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WITHER NEPAD AFRICAN AND NEPAD NIGERIA? A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES

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Abstract

The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), is the latest in a long line of policy frameworks intended to place Africa on a path of sustainable growth and development. The picture of Africa in the 21st century has been characterized by daunting challenges of economic underdevelopment, poverty, political instability, civil wars, and diseases. The idea of introducing an Indigenous African Approach, (IAA), to problems peculiar to Africa came after the social-political and economic realities of the continent had defied several developmental plans, which were said to be alien to Africa or drafted by expert and institutions that fail to appreciate the peculiarities of the continent. Thus, it is imperative to understand what NEPAD stands for in Africa and see how NEPAD operates in Nigeria. This preliminary study established a clear distinction and inconsistency between NEPAD Africa and NEPAD Nigeria. Furthermore, the study determined the level of inconsistency and lack of political will of African leaders in implementing NEPAD objectives. The findings of the study also revealed that there is lack of awareness and sound knowledge about NEPAD programme in Africa in general and in Nigeria in particular. Correlational analyses found that ignorance, lack of commitments, fund and corruption were associated with all facets of NEPAD activities in Nigeria. The results provide evidence that the greatest challenge of NEPAD Nigeria is leadership problem. It must be noted that findings of this preliminary study were based on data collected through observation, in-depth interviewing, Focus Group Discussion (FGD) and nominal interviewing. All of these were possible using Qualitative approach and exploratory design technique. A sample size of the respondents (n= 60) were small however, a bigger sample size would be required to represent larger population in future studies.

Key Words: Nepad, Development Initiative, Programme, Partnership, Poverty, Governance, Political Instability, Ethnic-religious Conflicts.

Introduction

In this age of globalization a theory problem that may impede the development of Africa is the worsening economic conditions of several African countries, which are traceable to internal/ domestic difficulties (such as civil wars, political instability, incoherent policies, governance problem, mass poverty and diseases) as well as unfavourable external environment, particularly the international economy,(Dunmoye ,2002: 19). The picture of Africa in the 21st century has been characterized by political instability, poverty, bad governance, ethnic- religious conflicts and economic underdevelopment. Consequently, in 2001, African leaders launched a homegrown development initiative programme, called the ' New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), whose overriding goal is to end Africa's poverty and underdevelopment, Mukamunana,(2006:1).

The birth of NEPAD in 2001 as a development programme has brought into focus the development imperative of the continent and various attempts made to solve the continental problems using NEPAD as a launch pad. It is in view of the above that Kuye, (2003:11), asserts that, 'the strategic goal of the project is to provide for sustainable development in the region by playing a central role in overcoming regional barriers and creating favourable conditions for the penetration of advanced technologies to facilitate efficient use of the local natural

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resources (depletable and renewable)' (Kuye, 2003:11). The NEPAD objectives and principles were crafted to reflect the condition in Africa.

Efretuie, (2006:19), posits of NEPAD objectives as: 'the principal objectives of NEPAD are many folds. Nepad's objectives essentially include:

- To eradicate poverty.
- To place African countries, both individually and collectively, on a path to sustainable development.
- To halt the marginalization of Africa in the globalization process and enhance the integration of its economies into the global economy.
- To accelerate the empowerment of women'.

In an attempt to actualize the purpose of NEPAD in Africa and in order to translate the vision goal from ideal to reality, the following objectives have been drawn up:

- To strengthen the mechanisms for conflict prevention, management and resolution and ensure that they are used to restore and maintain peace.
- Promote and protect democracy and Human Rights by developing clear standards of accountability, transparency and participative governance.
- Restore and maintain macroeconomic stability by developing standards and targets for fiscal and monetary policies and appropriate institutional frameworks.
- Institute transparent legal and regulatory frameworks for financial markets and auditing of private companies and the public sector.
- Revitalize and extend the provision of education, technical training and health services (with priority to HIV/AIDS, malaria and other communicable diseases).
- Promote the role of women in social and economic development in Africa.
- Build the capacity of the states in Africa to set and enforce the legal framework and maintain law and order.
- Promote the development of infrastructure, agriculture and its diversification (Melber *et al.*, 2002:7-8).

Ohiorhenuan (2002) has conceptualized the objectives of Nepad as:

- Economic growth
- Poverty alleviation,
- Regional trade,
- Environmental protection.

The main thrust of NEPAD as African homegrown development initiative, therefore can be summarized as 'a development homegrown programme' aimed at promoting: Peace and Security; Democracy and Political Governance; and Economic and Corporate Initiatives in Africa. Before NEPAD, African leaders have been striving for a lasting development initiative since 1970s to solve the socio-economic problems that has characterized the continent.

NEPAD Principles

- Good governance as a basic requirement for peace, security and sustainable political and socio-economic development;
- African ownership and leadership, as well as broad and deep participation by all sectors of society;
- Anchoring the development of Africa on its resources and resourcefulness of its people;
- Partnership between and amongst African peoples;
- Acceleration of regional and continental integration;

- Building the competitiveness of African countries and the continent;
- Forging a new international partnership that changes the unequal relationship between Africa and the developed world; and
- Ensuring that all partnership with NEPAD is linked to the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) and other agreed development goals and targets.

NIGERIA IN PERSPECTIVE

Nigeria as a nation, has been suffering in the hands of her citizens, particularly the political leaders since independence in 1960. Poverty, political instability, ethnic-religious conflict and economic underdevelopment have become common phenomenon in Nigeria. Poverty in Nigeria has become one the major problem hampering the growth and development of the country. In fact, poverty has become a serious issue in Nigeria, that the country fall towards the bottom of any list measuring small size economic activity, such as income per capita or GDP per capita, despite a wealth of natural resources. In 2009, 22 of 24 nations identified as having "Low Human Development" on the United Nations' (UN) Human Development Index were located in Sub-Saharan Africa. Nigeria with a population of about 150 million, Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of \$207.116 billion and per capita income of \$1,401, also ranked 158 in the Human Development Index, UNDP (2009). In 2006, 34 of the 50 nations on the UN list of least developed countries are in Africa, including Nigeria, UN (2006). Most countries in Africa, the GDP per capita are less than \$200 U.S. per year, with the vast majority of the population living on much less. In addition, Africa's share of income has been consistently dropping over the past century by any measure. For example, the average European worker in 1820s earned about three times what the average African did. Now, the average European earns twenty times what the average African do, (Sarch:1998). Even though, GDP per capita incomes in Africa have been steadily growing, measures are still far better in other parts of the world, such as Latin America, which suffers from many of the same disadvantages. Hope, (2006), opined that, where poverty is persistent, it leads to backwardness. That then affects the capacity of governments to raise domestic resources for policy implementation that can lead to sustained growth and development.

