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China's Development Cooperation with Nigeria and the China-Africa Community with a Shared Future

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ABSTRACT: This research article examines China-Nigeria development cooperation within the broader context of the China-Africa Community with a Shared Future, analyzing the motivations, mechanisms, and impacts of this evolving relationship. While China's engagement in Africa has fostered rapid growth in development aid and investment, particularly in resource-rich countries such as Nigeria, the nature of this cooperation has been subject to diverse interpretations. This study explores the economic, political, and cultural dimensions of the bilateral relationship, recognizing both opportunities for economic growth and infrastructure development and challenges such as trade imbalances, debt, environmental issues, and labor rights. The guiding framework for these interactions is the China-Africa concept of a Community with a Shared Future, which emphasizes mutual respect, win-win cooperation, and common development, aiming to strengthen political trust and economic partnerships to address global challenges and promote shared prosperity.

KEYWORDS: China-Nigeria, Development cooperation, community with share future.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The relationship between China and Nigeria has evolved significantly from limited contact in the immediate post-independence era to a complex and expansive engagement, driven by China's dramatic economic growth and Nigeria's status as a regional power with abundant natural resources and a vast consumer market. This bilateral relationship is increasingly framed within the context of the "China-Africa Community with a Shared Future," a strategic framework designed to promote shared development through strengthened cooperation across various sectors. Nigeria's development cooperation with China has garnered considerable attention, with analyses exploring its impact on economic growth, infrastructure development, and broader African development.

By analyzing various aspects of this relationship, including economic, military, and diplomatic engagements, this study aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the evolving dynamics and their impact on both nations and the African continent.

This study will delve into the scope and landscape of China-Nigeria development cooperation, the broader vision of the China-Africa Community with a Shared Future, and the opportunities and challenges facing this evolving partnership.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

This article will address the core issues and challenges in China-Nigeria relations, such as the persistent trade imbalance favoring China (Calabrese,2025), concerns about substandard Chinese products (Calabrese,2025),and the impact on Nigerian domestic industries (Calabrese,2025).it will also explore the ongoing debate over whether China's engagement in Africa is exploitative or a genuine development partnership (Mo,2017).

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This article presents specific questions that this paper seeks to answer, such as:

How has China-Nigeria development cooperation evolved? What are its key characteristics?

What are the key achievements and challenges of this cooperation, particularly in the context of infrastructure development and economic diversification?

How does the concept of a "China-Africa community with a shared future" influence and shape China's engagement with Nigeria?

What impact does the evolving China-Nigeria partnership have on Nigeria's development goals and its position in the global geopolitical landscape?

1.4 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The specific objectives of this study including:

Analyzing the historical trajectory and current status of China-Nigeria development cooperation.

Assessing the impact of Chinese investments and projects on Nigeria's infrastructure and economic sectors.

Explore the theoretical and practical dimensions of the "China-Africa Community of Shared Future" and its relationship with Nigeria.

Identify the opportunities and risks Nigeria faces in this evolving partnership.

1.5 RESEARCH SIGNIFICANCE

This article will outline the significance of this research, highlighting its contribution to understanding contemporary international relations, South-South cooperation, and the specific dynamics of China-Africa relations (A Community with a Shared Future: Beijing's Vision of China-Africa Relations. In China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies. 2020). The research will also emphasize its practical relevance for Nigerian and Chinese policymakers, as well as for other African countries seeking to leverage external partnerships for development (Mertha, 2009).

II. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: CHINA- AFRICA COMMUNITY WITH A SHARED FUTURE.

2.1 Origin and evolution of the concept

The vision of a "community with a shared future for mankind" was first proposed by Chinese President Xi Jinping in 2013 (A Global Community of Shared Future: China's Proposals and Actions, 2023). This overarching concept aims to address global challenges by promoting solidarity, cooperation, and common prosperity among all countries (A Global Community of Shared Future: China's Proposals and Actions, 2023). It advocates that all countries, with their interconnected destinies, should work together to address challenges, overcome difficulties, and advance together towards a more harmonious world (A Global Community of Shared Future: China's Proposals and Actions, 2023). This vision emphasizes building a world of lasting peace, universal security, common prosperity, openness, inclusiveness, cleanliness, and beauty (A Global Community of Shared Future: China's Proposals and Actions, 2023). This vision aligns with the common interests of mankind, encourages international solidarity and cooperation, and has gained growing support globally (A Global Community of Shared Future: China's Proposals and Actions, 2023). The concept of a "China-Africa community with a shared future" marks the first regional implementation of this broader vision (A Global Community of Shared Future: China's Proposals and Actions, 2023). It emphasizes the principles of sincerity, equality, friendship, and mutual benefit in China-Africa relations (A Global Community of Shared Future: China's Proposals and Actions, 2023). This concept marks a breakthrough in traditional international relations, aiming to establish a partnership based on mutual respect and mutual benefit (A Global Community of Shared Future: China's Proposals and Actions, 2023). Historically, China and Africa have maintained strong ties, supporting each other in national liberation struggles and the path of development and revitalization (Writing a New Chapter of All-Weather China-Africa Community With 2024). This deep brotherly bond is reflected in a shared future and common aspirations (Writing a New Chapter of All-Weather China-Africa Community With, 2024). China-Africa relations have evolved through several strategic heights, particularly since the establishment of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation in 2000 (Writing a New Chapter of All-Weather China-Africa Community With 2024). The Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) has become the core framework for China-Africa engagement in the 21st century, promoting multi-sect oral cooperation, primarily in economic and trade relations (Youngman & Moahi 2015). China-Africa relations evolved from the establishment of a new type of partnership in 2000 to a new type of strategic partnership in 2006, and finally to

a comprehensive strategic cooperative partnership in 2015 (Writing a New Chapter of All-Weather China-Africa Community With 2024). At the FOCAC Summit held in Beijing in September 2024, China and Africa elevated their shared vision to the "All-Weather China-Africa Community with a Shared Future in the New Era" (Writing a New Chapter of All-Weather China-Africa Community With,2024). The summit was a significant diplomatic event, attended by leaders from all 53 African countries with which China has established diplomatic ties (Writing a New Chapter of All-Weather China-Africa Community With, 2024). The summit reached numerous consensuses, including the Beijing Declaration on Jointly Building an All-Weather China-Africa Community with a Shared Future for a New Era and the Beijing Action Plan of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (2025-2027) (Writing a New Chapter of All-Weather China-Africa Community With,2024). This upgrade demonstrates that China and Africa are committed to being trustworthy friends and partners, regardless of the evolving international landscape (Writing a New Chapter of All-Weather China-Africa Community With,2024).

2.2. Guiding Principles of China's Africa Policy

The cornerstone of China's Africa policy is the Four Principles of "Sincerity, Real Results, Affinity, and Good Faith," first proposed by President Xi Jinping in Tanzania on March 25, 2013. These principles are embodied in truthfulness, pragmatism, friendship, and sincerity. These core values have enhanced the affinity of China's diplomacy toward Africa and demonstrated China's global vision. Over the past decade, China has consistently upheld these principles, working with African countries to build a high-quality China-Africa community with a shared future. The concept of "sincerity, real results, closeness, and good faith" has underpinned numerous successful cooperation projects promoted by the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC). (王晶晶.2024) Chinese leaders, including President Xi Jinping, have repeatedly emphasized this concept in their keynote speeches at various FOCAC meetings. (王晶晶.2024) Frequent high-level exchanges between Chinese and African leaders further demonstrate the enduring nature of this concept. China is committed to translating this philosophy into concrete actions and results, as evidenced by the completion of the tasks of the nine major cooperation projects of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) announced in 2021. (王晶晶.2024).

