cited by Bove and Elia (2010:13) the level of ambition (and therefore the maximum military contribution) to international position of a state in terms of geography, prestige and involvement in international organizations influence nations decisions concerning whether to participate in peacekeeping mission or not. The authors pointed out that Canada, Scandinavia and other members of the traditional peacekeeping force consider participation as a way to enhance international respect, prestige and relevance and also as a pre requisite for middle power status in the United Nations (i.e international actors worthy of respect) whereas Brazil, Nigeria and South Africa may link their participation to the desire to be perceived as regional leaders and as candidates for a permanent seat in the Security Council, China, although a non democratic nation in the Security Council, wants to project the image of a responsible country committed to advancing the United Nations mandate through the instrumentality of peacekeeping. Germany, Japan and South Korea perceive involvement in peacekeeping as part of their coming out as normal countries that possess regional and military clout. Furthermore, the study observed that governments that emerge from the authority of unorthodox powers such as those formerly under military regimes participate in peacekeeping to signal the end of an internationally outcaste governments and the beginning of a new era of foreign policy.

The authors also observed that peacekeeping enhance national prestige and that peacekeeping countries are not expected to stimulate, even indirectly, the global arms race to avoid conflict of interest. Interestingly, the study found that seventeen out of the thirty top peacekeeping contributing countries in the last decade are also the largest exporters of arms. These countries include United State of America, France, United Kingdom, China, Germany, Italy, Canada etc. Invariably, nations whose international prestige is anchored in contributions to

peacekeeping are the main suppliers of conventional weapons in the world. This correlation contradicts their claim to commitment to the international security and casts doubts on their sincerity of purpose and altruism.

Similarly, when a conflict constitutes a threat to global stability, security concerns will engender transnational interventions. These interventions are meant to avert spill over of the conflict into surrounding areas. Countries that share geographical affinities with the nation in conflict expect to gain from cessation of the hostilities. Thus, neighboring countries are often driven by their own national security imperative to participate in such peacekeeping missions to forestall probable instability with its associated ills. However, peacekeepers do not just deploy within their region of origin or its immediate neighborhood. According to the study, there are several exceptions including the European forces under North American Treaty Organisation (NATO), the Asian forces under United Nations command and East African troops in the West African operations. However, the study found that their presence and influence in the conflict areas drive involvement in peacekeeping. There are many areas in the world including Africa that are considered strategically interesting and are becoming more central in ways that transcend altruistic motivations. In Africa for example we observe a growing engagement of China, India and Russia, all keen to tap into the natural resources. Indeed the continent has taken on increased relevance to the extent that its affairs affect not only the energy security stakes but also immigration policies and international terrorism (Bove and Elia, 2010).

The above underscores the fact that nations get involved in peacekeeping mission for definite benefits that promote their strategic interest. The authors interestingly used scientific tools to empirically investigate nation's involvement in peacekeeping. The empirical paper used a range of models and estimators and concluded that many motivations interact to produce a regular peacekeeping contribution by a diverse pool of participants. The study concluded that nations involved in peacekeeping have variety of aims and the stated goals may be a mere rhetoric of intervention. It is therefore difficult to determine the actual objectives of the intervening governments. However, empirical results of the work indicate that at the domestic level, technical forces such as the sustainability of multiple missions and military capabilities all play significant role. At international level, different factors interact to influence the decision namely the security threat that a conflict poses and the number of displaced people. Quantifiable motivations such as military capabilities and "real politik" calculations also play crucial role in the decision making process concerning participation in peacekeeping. Similarly, a crucial role is unquestionably played by a number of immeasurable elements such as the state's national security culture, its capability for action that in turn is propelled by the domestic public opinion and political decision making process. Peacekeeping involvement is also influenced by a sense of identity towards some regional organizations.

In a similar vein, Carin Rehncrona in 2008 carried out an extensive empirical study titled "UN Peacekeeping Operations and Economic growth: A study of UN peacekeeping since 1948". The aim of the study was to explore the relationship between peacekeeping operations and economic growth. The study examined the countries in which past United Nations Peacekeeping operations have been undertaken and calculated the growth rate before, after and during each operation. Comparisons of the growth rates were made to show how the operation had affected the economic growth in the country. It also dealt with ways a Peacekeeping operation could affect economic growth of hosting nations such as creating a more stable environment and prospects of peace which in turn makes the country more attractive to investment.

