

**UNDERGRADUATE THESIS**

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



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

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Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the Degree  
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Relations, Faculty of Social and Political Science of  
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## **PAGE ATTESTATION**

This undergraduate thesis entitled:

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## **STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY**

This is to certify that to the best of my knowledge, the content of this thesis is my own work. This Thesis has not been submitted for any degree or other purposes.

I certify that the intellectual content of this thesis is the product of my own work and that all the assistance received in preparing this thesis and sources have been acknowledged.

Yogyakarta, August 31<sup>st</sup>, 2015

Muthmainnah

**This Undergraduate Thesis dedicated to:**

*My Parents*  
*Rahman and Rina*

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## **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**



## ABSTRACT

Development for developing countries cannot be separated with the assessment of other actors outside the country. The role of other actors such as States to assist and influence the development in developing countries by giving money and programs. Some research attempt the bad effects of international assessment which means that the money they can provide can create the development worse due of various types of loan. There is no much research about the role of United States Agency for International Development (USAID) towards the development in developing world. This agency actually is an independent federal government agency of United States.

Nigeria is one of country in Africa which potently can grow and develop as like as South Africa. But Nigeria has a complicated political record. There are two objectives on this thesis. First, the writer wants to prove that the impact of USAID's development programs which is giving a contribution towards the political development in Nigeria. Second, the writer would like to show the role of international assistance regarding of development in Nigeria. Furthermore, the writer is using qualitative research on this research which is using library research such as books, journals, and documents from news as the main material for analysis. The writer is using the Cultural Imperialism Theory by Hans J. Morgenthau, Agency Theory, and Modernization Theory by Samuel P. Huntington.

The result of the research shows that the role of USAID in Nigeria is important to assist the political development by various programs and activities. The effectiveness of USAID's programs is good enough to bring development inside Nigeria. This undergraduate thesis also could be used as a basic of further research regarding the role of international assistance towards the political development in developing world.

Keywords: USAID, Nigeria, international assistance, political development, modernization, bilateral fund.

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## **GLOSSARYUM**

|       |  |
|-------|--|
| 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 |

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### A. Background

The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) was established in 1961 that works to assistance the development of developing world. It could be said that USAID is helping to improve the quality of better life in the developing countries around the world.<sup>1</sup>

In 1961, USAID was established by the signing of the Law on Foreign Aid, which became law by Executive Order. Since then, the agency has been the principal of U. S. agency to provide assistance to countries that affected by disasters, which fighting poverty, and engaging in democratic reforms. It works around the world with the main focuses on spreading the democracy and free markets. It works with less than 1.5 percent of federal budget. This agency is an independent federal government agency to support the economic growth through agriculture and trade; to improve global health; to strengthen the democracy and good governance, better education, conflict prevention and humanitarian

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<sup>1</sup> Bernier, J., Boehne, K., Grossman-Crist, S., & Schuelke, E. (n.d.). USAID's Strategic Framework: Examples from Haiti, Bolivia and Peru. *The Heinz Journal*, page 2-3.

assistance in sub-Saharan Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, Europe and Eurasia, and the Middle East.<sup>2</sup>

USAID got involved in some limited political development assistances in the 1960s and 1970s and it started on supporting the democracy in the 1980s. In 1989, it spent close to \$100 million on democracy programs with focused on “human rights and democratic participation, rule of law reform, and elections”.<sup>3</sup> Democracy and governance programs of USAID currently include a variety of activities to organize it into four categories. First, the rule of law to increase the authority of democratic law that guarantee the rights and democratic processes, and to provide justice. Second, create the government which is to promote the anti-corruption with a democratic government that controls the security sector, decentralization, and strengthened by the legislative function, and better performance of the public sector. The third is civil society activity to “mobilize voters for reform, strengthen democratic political culture, media development, creating a democratic labor movement, and enabling legal environment for civil society development”.<sup>4</sup> Fourth, activity on the elections and political processes to support free and fair elections, establish political parties and democratic consensus, and supervise the elections.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> USAID. (2011, October). *A Newsletter of the U. S. Mission in Nigeria: 50 Years of Partnership*. Retrieved March 1, 2015, from Crossroads