Objectives of China's Approach to Africa

Building a China-Africa community with a shared future is the strategic framework for China-Africa cooperation (Abdullahi, 2025). This framework aims to promote common development by strengthening bilateral cooperation in various fields, including economic, cultural, political, and security (Abdullahi, 2025). China is committed to consolidating political mutual trust with Africa, expanding practical cooperation, and contributing to peace and development on the continent (*China and Africa in the New Era: A Partnership of Equals_Ministry*,2021). China also adheres to the "Five-Point Principles of Cooperation," emphasizing common development, intensive development, green development, secure development, and open development (*Dakar Declaration of the Eighth Ministerial Conference of the Forum*,2021). The two sides are committed to further elevating the China-Africa comprehensive strategic partnership and building a closer China-Africa community with a shared future ("*Forum on China-Africa Cooperation Dakar Action Plan*,2021"). They are also working to align the "China-Africa Vision 2035" with China's Long-Range Goals for 2035, the UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, and the African Union's Agenda 2063, and to chart a long-term blueprint for practical China-Africa cooperation ("*Forum on China-Africa Cooperation Dakar Action Plan*,2021").

The"Belt and Road"initiatives as a key platform

The "Belt and Road" Initiative, proposed by President Xi Jinping in 2013, is a key platform for realizing China's vision for Africa ("Forum on China-Africa Cooperation Dakar Action Plan,2021"). The "Belt and Road" Initiative aims to promote economic prosperity and regional economic cooperation (China's Belt and Road Initiative in East Africa - Army University Press.2023). Under the "Belt and Road" Initiative, China and Africa are committed to upholding the principles of extensive consultation, joint contribution, and shared benefits (Forum on China-Africa Cooperation Dakar Action Plan,2021). The "Belt and Road" Initiative also emphasizes openness, green development, and integrity, striving to achieve high-standard, people-oriented, and sustainable development (Forum on China-Africa Cooperation Dakar Action Plan,2021). The "Belt and Road" Initiative has already achieved tangible results, such as improved infrastructure and connectivity in Africa. (Celestine et al,2024). Chinese companies have participated in the construction and upgrading of a significant amount of infrastructure in African countries, including over 10,000 kilometers of roads, approximately 1,000 bridges, 100 ports, 66,000 kilometers of power lines, and 150,000 kilometers of communications networks. (Celestine et al,2024). China is willing to implement 30 infrastructure connectivity projects in Africa to promote high-quality joint construction of the "Belt and Road" Initiative and build a coordinated land-sea connectivity network. (Joining Hands to Advance Modernization and Build a.2024).

The "Belt and Road" Initiative is an important component of deepening economic cooperation and a key institutional outcome of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (Kitili. 2024).

2.3 Implementation and Initiatives

Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC)

Established in Beijing in October 2000, the FOCAC is a multilateral policy platform that has enriched Beijing's policy tools toward Africa and played a vital coordinating role (Aiping & Zhan, 2018). The Forum aims to promote practical cooperation between China and African countries (Ibrahim et al.2021). Since its inception, the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) has held ministerial conferences every three years (Ming, 2013). For example, the first ministerial conference in 2000 led to the establishment of a new type of partnership ("Writing a New Chapter of All-Weather China-Africa Community With" 2024). In 2006, the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) brought together over 40 African heads of state or government for the first time (Radford, 2022). This event, dubbed China's "Year of Africa," marked the announcement of a new type of strategic partnership between China and Africa characterized by political equality, economic mutual trust, practical cooperation, win-win cooperation, and people-to-people exchanges (Naidu, 2007). The FOCAC Beijing Summit, held in September 2024, further elevated China-Africa relations to an all-weather China-Africa community with a shared future in the new era (*Beijing Declaration on Jointly Building an All-Weather*,2024).

Ten Partnership Actions to Promote China-Africa Modernization

At the 2024 Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC)in Beijing Summit General Secretary Xi Jinping announced ten cooperation actions China will implement to promote modernization in Africa over the next three years (Writing a New Chapter of All-Weather China-Africa Community With. 2024). These actions are designed to align with the common aspirations and fundamental interests of the Chinese and African peoples and address the practical needs of China-Africa modernization (Writing a New Chapter of All-Weather China-Africa Community With .2024). The Chinese government has pledged 360 billion RMB in financial support over the next three years to implement these actions (Xi proposes partnership actions to jointly advance modernization .2024).

Areas of Partnership Actions

Mutual Learning among Civilizations: China will work with African countries to establish a platform for governance experience sharing, a China-Africa knowledge network for development, and 25 China-Africa research centers (Writing a New Chapter of the All-Weather China-Africa Community. 2024). Furthermore, 1,000 members of African political parties will be invited to China for exchanges (*Xi proposes partnership actions to jointly advance modernization*. 2024).

Trade Prosperity: China will unilaterally expand market opening and grant zero-tariff treatment on 100% of tariff lines to all least developed countries (LDCs) with diplomatic ties with China, including 33 African countries (Writing a New Chapter of All-Weather China-Africa Community With. 2024). This initiative aims to transform China's vast market into significant opportunities for Africa. China will also expand market access for African agricultural products, deepen e-commerce cooperation, and launch the "China-Africa Quality Improvement Plan" (Xi Jinping Attends the Opening Ceremony of the Beijing Summit of,2024).

Industrial Chain Cooperation: China will cultivate industrial cooperation growth clusters in Africa, advance the development of China-Africa pilot zones for in-depth economic and trade cooperation, and launch the "African Small and Medium Enterprises Empowerment Plan" (*Xi Jinping Attends the Opening Ceremony of the Beijing Summit of*,2024).

Digital Technology Cooperation: A China-Africa digital technology cooperation center will be built, and 20 digital demonstration projects will be initiated(*Xi Jinping Attends the Opening Ceremony of the Beijing Summit of*,2024).

Connectivity: China plans to implement 30 infrastructure connectivity projects in Africa to promote high-quality joint construction of the "Belt and Road"Initiative (*Xi Jinping Attends the Opening Ceremony of the Beijing Summit of*,2024). These include building a network of land and sea connectivity and coordinated development between China and Africa, deepening logistics and financial cooperation, and benefiting Africa's cross-regional development (*Xi Jinping Attends the Opening Ceremony of the Beijing Summit of*,2024).

Development Cooperation: China is willing to issue a joint statement with Africa on deepening cooperation within the framework of global development initiatives and implement 1,000 "small but beautiful" livelihood projects (*Xi Jinping Attends the Opening Ceremony of the Beijing Summit of*,2024).

Health: China is willing to establish a hospital alliance and joint medical center with Africa, send 2,000 medical personnel to Africa, and launch 20 medical and health facility construction and malaria treatment projects (Writing a New Chapter of All-Weather China-Africa Community With.2024).

Agriculture and People's Livelihood: China will provide 1 billion RMB in emergency food aid to Africa, build 100,000 mu (approximately 166 acres) of standardized agricultural demonstration zones, send 500 agricultural experts, and establish the China-Africa Agricultural Science and Technology Innovation Alliance (Writing a New Chapter of All-Weather China-Africa Community With.2024). Furthermore, 500 public welfare projects will be implemented to promote two-way investment, expand new business models, and create at least 1 million jobs in Africa(*Xi Jinping Attends the Opening Ceremony of the Beijing Summit of*,2024).

People-to-People Exchanges: China will implement the "Africa's Future - Vocational Education Cooperation Plan," establish an engineering technology academy, and ten "Luban Workshops" with Africa (*Xi Jinping Attends the Opening Ceremony of the Beijing Summit of*,2024). Approximately 60,000 training opportunities will be provided, primarily for women and youth (*Xi Jinping Attends the Opening Ceremony of the Beijing Summit of*,2024).

Green Development: China plans to implement 30 clean energy projects in Africa, establish a meteorological early warning system, and cooperate in disaster prevention, mitigation, and relief, as well as biodiversity conservation (*Xi Jinping Attends the Opening Ceremony of the Beijing Summit of*,2024). China will establish a China-Africa Forum on the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Technology, and cooperate in satellite remote sensing, lunar and deep space exploration(*Xi Jinping Attends the Opening Ceremony of the Beijing Summit of*,2024).