The author used empirical methods to calculate the average annual real GDP growth during the three year period before the mission and compared it with the growth rate during the mission to see the direct effect of the mission. It also compared the annual average real GDP growth during the three year period after the mission to explore the long term effects. The study found that peacekeeping operations do not damage the growth of host nations but rather promote the growth of their economies as the results showed an increase in majority of the cases. The empirical work concluded that peacekeeping operations impact positively on the economic growth of host nations both in the short and long terms as in addition to promoting a stable and conducive environment for investment, they lead to more job openings for the community.

From the foregoing, it could be deduced that the empirical reasons given by scholars for the involvement of nations in peacekeeping missions are varied, but are not focused specifically on the Nigerian State which has no doubt sacrificed a lot in terms of money, human lives and time through the instrumentality of peacekeeping missions so that peace, security and order will reign in troubled African countries and other conflict areas in the world. This academic gap is what this study hopes to fill.

II.   METHODOLOGY

This study employed essentially the survey method involving a two pronged approach of a questionnaire and semi structured interview as instruments. The population of the study consisted of 400 professional image managers in key agencies of the Federal Government of Nigeria concerned with peacekeeping missions and national image management as well as 27 members of management committees of relevant professional institutes totaling 427. Out of the above population, 265 respondents were selected as the

sample size using mixed sampling to represent the professional image managers' category and administered with questionnaire. This represents 66.3% of the target population which is considered reasonably representative. 191 respondents returned their questionnaires representing 72% return rate. This means that the researcher lost about 28% of the questionnaire. This, although regrettable is understood in view of the itinerant nature of the work of the respondents.

Additionally, 21 members of management committees of relevant professional institutes out of 27 were interviewed (i.e. 78% of the population). This brings the total number of respondents to 212. This figure is considered fairly high enough coming from such diversified representation and also considering the technical competence of the respondents. Consequently, the data generated from the respondents are deemed an objective assessment of the target population concerning the study and a rational basis for anchoring the findings of the researcher.

OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY
The specific objective of the study is to ascertain the rationale for Nigeria's peacekeeping missions.
RESEARCH QUESTIONS
In order to achieve the above objective, the study attempts to answer the following Research question: What is the rationale for Nigeria's peacekeeping missions?
RESEARCH HYPOTHESIS
The study will test the following null hypothesis: Nigeria's peacekeeping missions are not significantly motivated by rational reasons.

III.   DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS
Data Presentation from the Questionnaire
Demography of Respondents

Table 1: Occupational Distribution

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Public Service	Nil	**0**
International Relations	Nil	**0**
Public Relations (Communication)	191	**100**
Total	**191**	**100**

Source: Field Survey 2012

From the ministries sampled, the study is skewed in favour of respondents in the communication arm of the organizations. Thus all the respondents (191 i.e. 100%) indicated communication as their field. This is expected because Public Relations Practitioners in the service of the target agencies of the Federal Government of Nigeria were actually the nexus of the study.

Consequently, the researcher purposively excluded Officers in these organizations whose schedules of duty were not communication or Public relations based. Thus, whether in the Federal Ministry of Defense, Foreign Affairs or Information, the criterion for inclusion in the respondents' categories was work schedule relevant to the practice of image promotion. Thus in accordance with the focus of the study, Professional communication practitioners constituted the core components of the sample. As expected, this strategy generated authoritative, accurate and reliable data from core professionals which deepened the study's findings and strengthened its conclusions.

Table 2: Cadre Distribution of Respondents

Cadre	Frequency	Percentages
G.L 13-16	170	89 %
G.L 08-12	21	11%
Total	191	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2012.

The above table shows that 21 respondents (i.e. 11%) out of 191 came from Grade Level 08-12 category while majority of the respondents (i.e. 170 representing 89%) were drawn from grade level 13-16 (i.e. top management category), who are the makers and drivers of policies in these organization.