<sup>3</sup> Carothers, T. (2009). *Revitalizing U.S. Democracy Assistance: The Challenge of USAID*. New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid*

<sup>5</sup> *ibid*



Beside the assistance on democracy and governance, USAID also has some other goals on developing world, such as try to achieve the peace and security which focus on the prevention of the conflicts and stabilization of countries in crisis. Second is to improve the better health especially to reduce the dangerous diseases such as HIV/AIDS, malaria, tuberculosis, and polio. And the third is promoting economic growth and prosperity with supporting the sustainability in the use of natural resources. Fourth is providing humanitarian assistance.<sup>6</sup> These institutions provide assistance in the form of money and programs provided continually with a mission to help the development of developing countries. Africa became one of the limelights for USAID to provide assistance due to several factors that make countries in Africa are in need of assistance.

One of the African countries which needed to be helped is Nigeria. Nigeria, which is located in West Africa, is one of the most populous countries in Africa with 177,155,75 of population and 2.47 as the population growth rate in 2014.<sup>7</sup>

Nigeria has emerged as the largest economy in Africa, with a GDP in 2013 is estimated to reach US \$ 502 billion. Nigeria's economic continues to grow at a rapid 6-8% per year, driven by growth in the agricultural sector,

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<sup>6</sup> U. S Department of State and USAID. (2007). Fiscal Years 2007 - 20012. *STRATEGIC PLAN*, page 4 - 42.

<sup>7</sup> Central Intelligence Agency. (n.d.). *The World Fact Book*. Retrieved March 1, 2015, from Central Intelligence Agency: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ni.html>

telecommunications, and services, and the medium-term prospects for Nigeria.<sup>8</sup> Resources in the country's biggest by far is the large reserves of oil and gas by weight 14% of GDP. It could be said that Nigeria is Africa's largest economic. More than 62% of the population of Nigeria or as many as 170 million people live in poverty on less than \$ 1.25 per day.<sup>9</sup> Nigeria's GDP increased by 6% in 2004, it is faster than Ghana and Cameroon. The main challenges of Nigeria are to reduce poverty, generate state revenue sources, especially from the non-oil sector, as is well known Nigerian economy is very dependent on oil and natural gas, and improve public health and education. According to the World Bank, to reduce poverty in half by 2015, Nigeria needs as much as 7-8% annually.<sup>10</sup>

Many researchers believed that Nigeria is rich in every aspect, “Nigeria is rich in human and material resources”.<sup>11</sup> But in fact, Nigeria is still struggling with development, especially on political and economic development.<sup>12</sup> Nigeria achieved the independence from Britain in 1960 and under the rule of the military authorities until 1999 determined by the first election was being held. Three elections already been held in Nigeria since 1999 with not so improved economic growth due to the lack of transparency and responsibility of government for the

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<sup>8</sup> *ibid*

<sup>9</sup> Kale, Y. (2014, April 12). *Nigeria's GDP, Step change: Revised figures show that Nigeria is Africa's largest economy*. Retrieved March 1, 2015, from The Economist: <http://www.economist.com/news/finance-and-economics/21600734-revised-figures-show-nigeria-africas-largest-economy-step-change>

<sup>10</sup> Garcia, R. M., Kohl, R., Ruengsorn, A., & Zislin, J. (2006). *Nigeria: Economic Performance Assessment*. Nathan Associates Inc.

<sup>11</sup> Fadeyi, A. O., & Adisa, W. B. (2012). Cultural Impediments to Socio-Economic Development in Nigeria: Lessons from the Chinese Economy. *Journal of Sustainable Development*, 127-128.