Common Security: China is willing to establish a partnership with Africa to implement the Global Security Initiative, provide training for 6,000 military personnel and 1,000 police and law enforcement personnel in Africa, and invite 500 young African military officers to China (*Xi Jinping Attends the Opening Ceremony of the Beijing Summit of*, 2024). Conduct joint military exercises, training, patrols and other activities, and launch the "Operation Free Africa" (*Xi Jinping Attends the Opening Ceremony of the Beijing Summit of*, 2024).

III. CHINA NIGERIA DEVELOPNENT COOPERATION:KEY AREAS AND ACHIEVEMENTS.

3.1 Diplomatic and Political Relations

Nigeria and the People's Republic of China formally established diplomatic relations on February 10, 1971. (Agubamah, 2014) Nigeria recognized the People's Republic of China as the sole representative of the Chinese people and established embassies in each other's capitals that same year. China has consistently described this relationship as a "win-win" situation (Agubamah, 2014). Since then the China-Nigeria strategic partnership has continued to deepen (Lu,2023). In 2005, the heads of state of China and Africa unanimously agreed to establish the China-Nigeria strategic partnership (Lu,2023). The partnership reached the level of "strategic partnership" in 2005 and was subsequently upgraded to a "comprehensive strategic partnership" (A NEW ERA IN NIGERIA-CHINA RELATIONS, 2025). In September 2023, during the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) Summit in Beijing, Nigerian President Bola Ahmed Tinubu and Chinese President Xi Jinping signed a joint statement ratifying the partnership (A NEW ERA IN NIGERIA-CHINA RELATIONS, 2025). Chinese Ambassador to Nigeria Yu Dunhai stated that this upgrade marked a further development in decadeslong China-Nigeria relations and the beginning of a "new era" (A NEW ERA IN NIGERIA-CHINA RELATIONS, 2025). The joint statement issued by President Tinubu and President Xi Jinping at the FOCAC Summit outlined a blueprint for the future development of China-Nigeria relations (A NEW ERA IN NIGERIA-CHINA CHINA RELATIONS, 2025).

This blueprint focuses on four key areas: high-level strategic mutual trust, high-level development cooperation, high-level mutual assistance and cooperation, and high-level mutual understanding (A NEW ERA IN NIGERIA-CHINA RELATIONS, 2025). The confirmation of this strategic partnership for a new era includes the adoption of 13 cooperation documents covering areas such as high-quality joint construction of the "Belt and Road" Initiative, implementation of global development initiatives, economic growth, human resources

development, application of the Beidou satellite navigation system, peanut exports to China, and media exchanges ("A NEW ERA IN NIGERIA-CHINA RELATIONS, 2025"). Furthermore, the partnership includes approximately 19 joint projects ("A NEW ERA IN NIGERIA-CHINA RELATIONS, 2025"). Following his attendance at the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) Summit, President Tinubu actively promoted the implementation of various agreements ("A NEW ERA IN NIGERIA-CHINA RELATIONS, 2025"). He approved the establishment of the Nigeria-China Strategic Partnership (NCSP) and appointed Mr. Joseph Tegbe as the Partnership's Global Liaison Officer and Director-General ("A NEW ERA IN NIGERIA-CHINA RELATIONS, 2025"). The NCSP is mandated to oversee the implementation of the signed agreements, in collaboration with relevant Chinese authorities, to ensure their alignment with national development goals ("A NEW ERA IN NIGERIA-CHINA RELATIONS, 2025"). The NCSP's strategic plan is expected to outline specific outcomes, timelines, and key performance indicators for each area of cooperation, including priority projects, projected investments, and expected socioeconomic outcomes ("A NEW ERA IN NIGERIA-CHINA RELATIONS, 2025"). Tegbe noted that the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) signed between the two countries approved 54 projects covering areas such as infrastructure, agriculture, healthcare, education, mining, manufacturing, and technology ("A NEW ERA IN NIGERIA-CHINA RELATIONS, 2025"). He emphasized the importance of the National Strategic Planning Office in coordinating and ensuring proper implementation, addressing the previous lack of a central coordination point for such partnerships ("A NEW ERA IN NIGERIA-CHINA RELATIONS, 2025"). A secondary responsibility will be to evaluate and monitor commercial and economic relations to ensure value for money and promote win-win relations ("A NEW ERA IN NIGERIA-CHINA RELATIONS, 2025").

3.2 Economic and Trade Cooperation

Nigeria and China have seen significant development in economic and trade cooperation. Nigeria, as one of China's key partners in Africa, holds a pivotal position (*China–Nigeria relations*,2008). The relationship is characterized by expanding bilateral trade, strategic cooperation, and substantial investment in various sectors (*China–Nigeria relations*,2008).

Trade between the two countries has grown significantly, from US\$384 million in 1998 to US\$3 billion in 2006 (*China–Nigeria relations*, 2008). By 2010, bilateral trade had reached US\$7.8 billion (*China–Nigeria relations*, 2008). In 2011, Nigeria became China's fourth-largest trading partner in Africa, and by the first eight months of 2012, it had become China's third-largest trading partner in Africa (*China–Nigeria relations*, 2008). In 2016, total trade between Nigeria and China reached US\$10.62 billion (Nigeria-China Bilateral Trade Relations, 2020).

According to Chinese customs statistics, bilateral trade between China and Nigeria reached US\$22.56 billion in 2023 (*Join Hands to Pursue Common Development and Jointly Build a* .2024). Furthermore, Nigeria is China's second-largest export market and a key investment destination in Africa, with the number of Chinese-contracted projects in Nigeria ranking among the highest on the continent (*Join Hands to Pursue Common Development and Jointly Build a* .2024). Historically, Nigeria's economic interaction with China has been unbalanced, with Chinese exports accounting for nearly 80% of total bilateral trade (*China–Nigeria relations*.2008). This imbalance has resulted in Nigeria importing ten times more than it exports to China, leading to its reliance on cheap foreign imports and negatively impacting domestic industries, particularly the textile sector (*China–Nigeria relations*. 2008). In April 2018, Nigeria signed a three-year, US\$2.4 billion currency swap agreement aimed at boosting trade by reducing its reliance on the US dollar (*China–Nigeria relations*.2008). The currency swap agreement was renewed in December 2024 for another three years, totaling RMB 15 billion (US\$2 billion) (Redefining the China–Nigeria Partnership: From Trade to. 2025).

3.3 Infrastructure Construction

China has invested heavily in Nigeria's infrastructure, particularly through the "Belt and Road" Initiative, making Nigeria China's largest engineering contractor in Africa, some of these projects are, The Abuja rail transit, Lagos Ibadan railway, Zongulu Hydropower Project and others. (What Nigeria Can Teach Us About China's Belt and Road, 2022).

The Abuja Light, is a regional rail transit system in the Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria (Nuhu et al, 2024). The project aims to make Abuja the first city in Nigeria to have a rapid transit network, but the project has faced decades of delays (Daily Trust, 2025). The first phase of this Chinese-built railway network in Abuja was re-opened on May 29, 2024, after being suspended for four years due to the COVID-19 pandemic((Nigeria revives light rail line in capital, offers free rides, 2024). The China Civil Engineering Construction Corporation (CCECC) spent \$823 million to build this 45.25-kilometer (28.12-mile) railway network, which currently consists of two lines (Nigeria revives light rail line in capital, offers free rides, 2024). Upon completion, the

system is planned to have six lines totaling 292 kilometers (*Nigeria revives light rail line in capital, offers free rides*, 2024). The railway, which connects the international airport with the rest of the city, aims to alleviate traffic congestion and the high cost of living in the city center (*Nigeria revives light rail line in capital, offers free rides*, 2024). It also provides an environmental friendly alternative, reducing carbon emissions from the automotive industry (Dukiya, 2020).increased property value, cost-effectiveness, increased retail activity, and improved accessibility and connectivity are among the socioeconomic benefits observed within a three-kilometer radius of the rail station (A. & Victoria, 2024).

