



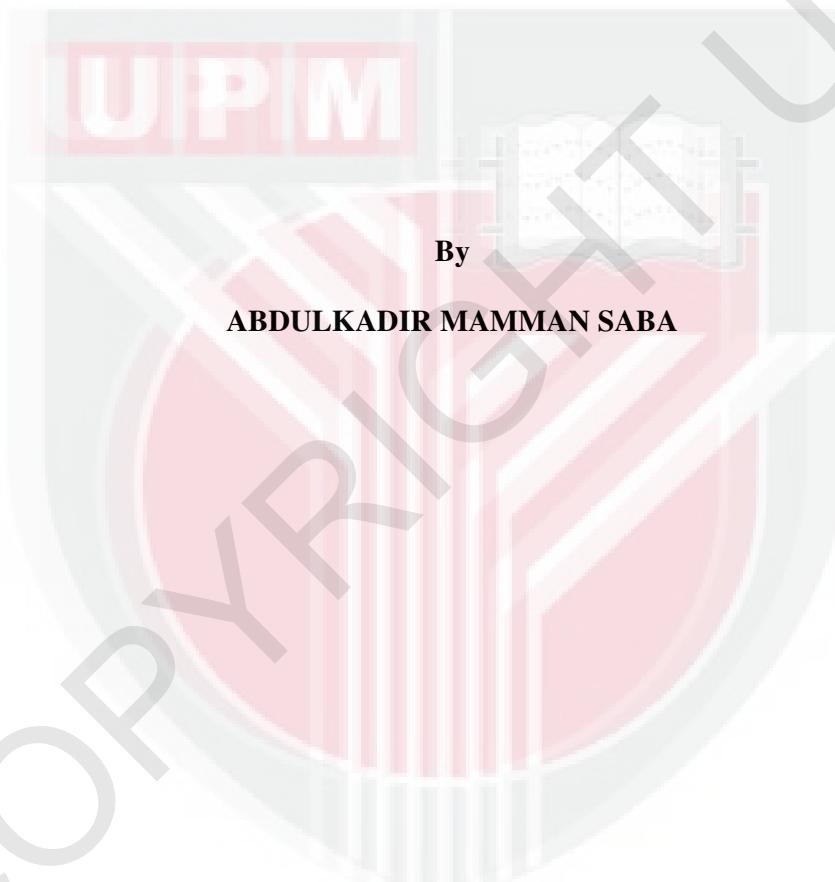
UNIVERSITI PUTRA MALAYSIA

***ROLE OF THE NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT IN THE
IMPLEMENTATION OF NEW PARTNERSHIP FOR AFRICA'S
DEVELOPMENT OBJECTIVES (2001-2010)***

ABDULKADIR MAMMAN SABA

FEM 2013 4

**ROLE OF THE NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT IN THE
IMPLEMENTATION OF NEW PARTNERSHIP FOR AFRICA'S
DEVELOPMENT OBJECTIVES (2001-2010)**



**Thesis submitted to the School of Graduate Studies, Universiti Putra Malaysia
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

January 2013

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated in memory of my late parents; **Mallam Abdulkadir** (former School Supervisor) and **Malama Aishatu** (Kaka Wodu) who strove day and night to give me a decent living and good education. I beseech the Almighty to grant them peaceful eternal rest and a choice place in Jannatul Firdaus (Ameen).



Abstract of the thesis presented to the Senate Universiti Putra Malaysia in Fulfilment
of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

**ROLE OF THE NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT IN THE
IMPLEMENTATION OF NEW PARTNERSHIP FOR AFRICA'S
DEVELOPMENT OBJECTIVES (2001-2010)**

By

ABDULKADIR MAMMAN SABA

January 2013

Chairman: Professor Jayum Anak Jawan, PhD

Faculty: Human Ecology

This study is an attempt to assess the response of the Nigerian Government to the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) in relations to the objectives of good governance, poverty reduction, and peace and security agenda from 2001 to 2010. In other words, how successful has Nigeria been in meeting the required standard of good governance as stipulated in by NEPAD in terms of poverty reduction, peace and security building.

Two theories have been adopted in this study and they were the dependency theory and the failed state theory. The central argument of dependence theory is that the African economy is too dependent on the economies of other economies in the international systems to the extent that this is to some extent responsible for the continent's economic underdevelopment. The failed state theory on the other hand argues that it is the country leaders' lack of good stewardship that has been responsible for the pervasive poverty, insecurity, corruption and unemployment that the countries in the continent have been experiencing.

