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## **Nigeria and the Implementation of NEPAD's Conditions for Sustainable Development Strategy**

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### **Abstract**

The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), which came into existence in 2001, was a vision of African political leaders to bring development to their citizens. The focus of this paper is to examine the conditions for sustainable development strategy which is one of the three key strategies of the NEPAD development programme. Nigeria began the implementation of the programme in 2003. The author argued in this paper that, for the lack of "political will" on the part of the government, to create the enabling environment for sustainable development, has not been achieved in Nigeria. The study found that while it is true that the government has domesticated and began implementation of the programme, the elements of the conditions for sustainable development such as peace and security, democracy and good governance, human rights protection, infrastructural development, etc. are far from being attained. The paper recommended that the government must embark on sincere political, institutional and administrative reforms, especially with regard to institutionalizing good governance democracy, so as to create the necessary conditions for sustainable development.

**Key Words:** Development, Sustainable Development, Strategies, Conditions, Institutionalization, Governance, Good Governance

### **Introduction**

African leaders have experimented with different development strategies and programmes in order to bring development to their people. Most of these development programmes were designed and imposed on Africans by neo-liberal multilateral organizations such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (Ekekwe & Harry, 2011, p. 95). Central to these programmes is the structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) designed to drastically reduce state expenditure and all-out effort to expand exports (Wallace, 1992:36). However, these programmes did not generate the much-desired

development in the continent. Rather, the development gap between the developed world and the developing world, particularly Africa, is on the increase. Hence, the need to devise an alternative development programme that best serves the interest of the African people. Consequently, the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) was developed by African leaders. The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), according to Nabudere (2002, p. 3), is a product of the continuing search by African people and their leaders to develop Pan-African structures that could lead to the social and economic transformation of the continent in a quickly/rapidly globalizing world. "NEPAD is a holistic development programme created by African leaders, based on a common vision and shared conviction, that they have a pressing duty to eradicate extreme poverty and to place their countries on the path of sustainable growth and development, and at the same time participate actively in the global economy and politics thereby stopping Africa's marginalization in the globalization process" (NEPAD, 2001, p. 1; Ekekwe & Harry, 2011, p. 95). This vision formed the long-term objectives of the NEPAD initiatives.

To achieve these objectives African leaders included in the NEPAD document a wide range of strategies, which are broadly subsumed into three key sections: (a) conditions for sustainable development; (b) sectoral priorities; and (c) mobilizing resources (NEPAD, 2001, pp. 16-50). Nigeria is one of the 53 African Union member countries that adopted the NEPAD initiative in 2001 (Nabudere, 2002, p. 9). Indeed, the then president of Nigeria, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo was part of the African political leaders who drafted the NEPAD document. Nigeria has gone ahead to establish NEPAD-Nigeria office to implement the NEPAD programmes in the country. This paper focused on the implementation of the conditions for sustainable development strategy in Nigeria. The paper argued that the NEPAD initiative has not enhanced the conditions for sustainable development in Nigeria so far. This is because of the insincerity and the lack of political will on the part of the political leadership of the country to establish strong and functional institutions to pursue the necessary objectives of the strategy. Consequently, the remaining sections of the paper is structured as follows: historical background of NEPAD, NEPAD's conditions for sustainable strategy, Nigeria and the implementation of NEPAD programme, state of the conditions for sustainable development in Nigeria, challenges of NEPAD in Nigeria, what must be done, and conclusion.

### **Historical Background of NEPAD**

African leaders in their concern for the extreme poverty and backwardness of Africa, which stand in stark contrast to the prosperity of the developed world and the continued marginalization of Africa from the globalization process, continue to think of development policies and programmes that would improve the well-being of Africans. As a result of this, the former South African president, Thabo Mbeki floated the Millennium Partnership for Africa Recovery Programme (MAP). According to Nabudere (2002, p. 5), although MAP was initially conceived by President Mbeki, it was drafted with the support of former President of Nigeria, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo and President Abdullaziz Bouteflika of Algeria. The MAP document was first unveiled at the World Economic Forum in Davos in January, 2001. Essentially, the MAP initiative contains detailed projects for the economic and social revival of Africa involving a constructive partnership between Africa and the developed world in this era of globalization.

In the same vein, at about the same time the former President of Senegal, Abdoulaye Wade, crafted the Omega Plan, and presented it to the Summit of Francophone African Leaders, held in Cameroon in January, 2001. Ottosen (2010, p. 6), asserted that the focus of the omega plan is infrastructural development as it is very central to any form of development. To Nabudere (2002, p. 8), the omega plan identifies the need to develop both physical capital and human capital as the critical requirements

for achieving sustainable development in the continent.