The Lagos-Ibadan Railway is a 157-kilometer (97.5-mile) railway line in southwestern Nigeria, connecting Ebute Meta in Lagos and Monia in Ibadan. It is part of the proposed Lagos-Kano Standard Gauge Railway project. Constructed by the China Civil Engineering Construction Corporation (CCECC), the Lagos-Ibadan Railway connects Nigeria's economic center, Lagos, with the industrial city of Ibadan (*Chinese-built Lagos-Ibadan Railway operates safely for 1000 days*.2024). The railway operates according to modern railway standards with a designed speed of 150 km/h (*Chinese-built Lagos-Ibadan Railway operates safely for 1000 days*.2024). This railway provides an affordable and safe mode of transportation for Africa's most populous country, improving passenger travel quality and the efficiency of port and inland freight transportation (*Chinese-built Lagos-Ibadan Railway operates safely for 1000 days*.2024). As of March 5, 2024, the Lagos-Ibadan Railway will have completed 1,000 days of safe operation, carrying over 2 million passengers (*Chinese-built Lagos-Ibadan Railway operates safely for 1000 days*,2024). The Export-Import Bank of China provided a US\$1.267 billion buyer's credit line for the project, of which the Nigerian government contributed US\$314.5 million (project {} | china.aiddata.org. 2017). The project launched commercial operation on June 10, 2021 (Project Name | china.aiddata.org. (2017)).

The Zongulu Hydropower Station is located on the Kaduna River in Niger State, Nigeria, with an installed capacity of 700 megawatts (MW). (Zongulu Hydropower Project - Bureau of Public Enterprises, 2021). Construction began in 2013. Estimated to cost US\$1.3 billion, it is considered the largest hydropower project currently under construction in Nigeria (Zongulu Hydropower Project - Bureau of Public Enterprises, 2021). It is also one of the largest power projects in Africa to receive a concessional loan from the Export-Import Bank of China (Zongulu Hydropower Project - Bureau of Public Enterprises, 2021). The Zongulu project is expected to generate 2.64 billion kWh of electricity annually, meeting nearly 10% of Nigeria's total domestic energy demand annually (Zongulu Hydropower Project - Bureau of Public Enterprises, 2021). In addition to power generation, the project aims to provide flood control, irrigation, water supply, and fish farming facilities (Zongulu Hydropower Project - Bureau of Public Enterprises, 2021). The power plant will be equipped with four 175-megawatt hydroelectric turbines (Zongulu Hydropower Project - Bureau of Public Enterprises, 2021). Nigeria is expected to fully commission the 700-megawatt Zongulu Hydropower Project in October 2023 (Nigeria fully commissions the 700 MW Zungeru hydropower project 2023).

China's involvement in Nigeria's infrastructure development also includes port construction and the establishment of free trade zones to stimulate industrial activity. For example, the Lekki Deepwater Port and the Lekki and Ogun Industrial Parks are flagship projects built by Chinese companies through China-Nigeria cooperation ("Join Hands to Pursue Common Development and Jointly Build a,2024"). Furthermore, a Chinese company has pledged to establish an electric tricycle assembly plant in Nigeria and provide Nigerians with training in technology and renewable energy ("China Pledges to Encourage Investment in Nigeria - Reuters," 2024).

3.4 Energy and Industrial Development

Nigeria has received significant Chinese investment in its energy and industrial sectors, aimed at driving industrial growth and economic diversification (Calabrese.2025). These collaborations span traditional sectors such as oil and gas, as well as emerging areas such as green hydrogen, nuclear energy, and renewable energy (Calabrese.2025).

Chinese investments have been channeled into Nigeria's oil and gas sector, which has historically been the cornerstone of its economy(Calabrese.2025). This includes efforts to revitalize energy infrastructure and diversify the industrial base through transformation projects (Calabrese.2025). For example, China National Offshore Oil Corporation (CNOOC) acquired a 45% stake in a Nigerian oil and gas field for US\$2.27 billion. Furthermore, the two sides signed an agreement to upgrade natural gas processing facilities, leveraging Chinese expertise and capital to address Nigeria's energy challenges (Calabrese.2025). While Nigeria holds significant oil reserves, Chinese interest has also extended to other sectors beyond resources(Mbachu, 2006).

Nigeria and China have officially signed a €7.6 billion (approximately \$7.9 billion) green hydrogen agreement (*Nigeria and China have signed a* €7,6 billion green .2025). This landmark agreement aims to facilitate a gradual transition from fossil fuels to clean energy (*Nigeria and China have signed a* €7,6 billion green .2025). The project will be located within the Atabrikon Free Trade Zone (LFTZ) in the Ibeno Local Government Area of Akwa Ibom State (*Nigeria and China have signed a* €7,6 billion green .2025). Partners include the Federal Government of Nigeria, APPL Hydrogen Limited (AHL), and China Longi Green Energy Technology Company Limited(LGETCL).(*Nigeria and China have signed a* €7,6 billion green .2025). The project plans to produce 1.2 million tons of green hydrogen-based methanol annually for export, as well as medical oxygen and food-grade carbon dioxide (gasworld.2025). Nigeria's Minister of Innovation, Science and Technology, Uche Nnaji, stressed the importance of the project to Nigeria's transformation towards renewable energy, industrialization and technology-driven economic growth (*Nigeria and China have signed a* €7,6 billion green .2025). The plan is expected to diversify Nigeria's economy, encourage exports, address foreign exchange challenges, promote technology transfer, and create large-scale employment opportunities (Dakhling. 2025).

Nigeria and China are expanding cooperation in the nuclear energy sector, with discussions dating back to September 2024 (*Nigeria signs MOU on Nuclear Energy with China – Welcome*.2024). Nigeria aims to incorporate nuclear power into its energy mix by 2030 and has signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with China National Nuclear Corporation (CNNC). This cooperation is expected to cover basic research on peaceful nuclear energy, the design, construction, operation, upgrading, maintenance, and decommissioning of nuclear power plants, and human resources training. Nigeria aims to strengthen its energy infrastructure and secure its energy future(Staden.2024).

Chinese investment is increasingly focused on renewable energy projects in Africa. Of the 49 energy projects announced by Chinese companies in Africa in 2024, 59% were in the renewable energy sector (Ecofin Agency.2025). Between 2010 and 2021, China provided \$65 billion in financing for renewable energy projects across Africa (Ecofin Agency.2025). Nigeria's exports of solar and wind energy technology to Africa also saw a significant increase of 153% between 2020 and 2024 (Ecofin Agency, 2025). A key development was the establishment of the Nigeria-China Renewable Energy Research Center (Nigeria and China Launch Renewable Energy Research, 2025) through a memorandum of understanding signed between the Energy Commission of Nigeria (ECN), China Energy Engineering Corporation, and the Nigerian Governors' Forum. (Nigeria and China Launch Renewable Energy Research, 2025). The center aims to promote technological innovation and talent development in Nigeria's renewable energy sector. (Nigeria and China Launch Renewable Energy Research, 2025). This collaboration aims to address Nigeria's energy challenges, expand renewable energy production capacity, focusing on solar, wind, and hydropower, and promote the development of green energy infrastructure. (Nigeria and China Launch Renewable Energy Research, 2025). Nigerian Minister of Power, Adebayo Adelabu, also highlighted the \$328.8 million contract agreement signed in April 2025 with China Machinery Engineering Corporation (CMEC) to strengthen Nigeria's electricity supply. transmission network, as part of the Presidential Power initiative (NHM-staff.2025), which aims to bridge Nigeria's electricity supply gap, and aims to increase renewable energy capacity to 30% by 2030 as part of its Energy Transition Plan (Nigeria and China launch renewable energy research.2025).

3.5 Military and Security Cooperation

Nigeria and China announced a major military partnership, emphasizing local weapons production and military training to enhance security in Nigeria and across Africa (*China Upgrades Strategic Partnership With Nigeria*.2025). This cooperation marks a deepening of the strategic partnership between the two countries (Malcolm, 2025). China pledged 1 billion RMB in military aid to help improve peace and security across the African continent (*China Upgrades Strategic Partnership With Nigeria*.2025). This aid program includes training for 6,000 military personnel and 1,000 police officers for African countries, including Nigeria (*China Upgrades Strategic Partnership With Nigeria*, 2025). Over the past two decades, China's military presence in Africa has steadily expanded, with increasing training programs, joint exercises, and the provision of defense equipment (Malcolm, 2025).

