



Centre for Democracy & Development

Centre pour la démocratie et le développement



BUHARIMETER

2019 SURVEY REPORT

SUPPORTED BY



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Buharimeter Survey Report [June 2019]

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Centre for Democracy and Development
16 A7 Street, CITEC Estate
Jabi / Airport Road, Abuja, Nigeria

Email: cddabv@CDDwestafrica.org

www.cddwestafrica.org

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ABOUT CDD

The Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD) was established in the United Kingdom in 1997 as an independent, not-for-profit, research, training, advocacy and capacity building organization.

The purpose was to mobilise global opinion and resources for democratic development and provide an independent space to reflect critically on the challenges posed to the democratisation and development processes in West Africa.

CDD set out to generate dialogue on alternative pathways that are universally relevant and context sensitive. CDD activities have since grown not only in Nigeria, but in the entire West Africa sub-region and the rest of the continent.

The Centre remains focused on capacity building work, policy advocacy, and as a research reference point on democratic governance, human security, people-centred development and human rights.

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Lastly, this report would not have been possible without the generous support of the Open Society Initiative for West Africa (OSIWA) and the UK Department for International Development (DFID), Nigeria.

Signed

Idayat Hassan
Director
Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD)

About BUHARIMETER



Buharimeter (www.buharimeter.ng) is an independent monitoring tool that enables Nigerians, scholars and political analysts around the globe to elevate the implementation of the campaign promises of President Muhammadu Buhari and his party, the All Progressives Congress (APC), made in the prelude to the 2015 and 2019 General Elections. Like other election pledge monitoring initiatives around the globe (such as Obameter, Mackymeter and Morsimeter), Buharimeter evolved out of the concern to address the challenges of governance, civic participation and effective service delivery in Nigeria. Its central focus is to bridge the existing gap between the government and the governed, thereby facilitating a process through which democratic accountability becomes a norm. Following the conclusion of the 2019 General Elections, the 2019 Buharimeter report focused on 3 thematic areas: (1) Reflections on the recently conducted General Elections, (2) Most important policy priorities the citizens want the government to address over the next four years; and (3) Strategies to addressing the lingering challenges facing the country.

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Acronyms & Abbreviations



API	Africa Polling Institute
CAMA	Companies and Allied Matters Act
CDD	Centre for Democracy and Development
ERGP	Economic Recovery and Growth Plan
FCT	Federal Capital Territory
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
INEC	Independent National Electoral Commission
MDA	Ministries, Department and Agencies
NBS	National Bureau of Statistics
NSIP	National Social Investment Programme
PEBEC	Presidential Enabling Business Environment Council
SME	Small and Medium-Sized Enterprise



Executive Summary



Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD) commissioned Africa Polling Institute (API) to conduct the 2019 Buharimeter National Survey to elicit the views of Nigerians on three key areas. These are: reflections on the recently concluded General Elections; policy priorities of Government; and strategies to address lingering challenges facing the country, over the next four years. This research is a crucial part of efforts to deepen citizen engagement and enhance voice and accountability in the democratic government of Nigeria and its policy process.