Table 3: Geographical Distribution of Respondents

Zone	Frequency	Percentages
North-Central	29	15%
North-West	25	13%
North-East	26	14%
South-East	27	14%
South-South	21	11%
South-West	19	10%
F.C.T. Abuja	44	23%
Total	191	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2012.

The above table indicates that out of 191 respondents, 29, 25,26 and 27 were drawn from North Central, North West, North East and South East respectively. 21, 19 and 44 others are drawn from South-South, South-West and the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja respectively. This means that the data of the study emanated from all the major sections of the country making the data diversified and fairly representative.

Research Question: What is the rationale for Nigeria's peacekeeping missions?

Table 4: Nigeria's Commitment to International Peacekeeping Obligations

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	178	93.2
No	13	6.8
Total	191	100

Source: Field Survey, 2012.

The above table shows that 178 respondents out of 191 representing 93.2% said Nigeria has been sufficiently committed to her international obligations while 13 representing (i.e, 6.8%) disagreed. This means that majority of the respondents sampled are of the view that Nigeria has demonstrated adequate commitment to her international obligations. This position reinforces the opinion of scholars and experts including Akinyemi (1989), Abutudu (1988), Aliede (2010), Malu (2009) etc. In fact, according to Abubakar (2009) Nigeria is currently the fourth largest contributor to 40 United Nations peace support operations and has lost over 2000 men and women and expended 10 billion dollars from 1960 to 2010. As a former ECOMOG Commander, Chief of Army Staff and later Head of State   his statement concerning Nigeria's commitment to International peacekeeping lends weight and also strengthen the position of our respondents on the issue.

Table 5: Whether Nigeria's Motives in Peacekeeping Mission are Rational

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Agree	61	**32**
Disagree	130	**68**
Total	**191**	**100**

Source: Field Survey, 2012.

The above table captures the reactions of the respondents concerning whether Nigeria's involvement in peacekeeping missions is actually motivated by rational reasons. The result of the effort shows that 130 respondents representing 68% answered in the negative while 61 respondents representing 32% answered in the affirmative. This means that majority of the respondents believe that Nigeria's involvement in peacekeeping missions is not motivated by rational reasons.

This revelation, interestingly, contradicts the usual practice in international relations where most nations engage in international aids and peacekeeping largely to advance their citizens' interest and national image.

Table 6: Whether Nigeria's Involvement in Peacekeeping Missions is to Advance the Nation's interest in the Troubled Countries

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Agree	28	**14.7**
Disagree	163	**85.3**
Total	**191**	**100**

Source: Field Survey, 2012.

The above data directly addressed the issue of national interest as a motive for Nigeria's involvement in peacekeeping missions. The reactions of the respondents are as follow: 28 respondents (i.e. 14.7%) agreed with the statement while 163 (i.e. 85.3%) disagreed.

This implies that majority of the respondents are of the opinion that Nigeria's participation in peacekeeping missions are not motivated by a desire to advance the nation's interests in the troubled countries. Invariably, majority of these respondents believe that there are other reasons that lead Nigerian Governments to dissipate the scarce national resources to foster peace and security in the troubled nations through the instrumentality of peacekeeping. Incidentally, some experts and scholars consulted in course of the research work affirmed this position and lamented that Nigerian leaders over the years including former President Babangida approved peacekeeping missions to Liberia, for example, for personal reasons.

Table 7: Whether Nigeria's Involvement in Peacekeeping is for Showmanship and to Boost the Ego of Nigerian Leaders

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly agree	101	**53.9**
Agree	30	**16**
Disagree	NIL	**1**
Strongly disagree	60	**34**
Total	**191**	**100**

Source: Field Survey, 2012.

The data above show that 101 respondents (i.e. 53%) strongly agreed that Nigeria's involvement in peacekeeping missions are motivated by the desire of Nigerian leaders to show off to African countries and the world that Nigeria is rich, has enormous artillery power, huge army etc. and to also gratify the personal ego of sitting Presidents or Heads of State.