Virtually every sector, both public and private in the country are collapsing, for instance, security of life, education, health services, poor infrastructure, dwindling economy, and lack of respect for rule of law both by government institutions as well as citizens. No discipline in the system. The political class is made up of unserious, mediocre and those who are devoid of shame and moral status. Their passions are only, covetousness and vengefulness, vainglory, impudence and cruelty. The consequent of such a society is double attack, at one side on any force that opposes them and, on the other side the country suffers their negligence and society will be left with indignation, (ibid 2010:2). The Human Development Report of 2009 put Nigeria at 0.511, which gives the country a rank of 158th out of 182 countries in the world. The HDI provides a composite measure of three dimensions of human development: living a long and healthy life (measured by life expectancy, 47.7), being educated (measured by adult literacy and gross enrolment in education, 52.0) and having a decent standard of living (measured by purchasing power parity, PPP, income, 1.969 US\$). In recent times Nigeria has also recorded series of political violence resulting from abuse of democratic principles and disrespect to the rule of law and the rights of the citizens. The country increasingly faced debilitating economic underdevelopment, perpetual ethnic-religious crisis, social fragmentation and policy failure in almost all facets of life. As a result ethnocentrism, poverty, corruption, diseases and dictatorial authoritarian style of governance has become the norm in Nigeria.

The above situation has portrayed Nigeria as a country with multidimensional problems, despite the country's natural and human resources. The country needs leaders that have passion for peace and hope, for benevolence and magnanimity, for law and social justice and for integrity and reputation.

It is against this background that this study would examine the impact of NEPAD in Nigeria within the confines of NEPAD framework, considering the fact that Nigeria played a leading role in the formation of NEPAD Africa in 2001. However, Nigeria's implementation of the NEPAD documents has been slow.

This preliminary study therefore attempts to examine what NEPAD stands for in Africa and to see to what extent has Nigeria really lived up to the requirements of NEPAD guidelines. How well have the Nigerian government, especially the country's political leadership and the political class generally kept faith with the core objectives of the NEPAD? How aware of the NEPAD are the various stakeholders in the country, and what has been their understanding of their role in the NEPAD programmes? How would the level of NEPAD assessment be measured in terms of character of good governance in the country, poverty reduction, improved economic growth

and development, and infrastructural development? Only an indebt analysis and presentation would give most exhaustive and comprehensive answers to the above questions. This is what the preliminary study wish to achieve.

This preliminary study investigates what NEPAD stands for generally in Africa and how NEPAD programme is being perceived particularly in Nigeria both by the stakeholders and other Nigerians. The specific objectives of this study are therefore to assess the level of understanding of the essence of NEPAD in Nigeria, evaluate the impact of NEPAD in terms of poverty reduction in Nigeria, determine the positive impact of NEPAD on good governance and examine the impact of NEPAD on Nigerian economy. The study is also aimed at exploring possible way(s) on how to strengthen the implementation of NEPAD programmes in Nigeria. These findings will undoubtedly help in determining areas where Nigerian political leaders have fared in implementing NEPAD programmes and recommend the appropriate way(s) in strengthening NEPAD activities not only in Africa but also in Nigeria.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The reviews of literature in this study take on the concepts of poverty, good governance, development, partnership, NEPAD and its activities both in Africa and in Nigeria in particular.

These concepts have been major focus of academic debate in Africa. The debate mainly focuses on the nature and character of what these concepts entails within the confines of Africa. Such kind of debate has always generated a lot of contradictory views. The patterns have always been argumentative in many ways. It is on the basis of this premise that the literature reviews in this research reflect the above concepts and paradigmatic predispositions.

The main thrust of this study is to provide a critical review of some of the relevant books, studies, articles from journals, newspapers, magazines, and monographs that have dealt with core issues related to the topic of study.

A Composite Review of Related Literature and Journals

A composite review of the related literature especially on some key concepts is imperative in this study. The reviews reflected the views expressed about concepts such as partnership, development and NEPAD. In a book titled, *Partnership for International Development: Rhetorics or Results*, Jennifer M., Brinkerhoff, (2002), *attempts* to explain the concept of development partnership. She identified four types of partnership viz, partnership for public service, corporate social responsibility, conflict resolution and international development. She asserts that all kinds of partnership is essentially about the ways and means by which actors look for the most effective and efficient service delivery, minimizing the direct involvement and funding of government bodies at the face of scarce resources both in human, capital and material terms. In this context, partnership relationship of any kind especially with international bodies/communities is not built on mutual respect, trust and reciprocal principles. Perhaps, this could be a contributory factor why NEPAD partnership with the international communities has not yielded positive results.

She further describes partnership as rhetoric because more often than not such relationship is not built on mutual understanding, trust, and respect which is prone to disunity and lack of confidence. In her conclusion, Jennifer maintains that the actors gets discouraged from further pursuing the partnership relationship as such partnership for international development is seen as insignificant.

Similarly, the concept of development has also generated contradictory interpretations that also require further clarification. In this study conceptual clarification is also seek to understand the context of the study.

The concept of development is brought to true academic discourse by Peter W. Preston, in a book titled: *Rethinking Development*, Routledge & Kegan Paul Books Ltd (1988). The author posits that Development is a conglomeration of theories about how desirable change in society is best to be achieved. Development is very wide and draws on a variety of social scientific disciplines and approaches. Development is divided into the following sub marginal headings:

- Modernization theory
- Dependency theory
- World System theory
- State theory and

- Human Development theory.

Modernization Theory

Modernization theory is a theory of development which states that the development can be achieved through following the processes of development that were used by the currently developed countries. Its most influential and outspoken advocate was the American economic historian, Walt W. Rostow. According to the Rostow doctrine, the transition from underdevelopment to development can be described in terms of a series of steps or stages through which all countries must proceed. Rostow's views are documented in a Book titled: *The Stages of Economic Growth*, (1960).

Samuel Huntington, (2003), determined development to be a linear progress which every country must go through. Talcott Parsons' (2001), functional sociology defined the equality that distinguished "modern" and "tradition" societies. Education was viewed as key to creating modern individuals. Technology played a key role in this development theory because it was believed that as technology was developed and introduced to lesser developed countries it would spur growth. One key factor in Modernization Theory is the belief that development requires the assistance of the developed countries to aid developing countries to learn from their development skills.

Dependency Theory

Newschool elaborates the position of dependency theory in a book titled: *"Economic Development"*, (2009), While Modernization Theory understood development and underdevelopment as a result from internal conditions that differs between economies; dependency theory understood development and underdevelopment as relational. Informed by Marxist insights, they argued that development was a result of underdevelopment, and underdevelopment was a result of development. Their conclusion was that for underdeveloped nations to develop, they must break their ties with the developed nations and pursue internal growth. One type of policy crafted from this insight was Import substitution industrialization.