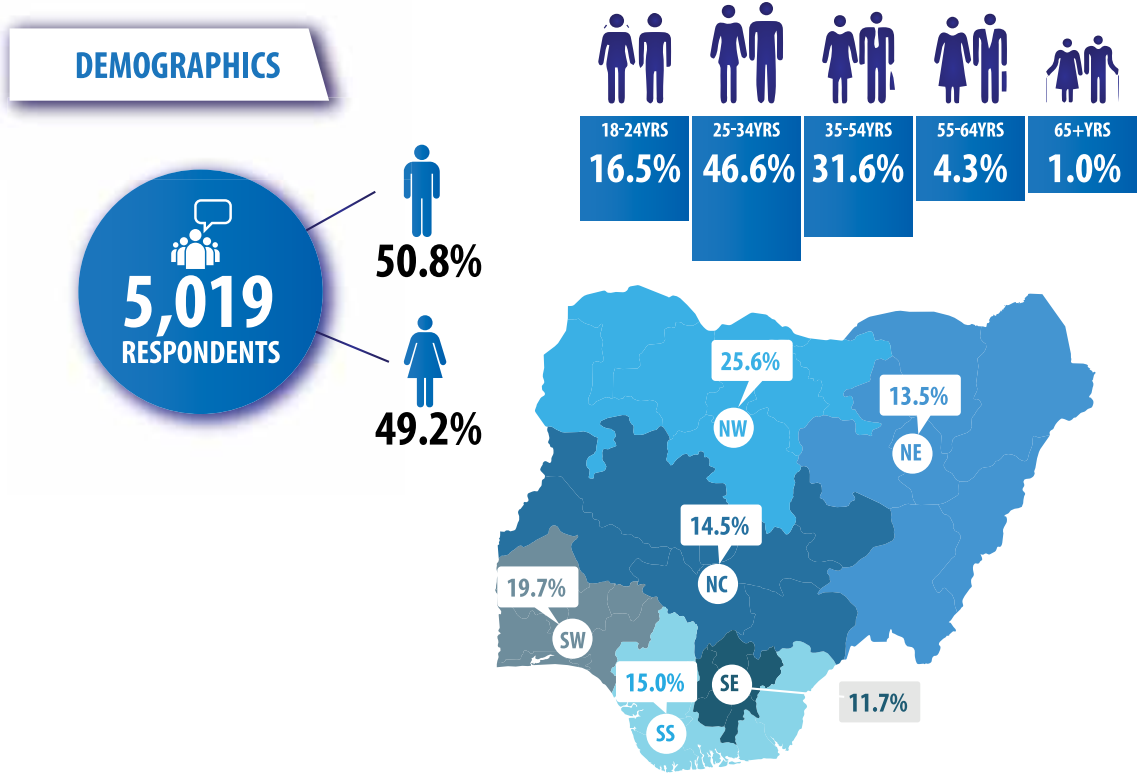
Methodology

A Nationwide Citizens Survey was conducted between 24th April and 20th May 2019. We elicited views of Nigerians across the country on the recently concluded General Elections and Policy directions of the Buhari Administration over the next four years. A mix of quantitative and qualitative approaches was adopted for the study. The quantitative component involved face-to-face interviews of target respondents aged 18 and above. Stratified Random Sampling¹ was used to representatively select citizens in all 36 states of the nation and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT).

A total of 5,019 individuals were interviewed and included in the survey. The survey instrument contained two parts. In the first part, respondents were provided with categories that collectively reflect the universe of the set of possible opinions on the respective subject from which to select a response. The second part contained open-ended questions that allow the respondents to freely share their thoughts. In the open-ended segment, respondents to the survey were asked to share their opinions on what the administration can do to address specific challenges.

The analysis involved tabulation of responses into frequency tables and generating frequency charts from the summaries. The open-ended responses were first coded, analysed and summarized into optimal categories before generating frequency tables and charts. In addition, the qualitative component involved key-informant interviews with policy experts, who were asked to weigh in on two specific challenges – economy and security – that were top priorities for Nigerians. The contributions were analysed for recurring or common themes and the themes are reflected in the discussion of the strategic recommendations.

¹ A method of sampling that involves dividing the population into smaller groups known as strata, and then drawing representative samples from the strata. In this case, the 36 states and Abuja constitute the strata from which representative samples are drawn.



Sample Characteristics

A total of 5,019 Nigerians aged 18 and above participated in the survey, of which 50.8% were male and 49.2% were female; 53.6% were from the Northern region, while 46.4% were from the Southern region. Over a quarter (25.6%) of the respondents were from North West geopolitical zone, followed by 19.7% from South-West, 15.0% from South-South, 14.5% from North-Central, 13.5% from North-East and 11.7% from South-East. Overall, the sample locality was dominantly rural (rural – 39.4%; semi-urban – 29.1%; urban – 31.5%). A slight majority of respondents (51.0%) were married, 47.7% were single while the remaining 1.3% were separated or divorced.

A limited 13.9% of the sample were workers in non-agricultural formal employment (civil servants – 9.6%; professional workers – 4.3%); 8.0% were farmers or farm workers; 36.1% were own-account business men/women or traders; 8.4% were artisans; 20.4% were students or youth corps; 4.4% were religious leaders and other categories of occupations while the remaining 8.8% were unemployed. Only 39.7% of the sample had post-secondary education; of the remainder, 46.4% completed secondary school; 8.2% completed primary school while 5.8% had no formal education.

Key Findings

Overall, the research showed that, over the next four years, Nigerians want the president to focus mainly on job creation and improving security, and most importantly, leave a legacy of a strong and stable economy, under good governance and security of lives and property. These findings highlight the issue of unemployment, particularly amongst youth aged 18 to 35 years, and the need to tackle the issue head on. It has widely been acknowledged that youth unemployment is a ticking time bomb in Nigeria, and a key factor triggering youth restiveness, kidnapping, militancy and violent extremism experienced across the country.

