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**THE ROLE OF THE NEW PARTNERSHIP FOR AFRICA'S
DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA'S SECURITY
DYNAMICS**



**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
UNIVERSITI UTARA MALAYSIA
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**THE ROLE OF THE NEW PARTNERSHIP FOR AFRICA'S
DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA'S SECURITY
DYNAMICS**



**A Thesis Submitted to the Ghazali Shafie Graduate School of Government
In Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy
Universiti Utara Malaysia**



Kolej Undang-Undang, Kerajaan dan Pengajian Antarabangsa
(College of Law, Government and International Studies)
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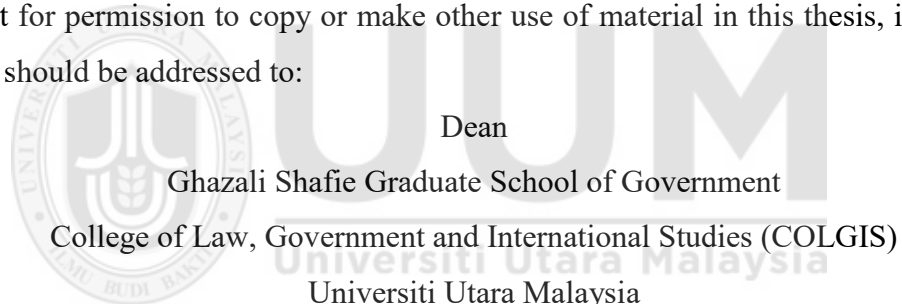


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ABSTRACT

The failure by the Nigerian Government to address socio-economic challenges such as unemployment, illiteracy and poverty has contributed to the security challenges posed by the Boko Haram in relation to killing of the people, kidnapping, bombing and cases of internally displaced persons. This study seeks to investigate the role played by the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and its partners, the Nigerian Government and other stakeholders in addressing security challenges confronting Nigeria during the Fourth Republic, particularly during the tenureship of Presidents Umaru Yar' Adua and Goodluck Jonathan from 2009 to 2014. The objective of this study is to examine to what extent Boko Haram's insurgency and terrorist activities affected the country's security dynamics. It also assesses the successes and failures of the NEPAD's plan and initiative in tackling these dynamics. This research utilizes qualitative research method, with the interview technique being the main tool for primary data collection. Six states were selected from each of the six geopolitical zones in Nigeria. The findings of this research reveal that the Northerners felt cheated and betrayed by the Southerners when the mutually agreed practice of zoning or rotational of presidency between the North and South was disregarded by the ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP). This situation occurred when Goodluck Jonathan, a Southerner Christian, succeeded Yar' Adua, a Northerner Muslim, as Nigerian President following the latter's untimely death. This episode further worsened the political climate of Nigeria which was already affected by Boko Haram's insurgency. The research also shows that NEPAD's close partnership with the federal and state governments has led to job creation for the youths. This study would contribute to the body of knowledge based on the theoretical perspective of integration theory on the strengthening of peaceful co-existence of the people through national integration. The study would assist the policy makers in the field of peace and security to emulate Nigeria, especially countries that may be confronting with similar challenges.

Keywords: New Partnership for Africa's Development, Security Challenges, Integration Theory, Boko Haram, Nigeria

