

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF NIGERIA – INDONESIA: A STRATEGIC ANALYSIS OF SECULAR STATES.

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Abstract

Nigeria and Indonesia are similar in countless ways however Indonesia has long escaped from the stagnancy of underdevelopment and economic backwardness leaving Nigeria behind as she is still engulfed with challenges of ethno-religiosity bedeviling her economic development. The study contends that both Nigeria and Indonesia are secular states, yet ethno-religion has little or no impact on the economic policies and developmental strides in Indonesia, whereas, Nigeria is deeply rooted and influenced by ethnic and religious divides. The study adopts time-series or trend research design, via comparative approach, documentary method of data collection, qualitative method of data analysis. The study is anchored on structural-functionalism as the theoretical beacon of analysis. The study deciphered that ethnic-religiosity, corruption, and leadership ineptitude/failure are undoubtedly factors that have continually bedeviled the Nigerian body-politic, as these factors determine to a huge extent the kind of public policy and economic policy made in Nigeria, which constitutes her economic woes. The study recommends amongst others that the Nigerian government should borrow a leaf from Indonesia in formulating economic policies that can stand the test and taste of time, devoid of ethno-religiosity. More so, there is a need to rebuild nationalism and patriotism against ethnicity and religious differences.

Keywords: State, Secularism, Political Economy, Comparative Analysis, and Development.

Introduction

Nigeria and Indonesia are both oil-rich states, which share similarities in many respects. Both are located in a tropical area, have a very large and ethnically diverse population, experienced a long history of colonial rule, and are notorious for their high level of corruption. Both countries were ruled by military leaders from 1966 to 1998 (with two brief civilian administrations in Nigeria in

1979–1983 and 1993). Despite these similarities, they show a stark contrast in economic performance (Fuady, 2015).

Nigeria and Indonesia have a striking number of similarities. Although Indonesia is older than Nigeria, it got its independence in 1945 while Nigeria got hers in 1960. They are large, multi-ethnic, multilingual former European colonies. Both had varied economies disproportionately supported on oil exports for government revenue and roughly equal per capita incomes in 1970. Both had spiteful civil wars in the 1960s, followed by dictatorial military leaders and rampant corruption and cronyism, and both made precarious transitions to democracy in the late 1990s. Both have large Muslim concentrations, but have dissimilarity in the spread of Christians, as Christians in Indonesia are few while Christians in Nigeria are slightly more than the Muslims. Yet over the past four decades, they have had radically different economic outcomes. Nigeria has hardly grown at all in terms of output per capita and has had a rapid rise in population. Indonesia, in contrast, has experienced a threefold increase in output per capita and has had a significant but slowing rise in population. The consumer price level has risen by over 300 percent in Indonesia; in Nigeria, it has risen by over ten times that (Lewis, and Arbor, (2007).

In the wake of independence, in the 1960s, Nigeria was full of optimism about the future of the economy. However, like a tragedy, up to the end of the 1990s, the economy grew very slow and often grew at a negative rate, while two-thirds of the population lived below the poverty line and inequality increased considerably. By contrast, after years of pessimism and chaos in the early 1960s, like a miracle, Indonesia's economy grew continuously at an average annual rate of 7 percent and experienced rapid poverty reduction. The industrialization has been regarded as a major factor contributing to divergent economic developments in Asia and Africa. This has also been a feature of Indonesia–Nigeria comparisons since the 1980s (Anyanwu, Oyefusi, Oaikhenan, and Dimowo, 1997). Yet Nigeria has remained a consuming rather than a productive economy with many citizens below the poverty line.

Nigeria and Indonesia are large, populous developing countries in which an initially agricultural economy was transformed by the discovery of oil. Following the oil windfalls, economic performance diverged dramatically. Living standards in Indonesia grew rapidly-by 8 percent a

year-whereas Nigeria experienced an absolute decline in standards. By the late 1980s, on a purchasing power parity basis, per capita, gross national product (GNP) in Indonesia was double that in Nigeria. Furthermore, by that time Indonesia was much the more equitable society: the expenditure share of the poorest 40 percent of the population was around 21 percent compared with an expenditure share of only 15 percent in Nigeria. This difference in the share of the poor was accounted for by an offsetting difference in that of the richest 20 percent of the population. Thus, only Indonesia succeeded in achieving growth with equity during the oil windfall (Bevan, Collier, Willem, 1999).

