



Journal homepage: <https://ssarpublishers.com/ssarjms>  
Abbreviated Key Title: SSAR J Multidiscip. Stud  
ISSN: 3049-2041 (Online)  
Subject: Multidisciplinary Studies  
Volume 2, Issue1, (Jan-Feb) 2025, Page 01–09 (Total PP.09)  
Frequency: Bimonthly  
E-mail: [ssarpublishers@gmail.com](mailto:ssarpublishers@gmail.com)



## THE ROLE OF INDIA IN NIGERIA'S ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

By

Corresponding author: **Ikechukwu Emmanuel Uvere Ph.D**

Department of History and International Studies, Gregory University, Uturu,  
Abia State, Nigeria.

**Abstract:** India and Nigeria have shared a longstanding relationship rooted in historical connections, economic exchanges, and diplomatic engagements. Despite these ties, concerns persist regarding the nature and impact of India's involvement in Nigeria's development, particularly in terms of economic dependency and trade imbalances. This study examines India's role in Nigeria's economic and political landscape, focusing on trade relations, investment, technological collaboration, and governance.

Guided by the Dependency Theory and South-South Cooperation framework, the research explores the extent to which India's engagement has influenced Nigeria's industrial growth, human capital development, and governance structures. The study employs a qualitative approach, drawing on historical analysis, and policy reviews to assess India's contributions and their implications for Nigeria's long-term development.

Findings indicate that India has played a crucial role in Nigeria's industrialization and capacity building, fostering advancements in sectors such as manufacturing, telecommunications, and pharmaceuticals. However, concerns remain regarding trade imbalances, the dominance of Indian firms in key industries, and Nigeria's continued reliance on Indian expertise and products.

The study concludes that while India's engagement has been largely beneficial, Nigeria must adopt policies that ensure balanced trade, technological transfer, and sustainable industrial development. It recommends strengthening domestic industries, renegotiating trade agreements to address imbalances, and fostering policies that reduce dependency while maximizing the benefits of South-South cooperation. By doing so, Nigeria can leverage its partnership with India for more equitable and sustainable growth.

**Keywords:** Economic Development, Political Development, South-South Cooperation

### INTRODUCTION

India and Nigeria, both former British colonies, have maintained robust diplomatic relations since Nigeria's independence in 1960<sup>1</sup>. India and Nigeria, both former British colonies, have maintained strong diplomatic relations since Nigeria's independence in 1960 through sustained

political, economic, and cultural engagements. From the outset, India supported Nigeria's post-independence development by fostering bilateral cooperation in trade, education, and governance. Over the years, India has emerged as one of Nigeria's key economic partners, particularly in

sectors such as oil and gas, pharmaceuticals, and manufacturing. Indian companies have made significant investments in Nigeria, contributing to industrial growth and job creation.

Beyond economics, both countries have collaborated in diplomatic affairs, often supporting each other in international organizations such as the United Nations and the Commonwealth. India has also played a role in Nigeria's human capital development through scholarships, technical training, and capacity-building initiatives under programs like the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC). Additionally, the presence of a vibrant Indian community in Nigeria has further strengthened cultural and business ties.

Despite challenges such as trade imbalances and concerns over economic dependency, India and Nigeria continue to build on their historical ties, leveraging their partnership for mutual growth and development.

Over the decades, their bilateral relationship has expanded across multiple sectors, including trade, investment, education, and healthcare<sup>2</sup>. India has grown to become one of Nigeria's top economic partners, playing a significant role in the country's commercial landscape<sup>3</sup>. This partnership is reflected in trade volumes, foreign direct investment, and technological collaboration, particularly in industries such as pharmaceuticals, telecommunications, and manufacturing.

Beyond economic ties, India has also contributed to Nigeria's political development, particularly in diplomatic engagements, democratic institution-building, and capacity development<sup>4</sup>. India's experience as the world's largest democracy has served as a reference point for Nigeria's governance structures, while bilateral agreements have facilitated knowledge transfer in public administration and policy formulation.

Despite these positive developments, questions remain regarding the sustainability and equity of India's role in Nigeria's economic and political landscape. Concerns about trade imbalances, economic dependency, and the dominance of

Indian enterprises in key sectors necessitate a critical examination of this relationship.