A core element of Nigeria's strengthened military partnership with China is a focus on local weapons production (*China Upgrades Strategic Partnership With Nigeria*. 2025). Nigeria has reached a major agreement with a leading Chinese defense company to begin local production of military-grade ammunition (Nyabiage 2025). The agreement, signed during a visit to China by Nigerian Minister of State for Defence, Bello Matawalle, includes the establishment of production lines for various ammunition types, including 7.62x51mm bullets and blanks, and 9x19mm pistol and machine gun ammunition (Nyabiage 2025). The agreement also includes the transfer of advanced defense technology, the establishment of local manufacturing facilities for

modern military equipment, and a structured exchange of technical expertise to enhance the skills of Nigerian personnel and achieve long-term sustainable development (Nyabiage 2025). The partnership also extends to the maintenance and upgrade of existing military hardware, the repair of combat tanks, and military engineering services (Nyabiage 2025). The two parties will establish workshops in Kaduna and Kachia, Kaduna State, to manufacture key components such as brass cartridge cases and bullet jackets, fostering a localized supply chain and reducing reliance on imports. Nigeria's defense ambitions also include strengthening its air defenses, with high-level visits focusing on technologies supporting the Military Total Radar Coverage (MTRACON) program (Malcolm, 2025). Chinese defense contractors such as the China Electronics Technology Group Corporation (CETC) and the China North Industries Corporation (NORINCO) demonstrated systems such as high-energy laser counter-drone technology and the Tianlong air defense system (Malcolm, 2025).

China is committed to strengthening African security forces, as evidenced by its extensive military training programs and initiatives (Carrozza & Marsh, 2022). China aims to strengthen long-term relations with African countries and protect their economic interests by providing security force assistance (SFA) to most African nations (Carrozza & Marsh, 2022). The "Peace and Solidarity 2024" project is one such initiative, aimed at enhancing African countries' capacity to address regional security challenges through military training, joint exercises, and equipment supply (Malcolm, 2025). This positions China as a key partner in building a selfreliant security framework across the continent (Malcolm, 2025). China hosts delegations of African military officers, such as the 100 early career officers from 40 countries who participated in a 10-day familiarization tour hosted by the People's Liberation Army's (PLA) National University of Defense Technology in May 2025(Nyabiage, 2025). These officers received training in PLA fundamentals and the Chinese military system and technological models (Nyabiage, 2025). China trains approximately 2,000 African military officers annually and has become a major arms supplier to the continent (China Widening Its Influence in Africa through Expanded, 2025). Joint drills between Chinese and African forces have increased in scale and sophistication, with 20 exercises conducted since 2006, including the August 2024 Tanzania-China-Mozambique land and sea exercises and joint Chinese and Egyptian air force drills in May 2025 (China Widening Its Influence in Africa through Expanded, 2025).

3.6 People-to-People Exchanges

China and Nigeria have made significant efforts to promote cultural exchanges through various initiatives and the establishment of specialized centers (Huynh, 2012). In March 2012, the two countries signed an agreement to establish cultural centers (Nigeria Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, 2013). In September 2013, the China Cultural Center in Abuja, Nigeria, was officially opened, hosting events such as the "Perceiving China" and "Charming China" photo exhibitions (Nigeria Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, 2013). In October, the same year, the Nigeria Beijing Cultural Center hosted the second Nigeria Cultural Week in Nanjing, while an art ware delegation from Nanjing participated in the sixth African Arts and Crafts Expo in Nigeria (Nigeria Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, 2013). Additionally, an art troupe from Jilin Province ,participated in the 2013 Abuja Carnival in Nigeria (Nigeria Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, 2013). These cultural centers have carried out various exchange activities aimed at strengthening diplomatic relations (Join Hands to Pursue Common Development and Jointly Build a. 2024). The Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs launched a new cultural and language project, "Ni Hao, Zhongguo" (meaning "Hello, China"). The Chinese and Nigerian governments will launch the "Ni Hao China" project in July 2025, aiming to enhance mutual understanding and deepen diplomatic and cultural exchanges (China Launches 'Ni Hao China' program to Strengthen Relations with Nigeria, 2025). The project's primary goal is to introduce Chinese language and culture to Nigerians, especially young people (Nigerian National Radio Launches Mandarin Program to Promote. 2025). "Ni Hao China" is a weekly radio magazine program airing every Wednesday at 5:00 PM on the Federal Broadcasting Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) online service (China Launches 'Ni Hao China' program to Strengthen Relations with Nigeria, 2025). The program includes Mandarin language lessons and explores Chinese cuisine, technology, customs, and values, providing culturally rich and educational programming (China Launches 'Ni Hao China' Program to Strengthen Relations with Nigeria, 2025). Chinese Ambassador to Nigeria Yu Dunhai called the program a new bridge for "heart-to-heart communication" (China Launches 'Ni Hao China' Program to Strengthen Relations with Nigeria, 2025). The "Ni Hao China" project aims to strengthen relations with Nigeria (Odeyemi, 2025). The initiative is part of a media cooperation agreement signed in 2024 between the Nigerian Ministry of Information and the Chinese Ministry of Information (Odeyemi. 2025). Officials such as Dr. Mukhtar Yawale Mohammed, Permanent Secretary of the Federal Ministry of Arts, Culture, Tourism and Creative Economy of Nigeria, emphasized that such festivals are platforms for cultural diplomacy, creative exchange and mutual understanding (Odeyemi. 2025). He pointed out that these festivals strengthen the ties between China and Nigeria, allowing people to experience each other's traditions, cuisine, music, fashion and

artistic expressions (Odeyemi. 2025). The two sides also have recognized cooperation potential in areas such as cultural heritage protection, creative industry development and tourism promotion (Odeyemi. 2025). China has expressed its willingness to cooperate with Nigeria to promote people-to-people exchanges.

Confucius Institutes play a vital role in promoting Chinese language and culture globally (Xiao-fang, 2011). There are two Confucius Institutes in Nigeria: one at Nnamdi Azikiwe University and the other at the University of Lagos (Research on the Confucius Institute at Nnamdi Azikiwe University, 2008-2024). The Confucius Institute at Nnamdi Azikiwe University was established through an agreement signed in March 2008 and officially opened in February 2009 (*Chinese/Confucius institute (CI) - Nnamdi Azikiwe University.* 2018). The Confucius Institute at the University of Lagos was officially established in April 2023, 13 years after its inception (Ali, 2023). These Confucius Institutes are dedicated to cultivating Chinese language professionals and building a language bridge for exchanges between China and Nigeria (Odinikaze, 2025). The Confucius Institute at Nnamdi Azikiwe University won the Nigerian national championship in the 2025 "Chinese Bridge" Chinese Proficiency Competition for Foreign University Students (Nnamdi Azikiwe University, 2025). While some Confucius Institutes in the United States and Europe have faced closure due to various criticisms, Confucius Institutes in Africa continue to flourish, with enrollment surging (Gukurume, 2025). By the end of 2024, over 60 Confucius Institutes had been established on university campuses across Africa (Gukurume, 2025). These institutions are non-profit organizations funded by Hanban (Wallace, 2016).

The significant increase in the number of Nigerian students studying in China reflects the deepening educational ties between the two countries (Oluwole, 2024). As of 2019, a total of 6,845 Nigerian students were studying in China, 512 of whom received Chinese government scholarships (Nigerian Students in China - China Admissions, 2021). This is a significant shift, as historically, Nigerian students primarily chose to study in Europe or North America (Qi & Di. 2024). In 2018, African students in China accounted for 16.57% of China's international student population, a growth that is a key aspect of China-African relations (Chkaif et al. 2022). Nigerian students' motivations for studying in China often include the pursuit of a better education and economic factors (Chkaif et al. 2022). The Chinese government offers numerous scholarships to qualified foreign exchange students (*What advice would you give a young African or Nigerian about to* .2017). This increase in student mobility has created unique opportunities for cross-cultural exchange and understanding between the two countries (Qi & Di. 2024). However, Nigerian students in China may face challenges in adapting to the cultural environment, daily life, language, academics, and psychological adaptation (Qi & Di. 2024).