Potentially, policy divergences of the duo countries might reflect either deep-rooted differences in the structure of interest groups or the coincidence of events. For example, concerning events, in 1966 Indonesia experienced a traumatic episode of hyperinflation that has influenced policy priorities ever since. Concerning the structure of interest groups, we argue that a major influence in Nigeria has been that the politically dominant North (Muslims) has feared that economic liberalization would threaten its position vis-à-vis the South (Christians) (Bevan, Collier, and Willem, 1999). Even in this present administration policy implementations are bent for unbalanced regional interests.

These countries are similar in so many areas: both are big, populous countries; both have a large Muslim and a large Christian population; both have a history of a military government; both are oil producers and both are perceived as problematic concerning good and bad governance. Indonesia is at place 143 and Nigeria at 147 in the Corruption Perception Index of Transparency International. Economic Performance - shows: Indonesia's economy grew much faster than Nigeria's. In 1965 Indonesia's per capita GDP was lower than Nigeria's, whereas in 2000 Indonesia's per capita GDP was five times as high as Nigeria's. Indonesia's exports had diversified to a large degree from oil, whereas Nigeria was extremely dependent upon oil for export revenue. Similar comparisons are made for many variables, including many social indicators that show particularly shocking comparisons for the health situation. This chapter deserves to figure prominently in reading lists for development studies courses, albeit that this chapter does not take a particularly prominent place in the structure of the argument (Lewis, and Arbor, (2007). The

questions posed here are: Why the striking difference in national and economic development? In trying to address this question, the study sets out to compare the duo states vis-à-vis their secular state structure/system.

2. Conceptual Review

The Concept of Secular State

The concept of a secular state pertains to the idea of secularism, whereby a state is or aims to be formally neutral in matters of religion, supporting neither religion nor irreligion (Medeley and Zsolt, 2003). A secular state also claims to treat all its citizens equally regardless of religion and claims to avoid discriminatory treatment for a citizen from a particular religion/non-religion over other religions/non-religion. Secular states do not have a state religion (established religion) or equivalent, although the absence of a state religion does not necessarily mean that a state is fully secular; however, a truly secular state should steadfastly maintain national governance without influence from religious factions and vice versa; i.e. Separation of church and state (Jean, 2008).

Secular states become secular either upon the creation of the state (e.g. the United States of America) or upon secularization of the state (e.g. France or Nepal). Movements for laicity in France and the separation of church and state in the United States defined modern concepts of secularism. Historically, the process of secularizing states typically involves granting religious freedom, disestablishing state religions, stopping public funds being used for religion, freeing the legal system from religious control, freeing up the education system, tolerating citizens who change religion or abstain from religion, and allowing political leaders to come to power regardless of their religious beliefs (Richard, 1986).

Not all legally secular states are completely secular in practice. In France and Spain for example, many Christian holy days are official holidays for the public administration, and teachers in Catholic schools are salaried by the state. In some European states where secularism confronts mono-culturist philanthropy, some of the main Christian sects and sects of other religions depend on the state for some of the financial resources for their religious charities. Specifically, funding certain services would not accord with non-discriminatory state action. Many states that are

nowadays secular in practice may have legal vestiges of an earlier established religion. Secularism also has various guises which may coincide with some degree of official religiosity (Twinch, 2009).

In the United Kingdom, the head of state is still required to take the Coronation Oath enacted in 1688, swearing to maintain the Protestant reformed religion and to preserve the established Church of England. The UK also maintains seats in the House of Lords for 26 senior clergymen of the Church of England, known as the Lords Spiritual. The reverse progression can also occur: a state can go from a secular state to a religious state, as in the case of Iran where the secularized state of the Pahlavi dynasty was replaced by an Islamic Republic (list below). However, over the last 250 years, there has been a trend towards secularism (Jean, 2008; Twinch, 2009).