This article explores India's influence on Nigeria's economic and political development, assessing whether these engagements have fostered long-term growth and governance stability. By analyzing trade relations, investment patterns, technological cooperation, and diplomatic interactions, the study seeks to determine the extent to which India's involvement has been mutually beneficial or has reinforced structural dependencies.

## Conceptual Clarifications

Understanding India's role in Nigeria's economic and political development requires a clear examination of three key concepts: economic development, political development, and South-South Cooperation (SSC). These concepts provide the necessary framework to assess the nature and impact of India's engagements with Nigeria.

## Economic Development

Economic development refers to sustained improvements in economic productivity, employment opportunities, and overall living standards<sup>5</sup>. Unlike economic growth, which primarily measures GDP increases, economic development encompasses broader transformations in industry, agriculture, and services that contribute to long-term social and economic welfare<sup>6</sup>. In the context of Nigeria-India relations, economic development is driven by trade, foreign direct investment (FDI), and technological transfer. India has become one of Nigeria's top trading partners, with the exchange largely centered on Nigeria's crude oil exports and India's supply of manufactured goods such as pharmaceuticals, machinery, and automobiles. While this trade relationship has boosted economic activities, concerns persist about trade imbalances, as Nigeria exports raw materials while importing finished goods.

Beyond trade, Indian investments in Nigeria have been instrumental in various sectors, including manufacturing, telecommunications, and pharmaceuticals. Companies such as Tata Group, Bharti Airtel, and Ranbaxy have contributed significantly to job creation and industrial

development. However, infrastructural challenges, policy inconsistencies, and bureaucratic obstacles have hindered the full realization of Indian FDI's potential in Nigeria. In addition, technological transfer has played a role in Nigeria's industrial progress, with Indian firms facilitating skills development and knowledge exchange. Many Nigerian professionals have benefited from Indian expertise in areas such as information technology, medicine, and agriculture. Despite this, some argue that actual technology transfer remains limited, as local industries continue to rely on foreign expertise without significant skill development for Nigerian workers.

## Political Development

Political development, on the other hand, involves the evolution of governance structures, democratic institutions, and political stability within a state<sup>7</sup>. India, as the world's largest democracy, has contributed to Nigeria's political development through capacity-building programs, electoral support, and diplomatic cooperation<sup>8</sup>. Through initiatives like the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) program, Nigerian government officials and policymakers have received training in public administration, financial management, and policy formulation. These programs enhance Nigeria's institutional capacity and governance effectiveness. India has also supported Nigeria's democratic processes by providing electoral management expertise. Lessons from India's electoral system, such as voter registration strategies and dispute resolution mechanisms, have influenced Nigeria's election practices. Additionally, diplomatic cooperation between both nations has been evident in their engagements within international organizations such as the United Nations, the Commonwealth, and the African Union. India has consistently supported Nigeria's efforts towards regional stability, peacekeeping missions, and democratic governance.

Despite these contributions, Nigeria still faces challenges such as corruption, weak institutions, and political instability. While India's experience offers valuable lessons, Nigeria's long-term political development ultimately depends on

internal reforms, governance strategies, and commitment to democratic principles.

## South-South Cooperation (SSC)

South-South Cooperation (SSC) serves as the overarching framework for collaboration between India and Nigeria. SSC is a model of partnership among developing nations, emphasizing economic exchange, technical assistance, and political solidarity<sup>9</sup>. Unlike traditional North-South partnerships that often involve donor-recipient relationships, SSC promotes mutual benefit and collective self-reliance<sup>10</sup>. The India-Nigeria relationship aligns with SSC principles in several ways. Economically, India engages with Nigeria not through aid, but through trade, investment, and technical cooperation. This fosters a more balanced partnership that supports Nigeria's industrialization and economic self-sufficiency. Furthermore, India has contributed to Nigeria's human capital development through scholarships, training programs, and technology transfer initiatives under SSC frameworks<sup>10</sup>.

Politically, India and Nigeria have maintained diplomatic solidarity, often supporting each other's positions in global forums. Both nations advocate for trade liberalization, climate change action, and reforms in international institutions such as the United Nations Security Council<sup>9</sup>. Another key principle of SSC is respect for national sovereignty, distinguishing it from Western aid models that impose political conditions on recipients. India's engagement with Nigeria is rooted in mutual respect, allowing Nigeria to maintain its political autonomy while benefiting from economic and diplomatic cooperation.