World Systems Theory

In response to some of the criticism of Dependency Theory came **World Systems Theory**, written in a book titled: *World Systems Analysis* by, *Immanuel Wallerstein*, (2004) which the division of periphery and center was further divided into a trimodel system consisting of core, semi-periphery and periphery. In this system, the semi-periphery lies between the core and periphery and is exploited by the core and exploits the periphery. This division aims to explain the industrialization within lesser developed countries. World Systems Theory was initiated by Immanuel Wallerstein in, among other writings, *World Systems Analysis* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2004) and focuses on inequality as a separate entity from growth in development and examines changes in the global capitalist system. One distinguishing feature of this theory is distrust for the state and a view in which the state is seen as a group of elites and that industrialization cannot be equated with development. Out of this theory came up of anti-systemic movement which attempt to reserve the terms of the system's inequality through social democratic and labour movements.

State Theory

In response to the distrust of the state in World Systems Theory, is *State Theory* written by *Hoyle, F.et.el.* (1993) in a book titled: *A quasi-steady state cosmological model with creation of matter*. State Theory is based upon the view that the economy is intertwined with politics and therefore the take-off period in development is unique to each country. State Theory emphasized the effects of class relations and the strength and autonomy of the state on historical outcomes. According to this theory; it is believed that development involves interactions between the state and social relations because class relations and the nature of the state impact the ability of the state to function. Development is dependent upon state stability and influence externally as well as internally. State Theorists believe that a developmentalist state is required for development by taking control of the development process within one state.

Development Economics Theories

A number of theories are concerned with how economies develop over time. Some of these theories include:

- **Comparative advantage:** Predicts that all countries of the world gain if they specialize and trade the goods in which they have a comparative advantage. This is true even if one nation has an absolute advantage over another country.

- **Rostovian take-off model:** A linear theory of development that argues that economic modernization occurs in five stages-traditional society, preconditions for take-off, take-off, drive to maturity, and high mass consumption.
- **Harrod-Domar model:** Explains an economy's growth rate in terms of the level of saving and productivity of capital.
- **Dual Sector model:** Explains the growth of a developing economy in terms of a labour transition between two sectors, a traditional agricultural sector and a modern industrial sector. This model is also known as the Lewis model because Lewis was the leading exponent of the model.

Human Development Theory

A book titled: "*The Human Development Paradigm: operationalizing Sen's ideas on capabilities*" by Fukuda-Parr, Sakiko (2003), presents his argument about human development. According to the author, **Human development theory** is a major branch of the wider development theory that is probably not confined within the bounds of conventional economics or political science, nor even the political economy that relates the two. It is a theory that merges older ideas from ecological economics, sustainable development, welfare economics, and feminist economics.

Human development theory focuses on measuring well-being and detecting uneconomic growth that comes at the expense of human health. It goes further in seeking not only to measure but to practicalise human well-being by some explicit modeling of how social capital and instructional capital can be deployed to optimize the overall value of human capital in an economy – which is itself part of ecology. The role of individual capital within that ecology, and the adaptation of the individual to live well within it, is a major focus of these theories.

The most notable proponent of human development theory is *Amartya Sen*, (1983), who asked, in *Development as Freedom*, "What is the relationship between our wealth and our ability to live as we would like?"

This question cannot be answered strictly from energy, family, environmental health, peace, social justice, or ecological well-being point of view, although all of these may be factors in our happiness, and if tolerances of any of these are violated seriously, it would seem impossible to be happy at all, Amartya Sen, (ibid:1983).

A book edited by Hummelstrand Ulf, Kabiru Kinyanjui, and Edward Mburugu, (1994), *African Perspectives on Development*, deals mainly with the issue of Africa's development imperatives *vis-à-vis* conceptual paradigms. The book contains different studies conducted by some reputable scholars. The main thrust of the book argued on a variety of issues that have characterized Africa's development.

The scholars contend that the definition of the concept of development has generated series of contradictory signals, resulting into some controversial wealth of debate as a result of multi-perspective interpretations and conceptualizations. Different development theories, such as *Marxism*, *Modernization*, *Dependency*, and *World System* have, at different times, been used to explain what development is, and what empirical development is within different contexts, as indicated earlier.

Past and present researchers also agreed that social scientists and development theories are in crises, when applied to the underdevelopment situation in Africa and therefore a paradigm shift is required (Hyden, 1983). They categorize development strategies adopted in African countries in the last two decades into two areas: (a) Integration strategies associated with the modernization perspective and (b) Disengagement strategies associated with dependency and world-system paradigms.

They assert that all the theories of development regardless of its principles and philosophy have not yielded positive result in transforming Africa. For instance, there has been no any significant transformation of the peasant economy, the emergence of the Least Developed Countries (LDCs) into the global ranks.

Furthermore, Nagel and Stuart,(1994), in a book entitled, *Policy Within and Across Developing Nations*, enumerate African development problems. The authors divided the book into four parts, as follows:

- Section one focuses mainly on policy matters within developing nations and recommends the panacea towards achieving developmental goals, useful innovation and democratic system.

- The second section deals with policy issues across developing nations, issues such as – peace studies, research centers, symposium and seminar on international conflict resolution, human rights and international prosperity.
- The third section deals with training and development. For example the teaching of developmental policy studies, policy analysis training for development administrators, United States Information Agencies (USIA), are contained in this section.
- The final section discusses bibliography on developmental studies, literature and human rights in developing countries.

In the final analysis, the author grouped developing countries as those that are in dire need of development, not those countries that are developing; the countries that seek to improve the quality of life, or at least reduced the severity of various social problems. He classifies them as: economic, social, technological, political or legal, depending on what societal institutional or scholarly discipline is involved, Efreui, (2006). It has been argued that the countries of sub-Sahara Africa are in dire need of development and therefore qualify to develop.

In a book titled: *NEPAD: A New Path?* , Anyang, (2002), posits that the African leaders, instead of choosing the path of political unity, have opted for the colonial division of Africa as the basis of its transformation. That will never be possible. He asserts that only political unity alone can make it possible for Africa's rich natural and cultural resources to be the basis of African development and not financial assistance from outside world. What is particularly sad is the fact that African leaders have opted for external financing shows that they are prepared to accept the dictates, controls and influences of the G-8 countries in the implementation of NEPAD documents.

Anyang, (ibid: 2002), concludes that African people have once again been made objects instead of being subjects of their transformation. Indeed, it is becoming clear that it is through the G- 8 personal representatives, that the G-8 will dictate their recolonisation of the continent. NEPAD is already being used to exert pressure on African leaders to accept worse political conditionalities than those which were imposed under structural adjustment programme (SAP).

In order to justify his argument, Anyang, (2002), lament that it must be acknowledged that Africa must improve its position in the global economy; this has to be done by a concerted effort on the part of the leaders to deal with the very problems, which they want their partners to solve. For example, one of the central issues, which NEPAD tries to address, is conflict amongst African states. Does such a solution require foreigners as partners to handle? Is not the key to minimising such conflicts a political unity of the different territorial states that the colonialists created in their divide-and rule policies?