ABSTRAK

Kegagalan kerajaan Nigeria untuk menangani cabaran sosio-ekonomi seperti pengangguran, iliterasi dan kemiskinan telah menyebabkan cabaran-cabaran keselamatan dari Boko Haram berkaitan dengan pembunuhan orang awam, penculikan, pengeboman dan kes-kes pemindahan secara paksa. Kajian ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji peranan yang dimainkan oleh Perkongsian Baru bagi Pembangunan Afrika (NEPAD) dan rakan-rakannya, Kerajaan Nigeria dan pihak yang berkepentingan dalam menangani cabaran-cabaran keselamatan yang dihadapi oleh Nigeri sewaktu Republik Keempat, terutamanya sepanjang tempoh pentadbiran Presiden Umaru Yar' Adua dan Goodluck Jonathan dari 2009 hingga 2014. Objektif kajian ini juga mengkaji sejauh manakah aktiviti-aktiviti keganasan dan pemberontakan Boko Haram mempengaruhi dinamika keselamatan Nigeria. Ia juga menilai kejayaan dan kegagalan perancangan dan inisiatif NEPAD dalam menangani dinamik tersebut. Kajian ini menggunakan kaedah kajian kualitatif dengan teknik temu bual sebagai alat pengumpulan data primer yang utama. Untuk tujuan kajian ini, enam negeri telah dipilih daripada setiap enam zon geopolitik di Nigeria. Penemuan kajian ini mendedahkan bahawa pihak Utara merasa ditipu dan dikhianati oleh pihak Selatan apabila parti pemerintah, People's Democratic Party (PDP) tidak mengendahkan pemilihan presiden yang berdasarkan amalan pengezonan atau pengiliran antara negeri-negeri Utara dan Selatan yang telah dipersetujui bersama. Situasi ini berlaku apabila Umaru Yar' Adua, seorang Muslim Northerner telah digantikan selepas kematian beliau oleh Goodluck Jonathan, seorang Kristian Southerner. Episod ini memburukkan lagi iklim politik Nigeria yang telah pun terjejas oleh pemberontakan Boko Haram. Kajian itu juga menunjukkan bahawa kerjasama erat yang terjalin di antara NEPAD dengan kerajaan pusat dan negeri telah mewujudkan peluang pekerjaan untuk golongan belia. Kajian ini akan menyumbang kepada bidang pengetahuan yang berdasarkan perspektif teori integrasi mengenai pengukuhan kewujudan bersama rakyat secara aman melalui integrasi nasional. Kajian ini akan membantu pembuat dasar dalam bidang keamanan dan keselamatan untuk mencontohi Nigeria terutamanya negara-negara yang mungkin menghadapi cabaran yang sama.

Kata Kunci: Perkongsian Baru Bagi Pembangunan Afrika, Cabaran Keselamatan, Teori Integrasi, Boko Haram, Nigeria

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter covered the background of the study with a specific brief review of the origin of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), while full details has been discussed in the chapter three of this work. The chapter also pays attention to the statement of the research problem, followed by research questions, objectives of the study, significance of the study, scope of the study, literature review, research methodology and chapterization of the study.

1.2 Background to the Study

According to African Union (2014) at the 2000 Lome Summit, the African Union's Constitutive Act was adopted and the AU refocused from traditional security to more broad areas as covered by non-traditional security by establishing different organs within the AU. The Assembly is charged with the responsibility of overseeing the activities of AU while the organ constitutes the Heads of State and Government of the African countries, the Peace and Security Council (PSC) with the responsibility of ensuring peace, security and political stability of the African countries through conflict prevention, management and resolution. In achieving these, the AU adopted the NEPAD programme initiatives in 2001.

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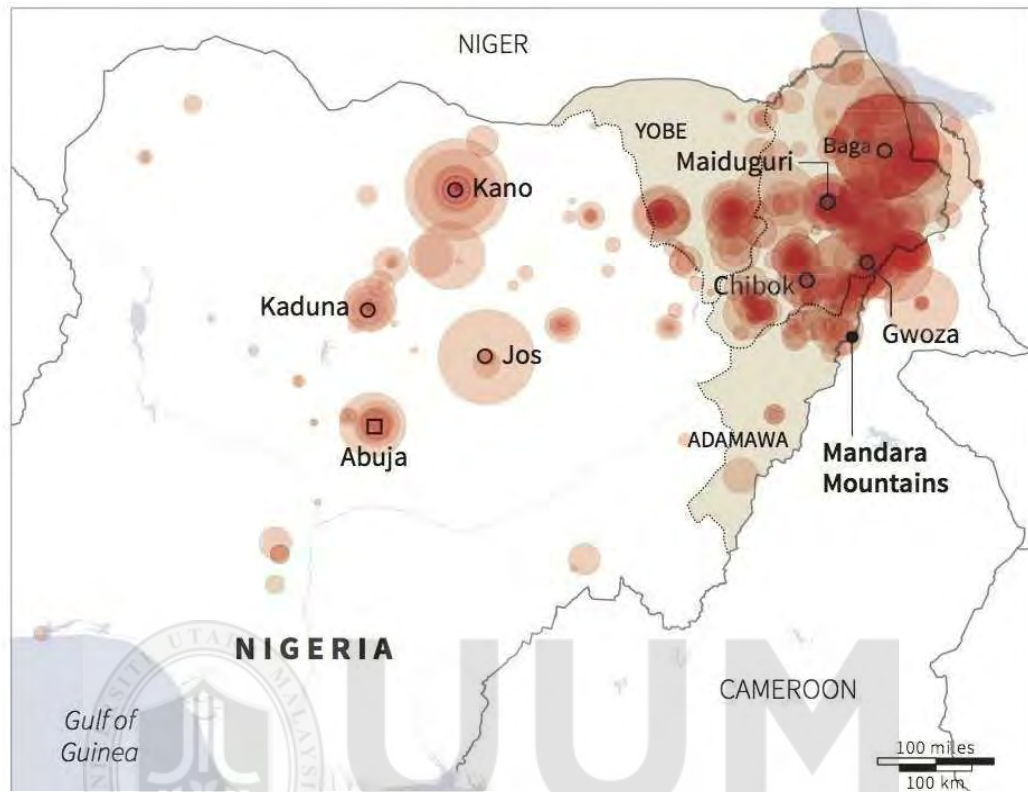
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APPENDIX 1