While SSC provides a more equitable model for international collaboration, its effectiveness depends on ensuring fair trade, balanced investments, and inclusive economic policies. To maximize the benefits of the India-Nigeria partnership, efforts must be made to address trade imbalances, encourage industrialization, and strengthen democratic institutions. Achieving these goals will not only enhance Nigeria's economic and political development but also

deepen the long-standing ties between the two nations.

## Theoretical Framework

To analyze India's role in Nigeria's economic and political development, two theoretical frameworks provide valuable insights: Dependency Theory and the South-South Cooperation (SSC) Framework. These perspectives help explain the dynamics of trade, investment, and diplomatic relations between the two nations.

## Dependency Theory

Dependency Theory argues that developing nations remain economically subordinate due to their reliance on industrialized economies and this theory emerged as a critique of modernization theory, which assumed that all nations could achieve economic prosperity through Western-style industrialization. Instead, dependency theorists contend that the global economic system is structured in a way that perpetuates the economic marginalization of developing countries, keeping them reliant on wealthier nations for trade, investment, and technology<sup>11</sup>.

Although India itself is a developing nation, its economic relationship with Nigeria exhibits characteristics of asymmetrical dependence<sup>12</sup>. Nigeria, as a resource-rich but industrially underdeveloped economy, exports crude oil to India while heavily relying on Indian manufactured goods such as pharmaceuticals, machinery, and processed food. This trade pattern reflects a classic dependency structure where raw materials are exchanged for finished products, limiting industrial growth in the exporting country.

Foreign direct investment (FDI) is another key area where dependency can be observed. Indian multinational companies, including Tata Group, Bharti Airtel, and Ranbaxy, have made significant investments in Nigeria's telecommunications, automobile, and pharmaceutical industries. While these investments generate employment and revenue, they often result in profits being repatriated to India, reducing Nigeria's capacity to build indigenous industries. Moreover, the reliance on Indian technical expertise and business

networks can sometimes limit the growth of local enterprises, reinforcing economic dependence rather than self-sufficiency.

From a political perspective, dependency theory suggests that developing nations may also rely on stronger economies for diplomatic and governance support. India's engagement in Nigeria's governance capacity-building programs and electoral management assistance, while beneficial, raises questions about whether Nigeria is shaping its political institutions based on external influence rather than domestic needs.

Despite these concerns, dependency is not absolute. Nigeria has the potential to renegotiate its economic terms with India by fostering domestic industrialization, encouraging joint ventures that prioritize local capacity-building, and implementing policies that ensure balanced trade relations.

## South-South Cooperation (SSC) Framework

In contrast to dependency theory, the South-South Cooperation (SSC) framework presents an alternative model where developing nations collaborate to advance their economic and political interests without relying on Western economies<sup>13</sup>. SSC promotes mutual benefit, emphasizing trade, investment, and technological exchange among developing countries. It operates on principles of shared growth, respect for sovereignty, and economic self-reliance, differentiating it from traditional North-South relations that often involve conditional aid and political influence.

India's engagement with Nigeria aligns with SSC principles in several ways. Unlike Western nations that often impose economic and political conditions on aid recipients, India provides development assistance without strict policy prescriptions<sup>14</sup>. Programs such as the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) initiative have enabled Nigerian professionals to receive training in fields such as public administration, healthcare, and engineering, fostering skills development without external political interference.

Furthermore, India's investments in Nigeria, particularly in manufacturing, telecommunications, and healthcare, illustrate SSC's emphasis on development through partnership rather than aid dependency. Indian pharmaceutical companies, for instance, have played a crucial role in providing affordable medicines to Nigerians, reducing the country's reliance on expensive Western pharmaceutical imports.

Diplomatic relations between India and Nigeria also reflect SSC ideals. Both nations have consistently supported each other in international forums such as the United Nations, the African Union, and the Commonwealth, advocating for reforms in global governance structures to better represent developing countries. Additionally, India and Nigeria have collaborated on climate change policies, trade negotiations, and regional security, demonstrating a commitment to collective problem-solving rather than unilateral decision-making.