THE RECENTLY CONCLUDED GENERAL ELECTIONS

Overall, 49% of the respondents considered the conduct as satisfactory. Men are more satisfied with the conduct than women (proportion satisfied: male – 52%; female – 45%). Respondents from North-East (68%) reported the most satisfaction, followed by South-West (64%) and North-West (55%), while the South-South (28%) and South-East (18%) regions were the least satisfied. The elderly (aged 65 and above) and respondents aged 25-34 are the least satisfied with the conduct, with 51% and 48% of the respective age groups declaring the conduct as not satisfactory. Also, respondents from urban settings are most satisfied (54%), compared to respondents from semi-urban (44%) and rural (48%) settings.

Consistent with the ranking of the conduct of the elections, men rated the performance of INEC better than women (male – 5.26; female 5.03), and in terms of geopolitics, the rating was highest in North-East (6.07), North-West (5.62), South-West (5.31) and North-Central (5.25), compared to the South-South (4.51) and South-East (3.48) regions which raked the performance below average. These relative ratings of the performance of INEC by gender and geopolitical zone are direct mirrors of the satisfaction with the conduct of the election.

POLICY PRIORITIES FOR NIGERIANS

The summary of priority areas, including the most important, second most important and third most important, are summarized in the table below, listing only the top two areas for each question. As the table shows, job creation and security are the top two most important policy priorities that Nigerians across gender, age group, locality and geopolitical zone want President Buhari to focus on in the next four years. The top two second most important preferences are also job creation and security across all dimensions with additional mention of economy in the South-East and South-South geopolitical zones, and the importance of healthcare to the elderly population.



Table 1: Ranking of Policy Priority Areas by Demographics

	Most Important	Second Most Important	Third Most Important
Overall			
	1. Job Creation	1. Job Creation	1. Poverty Eradication
	2. Security	2. Security	2. Economy
Gender			
Male	1. Job Creation	1. Job Creation	1. Poverty Eradication
	2. Security	2. Security	2. Electricity
Female	1. Job Creation	1. Job Creation	1. Poverty Eradication
	2. Security	2. Security	2. Economy
Zones			
S/East	1. Job Creation	1. Job Creation	1. Corruption
	2. Security	2. Economy	2. Poverty Eradication
S/South	1. Job Creation	1. Job Creation	1. Electricity
	2. Security	2. Economy	2. Poverty Eradication
S/West	1. Job Creation	1. Security	1. Education
	2. Security	2. Job Creation	2. Electricity
N/East	1. Security	1. Job Creation	1. Education
	2. Job Creation	2. Security	2. Job Creation
N/West	1. Security	1. Job Creation	1. Economy
	2. Job Creation	2. Security	2. Poverty Eradication
N/Central	1. Job Creation	1. Job Creation	1. Poverty Eradication
	2. Security	2. Security	2. Electricity
Age Group			
18-24	1. Job Creation	1. Job Creation	1. Poverty Eradication
	2. Security	2. Security	2. Education/Corruption
25-34	1. Job Creation	1. Job Creation	1. Poverty Eradication
	2. Security	2. Security	2. Economy
35-54	1. Job Creation	1. Security	1. Electricity
	2. Security	2. Job Creation	2. Poverty Eradication
55-64	1. Job Creation	1. Job Creation	1. Corruption
	2. Security	2. Security	2. Agriculture & Food Security
65+	1. Job Creation	1. Healthcare	1. Poverty Eradication
	2. Security	2. Security	2. Electricity
Locality			
Urban	1. Job Creation	1. Job Creation	1. Corruption
	2. Security	2. Security	2. Agriculture & Food Security
S/Urban	1. Job Creation	1. Security	1. Electricity
	2. Security	2. Job Creation	2. Poverty Eradication
Rural	1. Security	1. Job Creation	1. Poverty Eradication
	2. Job Creation	2. Security	2. Economy

STRATEGIES FOR ADDRESSING LINGERING CHALLENGES







UNEMPLOYMENT

Among the survey respondents, a dominant proportion (39% of respondents) recommend youth-focused job creation as the strategy for addressing the unemployment challenge faced by the country. In other words, the creation of jobs targeted at the bulging youth population is considered of utmost importance. Next on the list is expansion of industries through a combination of investments by both local investors and foreign direct investment (15% of respondents) which will create new companies, as well as efforts to revive companies that closed down during the recent recession (7% of respondents).