The importance of this study lies in the fact that it assesses performance and therefore come out with possible recommendations on how these may help alleviate Nigeria's socio-economic condition and in the process help to strengthen the implementation of NEPAD's APRM objectives of good governance, poverty reduction, peace and security in Nigeria in particular and in the continent more generally.

The findings of the study revealed that the Nigerian government had failed to fully implement NEPAD's APRM objectives of good governance, poverty reduction, peace and security programmes since the latter's inception in Nigeria in 2001. The results of the study also showed that the greatest challenge of NEPAD's APRM in Nigeria is the leadership issue. From the study, it was found that, the government had failed to fully respond to NEPAD's objectives of poverty reduction, peace and security and good governance agenda. The study also revealed that, NEPAD's APRM is entrenched in corruption although this seems to be more endemic at the federal level.

The study was based on data collected through in-depth interviewing and focus group discussion (FGD). In the study, both primary and secondary sources of data were used. Primary data were collected through interviews and focus group discussion obtained from the field work. The secondary data were obtained from books, journals and reports. In analyzing these data, a systematic qualitative approach was adopted. The analysis of the data was carried out by transcribing the whole data collected through individual interview, focus group discussion and notes taken during the interview session.

In conclusion, if NEPAD's APRM is to remain viable, strong and reliable, a formidable and well defined policy engagement is required. It is also found that for NEPAD's objectives to be fully implemented, commitment and political will of the

leaders as well as adequate resources are needed. In addition, a strong legislation is required to prevent corrupt and abuse of power so that NEPAD's APRM can be vigorously implemented. It is only when these recommendations are implemented can NEPAD's APRM objectives of good governance, poverty reduction, peace and security be pursued for the betterment of Nigeria.



Abstrak tesis yang dikemukakan kepada Senat Universiti Putra Malaysia sebagai
mimenuhi keperluan untuk ijazah Doktor Falsafah

**PERANAN KERAJAAN NIGERIA DALAM PELAKSANAAN
PERKONGSIAN TERBARU KEPADA OBJEKTIF PEMBANGUNAN
AFRIKA (2001-2010)**

Oleh

ABDULKADIR MAMMAN SABA

Januari 2013

Pengerusi: Profesor Jayum Anak Jawan, PhD

Fakulti: Ekologi Manusia

Kajian ini adalah satu langkah percubaan untuk menilai respons kerajaan Nigeria terhadap perkongsian terbaru kepada Projek Pembangunan Afrika (NEPAD) berhubung kait kepada objektif-objektif pengurusan pentadbiran yang baik, pengurangan kadar kemiskinan dan keamanan dan agenda keselamatan daripada 2001 sehingga 2010. Dalam erti kata yang lain, melihat bagaimana tahap kejayaan Nigeria dalam memenuhi standard keperluan pengurusan pentadbiran yang baik seperti yang ditetapkan oleh NEPAD dari segi pengurangan kadar kemiskinan, keamanan dan keselamatan bangunan.

Dua teori telah diadaptasikan dalam kajian ini dan mereka adalah teori kebergantungan dan teori “failed state”. Hujah utama dalam teori kebergantungan adalah ekonomi bagi Afrika adalah sangat bergantung ke atas ekonomi bagi ekonomi-

ekonomi yang lain dalam sistem antarabangsa sehingga kepada sesetengah tahap di mana ianya bertanggungjawab kepada kemunduran ekonomi bagi benua tersebut. Teori “failed state” sebaliknya mengatakan bahawa kelemahan sistem pengawasan yang baik daripada pemimpin-pemimpin negara yang bertanggungjawab ke atas kemiskinan yang berleluasa, ketidakstabilan keselamatan, rasuah dan pengangguran yang telah dialami oleh negara-negara di benua tersebut.

Kepentingan bagi kajian ini terletak kepada fakta di mana ianya menilai prestasi dan seterusnya menghasilkan cadangan-cadangan yang mampu dibuat ke atas bagaimana semua cadangan-cadangan ini dapat membantu mengurangkan keadaan sosioekonomi Nigeria dan dalam proses yang sama menolong mengukuhkan pelaksanaan NEPAD kepada objektif APRM bagi pengurusan pentadbiran yang baik, pengurangan kadar kemiskinan, keamanan dan keselamatan di Nigeria dan di benua tersebut secara umumnya.