<sup>12</sup> *ibid*

management of government revenue.<sup>13</sup> It was not only affected the economic growth, the most significantly affected the political development. The election of President Olusegun Obasanjo in 1999 the first general elections in Nigeria after the expiration of the military authorities gave a great hope for the people. It is characterized by a noticeable improvement in the economic and political development.<sup>14</sup> Under the authority of Obasanjo, in two periods for 8 years, has made some important progress, such as the economic growth rate of more than 5% in recent years. Obasanjo also set up an agency, the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), which at first amazed and delighted Nigeria with success, which has secured more than \$5 billion in stolen assets and successfully prosecute criminals of various types of people, both employers and police, in accordance with applicable law. But over time, Obasanjo administration is not good as expected, high rates of poverty and the massive number of unemployment also be a factor that made the Obasanjo administration was not enough.<sup>15</sup>

The third election in 2007 is marked by the recognition of the international community that Nigeria was in a crisis of democracy. This election should have brought the values of democracy better than the previous elections. The poll by the local and international research agencies in 2007 stated that Nigeria experienced the worst democracy since the end of military rule in 1999. It is

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<sup>13</sup> USAID. (2010). *STRATEGY 2010 – 2013*. Retrieved March 1, 2015, from USAID/Nigeria

<sup>14</sup> Adetula, V., Kew, D., & Kwaja, C. (2010). *Assessing Democracy Assistance: Nigeria*. Fride

<sup>15</sup> The Economist. (2007, April 26). *Big men, big fraud and big trouble*. Retrieved March 2, 2015, from The Economist: Nigeria's Election: <http://www.economist.com/node/9070922>

characterized by the occurrence of the violence and various irregularities in the election process of the state leaders. The poorness of the quality of the politicians are accustomed to fraud, corruption, intimidation, and violence as a weapon of political winner.<sup>16</sup> Violence occurs which killed at least 200 people in the election won by President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua in 2007.<sup>17</sup>

Nigeria has considerable potential to be better at present. Due to the above factors, one of which is Nigeria's rich in natural resources such as oil and natural gas. However, due to the influence of the history of the case as a civil war that occurred for 30 years and domination by the military for more than 30 years making new democracy embraced by Nigeria for more than 20 years was not enough to make politicians behave rationally. Corruption and extremely handling power by leaders who did not previously responsible for causing poverty in Nigeria is still quite high which is also bad for education and health.

At least seven million children of primary school age are not in school and the majority of them are girls. Illiteracy rate for adults is as high as 40% for women and 30% for men on average, Married Nigerian women easily and have at least six children, who make up the population growth continues to rise high enough. Infection rates to certain diseases is also quite high, around 16% of

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<sup>16</sup> Onwudiwe, E., & Berwind-Dart, C. (2010). *Breaking the Cycle of Electoral Violence in Nigeria*. Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace.

<sup>17</sup> BBC News. (2010, September 27). *BBC News Africa: Nigeria's 2007 election 'marred by fraud'*. Retrieved March 3, 2015, from BBC News: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-11399154>

children of Nigeria had not reached the age of 5 years due to infection diseases such as diarrhea, malaria, and measles. In addition, Nigeria also has as many as 2.6 million people infected with HIV/AIDS. Approximately 27% of the population aged 25-34 years infected with tuberculosis driven by HIV.<sup>18</sup>

The United States has established diplomatic relations with Nigeria since 1960. This relationship improved after the end of military rule in 1999 that marked the presidential elections were held in democracy. This improved relations in general has opened the doors of cooperation in trade and maintaining peace as a national foreign policy objectives. U. S assistance in Nigeria includes a variety of things, which helps improve economic stability, security, strengthening democratic institutions, helping Nigerian to achieve well-being, and transparency or helping to reduce corruption in government.<sup>19</sup>

USAID focus on development in Nigeria is to improve the health of the population of Nigeria, to help strengthen democracy and governance, and foster economic growth that will have an impact on the reduction of poverty and improvement of education. This is evidenced by budgetary assistance provided by USAID to Nigeria in 2011 of \$ 255.4 million with the largest health spending in

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<sup>18</sup> USAID. (2010). *STRATEGY 2010 – 2013*. Retrieved March 1, 2015, from USAID/Nigeria

<sup>19</sup> Bureau of African Affairs. (2014, December 9). *U. S. Relation With Nigeria Fact Sheet* . Retrieved March 4, 2015, from U. S. Department of State:  
<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2836.htm>

the amount of \$ 180.6 million, followed by democracy and the rule of \$ 32.0 million, and the economic development of \$ 14.3 million.<sup>20</sup>