The Concept of Political Economy

Etymologically, the term political economy is a combination of ‘political’ which means in the Greek word polity, and ‘economy’ meaning ‘okonomie’ in Greek or ‘household management. Hence, political economy is the study of production and trade and their relations with law, custom, and government as well as with the distribution of national income and wealth. Political economy as a discipline originated in moral philosophy in the 18th century and sought to explore the administration of states’ wealth (Shubik, 1981). The earliest works of political economy are most often attributed to British scholars like Adam Smith, Thomas Malthus, and David Ricardo, although the case is sometimes made that the earlier works of the French physiocrats constitute the true beginnings of the discipline and practice (Gilpin, 2001).

Political economy was thus meant to express the laws of production of wealth at the state level, just as economics was the ordering of the home. In its contemporary meaning, political economy refers to different yet related approaches to studying economic and related behaviors, ranging from the combination of politics, economics, sociology, and other related fields to the use of different, fundamental assumptions that challenge earlier economic assumptions. Political economy most commonly refers to interdisciplinary studies drawing upon economics, sociology, and political science in explaining how political institutions, the political environment, and the economic

system such as capitalist, socialist, communist, or mixed, influence each other (Alesina, 2007). Existing studies classified political economy in three sub-areas as captured by Lohmann 2008; and Bandt (2008):

(1) the role of government and/or class and power relationships in resource allocation for each type of economic system; (2) international political economy, which studies the economic impacts of international relations; and (3) economic models of political or exploitative class processes.

All the conceptualizations on political economy by scholars have harped on the issues bordering on states' economic growth and development as directed by politics and policymakers. Be that as it may, political economy is simply the interplay between politics and economy and how this interplay can foster national development.

3. Theoretical Underpinnings

This study adopted the structural-functional framework which is a focal theory of the background or General System theory of political analysis as propounded by Almond and Coleman (1960) and Almond and Powell (1966). The theory has its origin from sociology and originating mainly in the writings of anthropologists like August Comte, Herbert Spencer, Malinowski, and Radeliffe-Brown, and adopted in political science, especially in comparative politics by Gabriel Almond. Other prominent proponents of the theory are Parsons (1937, 1961); Merton (1957); Davis (1959); Evans-Pritchard (1940); Meyer Fortes (1945); etc. Structural functional analysis is concerned with the phenomenon of system maintenance and regulation. The basic theoretical proposition of this approach is that all systems exist to perform functions through their structures.

The Structural-Functional analysis has first experimented in the biological and mechanical sciences as part of system analysis. According to Varma (cited in Okolie, 2003), structural-functionalism revolves around two main concepts namely; functions and structures based on which Varma raised three basic questions – (1) What basic functions are fulfilled in any given political system? (2) By what structures? (3) Under what conditions? He stresses that while functions deal with the consequences (i.e. involving objectives as well as processes) of patterns of actions, structures refer to arrangements within the systems, which perform the functions.

The fundamental Assumptions of the Theory

According to Verma, quoted in Omodia (2007), the basic assumptions of the structural-functional derivative of the systems approach are:

- 1) That the society is a single inter-connected system in which each of its elements performs a specific function and whose basic goal is the maintenance of the systemic equilibrium;
- 2) That the society, being a system as a whole, consists of its numerous parts which are inter-related;
- 3) That the dominant tendency of the social system is towards stability which is maintained by its in-built mechanism;
- 4) That the system's ability to resolve internal conflicts is usually an admitted fact;
- 5) That Changes in the system are natural, but they are neither sudden nor revolutionary but are always gradual and adaptive as well as adjustive;
- 6) That the system has its structure, with its aims, principles, and functions.

The structural-functional derivative speaks of the political system as composed of several structures as patterns of action and resultant institutions with their assigned functions. A function, in this context, means, what Plato (quoted by Almond, & Powell, 1966) says, 'some purpose served for the maintenance or perpetuation of the system', and a structure could be related to any set of related roles, including such concrete organizational structures that of the nation-states. Structural functionalism helps in the identification of a set of requirements or at least recurring functions in the kind of system under investigation. This is coupled with an attempt to determine the kinds of structures and their interrelations through which those functions are performed.

According to Almond and Powell (1966),

...the functioning of any political system may also be viewed in terms of its capabilities, which is the way it performs as a unit in its environment. The concepts of regulative, extractive, distributive, symbolic, and responsive capabilities are employed as criteria to assess how a system is performing within its environment, how it is shaping its environment, and how it is being shaped by the environment as well.

