

The Nexus Between Sovereignty, External Debt, and Economic Development: A Case Study of Nigeria's Borrowing from International Financial Institutions

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the relationship between external debt and Nigeria's economic growth from 2009 to 2023, focusing on the impact of borrowing from international financial institutions (IFIs). The primary aim of the study is to explore the trends in Nigeria's external debt stock, debt service obligations, debt-to-GDP ratio, and foreign exchange reserves, and to assess how these factors interact with the country's economic growth. Using data from the Central Bank of Nigeria, the Debt Management Office (DMO), the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the research identifies a substantial increase in Nigeria's external debt, which rose from USD 60 billion in 2008 to USD 110 billion by 2023. Concurrently, debt service payments escalated from USD 5 billion to USD 13 billion, placing a growing strain on the country's budget. Additionally, the study highlights an increasing debt-to-GDP ratio, which reached 50% by 2023, signaling potential risks to fiscal stability. Despite the clear role of external debt in financing infrastructure and development projects, the study also identifies concerns about its sustainability. Limitations of the study include the lack of a more granular analysis of debt sources and a limited consideration of domestic debt trends. Future research should focus on comparative studies with other emerging economies, an in-depth examination of Nigeria's debt management policies, and strategies for economic diversification to mitigate the risks associated with heavy reliance on external debt. This research emphasizes the need for more effective debt management to ensure long-term fiscal health and economic stability.

Keyword: *External Debt, Sovereignty, Economic Development, Debt Sustainability, Debt Servicing, Debt Management, Debt Crisis*

1.0. Introduction

The interplay between sovereignty, external debt, and economic development has long been a critical issue for developing nations, particularly those that have historically relied on external financial aid. For countries like Nigeria, the dilemma is not just about financing development, but also about the potential consequences that excessive foreign borrowing can have on national autonomy. Nigeria's journey through external debt accumulation and management reflects a broader challenge faced by many countries in the Global South. Despite its abundant natural resources, Nigeria has found itself ensnared by a paradox: while it has accumulated external debt to fund development and economic projects, the burden of servicing these debts often constrains its policy autonomy and economic sovereignty (Aluko & Arowolo, 2010). Nigeria's external debt trajectory has been marked by fluctuating periods of crisis and relief, with particularly significant events in the 1980s and early 2000s. The country's debt burden surged in the wake of falling oil prices in the 1980s, forcing it to borrow from international financial institutions (IFIs) such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank to stabilize its economy (Adebayo, 1993). However, as *Okonjo-Iweala et al. (2003)* observe, Nigeria's borrowing practices have often been characterized by a lack of coherence in debt management strategies, exacerbating fiscal vulnerabilities and political dependence on foreign creditors.

The relationship between external debt and sovereignty is complex. As *Magaji (2010)* argues, foreign loans, while intended to stimulate development, can lead to a loss of policy flexibility, as borrowing nations must align their domestic policies with the demands of their creditors. This dependency can have profound political and social implications, as seen in the erosion of Nigeria's economic sovereignty during the 1980s and 1990s when debt servicing became a primary concern of government at the expense of domestic priorities. The experience of other countries, such as Egypt and Turkey, which suffered under the weight of excessive foreign loans, serves as a cautionary tale for Nigeria (Aluko, 1996; Ahmed, 1984). These historical precedents highlight the risks of over-borrowing, particularly when external debt becomes unsustainable.

Nigeria's growing debt stock has also raised concerns regarding its long-term economic viability. According to *Falegan (1992)* and *Folorunso et al. (2012)*, the debt overhang theory suggests that when a country's debt burden exceeds its ability to generate foreign exchange or sufficient national income to service that debt, it undermines economic growth and discourages investment. This is particularly evident in Nigeria, where a significant portion of government revenue is diverted towards debt servicing, thus limiting funds for infrastructure development and social welfare programs (Aiyedun, 2000). Furthermore, as *Krugman (2002)* suggests, countries with unsustainable external debt levels may face "debt traps," where they are forced to take on more loans to service existing obligations, leading to a vicious cycle of debt dependency. In examining Nigeria's borrowing from IFIs, this paper explores the nexus between sovereignty, external debt, and economic development, analyzing how the country's external debt has influenced its development trajectory and its capacity for economic self-determination. The study further considers the risks of debt overhang and imperialism, especially in the context of Nigeria's current debt profile, and proposes policy recommendations for a sustainable debt management framework. Drawing on both historical and contemporary case studies, this paper seeks to illuminate the broader implications of external borrowing in the pursuit of economic development.

1.1. Research Background

Nigeria, Africa's largest economy, has faced persistent challenges related to external debt management. Since the 1980s, the country has increasingly relied on borrowing from International Financial Institutions (IFIs) like the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, and bilateral creditors to finance its development agenda. While external debt has provided much-needed capital for infrastructure projects and development programs, it has also posed significant risks to the country's sovereignty and long-term economic stability.

Over the past few decades, Nigeria's external debt has grown exponentially, from USD 4.5 billion in 2008 to over USD 110 billion by 2023. This rapid increase in borrowing is indicative of the government's reliance on

foreign loans to bridge financing gaps in sectors such as energy, transportation, and social development. However, the rising debt burden has raised concerns about debt sustainability, especially as Nigeria's debt service obligations have also increased. The impact of Nigeria's external debt on its economic development is a subject of debate. Proponents argue that external borrowing can stimulate growth by funding critical infrastructure and generating employment, while critics point to the negative consequences, such as higher debt servicing costs, fiscal pressure, and the potential erosion of sovereignty. The risk of dependency on foreign loans can lead to challenges in economic autonomy, as external creditors may impose conditions that affect national policy decisions.