Similarly, 30 respondents (i.e. 16%) merely agreed with the statement while 60 respondents strongly disagreed. In other words, 60 respondents (i.e. 31%) strongly disagreed with the statement and perhaps believe that Nigerian leaders authorize peacekeeping missions for better reasons. However, the preponderance of opinions of the respondents favour the position that Nigerian leaders participate in peacekeeping missions for showmanship and egoistic reasons. Interestingly, the position of the respondents tally with some expert opinions reviewed in the course of the study.

Table 8: If Nigeria's Peacekeeping Operations are Motivated by 'Big Brotherly' Considerations

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	172	90.1
No	18	9.4
No response	1	0.5
Total	191	100

Source: Field Survey, 2012.

The above frequency table indicates that 172 respondents (i.e. 90.1%) said Nigeria's peacekeeping operations are largely motivated by consideration of its role as the 'big brother' on the continent. Eighteen (18) respondents (i.e. 9.4%) did not agree with that position implying that they believe that there are perhaps better and more rational reasons for Nigeria's efforts in peacekeeping Operations. One (1) respondent representing 0.5% did not answer the question indicating non commitment on the issue.

However, the overall picture of the response pattern on the matter is that majority of the respondents (i.e. as high as 90.1%) believe that Nigeria's involvement in peacekeeping mission are driven largely by egoistic reasons especially the sentiments/ego of being the "big brother" on the African continent/West Africa.

Semi Structured Interview (SS1) Data Presentation and Discussion

Table 9: Profile of Interviewees

Variable	No. of interviewees	Position	Percentage
Nigerian Institute of International Affairs	5	Senior Research Fellows	24
Nigerian Institute of Public relations	16	Governing council members	76
Total	21		100

Source: Field Survey, 2012.

The table above shows that 5 interviewees of the status of senior research fellows were drawn from Nigerian Institute of International Affairs representing 24%. Similarly, even though 22 governing council members of Nigerian Institute of Public Relations were targeted, 16 were actually interviewed due to logistic

reasons and time constraints. The decision to interview these categories of professionals in the two critical organizations was deliberate and significant. This is because while the Research Fellows constitute the engine room for the incubation of ideas that drive Nigeria's foreign policies the council members of Nigerian Institute of Public relations make up the top management of the regulatory body for the professional practice of public relations in Nigeria.

Consequently, the interviewees are experienced professionals in their respective disciplines that have overwhelming bearing on the study. Thus, their views were not only authoritative and invaluable but also deepened and strengthened the findings, conclusion and recommendations of this study.

Table 10: Rationale for Nigeria's Continuous Involvement in Peacekeeping Missions

Statement	Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Do you think Nigeria has a sound rationale for its continuous involvement in peacekeeping missions?	Yes	21	100
	No	Nil	Nil
	I don't know	Nil	Nil
	Total	21	100

Source: Field survey, 2012.

The table above shows that all our interviewees agreed that Nigeria has good reasons for its continuous involvement in peacekeeping missions. This affirmed the position of some respondents to a related question in our questionnaire. It also confirmed the opinions of some scholars whose works were reviewed earlier.

Probed further, the interviewees especially those with international relations background emphasized that Nigeria's involvement in peacekeeping missions especially in the West African sub-region is for geo-strategic reasons. They revealed that compared to other nations in the sub-region, Nigeria is better endowed to promote peace, stability and development through the instrument of peacekeeping. These interventions are necessary to curb the negative multiplier effects of civil wars including the problems of refugees. According to another research fellow interviewed, the lessons of Nigerian civil war as well as newer challenges have taught Nigeria that it is better to be involved than to sit by the sidelines.

Discussion of Research Question/Hypothesis

In this section, the research question was answered and the hypothesis tested.

Research Question: What is the rationale for Nigeria's continuous involvement in peacekeeping missions?
The above research question seeks to ascertain the reasons or motives for Nigeria's continuous participation in peacekeeping missions in spite of the monumental cost of men, money and materials to the citizens. This research question is considered central to the paper. This is because nations, as rational actors in international politics, expectedly undertake actions, activities and policies not just for the fun of it but for clear and definitive national interest.