The two initiatives (the MAP and Omega Plan) were presented to a Summit of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in Sirte, Libya in March 2001. The OAU accepted the MAP and Omega Plan initiatives and agreed that they should be merged into one document. To effect the merger the Economic Commission of Africa (ECA) added the Compact for Africa's Recovery, which it had developed by adopting the UN Millennium Summit Declaration commonly called UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), and submitted a merged document to the Conference of African Ministers of Finance and Ministers of Development Planning in Algiers in May 2001. Consequently, at the 37<sup>th</sup> Summit of the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government held in July, 2001, in Lusaka, Zambia, this document was adopted under the new name, the New African Initiative (NAI). Thus, it is incontrovertible to assert that, the NEPAD programme is an amalgam of three development programmes by African leaders. As Nabudere (2002, p. 9) has pointed out, the Compact of the ECA was an important document in cementing the MAP and Omega Plan into the NAI. Finally, in October 2001, in Abuja, Nigeria, the name was changed to the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) by the Heads of State and Government Implementation Committee (HSGIC) chaired by the former president of Nigeria, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo. NEPAD was adopted by the Africa Union (AU) as its development programme when it replaced the OAU in 2002, with functional secretariat in South Africa to coordinate and implement its programmes.

NEPAD aims to provide an overarching vision and policy framework for accelerating economic cooperation and integration among African countries and achieving sustainable growth and development through favourable global partnerships. Indeed, NEPAD has elicited strong international support in the UN, among G8 nations and multilateral institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank as the development framework for Africa's development in the 21st century. According to Nabudere (2002, p. 9), the support and acceptance of the NEPAD by donor community was due to the great influence the Compact had on it. Essentially, NEPAD borrowed from the Compact the need to carry out political reforms in Africa in order to attract the necessary foreign investment for economic growth. Hence, NEPAD recognized peace, security, democracy, good governance, human rights and sound economic management as sine-qua-non for sustainable development in Africa (NEPAD, 2001, p. 16 and Otoosen, 2010, p. 7).

### **NEPAD's Conditions for Sustainable Development Strategy**

In paragraphs 71-95 of the NEPAD document, African leaders articulated the policy framework that would help enhance sustainable growth and development in the continent (NEPAD, 2001, pp. 16-21). In this regard, African Leaders acknowledged that the state of unrest and conflict in different parts of the continent militates against its development. The prevailing situation would discourage any investor from doing business and helping to generate growth (Ekekwe & Harry, 2011, p. 97). Hence, African leaders resolve to pursue policies and programmes that would ensure peace, security, democracy, good governance, human rights and sound economic management, which are the necessary conditions for sustainable development (NEPAD, 2001, p. 16). They further pledged to work both individually and collectively to promote these principles in their respective countries, sub-regions and the continent as a whole. For instance, the peace and security initiatives consist of three elements: (i) promoting long-term conditions for development and security; (ii) building the capacity of African institutions for early warning, as well as enhancing their capacity to prevent, manage and resolve conflicts; and (iii) institutionalizing commitment to the core values of NEPAD through the leadership. These core values are demonstration of commitment to the protection of human rights and people-oriented development, as African people have shown that they would no longer accept poor economic and political leadership

(NEPAD, 2001, p. 2). The recent happenings in North Africa are clear manifestation of this resolve by Africans. Hence, the long-term conditions for ensuring peace and security in Africa require policy measures for addressing the political and social vulnerabilities on which conflict is premised. Indeed, there is an overriding need for Africans to make all efforts to find a lasting solution to existing conflicts, to strengthen their internal security and to promote peace among the countries in the continent. Thus, the leaders of continent agree to put in place the necessary machinery, to manage all aspects of conflict and to strengthen existing regional and sub-regional institutions to be able to prevent, manage and resolve conflict and achieve peace and security in the continent (Ekekwe & Harry, 2011, p. 97).

With regard to democracy and political/good governance, there is general acknowledgement among African leaders that development is impossible in the absence of true democracy, respect for human rights, peace and good governance. Consequently, they agreed to adopt universal best practice of democracy, which core components include political pluralism, multi-partism, freedom of trade unions and civil society organization's activities, free, fair and credible democratic elections periodically to enable the people choose their leaders freely (NEPAD, 2001, p. 17 & Ekekwe & Harry, 2011, p. 97). Essentially, the democracy and political/good governance initiative is to contribute to strengthening the political and administrative framework of the individual countries in the areas of mass participation, transparency, accountability, integrity, and the promotion of the rule of law as well as respect for human rights. In order to improve political/good governance and build capacity to meet the above-mentioned objectives conscious institutional reforms are paramount in the following areas: (i) administrative and civil services; (ii) strengthening parliamentary oversight; (iii) promoting participatory decision-making; (iv) adopting effective measures to combat corruption and embezzlement; and (v) understanding judicial reforms (NEPAD, 2001, p. 18).