Support for Made-in-Nigeria products was advocated by 8% of respondents in order to reverse our proclivity for imported goods and services which supports job creation offshore rather than at home. In this respect, Government is enjoined to provide leadership by deliberately raising the profile of “Made-in-Nigeria” goods in its public procurement process beyond the current recommendation of 30% of budget, increase the threshold on annual basis, and ensure compliance by all ministries, departments and agencies (MDAs). In addition, government through the central bank should sustain the instrumentation of foreign exchange sales to drive this agenda. In other words, they should ensure foreign exchange availability to manufacturers who need to import raw materials and critical inputs which cannot be sourced locally, rather than leaving them to the whims and caprices of parallel market operators.

Other measures advocated by respondents to reduce unemployment include: the creation of business-friendly environment (5% of respondents), delivery of stable power supply (4% of respondents), access to loans and grants by entrepreneurs (4% of respondents), and encouragement of agriculture (4% of respondents). Also, other less-emphasized strategies are: the boosting of skill acquisition (3% of respondents), and opening up of all the seaports in the country (3% of respondents) amongst others.

RANKING OF MOST IMPORTANT POLICY PRIORITIES

	1 ST	2 ND	3 RD
 ECONOMY <small>JOB CREATION, POVERTY ERADICATION, ECONOMIC POLICIES, AGRIC. & FOOD SECURITY</small>	52%	45%	43%
 SECURITY	24%	15%	9%
 INFRASTRUCTURE <small>POWER, ROAD, RAIL AND WATER</small>	8%	12%	18%
 EDUCATION	7%	8%	11%
 CORRUPTION	4%	9%	10%
 OTHERS	5%	11%	9%

SECURITY

Looking at security challenges more broadly, experts recommend the following:

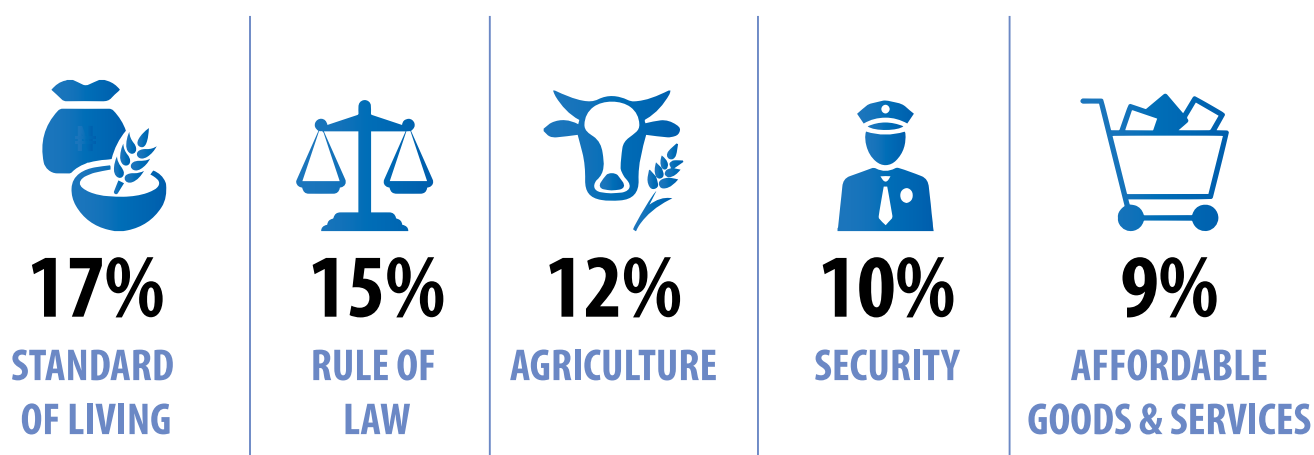
- In the short term, government needs to stop self-delusive denial of the continuing Islamist challenge in the North-East, step up its counter-insurgency campaign, but also devote greater efforts to improving humanitarian and rehabilitation operations, as well getting the recently-established North East Development Commission to start longer term programmes for regional transformation and development.
- The President and his new government need to acknowledge and address the social, economic, environmental, educational challenges among others from the security threat perspective. The government needs to create jobs and arrest youth unemployment, including through sustainable improvement of electricity supply.
- Mr. President should come up with a clearly defined national security strategy that is comprehensive and effective in responding to the country's security strategy. The president needs to urgently formulate and implement comprehensive reform of the security and rule of law sectors.
- The President needs to pursue constitutional and administrative reforms that will guarantee citizens' rights, curb corruption, improve transparency and accountability, and enhance service delivery. He can readily find elaborate guides in the submissions of various high-level national reform conferences held over the years. To bring in fresh minds into the leadership of the security agencies with a work plan, evaluation plan, and timeline to meet objectives.
- President Buhari needs to make rapid progress towards ending the herder-farmer conflict, through a combination of security measures: such as engendering local dialogues between agitated groups, managing the proliferation of small arms and light weapons, and most importantly, vigorous implementation of the ten-year National Livestock Transformation Plan which could end the conflict durably. The issue of regional and state policing should also be given due consideration are we rethink the nation's security architecture.
- Security Silos should be broken. The unintended consequence of operating various security-oriented agencies in silos is that there is often little-to-no cross-functional support among them, so internal power or budgetary struggles ensue; having an extreme impact on the overall integrity & security of Nigeria. The unfortunate result is that there is little communication between the silos, as they each operate independently of each other. Therefore, there is little or no interaction, sharing of information or collaboration to address threats; presenting numerous soft targets and a target-rich environment for terrorists and criminals across the country.