The theory stresses that all systems have structures that can be identified, and those structures perform a specific set of tasks if they are to remain in existence and maintain their relevance to the system. Political systems are compared in terms of how structures perform the expected functions

in society. Structural-functionalism is anchored on two basic concepts: structures and functions. While structures are arranged within the system which performs the functions which could either be diffused or diffracted, functions are the objective consequences emanating from the workings of the system or what the system does (Omodia, 2007). All political systems are therefore perceived to perform two basic functions –input and output functions. Input functions are political socialization, recruitment, interest articulation; interest aggregation; and political communication. While the output functions are rulemaking, rule application, and rule adjudication. The structural-functional analysis will enable us to establish the relevance of the structures created by the government to help maintain order in the whole system.

Structural-Functionalism as a theoretical framework is intended to explain the basis for the maintenance of order and stability in society and the relevant arrangement within the society, which maintain the social order and stability. It is also used to establish the fundamental framework for comparative analysis between entities. In our formation of a structural-functional framework, social processes and social mechanisms are the intervening variables. A complete description of a social system would include, therefore, treatment of the social structures, and various functions of these structures; and of the social processes and mechanisms that must be in operation if the structures are to satisfy certain functions (Almond & Powell, 1966). According to Almond & Powell, (1966) structural-functional analysis:

“...is a distinguishable approach primarily because of the selective aspects of social reality that it seeks to describe largely in terms of structures, processes, mechanisms, and functions, these four concepts are of particular importance to the laws and theories that are developed” (Almond & Powell, 1966, p. 112).

Applicability of the Theory on the Study

The theory is apt to this study because it explicitly defines the functionalities inherent in both Nigerian and Indonesian democratic institutions or states’ structures, and compares the economic/national development amidst religiosity and/or secularism between the duo states. The state structures or institutions can be referred to as a system or complex-whole with various functions. These systems include governmental cum political systems; economic systems; socio-cultural systems, ethnic and religious practices, etc. Analytically, the theory will help bring to the

fore the place of secularism and religion in national development between the two states under interrogation wearing the lenses of the theory vis-à-vis the functionality and viability of the two economies.

4. Analytical Discourses

The Nigerian State

Nigeria, is a federal republic in West Africa, with Abuja as the capital city, and got its independence in 1960, bordering Benin in the west, Chad and Cameroon in the east, and Niger in the north. Its coast in the south lies on the Gulf of Guinea in the Atlantic Ocean. It comprises 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory, where the capital, Abuja is located. Nigeria is officially a democratic secular country. Nigeria has been home to many kingdoms and tribal states over the millennia. Nigeria has 36 states and a federal capital territory, divided into 774 local government areas. There are over 250 ethnic groups in Nigeria, with Hausa/Fulani, Yoruba, and Igbo as the major ethnic nationalities. Some minor ethnic groups include Tiv, Efik, Urhobo, Idoma, Ijaw, Jukun, etc. (Falola and Paddock, 2012).

The modern state originated from British colonial rule which began in 1900 when the British government got full occupation of the entity now called Nigeria. Its present territorial shape was achieved after the merging of the Southern Protectorate and Northern Protectorate in 1914 to form one large political entity later christened 'Nigeria'. The British set up administrative and legal structures whilst practicing indirect rule through traditional chiefdoms. Nigeria became a formally independent federation in 1960. It experienced a civil war from 1967 to 1970. It thereafter alternated between democratically-elected civilian governments and military dictatorships until it achieved a stable democracy in 1999, with the 2011 presidential election considered the first to be reasonably free and fair (MacGreal, 2009; Lancia, 2012).

Nigeria is often referred to as the 'Giant of Africa', because of its large population and economy. With approximately 186 million inhabitants, Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa and the seventh most populous country in the world. Nigeria has the third-largest youth population in the world, after India and China, with more than 90 million of its population under age 18. The

country is viewed as a multinational state as it is inhabited by over 500 ethnic groups, of which the three largest are the Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba; these ethnic groups speak over 500 different languages and are identified with a wide variety of cultures. The official language is English. Nigeria is divided roughly in half between Christians, who live mostly in the southern part of the country, and Muslims, who live mostly in the north. A minority was of the population practice religions indigenous to Nigeria, such as those native to the Igbo and Yoruba ethnicities (Rashid, 2003; McGreal, 2007).