IV. Challenges and Criticisms in China-Nigeria Development Cooperation

4.1 Trade Imbalance and Its Impact on Domestic Industries

Nigeria's trade relations with China have always been characterized by a significant imbalance (Calabrese, 2025). Historically, Chinese exports accounted for nearly 80% of bilateral trade, leading Nigeria to over-reliance on cheap Chinese products at the expense of its own industries (Calabrese, 2025). This imbalanced trade pattern means that China exports a wide variety of manufactured goods to Nigeria, while Nigeria primarily exports raw materials (Calabrese, 2025).

Chinese exports to Nigeria include electrical machinery, textiles, steel, and telecommunications and audio processing equipment (Nigeria-China Trade Relations, 2025). In 2022, Nigeria imported \$1.8 billion worth of electrical machinery, \$15.27 million worth of textiles, and \$499.16 million worth of steel from China (Nigeria-China Trade Relations, 2025). In 2023, Nigeria imported \$1.14 million worth of telecommunications and audio equipment from China (Nigeria-China Trade Relations, 2025). In 2023, China imported \$2.37 billion from Nigeria, including \$469.64 million in oil and solid minerals (Nigeria-China Trade Relations, 2025). In 2023, China's exports to Nigeria reached \$20.18 billion, accounting for 89.5% of total bilateral trade, while Nigeria's exports to China were only \$2.37 billion, or 10.5% (*China recorded a \$17.8 billion trade surplus with Nigeria in .*2025). This resulted in a trade surplus for China of nearly \$17.8 billion (*China recorded a \$17.8 billion trade surplus with Nigeria in .*2025). As of May 2025, China's exports to Nigeria reached \$2.24 billion, while imports from Nigeria reached \$252 million, resulting in a trade surplus of \$1.99 billion (China-Nigeria Trade, 2025). The persistent trade imbalance is a cause for concern and could hinder the full implementation of the currency swap agreement between the two countries (Kolawole, 2025).

The influx of cheap Chinese manufactured goods has severely impacted Nigeria's domestic industries, particularly the textile sector (Calabrese 2025). Once a thriving industry employing hundreds of thousands of Nigerians, Nigeria's textile industry has declined significantly due to increased competition (Calabrese 2025).

Problems such as insufficient electricity supply, smuggling of foreign textiles, and inconsistent government policies have further exacerbated the industry's challenges (Ubi et al. 2025). Naira devaluation, inflation, and the high cost of financing imported inputs have also exacerbated the industry's difficulties (Alimi & Ahmed 2017). Between 1997 and 2006, foreign private investment in the textile sector grew slightly from 3.3 billion naira to 16.7 billion naira, with a significant portion allocated to spare parts procurement (Nmadu 2008). Challenges facing Nigerian manufacturers include high production costs and inadequate infrastructure, making it difficult for them to compete with cheap Chinese imports (*The Sino-Nigeria Cooperation*, 2023). This situation has prompted calls for stricter trade agreements and efforts to curb corruption within Nigerian institutions to ensure quality standards (Calabrese. 2025).

4.2 Debt Sustainability Concerns

Nigeria's debt predicament has escalated, with projections suggesting that the country's total debt could reach 187.79 trillion naira (BudgIT Foundation, 2025). Nigeria's current debt-to-GDP ratio is approximately 36%, but the debt problem persists due to low domestic revenue and reliance on volatile oil revenues (Novatiaconsuiting_, 2024). The sustainability of Nigeria's external debt has been questioned, particularly regarding its ability to repay the debt (Adam, 2007). Debt accumulation is considered a key obstacle to Nigeria's development and economic recovery (Adam, 2007).

As of March 31, 2020, Nigeria's total borrowings from China amounted to US\$3.121 billion (Awojulugbe, 2020). This figure represents only 3.94% of Nigeria's total public debt of US\$79.303 billion (Awojulugbe, 2020). Furthermore, Chinese loans account for 11.28% of Nigeria's total external debt, which totaled \$27.67 billion during the same period (Awojulugbe 2020). These loans are typically concessional, with an annual interest rate of 2.50% and a 20-year term, with a seven-year moratorium, which helps reduce borrowing costs and extend repayment periods (Awojulugbe 2020).

4.3 Quality Control and Regulatory Oversight

Substandard Chinese products have impacted the China-Nigeria partnership, raising concerns about product specifications (Calabrese 2025). Nigeria is a major importer of Chinese products, including raw materials, clothing, solid minerals, and manufactured goods (Kareem 2023). Despite this, many Nigerians label these goods "fake" and claim they are of poor quality (Kareem 2023). While China is a global leader in exporting a wide range of high-quality products to industrialized nations, the quality of Chinese products varies depending on the product, manufacturer, and quality control measures of the importing country (Kareem 2023). For example, in 2007, China was criticized by the United States for exporting toxic medical supplies, food, and toys (Kareem 2023). Other countries have also experienced "substandard goods" from China, but their policies have helped to limit the entry of such products (Kareem 2023).

Nigeria lacks an effective quality control system or comprehensive regulations to monitor the quality of imported goods, relying primarily on basic documentation such as bills of lading and product certificates (Kareem, 2023). Contamination, adulteration, and inadequate regulation are widespread in the supply chain, leading to food borne illnesses and declining consumer confidence (Akudo et al., 2024). Nigeria's pharmaceutical market also faces challenges, including the prevalence of counterfeit drugs, improper storage, and insufficient oversight (Akudo et al., 2024). Lack of infrastructure and healthcare services in some areas further complicates regulatory oversight, fostering an environment conducive to the proliferation of counterfeit and substandard products (Lab Manager, 2024). Despite the existence of institutions such as the Standards Organization of Nigeria (SON) and the National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC), Nigeria remains a destination for substandard products from China and other foreign countries (Kareem, 2023).

Severe corruption exacerbates Nigeria's regulatory challenges (Eleagu, 2016). The Nigerian government has attempted to combat corruption through institutions such as the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) (Nigeria - Market Challenges, 2023). However, opportunities for illicit profiteering within the customs department have become institutionalized, leading to the emergence of parallel agencies where the value of positions depends on the illicit revenue they provide (Fjeldstad, 2009). This systemic corruption undermines policy implementation and the rule of law (Fjeldstad, 2009). Ede Dafinone, president of the Manufacturers Association of Nigeria Export Groups (MANEG), noted that both Nigerian and Chinese importers contribute to the circulation of counterfeit and substandard products (Kareem, 2023). He stated that Nigerian importers demand specific, low-priced, and low-quality products from Chinese manufacturers, suggesting that China is not the sole source of substandard products (Kareem, 2023). Nigerian tax laws, the desire of Nigerian importers to find low prices, and China's failure to inspect pharmaceuticals exported to countries with weak regulatory systems further exacerbate the problem (Kareem, 2023). The lack of a robust

pharmacovigilance system also hinders the detection and reporting of adverse drug reactions, endangering patient safety (Akudo et al 2024).

4.4 Geopolitical and Security Dimensions

Africa's geopolitical landscape is increasingly shaped by the intensifying great power competition between the United States, China, and Russia (Chin. 2024). This global competition pits liberal states against authoritarian states with differing visions of the international order. China's economic and diplomatic engagement in Africa has grown rapidly, in many cases even surpassing that of former European colonial powers or the United States. For example, China surpassed the United States as Africa's largest trading partner in 2008, and by 2023, China's trade with Africa was four times that of the United States. This growing influence gives China greater leverage, potentially influencing democracy in Africa or supporting authoritarian regimes.