According to Ottosen (2010, p. 4), the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) was adopted in year 2002 at the OAU Summit in Durban, South Africa, to ensure adherence to the democracy and good governance provisions in the different countries. Furthermore, the leaders also recognized that the state capacity building is a critical aspect of creating conditions for sustainable development. For instance, the state has a major role to play in promoting economic growth and development, and in implementing poverty reduction programmes (NEPAD, 2001, p. 19). To achieve this goal, they proposed to take steps to enhance economic and corporate governance by putting in place the necessary policy and regulatory frameworks for private sector-led growth (Ekekwe & Harry, 2011, p. 97). Still on the conditions for sustainable development, NEPAD articulated steps to pursue regional and sub-regional integration. This was borne out the fact that most African countries are small in terms of population and per capita incomes, consequently, they have limited markets and this would not offer attractive return to potential investors (Ekekwe & Harry, 2011, p. 97). Hence, Ekekwe and Harry (2011, p. 97) and NEPAD (2001, p. 20) asserted the need to integrate the markets through diversification of production among African countries, improve international competitiveness and increase export, and provision of essential regional public goods (such as transport, energy, water, ICT, disease eradication, environmental preservation, and provision of regional research capacity), as well as the promotion of intra-African trade and investment. Indeed, if all these programmes of action articulated in the NEPAD document as outlined above are followed to the letter, the enabling conditions and/or environment would have been set for sustainable development in Africa in general and Nigeria in particular. But how well has the Nigerian state implemented these programmes for sustainable development since the inception of NEPAD in 2001? This question would be addressed later in the paper.

### **Nigeria and the Implementation of NEPAD Programme**

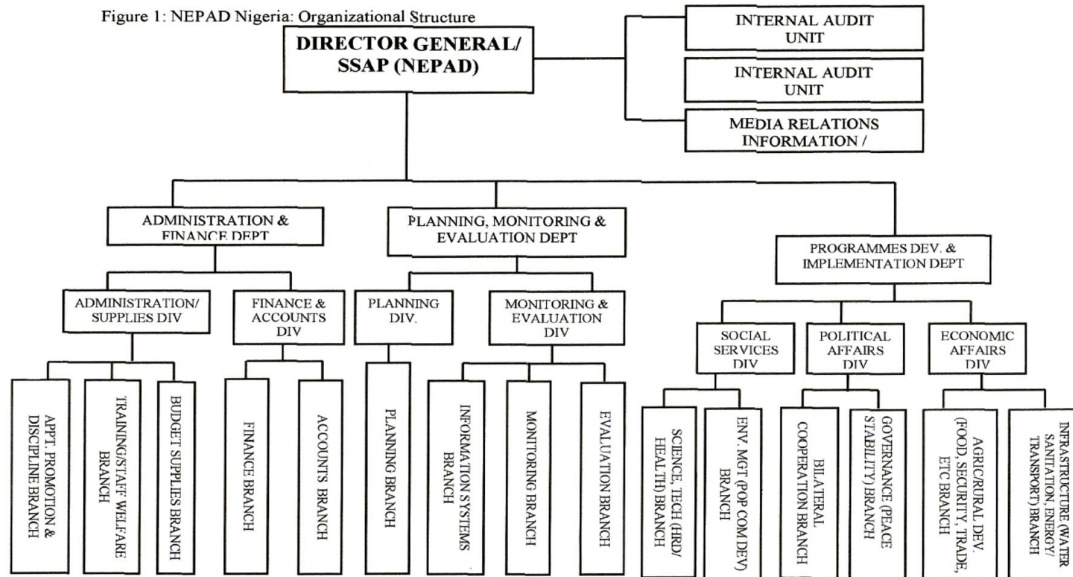
Nigeria as one of the frontline states in designing the NEPAD programme has taken steps to vigorously

implement the programme by integrating it into the nation's development programmes. As part of the implementation effort the NEPAD Nigeria office was officially launched in July 2003 (Asika, 2005, p. 1). Perhaps, this was done in compliance with United Nations Resolution 57/7, which asserts the need for African countries to establish NEPAD national offices with responsibility for monitoring the implementation of NEPAD programmes at the country level and serving as a repository of information, among other functions (NEPAD-Nigeria, 2005, p. 1). The establishment of NEPAD Nigeria was the federal government's way of enforce UN Resolution 57/7, as well as to ensure the operation of NEPAD programmes at the country level in Nigeria. According to Asika (2005, p. 1) the mandate of NEPAD Nigeria is to identify and work with partners in the public and private sectors, including the civil society and international organizations operating in Nigeria, towards development, implementation, and promotion of NEPAD programmes at the country level. Some specific responsibilities of NEPAD Nigeria office are to: (i) act as NEPAD focal point and liaise with the Continental Secretariat in South Africa, as well as network with other NEPAD National Offices/secretariat across the continent; (ii) liaise with various organs of the United Nations system and the international community on issues relating to NEPAD; (iii) promote NEPAD programmes in Nigeria and ensure the active involvement and participation of both public and private sectors from federal to state and local government levels; (iv) coordinate and facilitate implementation of NEPAD programme in Nigeria; (v) identify, encourage, and build partnership between and among government institutions, the private sector and civil society; (vi) ensure adequate integration and mainstreaming of the activities of various line Ministries and Agencies in Nigeria into the NEPAD programmes; (viii) act as clearing house for the development of proposal and implementation of NEPAD projects in Nigeria; (viii) advise on and provide input into, the preparation of national positions on issues relating to NEPAD; and (ix) follow-up on the implementation of action plans and recommendations of various national and international meetings, conferences and consultations bearing on NEPAD, for example, the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) (NEPAD, 2005).