Hasil kajian ini telah menunjukkan yang kerajaan Nigeria telah gagal dalam melaksanakan sepenuhnya NEPAD kepada objektif APRM bagi pengurusan pentadbiran yang baik, pengurangan kadar kemiskinan, keamanan dan program-program keselamatan sejak daripada tertubuhnya NEPAD di Nigeria pada 2001. Hasil kajian juga menunjukkan bahawa cabaran terbesar APRM NEPAD di Nigeria adalah isu kepimpinan. Daripada kajian ini, ia mendapati bahawa kerajaan telah gagal dalam memberikan respons yang sepenuhnya kepada objektif-objektif NEPAD bagi pengurangan kadar kemiskinan, keamanan, keselamatan dan agenda pengurusan pentadbiran yang baik. Kajian turut mendedahkan rasuah telah berakar umbi dalam APRM NEPAD walaupun hal ini lebih endemik pada peringkat kebangsaan.

Kajian ini adalah berdasarkan kepada data yang telah dikumpulkan menerusi temu bual mendalam dan perbincangan kumpulan fokus (FGD). Di dalam kajian ini, kedua-dua sumber iaitu data primer dan sekunder telah digunakan. Data primer telah dikumpulkan menerusi temu bual dan perbincangan kumpulan fokus yang telah diperoleh daripada kerja lapangan. Data sekunder telah diperoleh daripada buku, jurnal dan laporan-laporan. Dalam menganalisis data-data tersebut, satu pendekatan kualitatif bersistematik telah diadaptasikan. Analisis data telah dijalankan menerusi penterjemahan kesemua data yang telah dikumpulkan melalui temu bual, perbincangan kumpulan fokus dan nota-nota yang diambil semasa sesi temu bual dijalankan.

Sebagai konklusinya, jika APRM NEPAD mahu terus berdaya maju, kukuh dan dipercayai, satu dasar penglibatan yang mantap dan jelas diperlukan. Turut dijumpai ialah sekiranya objektif-objektif NEPAD untuk dilaksanakan sepenuhnya, komitmen dan kehendak politik para pemimpin serta sumber yang mencukupi amatlah diperlukan. Di samping itu, satu sistem perundangan yang kukuh diperlukan bagi membendung rasuah dan penyalahgunaan kuasa agar APRM NEPAD dapat dilaksanakan berkesan dan jayanya. Hanya setelah cadangan-cadangan ini dilaksanakan barulah objektif-objektif APRM NEPAD bagi pengurusan pentadbiran yang baik, pengurangan kadar kemiskinan, keamanan dan keselamatan dapat diteruskan demi kebaikan kerajaan Nigeria.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

All praises belong to Allah the Lord of the worlds. May His peace and blessings be upon Prophet Muhammad (SAW) and all his companions. First and foremost, I am grateful to Allah for giving me the ability to write this thesis. Without His divine help this thesis and my entire academic activities would not have been possible. I am very grateful to my late parents, Mallam Abdulkadir, popularly called the school supervisor and Malama Aishatu for their contributions and support given me at all levels of my academic pursuit. I beseech Allah, SWT, to grant our late parents peaceful eternal rest and a choice place in Jannatul Firdaus. Ameen.

I am also grateful to Professor Dr. Jayum Anak Jawan, the Chairman of Supervisory Committee, of this thesis, for his regular guidance, advice and thorough corrections despite his other overriding engagements. My thanks also go to the Members of Supervisory Committee: Associate Professor Dr. Zaid Ahmad, Dean of the Faculty of Human Ecology and Associate Professor Dr. Asnarulkhadi Abu Samah, who contributed towards the success of this thesis despite their both academic and administrative engagements. May Allah, SWT, continue to bless their efforts in His cause, Ameen.

My special thanks also go to my brothers and friends for their moral and financial supports in the cause of my academic pursuit. They are; the former Chief Judge, Federal High Court of the Federal Republic of Nigeria; the Waziri Alkali Nupe, Justice Mustapha Abdullahi, the Chief of Staff, Niger State Government, prof. Dr. Mohammed Yahaya Kuta; the Magatakada Nupe, and Yahaya Aliyu of Niger State

Water Board Minna. Other brothers include Alh. Sanusi Abdulkadir of Shariah Court Judge Paiko, Niger State, Mohammed Etsu, academic staff College of Agriculture Mokwa and all others not mentioned here. Also my warmest thanks go to the following friends; they are: Alhaji Nma (Alh. Tetengi), Engr. Bagudu Shehu (PHCN, Abuja), Muhammad Alibaba: CBN Abuja and Dr. Abdulmajid Alkali of UDU, Sokoto, Muhammad Bala Aliyu, Kad Poly and Engr. Yahaya Maishera of KRPC, Kaduna. Others include Dr. Asmau Sani Maikudi: Director CASSS, Kaduna Polytechnic, Dr. Aisha Shafii: former Director CST, Kad Poly, Mallam Ibrahim Dooba: University Petronas, Malaysia, Baba Mohammed Alhaji, Mallam Abdulaziz Hamza and Mallam Tanko Abdullahi both of Political Science Dept. ABU, Zaria, Mallam Nma Muhammad (Arabic Teacher), Mallam Ibrahim Abdulraheem, Agric. Project Bida, Mallam Labaran Umar, former HOD, Mallam Isa Kudu, current HOD and Dr. Yusuf Musa both of Social Sciences Dept, CASSS, Kad Poly and all others not mentioned here. May Allah continue to bless them on the path of success (Ameen).