Our findings pertaining to the research question as contained in Tables 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 10 indicate that Nigeria's continuous involvement in peacekeeping missions over the years is motivated by altruistic sentiments of "The Big Brother on the Continent" and the so called "Giant of Africa" syndrome. The data captured in those tables also show other reasons such as fulfillment of international obligations, humanitarian considerations and geo-strategic interests of Nigeria particularly in the West African sub region.

However, as attractive as the argument of these experts seems, the preponderance of opinions captured in the data analyzed overwhelmingly indicate that Nigeria's continuous participation in peacekeeping missions is not motivated by rational considerations anchored in citizen centered and national interest. The data show that Nigerian leaders base the decision to deploy precious national resources of men, money and materials for peacekeeping on emotions, personal ego, personal relationships with warring leaders, fluid sentiments of "Big Brother and Giant of Africa", etc.

For example, another question inquired to know if Nigeria's involvement in peacekeeping missions is to advance the nation's interest in the troubled countries and their reactions showed that it was not so. Similarly, a question that sought to ascertain whether Nigeria's motives for participating in peacekeeping missions were rational, the reactions of the respondents were decisively negative implying that, in their opinions, Nigeria's motives for participating in peacekeeping missions are irrational.

It is instructive to note that, Nigeria has its numerous challenges including insecurity, unemployment, hunger, decaying infrastructure, etc. It is therefore expected that national resources would, as a matter of priority, be deployed to solving these critical problems before embarking on jamborees and sentimental gestures of "the Big Brother on the African Continent". After all," Charity" they say, "begins at home". Even the Holy

Book, the Bible, enjoins us to love others like ourselves which presupposes that we love ourselves first before others.

Consequently, the position of the data concerning the research question that the motives of Nigeria's continuous participation in peacekeeping missions are irrational only confirms the natural law of self-preservation and is therefore expected. It is not rational that Nigerian leaders continue to dissipate huge national resources on peacekeeping missions to advance their personal ego and relationships at the detriment of the collective national interest.

However, the data arising from semi-structured interview (SS1) shown in table 10 have preponderance of opinions of the interviewees in favour of the position that Nigeria's continuous involvement in peacekeeping missions particularly in Africa is a divine calling arising from its size, enormous and unequalled resources endowments and population. These data reinforce the stand point of especially military experts and scholars such as Agwai (2009: 154) and Malu (2009: 68) that Nigeria's intervention in the crises in the West African states of Liberia and Sierra Leone through the instrument of peacekeeping missions on the platform of ECOMOG was a national imperative driven by geo-strategic interests. This means that, perhaps the fear of possible influx of refugees from troubled or warring contiguous states into Nigeria with devastating consequences of instability as well as over stretching the already decaying infrastructures informed the decision to intervene via peacekeeping.

Furthermore, the absence of a national policy on peacekeeping could be one of the main reasons for the above situation. Table 10 arising from semi structured interview (SS1) and follow up questions confirmed this point. Obviously, it is within the purview of properly planned policies to provide reasons or objectives for actions as well as strategies for achieving such defined motives. Since Nigeria lacks such a crucial framework to guide decision making on the matter, the country's leaders depend on their whims and caprices, personal sentiments and outside influence to take such weighty decisions. In order to validate above conclusion, the study subjected the issue to statistical confirmation by testing the hypothesis.

Research Hypothesis: Nigeria's peacekeeping missions are not significantly motivated by rational reasons.
The above hypothesis was tested using the Chi-Square (i.e. X^2) tool. The choice of Chi-Square statistic to test the hypothesis was based on its usefulness in evaluating the probability of obtaining differences between the actual (observed) frequencies and the expected frequencies (Agburu 2007: 136).

