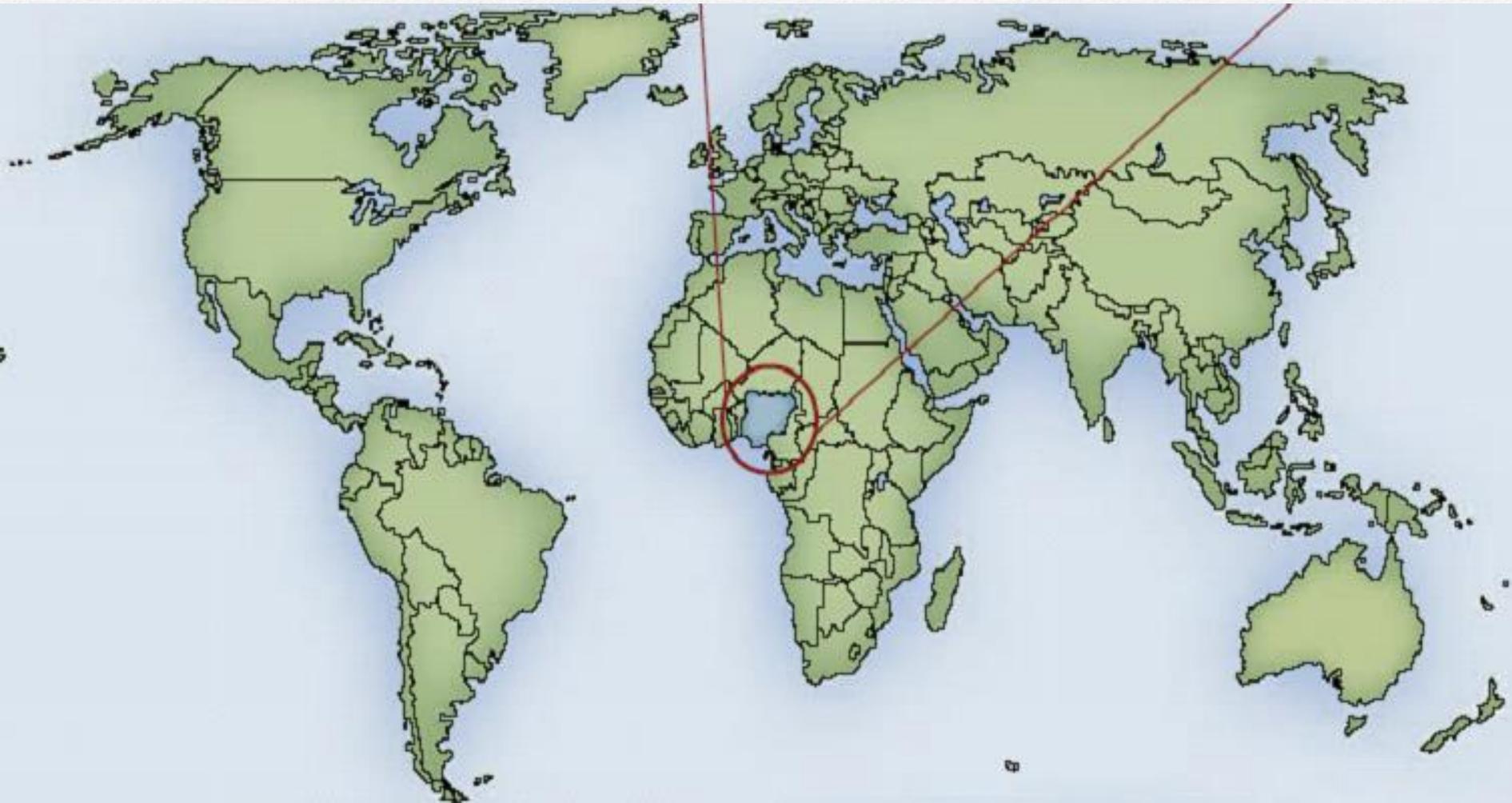


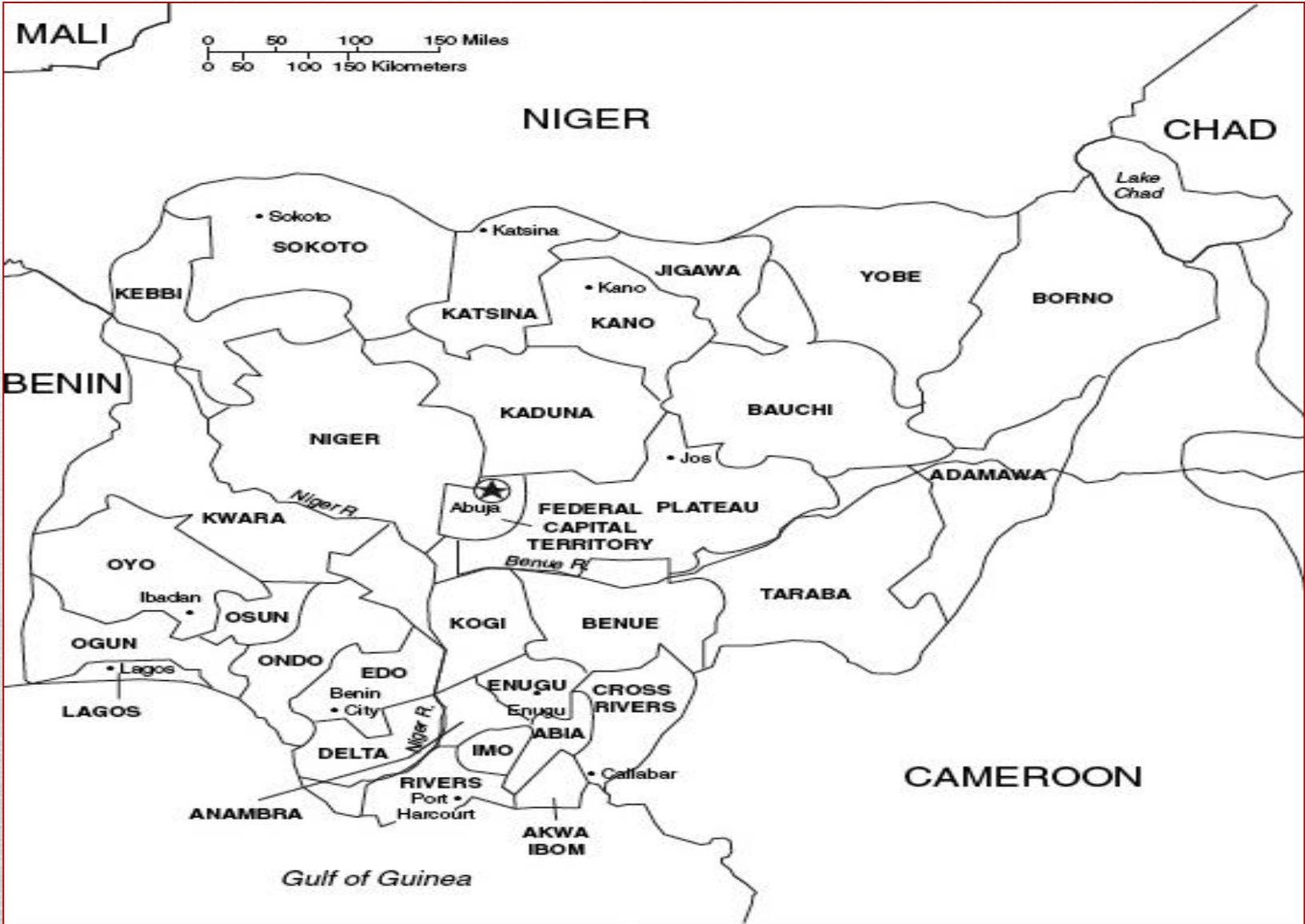


Nigeria

Emerging Democracy

- Larger than Britain and France combined.
- Over 1/5 of the people in Africa.





Over 250 ethnic groups:

❑ Hausa-Fulani 29%

- northern half, overwhelmingly Muslim

❑ Yoruba 21%

- southwest forest and Lagos

❑ Igbo 18%

- southeastern market agriculture

Religion:

Christian-Muslim split nearly 50-50

Deep Divisions

British interest in West Africa

- slave trade from the 16th century to 1807

The Conference of Berlin in 1884-1885

- Africa was divided into spheres of influence
- the colonial boundaries extended northward
- the climate and cultural zones run east and west

Cultural Dualism

Precolonial (Social Accountability)

Western Influence (Individualism)

Colonial History

- Without exception, British colonies came to independence with a parliamentary system based on the Westminster model.
- A ceremonial governor-general was named by the British monarch until 1963.
- The disastrous failure of the first republic in 1966 called into question the previous parliamentary system.
- Contradictory Influence of the Past: British colonial “**rule of law**” vs. **Military rule/Personalized authority**

Independence: 1960-10-01

How did colonialism heighten the differences between North and South?

Duty to Ethnic groups - State is exploitative, taxes withheld, and resources plundered

South gained Western politics - infrastructure (schools, roads, ports) and economy.

North retained traditional administration - Indirect rule but few infrastructural benefits.

North / South Division

Clientelism - A powerful **patron** (local boss, gov agency, party) offers lower-status client, resources, land, contracts, protection, jobs, etc. in return for support (labor or votes).

