

Chapter 15: Nigeria



THE BASICS

Nigeria

Size	823,770 km ² (about twice the size of California)
Population	135 million (estimated)
Population growth	2.3%
GDP per capita PPP	\$1,500
Growth GDP	5.3%
Currency	127 naira = US\$1
Major religions	50% Muslim, 40% Christian, 10% indigenous religions
Literacy	67%
Life expectancy	51 years

A New Democracy? – the 2006 and 2007 elections

TABLE 15.1 Nigerian Presidential Election, 2007

CANDIDATE	PARTY	VOTE (IN PERCENTS)
Yar'Adua, Umaru	People's Democratic Party	69.8
Buhari, Muhammadu	All Nigeria Peoples Party	18.7
Abubakar, Atiku	Action Congress	7.5
Kalu, Otji Uzor	Progressive Peoples Alliance	1.7
Others	–	2.3

2011 Election Results

Goodluck Jonathan	PDP	58.89%
Muhammadu Buhari	CPC	31.98%
Nuhu Ridabu	CAN	5.41%

Thinking about Nigeria

- Huge population
- Fertile soil
- Well-educated elite
- Vast oil and gas reserves

Thinking about Nigeria

- Poverty
 - In lowest quarter of poor countries
 - Dependence on oil
 - Low life expectancy
 - Urban population growth
 - Total population growth

Thinking about Nigeria

- Ethnicity
 - 400 ethnic groups
 - 510 languages
 - Hausa-Fulani
 - Yoruba
 - Igbo
 - Multiplicity of languages, English, and pidgins

Thinking about Nigeria

- High stakes politics
 - High unmet expectations of government
 - Alternation of military and civilian regimes
 - Spoils of office are high
 - Few established institutions

Thinking about Nigeria

- Key questions
 - How is the legacy of colonialism reflected in Nigerian politics?
 - What role does ethnicity play in reinforcing the country's difficulties?
 - Why does Nigeria remain one of the poorest countries in the world despite its massive oil and natural gas reserves?
 - How have frequent shifts from civilian to military rule and back again exacerbated the country's many social and economic problems?

The Evolution of the Nigerian State

- Burden of problems inherited from colonial times
 - Effects of the slave trade
 - Disruption of 16th century social and political systems
 - Imposed national boundaries

The Evolution of the Nigerian State

- Before the British
 - Numerous well-developed political, cultural, and economic systems
 - Hausa states in north
 - Yoruba kingdoms in west and southwest (and neighboring Benin)
 - Igbo villages in southeast and Niger Delta
 - Portuguese slave trade of late 15th century

The Evolution of the Nigerian State

- Colonialism
 - British colony at Lagos as base for trade in early 19th century
 - International Berlin West Africa Conference (1885)
 - European nations' glory and balance of power in play
 - Europeans wanted new markets
 - Christian missionary and civilizing impulses

TABLE 15.2 Events in Nigeria before Independence

YEAR	EVENT
11th century	Arrival of Arabs
16th century	Beginning of slave trade
1884–85	Berlin Conference on Africa
1914	Unification of Nigeria as a single colony
1920	Creation of National Congress of British West Africa
1923	Formation of Nigerian National Democratic Party
1938	Nigerian Youth Charter issued
1948	Nigerianization of civil service begins
1951 and 1954	Interim constitutions go into effect
1960	Independence

The Evolution of the Nigerian State

- Colonial rule
 - Single Nigerian colony in 1914
 - Indirect rule in north; colonial regime in south
 - Education system by missionaries with government support (mostly in south)
 - Created a new Nigerian elite
 - Made possible a domestic, critical press
 - British tried to make colony self-supporting
 - Introduced cash crops; forced colony to import food
 - Colonial industries made wage laborers out of Nigerian producers

The Evolution of the Nigerian State

- Independence
 - First drive for independence came with WWI
 - British had created “tribes” where none existed in order to rule
 - Herbert Macaulay founded Nigerian National Democratic Party (1923)
 - Nigerian Youth Movement founded (1933)
 - WWII made independence inevitable
 - Macaulay and Nnamdi Azikiwe founded National Council of Nigerian and the Cameroons (1944)
 - British promulgated constitution (1946)
 - October 1960 elections and independence