Specifically, the Chi-Square goodness –of –fit statistic was employed in order to ascertain how the distribution of the data described the population of the study. Consequently, two items from the questionnaire were used. For example, the item which stated that "Would you say that Nigeria's peacekeeping operations are motivated by Big Brotherly consideration?" showed frequencies indicating that 172 respondents out of 191 (i.e. 90.1%) answered in the affirmative (i.e. yes) while only 18 respondents (i.e. 9.4%) said No to the question.
This result shows that Nigeria's peacekeeping operations are not motivated by rational reasons but by showmanship and fluid sentiments of "Big Brother on the Continent". This result aligns with the answer to the research question one which also concluded that Nigeria's involvement in peacekeeping missions is not motivated by rational reasons of citizens' and national interest. However, the result was subjected to empirical test using Chi-Square tool (X^2) and the result of the analysis is presented in table 60.a

Table 60.a Chi-Square goodness-of-fit test proving the statement that Nigeria's peacekeeping missions are not significantly motivated by rational reasons

X^2	X^2 (Critical)	Degree of Freedom(d.f)	Significance level(p)
124. 82	6.63	1	.01

Arising from the above, X^2 (d.f =1) = 124.82. P<.01. This means that the calculated Chi-Square which is 124.82 is far greater than the critical value of 6.63 (tabulated) i.e. checked against 1 degree of freedom at the 0.01alpha level of significance. Given the decision rule that when the calculated value is greater than the corresponding critical or table value checked against a common degree of freedom, the test of the hypothesis is significant. Accordingly, the null hypothesis was confirmed.

This response pattern shows that overall, 143 participants (i.e. 75%) agreed that Nigeria's peacekeeping missions are not significantly motivated by rational reasons. This finding was subjected to Chi-Square testing to ascertain its statistical significance. The result is presented below in 60.b.

Table 60.b: Chi-Square goodness-of-fit test showing that Nigeria's peacekeeping missions are not significantly motivated by rational reasons

X^2	X^2 (Critical)	Degree of Freedom(d.f)	Significance level(p)
115.32	13.30	4	.01

The above Chi-Square result from the above table confirms that Nigeria's peacekeeping missions are not significantly motivated by rational reasons. This is because X^2 (d.f = 4) = 115.32, P < .01. Consequently, the calculated value of X^2 which is 115.32 is greater than the critical value of 13.30 both at 4 degree freedom and significance level of 0.01.

IV. FINDINGS

- Nigeria has demonstrated adequate commitment to her international peacekeeping obligations (93.2% response).
- Nigeria's involvement in peacekeeping missions is not motivated by rational reasons (63% response).
- Nigeria's participation in peacekeeping missions are not motivated by a desire to advance the nation's interests in the troubled countries (85.3%).
- Nigerian leaders participate in peacekeeping missions for showmanship and egoistic reasons (53%).
- Nigeria's peacekeeping operations are largely motivated by consideration of its role as the 'big brother' on the continent (90.1%).
- Nigeria's involvement in peacekeeping missions especially in the West African sub-region is for geo-strategic reasons.

V. CONCLUSION

The findings confirm that Nigeria's peacekeeping missions are not significantly motivated by rational reasons. Rather, fluid, sentimental and trivial considerations of "Big Brotherly Syndrome" instead of rational motives of citizens' and national interest are the reasons for the monumental wastage of precious and scarce national resources via peacekeeping missions. The study concludes that embarking on irrationally motivated peacekeeping missions is tantamount to monumental wastage of precious and scarce material and human resources of the nation.

VI. RECOMMENDATIONS

The study recommends as follows:

1. Genuine citizen and national interest should constitute the sole raison d'être for peacekeeping missions. Nigeria should be more focused in the actual protection and promotion of her national interest in international affairs/engagements. Too often have Nigerian leaders compromised national interest in the course of their official actions for the sake of parochial and selfish gains.
2. The country's peacekeeping missions should be guided by a suitable and definitive policy framework with clearly stated objectives, strategies for implementation and evaluation measures.
3. Nigeria should establish a formidable and permanent institutional capacity which will serve as the engine-room for the management of the country's peacekeeping missions.
4. The process of troop selection, training and welfare should be more transparent, open and accountable. This is necessary to avert the current trend where incompetent and ill-trained officers find their ways into such missions on account of god- fatherism, corruption, ethnicity, favouritism etc. Specifically, merit, competence, discipline and professionalism should be sacrosanct in the selection process.

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