Corruption, preferential treatment, and inequality common in clientelism. Civilian and military leaders or patrons are often linked to clients by ethnic, religious, or other cultural ties benefitting a small elite.

Political competition based on ethnic/cultural lines undermines social trust and political stability which are necessary conditions for economic growth.

Negative Effects of Division



Nigeria is a relatively young country which makes establishing legitimate government more difficult.

Fragmentation – tendency to fall apart along ethnic, regional, and/or religious lines. Greatest split is along ethnic lines.

Corruption – both military and civilian rule tainted with corruption. Citizens question the payment of taxes that get deposited in personal bank accounts. (**Prebendalism**)

Legitimacy

The “**National Question**”: differing opinions about how political power should be distributed and how the government should be constructed.

In Nigeria differences are more distinct and run deeper than in other countries. Since independence in 1960, neither its leaders nor its citizens agree on the basics of who should rule and how

Problems traditionally solved by military force and authoritarianism

IS NIGERIA A NATION? 4 democratic elections since 1994

Authority & Political Power

- From 1966 to 1976, five Nigerian chief executives were killed or removed by military coups.
- Confusion and clash between the “modern” and the hundreds of “traditions”.
- Resultant confusion produced political instability, economic woes, and constant military interventions.

29 years of military rule

YEARS	HEAD OF STATE	TYPE OF REGIME
1960–1966	Tafawa Balewa	First Republic
1966	J. T. U. Aguiyu Ironsi	Military
1966–1975	Yakubu Gowon	Military
1975–1976	Murtala Muhammed	Military
1976–1979	Olusegun Obasanjo	Military
1979–1983	Shehu Shagari	Second Republic
1984–1985	Muhammadu Buhari	Military
1985–1993	Ibrahim Babangida	Military
1993	Ernest Shonekan	Third Republic and Military
1993–1998	Sani Abacha	Military
1998–1999	Abdulsalami Abubakar	Military
1999–	Olusegun Obasanjo	Fourth Republic

Nigerian Regimes and Leaders since its Independence

- Nigeria came to independence with an economy typical of Africa.
- Production and export of agricultural commodities mostly palm oil and cocoa.
- The country as a whole depended on commodity markets in the industrial countries for its foreign exchange.
- Population growth and urbanization

Economic Structure



Nigeria is a net importer of agricultural produce, with imports totalling \$4.2 bn.

Large food products import include wheat (\$1.1bn), fish (\$0.7b), rice (\$500m), and sugar (\$400m).

Nigeria's agriculture sector has enormous potential – with an opportunity to grow output by 160%, from USD 99 billion today to USD 256 billion by 2030.

Rising commodity prices, growing demand for food, and bio-fuel all present significant opportunities for Nigeria.

Agriculture can become the main driver for more equitable income growth, compared to oil and gas sector.