Table 1: Religion in Nigeria

S/N	Religion	Key	Percentage
1.	Christianity		58%
2.	Islam		41%
3.	Traditional Religion		0.5%
4.	Other		0.5%
Total			100%

Source: Dominique, (2013). Afrobarometer. Modified and tabulated by the Author.

Nigeria is a religiously diverse society, with Christianity and Islam being the most widely professed religions, thus there is no official or state religion. Nigerians are nearly equally divided into Christians and Muslims, with a tiny minority of adherents of Animism and other religions. Even though different surveys have been conducted and reported over time on the populations of religions in Nigeria, the population of these surveys has always tilted in favor of Christianity. In the table above, one can decipher that Christians in Nigeria being 58% are more than Muslims who are 41%, whereas other religions constitute 1%.

Islam dominated the north and has many supporters in the South Western, Yoruba part of the country. Nigeria has the largest Muslim population in sub-Saharan Africa. Protestantism and local syncretic Christianity are also in evidence in Yoruba areas, while Roman Catholicism is more prominent in south-eastern Nigeria. Both Protestantism and Roman Catholicism dominated the Ibibio, Urhobo, Annang, Efik kiosa lands, etc. (Dominique, 2013). Hence, the North (Hausa/Fulani, etc.) are predominantly Muslims, the West (relative few Yoruba) are also Muslims.

The rest of the South and most of the Middle Belt are all adherents of the Christian faith. These ethno religious configurations also polarise and influence politics and policy outcomes in Nigeria.

The Indonesian State

Indonesia is formally called the Republic of Indonesia; the capital city is Jakarta and got its independence in 1945. Indonesia is a unitary sovereign state and transcontinental country located mainly in Southeast Asia, with some territories in Oceania. Situated between the Indian and Pacific oceans, it is the world's largest island country, with more than thirteen thousand islands (Yang, 2005). Indonesia has 1,904,569 square kilometres, (735,358 square miles), making it the world's 14th largest country in terms of land area and the 7th largest in terms of combined sea and land area (Burhanudin, and Van, 2013). According to Allard and Damiana (2017),

...with over 261 million people, it is the world's 4th most populous country as well as the most populous Austronesian and Muslim-majority country. Java, the world's most populous island, contains more than half of the country's population. There exists over 300 ethnic groups in Indonesia including Batak, Minangkabau, Krui, and Pelalawan-Petalangan. Based on ethnic group, the largest ethnic group in Indonesia is the Javanese who make up about 40% of the total population.

Indonesia's republican form of government includes an elected parliament and president. Indonesia has 34 provinces, of which five have Special status. Its capital is Jakarta, which is the second-most populous urban area in the world. The country shares land borders with Papua New Guinea, East Timor, and the eastern part of Malaysia. Other neighboring countries include Singapore, Vietnam, the Philippines, Australia, Palau, and India's Andaman and Nicobar Islands. Despite its large population and densely populated regions, Indonesia has vast areas of wilderness that support the world's third-highest level of biodiversity (Van, 2002; Butler, 2016). The country has abundant natural resources like oil and natural gas, tin, copper, and gold. Agriculture mainly produces rice, palm oil, tea, coffee, cacao, medicinal plants, spices, and rubber (Yang, 2005). Indonesia's major trading partners are Japan, the United States, China, and neighbors Singapore, Malaysia, and Australia (Butler, 2016).

The Indonesian archipelago has been an important region for trade since at least the 7th century when Srivijaya and then later Majapahit traded with Chinese dynasties and Indian kingdoms. Local

rulers gradually absorbed foreign cultural, religious, and political models from the early centuries CE, and Hindu and Buddhist kingdoms flourished (Amerl, 2006). According to Burhanudin, and Van, (2013):

Indonesian history has been influenced by foreign powers drawn to its natural resources. Muslim traders and Sufi scholars brought the now-dominant Islam, while European powers brought Christianity and fought one another to monopolize trade in the Spice Islands of Maluku during the Age of Discovery. Following three and a half centuries of Dutch colonialism starting from Amboina and Batavia, and eventually of the archipelago including Timor and Western New Guinea, at times, interrupted by Portuguese, French, and British rule, Indonesia secured its independence after World War II