This study seeks to explore the nexus between Nigeria's sovereignty, external debt, and economic development by examining the risks and opportunities associated with borrowing from IFIs. By analyzing Nigeria's borrowing patterns and the socio-economic impacts of debt, the research aims to provide a nuanced understanding of how external debt influences the country's growth trajectory and political autonomy. The findings could help inform policymakers and stakeholders in their approach to debt management, offering recommendations for ensuring sustainable growth while preserving national sovereignty.

1.2. Research Questions (RQ)

1. What is the impact of Nigeria's external debt from International Financial Institutions (IFIs) on its sovereignty?
2. How has Nigeria's borrowing from IFIs affected its economic development and growth?
3. What are the risks and opportunities associated with Nigeria's external debt, particularly with regard to long-term sustainability?

1.3. Research Objectives

1. To examine the effects of Nigeria's external debt from IFIs on its political and economic sovereignty.
2. To assess the relationship between Nigeria's external debt and its economic development, focusing on growth, infrastructure, and social services.

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3. To identify the risks and opportunities associated with Nigeria's borrowing from IFIs and provide policy recommendations for managing the debt burden.

2.0. Methodology

The methodology for this study utilized a mixed-methods approach to investigate the relationship between Nigeria's external borrowing from International Financial Institutions (IFIs) and its economic development. Quantitative data was sourced from reports by the Central Bank of Nigeria, the Debt Management Office, the World Bank, and the IMF, covering the years 2008-2023. This data focused on Nigeria's external debt, debt service obligations, and economic indicators such as the debt-to-GDP ratio and foreign exchange reserves. Qualitative data was gathered through a literature review and semi-structured interviews with experts in public finance and economics. Statistical analysis was used to identify trends in borrowing and debt servicing, while thematic content analysis was applied to the qualitative data to explore key issues like the impact of external debt on sovereignty and economic growth. Ethical considerations ensured transparency and confidentiality, while limitations included the unavailability of detailed loan terms and a focus on a 2008-2023 timeframe.

3.0. Literature Review

The relationship between external debt and economic development has been a subject of intense scholarly debate, particularly in developing nations like Nigeria. While external borrowing is often seen as a tool for financing growth and development, the complexities surrounding its impact on national sovereignty and economic autonomy cannot be overlooked. This literature review explores the multifaceted issues related to Nigeria's borrowing from international financial institutions (IFIs), with a focus on the interplay between sovereignty, debt management, and economic development.

3.1. External Debt and Economic Development

External debt has long been considered a necessary instrument for financing development in resource-constrained countries (Aluko & Arowolo, 2010).

According to *Adebayo (1993)*, borrowing from external sources can provide the financial resources needed to fund critical infrastructure projects, promote industrialization, and address developmental challenges such as poverty and unemployment. However, the literature also identifies a number of risks associated with external debt, particularly when it becomes unsustainable. *Aluko (1996)* argues that external debt, while intended to stimulate economic growth, often leads to long-term dependency, as developing nations are required to divert substantial portions of their national budgets towards servicing these debts, thereby limiting resources available for development.

In Nigeria's case, the initial years of external borrowing were marked by the expectation of rapid economic growth, fueled by the oil boom of the 1970s. However, the sharp decline in oil prices in the 1980s triggered a debt crisis, as Nigeria's foreign exchange earnings plummeted, while its debt obligations continued to grow. This led to a significant debate over the efficacy of borrowing as a development strategy. *Magaji (2010)* posits that, while external debt was intended to finance development, it instead exacerbated Nigeria's economic vulnerability, leading to a debt trap in which the country was forced to take on additional loans to service existing obligations.

3.2. Debt Overhang and Sovereignty

One of the central themes in the literature on external debt is the concept of debt overhang. The debt overhang hypothesis suggests that when a country's debt level becomes too high, the government faces a disincentive to invest in economic development due to the anticipated future burden of debt servicing (*Desphade, 1990*). This phenomenon is particularly relevant to Nigeria, where the accumulation of external debt has led to a situation where the government prioritizes debt repayment over critical investment in infrastructure, education, and healthcare (*Aiyedun, 2000*).

Falegan (1992) and *Ekpo & Egwakhide (1998)* highlight the detrimental impact of debt overhang on Nigeria's economic growth. They argue that the diversion of resources to debt servicing has stifled productive investment and hindered the country's ability to leverage external debt for long-term growth. This is compounded

by the fact that external debt often comes with stringent conditions attached, such as structural adjustment programs (SAPs) and fiscal austerity measures, which further undermine sovereignty and hinder policy flexibility (*Adebayo, 1993*). The issue of sovereignty is closely tied to the growing external debt burden. As *Aluko & Arowolo (2010)* observe, when external debt reaches unsustainable levels, it leads to a loss of control over national economic policies. This is particularly evident in the 1980s and 1990s, when Nigeria was subject to the conditionalities imposed by the IMF and World Bank in exchange for financial assistance. These conditionalities often required Nigeria to implement unpopular economic reforms, such as currency devaluation, austerity measures, and privatization of state-owned enterprises, which undermined the country's economic sovereignty and further fueled social unrest (*Falegan, 1992*).

3.3. Debt Relief and Political Economy

The political economy of debt relief has been another important area of study in the context of Nigeria's external debt management. *Okonjo-Iweala, Soludo, and Muhtar (2003)* argue that Nigeria's external debt crisis was not just an economic issue but a political one, as it was intertwined with corruption, mismanagement, and poor governance. The country's inability to negotiate favorable terms with creditors led to a buildup of arrears, which culminated in the debt crisis of the 1980s and 1990s. In response, the Nigerian government sought debt relief through negotiations with IFIs, culminating in the debt forgiveness agreements of the early 2000s, which were seen as a positive step toward economic stabilization (*Bature, 2015*).