The World Bank report, (2002), documented in a book titled: *NEPAD: A New Path?* also revealed that Africa has been warned that if the African leaders cannot condemn their peers; they too will be targeted for punishment. This was demonstrated in the Zimbabwe elections in 2007. For example both presidents Mbeki of South Africa and Obasanjo of Nigeria had to change their position and were compelled to sign an agreement in order to suspend Zimbabwe from the Commonwealth after the general elections. Since 9/11 episode in America NEPAD had become a tool that the international communities are using as a means of control of the African states. For instance, since September 11, Mugabe has been described as a representative of evil in Africa because he had interfered with the democratic principles and denied his electorates the freedom to vote. The election was said to be flawed and characterized by rigging and manipulation of election results. As such the former Prime Minister of Britain, Tony Blair had insisted that Zimbabwe be expelled from the Association of the Commonwealth even before the elections were held.

Whatever one may say or think about the elections in Zimbabwe, it is imperative to note that both Obasanjo and Mbeki as observers to the election reported and concluded that the election on the whole was free and fair. Whether or not their position was correct or not correct, as a result of much pressure from both Australian and British governments, the two leaders even though they constituted a majority on the three-man Committee of the Commonwealth, they had to accept and support the suspension of Zimbabwe from Commonwealth of Nations. This has clearly demonstrated the way and manner the international partners uses NEPAD to achieve some of their evil design legacies. By implication NEPAD was being used to achieve certain security objectives of the partners than to addressing sensitive issues such as poverty and conflict in Africa.

In one of the most highly celebrated book of management capacity in Africa, entitled *Enhancing Policy Management Capacity in Africa*, edited by Mutahaba, Gelase and Balogun, M. Jide (eds.), (1992), compiled from

seminar papers which was jointly organized by the African Association for Public Administration and Management (AAPAM) and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) between June 1998 and September 1998. The main thrust of the book focus on search for reliable policy framework and implementation to enhance capacity building in Africa that requires urgent and sustained attention.

The authors posit that the socio-economic problem that has characterized Africa was due to the foreign interference in the internal affairs of African countries. They claim that in policy formulation attention must be given to the needs and demands of the continent. Such policies also require critical evaluation to meet up with the current need of the continent.

They argue that African policy programmes are generally deficient. More often than not, that most of the African policy programmes lack proper planning, the identification of strategic choices, assembling, analyzing, data storage, programmes of action, and implementation monitoring team.

Composite Review of Journal Articles

An article entitled: *The Quest for Good Governance and Development in Africa: Is Nepad the Answer?* Written by Patrick Chabal (2002) has indeed generated highly provoking arguments relating to what NEPAD stand for, for whom, on the efficacy of African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) within the confines of African development paradigms. The main thrust of Chabal's argument reflects on the political instability, marginalization and economic underdevelopment of Africa. These among other issues, Chabal posit, causes a great deal of threat to the success and survival of NEPAD programmes in Africa.

The APRM lack both legislative and strong power to check the excesses of African leaders in teams of corruption, elections and bad governance. APRM initiative, given the experiences of electoral politics, in Africa over the past two decades remain problematic, he contends. Efreui, (2006), quoted Chabal as saying, that 'Electoral politics played out on the continent over the years, in his view, has rendered good governance impracticable and, therefore, left the choice route for enforcement burdensome'. The buzzword in currency, claims that Nepad is the basis for sustainable political and the socio-economic development for Africa in the new century. He acknowledges that, democracy could reduce the scope for conflict and stabilise the polity as a framework of attraction for, both, foreign and locally generated investments (Chabal, 2002).

The article entitled *What is New in the New Partnership for Africa's Development* by Alex De Waal, (2002), has argued that the whole idea of NEPAD, as a development initiative is not different from other existing development programmes directed at solving Africa's development problems. The author cited Lagos Plan of Action, African Renaissance and MAP as development initiatives pre-exist NEPAD which has failed to yield any positive results. Africa Peer Review Mechanism, (APRM), according to De Waal, is rather too technical whose challenges NEPAD has failed to identify. Good governance can only be achieved through servant leadership, respect to rule of law, protection the rights of the citizens and guarantee of greater happiness among the greater number of the people. At the moment APRM faces political challenges on how to operationalised democratic principles in Africa. APRM was not able to reconcile the controversial presidential elections in Zimbabwe and Kenya.

An article entitled: *NEPAD: Historical Background and Prospects*, authored by Anyang, (2002), culled from a book titled: *NEPAD: A New Path?* expresses that as far as aid in Africa is concerned right from the time President Truman coined the term back in 1948, is meant for selfish reasons or benefits. Aid for the underdeveloped world for him meant the need to prevent them from becoming breeding grounds for communism. In the same context, giving support to NEPAD is part of the same problem of stopping breeding terrorism for the West. Aid has been and still continues to be used as a security tool to protect the interest of the west. Once the problem ceases to exist, the aid stops as we have indeed seen aid decline since the collapse of the Soviet Union.

In its recent report the World Bank, (2002), reported that aid to Africa had declined from US\$ 17.2 billion in 1990, soon after the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989, to US\$ 12.3 billion today. In these kinds of circumstances, African governments planning for and estimating on investment benefit to the tune of US\$ 64 billion per year for NEPAD is a mirage.

An article entitled, *Is Funding from Western Countries Detrimental?* by Rozenda Hendrickse, (2003), expresses the dangers inherent in foreign financial assistance. Hendrickse observes that external financial aid from the rich North draws, for development programmes in Africa, more often than not, is not truly meant for development. Such assistance is given through the International Non-Governmental Organizations (I NGOs) with little or no development-focused programmes that are in collaboration with the local Civil Society Organizations

(CSOs) in Africa. He posits that the INGOs, more often than not, usually come with their own pre-determined programmes for the developing countries which must not be altered. They often set their own agenda without considering the needs and aspirations of the benefiting countries. No any consultations on the local African communities about what their needs before such development programmes are implemented.

The writer argues that the INGOs, only partner with their local counterparts without any consultation or collaboration with the indigenous local partners in Africa. It should recall that the activities of the INGOs are similar to the activities of the local NGOs since both are effectively involved in similar programmes. More often than not, the INGOs provide aid through loans and grant-in- aids, without taking into consideration or identifying the paramount needs of African society. The article further argues that INGOs, fail to give any in-depth details of what they know about the assistance they plan to provide for the African societies.