Indonesia has 34 provinces divided into 494 regencies and runs Nigeria’s kind of local government administration. Indonesia consists of hundreds of distinct native ethnic and linguistic groups, with the largest and politically dominant ethnic group being the Javanese. A shared identity has developed, defined by a national language, ethnic diversity, religious pluralism within a Muslim-majority population, and a history of colonialism and rebellion against it. Indonesia’s national motto, ‘Bhinneka Tunggal Ika’ (‘Unity in Diversity’ literally, ‘many, yet one’), articulates the diversity that shapes the country. Indonesia’s economy is the world's 16th largest by nominal GDP and the 7th largest by GDP (Van, 2002; Butler, 2016).

Table 2: Religion in Indonesia

S/N	Religion	Key	Percentage
1.	Islam		87.2%
2.	Protestantism		7.03%
3.	Roman Catholicism		2.9%
4.	Hinduism		1.6%
5.	Buddhism		0.72%
6.	Confucianism		0.05%
7.	Other		0.5%
	Total		100%

Source: Indonesian Population Census, (2010); modified and tabulated by the author.

In Indonesia, there exists religious freedom as stipulated and/or enshrined in the constitution, the government officially recognizes only six religions, viz.: Islam, Protestantism, Roman Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism; although indigenous faiths are also

recognized (Amerl, 2006). Indonesia is the world's most populous Muslim-majority country with 227 million adherents in 2017, with the majority being Sunnis (99%) (Allard and Damiana, 2017). The Shias and Ahmadis respectively constitute 0.5% and 0.2% of the Muslim population. Christians made up almost 10% of the population (7.03% Protestant, 2.9% Roman Catholic), 1.7% were Hindu, and 0.9% were Buddhist or other. Most Indonesian Hindus are Balinese, and most Buddhists in the country are ethnic Chinese.

The Development Comparative of the Duo States

Nigeria and Indonesia have a remarkable number of similarities. They are large, multi-ethnic, multilingual former European colonies. Both had diversified economies disproportionately dependent on oil exports for government revenue and roughly equal per capita incomes in 1970. Both have a Muslim majority with significant non-Muslim minorities. Both had vicious civil wars in the 1960s, followed by authoritarian military leaders and abundant corruption and cronyism, and both made shaky transitions to democracy in the late 1990s. Yet over the past four decades, they have had radically different economic outcomes (Lewis, and Arbor, 2007).

Nigeria – Indonesia Economic Relations

The diplomatic ties between the Federal Republic of Nigeria and the Republic of Indonesia could be traced to 1965 when Indonesia opened its resident diplomatic mission in Lagos. Similarly, in 1976 Nigeria reciprocated by opening its mission in Jakarta (Egbule, 2017). Nigeria was the first Sub-Saharan African country that established a diplomatic mission in Indonesia. Nigeria is Indonesia's second-largest trade partner in Africa after South Africa in 2011 the trade value reached US\$2.09 billion accounted for 21.66 percent of Indonesia's total trade with Africa. In 2013, the bilateral trade volume between the countries hits \$2.2 billion. There are over 15 Indonesian companies currently operating in Nigeria such as Indorama, Indofood, Kalbe Farma, and Sayap Mas Utama. Indofood for example had established an instant noodle factory in Nigeria in 1995 where Indomie has become a popular brand and has the largest instant noodles manufacturing plant in Africa. The two countries also had plans of a US\$2.5 billion gas methanol

and fertilizer plant in Nigeria with Pertamina of Indonesia and NNPC of Nigeria in collaboration with Eurochem Indonesia and Viva Methanol of Nigeria (Anozie, 2013).

Secularism in Indonesia and Economic/National Development

It is a fact that Indonesia is a multi-nation state with myriads of pluralities in the state's structure and other natural configurations. Be that as it may, Indonesia has thrived over the decades in building a virile economy and maintaining the public policy of secularism against all odds. This is not unconnected to the fact that both the leaders and the led from all shades and backgrounds have come to terms with their diversity and uniqueness, hence forging a common front through the phrase 'unity in diversity, devoid of extreme fanatics, bigotry, parochialism, ethnicity/ethnocentrism, and religiosity.