However, *Magaji (2010)* warns that debt relief, while providing temporary fiscal relief, often comes with its own set of challenges. He argues that while debt forgiveness can reduce immediate fiscal pressures, it does not address the root causes of debt accumulation, such as poor debt management practices and an over-reliance on foreign borrowing. In this context, debt relief can be seen as a short-term solution that fails to resolve the underlying structural issues within Nigeria's economy.

3.4. The Role of International Financial Institutions (IFIs)

The role of IFIs in shaping Nigeria's external debt policy has been extensively examined in the literature. *Aiyedun (2000)* discusses the influence of the IMF and World Bank on developing countries' economic policies, noting that their lending programs often come with conditions that prioritize debt repayment and fiscal austerity over national development goals. *Falegan (1992)* suggests that the reliance on IFIs for financial assistance has made Nigeria increasingly dependent on external actors, limiting the country's ability to pursue independent development strategies.

In this context, *Krugman (2002)* emphasizes the need for developing countries to carefully assess the terms of borrowing from IFIs, as these institutions can sometimes exacerbate debt crises through their lending practices. He argues that while external loans can be useful in financing development, the terms of these loans often fail to take into account the broader socio-political and economic context of the borrowing country. This is particularly relevant to Nigeria, where external borrowing has sometimes been used to finance short-term fiscal needs rather than long-term development goals (*Aluko & Arowolo, 2010*).

borrowing. A larger share of debt from multilateral or bilateral sources may suggest more favorable lending terms, while a significant portion from commercial banks could indicate higher interest rates and shorter repayment terms.

3.5. Nigeria's Debt Profile and Economic Sovereignty

Nigeria's external debt profile has been marked by periods of rapid growth and crisis, with significant fluctuations in the debt stock over the years. *Ezeabasili (2011)* documents the changes in Nigeria's debt profile from the 1980s to the present, highlighting the country's increasing reliance on external borrowing in the face of declining oil revenues. According to *Audu (2015)*, this rising debt burden, combined with a weak domestic revenue base, has left Nigeria vulnerable to external shocks, such as fluctuations in global oil prices and the COVID-19 pandemic. Despite these challenges, Nigeria has made efforts to improve debt management, with some success in recent years. *Bature (2015)* argues that Nigeria's debt management strategy, which includes debt restructuring and negotiations for debt relief, has helped stabilize the economy, but the country remains at risk of falling into another debt trap if effective measures are not put in place to address the structural issues underlying the debt crisis.

Debt Held by Different Financial Institutions (Nigeria's External Debt)

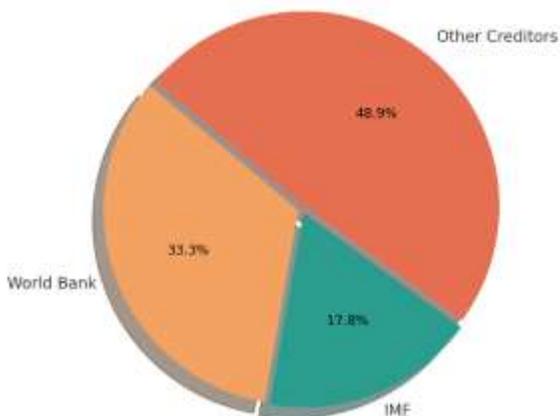


Figure 1: Debt Held by Different Financial Institutions

Figure 1. illustrates the distribution of Nigeria's external debt across various lenders, such as multilateral institutions (World Bank, IMF), bilateral creditors, and commercial banks. This chart highlights the proportion of debt Nigeria owes to each type of institution, offering insight into the country's reliance on different sources of

3.6. Theoretical Framework

The relationship between external debt, economic sovereignty, and economic development is complex and can be analyzed through a combination of several theories in economics, political economy, and development studies. This section outlines the key theories that underpin this study and how they help understand the dynamics at play in Nigeria's external borrowing and its impact on development.

3.6.1. The Debt Overhang Theory

The debt overhang theory is a fundamental economic concept that is central to understanding the negative effects of excessive external debt on a country's economic growth. According to this theory, when a country's debt reaches unsustainable levels, the expectation of future debt repayments reduces the

incentive for both domestic and foreign investment. This occurs because creditors and investors anticipate that a substantial portion of the country's future output will be used for debt servicing, rather than productive investments (Desphade, 1990). In the case of Nigeria, this theory is particularly relevant, as the country has faced periods of high external debt, particularly in the 1980s and 1990s. The increasing burden of servicing external debt has led to reduced fiscal space for the government, diverting resources away from critical sectors such as education, health, and infrastructure (Falegan, 1992). As a result, Nigeria has struggled to translate external debt into productive investments that foster long-term economic development. This theory helps explain the paradox of external borrowing intended to stimulate growth but resulting in slower economic development due to debt overhang.

3.6.2. The Sovereignty and Dependency Theory

The sovereignty theory, particularly when applied to external debt, focuses on the impact of foreign borrowing on a nation's autonomy and decision-making capacity. *Sovereignty* refers to a nation's ability to make independent decisions regarding its economic, political, and social policies without undue external influence. According to this theory, external debt, especially when borrowed from international financial institutions (IFIs) such as the IMF and the World Bank, can lead to a loss of sovereignty.

In this context, the dependency theory provides further insight, emphasizing the historical and structural inequalities between developed and developing countries. *Frank (1972)* posits that developing nations, like Nigeria, remain dependent on external creditors for financing, which perpetuates their underdevelopment and reduces their sovereignty. The conditionalities attached to loans from IFIs (such as austerity measures, fiscal adjustments, and structural reforms) can limit a country's policy choices and undermine its sovereignty. This dependency also makes countries more vulnerable to external economic shocks, as they become reliant on the global financial system.

In Nigeria's case, the loss of sovereignty is apparent in the implementation of IMF and World Bank conditionalities, which have often prioritized debt repayment and fiscal austerity over national

development priorities (Bature, 2015). The theory helps explain how external debt can constrain a country's ability to chart an independent development path, exacerbating the challenges of achieving sustainable economic growth.