Since inception, NEPAD Nigeria office has developed Strategic Action Plans and has been building partnerships and identifying activities that will ensure the operationalization of NEPAD programmes in Nigeria. To this effect, key Federal Ministries and Agencies have been requested to appoint NEPAD Desk officers/focal points within their organizations. These Desk Officers are expected to serve as links between the ministries/agencies and NEPAD Nigeria and to assist in the implementation of NEPAD projects within their organizations (NEPAD Nigeria, 2005, p. 1). Similarly, the office of the Secretary of the federation has been commissioned to coordinate the implementation of the African Peer Review Mechanism in Nigeria. Furthermore, in August 2004, President Obasanjo set up the NEPAD Business Group Nigeria to leverage the opportunities offered by NEPAD.

To effectively carry out its mandate NEPAD Nigeria has developed three levels of operation, namely, national, state and local government. At the national NEPAD Nigeria is headed by a Chief Executive Officer (CEO), designated Director-General, who is also the Senior Special Assistant to the President on NEPAD. It has three main departments (administration and Finance; Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation; and programmes implementation and Development) which are further divided into subunits (Asika, 2005, p. 3). Below is a graphic representation of the organizational structure of NEPAD Nigeria at the national level.





Source: Asika, C. (2005), Implementing NEPAD Programmes of Country Level: The Nigerian Experience, A paper presented at the Workshop on Communicating NEPAD at the country level, Boliugo Hotels and Towers, Abuja, 1-2 December, 2005.

At the State and Local Government levels coordinators are appointed to establish direct channels of communication with the national office. Also, this is done with a view to achieving true mass participation and nationwide ownership of the NEPAD programmes at the community level (Asika, 2005, p. 16). Essentially, NEPAD State Coordinators perform such roles as: act as NEPAD focal points at the state level; assist to domesticate programmes at the state level; assist in implementing the NEPAD outreach programmes; and liaising with NEPAD Nigeria in the Presidency. While local government coordinators oversee NEPAD projects being implemented at the local government level.

As part of its effort at domesticating NEPAD programmes, NEPAD Nigeria has designed seven (7) programme clusters, namely: governance, peace and security; infrastructure development; agriculture, trade and market access; environment, population and urbanization; human resources development, employment and HIV/AIDS; Science and technology; and communication and advocacy, which are used to drive the implementation (NEPAD News, 2006). These programme clusters are at different stages of implementation across the country (Asika, 2005, pp. 6-13). However, this paper will focus on the governance, peace and security component, and partly the infrastructure development element, for these are the aspects of the seven programme clusters concerned with the conditions for sustainable development in the NEPAD document. In the next section, the paper shall examine the state of affairs with regard to these elements in Nigeria.

### State of the Conditions for Sustainable Development in Nigeria

The framers of the NEPAD programme believe that to develop Africa/Nigeria there are fundamental issues that must be addressed to make development sustainable. As earlier noted, here our focus will be to examine how well the Nigerian government has fared in promoting these necessary conditions for sustainable development outlined above since the inception of NEPAD? Simply put, how has the government performed in the attainment of or, what is the state of internal peace and security; democracy and political/good governance; protection of human rights; economic and corporate governance in form of institutional reforms to enhance private sector led growth; and level of infrastructural development, in the country? Below is a presentation of some perspectives or overview

on these matters.