However, SSC is not without its challenges. Although India and Nigeria engage as equal partners, disparities in economic and industrial capacity can sometimes result in imbalanced benefits. Nigeria must leverage SSC mechanisms to ensure that its partnerships with India promote domestic industrialization, local entrepreneurship, and sustainable economic policies. This can be achieved through policies that prioritize technology transfer, encourage local content in foreign investments, and strengthen regulatory frameworks to ensure fair trade relations.

Therefore, the Dependency Theory and South-South Cooperation Framework provide contrasting but complementary perspectives on Nigeria's relationship with India. While Dependency Theory highlights the risks of economic reliance and trade imbalances, the SSC framework offers a pathway for equitable and sustainable partnerships.

## **India's Economic and Political Role in Nigeria: A Theoretical Analysis**

India's engagement with Nigeria spans economic, industrial, and political spheres, reflecting both

Dependency Theory and the South-South Cooperation (SSC) Framework. While India has contributed significantly to Nigeria's economic and political development through trade, investment, and diplomatic collaboration, structural challenges persist, necessitating a critical evaluation of these interactions.

## **Trade and Investment: A Case of Economic Dependence?**

India ranks among Nigeria's top trading partners, with bilateral trade exceeding \$15 billion annually<sup>15</sup>. Nigeria primarily exports crude oil to India, making India one of the largest consumers of Nigerian petroleum. Conversely, India exports finished goods such as pharmaceuticals, automobiles, and textiles to Nigeria<sup>16</sup>. This trade dynamic, where Nigeria supplies raw materials while importing manufactured products, aligns with the Dependency Theory's critique of unequal exchange<sup>17</sup>.

Dependency theorists argue that developing nations like Nigeria remain trapped in a peripheral role, exporting low-value commodities while relying on industrialized economies for high-value imports. This pattern reinforces economic vulnerability, as Nigeria's trade earnings remain tied to fluctuations in oil prices rather than a diversified industrial base<sup>18</sup>. Furthermore, Nigeria's non-oil exports to India remain marginal, exacerbating trade imbalances and reinforcing its subordinate position within the global economy.

From an SSC perspective, however, trade between India and Nigeria is not purely exploitative. Unlike Western economic engagements that often involve predatory lending and conditional trade agreements, India provides concessional financing and development assistance to support Nigerian industries. Additionally, India has encouraged investment in Nigerian sectors beyond oil, demonstrating a commitment to mutual economic cooperation rather than unilateral economic gain.

## **Industrial and Technological Cooperation: Dependency or Development?**

India has played a key role in Nigeria's industrialization efforts, particularly through joint

ventures and capacity-building initiatives<sup>19</sup>. Major Indian companies such as Tata, Bharti Airtel, and Mahindra have established operations in Nigeria, contributing to employment generation and technology transfer<sup>20</sup>. This aligns with SSC's principle of fostering self-reliant economic growth among developing nations.

However, from a Dependency Theory perspective, the benefits of this industrial engagement remain asymmetrical. Indian corporations maintain control over key technological processes, limiting Nigeria's ability to develop indigenous industries<sup>21</sup>. While Indian businesses create jobs, profits are often repatriated to India, restricting Nigeria's capital accumulation and reinvestment potential.

The Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) program has played a role in skills development, offering training for Nigerian professionals in fields such as information technology, healthcare, and engineering. This initiative aligns with SSC's emphasis on knowledge-sharing and technical assistance rather than aid dependency. However, infrastructural deficits and policy inconsistencies within Nigeria limit the full potential of these initiatives<sup>22</sup>. Without a stable industrial policy, Nigeria remains dependent on external actors for technological expertise rather than developing an autonomous industrial base.

### **India's Political Influence in Nigeria: South-South Solidarity or Strategic Interests?**

Beyond economic relations, India has played a role in Nigeria's political evolution, particularly through diplomatic capacity-building programs<sup>23</sup>. The India-Africa Forum Summit (IAFS) serves as a key platform for bilateral cooperation, with India supporting Nigeria in global governance issues, including climate change negotiations and United Nations reforms<sup>24</sup>.

From an SSC perspective, India's diplomatic engagement with Nigeria reflects a model of cooperation among equals, where both nations advocate for the interests of developing economies on the global stage. Unlike Western diplomatic relations, which often involve political

conditionalities, India does not impose governance models or economic restrictions on Nigeria.