CORRUPTION

When asked about options to curb corruption, one out of four respondents (25%) advised the government to arrest, jail and apply the death penalty to offenders of the country's anti-corruption code as a strategy to tackle the deep-rooted problem of corruption. The option to put in place measures to bring bribery of officials to a halt and apply the policy of zero tolerance for corruption was advocated by 12% of the respondents. One-in-ten (10%) of respondents advised the government to focus on job creation, poverty reduction and economic development while a similar percentage (10%) advocated for good and fair governance. The next major option advocated by 9% of respondents is for the government to exhibit transparency in its fight against corruption. Other less prominent options include public enlightenment on consequences of corruption, prayer for divine intervention, enforcement of policies and laws against corruption, monitoring the financial transactions of government officials, establishment of more anti-corruption agencies, making public offices less attractive financially, implementation of minimum wages and adequate security.

OTHER IMPORTANT ISSUES

In addition to the issues of job creation and economy, security and corruption discussed above, a significant proportion of the survey respondents (17%) advised the government to eradicate poverty and improve the standard of living as the means of addressing socioeconomic and political challenges faced by the country. Next is universal respect for and obedience of the rule of law (15%), encouragement of agriculture for food security (12%) and improvement of security system (10%). Other options suggested by the respondents include reducing the cost of living (9%), maintaining stable power supply (5%), construction of good roads (5%), stopping corruption (3%), stabilizing the economy (3%), implementation of community policing (3%), youth empowerment and employment (2%), prayer (2%), more job opportunities (2%), prompt payment of salaries (2%), good and affordable healthcare services (2%), quality education (1%), good governance (1%) and encouragement of investors (1%).



PRESIDENTIAL LEGACY

A combined 30% of Nigerians want President Buhari to create a legacy of a strong and stable economy that is creating jobs and economic opportunities. Next, 23% of Nigerians want President Buhari to leave behind a legacy of good governance, good leadership and fulfilment of promises made. Of the remaining, 10% want a legacy of improved security, 9% want a legacy of corruption-free country, 6% want a legacy of peaceful and united country, 5% want constant power supply, 5% want infrastructural improvement, 3% want improved educational system at reduced costs, 2% want food sufficiency, and 2% want improved healthcare.



Summary

Over the next four years, Nigerians want the president to focus mainly on job creation and improving security, and most importantly, leave a legacy of a strong and stable economy, under good governance and security of lives and property. These findings highlight the issue of unemployment, particularly amongst youths aged 18 to 35 years, and the need to tackle the issue frontally. It has widely been acknowledge that youth unemployment is a ticking time bomb in Nigeria, and a key factor triggering youth restiveness, kidnapping, militancy and violent extremism experienced across the country.

many challenges, most of which relate to the business environment in the country. The Presidential Enabling Business Environment Council (PEBEC) was set up in July 2016 by President Buhari, to remove bureaucratic constraints to doing business in Nigeria and make the country a progressively easier place to start and grow a business. The PEBEC is doing great work, judging by the reforms already delivered and/or initiated. The PEBEC has done particularly well in trying to create a fast-track for the process of business registration.

Yet traditional problems of infrastructural inadequacies, limited credit, and poor power supply still abound. The efforts so far have been too little too slow and bolder action is needed. In economic policy the country remains mediocre. Currently, the Nigerian public sector is the highest employer of labour, yet the government which set up the Ease of Doing Business Initiative has not assented to a number of bills including the Companies and Allied Matters Act (CAMA) 2018 designed to impact productivity. That CAM Bill, which is currently waiting to be passed, is the first reform of the Nigerian business laws in the last 20 years, reflecting our distance from current global best practice.