First, Nigeria has been experiencing high rate of insecurity in the last two decades such that peace and security appear to be a luxury in this country. For instance, there are numerous cases of inter-communal and political violence, kidnappings, high-brow targeted political assassinations and indiscriminate killings by rampaging gunmen and herdsmen across the country. These cases, to a very large extent have become a daily occurrence. Some more specific examples that quickly come to mind are the Boko Haram menace in the north-eastern states, the killing of Youth corps members in the north after the 2011 presidential election, the Fulani- Gwari clash in Abuja, which resulted in the destruction of twenty-seven (27) communities, the unending clashes in Plateau State, which have claimed more than a thousand (1000) lives and destroyed several communities, the Fulani-herdsmen killings in Agatu in Benue state and southern Kaduna, Kaduna State, and wide spread communal clashes in Nassarawa, Niger, Adamawa, Gombe, Taraba, Ogun, Akwa Ibom, Cross River, Rivers and Anambra States, which have left hundreds of people dead and many more displaced (Mayah, 2016). Other insecurity matter are the killing of security personnel on a daily basis, particularly policemen in northern Nigeria, extra-judicial killings of innocent citizens by the police and other security agencies, cult clashes, the Independence Day bombing in Abuja, the bombing of the UN office in Abuja in 2011, the bombing of churches in the northern states, political killings like that of Marshal Harry, A.K. Dikibo, Bola Ige, Governorship candidate in Ogun State, Dipo Dina, personal secretary of the then Edo State Governor, Comrade Adams Oshiomhole in 2012 and Imo State Deputy Governor's aide. There are also cases of kidnap for ransom of both foreigners and Nigerians, notably the mother of the Minister of Finance, Prof. Okonjo, the Special Assistant of Imo State Governor, Miss Nkiru Sylvanus, the mother of the Speaker of Bayelsa State House of Assembly. Indeed, the cases of kidnapping in Nigeria is such that a recent report claimed that one-quarters of total kidnap cases in the world occurred in Nigeria, and Nigeria was described as the world's kidnap for ransom capital. One of the most prominent insecurity matters in the country was the attack on the convoy of the then Emir of Kano, Alhaji Ado Bayero, in January 2013, which led to the dead of his driver and two aides, and his son seriously injured. This is just an overview of the insecurity matters in the country. Many foreign governments have warned their citizens about the security situation in Nigeria and this has negative consequence for the economy (Akinloye, 2017). The Nigerian state has not been able to resolve these cases by bringing the perpetrators to book though the government has always promised to leave no stone unturned in bringing the perpetrators to book. Obviously, the government appears to be overwhelmed by the spate of insecurity in the country. Most often the government is addressing the symptoms and not the fundamentals, hence the cosmetic approach to the state of insecurity in the country. For instance, it is difficult, if not impossible, for poorly trained, poorly equipped and poorly motivated security personnel to provide security for the nation (Francis, Yakubu and Akinpelu, 2017). This, the government has failed to understand over the last decade. With the high rate of insecurity in the country investors consider Nigeria a "high risk" nation for investment (e.g. the destruction of telecommunication masses, power lines and pipe lines). It is not therefore surprising to see investors/businesses relocating outside the country. In this type of situation sustainable development cannot be achieved.

Second, on democracy and political/good governance, Nigeria has not made significant progress. Essentially, the reason for incorporating the democracy and good governance issues in the NEPAD programme is the realization that development is impossible without the institutionalization of these practices. Democracy and good governance play important role in the grant of aid and development assistance, and in the inflows of foreign direct investment (Ekekwe & Harry, 2011, p. 98). Amuwo (2002, p. 1) asserted that, democracy in the form multi-party elections is flourishing in many African countries, including Nigeria, not because African leaders see it as the political modality that will lead to development, but rather they see it as the price they have to pay for continued financial assistance (aid) from donor nations who had made it a condition for the grant of aid. Thus, while it is true that

since 1999 Nigeria has become a “democratic” nation, the basic principles/tenets of democracy and good governance are out of the governance process. Some of these principles are free, fair and credible elections, mass participation in decision making, transparency and accountability in the management of the peoples’ resources, integrity, rule of law, etc. For a government to be described as “democratic” government it must be created by the people to serve their interests or carry out their wishes (Harry, 2008, p. 1180). This can only be achieved through broad-based or widespread consultations with the people before taking decision. However, in Nigeria, the government most often is imposed on the people, and so are government decisions. Public institutions that would strengthen good governance in form of mass participation, transparency and accountability are dysfunctional. As Goldsmith (1998, p. 5) has argued, if institutions are weak, policies are also most likely to be weak. It is only good governance that will enhance institutional capacity to function properly.

In Nigeria, the electoral processes have been characterized with so much fraud and other irregularities, thereby denying the people the right to choose those who will govern them. President Umaru Musa Yar’adua acknowledged the fact that the election which brought him to power was fraudulent and constituted the Justice Mohammed Uwais Electoral Reforms Panel to improve on the nation’s electoral system. However, the National Assembly rejected the Uwais Panel report and approved a watered-down version of the electoral reform bill. The situation is even worst today in the country. Also, the nation is plagued with brazen corruption among senior public office holders. Many corruption cases have been swept under the carpet (Olu, 2017). Some which are in public domain not much is done to bring the people involved to justice. For instance, in the Halliburton and Siemens bribery scandals, while the foreign counterparts had been named and brought to book, the Nigerians involved are never made known to the public let alone being brought to book. Other corruption cases are the Petroleum Subsidy Fund Management scam, Police Pension Fund Management scam, Femi Otedola, and Honourable Lawan Farouk bribery scandal, the Babachir David Lawal ₦220 million north east grass-cutting scandal, just to mention a few (Hassan, 2017). It is interesting to note that, recently, one of the accused in the Police Pension Fund Management scam, a Director in the Police Pension Board, John Yakubu Yusufu pleaded guilty to have misappropriated (or stolen) ₦23 billion, and received a sentence of two (2) years or an option of Seven hundred and fifty (₦750,000.00) thousand naira fine and the forfeiture of his 13 housing properties and ₦325 million found in his account in Abuja High Court. With this type of judgement, one wonders if it is possible for justice to be seen to be done in Nigeria and how real is the much-acclaimed fight against corruption by the government. Interestingly, the Freedom of Information (FOI) Law, which would make governance transparent and accountable, stayed over ten (10) years before its passage. It is important to note that the FOI bill was passed by the Sixth (6th) National Assembly, but refused assent by the former President Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, an avowed apostle of the NEPAD programme. It was only in 2011 that the Seventh (7th) National Assembly repassed it and was assented to by President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan. With the FOI in place, civil society organizations can now apply the law to achieve transparency and accountability in the governance processes in the country. Unfortunately, nothing much has changed in the area of transparency and accountability in governance in Nigeria up till date.