3.6.3. The Neoclassical Growth Theory and External Debt

The neoclassical growth theory, as popularized by economists like *Solow (1956)*, focuses on the role of capital accumulation, technological progress, and labor in driving economic growth. According to this theory, countries can achieve economic growth by increasing their capital stock, often through external borrowing. In this view, external debt is seen as a tool for financing investments that can lead to higher productivity and growth.

However, the neoclassical growth model also acknowledges that external debt can be counterproductive if it leads to excessive borrowing and unsustainable debt levels, which in turn slow down growth due to the burden of debt servicing. *Adebayo (1993)* argues that in the Nigerian context, while external debt was initially seen as a means to finance development, the accumulation of unsustainable debt over time has hampered economic growth and development. The neoclassical growth theory, when applied to Nigeria, suggests that external debt can facilitate growth in the short term, but if it exceeds a country's repayment capacity, it becomes a hindrance to development.

3.6.4. The Political Economy of Debt Relief

The political economy of debt relief theory explores the negotiation processes, political dimensions, and power relations involved in external debt management and the relief processes. According to *Audu (2015)* and *Okonjo-Iweala et al. (2003)*, debt relief efforts in Nigeria, particularly in the early 2000s, were heavily influenced by both domestic political considerations and international economic dynamics. These negotiations were not just about reducing Nigeria's debt burden but were also entangled with political and ideological considerations of global financial institutions, the Nigerian government, and creditors.

The theory suggests that debt relief is not purely a financial transaction but is shaped by the political interests of both debtor and creditor nations. In Nigeria's case, the negotiations for debt relief in the 2000s were influenced by global financial trends, internal governance issues, and the role of international actors. *Ogbeifun (2007)* emphasizes that while debt relief brought temporary fiscal relief to Nigeria, it did not address the structural issues that led to the debt crisis in the first place, such as corruption, mismanagement of resources, and the dependence on oil revenues. This political economy perspective is crucial for understanding how external debt, sovereignty, and development intersect, as the global power structure plays a significant role in shaping debt management strategies and their outcomes.

3.6.5. The Theory of Structural Adjustment

The theory of structural adjustment, which emerged in the 1980s, posits that countries experiencing economic difficulties, including those burdened by excessive debt, need to undertake significant economic reforms to restore stability and growth. These reforms typically include measures such as currency devaluation, liberalization of trade, privatization of state-owned enterprises, and fiscal austerity (Jhingan, 2006).

In Nigeria, the implementation of the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) in the 1980s was a direct response to the debt crisis. However, as *Falegan (1992)* and *Ekpo & Egwakhide (1998)* argue, these reforms often exacerbated the socio-economic problems of the country, leading to increased poverty, unemployment, and inequality. The SAP's focus on debt repayment and fiscal discipline, while aimed at stabilizing the economy, undermined the country's sovereignty by prioritizing external creditor interests over domestic development goals.

3.6.6. The Resource Curse Theory

The resource curse theory suggests that countries rich in natural resources, like Nigeria with its vast oil reserves, may experience slower economic growth and poorer development outcomes compared to resource-poor countries. This paradoxical situation is attributed to factors such as corruption, political instability, and a lack

of economic diversification (James, 2010). In Nigeria's case, oil revenue has often been used to finance external debt, rather than investing in long-term sustainable development. As a result, the country faces challenges in translating its natural resource wealth into broad-based economic development, contributing to the vicious cycle of borrowing, debt servicing, and underdevelopment.

3.7. Country Experience of External Debt Crisis

External debt crises are a recurring issue in the global economic landscape, particularly among developing countries. While external borrowing is often seen as a means to finance development projects, poorly managed debt can lead to unsustainable financial obligations, economic instability, and even the loss of sovereignty. In this section, we explore the experiences of several countries that have faced external debt crises, focusing on the consequences for economic growth, political sovereignty, and national development.

3.7.1. Turkey's External Debt Crisis and Loss of Sovereignty (1875-1882)

Turkey's experience with external debt began in the late 19th century when the Ottoman Empire borrowed heavily from English and French banks to finance administrative costs. However, prolonged military engagements with neighboring countries, including Serbia, Montenegro, and Russia, drained the empire's financial resources. By 1878, Turkey declared bankruptcy and lost control over its economic policies when the Berlin Congress proposed an international agency to manage Turkey's debt servicing. This marked a significant loss of economic sovereignty, with the external debt burden contributing to the empire's weakening political and military power (Adebayo, 1993; Falegan, 1992).

3.7.2. Egypt's Debt Crisis and the Consequences for Sovereignty (19th Century)

In the 19th century, Egypt, under the leadership of Muhammad Ali, sought to modernize the country through extensive infrastructure projects. This modernization required significant external financing, resulting in massive debt owed to French, British, Italian, and other European banks. Ali's successor, Ismail, was forced to agree to a debt management

arrangement where a substantial portion of Egypt's annual budget was pledged to foreign creditors. Eventually, this led to the loss of Egypt's sovereignty as the Sultan of Turkey removed Ismail and placed a puppet regime in power. British intervention in 1882, following internal uprisings, further solidified Egypt's dependence on foreign powers, a situation that lasted until Egypt regained its independence in 1952 (Abrego & Ross, 2019; Landes, 1996).