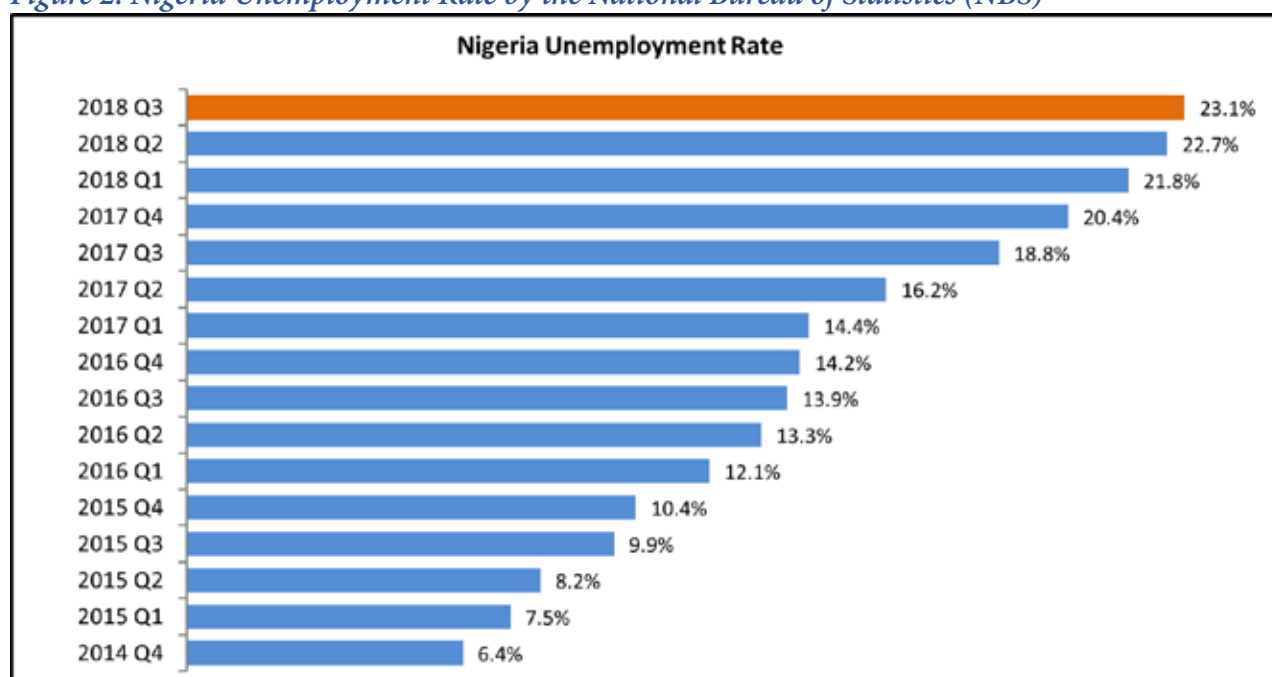
Economic and infrastructural reform priorities of the current administration are articulated in the country's Economic Recovery and Growth Plan (ERGP 2017-2020). The ERGP was a laudable initiative when it was announced. It was hoped that its implementation could instantly strengthen economic growth. Implementation of the ERGP of the Federal Government, like all developmental plans, is under-pinned by three key anchors – Government Policies, Programmes, and Projects. Its success therefore rests on the ability to cost the projects and impact of the policies in delivering an end game commensurate with expectations, promises and stewardship. This has been largely absent and nothing makes this more evident than the lack of nexus between the ERGP, the annual budgets and the Next Level document.

There are five major planks to the ERGP – macroeconomic stability, food security & agriculture, road & railway infrastructure (plus aviation), energy & refined petroleum products, and industrialization with emphasis on SMEs. There is stability and progress in all of these areas; the issue still remains to ramp up speed by building on the achievements of the last four years – all these areas are better in 2019 Q1 than the situation in Q2 2015. It is evident that this administration has done quite a bit in the area of infrastructure, as we have seen from the completion of the Abuja-Kaduna rail project and some of the Sukuk-bond-funded roads across the country. Investments in social welfare programmes and infrastructural upgrades have tended to mask the tokenism it reflects; in the absence of actual eco-system linked infrastructural investment designed to impact on productivity such as – integrated power and energy solutions; rail network for goods and people; education overhaul – to develop manpower to deliver on the EGRP vision amongst others.