Third, on the protection of human rights, it is obvious that the Nigeria state has not also made significant progress. Human rights, according to Iain and Abstain (2003, p. 251) are special kinds of inalienable entitlement attach to all persons equally, by virtue of their humanity, irrespective of race, nationality and membership of any particular social group. These rights, they argue, encompass civil, political and socio-economic rights which impose some obligations on government, as well as such rights as peace, development and humanitarian assistance. While it is true that since the return to civil rule in May 29, 1999, there has been improvement in human rights protection (Harry, 2008, p. 1191), a lot more still need to be done to significantly protect the rights of the Nigerian people. For instance, compulsory provision of basic social amenities by government is a basic right of the people in the African Union



Charter. These social amenities in form of qualitative education, health care delivery, safe drinking water, good roads, etc are near-absence in most communities in the country, as was evident in Mkpot Community (Nwafor, 2017). For example, in Port Harcourt, the Rivers State capital, about 85 percent of the people provide drinking water for themselves. It is not surprising therefore, to see governors state the provision of bore-hole in communities and building of classrooms for primary schools as their achievements in the 21st century, after 57 years of independence. There are also cases of human rights abuse by security agencies, particularly the Nigeria Police Force. These abuses range from extortion of money, arbitrary arrest and torture of suspects, and extrajudicial killings, among others (Amnesty International, 2018). Some common examples are the killing of 6 traders in Apo village in Abuja, the killing of bus and taxi drivers at check points, intimidation and brutalization of members of the public by siren blaring security personnel, the unlawful killing of more than 130 people during sectarian violence in Jos in 2008, the destruction of Odi and Zakibiam communities in Bayelsa and Benue States respectively and the high-handedness of the military in quelling indigenous people of Biafra (IPOB) separatist group in south east, leaving many dead (Inyang, 2017). There were also cases of intimidation and killing of journalists, and ransacking of media houses. Indeed, only in 2012, 13 journalists were killed in Nigeria the highest in the world and others brutalized in some states, for example in Lagos and Bayelsa Government Houses. In all of these abuses, the security personnel involved were never held accountable or disciplined accordingly (Human Rights Watch, 2011). The government over the years has demonstrated lack of the will to reform the Police Force and stop these widespread abuses. This makes the situation of human rights abuse appears as if it has been institutionalized in the country. Consequently, the Freedom House rating of Nigeria's human rights record since 2001 is below average, especially political rights and civil liberties (Freedom House, 2012). In other words, there are still widespread and obvious cases of human rights abuse in the country, till date.

Lastly, with regard to economic and corporate governance in form of institutional reforms to encourage private sector led growth and issues of infrastructural development the government certainly has not achieved much. The framers of the NEPAD programme recognized the fact that the state has a major role to play in promoting economic growth and development, so as to reduce poverty (NEPAD, 2001, p. 19). In this respect, it emphasized the need for time-bound programmes aimed at enhancing the quality of economic and public financial management, as well as corporate governance. However, it is obvious that the Nigerian government lack the managerial capacity or the political will to create the enabling environment for the promotion of growth and development. Some inhibiting factors in the environment are cases of multiple taxation across the country, harassment of businessmen by government officials soliciting for bribes, use of obnoxious laws to place various kinds of outrageous demand on businesses, etc. Many businesses operating in the country have shut down and relocated to neighbouring countries where there is fairly reasonable business climate. Even with the present administration's policy of "ease of doing business", not so much has changed in the business environment in the country (Warami, 2017). Nigeria now ranked 145 position out of 190 countries in the ease of doing business index for 2018. Moving from 169 to 145 is not a substantial leap. There are problems of high interest rate on loans from commercial banks and lack of access to finance/funds for many Nigerian entrepreneurs for lack of collateral. To address these issues, the government at various intervals have earmarked some amount of money, through the Nigerian Agricultural and Cooperative Bank (NACB) and Bank of Industry (BOI), to lend to indigenous entrepreneurs, but most often such funds do not get to those who actual need them for businesses. In addition, the roads in the country are in a state of disrepair, power supply is grossly insufficient, railway services are in comatose state, and airport facilities are quite inadequate. All of these factors are driving economic activities to a near-halt in the country, thereby creating huge unemployment crisis, as well as increasing the poverty situation among Nigerians. It is not surprising, therefore that all the efforts made by the former President Obasanjo and subsequent president touring round the world to woo investors to come and invest in the

country resulted in very insignificant inflow of foreign direct investment. Apparently, the Nigerian government has never delivered on the different time lines and targets set in creating suitable climate for businesses to thrive (Egwuatu, 2016 & PM News, 2017). The government has failed to understand and/or address the fundamental issues in creating the enabling environment for businesses, like policy consistency, amiable institutional environment, legal and administrative framework that reduce cost of doing business and encourage ease of doing business, etc. Indeed, forward and backward economic policies in the country (e.g. selling and revoking the sale of NITEL) compound the uncertainties in the economy and such policy inconsistencies discourage potential investors.