The writer suggests that the funding provided by INGOs should be channeled through proposals decided by the African local communities' base on their priority areas. The funds provided by the INGOs in the past, he contends has undermined and rendered capacity building programmes in Africa ineffective, inefficient and disorganized. The Funding from the so-called INGOs, only favours the communities that agrees to confirm, observe, apply and adopt the principles and guidelines of the INGOs. The INGOs are set up, according to the writer, mainly to satisfy the objectives of the western world according to their perception of African development agenda. Their perception is usually focus on the principles of democratization, equal rights and social justice, gender equality, employment opportunity, poverty reduction and so on and so forth.

Sibusiso Vil-Nkomo's, (2002), article entitled, *Leadership for Development in a Globalized Environment*, enumerates development problems facing the continent since the beginning of the new millennium. The writer's arguments are base on a new theoretical perspective of the missing link between leadership and followership relationship in Africa. The author contends that all efforts to save the continent from disintegration, marginalization and underdevelopment must ensure good governance relationship with their citizens. African development drive, the author observed, is the question of 'leadership for development'. In other words, the implementation of NEPAD initiatives should not only focus attention on development programmes but also on people-center, people-oriented and people based leadership. Leadership that is participatory where the citizens have a strong sense of belonging, the author, suggests. He posits that the leadership for development bears huge responsibilities and influence on development initiative. The emergence of NEPAD in the new millennium is the right thing in the right direction.

In another article entitled, *The International Response to NEPAD*, by Ben Turok's (2002), highlights the position of the international partners with NEPAD. Such partners are the G8 countries, the World Bank, the IMF, and the World Trade Organisation (WTO) representatives. All of these have expressed their dismay on the level of growing underdevelopment, stagnated economies, and the level of global poverty that has affected African countries in the 21st century. This development has adverse effect on international peace. Consequently, he argues, led to the possible reasons why the international partners approved and acknowledged of NEPAD as Africa's development initiative aimed at repositioning Africa in the global community of nations. The author therefore exposed some of the contentious issues in Africa as thus:

- Deplorable economic regression in Africa and the aspirations that have prompted calls for decisive global actions against poverty.
- Unstable equilibrium of the world system and the shift in the world economic power largely to the developed nations.
- The loss of confidence in the crucial world economic institutions.
- The need for decisive action plan to cool the overheated world system. (Turok, 2002).

The condition of the poorest nations and their populace living below poverty lines are better imagined than described. This according to the author is known as the 'ultimate systemic threat'. This was due to the slow growth rate in African economies, slow growth in per capita income, increased debt burden, political instability and widespread poverty. The critical situation in Africa was one of the reasons that contributed to the change of heart by the developed nations and their final support of the NEPAD initiative. One other reason why NEPAD was supported by the international communities, the author asserts, was based on the premise of what some school of thought have to say that during the cold war era, the industrialized nations used the advantage of the critical condition in Africa to sell their weapons in order to suppress Africans and further swelled up their foreign debt. These debts have further

compounded Africa's development problems, making them more indebted. What they spend on debt servicing alone is more, than they spend on education and health, he laments.

He argues that, foreign aid for development has always been conditional to exports of western goods and services. The official aid package to Africa, in particular has dwindled from '\$32 per an African in 1990 to \$19 in 1998', The Economist, (February 20, 2001), quoted in Turok (2002). The policy shift in the G8, IMF, and World Bank on the repositioning of economies of the African nations through NEPAD development initiative has raise some fundamental questions. Is this partnership built on mutual respect, cooperation, understanding and strong commitment? The article explains further the level of insincerity and doubt demonstrated by western countries since the inception of NEPAD initiative in 2002. The most provoking question remains as to what practical steps has the international partners taken in order to address the fragmented African economic situations, the author seeks to know

In another of his articles entitled, *The New Partnership for Africa's Development, (NEPA)* (2002), Turok reveals what led to the birth of NEPAD. He argued that Regional Integration initiative recommended by Adebayo Adedeji as a radical move to free Africa from the shackles of poverty, underdevelopment, and marginalization precipitated the emergence of NEPAD in Africa.

The NEPAD initiative, according to Turok, was the 'African Alternative Framework for Structural Adjustment Programme (AAFSAP) to the IMF Structural Adjustment Programme'. He notes that Adedeji's advocacy for regional integration, at the time, also led to the formation of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the East African Economic Community (EAEC). All These economic associations, he argues, are attempts toward socio-economic development of African countries in the new millennium.

Schoeman, N.J. (2003), in his article entitled, *Economic Growth and Development Constraints in Africa*, has argued the factors that has impeded the growth and development of Africa were due to the pressure on governments in Africa, policy incapacities and the funding of development projects. In its approach on the development problems through the political economy paradigm, the article identifies the following as critical condition in Africa. This includes:

- The state playing an appreciable role in the superior macro-economic outcomes.
- The inability to provide corporate governance in terms of social services– education, employment and health delivery.
- Marginalization of the state from FDI and other investments.
- Economic vulnerability to external shocks.

Schoeman, (2003),

The above has been considered, according to the article, as the major factors that increasingly impede Africa's growth and development. The article further recommends that a favourable economic system response to growth and development can only be achieved through policy approaches to tackle what it refers to as 'supply side' constraints. That is, for example, decrease in unskilled, improved capacity building, sound and dynamic economy, and sound and democratic principle is required.

A number of critics contended that there was in fact nothing new about the 'New' Partnership for African Development. Additional criticism centered on the lack of broad-based and inclusive consultations prior to the unveiling of NEPAD as the new continental initiative. According to the Declaration from Civil Society NEPAD meeting, in Durban in 2002, NEPAD's initiative is seen as neo-liberal, pro-capitalist and pro G8 agenda. The initiative has nothing new but attempt to disguise the old structural adjustment reforms of the IMF/World Bank in new language and policies, (Soros 2002; Vavi 2002; Chabal 2002).

A survey conducted by Nigerian Guardian newspaper in 2009 revealed the following information: When the 1,200 respondents were asked 600, 50 percent answered "No" to the question "Have you heard about the existence of NEPAD?" 426 respondents (35.5 per cent) said they have heard about NEPAD. 169 respondents (14.1 percent) offered "No comment" as their responses while the 5 (0.4 per cent) were invalid responses.

The poll showed great regional disparities on awareness to NEPAD, with 61 per cent of respondents from North Central, 59.5 per cent from South - West, 46 per cent from North West, 45 per cent apiece from South -East and South - South and 43.5 per cent from North East claiming ignorance of NEPAD.