However, I must express my gratitude to Dr. Khumran A. Mada of the Faculty of Vet. Medicine, UPM and Ibrahim Dooba of UTP, Malaysia. They did not only encourage me but helped to clarify my thoughts on many issues. May Allah continue to bless them on the path of success (Ameen).

My special thanks also go to Honourable Isa Babanna Kawu, a member representing Bida North Constituency of Niger State House of Assembly for his moral and financial support towards the success of my academic ambition. I am also very grateful to Ndaman Aliyu Ndayako of CBN Abuja for his personal interest in my studies and contributed financially towards achieving my goal. May Allah bless them all (Ameen).

Finally, my profound and kindest thanks go to my immediate family, the closest to me, who despite the heavy toll my studies have exacted on them continue to give me both moral and financial support towards the success of my academic activities. They are; my wife, Malama Asabe Muhammad, and children; Maimuna (Hajiya Amama), Muhammad (Iya/Mallam), Aisha (Ummi), Abdulkadir Jnr (Aji) and Nana Asmau (Nna Gogo). Without their unrelenting encouragement, endurance and support this thesis would not have been completed. May Allah, SWT, in His infinitive mercy continue to guide, guard and protect them on the right path and bless them with Jannatul firdaus (Ameen).

Wa Billahi Tawfiq.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
DEDICATION	ii
ABSTRACT	iii
ABSTRAK	vi
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ix
APPROVAL	xii
DECLARATION	xiv
LIST OF TABLES	xix
LIST OF FIGURES	xx
 CHAPTER	
1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.0 Introduction	1
1.1 General Background to the study	1
1.2 Statement of the Research Problem	8
1.3 Research Questions	10
1.4 Research Objectives	10
1.5 Significance of the study	11
1.6 Scope and Limitation of the study	11
1.7 Conceptual Framework	13
1.8 Clarification of terms	13
1.9 Organization of the Thesis	18
1.10 Conclusion	21
 2 LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEOREICAL FRAMEWORK	22
2.0 Introduction	22
2.1 An overview of what NEPAD and APRM stand for in Africa	22
2.2 Case studies and Review of the previous literature on NEPAD	32
2.2.1 Comparison of NEP and NEPAD; Similarities and Differences	33
2.2.2 Objective of New Economic Policy (NEP) in Malaysia	34
2.2.3 The Result of NEP in Malaysia: An overview of 1970 to 2004	35
2.2.4 Indian Country Economic Development Programme (ICED): What it entails	37
2.2.5 Thailand National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB)	39
2.3 Indicators in Assessing the Implementation of NEPAD Objectives	47
2.3.1 Good Governance	47
2.3.2 Poverty	48
2.3.3 Corruption	48
2.4 General Criticisms Regarding NEPAD	51
2.5 Theoretical Framework	52

2.5.1	Dependency Framework	53
2.5.2	Criticisms of Dependency theory	56
2.5.3	Failed State Theory	62
2.5.4	Justification for adopting the two theories in the study	64
2.6	NEPAD's Relationship with Previous Studies	66
2.7	Conclusion	68
3	RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	69
3.0	Introduction	69
3.1	Research Design	69
3.2	Informants Criteria of Selection and Justification	71
3.2.1	Credibility	73
3.2.2	Internal Credibility	73
3.2.3	Transferability	74
3.2.4	Dependability	75
3.3	Technique of Data Collection	75
3.3.1	In-depth interviewing	78
3.3.2	Focus Group Discussions	82
3.3.3	Reasons for Focus Group Discussions	82
3.4	Method of Data Analysis	83
3.5	Researcher's Role in the Study	85
3.5.1	Ethical Considerations	86
3.5.2	Advantages and Disadvantages of the researcher as an 'insider'	88
3.6	Conclusion	90
4	AN OVERVIEW OF THE NIGERIA'S POLITICAL ECOMONY	91
4.0	Introduction	91
4.1	Understanding Economic Development	91
4.2	Understanding Nigeria	95
4.2.1	Inland Waterways	101
4.2.2	Ports	102
4.2.3	Air Travel	102
4.2.4	Electrical Power	103
4.3	Evolution of Nigeria	104
4.3.1	Economic History of Nigeria	105
4.3.2	The Oil Sector	107
4.4	Nigerian Economic Performance Index (EPI): An Overview	108
4.3.1	Economy of Nigeria	109
4.3.2	External Reserves	113
4.3.3	Gross Domestic Product (GDP)	113
4.3.4	External Debt	114
4.3.5	Inflation Rate	115
4.5	Agriculture and Other Economic Sectors	115
4.6	Poverty in a Wealthy Country: An Overview of Nigeria	121
4.6.1	Poverty Rate	125
4.6.2	Poverty Index: Africa and Nigeria in Perspective	127
4.7	Conclusion	134