USAID is the largest bilateral donor to democracy in Nigeria. In 2009, USAID spent \$ 17,552 million and increased in 2011 by \$ 32 million. Help for democracy provided by USAID to Nigeria during the military power is limited by the humanitarian assistance. Since 1998, the US government has provided more than \$ 74 million to strengthen democracy. USAID also supports the efforts of government and civil society in resolving the problems of ethnic, religious, and other sources of conflict.<sup>21</sup> Under USAID's transitional strategy, in 1999, they implement activities in three main areas, namely conflict management, democracy / governance, and energy. The USAID objective focuses in conflict management, and democracy and governance is to strengthen the foundations of democratic governance. US government gives \$ 5 million in the first presidential elections in 1999. The grant is used to train poll workers, observers, and equipment for election. In addition to assisting in the selection, USAID is strengthening democracy by training journalists to improve the quality and form a program that also to improve the performance of the police.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> USAID. (n.d.). *Nigeria: Dollar To Result*. Retrieved March 4, 2015, from USAID : <http://results.usaid.gov/nigeria#fy2011>

<sup>21</sup> Adetula, V., Kew, D., & Kwaja, C. (2010). *Assessing Democracy Assistance: Nigeria*. Fride

<sup>22</sup> USAID. (2002). *The Role of Transition Assistance: The Case of Nigeria*. IBI–International Initiatives, Inc.

USAID relationship with Nigeria is not only in democracy, governance, and conflict but also in the economy. One of the programs provided by USAID for Nigeria is Agriculture Transformation Program (ATP) with the aim to strengthen the agricultural sector could provide an alternative to unreliable and unstable actions undertaken by the government in handling it, because the government of Nigeria is very based proxies to oil and natural gas sector. The program also aims to improve food security. USAID also provides other programs to help the economic growth of Nigeria as enabling trade barrier.<sup>23</sup>

The main program of USAID is to improve the quality of the Nigerian people to improve the quality of life in terms of education and health. In 2004, the African Education Initiative developed the Ambassador's Girls Scholarship Program (AGSP) to enhance the quality of education in Africa by providing scholarships, books, and mentoring programs. The program aims to improve access to Nigerian children to go to school. A total of more than 12,000 scholarships have been given to children in 13 states in Nigeria. These scholarships cover tuition fees, books, uniforms, bags, sandals, and socks.<sup>24</sup>

Improving health is a major problem in the development in Nigeria. In this case, USAID concerned on reducing the child mortality by providing routine immunization. USAID is working with the Nigerian government and civil societies make some activities such as preventing the transmission of HIV,

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<sup>23</sup> USAID. (n.d.). *USAID/NIGERIA: Strategy 2010-2013*. USAID official report.

<sup>24</sup> USAID. (2011, October). *A Newsletter of the U. S. Mission in Nigeria: 50 Years of Partnership*. Retrieved March 1, 2015, from Crossroads

providing medicines and health services for people living with HIV, and helping strengthen the Nigerian government in addressing these health problems by improving human resources, providing drug supplies and health tools, and infrastructure. In this program, USAID also works to raise awareness within the authority of state and local government, a community, and civil societies to improve access to health facilities and to provide services and medicines (USAID, 2011).

### **B. Research Question**

How does the USAID influence the political development in Nigeria since Nigerian first general election in 1999?

### **C. Writing Purpose**

The purposes of this research are as follow:

1. To answer the research question with related theories.
2. To prove the hypothesis which have been already written.
3. To explain the process and impact of USAID towards the political development in Nigeria.
4. To describe the works of Nigerian government in dealing with development.
5. To give a knowledge about USAID programs and Nigerian development framework.



6. To implement the political theories which have been learned during the undergraduate program in International Program of International Relations.
7. To fulfill the requirement to be a Bachelor of Social Politic Science.

#### **D. Theoretical Framework**

From the facts above, the writer would like to analyze the problem by using Cultural Imperialism Theory and Modernization Theory.