As earlier noted, to ensure adherence to the principles and practices of democracy, good governance, and sound economic management for sustainable development African leaders articulated and adopted the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) in 2002 at the OAU Summit in Durban, South Africa (OAU, 2002; Ekekwe & Harry, 2011, p. 99). The APRM made provisions for “reviewing progress in the attainment of mutually agreed targets” and “taking appropriate steps to address problems and delays”. The APRM elicited support from world leaders, particularly the United Nations, the European Union and other Africa’s development partners. Elechi (2010, p. 81) described the Peer Review Mechanism as “a development paradigm that is basically interdependent in approach in which African political leaders are expected to compare notes and emulate positive and successful development initiatives and creativity of their colleagues with a view to better or be more efficient and effective in-service delivery”. The peer review mechanism was adopted by NEPAD Nigeria in its implementation of the NEPAD programmes. As Asika (2005, p. 9) has pointed out, NEPAD Nigeria was the vice-chair of APRM implementation steering committee at the time, and NEPAD state coordinators were involved in implementing the APRM at the state level. However, the peer review approach in Nigeria was an abuse of the philosophy, principles and practices the designers intended it to be. For instance, in Nigeria, the peer review approach of state governors is to converge in a state or move from state to state to sing praises of governors, even when it is difficult to see how their projects and programmes have positively impacted on the lives of the people. Obviously, governors are not sincere in their commitment to the institutionalization of democracy and good governance in the country. This is made manifest in their drive to rig in elections, steal state funds and display of authoritarianism, just to mention a few. Indeed, Nigeria has failed to establish the necessary conditions for sustainable development, even with the implementation of NEPAD programme. It is not surprising that FDIs have eluded the country and job creation a serious mountain to climb, with the attendant increase in poverty.

### **Challenges of NEPAD in Nigeria**

The challenges of the NEPAD initiative, and indeed other development efforts, in Nigeria are multifaceted. Some of these challenges are as discussed below:

First, there is the issue of communicating NEPAD effectively to the different segments of the population (Asika, 2005, p. 25). Obviously, mobilizing the Nigerian people to participate actively in the NEPAD process has been serious challenge. Many observers see NEPAD process as elitist in nature, elites organizing NEPAD conferences in the “high-brow” hotels in Abuja and other state capitals, to the exclusion of the masses. This implies that the development approach is still the top-bottom approach, which has always failed. Therefore, many Nigerians are not even aware of the NEPAD programme let alone participating in the process. As Kotze and Steyn (2003, p. 43) have observed, the NEPAD strategy marginalized the majority of significant players and this ultimately defeated the principles of pluralism, democracy and transparency on which it is based.

Second, is the issue of lack of “political will”. The political leadership of Nigeria is always not willing to implement development policies and programmes. This lack of political will has manifested in the implementation processes of the different development policies of the government since independence.

However, there is need for a strong political will at all levels for the NEPAD development framework to succeed. It is this lack of political will that has resulted in the insincerity or failure of government to genuinely carry out reforms of political and administrative institutions which will engender good governance and real development. Development is tied to well-functioning institution. It is important to note that, it is because of the dysfunctional institutions in the country that has made Nigerians to resort to self help in solving matters, which often manifest in violent, conflict and insecurity in the country.

Third, is the issue of translating the NEPAD framework into action. Nigeria like many other African countries, have not been able to translate the NEPAD framework into tangible plan of action that would result into workable development projects and programmes.

Fourth, is the issue of the inability of the government to set timelines and targets that culminate in achieving positive and measurable results. This has been a major challenge in the country over the years. Government policies and programmes are always very difficult to assess with certainty since there are often no timelines and key targets/goals to be achieved. To make action plans more credible and verifiable, detailed timelines for achieving various set goals must be set-up (Funke & Nsouli, 2003, p. 24).

Lastly, there is the issue of infrastructure decay in the country, which is responsible for the country's under development. According to Wajilda (2007, p. 11), there is a very serious infrastructural challenge in the area of telecommunication, railway, roads, airports, electricity, etc in Nigeria. A comparison of the infrastructure profile of selected developing countries would show the extent of infrastructure deficit in Nigeria. These countries either had very similar development potentials with Nigeria, or had comparable macroeconomic indicators prior to the 1980s. Below is a table showing the level of infrastructural development in these economies.

