

UNDERGRADUATE THESIS

**THE ROLE OF UNITED STATES AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL
DEVELOPMENT (USAID) IN NIGERIAN POLITICAL
DEVELOPMENT
SINCE THE FIRST ELECTION IN 1999 - 2011**



**Muthmainnah
20110510165**

**INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
FACULTY OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE
UNIVERSITAS MUHAMMADIYAH YOGYAKARTA
2015**

UNDERGRADUATE THESIS

**THE ROLE OF UNITED STATES AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL
DEVELOPMENT (USAID) IN NIGERIAN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT
SINCE THE FIRST ELECTION IN 1999 - 2011**

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the Degree
Sarjana Ilmu Politik (S.IP) in the Department of International
Relations, Faculty of Social and Political Science of
Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta



Name: Muthmainnah
Student Number: 20110510165

**INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
FACULTY OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE
UNIVERSITAS MUHAMMADIYAH YOGYAKARTA
2015**

This Undergraduate Thesis dedicated to:

My Parents
Rahman and Rina

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

There are so many people to thank for helping me writing this undergraduate thesis. So many people who make writing become a lot easier than I thought it was going to be. And I will express my deep sense of thanks one by one start from now.

First, I would like to thank **Dr. Sidik Jatmika, M. Si.**, for his guidance, encouragement, and patience over the last 5 months during the writing of my thesis. Thank you so much for opening my mind, teach me to make a good thesis with a perfect structural form, and giving me advices to make writing a lot easier.

Second, I would like to thank **Dr. Surwandono, M. Si.**, as an examiner who gave good advices and information to make my undergraduate thesis better and also you improved my way of thinking become wider.

Third, I would also like to thank **Bambang Wahyu Nugroho, S. IP., M. A.**, for your advice and information to improve the quality of my undergraduate thesis become better.

Fourth, I would like to thank **Mr. Tama** as my English mentor. Thank you for your patience and thoroughness to help me to 'fix' a lot of grammatical errors on my undergraduate thesis. Also thank you to become one of a source of my second opinion about my undergraduate thesis.

Fifth, and of course I would like to thank the staff of department of International Relations, **Mrs. Atik, Mr. Waluyo, Mr. Ayub, and Mr. Jumari.**

EXTENDED GRATITUDE

1. Rinanda Yesi Wiradhika, my very best friend who cheer me, pray for me, and support me during my 'hardest time' to writing thesis.
2. Hendrik Schoett, as the best partner who gave me support for making me write this undergraduate thesis a lot easier and funnier. Thank you for listening any complaints and everything, giving me some jokes to refresh my mind during the boredom time. Also gave advices how to enjoy the 'writing time'.
3. Santika and Ira, my very good friends who support me writing, pray on my examination, to cheer me up, and best buddies to change some ideas about my undergraduate thesis.
4. Rayhana Fajria, as the best 'writing thesis' partner. Thank you for a great time together in public library with the best wife ever. She is a partner who I spent time with during the writing process. Stayed late in the library until everything closed, watched movies instead of writing, and gossiping about people around while we sit. It was a great and funny time.
5. Moh. Fajar Winata, as my buddy. Thank you for your ears to listened me complained during the writing my undergraduate thesis. Also thank you for your support in the examination.
6. International class of international relations batch 2011 team, Gania, Ozan, Ken, Tya, and others who I cannot mention one by one, who support me and also struggled together during the writing and the examination.

MOTIVATION SENTENCES

**Who are the learned? Those who practice what they know –
Prophet Muhammad S. A. W. (Bukhari)**

The mind is everything. What you think you become - Buddha

TABLE OF CONTENTS

STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY	i
DEDICATION PAGE	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....	iii
EXTENDED GRATITUDE.....	iv
MOTIVATION SENTENCES.....	v
ABSTRACT.....	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vii
LIST OF FIGURES	ix
LIST OF TABLES	x
GLOSSARY	xi
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION	1
A. Background.....	1
B. Research Question	10
C. Writing Purpose	10
D. Theoretical Framework.....	11
1. Cultural Imperialism Theory.....	11
2. Agency Theory.....	12
3. Modernization Theory.....	14
E. The Application of Theory	16
1. Cultural Imperialism theory	16
2. Agency Theory.....	17
3. Modernization theory	17
F. Hypothesis	19
G. Range of Research.....	19
H. Methods of Research.....	20
I. System of Writing.....	20

CHAPTER II: UNITED STATES AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT (USAID)'S PROFILE AND ITS HISTORY FORMATION IN NIGERIA	22
A. USAID Worldwide	22
1. USAID's Main Programs	24
2. Working Area.....	30
B. USAID in Nigeria	36
1. Formation History of USAID in Nigeria	36
2. USAID Funding and Programs for Nigeria	37
C. United States and Nigeria	40
CHAPTER III: THE DYNAMICS OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA SINCE INDEPENDENCE.....	42
A. Military Rules	43
B. Civilian Rules	48
1. First General Election in 1999	48
2. Second General Election in 2003	51
3. Third General Election in 2007.....	53
4. The Latest General Election in 2011.....	55
CHAPTER IV: THE IMPACT OF USAID'S PROGRAMS IN NIGERIA'S POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT.....	58
A. Democracy and Governance.....	58
1. USAID Funding for Nigerian Elections.....	58
2. USAID Assistance Against Corruption in Nigeria	66
B. Economic Development.....	68
1. Health	71
2. Education.....	74
CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION	77
REFERENCES.....	81

LIST OF FIGURES

- Figure 1.1 : Power Relationship by Hans J. Morgenthau
- Figure 1.2 : The Application of the Power Relationship
- Figure 2.1 : The USAID's Working Area
- Figure 4.1 : Government Corruption Score Index
- Figure 4.2 : Nigeria's Economic Growth 2000 – 2015
- Figure 4.3 : Nigeria GDP per capita in 1960 – 2013
- Figure 4.4 : School Enrollment in Nigeria

LIST OF TABLES

Table 4.1 : Distributions of Respondents on how they heard about the 2011 General Elections

GLOSSARY

ANPP	: All Nigeria People's Party
EMCAP	: Economic Management Capacity Program
GDP	: Gross Domestic Product
INEC	: Independent National Electoral Commission
NCNC	: National Council for Nigeria and Cameroon
NPC	: Northern People's Congress
OTI	: Office of Transition Initiatives
PDP	: People's Democratic Party
USAID	: United States Agency for International Development