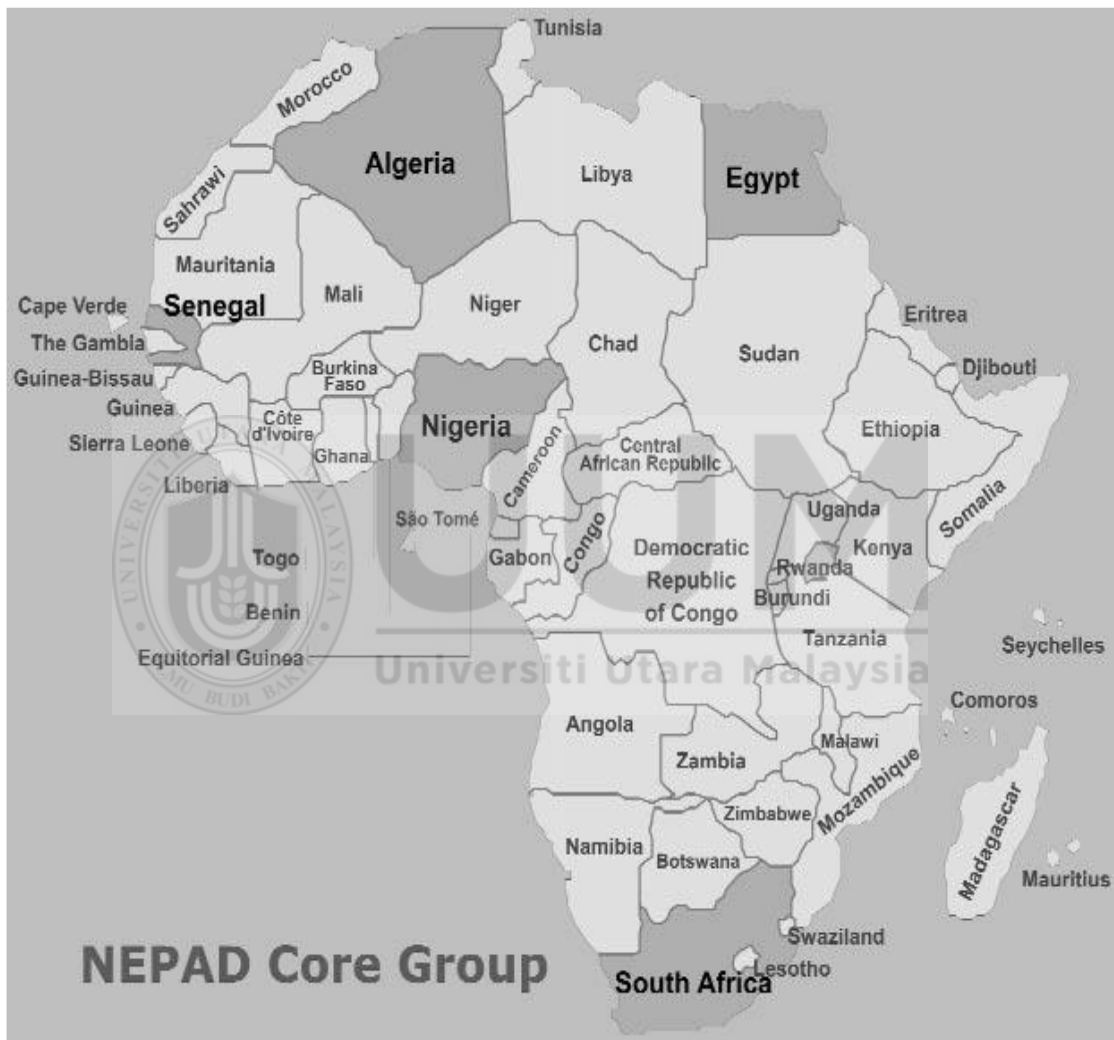


Map of Nigeria showing the states affected by Boko Haram attacks.
Source Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project created by