Table 1: Level of education attained by respondents -adapted from Guardian 2009

| <i>Level of Education</i> | <i>% of respondents</i> |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Bachelors degree | 39.7% |
| Professional Qualifications (ACA) | 19.8% |
| GCE /WASC | 17.8% |
| Masters' degree | 11.6 % |
| First school leaving certificate | 4.0 % |
| Doctorate degree | 2.8 % |
| Other specified degrees | 4.4 % |

Table 2: Occupational background of the respondents – adapted from Guardian 2009

| <i>Occupation</i> | <i>% of respondents</i> |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| Civil servants | 30.7 % |
| Professionals | 15.6 % |
| Artisans | 3.4 % |
| Military officers | 2.9 % |
| Traders | 4.6 % |
| Contractors | 3.8 % |
| House wives | 2.5 % |
| Farmers / fishermen | 1.1 % |
| Religious leaders | 3.3 % |
| Casual workers | 2.8 % |
| Other specified occupations | 4.1 % |

In conclusion, since Africa is underdeveloped due to economic, socio: political problems, this preliminary study will provide a lasting panacea. The literature review so far has been able to identify that poverty; Political instability, poor governance, and economic under-development have become a common phenomenon in Africa, in general, and in Nigeria, in particular. The study also revealed that NEPAD attempts to reposition or place Nigeria on the path of development is facing a number of challenges, such as lack of commitment and political will, selfishness of the political actors and corruption.

In the study of any phenomenon, there exist various levels of analysis upon which a study can focus. These levels include the international, state systems, international organizations, regional and sub-regional organizations as well as domestic groups. Because the focus of this study is on NEPAD and its impact in Nigeria the level of analysis is that of state systems.

For this reason, the study employs two theories namely; the '*Dependency theory*' and '*failed state theory*'. Among the proponents of the dependency theory include Andre Gunder Frank, Raul Presbisch, Fernando Cardoso, Enzo Faletto, Samir Amin, Claude Ake and Walter Rodney. (Steans,Pettiford, 2005). The dependency theory holds that, African economy is dependent to the extent that its relations to other economies in the international system and the articulation of its internal structure make it incapable of auto centric development in the continent. (Frank et al in Seans & Pettiford, 2005).

All the colonial economies of Africa were heavily dependent on the economies of their masters at the metropolitan (Ake, 1981)

In another assertion; the basic structure of the global economy was such that it worked to further the interest of the already rich developed economies of the west (or North) and to progressively impoverish already poor countries (the south or the third world)

African economies were and are dominated, but the domination is the effect of the particular manner in which they have been integrated into the vagaries of Western capitalist system. (Ake, 1981). In their analysis, (Light and Groom, 1985) argue that, "dependent status of the African countries prevented their total development"

The second theory which is the failed state theory states that, country leaders time and again neglected stewardship of the public good in favor of zero-sum political games and accumulation of personal and family wealth. Ghani and Lockhart (2004) opine; States simply fail both to perform the basic functions that would allow their citizens a life of dignity and opportunity to fulfill the obligations of statehood internationally. The ugly nature of African politics in terms of conflicts is pointed by Knigh in Tar (2004) thus:

The phenomena of failed states or collapsing state structures; the increasing sophistication of weapons technology and the proliferation of sophisticated arms throughout the African states , guerilla tactics and national liberation struggle, intra-state ethnic and clan violence, insurgency and massive abuse of human rights.

State failure and state collapse syndrome have become popular catchwords in recent discourse about political development in "the third world", (Herbst, 1996-97, 2000, Zartman, 1995, Beissinger and Young, 2002, Rotberg, 2003, 2004, Fukuyama, 2004).

For instance, states such as Somalia, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Sudan, to some authors have collapsed in Africa. Some critics also believed that there is a widespread trend towards the disintegration of state institutions (Kaplan, Zartman, and Young). In fact, most third world states are faced by outright state collapse phenomenon due to violent conflict, institutional incoherence, widespread corruption, political instability and partial loss of control over the state matters.

Sub-nationalist conflicts such as those in Sudan, Somali, Liberia, Angola, Cote D'voire and Burundi are good cases to cite. Fundamentalist clashes such as those in Algeria and Sudan as well as political squabbles in Kenya, Zimbabwe are some of the disturbing conflicts that occurred as a result of politics of failed state.

This study is however inspired by the second theory, namely the failed state theory, which states that many states have collapsed and are unable to provide even the most basic services for their citizens because of bad political governance and leadership. The failure to maintain basic order and security not only brings fear a constant of daily life but also provides a breeding ground for a small minority, abuse of rule of law and human rights. This is the general trends in Nigeria today, where public institutions have completely failed to live up to the citizens' needs, wishes, desires and aspirations. The purpose for which government is instituted is completely defeated. There is a complete absence of welfarism, security, rule of law, future brightness and opportunity for all, social justice and equal rights in Nigeria. The current situation in Nigeria is a reflection or manifestation of what is pointed by the former premier of the Northern region, Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto. According to Sir Ahmadu Bello, (1963) 'government has no business to be government if is not build on accepted constitution which would guarantee rule of law, protect the rights of the citizens and provide greater happiness among the greater number of the people'.

Anyang, (2002), laments that, during his whistle-stop tour of West Africa in 2002, the former British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, acknowledged that the 11 September attacks on the United States had made a real change in the way we look at the world. Addressing the parliament in Ghana, he declared (2002) that 'there are times in politics ... when it is possible to do what was thought impossible only a short time before. Now is such a time.' He further argued: 'If we leave failed states in parts of Africa, the problems sooner or later end up on our door steps.' The idea of failed states was now being advanced as a new means for recolonisation of the continent.

Material and Methodology of the Study

This preliminary study is carried out using secondary sources of data. The preliminary study involved both NEPAD and National Poverty Eradication Programme, (NAPEP), stakeholders and some selected Nigerians.

The stakeholders were selected using small sampling technique. The study involved extensive data collection such as 'grey' materials, government publications and Non Governmental Organization (NGO) reports

and opinion of the press. Furthermore, given the nature of the study, library books, African Union, NEPAD and APRM websites, conference papers, journals, previous thesis and news bulletin is also used.

In gathering information pertaining to the study, interview was employed as the main instruments for data collection. The main thrust of the interview focused on the origin of NEPAD, what it stands for, and its performance evaluation in Nigeria.

The category of the people interviewed were the Chief Executive Officers (CEO) of NEPAD and NAPEP, Government Functionaries (GF), community leaders, staff of NEPAD and Other Selected Nigerians (OSN) at all levels of government: federal, state and local governments.

Two sets of interview questionnaires were developed to collect data for the study.

The first questionnaire (Questionnaire A) was developed to investigate the level of awareness of NEPAD activities in Nigeria. In other words, the questionnaires were designed to assess levels of NEPAD activities in Nigeria. The second questionnaire (Questionnaire B) was designed to examine how NEPAD has impacted on poverty reduction, good governance and improved economy in Nigeria.

A total of 50 interview questionnaires (25 of Questionnaire A and 25 of Questionnaire B) were distributed to government functionaries, community leaders and other selected Nigerians. Questionnaire A was addressed to the CEO or similar executives, both at federal and state level of NEPAD Nigeria, While Questionnaire B was directed to community leaders and other selected Nigerians, across the three tiers of governments in Nigeria. The analysis of these data was used to measure the impact of NEPAD activities in Nigeria in terms of poverty reduction, good governance and improved economy.