Nigeria's situation is complex, benefiting from complementary approaches to cooperation: the United States prioritizes democracy, good governance, and human rights, while China prioritizes resources and trade (McDowell .2012). However, this balance is not easy to strike (Olander 2020). The complex relationship between China and Nigeria goes beyond the simple concept of resource diplomacy (Nwokolobia & Ikenga, 2023). Experts suggest that Nigeria needs to overhaul its trade policy toward China to enhance its technological capabilities, strengthen its negotiating position, and thereby reap greater economic benefits (Nwokolobia & Ikenga, 2023). Some analysts suggest that China's presence could lead Nigeria into "eternal servitude" by cleverly leveraging trade relations, investment, and development financing in exchange for unrestricted access to Nigeria's mineral resources (Ibiam et al., 2024). African countries are encouraged to take a long-term view of the costs and benefits of relations with China (Fasan et al.).

4.5 Addressing Labor Practices and Technology Transfer Issues

Challenges facing Nigeria's relationship with China include labor practices and China's apparent reluctance to transfer technology (Richard, 2019). Nigeria's manufacturing cluster is emerging, and foreign direct investment (FDI) has the potential to transfer technology, thereby promoting industrialization and structural transformation (Chen, 2021). However, this potential depends on Nigeria's development. Local linkages that can foster positive spillover effects (Chen .2021).

Despite Nigeria's desire for technology transfer through China, this aspiration remains largely unfulfilled, considered a current challenge in the bilateral relationship (Richard 2019). Some scholars argue that China has been reluctant to transfer technology to Nigeria (Richard 2019). However, Chinese companies operating in Nigeria have provided technology, skills, and knowledge transfer, benefiting various Nigerian industries (Bukar & Arabaci 2023). Chinese investment in sectors such as telecommunications, manufacturing, and agriculture has facilitated the transfer of technology and skills and improved productivity (Bukar & Arabaci 2023). Barriers to technology and knowledge transfer include human resource practices, language differences, and cultural issues (Osabutey & Jackson 2019). Furthermore, policy inconsistency has been a significant challenge to foreign direct investment, technology transfer, and technological cooperation between Nigeria and China (Ibrahim et al. 2024). There is a recognized need for Nigeria to effectively articulate and capitalize on the opportunities presented by technology transfer arrangements (Ajibo et al. 2019).

Some sources have highlighted controversial labor practices as an issue in China-African investment relations, particularly in Nigeria (Oyeranti et al., 2010). Chinese companies operating in Nigeria have been found to engage in issues such as casualization of labor, low wages, and noncompliance with occupational safety standards (Ofosu & Sarpong, 2021). Reports indicate that Chinese companies provide poor worker welfare, neglect, and even employ child labor, violating Nigerian labor laws (*Nigerian government watches as Chinese companies violate labour* .2022). Workers also face unfair dismissal, lack of labor insurance, and inadequate medical care and other benefits (Veunyeh, 2018).

The business practices of Chinese companies in Nigeria have raised concerns about labor relations, including informal employment, wage standards, benefits, relations with unions, and workers' rights (Shan-shan, 2011). These issues could impact the healthy development of Chinese companies in Africa and China's national image (Shan-shan, 2011).

V. Nigeria's Agency and Strategic Realignment

5.1 Redefining Partnerships

Nigeria's foreign policy, particularly under President Tinubu's leadership, is undergoing a strategic reorientation, prioritizing domestic development while leveraging international economic ties (Calabrese 2025). Historically, Nigeria's economic interaction with China has been unbalanced, with Chinese exports accounting

for nearly 80% of bilateral trade (Calabrese 2025). This imbalance has led to Nigeria's over reliance on cheap Chinese products, often at the expense of domestic industries (Calabrese 2025). The current government is working to transform this relationship into a development-driven model (Calabrese 2025). This model aims to secure infrastructure investment, promote technology transfer, and establish industrial parks to foster economic diversification and growth (Calabrese 2025).

Industrial parks are designated industrial development areas designed to provide high-quality services, modern facilities, and a conducive business environment (Dingle. 2025). Nigeria has several industrial parks, including the Lagos Free Zone, the Abuja Industrial Park Free Zone, and Ore Industrial Park, and others(*IFC Invests in Lagos Free Zone to Support Industrial*, 2025). These parks are crucial for attracting foreign technology and capital, overcoming domestic business barriers, and stimulating industrial activity (Calabrese, 2025).

Nigeria has received significant investment in infrastructure projects through China's "Belt and Road" Initiative (BRI), including railway expansion, port construction, and free trade zones (Calabrese, 2025). Notable projects include the Kano-Kaduna Railway and the Mambilla Hydropower Station (Calabrese, 2025). The goal is to build social and economic infrastructure, radically transform economic activity, and prioritize manufacturing as a key priority for achieving self-sustaining growth (Wolgin, 1978). The Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) also plans to establish nine industrial parks across nine states to diversify revenue sources and move away from dependence on oil and gas (Estate Intel, 2023).

In addition to infrastructure development, the redefined partnership aims to promote technology transfer and attract investment in key sectors (Calabrese. 2025). For example, Chinese capital is being channeled into projects such as the Ogidigben Gas Revolution Industrial Park (GRIP) to revitalize energy infrastructure and diversify the industrial base (Calabrese .2025). Furthermore, both sides are committed to transforming natural gas processing facilities, leveraging Chinese expertise and capital to address Nigeria's energy challenges (Calabrese 2025). Nigeria has also attracted Chinese interest in clean energy and technological innovation, such as a €7.6 billion green hydrogen agreement (Calabrese. 2025). Lagos's growing status as the "Silicon Valley of Africa" has also attracted Chinese investment to fill funding gaps and advance technological development (Calabrese. 2025). Nigeria's status as China's largest engineering contractor in Africa and its second-largest export market after South Africa underscores its commitment to industrialization (Calabrese .2025). Nigeria's renewed currency swap agreement with China, valued at 15 billion RMB (US\$2 billion), aims to further promote trade and investment by allowing trade settlements to be made in local currencies (Danielle .2025). This reduces transaction costs, eases demand for the US dollar, and provides a more affordable alternative for private businesses (Danielle 2025).

5.2 Diversifying International Partnerships

In addition to its ongoing cooperation with China (Calabrese, 2025), Nigeria is actively seeking investment from global powers such as the United States, the European Union, India, and Turkey.

Nigeria's foreign policy fosters economic partnerships with These countries and promotes increased trade and investment opportunities. As Africa's most populous country, Nigeria's population and economic strength play a significant role in its international cooperation (Nigeria - European Commission - International Partnerships, 2022). In January 2025, Nigeria officially became a "partner" country in the BRICS economic bloc, a move intended to enhance its global influence and economic standing (Nigeria's BRICS Partnerships: Economists Outline Potential, 2025).

The BRICS initially consisted of Brazil, Russia, India, and China, expanding to include South Africa in 2010 and welcoming Egypt, Ethiopia, Iran, and the United Arab Emirates in 2023 (*Nigeria's Brics partnership: economist outlines potential* 2025). The introduction of "partner" status serves as an expansion mechanism, allowing more participants to join without granting them full membership (*Nigeria's Brics partnership: economist outlines potential*,2025). BRICS partners can participate in special sessions, foreign ministers' meetings and other high-level events, and contribute to official documents and policy statements, but cannot host the annual summit or select new members (*Nigeria's Brics partnership: economist outlines potential*,2025).