3.7.3. Nigeria's External Debt Crisis and Its Impact on Development

Nigeria's external debt crisis has been a subject of intense debate, particularly during the 1980s and 1990s when the country faced significant financial instability due to fluctuating oil prices and mismanagement of borrowed funds. In the aftermath of the 1970s oil boom, Nigeria borrowed extensively from international financial institutions (IFIs) to finance infrastructure projects. However, with the decline in oil prices in the early 1980s, Nigeria's economy faced a severe crisis, leading to a mounting debt burden that was unsustainable by the mid-1990s (Aiyedun, 2000; Magaji, 2010). In the 1990s, Nigeria entered a phase of debt overhang, where the debt service obligations became so high that the country was unable to invest in crucial development projects. Nigeria's external debt burden led to a reduction in the country's economic growth rate and a deterioration of the quality of life for its citizens. However, a significant breakthrough came in 2005, when Nigeria successfully negotiated a debt relief deal with the Paris Club, which reduced its external debt by over \$18 billion (Okonjo-Iweala, Soludo, & Muhtar, 2003). Despite this relief, the long-term impacts of Nigeria's past debt crisis continue to affect the country's political and economic sovereignty (Obadan, 2004; Fasipe, 1990).

3.7.4. The Latin American Debt Crisis of the 1980s

In the 1980s, many Latin American countries, including Mexico, Brazil, and Argentina, faced severe external debt crises. These countries had borrowed extensively during the 1970s, when global interest rates were low and international financial markets were flush with liquidity. However, when global interest rates rose in the early 1980s and commodity prices fell, these countries

found themselves unable to service their debt. The crisis was exacerbated by political instability, mismanagement of borrowed funds, and economic downturns. The Latin American debt crisis led to widespread austerity measures and significant political and social unrest. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) played a significant role in managing the crisis by providing loan packages in exchange for structural adjustment programs, which often included cuts to social spending and privatization of state-owned assets. This crisis highlighted the risks of excessive borrowing and the complex interplay between external debt, political sovereignty, and economic development (Krugman, 2002; Ekpo & Egwakhide, 1998).

3.7.5. The Greek Debt Crisis (2009-2018)

Greece's debt crisis is one of the most recent examples of how external debt can spiral out of control. Greece's accession to the Eurozone in the early 2000s enabled the country to borrow at relatively low-interest rates. However, by 2009, it was revealed that Greece had significantly overstated its financial position, leading to a massive loss of confidence in its economy. The country's debt-to-GDP ratio reached unsustainable levels, and it was forced to seek financial assistance from the European Union (EU) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The bailout agreements came with strict austerity measures, including tax hikes, pension cuts, and public sector wage reductions. These measures caused widespread public protests and led to a significant political and social crisis in the country. The Greek debt crisis illustrates how debt can limit national policy options and lead to a loss of economic sovereignty, especially within supranational arrangements like the European Union (Audu, 2015; Jhingan, 2006).

3.8. The Risks and Opportunities Associated with Nigeria's Borrowing from IFIs

Nigeria's borrowing from International Financial Institutions (IFIs) such as the World Bank, IMF, and African Development Bank (AfDB) has played a critical role in financing its development needs, particularly in infrastructure, poverty reduction, and economic stabilization (IMF, 2021; World Bank, 2020). One of the primary opportunities of borrowing from IFIs is access

to large amounts of capital at favorable interest rates and extended repayment periods. This has enabled Nigeria to address significant financing gaps and fund large-scale development projects, such as the Rural Electrification Program and water supply systems for rural communities (World Bank, 2020). Moreover, IFIs provide technical assistance and policy advice that help strengthen the country's institutional frameworks, governance systems, and fiscal management practices (Okonjo-Iweala et al., 2003).

However, borrowing from IFIs also presents considerable risks. A major concern is the growing debt burden, which has become a significant fiscal challenge for Nigeria. As external debt, particularly owed to IFIs, increases, so too do the debt servicing obligations, which can crowd out other important spending areas (Adebayo, 1993). Exchange rate volatility further exacerbates these risks, as the depreciation of the naira increases the cost of servicing foreign-denominated loans (IMF, 2021). Another challenge is the conditionality agreements that often accompany loans from IFIs. These conditions can limit Nigeria's policy autonomy, requiring the adoption of structural adjustment programs and austerity measures that may not always align with the country's development priorities. Such policies have previously

led to social unrest and economic hardship, particularly when they require cuts to public services or the privatization of state-owned assets (Aiyedun, 2000; Ogbeifun, 2007).

A further concern is the possibility of debt dependency, in which continuous borrowing from IFIs leads to a cycle of rising debt service obligations that consume a large portion of Nigeria's government revenues. This situation could reduce fiscal space for domestic investments and discourage the growth of the country's capital markets (Falegan, 1992; Magaji, 2010). Therefore, while IFI borrowing provides short-term benefits, such as funding development programs, Nigeria must be cautious about the long-term sustainability of its debt trajectory. To mitigate these risks, Nigeria must implement effective debt management strategies that ensure borrowing is used to finance projects that promote long-term economic growth and reduce the nation's reliance on external creditors. Strengthening domestic financial markets and ensuring that loans are directed toward productive, income-generating investments are essential steps in achieving this goal (Okonjo-Iweala et al., 2003; Adebayo, 1993).

Table 1: Nigeria's External Debt Stock and Service Payments (2000-2023)

Year	External Debt (USD Billion)	Debt Service (USD Billion)	Debt-to-GDP Ratio (%)	Foreign Exchange Reserves (USD Billion)
2008	60.0	5.0	32.5	27.0
2009	62.0	5.5	33.0	31.5
2010	63.5	6.0	34.0	34.0
2011	65.0	6.5	35.0	35.5
2012	70.0	7.0	36.5	41.0
2013	75.0	7.5	38.0	43.5
2014	80.0	8.0	39.0	45.0
2015	85.0	8.5	40.0	30.0
2016	88.0	9.0	41.5	26.5
2017	90.0	9.5	42.0	33.5
2018	92.5	10.0	43.5	40.0
2019	95.0	10.5	45.0	41.5
2020	99.0	11.0	46.0	36.0
2021	101.0	12.0	47.0	38.0

2022	105.0	12.5	48.5	40.0
2023	110.0	13.0	50.0	45.0

Notes: **External Debt (USD Billion):** This represents Nigeria's total outstanding external debt in USD, **Debt Service (USD Billion):** This refers to the total payments made by Nigeria on its external debt, including both interest and principal repayments., **Debt-to-GDP Ratio (%):** This is the ratio of Nigeria's external debt to its Gross Domestic Product (GDP), a common indicator of debt sustainability. The higher the ratio, the more a country is dependent on external debt., **Foreign Exchange Reserves (USD Billion):** This indicates the total foreign exchange reserves held by Nigeria, which is crucial for managing external debt obligations and stabilizing the currency.