Nigeria has forever been a ticking time bomb waiting to explode. Yet, it never explodes but implodes. The implosion is obvious in the increase in the levels of deviancy and social ills plaguing the society - kidnapping, human trafficking, highway robbery, ritual killings, sectional skirmishes, local insurgence across the country. These, are now meshed with international terrorism, drug abuse and overdose, smuggling, and a general increase in vices – are a consequence of the failure of the natural and normal trajectory a society should be on.

There is no doubt that the unemployment situation in the country is a ticking bomb waiting to detonate. What we face today is nothing short of an unemployment crisis. Unemployment remains desperately high, with some 26 million youth without jobs. If you add to it the rising army of underemployed, the figure almost doubles. In some states in the North East and North West, it hovers around 70 percent. This partly explains the rampant insecurity in those areas. Nigeria recently overtook India as the world capital of unemployment. There are about 90 million Nigerians currently falling under the categorically of destitute poverty as internationally defined. India, with its 1.3 billion people has only 77 million poor.

Figure 2: Nigeria Unemployment Rate by the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS)



Source: National Bureau of Statistics [Dec 2018]

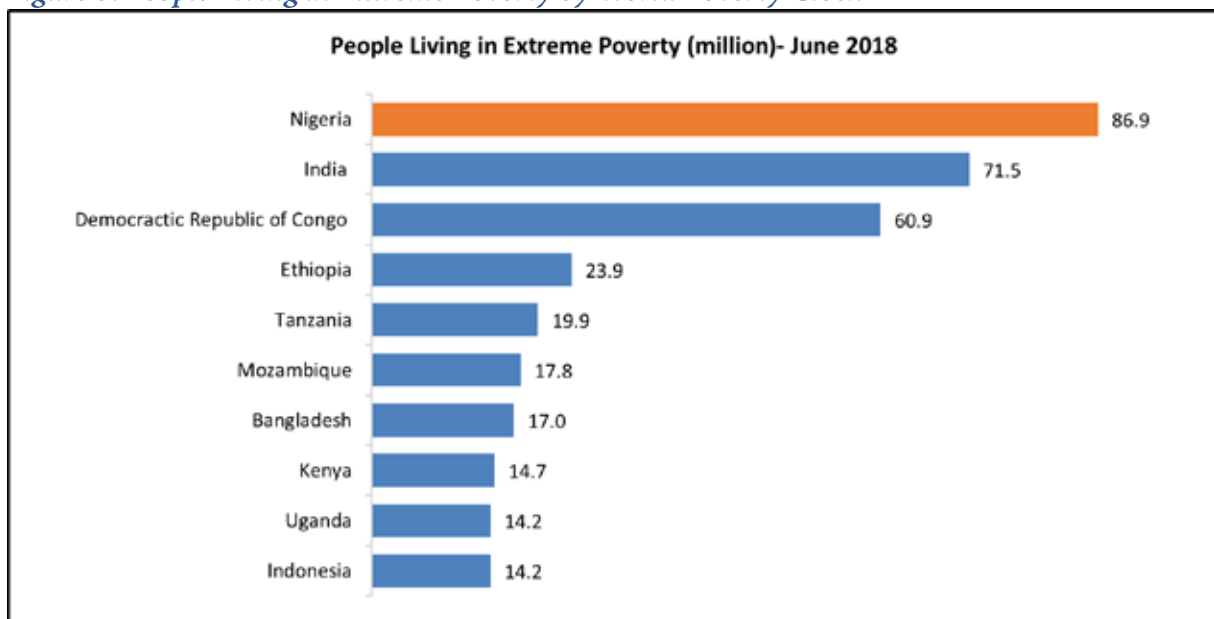
We also have an educational crisis in our hands. Some 13 million Nigerian children are currently outside the school system². Nigeria’s inability to address the menace of illiteracy and radical Islam in Northern Nigeria has been further exacerbated by the high

² The 2015 Demographic Health Survey (DHS) by UNICEF

unemployment situation, particularly in Northern Nigeria. These two ugly situations have created untameable monsters that have chased Nigerians out of their farms and the minefields. The farms hitherto employed no fewer than 75% of those willing and available to work in Nigeria. Today 60% of citizens operating in this sector have abandoned the farms.