5 GOOD GOVERNANCE ISSUES IN MODERN NIGERIA	135
5.0 Introduction	135
5.1 Good Governance: what it implies	135
5.1.1 Characteristics of good governance	138
5.1.2 An overview of good governance	141
5.2 What Peace and Security Stand For in Nigeria	145
5.3 An Overview of Politics and Government in Nigeria	153
5.3.1 Accountability	154
5.3.2 Transparency	155
5.3.3 Servant Leadership	156
5.3.4 Participation	156
5.3.5 Constitutional Legitimacy	158
5.4 The Emergence of Garrison-Democracy in Nigeria: An Overview of the Politics of Obasabjo's Regime: 1999-2007	159
5.4.1 Concentration and centralization of power in the hands of the President	161
5.4.2 Unprecedented Abuse of State Power and Democratic Institutions	162
5.4.3 Interference in the Activities of Political parties and Assemblies	163
5.4.4 Cabals running the Business of Government	165
5.4.5 Undemocratic Electoral process	165
5.4.6 Looting and Conversion of Public Funds and Assets	166
5.4.7 Introduction of Divide and Rule among Nigerians	168
5.4.8 Unprecedented Violation of National Constitution	169
5.5 Issues and strategies in promoting Democracy and Good Governance	170
5.5.1 The evolution of leaders	172
5.5.2 Promoting and Consolidating Democracy	174
5.5.3 Deepening democracy	175
5.5.4 Political Intuitionism	176
5.5.5 Service delivery or regime performance	176
5.6 The Politics of Ethnicity in Nigeria	180
5.6.1 Understanding Ethnicity	181
5.6.2 Characteristics of Ethnicity	183
5.6.3 General Overview of Ethnicity in Nigeria	183
5.6.4 Conditions Conducive to Ethnic Formation	186
5.6.5 The Political System of a Society	188
5.7 Impact of Ethnicity in a Multi-Ethnic Nigeria	188
5.7.1 Possible Solutions to Ethnic Problems in Nigeria	192
5.7.2 Establishment of a True Federation	192
5.7.3 A true democratic government	193
5.7.4 Drafting an acceptable and durable Constitution	193
5.7.5 The cultivation of a suitable political culture	193
5.7.6 To restructure Nigeria into a mobile society	194
5.7.7 Making Nigeria a true nation	194
5.8 Conclusion	196

6 AN ASSESSMENT OF NIGERIA AND NEPAD	197
6.0 Introduction	197
6.1 Data Presentation and Analysis	198
6.2 Research Findings	198
6.2.1 How Nigeria responded to NEPAD's African Peer Review Mechanism Programme	198
6.2.2 Intellectual appeal and goals defined	199
6.2.3 No significant changes	200
6.2.4 Poor livelihoods	201
6.3 Nigeria's role in the NEPAD's APRM programmes of poverty reduction, peace and Security and good governance	201
6.3.1 Corruption	202
6.3.2 Bad leaders	203
6.3.3 NEPAD's peace and security objective	203
6.3.4 Unemployment	204
6.3.5 Lack of ethics and values	204
6.3.6 NEPAD's good governance objective	205
6.3.7 Disrespect for the Constitution	206
6.3.8 Violation of Human Rights	206
6.3.9 Disrespect for democratic principles	207
6.4 Does the governance have the capacity to respond to the implementation of the NEPAD's APRM programme?	208
6.5 Challenges to the government in the implementation of NEPAD's APRM programmes in Nigeria	209
6.6 The way (s) to strengthen NEPAD's APRM programmes in Nigeria	210
6.6.1 Strong Legislation	211
6.6.2 Commitment and political will	212
6.6.3 Adequate Resources	212
6.7 Discussion	213
6.8 Conclusion of the Chapter	223
7 SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	224
7.1 Introduction	224
7.2 Summary	224
7.4 Conclusion	229
7.5 Recommendations	233
REFERENCES	240
APPENDICES	258
BIODATA OF STUDENT	271
LIST OF PUBLICATIONS	272