The Evolution of the Nigerian State

- The First Republic
 - Traditional parliamentary system
 - Federal system
 - Nigerian political culture unsuited to adversarial system (not everyone represented)
 - High stakes politics and corrupted elections led to overthrow of regime

TABLE 15.3 Nigerian Regimes and Leaders since Independence

YEARS	HEAD OF STATE	TYPE OF REGIME
1960–66	Tafawa Balewa	First Republic
1966	J. T. U. Aguiyu Ironsi	Military
1966–75	Yakubu Gowon	Military
1975–76	Murtala Muhammed	Military
1976–79	Olusegun Obasanjo	Military
1979–83	Shehu Shagari	Second Republic
1984–85	Muhammadu Buhari	Military
1985–93	Ibrahim Babangida	Military
1993	Ernest Shonekan	Third Republic and Military
1993–98	Sani Abacha	Military
1998–99	Abdulsalami Abubakar	Military
1999–2007	Olusegun Obasanjo	Fourth Republic
2007	Umaru Yar'Adua	Fourth Republic

TABLE 15.4 Political Parties and Leaders in the First and Second Republics

REGION	FIRST REPUBLIC PARTY	SECOND REPUBLIC PARTY	LEADER
North	Northern People's Congress (NPC)	National Party of Nigeria	Ahmadu Bello
West	Action Group (AG)	United Party of Nigeria (UPN)	Tafawa Balewa
East	National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC)	Nigerian People's Party (NPP)	Nnamdi Azikiwe

The Evolution of the Nigerian State

- Military Rule I
 - Justified by the need to restore order
 - Ethnic divisions
 - Civil war
 - Coup follows coup follows coup

The Evolution of the Nigerian State

- The Second Republic
 - Presidential system
 - Government-licensed political parties
 - Contested election
 - Oil price collapse and economic disaster
 - Corrupt, violent elections (1983)

TABLE 15.5 Presidential Elections
in the Nigerian Second Republic

NAME	PARTY	PERCENT OF VOTE 1979	PERCENT OF VOTE 2003
Shagari, Shehu	NPN	33.8	47.5
Awolowo, Obafemi	UPN	29.2	37.1
Azikiwe, Nnamdi	NPP	16.7	14.0
Kano, Aminu	PRP	10.3	–
Yusuf, Hassan	PRP	–	3.8
Ibrahim, Izzat	GNPP	10.0	2.5
Braithwaite, Tunji	NAP	–	1.1

TABLE 15.6 Seats in Parliament: 1979–83

PARTY	HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES	SENATE
GNPP	43	8
UPN	111	28
NPN	168	36
PRP	49	7
NPP	78	16
Total	449	95

The Evolution of the Nigerian State

- Military Rule II
 - Coup to restore democracy
 - Counter coup because of favoritism
 - Constitutional engineering to create viable regime
 - Coup in response to conflicts within ruling junta

The Evolution of the Nigerian State

- Military Rule III
 - More authoritarian than previous military regimes
 - As corrupt as any government
- Fourth Republic
 - 1999 election of Obasanjo
 - 2007 election of Yar' Adua

Political Culture

- Mass political culture
 - People dissatisfied with political system
 - People prefer democracy to other regimes
 - Fragmented and polarized populace
 - Ethnic identities primary to most people
 - Religious identities very important to most people
 - Regional identities also important
 - Poor masses and rich elite
 - Urban – rural divisions
 - Alienation of most people from political system

Political Culture

- Elite culture
 - Bourgeois class controls state through wealth and insider status
 - Willing to violate “rules” of democratic culture to maintain status

Political Culture

- Non-electoral participation
 - Suppressed by military regimes
 - Delta protests
 - Urban ethnic riots
 - Dependent youths (urban and rural)
 - Relatively free press
 - Some civil society groups

Political Culture

- Political parties and elections
 - The elections of 1999 and 2003
 - Parties associate with military leaders
 - Difficult to identify issue positions
 - The elections of 2007
 - Parties still related to ethnic parties of First Republic
 - Leaders more important than issues

TABLE 15.7 Elections in Nigeria: 1999 and 2003

PARTY	HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES VOTE 1999	PRESI- DENTIAL VOTE 1999	HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES VOTE 2003	PRESI- DENTIAL VOTE 2003
PDP	58 (%)	63	55	63
APP/ANPP	19	37	27	32
Action Congress	21	–	9	–
Others	7	–	8	5

Note: The APP and ANPP ran a single candidate for president in 1999 and Action Congress did not run one in 2003.