APPENDIX 2

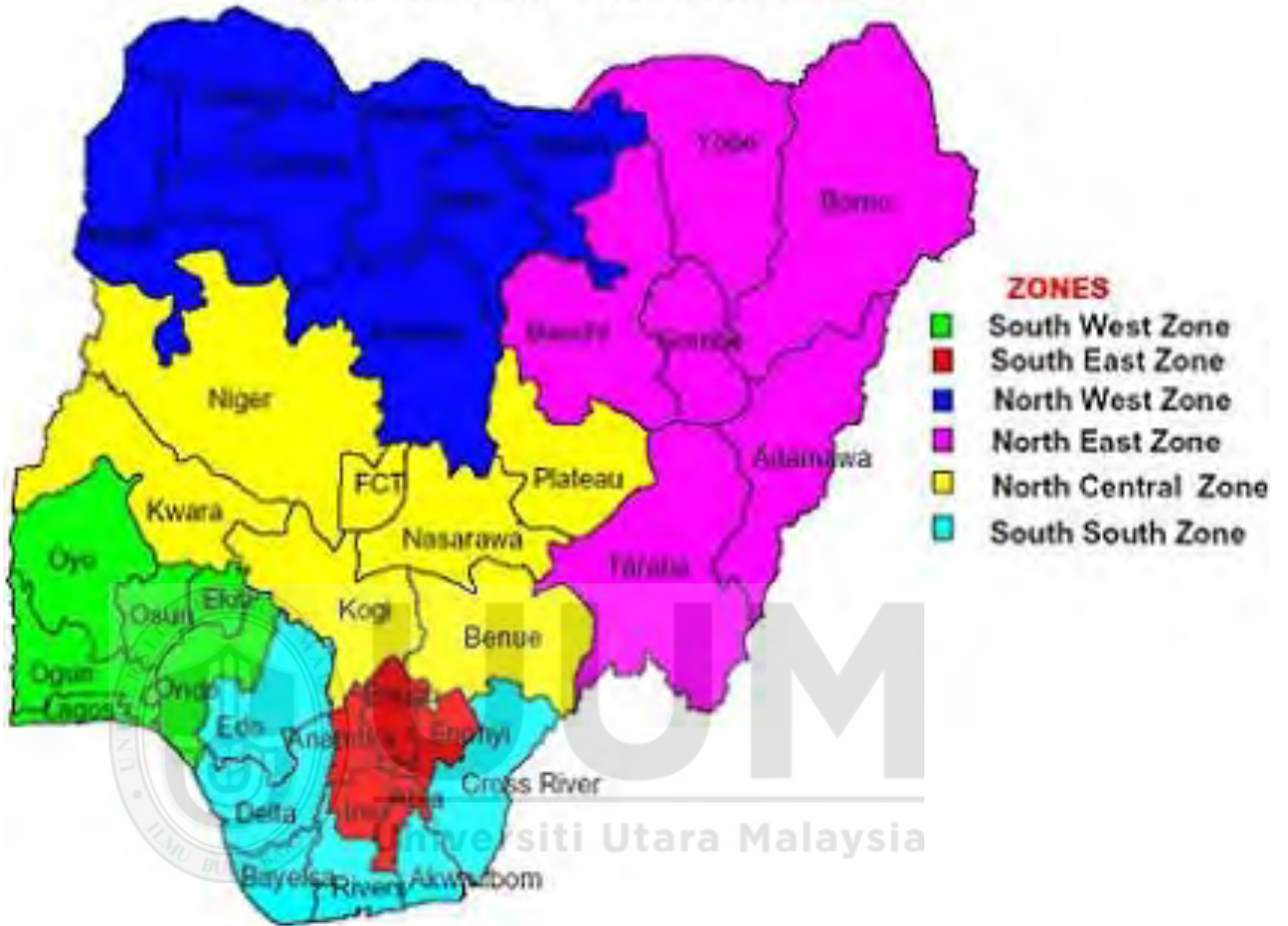
The Nepad Core Group

They are the initiators of the NEPAD Programme: Senegal, Algeria, Nigeria, Egypt, and South Africa



APPENDIX 3

NIGERIA GEO-POLITICAL ZONES



APPENDIX 4

Lists of Interviews

NEPAD States Coordinator/Directors

Mr. Samuel Iorungwa Agwa, NEPAD Benue State Coordinator, on 8 April, 2015, in Makurdi, Benue State.