An exploratory approach is undertaken to answer the research questions, followed by a content analysis. The exploratory approach is a particular type of “descriptive study” (Bless & Hugson-Smith, 1995:41). The justification of using a content analysis is influenced by the sources of data collection. Data collected emanated mainly from secondary sources, such as speeches, conferences, NEPAD documents, government records, and internet as well as text books. Other information was obtained from journals, articles, magazines, communiqués, published and unpublished thesis.

The reason for choosing this design is that, an *exploratory* method allows researchers to observe and record the development of the object of study easily (Shaughnessy, Zeichmester & Zeichmester, 2000).

Method of data collection: **Secondary Sources**

The study is carried out using secondary sources of data. Data collection such as ‘grey’ materials, government publications, NGO reports and opinion of the press, library books, African Union, NEPAD websites, conference papers, journals, previous thesis were used.

Method of Data Analysis

To determine the reliability of the information and responses from the respondents, transcribing the recorded interview becomes imperative. The method of data analysis adopted in this qualitative study takes the following pattern:

- a. Transcribing the recorded interviews
- b. Evaluate the relationship and linkages among descriptive dimensions of the respondents
- c. Transcribing all the documents before analysis.
- d. Conceptualize data to be analysis for easy interpretation

Results and Discussion

Purposive non-random sampling is adopted. The respondents interviewed included the CEOs of NEPAD-Nigeria and National Poverty Eradication Programme, (NAPEP), (at federal and states levels) Staff of NEPAD and NAPEP offices, both at federal and states levels. Community leaders and some selected Nigerians.

In-Dept interviewing was used for the CEOs of NEPAD and NAPEP, including open-ended questions, listening to and recording the answers, (Patton: 2002).

Sample sizes

Ten (10) CEOs of NEPAD participated in the in-depth interview. ::

Focus Group Discussion, (FGD), technique was used with community leaders conveniently selected from the six geopolitical regions. 9, here members expressed their perception about NEPAD freely.

Nominal interviewing was employed for the NEPAD and NAPEP staff at federal and states levels, considering the fact that the participants are educated. : Round Robin feedback is used (brainstorming) of 5 persons per set/group of a total of 40.

Poverty

In this study, it has been discovered that Nigeria has been suffering in the hands of her political leaders since independence in 1960. Poverty and corruption have become one of the major problems. In 2009, 22 of 24 nations identified as having "Low Human Development" on the United Nations' (UN) Human Development Index were located in Sub-Saharan Africa. Nigeria, with a population of about 150 million, has Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of \$207.116 billion and per capita income of \$1,401. Nigeria is Ranked 158 out of 182 countries in the world in the Human Development Index, UNDP (2009). No discipline in the system. The political class is made up of unserious, mediocre and those who are devoid of shame and moral status. According to Jega, Chairman, of Independent Electoral Commission, (INEC), the country's leaders had essentially been self-serving rulers, some even being despots and not leaders in the true sense of the word, 24 September, (2010)

Human Development Index (HDI), (2009) provides the following: living a long and healthy life of Nigerians (measured by life expectancy, 47.7%), being educated (measured by adult literacy and gross enrolment in education, 52.0%) and having a decent standard of living (measured by purchasing power parity, PPP, income, 1.969 US\$).

Political violence resulting from abuse of democratic principles, Disrespect to the rule of law and the rights of the citizens ,Economic underdevelopment, perpetual ethnic-religious crisis ,Social fragmentation and policy failure is common in almost all facets of life and Ethnocentrism in Nigeria.

Ethnic-Religious Conflicts

Civil unrest is a common phenomenon all over the world. What is particularly lamentable here is the regularity and frequency of this unfortunate development that deter socio-economic development of nations. In the words of Ibrahim, (2008), critical elements within African socio-economic background openly invites ethnic-religious conflicts on the diverse nationalities or cultural groups that make up the formation of the continent. In the same vein, Donatus and Ozigi,(2008),lamented that, ethnic-religious crises in Nigeria have, more often than not, always ended in open or full-blown conflicts with devastating consequences for the overall development and survival of Nigeria as a corporate entity. In Nigeria, since the restoration of democratic rule in 1999, the country has witnessed series of conflicts emanating from religious and ethnic background. Omorogbe, (2005) quoting Imobighe (2002),assert that," in the case of Nigeria, there is cause for all to worry about the spate of ethno-religious conflicts. This is particularly so in the view of the fact that they have dysfunctional and disruptive impact on the society, such as anarchy, loss of lives, destruction of property worth billion of naira, disintegration of the polity, dislocation or dismemberment of family ties and the diversion of scarce resources from developmental to less noble ends". The causes of these conflicts are multidimensional and interrelated. Political commentators have always attributed ethnic-religious conflicts in Africa to Mass Poverty, Religious intolerance, demographic explosion, political differences, breakdown of moral values and social fragmentation.

What happened in Plateau State (Jos) in Nigeria recently, 14th of March, 2010, is better imagined than described. The situation is similar to Sudan, Somalia, Togo and Uganda. No any meaningful development can be achieved under conflict situation. Without peace, there can never be development.

Bad Governance/Administration

The success any stability of any government depend on the kind of leadership they cultivate. One of the cardinal principles of NEPAD is to improve governance. Good political, economic and corporate governance systems are "necessary foundations to create, stabilise, nurture and utilise capacity for development" (Janneh 2005:3). In this study it has discovered that bad governance or poor administration hampers the capacity of already bartered economic system in Nigeria. Under such circumstances, capacity backwardness will remain in place and sustainable development will remain a mirage. The findings revealed that Weak and bad governance in Nigeria is

characterised, by a combination of many factors, such as poor institutional performance, inadequate parliamentary, lack of the independence of the judiciary system, corrupt police force and press, political instability, abuse and misuse of political offices, insufficient budgetary accountability, lack of respect for the rule of law and human rights, and bureaucratic bottleneck and above all corruption, which has become a thorn in the flesh of most Nigerians.

Corruption

Results from this study also revealed that corrupt practices are a common phenomenon in Nigeria. For instance, the former president of Nigeria, Olushegun Obasanjo, (1999-2007), was said to be extremely corrupt, during his eight years tenure. It was gathered that People speak of missing \$12billion dollar gulf war windfall during Babangida, (1985-1993), but they hardly say anything today about the \$16billion stolen during Obasanjo's administration on electricity projects alone.

There is also ongoing debate in Nigeria as to which part of the country is more corrupt in general public life? Is it true that northerners are more corrupt than their Southern counterparts? We would not like to resort to guess work. There is an anti-corruption commission, the EFCC. Let us consult it and find out the distribution of corruption among Nigerians. It presents us with a list of fifty-four ongoing corruption cases that it is prosecuting before various high courts in the country. We have presented 49 of them that are Nigerian in the table below, giving the amounts involved and the side of the country from which each of the accused persons hails.