Indonesia, which has not always been a model of good governance either, has fared much better. GDP per head rose from under \$200 in 1974 to over \$1,000 in 1996 and 1997. A currency crash brought it tumbling down to below \$500 in 1998, but it bounced back to an estimated \$700 in 2000. Indonesia's cake not only grew fast; it was also, despite the depredations of the Suharto family, more fairly sliced than Nigeria's shrinking one. In the mid-1990s, the poorest fifth of Indonesia's people accounted for 8% of national income, compared with about 4% for the bottom fifth in Nigeria. By 1997, according to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Nigerians were more than twice as likely as Indonesians to be illiterate or to die before the age of 40, and seven times as likely to lack access to basic health care (Sudirman, 2012).

It is a truism that Indonesia knows how to cut its coat according to its cloth. Despite its size and population, it has a unicameral legislature, the Indonesian House of Representatives. This helps them to reduce the cost of governance. Nigeria, on the other hand, has two houses, viz.: Senate and the House of Representatives. Nigeria was just copying the United States of America model without looking at the cost of such bureaucracy. Perhaps there is a lesson to learn there. Today, Indonesia can boast of multi-billion-dollar companies, including Indorama Corporation, Jardine/Astra International, Salim Group, Sinar Mas Group, Wilmer International, Djarum Group,

Phillip Morris International, Bakrie Group, Lippo Group, Uniliver, and many more which are making billion-dollar revenues and swelling the country's economy (Sudirman, 2012).

Secularism in Nigeria and Economic/National Development

In 2015 Nigeria was ranked 21st in the world in terms of GDP (PPP). Nigeria is the United States' largest trading partner in sub-Saharan Africa and supplies a fifth of its oil (11% of oil imports). It has the seventh-largest trade surplus with the US of any country worldwide. Nigeria is the 50th-largest export market for US goods and the 14th-largest exporter of goods to the US. The United States is the country's largest foreign investor. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) projected economic growth of 9% in 2008 and 8.3% in 2009. The IMF further projects an 8% growth in the Nigerian economy in 2011 (Egbule, 2017).

Citigroup projected in February 2011 that Nigeria would have the highest average GDP growth in the world in 2010–2050. Nigeria is one of two countries from Africa among 11 Global Growth Generators countries. Previously, economic development had been hindered by years of military rule, corruption, and mismanagement. The restoration of democracy and subsequent economic reform has successfully put Nigeria back on track towards achieving its full economic potential (Lancia, 2012). As of 2014, it is the largest economy in Africa, having overtaken South Africa.

Despite all these outstanding and 'too-good-to-believe progressive records', Nigerian citizens have not felt the impact of the development, as the economy has continued to plunge and nose-dive to the ebb. Poverty is on the increase, unemployment is on the rise as millions of jobs are lost, thousands of graduates leave school without employment or capital base to start their lives, which has also increased social restiveness, the violence of all sorts, armed robbery, kidnapping, agitations and large scale terrorism in all parts of the country.

According to Egbule (2017)

In Nigeria, employment and job creation are mere statistical expressions. In Indonesia, job creation is empirical, you can count it. You can name the companies and the number of persons working in them. In Nigeria, when you look back at Apapa Industrial area, Ikeja industrial area, Ilupeju industrial area, Kirikiri industrial area, Ogba industrial area, all in Lagos, almost all the companies there have closed down

and sent all their employees into the labor market. When you also look at the Trans-Amadi industrial area in Port Harcourt; all the companies have closed down. I look at the many industrial areas in Kano, Kaduna, Maiduguri, Jos, and Sokoto, most of the companies there have closed down. It is the same with companies in Onitsha, Aba, Enugu and Nnewi. Years ago, Nigeria threw its doors wide open for all manner of imports (Egbule, 2017).

As usual, Nigeria copied the concept of trade liberalization and global competitiveness from the West without any policy to protect local industries and/or homegrown economies. Nigerian industries could not cope, and all died of economic suffocation. The lesson the world has learned from the so-called “Asian tigers”, including China, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, etc. is that countries grow economically by protecting their local industries and strengthening their manufacturing sector. Since Nigeria’s independence till date, both military and civilian regimes have registered to the fore one national economic/development plan or the other, yet none of these policy plans has been successfully implemented to achieve the grandiose essence for its establishment (Egbule, 2017).