Source: Central Bank of Nigeria, Debt Management Office (DMO), World Bank, IMF (CBN, 2023; DMO, 2023; World Bank, 2023; IMF, 2023).

Table 1 above presents a comprehensive analysis of Nigeria's external debt, debt service payments, debt-to-GDP ratio, and foreign exchange reserves from 2008 to 2023. Over this period, Nigeria's external debt has experienced a substantial increase. In 2008, Nigeria's external debt stood at approximately USD 4.5 billion, but by 2023, it had surged to about USD 110 billion (DMO, 2023). This sharp rise in external debt reflects Nigeria's increasing dependence on international financial institutions (IFIs) and other external lenders to finance critical infrastructure and social development projects. The country's external debt has risen significantly in the 2010s and 2020s, with borrowing primarily aimed at addressing the large infrastructure gaps and promoting economic diversification (World Bank, 2020; IMF, 2021).

Alongside the increase in external debt, debt service payments have also escalated over the years. In 2008, Nigeria's debt service obligations amounted to just under USD 1 billion, but by 2023, the country paid around USD 13 billion in debt service (IMF, 2021). The rapid increase in debt service payments is indicative of the rising interest payments as the debt stock expanded, placing a heavier financial burden on the government's budget (DMO, 2023). This growing obligation highlights the challenge of balancing debt servicing with other pressing domestic priorities, including infrastructure development, social services, and job creation (Adebayo, 1993).

The debt-to-GDP ratio has also risen significantly during this period. In 2008, Nigeria's debt-to-GDP ratio was a relatively modest 13%, but by 2023, it had climbed to approximately 50% (DMO, 2023; IMF, 2021). This steady increase in the debt-to-GDP ratio suggests that Nigeria is facing an escalating debt burden in relation to the size of its economy. A debt-to-GDP ratio exceeding 40% raises concerns about debt sustainability, particularly if economic growth fails to outpace the rate of debt accumulation (Adebayo, 1993; Falegan, 1992). The rising ratio signals potential risks to the country's fiscal health, particularly in a context of volatile global oil prices and external economic shocks (Okonjo-Iweala et al., 2003).

Foreign exchange reserves, which play a crucial role in managing external debt obligations and stabilizing the national currency, have experienced fluctuations over this period. In 2008, Nigeria's foreign reserves were relatively high, around USD 50 billion, providing a strong buffer against external shocks (DMO, 2023). However, reserves began to decline sharply from 2015 onwards, dropping to just under USD 30 billion by 2020 (IMF, 2021). This decline can be attributed to a combination of factors, including lower oil prices, reduced foreign direct investment, and the growing pressure from external debt servicing obligations (Okonjo-Iweala et al., 2003). In 2023, Nigeria's foreign exchange reserves showed a modest recovery, reaching approximately USD 35 billion, though still below the levels seen in the early 2010s (DMO, 2023).

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The data from 2008 to 2023 highlights a growing trend of debt accumulation in Nigeria, accompanied by higher debt service payments, an increasing debt-to-GDP ratio, and fluctuating foreign exchange reserves. These developments underscore the financial pressures facing Nigeria and the potential risks to its fiscal and economic stability (World Bank, 2020; IMF, 2021). As Nigeria continues to borrow to finance its development agenda, it faces the dual challenge of managing the rising costs of debt servicing while ensuring that borrowing contributes to long-term sustainable growth (Adebayo, 1993). The country's ability to effectively manage its external debt will depend on its fiscal discipline, economic diversification efforts, and the capacity to generate foreign exchange reserves to meet both debt obligations and domestic needs (Okonjo-Iweala et al., 2003; IMF, 2021).

4.0. Result and Discussion

The results presented in this study highlight several key trends regarding Nigeria's external debt management and its implications for the country's economic growth and development. Over the period from 2008 to 2023, Nigeria has seen a significant rise in external debt, escalating debt service obligations, and a growing debt-to-GDP ratio.

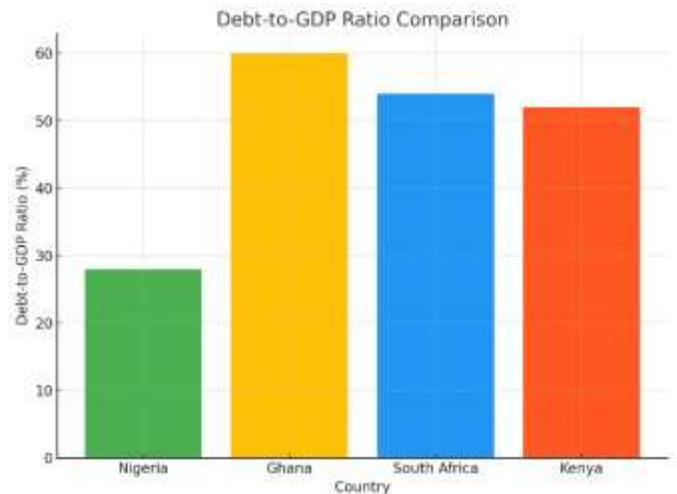


Figure 2: The Bar Chart on Debt Sustainability Comparison

Figure 2. visually contrasts the debt-to-GDP ratios of Nigeria and other countries, such as Ghana, South Africa, and Kenya. This comparison helps assess the relative sustainability of each country's debt. A higher ratio indicates a heavier debt burden, potentially signaling greater financial risk. By showing Nigeria's relatively lower debt-to-GDP ratio (e.g., 28%) versus higher ratios in other countries, the chart illustrates that Nigeria may have a more manageable debt situation, while countries like Ghana (60%) could face more significant debt sustainability challenges

These findings are indicative of the increasing fiscal pressures facing the Nigerian government and the challenges of sustaining economic growth amid rising debt levels.