Table 3: EFCC, ONGOING HIGH PROFILE CASES 2007-2010

| S/N | Name | Amount (N) ('000,000) | North | South |
|-----|----------------------------|-----------------------|-------|-------|
| 1 | Ayo Fayose | 1,200 | | X |
| 2 | Adenike Grange | 300 | | X |
| 3 | Joshua Dariye | 700 | x | |
| 4 | Saminu Turaki | 36,000 | x | |
| 5 | Orji Uzor Kalu | 5,000 | | x |
| 6 | James Ibori | 9,200 | | x |
| 7 | Iyabo Obasanjo | 10 | | x |
| 8 | Lucky Igbenidion | 4,300 | | x |
| 9 | Gabriel Aduku | 300 | | x |
| 10 | Jolly Nyame | 1,300 | x | |
| 11 | Chimaroke Nnamani | 5,300 | | x |
| 12 | Michael Botmang | 1,500 | x | |
| 13 | Roland Iyayi | 5,600 | | x |
| 14 | Nyeson Wike | 4,467 | | x |
| 15 | Kenny Martins | 774 | | x |
| 16 | Babalola Borishade | 5,600 | | x |
| 17 | Boni Haruna | 254 | x | |
| 18 | Femi Fani-Kayode | 250 | | x |
| 19 | Ibrahim Dumuje | 774 | | x |
| 20 | Bode George | 100 | | x |
| 21 | Rasheed Ladoja | 6,000 | | x |
| 22 | 4 Zenith Bank Managers | 3,600 | | x |
| 23 | Nicholas Ugbade & Co | 5,200 | | * |
| 24 | B. Sokan & co | 636 | | x |
| 25 | Ransome Owan & co | 1,500 | | * |
| 26 | Tom Itseghoghi & co | 15,000 | | * |
| 27 | Albert Ikomi | 43 | | x |
| 28 | Yuguda Manu Kaigama | 17 | x | |
| 29 | Chief Joe Musa | 1,012 | | x |
| 30 | Dayo Olagunju | 479 | | * |
| 31 | Hamman Bello & Co | 2,500 | * | |
| 32 | Innocent Chuka Okwonkwo | 145 | | x |
| 33 | Ceciia Ibru | 160,200 | | x |
| 34 | Dr. Bartholomew & 4 others | 187,000 | | x |
| 35 | Raymong Obieri | 131,800 | | * |
| 36 | Sabastian Adigwe | 277,300 | | x |

| | | | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|--------|-----------|-----------|
| 37 | Okey Nwosu | 95,000 | | x |
| 38 | Francis Atuche | 80,000 | | x |
| 39 | Adamu Abdullahi | 15,000 | x | |
| 40 | Attahiru Bafarawa | 15,000 | x | |
| 41 | Francis Okokuro | 2,400 | | x |
| 42 | Charles Sylva Opuala | 2,400 | | x |
| 43 | Osa Osunde | 55,000 | | * |
| 44 | Oladele Shitu | 139 | | x |
| 45 | Sunday Akinyemi | 90 | | x |
| 46 | T. Taniyi & Co | 3,000 | | x |
| 47 | Adeniyi Elumaro & Rakiya | 405 | | * |
| 48 | Erastus Akingbola | 27,000 | | x |
| 49 | Sani & co | 1,500 | * | |
| Total number of cases | | | 10 | 39 |

| | |
|---|-------------------|
| Total amount (in Naira) due to North = | 73,771,000,000 |
| Total amount (in Naira) due to South = | 1,098,524,000,000 |
| Total amount (in Naira) under prosecution for Nigeria = | 1,172,295,000,000 |
| Percentage amount due to North = | 6.29% |
| Percentage amount due to South = | 93.71% |
| Totals = | 100% |

Source: www.efccnigeria.org

Note:

1. The list above does not include four expatriate cases.
2. Cases with asterisks involve both Northerners and Southerners but each is allocated to the side from which the principal accused person hails from.
3. I did not include the name of Nasir El-Rufai because no amount was assigned by the body against his name.

The table clearly shows that Northerners do not have monopoly over corruption, to put it modestly. We can safely conclude that Northern thieves are just small rats, accounting for only 6.29% of the total sum under prosecution compared to Southerners who account for 93.71%. The figures clearly show in whose hand the economy is. From the findings the northerners do not account for up to 10% of the Nigerian economy. That is why southerners account for 74% of the cases under prosecution by the anti-corruption agency and 93.71% of the total amount involved.

Corruption whether is rare, widespread, or systemic, it affects capacity by hindering individuals and institutions from meeting their desirable obligations to deliver goods and services for sustainable and efficient development. This is the case in Nigeria at the moment.

Conclusion

The final results of this study are preliminary both in nature and context. However, the findings are able to provide some plausible suggestions and insights that can be considered as a panacea to problems hindering Nigerian development using NEPAD as a launch pad. It must be noted that these findings are not a prediction of the actual study to be conducted but the data will be useful when developing a research hypothesis for the study.

Further, the paper paints the picture of the conditions of Africa – especially Nigeria – as regards NEPAD. For example, as recent as 2009, NEPAD had yet to create the impact that change the situation of having its participating countries featuring prominently on the list of UN’s “Low Human Development”. Nigeria in particular – one of the staunch advocates of NEPAD – is ranked 158 out of 182 countries on the UNDP’s (2009). Additionally, Nigeria’s GDP of \$207.116 billion and per capita income of \$1,401 speak volumes of the low impact of NEPAD on the country.

Also, the country is still entrenched in corruption although it seems to be more endemic in the south as the EFCC table shows. However, the situation is a national phenomenon and actors from every sector of the economy partake in it. Furthermore, many top government functionaries from executive, judiciary and legislative arms who are supposed to implement, enforce or interpret the principles of NEPAD have been charged with corruption.

Finally, the NEPAD has yet to show any impact promised by its designers. Many of its important objectives are yet to be reflected in Africa and especially in Nigeria. For example, it is one of the principles of

NEPAD to promote peace and security but conflicts continue to endure in Africa. The situations in Sudan, Somalia, Togo and Uganda are ready examples.

In northern Nigeria, especially in the City of Jos, more than 8,000 people have died from ethno-religious crises since 2001 (Human Rights Watch, 2010). No meaningful development can be achieved under conflict situation. Without peace, there can never be development.

Further, the conflicts in the continent can be directly linked to bad governance; for, there are reported cases of governors or presidents who had openly sided with their own tribes against other citizens instead of focusing on the resolution of the crisis. This and other instances underscore the lack of impact of NEPAD on good governance, which is one of the objectives it promised to engineer.

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