Agriculture

Agriculture Value Chain



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Consumption

Retailing

Trading

Processing

Research

Trading

Communication

Post-harvest
handling

Transportation

Government Policies and Regulations

Production

Input supply

Input supply

Technical and business training services

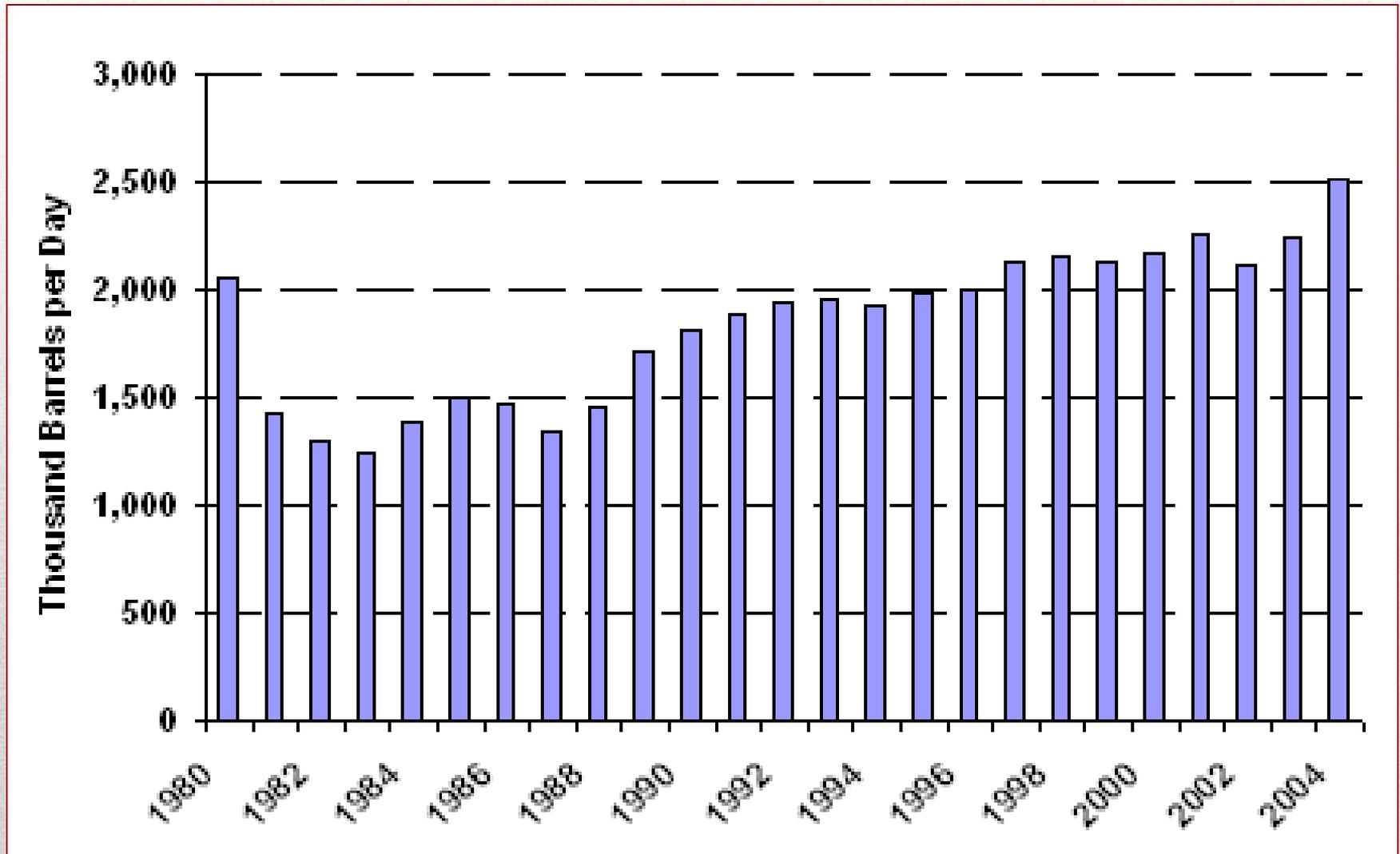
Financial Services

Market Information and Intelligence

- First shipload of crude oil exported in 1958.
- Oil exports stopped by civil war (1966-70)
- Oil revenues peaked in 1979.
- Oil sector provides 1/5 of GDP, 95% of foreign exchange earnings, and 65% of budgetary revenues.
- The 10th largest oil producer in the world, at 2.5 million barrels a day.

Petroleum

Nigerian Crude Oil Production 1980- 2004



- UN ranked Nigeria 148th in Human Development Index among 178 countries.
- Failure to provide basic human needs, education, potable water, reliable transportation, and communications.
- Transparency International ranked Nigeria 6th worst among 158 countries in Corruption Perception Index

Failure of the State



Acceptance of “constitutionalism” as a guiding set of principles has eluded Nigeria.

- Military and civilian leaders have felt free to disobey and suspend constitutional principles or change constitutions not to their liking.
- Without constitutionalism the “**National Question**” has been much harder to answer.

Constitutionalism

- The four constitutions stipulated formal federalism.
- Two attempts (1966 and 1990) to impose a unitary system failed.
- Fiscally, however, all levels of government derive the largest portion of their revenues from the national oil monopoly.
- Federalism seen as a positive for Nigerian political structure.
- Federalism promises power-sharing. It Allows citizens more contact points with government

Federalism

The 1999 Constitution of the 4th Republic:

- an independently elected president
- bicameral National Assembly at the federal level serve 4-year terms.
- House of Representatives: 360
- Senate: 3 senators from each of 36 states

Nigerian legislature under military governments have had no power, under civilian government they have been unable to check power of the president.

Presidential System



Almost 16 years of military rule by the Provisional Ruling Council after 1984.

In 1999 Nigeria returned to civilian rule

- Obasanjo was elected president
- A new legislature was elected

In 2003 President Obasanjo was reelected.

His People's Democratic Party also won majority of seats in both houses

Groping toward Democracy

- Further privatization of state-owned industry.
- Limitations on economic controls of the central government.
- Money taken by General Abacha returned by foreign banks and placed in the state treasury.
- Scheme for alleviating poverty in Nigeria.
- Increase in public wages.
- Hope of decreasing instances of corruption.
- Increase in financial reserves as a result of stabilized oil prices.

Reforms

Regional leader- largest economy (immigration)

ECOWAS

(Economic Community of West African States)

- European Union style integration
- common currency
- regional security organization
- counter French influence
- political organization
- promote free trade

Nigeria's Role in West Africa