However, Dependency Theory suggests that India's political role remains secondary to economic interests. While India provides diplomatic support and electoral assistance, its influence in Nigerian governance is limited compared to Western powers, which exert greater leverage through financial institutions such as the IMF and World Bank<sup>28</sup>. India's non-interventionist approach, while respecting Nigeria's sovereignty, also means that it lacks the strategic influence needed to drive major political reforms.

### **Educational and Cultural Exchange: Strengthening Bilateral Ties**

Educational diplomacy has been a cornerstone of India-Nigeria relations, with thousands of Nigerian students studying in Indian universities through scholarship programs. This initiative reflects SSC's emphasis on human capital development through mutual cooperation rather than unilateral assistance. Additionally, cultural exchanges, including Bollywood's popularity in Nigeria, have deepened socio-political ties.

Unlike economic relations, which show elements of dependency, educational and cultural exchanges promote more balanced engagement. By equipping Nigerian students with technical and professional skills, India contributes to Nigeria's long-term socio-economic transformation, fostering indigenous expertise rather than external reliance.

### **Challenges and Prospects: Balancing Dependency and Cooperation**

Despite India's contributions to Nigeria's economic and political landscape, several challenges persist. Trade imbalances, limited Nigerian industrial participation, and regulatory bottlenecks hinder economic cooperation<sup>29</sup>. Additionally, while India supports governance reforms, its influence remains limited, as Nigeria still looks to Western institutions for political and economic frameworks.

### **Conclusion**

India's engagement with Nigeria across economic, industrial, and political domains has contributed significantly to Nigeria's economic growth, trade expansion, and institutional development. The relationship has facilitated job creation, technological advancement, and educational cooperation, reinforcing Nigeria's role as a key player in global South-South Cooperation. India's investments in sectors such as telecommunications, pharmaceuticals, and manufacturing have provided new opportunities for economic diversification. Additionally, diplomatic and educational initiatives have enhanced Nigeria's capacity for governance, human capital development, and global diplomatic representation.

However, the nature of the relationship also exhibits elements of economic dependence, particularly in trade and industrial cooperation. Nigeria remains a primary exporter of crude oil, while Indian exports of manufactured goods far outweigh Nigeria's non-oil exports, creating a trade imbalance. This pattern mirrors dependency structures, where Nigeria continues to rely on raw material exports while importing value-added products. India's industrial presence in Nigeria, though beneficial, often prioritizes profit repatriation, limiting Nigeria's potential for capital accumulation and technological self-reliance.

## Recommendations

### 1. Diversification of Trade Relations

Nigeria should encourage a more balanced trade relationship with India by expanding exports beyond crude oil. This can be achieved by promoting non-oil sectors such as agriculture, manufacturing, and technology to reduce economic dependence.

### 2. Encouraging Technology Transfer and Industrial Development

India should enhance its role in Nigeria's industrial growth by facilitating technology transfer, establishing joint ventures, and investing in local manufacturing. This will help Nigeria move beyond being a raw material exporter to a producer of finished goods.

### 3. Strengthening Bilateral Policy Frameworks

Both countries should review and strengthen bilateral trade agreements to ensure mutual benefits. This includes reducing trade imbalances, ensuring fair market access, and promoting policies that support sustainable development.

### 4. Expanding Educational and Capacity-Building Initiatives

India should increase educational collaborations with Nigeria through scholarship programs, vocational training, and skill development initiatives, particularly in science, technology, and healthcare sectors. This will enhance human capital development in Nigeria.

### 5. Enhancing Governance and Institutional Cooperation

India's experience in democratic governance and public administration should be leveraged to support Nigeria's governance structures. Exchange programs, capacity-building workshops, and diplomatic engagements can strengthen Nigeria's public institutions.

### 6. Boosting Investment in Nigeria's Infrastructure

India should expand its investment in Nigeria's infrastructure, particularly in power generation, transportation, and digital connectivity. Public-private partnerships (PPPs) can help drive long-term economic growth and development.

### 7. Fostering Cultural and People-to-People Ties

Strengthening cultural diplomacy through exchanges, media collaborations

## Endnotes

1. AdekeyeAdebajo. *The Curse of Berlin: Africa After the Cold War*. London: Hurst & Company, 2010.
2. Adebisi Adepoju. "The Role of India in Nigeria's Education Sector: A Case Study of Scholarship Programs." *African Educational Review* 15, no. 2 (2022): 77-93.
3. Osita Agbu. "Nigeria and Emerging Global Powers: The Role of Soft Power." *African Affairs* 108, no. 432 (2009): 65-80.