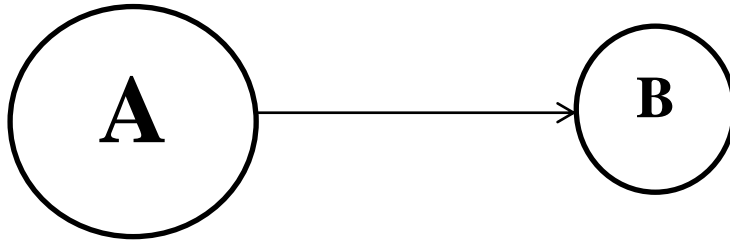
##### **1. Cultural Imperialism Theory**

The nature of state, at the end, will be based on the nature of power. That is, the state is looking for subjects involved in the power struggle that occur continuously to dominate one another. Morgenthau defines power as 'man's control over the minds and actions of other men' or ability to convince someone to behave in a certain way<sup>25</sup>. 'Power', according to Morgenthau can be analogically like the state A causing, or have the ability to cause, B to do or not do something that B will not to do. Terms of power here can be interchanged with terms such as the state A 'influence' or 'control' the mind of B to behave in.

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<sup>25</sup> Morgenthau, H. J. (2010). *Politik Antar Bangsa*. Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia, page 32-34.

Figure 1.1 – Power Relationship by Hans J. Morgenthau



Cultural imperialism is one of the most subtle forms of imperialism. According to Hans J. Morgenthau, in his book entitled *Politik Antar Bangsa*, the purpose of cultural imperialism does not mean to conquer or control of territory and economics life of the region, but to conquer and control the human mind as a tool for the relationship between the two regions or countries. The analogue as already described on his book is "a state no need to threat/use the military force or the use of economic pressure to achieve his goal".<sup>26</sup> With this, the attitude of the state B which is subject to the will of a nation will be realized by persuasion and influence by state A.

This argument is reinforced by Hans J. Morgenthau opinion that the impact of the end of the colonial empire to make a large number of countries become weak and many of them have to rely on outside assistance for post-war survival. Here then is the reason and the tool for developed countries to enter with interest to help countries in need of assistance through economic means and culture.<sup>27</sup>

## 2. Agency Theory

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<sup>26</sup> Morgenthau, H. J. (2010). *Politik Antar Bangsa*. Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia, page 79-80.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid*, page 82.

Agency theory is usually used in the economic aspects to understand the relationship between agents and principals. However, agency theory can also be used to analyze the relationship between policy makers, agents, and functions of the agency.<sup>28</sup>

In the perspective of political science, political scientists took the agency theory beyond the discussion in the economic aspect. The political system must be understood as a complex network of relationships principal-agent consisting of citizens, nation, elected officials, members of parliament, members of the executive, administrative agencies, courts, international organizations, ambassadors, bureaucrats, soldiers, police officers supervisors, employees civil, appointed patronage, and even those who monitor other institutions relations in political institutions. These actors have an important role in concurrent administration with their own functions which have been determined in accordance with the principal.<sup>29</sup>

There is no further reading about the government or state agency because agency theory mainly use for economist. But from the general explanation about agency in the political way, the writer conclude that government or state agency is an institution owned by the government or the state, namely in the government organization responsible for the supervision and certain administrative functions. There are different types of agencies with different types of functions. In addition

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<sup>28</sup> Slyke, D. M. (2007). Agents or Stewards: Using Theory to Understand the Government-Nonprofit Social Service Contracting Relationship. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 157.

<sup>29</sup> Shapiro, S. P. (2005). Agency Theory. 270-272.

to different functions, a government agency also usually built under a particular department or ministry. State agency established by the national government or the state government in a federal system.

### **3. Modernization Theory**

Modernization is a process that includes changes in all areas of human thought and activity. The principles of modernization are urbanization, industrialization, secularization, democratization, education, and participation of the media.<sup>30</sup>

In politics, according to Samuel P. Huntington, the characteristic of political development is the mobilization and participation. Huntington cites expression by Karl Deutsch involving social mobilization as "this complex of process of social change is significantly correlated with major changes in politics".<sup>31</sup> Improving literacy, urbanization, mass media, industrialization, and per capita income could increase the ability of the government to increase political participation. According to Huntington, "modernization means of mass mobilization, mass political mobilization. Increased participation means and it is a key element of political development".<sup>32</sup>

Changes that occur from traditional society into a modern society is marked by a society change from traditional values and attitudes adopted into

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<sup>30</sup> Huntington, S. P. (1968). *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

<sup>31</sup> Huntington, S. P. (1965). Political Development and Political Decay. In *World Politics* (pp. 386 - 430). Johns Hopkins University Press.