Mr. Dauda Marafa Goding, NEPAD Taraba State Deputy Coordinator, on 8 May, 2015, in Jalingo, Taraba State.

Mr. Samson Maga, NEPAD Kaduna State Coordinator/Director Budget, Ministry of Economic Planning, on 25 March, 2015, in Kaduna, Kaduna State.

Mr. Frederick D. Aseminaso, NEPAD Rivers State Director on Youth/ICT, on 7 April, 2015, in Port Harcourt, Rivers States.

Mr. Nemi. D. Ibaraye, NEPAD Rivers State Director on Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation, on 7 April, 2015, in Port Harcourt, Rivers State.

NEPAD Head Office Abuja

Mr. Dapo Ifabiyi, NEPAD Administrative Officer, APRM Department, on 21st April, 2015, in Abuja, NEPAD Head Office.

Mrs. Esther Yakubu Philemon, NEPAD Administrative Officer, APRM Department, on 21 April, 2015, in Abuja, NEPAD Head Office

Ms. Dorcas David, NEPAD Administrative Officer, APRM Department, on 21st April, 2015, in Abuja, NEPAD Head Office

Academics

Dr. Idowu Johnson, Department of Political Science, University of Ibadan, on 14th April, 2015, in Ibadan, Oyo State.

Dr. John Tsuwa, Department of Political Science, Benue State University, Makurdi, on 6 May, 2015, in Makurdi, Benue State.

Prof. Terkura Tarnande, Department of Political Science, Benue State University, Makurdi, on 24th of March, 2015.

APPENDIX 5



A mass burial in Dogo Nahawa, near Jos, Plateau State.
Source Ekpei, (2010).

APPENDIX 6



Full view of the mass burial in Dogo Nahawa Village. **Source:** Binniyat (2014).

APPENDIX 7



The youths who engaged in violence and attacks. **Source:** Uja, (2014).

APPENDIX 8

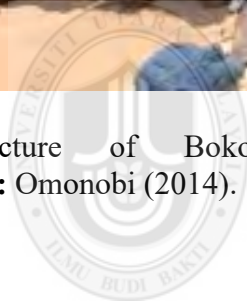


A picture of Boko Haram members. **Source:** Idowu and Soriwei, (2014).

APPENDIX 9



A picture of Boko Haram members in disguise as Herdsmen.
Source: Omonobi (2014).



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APPENDIX 10



The weapons used by the arrested men. **Source:** Sahara Reporters (2014).



APPENDIX 11



Parents of the abducted girls on their knees crying for the girls' rescue. **Source:** Onogu, (2014).

APPENDIX 12



A picture of Malala's visit to President Jonathan in Abuja. **Source:** Oladokun (2014).

APPENDIX 13

A picture of the public buses that were bombed in Abuja.
Source Sotunde (2014).



APPENDIX 14



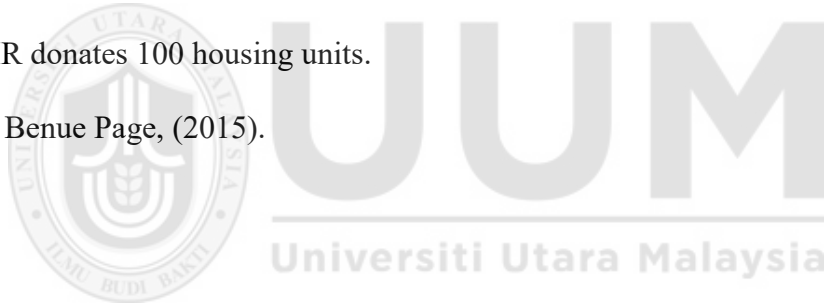
The UNCHR Officials Handing Over housing units for IDPs. **Source:** Benue Page, (2015).

APPENDIX 15



UNCHR donates 100 housing units.

Source Benue Page, (2015).



APPENDIX 16



The picture of the 21 Chibok Girls that were released by the Boko Haram. **Source:** Premium Times (24th Dec., 2016).
<http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/218825-photo-news-released-chibok-girls-travel-home-christmas.html>

APPENDIX 17



The National Coordinator/Chief Executive Officer of NEPAD Nigeria, Princess Gloria Akobundu and the Chief of Army staff, Lt Gen Tukur Buratai, at the Defence Headquarters, Abuja.

Source NEPAD Nigeria (2017), Retrieved from <http://www.nepad.gov.ng/index.php/events/400-collaborate-with-army>