Chapter 15: Nigeria
### Nigeria

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Metric</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Size</td>
<td>823,770 km² (about twice the size of California)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>135 million (estimated)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population growth</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP per capita PPP</td>
<td>$1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Growth GDP</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Currency</td>
<td>127 naira = US$1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major religions</td>
<td>50% Muslim, 40% Christian, 10% indigenous religions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literacy</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life expectancy</td>
<td>51 years</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A New Democracy? – the 2006 and 2007 elections

**TABLE 15.1** Nigerian Presidential Election, 2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CANDIDATE</th>
<th>PARTY</th>
<th>VOTE (IN PERCENTS)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yar’Adua, Umaru</td>
<td>People’s Democratic Party</td>
<td>69.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buhari, Muhammadu</td>
<td>All Nigeria Peoples Party</td>
<td>18.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abubakar, Atiku</td>
<td>Action Congress</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalu, Otji Uzor</td>
<td>Progressive Peoples Alliance</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>EVENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11th century</td>
<td>Arrival of Arabs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16th century</td>
<td>Beginning of slave trade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884–85</td>
<td>Berlin Conference on Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>Unification of Nigeria as a single colony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Creation of National Congress of British West Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Formation of Nigerian National Democratic Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>Nigerian Youth Charter issued</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>Nigerianization of civil service begins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951 and 1954</td>
<td>Interim constitutions go into effect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>Independence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEARS</th>
<th>HEAD OF STATE</th>
<th>TYPE OF REGIME</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960–66</td>
<td>Tafawa Balewa</td>
<td>First Republic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>J. T. U. Aguiyu Ironsi</td>
<td>Military</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966–75</td>
<td>Yakubu Gowon</td>
<td>Military</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975–76</td>
<td>Murtala Muhammed</td>
<td>Military</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976–79</td>
<td>Olusegun Obasanjo</td>
<td>Military</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979–83</td>
<td>Shehu Shagari</td>
<td>Second Republic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984–85</td>
<td>Muhammadu Buhari</td>
<td>Military</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985–93</td>
<td>Ibrahim Babangida</td>
<td>Military</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Ernest Shonekan</td>
<td>Third Republic and Military</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993–98</td>
<td>Sani Abacha</td>
<td>Military</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998–99</td>
<td>Abdulsalami Abubakar</td>
<td>Military</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999–2007</td>
<td>Olusegun Obasanjo</td>
<td>Fourth Republic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Umaru Yar’Adua</td>
<td>Fourth Republic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REGION</td>
<td>FIRST REPUBLIC PARTY</td>
<td>SECOND REPUBLIC PARTY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>Northern People’s Congress (NPC)</td>
<td>National Party of Nigeria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>Action Group (AG)</td>
<td>United Party of Nigeria (UPN)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East</td>
<td>National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC)</td>
<td>Nigerian People’s Party (NPP)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>PARTY</th>
<th>PERCENT OF VOTE 1979</th>
<th>PERCENT OF VOTE 2003</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shagari, Shehu</td>
<td>NPN</td>
<td>33.8</td>
<td>47.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awolowo, Obafemi</td>
<td>UPN</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>37.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Azikiwe, Nnamdi</td>
<td>NPP</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kano, Aminu</td>
<td>PRP</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yusuf, Hassan</td>
<td>PRP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibrahim, Izzat</td>
<td>GNPP</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Braithwaite, Tunji</td>
<td>NAP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 15.6 Seats in Parliament: 1979–83

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARTY</th>
<th>HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES</th>
<th>SENATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GNPP</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPN</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPN</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRP</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPP</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>449</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PDP</td>
<td>58 (%)</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APP/ANPP</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Action Congress</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.