<sup>32</sup> *ibid*

values more modern. It is marked by the increasing number of people who can read, have less education, increased communication, wider space for mass media, and urbanization. In addition, economic development is basically having a relationship with political development. This is in accordance with what is described by Huntington above. This growth can be measured by income per capita GDP, level of industrialization, and the level of prosperity that can be seen through the increase in life expectancy, income, availability of hospitals and doctors.

Economic development will result in higher levels of education experienced by the community, as one indicator of economic development is education. When communities have sufficient education level, the awareness of individual rights will arise that demands things to be more independent, individualistic, rational, and tolerant. All of these things will change the political culture of the public to be more aware of their rights that democracy is a way out as it provides a pathway for people to express themselves.

Modernization as a complex, systemic, global, long, gradual, lead to homogenization, irreversible, and progressive processes change from traditional to modern society.<sup>33</sup> Modernization certainly includes democracy because it is an integral part of it which resulted in a rational and secular authority, specialization bureaucratic structures, and public participation in politics<sup>34</sup>. So, there is a

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<sup>33</sup> Huntington, S. P. (1971). *The Change to Change: Modernization, Development, and Politics*. In *Comparative Politics* (pp. 283 - 322). New York.

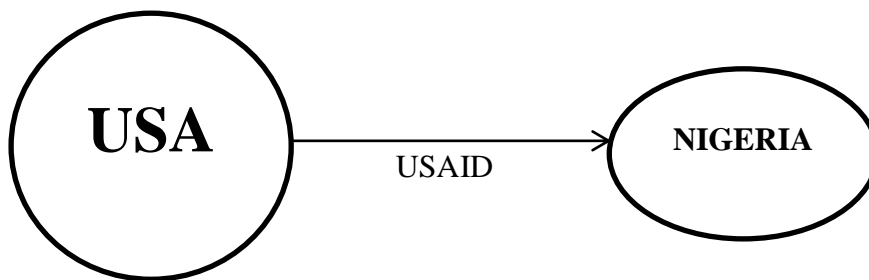
<sup>34</sup> *ibid*

relationship between modernization, economic growth, social changes, and democracy in the perspective of Huntington.

## **E. The Application of Theory**

### **1. Cultural Imperialism theory**

Figure 1.2 – The Application of the Power Relationship



The interpretation of the theory in the case of Nigeria is the US action (as the main actors) to approach Nigeria through USAID as aid agencies in development. Cultural approach in which the intent is to USAID programs that can overhaul the political system, economy, and thought that as expected by the USA in order to easily embed democratic values to economic opportunities by freeing the old values that do not support or the opposite with weak states (here is that Nigeria as a third world country).

A relation of power committed by the USA in question here is referring to the US who wants to maintain and establish the good relations with Nigeria to develop the concept of democracy in Nigeria. This is done because in fact it is more effective and profitable than war that does not support the capitalist economic activity. In this case, the USA through USAID as a tool can indirectly control the domestic situation of Nigeria.

## **2. Agency Theory**

Agency theory mostly explain about the relationship between the policy makers and agents. Government agencies in the United States getting the authority from Congress and the president of the United States to regulate aspects of the complex federal state. Government agencies in the United States usually apply to one independent agency of the US government. Heads of independent bodies to work together in groups, such as commissions or councils. Independent institutions often function as miniature versions of the federal government that have authority according to predetermined rules. Most federal agency created by Congress through legislation to determine the scope of authority of an institution. Most independent institutions that are technically part of the executive.