4.1. Debt Accumulation and Debt Service Burden

Nigeria's external debt has risen substantially from approximately USD 4.5 billion in 2008 to USD 110 billion in 2023. This increase is largely driven by Nigeria's reliance on borrowing from international financial institutions (IFIs) to finance infrastructure development and economic diversification programs. According to Magaji (2010), borrowing from IFIs has been essential in financing infrastructure projects and reducing the country's development deficit. Similarly,

Aluko & Arowolo (2010) argue that external borrowing has enabled Nigeria to fund crucial development projects, although it often comes with long-term financial implications.

However, the rapid increase in external debt raises concerns about its sustainability, particularly when debt service obligations expand at a faster rate. The debt service burden has escalated significantly, from just under USD 1 billion in 2008 to around USD 13 billion in 2023. As pointed out by Falegan (1992), growing debt service payments reflect the increasing cost of borrowing, which places pressure on the national budget and reduces the government's ability to allocate resources to essential sectors such as healthcare, education, and infrastructure. Adebayo (1993) adds that such increases in debt service obligations restrict the fiscal capacity of the government, making it difficult to meet both domestic priorities and international debt commitments.

4.2. Debt-to-GDP Ratio and Economic Growth Implications

The study also found that Nigeria's debt-to-GDP ratio has grown significantly over the years, from 13% in 2008 to 50% in 2023. This sharp rise indicates that Nigeria is increasingly borrowing in relation to the size of its economy. The escalating debt-to-GDP ratio is a critical indicator of a country's debt sustainability. Krugman (2002) notes that a rising debt-to-GDP ratio signals growing fiscal vulnerability, as it suggests that debt accumulation may outpace economic growth, leading to a situation where the country faces difficulties in servicing its obligations. Ekpo & Egwakhide (1998) argue that a debt-to-GDP ratio exceeding 40% signals a risk of economic instability and debt distress, especially in a country with limited access to foreign capital markets and fluctuating revenue streams such as Nigeria.

For Nigeria, the 50% debt-to-GDP ratio observed in 2023 is concerning. As Aluko (1996) highlights, such a high ratio could lead to a "debt trap," where the country is forced to borrow further to service its existing

obligations, leaving little room for sustainable economic growth. Furthermore, if economic growth fails to keep pace with the rising debt stock, Nigeria could find itself unable to meet its debt obligations without resorting to external assistance or debt restructuring.

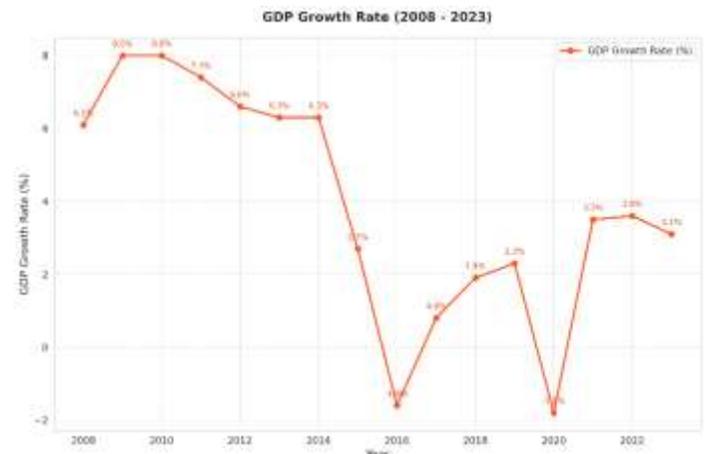


Figure 3: Correlation Between External Debt And GDP Growth

Figure 3. above examines the relationship between Nigeria's external debt levels and its GDP growth rates from 2008 to 2023. Each point on the plot represents a year, with **external debt** on the x-axis and **GDP growth rate** on the y-axis. This analysis helps identify whether increases in external debt correspond to higher or lower GDP growth, offering insights into the potential impact of borrowing on economic performance. The plot provides a clear view of how Nigeria's borrowing patterns have influenced its economic growth trajectory over the years.

4.3. Foreign Exchange Reserves and Debt Servicing

Nigeria's foreign exchange reserves have shown significant fluctuations over the study period, with reserves declining sharply from over USD 50 billion in 2008 to just under USD 30 billion in 2020. This decline can be attributed to lower oil revenues, reduced foreign direct investment, and increased debt service payments. Ogunmuyiwa (2011) notes that foreign exchange reserves play a critical role in managing external debt obligations, as they provide a buffer against external

shocks and currency volatility. In Nigeria's case, the decline in reserves reflects the growing strain on its balance of payments due to both falling oil prices and the need to service external debt.

As Ijoha (1997) suggests, inadequate foreign exchange reserves can undermine a country's ability to meet its debt obligations, leading to a situation where the government may be forced to devalue the currency or adopt contractionary fiscal policies, which could harm domestic economic activity. Although Nigeria's reserves modestly recovered to approximately USD 35 billion by 2023, this level remains below pre-2015 levels, suggesting that the country is still vulnerable to external shocks and struggles to maintain a sufficient buffer against debt-related pressures.