Nigeria's primary advantage lies in its access to financing from the BRICS New Development Bank (NDB) (Nigeria's Brics partnership: economist outlines potential, 2025). Established as an alternative to Western-dominated international financial institutions, the NDB's funds can be disbursed in member countries' local currencies, thereby promoting exchange rate stability and boosting economic growth without requiring foreign exchange repayments (Nigeria's Brics partnership: economist outlines potential, 2025). Given Nigeria's budget deficit of approximately 5% of GDP since 2019, the NDB could become a crucial source of funding for investments in infrastructure, manufacturing, and agriculture (Nigeria's Brics partnership: economist outlines

potential, 2025). The partnership could also provide Nigeria with diplomatic support from the bloc in global matters, such as the African nation's bid for permanent membership on the UN Security Council (Nigeria's Brics partnership: economist outlines potential, 2025). Furthermore, mutual understanding and cooperation with BRICS member countries could lead to increased economic, trade, and investment agreements, as friendly countries are more likely to participate in such activities (Nigeria's Brics partnership: economist outlines potential, 2025). Nigeria can leverage its BRICS partnership to attract foreign direct investment in strategic economic sectors, including infrastructure, manufacturing, agriculture, and technology (Nigeria's Brics partnership: economist outlines potential, 2025). Several BRICS member countries, such as China, India, and the UAE, have investors actively pursuing overseas investment opportunities, which Nigeria could capitalize on during the annual summits (Nigeria's Brics partnership: economist outlines potential, 2025). Furthermore, the partnership could facilitate the transfer of advanced technologies in cutting-edge industries such as big data, artificial intelligence, and robotics, in which China, India, and Brazil are already highly advanced (Nigeria's Brics partnership: economist outlines potential, 2025). Nigeria could also negotiate trade agreements that would allow its agricultural products, processed agricultural products, and handicrafts to enter BRICS markets (Nigeria's Brics partnership: economist outlines potential, 2025).

5.3 Domestic Reform and Development Objectives

The "Renew Hope Agenda" is a trans formative policy initiative of the administration of President Bola Ahmed Tinubu aimed at repositioning Nigeria as a leading global investment destination ("Our Renewed Hope Agenda Repositioning Nigeria As Global, 2024"). The Agenda is a comprehensive national transformation framework designed to create tangible opportunities for prosperity across all sectors of the Nigerian economy ("Oyeyemi, 2025"). It underscores the government's commitment to achieving sustainable growth, ensuring security, and improving the quality of life for all Nigerians between 2023 and 2027 ("The 8 Presidential Priority Areas - CDCU, 2025").

The core pillars of the "Renew Hope Agenda" include democracy, development, demographics, and diaspora engagement ("Our Renewed Hope Agenda Repositioning Nigeria As Global, 2024"). The government's ambitious road map includes bold reforms and strategic partnerships to revitalize Nigeria's economy and strengthen security ("Our Renewed Hope Agenda Repositioning Nigeria As Global, 2024").

VI. Conclusion and Future Outlook

6.1 Summary and Findings

China-Nigeria relations have developed into a comprehensive strategic partnership, marked by significant economic and infrastructure cooperation, but also face various challenges (Nigeria_Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China. 2024). This partnership, established in 2005 and upgraded to a comprehensive strategic partnership in September 2024, the partnership has been characterized by growing bilateral trade and strategic cooperation (Nigeria_Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China. 2024). Nigeria remains one of China's most strategic partners in Africa (Calabrese. 2025).

6.2 Impact on Nigeria's Development

The China-Nigeria partnership holds significant potential for Nigeria's development, particularly in promoting infrastructure development and economic diversification, but careful handling of the terms of cooperation is crucial (Calabrese. 2025). The continued development of China-Nigeria relations is influenced by China's strategic shift from a resource-focused bilateral relationship to a comprehensive economic partnership and Nigeria's urgent need for industrial growth and infrastructure upgrades (Calabrese. 2025).

Partnership with China has had a significant impact on Nigeria's infrastructure development, with Chinese companies playing a significant role in major projects across the country (NCSP 2025). This collaboration is crucial for Nigeria to achieve its development goals by improving infrastructure and maximizing efficiency and productivity (Musa & Abubakar 2020).

6.3 Future Outlook and Recommendations

China-Nigeria relations are entering a new phase, moving beyond traditional trade toward a mutually beneficial and win-win development model (Calabrese 2025). Under the leadership of President Bola Tinubu, Nigeria is adjusting its foreign policy to support industrial growth and infrastructure upgrades. At the same time, China is strengthening its engagement in Nigeria as part of its broader Global South strategy (Calabrese 2025). This evolving partnership is influenced by economic, geopolitical, and domestic factors (Calabrese 2025). Nigeria holds a significant position in China's cooperation with Africa and is one of China's most strategic partners among the 53 African countries with which it has diplomatic ties (Calabrese 2025). Nigeria is China's largest

recipient of engineering contracts in Africa and its second-largest African export market after South Africa (Calabrese, 2025), further highlighting its importance in China's cooperation with Africa. This partnership also reflects China's shift from a purely extractive relationship to more comprehensive economic cooperation, with Nigeria serving as a key example of China's vision for South-South cooperation under President Xi Jinping (Calabrese, 2025). Nigeria's central role in the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) initiative further underscores its importance in Beijing's continental strategy, serving as both a gateway to West African markets and a showcase for China's infrastructure-led development model (Calabrese, 2025).

Recommendations for Maximizing Benefits

To maximize the benefits of its relationship with China, Nigeria needs to ensure investment in infrastructure and industrial modernization while addressing domestic issues such as regulatory deficiencies and corruption (Calabrese 2025). Historically, Nigeria's economic interaction with China has been uneven, with Chinese exports accounting for nearly 80% of bilateral trade (Calabrese 2025). The Tinubu administration is working to transform this partnership into a development-driven model, focusing on financing critical infrastructure, promoting technology transfer, and establishing industrial parks to promote economic diversification and growth (Calabrese 2025).

Ensuring mutual benefit and long-term sustainability: This includes improving local businesses and maintaining openness in investment agreements.

Building internal production capacity: Nigeria should enhance its internal production capacity through regular workforce training and consider banning imports of substandard Chinese products.

Implementing structural and policy reforms: These reforms are crucial for African countries to upgrade their export value chains (*What to Expect from Africa-China Relations in*, 2025). Given that China is Africa's largest trading partner, this requires corresponding measures from China (*What to Expect from Africa-China Relations in*, 2025).

Prioritize key investment sectors: Technology, agriculture, and renewable energy offer promising investment opportunities (*Positive Impact of China and Nigeria Trade Relations*. 2025). Investment in Nigeria's power sector alone could reach \$10 billion by 2025 (*Positive Impact of China and Nigeria Trade Relations*. 2025).

Address trade imbalances: Despite trade reaching approximately \$20 billion in 2022, Nigeria's imports from China continue to exceed its exports, leading to a growing trade imbalance (*Positive Impact of China and Nigeria Trade Relations*.2025). In 2023, trade reached \$22.6 billion, but then fell 11.5% to \$2.6 billion in 2024, reflecting this imbalance and the impact of increasing poverty and declining purchasing power (Calabrese, 2025).

Strengthening Economic Ties and Improving Infrastructure: Efforts to improve infrastructure and reduce trade barriers can significantly boost trade flows (*Positive Impact of China and Nigeria Trade Relations*, 2025). Logistics costs, which account for approximately 30% of the total value of traded goods, negatively impact the trade balance (*Positive Impact of China and Nigeria Trade Relations*, 2025).

China's Role in Sustainable and Socially Responsible Investment

For China, the challenge is to ensure that its investments are not only profitable but also sustainable, socially responsible, and aligned with Nigeria's long-term development goals (Calabrese, 2025). As Beijing seeks to establish a production base less vulnerable to Western tariff barriers and supply chain constraints, China's willingness to invest in manufacturing capacity and technology transfer projects in Nigeria is likely to accelerate (Calabrese, 2025). This approach aligns with China's broader global strategy of building interdependence and encouraging countries to support its global ambition (What to Expect from Africa-China Relations in,2025). The Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) plays a key role in this strategy and is currently holding a Ministerial Coordinators' Meeting on Implementation and Follow-up (The Ministerial Meeting of Coordinators on the Implementation of the 2025). The FOCAC Legal Forum (2025) and the China-Africa Forum on Procuratorial Cooperation are also scheduled to be held in July and October, respectively(List of the Outcomes of the Implementation of the Follow-up Actions .2025).

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