USAID is one of those independent agencies in United States that receives foreign policy guidance from United States Ministry of Foreign Affairs. USAID established by the President Kennedy in 1961 when he signed the Foreign Assistance Act into law and USAID finally formed by executive order. USAID become the main agent in United States to provide development assistance to developing countries. All of the activities, budgets and programs regulated under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 by Congress.

## **3. Modernization theory**

Modernization theory argues that political development depend on every single aspect in development, such as the increasing in economy aspect, participation of people, and education. In this case, USAID give such big money

to Nigeria for all of the aspect. The first is, to increase the participation of people in politics and to improve the economic growth, government needs to concern on the lack and problems that their people had. Nigerian is really poor in health and education. In 2004, the African Education Initiative developed the Ambassador's Girls Scholarship Program (AGSP) to enhance the quality of education in Africa by providing 12,000 scholarships, books, and mentoring programs in 13 states in Nigeria. To improve health which is become a major problem in the development in Nigeria, USAID provide routine immunization, preventing the transmission of HIV, providing medicines and health services for people living with HIV, and helping strengthen the Nigerian government in addressing these health problems by improving human resources, provide drug supplies and health tools, and infrastructure. In this program, USAID also works to raise awareness within the authority of state and local government, a community, and civil societies to improve access to health facilities and to provide services and medicines. Not only to improve the quality of people, but USAID also improve the economic growth of Nigerian with Agriculture Transformation Program (ATP) with the aim to strengthen the agricultural sector could provide an alternative to unreliable and unstable actions undertaken by the government in handling it and also other programs for trade barrier

Second, USAID also become the biggest bilateral funder to support the Nigerian democracy. Since 1998, the US government has provided more than \$ 74 million to strengthen democracy. Under USAID's transitional strategy, in 1999, they implemented activities in three main areas, namely conflict management,



democracy/governance, and energy. USAID also played important role behind the successful general election in 2007. In 2009, USAID spent \$ 17,552 million and increased in 2011 by \$ 32 million.

#### **F. Hypothesis**

Based on the issues and theories above, hypothesis can be raised that USAID become a tool from United States to influence the political system in Nigeria by means of:

- A. To give funding for the democracy and governance programs to improve the quality for both sectors, including a support to general elections and assistance to decrease the corruption in Nigerian government.
- B. To support the improvement of economic growth in Nigeria by improve the prosperity of people through health and education programs.

#### **G. Range of Research**

Range of this research is important for researcher to restrict the analysis and to facilitate data retrieval. In this study, the researcher will focus on the influence of USAID in the political development in Nigeria that has occurred since 1999 which is marked by the first direct elections in Nigeria until the latest election on 2011. The researcher would like to explain The Significance of USAID in Nigerian political development since that time.

## **H. Methods of Research**

The researcher will use the method of research in order to sustain and arrange the data. Therefore, the library research method will be used to explain the matters and verify the hypothesis based on empirical reality. By using qualitative research, the researcher will be supported by the secondary data.

The sources of information will be gained by collecting the references from books, magazines, newspaper, article, e-book, and journals. For additional information, various data from internet will also be used since some information and data dealing with the topic mentioned are only available through the internet media.

## **I. System of Writing**

This undergraduate thesis consists of five chapters and analysis in each chapter. All of the explanation will be elaborated systematically and chronologically into one research paper study.

On first chapter, the researcher would like to write about the introduction of study research, writing objective, background, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, writing purpose, range of research, methods of research and system of writing.

The second chapter will explain about the role and function of USAID for development. This chapter will describe the establishment of USAID, their development programs, and their role in Nigeria which facing the development.

The third chapter will contain the political development in Nigeria. On this chapter, the researcher will give a bit description about the political system in

Nigeria after the independence with focus on describing the portrait of Nigerian political development since the first general election in 1999 until the latest general election on 2011, also includes the activities undertaken by USAID to control the political system in Nigeria.

On the fourth chapter, the researcher will explain about how the USAID influencing the political development in Nigeria. This chapter will contain the ways of USAID for Nigerian development, such as improving the work of governmental system and improving the prosperity of the people by increasing education and health level to increase the participation.

The fifth chapter will consist of the entire conclusion from the previous discussion chapters as a closing chapter for this undergraduate thesis research.