4. Kunle Ajayi. "Maximizing Nigeria's Economic Potential Through Strategic Partnerships with India." *African Development Perspectives* 17, no. 2 (2023): 150-169.
5. Bolaji Akinyemi. "Foreign Policy and Economic Development in Nigeria: The Indian Connection." *Nigerian Journal of International Affairs* 12, no. 1 (2018): 35-54.
6. Tunde Balogun. "Trade Imbalances Between India and Nigeria: Economic Dependence or Opportunity?" *African Economic Studies* 14, no. 3 (2019): 112-129.
7. Sanjay Chaturvedi. "India-Africa Partnership: Soft Power, Development, and Economic Growth." *Global South Studies* 6, no. 3 (2022): 99-120.
8. Saurabh Dutta. "India's Cultural Diplomacy in Africa." *International Studies* 51, no. 2 (2015): 205-223.
9. Obinna Eze. "The Role of India in Nigeria's ICT Sector: An Emerging Power in Africa." *Journal of African Development* 9, no. 1 (2020): 87-103.
10. Chidi Ibeh. "Nigeria's Industrial Growth and the Role of Foreign Investment." *African Development Journal* 9, no. 1 (2016): 45-68.
11. Indian Business Forum. *India's Trade and Investment Footprint in Nigeria*. Lagos: Lagos Chamber of Commerce, 2021.
12. Indian High Commission, Abuja. *Cultural Events and Diplomatic Engagements in Nigeria*. New Delhi: Government of India, 2022.
13. International Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) Program. *Annual Report on Technical and Economic Cooperation*. New Delhi: Ministry of External Affairs, India, 2022.
14. Nnamdi Iwuala. "The Influence of Indian Pharmaceutical Companies in Nigeria's Healthcare System." *Health and Economic Development Journal* 11, no. 3 (2018): 134-152.
15. Rajiv Mehta. "India's Role in Africa's Development Agenda." *South-South Journal* 7, no. 1 (2020): 55-78.
16. Ministry of External Affairs, India. *Bilateral Relations Between India and Nigeria: A Report on Economic and Political Engagements*. New Delhi: Government of India, 2021.
17. Nigerian Bureau of Statistics. *Annual Trade Report: Nigeria-India Trade Relations*. Abuja: Government of Nigeria, 2022.
18. Joseph S. Nye. *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York: Public Affairs, 2004.
19. James Okafor. "Economic Diplomacy and the Role of Indian Businesses in Nigeria." *Business and Society* 8, no. 3 (2015): 145-162.
20. Felix Okeke. "The Impact of Foreign Direct Investment from India on Nigeria's Manufacturing Sector." *Journal of Economic Policy* 10, no. 4 (2016): 65-84.
21. Anthony Ojo. "Political Relations Between India and Nigeria: A Historical Perspective." *Nigerian Political Science Review* 6, no. 2 (2017): 89-106.
22. Emmanuel Osagie. "Economic and Diplomatic Challenges in India-Nigeria Relations." *Journal of International Affairs* 14, no. 1 (2019): 121-139.
23. Harish Patel. "Diaspora and Cultural Identity: Indian Influence in Nigeria."



- Journal of Migration Studies 9, no. 2 (2020): 45-68.
24. Sandeep Sharma. "Economic Diplomacy and South-South Cooperation." *Journal of International Affairs* 5, no. 3 (2017): 74-89.
25. Prakash Singh. "India-Africa Partnerships in Technology and Innovation." *Journal of Global Development* 9, no. 2 (2020): 102-119.
26. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). *South-South Cooperation and Economic Growth in Africa: The Case of Nigeria and India*. New York: UNDP Publications, 2021.
27. Raphael Udoh. "Economic Growth and Trade Relations Between India and Nigeria." *African Economic Review* 11, no. 2 (2019): 178-193.
28. World Bank. *Trade and Investment Relations Between India and Africa*. Washington, DC: World Bank Publications, 2021.
29. World Economic Forum. *India-Nigeria Economic Relations: A Strategic Perspective*. Geneva: WEF Publications, 2023.

\*\*\*\*\*

**THE END**