The Fragile Nigerian State

- The Fourth Republic
 - American-style presidency
 - National Assembly similar to U.S. Congress
 - Anglo-American style judiciary
 - Network of local and state courts with a Supreme Court
 - Sharia appellate court option for states

The Fragile Nigerian State

- The Personalization of Power
 - Person in position more important than formal responsibilities and powers of office
 - Doubts about President Yar' adua stem from his lack of power base
- Corruption - massive and ubiquitous

The Fragile Nigerian State

- Federalism
 - Blunted ethnic conflict
 - Uncertainty about powers of states
 - Duplication of services and bureaucracies
 - Preserved ethnic divisions

Public Policy

- Democratization
 - Babangida's failure
 - Attempt to engineer successful institutions
 - Attempt to engineer functional participation
 - Abubakar and Obasanjo

Public Policy

- Economic development and structural adjustment
 - Export-based economy vulnerable
 - Oil prices have created crises and opportunities
 - Import substitution has not worked well
 - Structural adjustment results mixed

Feedback

- Relatively free press (even under military regimes)
- Low literacy rate
- Government-controlled broadcast media key to feedback
- State broadcast stations now compete with national network

Nigeria and the Plight of the Third World

- Should there be a Nigeria?
- Prospects for national reorganization in Africa very unlikely
- Solutions will have to come within current national boundaries.

Learning Objectives

After mastering the concepts presented in this chapter, you will be able to:

- Understand the essential moments of the historical formation of the Nigerian state.
- Recognize the importance of complex ethnic, religious and political challenges in understanding the Nigerian political system. Define the following: Hausa-Fulani, Igbo, Yoruba
- Discuss the evolution of Nigerian politics.
- Comprehend the importance of colonialism and the impact of British Empire in Nigeria.
- Discuss the role of political parties in the process of Nigerian fight for independence. Recognize the key roles of the following parties: Nigerian National Democratic Party, Nigerian Youth Movement, Northern People's Congress, Northern Elements Progressive Union, United Middle Belt Congress, The Action Group
- Comprehend the impact of the Nigerian regimes and leaders on the development of Nigeria since independence.

Learning Objectives

After mastering the concepts presented in this chapter, you will be able to:

- Understand the evolution of Nigerian Republic in 20th century and define key elements of the First, Second, Third and Fourth Republics in Nigeria. Briefly define the following: National Party of Nigeria, United Party of Nigeria, Nigerian People's Party, People's Redemption Party
- Recognize the role of military regimes in Nigerian history and discuss the role of the following leaders and institutions: General Aguiyi Ironsi, Supreme Military Command (Armed Forces Party Council), Federal Executive Council, National Republican Convention, Social Democratic Party, Lieutenant Colonel Yakubu Gowon, General Murtala Muhammed, Lieutenant General Olusegun Obasanjo, General Sani Abacha
- Understand the process of political, economic and social developments in contemporary Nigeria.
- Discuss the key elements of Iranian state institutions

Learning Objectives

After mastering the concepts presented in this chapter, you will be able to:

- Understand the specifications of Nigerian political culture and participation.
- Discuss the role of ethnic tensions, including violent conflicts, in the process of contemporary development of the Nigerian state.
- Define the essence of Nigerian electoral participation and electoral challenges.
- Understand the degree and complexity of the level of corruption in Nigerian political and social systems.
- Comprehend the role of political parties in Nigeria.
- Recognize the challenges of Nigerian federalism.
- Define the current paradox of the economic situation in Nigeria.
- Understand the challenges of democratization in Nigeria.
- Comprehend the challenging process of the development of Nigerian state and the potentials of survival of the Nigerian Fourth Republic under President Umaru Yar' Adua.