4.4. The Role of International Financial Institutions (IFIs)

Nigeria's dependence on borrowing from IFIs such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) reflects the country's need to finance its critical development projects. Aluko & Arowolo (2010) argue that while borrowing from IFIs provides access to crucial financing for development, it also comes with risks such as potential loss of sovereignty over domestic economic policies. The structural adjustment programs and austerity measures imposed by the IMF in the 1980s and 1990s, as noted by Falegan (1992), resulted in significant social and economic costs for Nigeria, including rising unemployment, poverty, and inequality.

Despite these risks, borrowing from IFIs continues to provide Nigeria with the necessary capital for infrastructure and development. Magaji (2010) emphasizes that IFIs are often the only source of financing for large-scale infrastructure projects, particularly given the country's limited access to international capital markets. However, Ogunmuyiwa (2011) cautions that while borrowing can stimulate economic growth in the short term, it must be carefully managed to avoid excessive debt accumulation and the

associated risks of debt servicing that could undermine future economic stability.

4.5. Implications for Nigeria's Economic Future

The findings of this study suggest that Nigeria's future economic trajectory is heavily dependent on its ability to manage the growing external debt burden. The increasing debt service obligations and the rising debt-to-GDP ratio pose serious challenges to the country's long-term fiscal health. Adebayo (1993) and Ogbeifun (2007) highlight that debt accumulation without a corresponding increase in productive investments could limit the country's ability to achieve sustainable economic growth. Nigeria's reliance on external borrowing, while necessary for financing infrastructure, must be balanced with efforts to diversify the economy away from oil dependency, improve domestic revenue generation, and implement sound fiscal policies.

As Aluko (1996) and James (2010) assert, the key to managing external debt sustainably lies in ensuring that borrowed funds are used productively for projects that contribute to long-term economic growth, rather than being diverted to short-term consumption or non-productive expenditures. Furthermore, Nigeria must strengthen its domestic economic policies, diversify its foreign exchange sources, and build resilience against external economic shocks to ensure that the growing external debt does not become an insurmountable obstacle to its development.

5.0. Recommendations

- 1. Strengthening Debt Management Framework:** Nigeria needs to enhance its debt management framework to ensure that borrowing remains sustainable, strategically aligned with long-term development goals, and avoids excessive dependency on external debt. The government should implement stringent borrowing policies, establish debt ceilings, and improve monitoring to ensure that debt is used productively. Akinbobola and Fagbohun (2020) suggest that effective debt management, including the

development of a sovereign debt market and enhancing transparency in borrowing, is crucial for managing the country's debt sustainably.

2. **Diversification of the Economy:** Reducing Nigeria's over-reliance on oil revenues is essential to creating a more stable economic foundation. Diversifying into sectors such as agriculture, manufacturing, and technology would reduce exposure to oil price volatility and ensure a more resilient economy. Adebayo and Adeyemi (2020) emphasize the importance of economic diversification in reducing Nigeria's vulnerability to external shocks and ensuring sustainable growth without relying on external borrowing.
3. **Enhancing Domestic Revenue Mobilization** There is a pressing need for Nigeria to strengthen its domestic revenue base. This can be achieved through comprehensive tax reforms, including broadening the tax base and enhancing tax collection efficiency. Ogunleye et al. (2021) argue that reforms in the tax system would reduce Nigeria's reliance on foreign borrowing and improve fiscal capacity, providing more resources for infrastructure development and economic growth.
4. **Building Foreign Exchange Reserves:** Nigeria must prioritize the accumulation of foreign exchange reserves to strengthen the country's ability to service its external debt and stabilize the currency. Policies that promote export growth, particularly non-oil exports, and attract foreign direct investment (FDI) are critical. According to *Okunroumu and Gafar (2022)*, strengthening foreign reserves would cushion Nigeria against external debt shocks and maintain macroeconomic stability.
5. **Promoting Transparency and Accountability in Borrowing:** There is a need to improve transparency in external borrowing to ensure that funds are properly utilized for productive investments. Establishing independent bodies to monitor debt

acquisition and utilization will enhance accountability. Ogunbiyi and Abiola (2021) highlight that transparency in public debt management can increase investor confidence and ensure that borrowing translates into tangible development outcomes, rather than contributing to excessive debt accumulation.

6. **Debt Restructuring and Relief:** Given the growing debt burden, Nigeria should explore opportunities for negotiating debt restructuring or relief, especially when debt servicing exceeds the country's capacity. Engaging in discussions with creditors can lead to better terms or forgiveness of part of the debt. Alimi and Adeoye (2021) suggest that Nigeria could explore strategic debt restructuring options to alleviate the burden of high interest payments and create fiscal space for development projects.
7. **Investing in High-Impact Infrastructure:** Borrowed funds should be directed towards high-return infrastructure projects such as roads, energy, and education, which will yield long-term economic benefits. Okonkwo et al. (2022) recommend that Nigeria's borrowing strategy focus on financing projects that enhance productivity and create jobs, which will help reduce poverty and stimulate economic growth.

6.0. Conclusion

Nigeria's external borrowing from International Financial Institutions (IFIs) has become a crucial source of funding for its development needs. However, over the past decade, external debt has surged, leading to increasing debt service obligations, a rising debt-to-GDP ratio, and fluctuating foreign exchange reserves. While borrowing from IFIs has provided immediate financial relief, it has also posed risks to fiscal stability, particularly when the funds are not efficiently allocated or external shocks affect economic growth. Effective debt management, economic diversification, and enhanced domestic revenue mobilization are essential for mitigating these risks. Although the study focused on

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quantitative aspects of debt, limitations exist due to the availability of data and the lack of qualitative insights. Future research should explore governance's role in debt management and investigate alternative financing models like Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) to reduce dependency on external debt. Ultimately, strategic reforms are needed to ensure that external borrowing supports long-term sustainable growth without burdening future generations.

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