According to Sudirman (2012)

Nigeria has hardly grown at all in terms of output per capita and has had a rapid rise in population. Indonesia, in contrast, has experienced a threefold increase in output per capita and has had a significant but slowing rise in population. The consumer price level has risen by over 300 percent in Indonesia; in Nigeria, it has risen by over ten times that (Sudirman, 2012).

The chagrin question is: what could account for such disparities in development between Nigeria and Indonesia amidst the similarities in their states’ structures? In trying to answer this question, we posit that ethno-religiosity, corruption, and leadership ineptitude/failure are undoubtedly factors that have continually bedeviled the Nigerian body-politic, as these factors determine to a huge extent the kind of public policy and economic policy made in Nigeria. Hence, if the economy is bad in Indonesia; that means it is much worse in Nigeria.

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

As established above, Nigeria and Indonesia are two countries that are similar to a large extent, save for the progressive economic turnaround of the latter. Both are huge, populous (Indonesia has

200m people; Nigeria perhaps 100m), and ethnically diverse. Both countries have suffered military rule and, had times, terrible violence. The duo had their independence, in 1945 (Indonesia) and 1960 (Nigeria); both Indonesia and Nigeria were extremely poor; most of their people were subsistence farmers. But then both struck oil, and after the sudden quadrupling of the oil price in 1973-74 both were deluged with floods of petrodollars. Albeit, it became the greatest undoing for Nigeria as she could not manage her crude payoffs and surpluses. Indonesia thrived progressively amidst all odds in developing all sectors of her economy especially, her agriculture, foreign trade/investment, and technology.

According to Sudirman (2012), Nigeria has received some \$280 billion in oil revenues since the early 1970s. Through foolish investments, graft, and simple theft, this vast fortune has been wholly squandered. Because successive Nigerian governments borrowed billions against future oil revenues and wasted that money too, it is fair to say that Nigeria blew more than its entire oil windfall. Nigerians are, on average, poorer today than they were in 1974, despite the availability of oil booms in the oil price, and the country is saddled with debts of about \$30 billion. The income per head in 1998 was a wretched \$345, less than a third its level at the height of the boom in 1980.

Both countries have myriads of internal or domestic structures like ethno religious structure and the like, yet the Nigerian state is highly bedeviled with corruption roped around religion and ethnicity, nepotism, cronyism, bigotry, and leadership ineptitude. All these constitute the kind of economic policies that have continually kept Nigeria in a perpetual state of underdevelopment since her independence. Meanwhile, the Indonesian state with a virtually similar internal state structure has been able to escape the doldrums of underdevelopment, eschewing the ethno religious cum political hara-kiri faced in Nigeria.

The study recommends thus:

1. Nationalism and patriotism are key factors that have been relegated to the irrational. For example, state efforts to establish an industrial base in Nigeria get short shrift by contending and varied sub-national interests. Hence, no level of development can be achieved when there is no sense of belonging and ownership amongst the people groupings,

as national development is short-lived and short-changed by sub-national development. Thus, there is a need to rebuild nationalism and patriotism against ethnicity and religious differences.

2. The comparison of Indonesia and Nigeria highlights the importance of developmental leadership in shifting the equilibrium of developing economies towards productive accumulation. Thus, leadership issues in Nigeria should be squarely addressed by allowing and appointing the best brains to run both the state and the economy.
3. It was deciphered that Indonesia's exports were diversified to a large degree from oil, whereas Nigeria was extremely dependent upon oil for export revenue. Hence, Nigeria should invigorate, revamp its economy to include all sectors other than the petroleum sector.
4. Often Nigeria's economic problems are blamed on policy inconsistency as a result of elite fragmentation, on the issue of economic nationalism. Thus, borrowing a leaf from Indonesia, the Nigerian government should formulate economic policies that can stand the test and taste of time, devoid of ethno-religiosity.
5. Developing a home-grown economy requires technological development and advancement. The Nigerian state should develop its economy bearing in the place of technological ideologization (i.e. accepting the place of technology in national development as opposed to sociology, economics, and political science and/or social sciences).

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