**Table 1: Infrastructural Profile of Selected Developing Countries as at 2009**

Country	Population	Area (Km <sup>2</sup> )	Stock of Infrastructure				
	Million		Telecoms (Million lines)	Rail (Km)	Roads (Km)	Airports	Electricity Generation (MW)
Nigeria	152.21	923,768	64.27	4,500	193,200	22	3,000
SouthAfrica	49.10	1,219,090	50.75	20,872	362,099	147	50,229
Malaysia	28.27	329,847	34.68	1,849	98,721	38	25,000
Brazil	179.10	8,514,877	191.78	28,857	1,751,868	718	86,020
Turkey	96.81	783,562	83.32	8,697	426,951	90	18,900
India	1,166.08	3,287,263	464.84	63,327	3,316,425	251	76,170
SouthKorea	48.64	99,720	67.22	3,381	103,029	72	80,000

Source: NIS ER (2011) Medium-Term (2011 - 5) Strategic Plan, Research for Nigeria's Social and Economic Transformation, p.9

The table above shows that Nigeria with its 152.2 million people generates about 3,000 Mega-watts of electricity and has 22 airports, while South Africa with its 49.0 million people generates 50,229 Mega-watts of electricity and has 47 airports, and South Korea with a population of 48.64 million people generates 80,000 mega-watts of electricity and has 72 airports. Without sound infrastructure base it is impossible to implement the NEPAD programmes in the country. All the above infrastructural facilities are very crucial and critical to the implementation of the conditions for sustainable development strategy in Nigeria. Indeed, for NEPAD Nigeria to achieve positive result in the area of sustainable

development it must address the challenges outlined above and many others not captured in this work. So, what must be done in this regard?

### **What Must be Done?**

Nigeria is a country richly endowed in the African continent grappling with development challenges since independence. Like other African countries, Nigeria has been implementing the NEPAD development programmes without noticeable results. For the NEPAD programmes to create the conditions for sustainable development in Nigeria the following must be done:

- (i) The government must carry out sincere institutional and administrative reforms in the country. In other words, good governance and democracy must be institutionalized so as to help reduce maladministration and corruption. As Funke and Nsouli (2003, p. 19) has noted, good governance is an important part of a sound institutional environment which is essential for many other reform areas. They added that, “good governance and well-functioning institutions create an enabling environment for private initiatives and encourage a more efficient use of resources.” Obviously, without a reform effort that would ensure good governance and democratic practices, it would be impossible to achieve development.
- (ii) NEPAD must be effectively communicated to all and sundry and to all the nooks and crannies of the country. Put differently, NEPAD Nigeria must adopt the participatory approach to development thereby including majority of the significant players. This will enhance the people’s ownership of the entire process, and therefore the development process.
- (iii) The government must endeavour to set the right priorities and targets, with timelines and measurable results. This is what the APRM intended to achieve. For the implementation of the peer review mechanism to be meaningful, the government must make their action plans more credible and verifiable, and detailed time-table must be set up within which the set goals must be attained. According to Funke and Nsouli (2003, p. 24), peer review would only be made possible if NEPAD Nigeria and/or the government will develop indicators that facilitate the monitoring and control implementation. Without such measurable goal and timelines results assessment of what have been achieved would be impossible.
- (iv) There must be policy consistency and improvement in the state of the infrastructural development of the country. As stated earlier, there is gross infrastructural deficit in the country and this negates sustainable development. So, there is urgent need to improve the policy and infrastructural environments, as potential investors compare these facilities in different countries before choosing where to invest. Therefore, to attract foreign direct investments, Nigeria must achieve relative improvement in its policy and infrastructural environments vis-a-vis other competitors (Funke and Nsouli, 2003, p. 18). This will enhance the conditions for sustainable development in Nigeria.

In sum, for the NEPAD’s strategy for sustainable development to be achieved in Nigeria, NEPAD Nigeria and/or the government must sincerely make effort at institutionalizing good governance, particularly transparency and accountability, adopt a bottom-top approach to development that carries the people along, set specific timelines and indicators of goals attainment and be consistent in policy framework and infrastructural development. This is the only way the enabling environment for sustainable development can be created in the country.

### **Conclusion**

We have shown in this paper that NEPAD programmes, which came into existence in 2001 is an AU development framework, which has elicited strong support from world leaders within the UN and EU

countries. NEPAD has three key strategies namely: conditions for sustainable development; sectoral priorities; and resource mobilization. The paper focused on the conditions for sustainable development strategy in Nigeria, which has the following as its components: peace and security; democracy and good governance; and sound economic management that would lead to private sector led- growth. Nigeria domesticated the NEPAD programme in 2003 and started the implementation. However, not so much has been achieved, particularly in the area of peace and security, democracy and good governance, protection of human rights and economic and corporate governance. This is because of the lack of “political will on the part of the political leaders of the country to carry out genuine institutional reforms that will create the enabling environment for sustainable development. Hence, violence is on the increase, corruption is widespread, and the practice of democracy and good governance is absent in the process of governance. To achieve the goals of the conditions for sustainable development and bring development to Nigeria, the paper recommended, among other things that government must embark on genuine political, institutional and administrative reforms to enhance good governance, set the right priorities and targets, with timelines and measurable outcomes and ensure policy consistency and infrastructural development. Certainly, if the Nigerian government/state do the above recommended things, the enabling environment would be created for sustainable development in the country.

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