In 2018, a report by World Poverty Clock showed that Nigeria has overtaken India as the country with the most extreme poor people making her the poverty capital of the world with about 86.9 million people living in extreme poverty. The Nigerian state went into defensive mode and that spoke volumes about the national strategy towards addressing the poverty question beyond tokenism. The problem here is that the Federal Government programmes aimed at alleviating poverty have tended to focus more on tokenism, palliatives and attention-grabbing social interventions rather than initiating steps towards addressing the critical issues such as lack of access to education, health care, employment, productivity-based taxation, unemployment welfare packages, etc. The poverty circle is getting wider by the day. The National Social Investment Programme (NSIP) is a step in the right direction, as some of the social transfers that have been done are laudable. However, in all, the Federal government’s approach to poverty alleviation does not seem to carry the right weight.

Figure 3: People Living in Extreme Poverty by World Poverty Clock



Source: World Poverty Clock

The model of development has been described as that of “jobless growth”. Much of the foreign direct investment (FDI) that comes into the country goes into sectors such as oil and telecoms that do not generate mass jobs. There is a lack of industrialization

and jobs to accommodate those migrating from rural/subsistence farms. And to make matters worse, in the past three decades there has been no visible plan by the Nigerian government to plan for its increasing population. Nigeria has failed to learn from successful local models that ordinarily provided automatic employment for growing populations. A good example is the internship model that has been practiced among artisans of Northern and Southern Nigeria over the decades and which has worked well in creating jobs for its young people.

Nigeria's economy is currently threatened by insecurity. Insecurity has partially crippled agricultural production in no less than 30 states of the Federation.³ Traditionally, subsistence agriculture at rural/state levels provides income and food. At present, almost 60% of subsistence agricultural capacity has been lost to insecurity. Uncertainty has also halted significant FDIs into the country. Even this development is at risk as migrations to urban centres with no jobs aggravates the existing insecurity situation and worsens output and unemployment conditions. Decreasing food output will invariably put pressure on inflation and costs of living as well as strengthen this ugly vicious cycle. There is a general feeling of despondency. Crime and insecurity define our new social order.

There appears to be a lack of genuine acknowledgement that there is a systemic problem fuelling insecurity in the country, requiring genuine intervention. There is a total neglect of the imperatives of tackling unemployment, poverty, lack of and accessibility to quality education, shrinking economic opportunities among others as security threats. A weak economic system and failure to invest adequately in education, skills acquisition and job creation over the decades has resulted in a growing number of unemployed and increasingly discontented youth. Rising unemployment of youth across the country is a common denominator of most of the violent crime and insecurity.

Government's inability to effectively govern the country is another factor, as we witness a situation whereby armed groups are taking over spaces where the government is not able to effectively provide security for citizens⁴. The failure of economic governance has created a wrenching situation, in which millions of people are barely surviving from day to day, and therefore highly vulnerable to recruitment into criminal and insurgent groups. Poor presence of police and other security agencies in these areas have left armed groups with vast poorly governed territories where they are based and from which they operate. Failure to protect citizens' rights is driving individuals and groups to organize their own self-protection and seek redress on their own terms. These and other failures, evident at all levels of governance, are responsible for the rising insecurity.

³ <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/more-news/208055-insecurity-soldiers-deployed-30-nigerias-36-states-report.html>

⁴ Under fire: why Nigeria is struggling to defeat Boko Haram. Published in Financial Times in Dec. 2018. <https://www.ft.com/content/62928c8e-7b8-11e8-8b7c-6fa24bd5409c>

Failure in judicial and other rule of law sector governance has created a climate of impunity that emboldens perpetrators of violence to undertake increasingly atrocious acts. This growing atmosphere of impunity - in which kidnappings and other violent crimes are not matched by diligent prosecutions, speedy convictions and deterrent sanctions - has emboldened more unemployed youth to turn to violent crime. Failure in public accountability has fostered a value system in which the end justifies the means, even if that end involves acts of violence. Failure to curb corruption and punish public treasury looters has not only deepened poverty and destitution, it has also created an alienated, and progressively normless, citizenry.

The federal government does not have a clearly defined agenda for addressing the security challenge. The national security strategy is weak and does not speak to the varied forms of insecurity in the country. Merely deploying troops is not enough. The Herdsmen and Bandits have similar causes to Boko Haram in times of political support by politicians who aid their emergence and operations. Besides, compromised security outfits are part of the problem that allow the menace to continue. These criminals are being used as political tools in parts of the country.

Also, there is arguably a perception of nepotism within the Buhari government. This has led to inaction when action is needed. The economics of insecurity also means that many players in the military and security sector benefit financially from the rise of insecurity through increased budgetary allocation and contracts. Hence, they prefer increased insecurity.

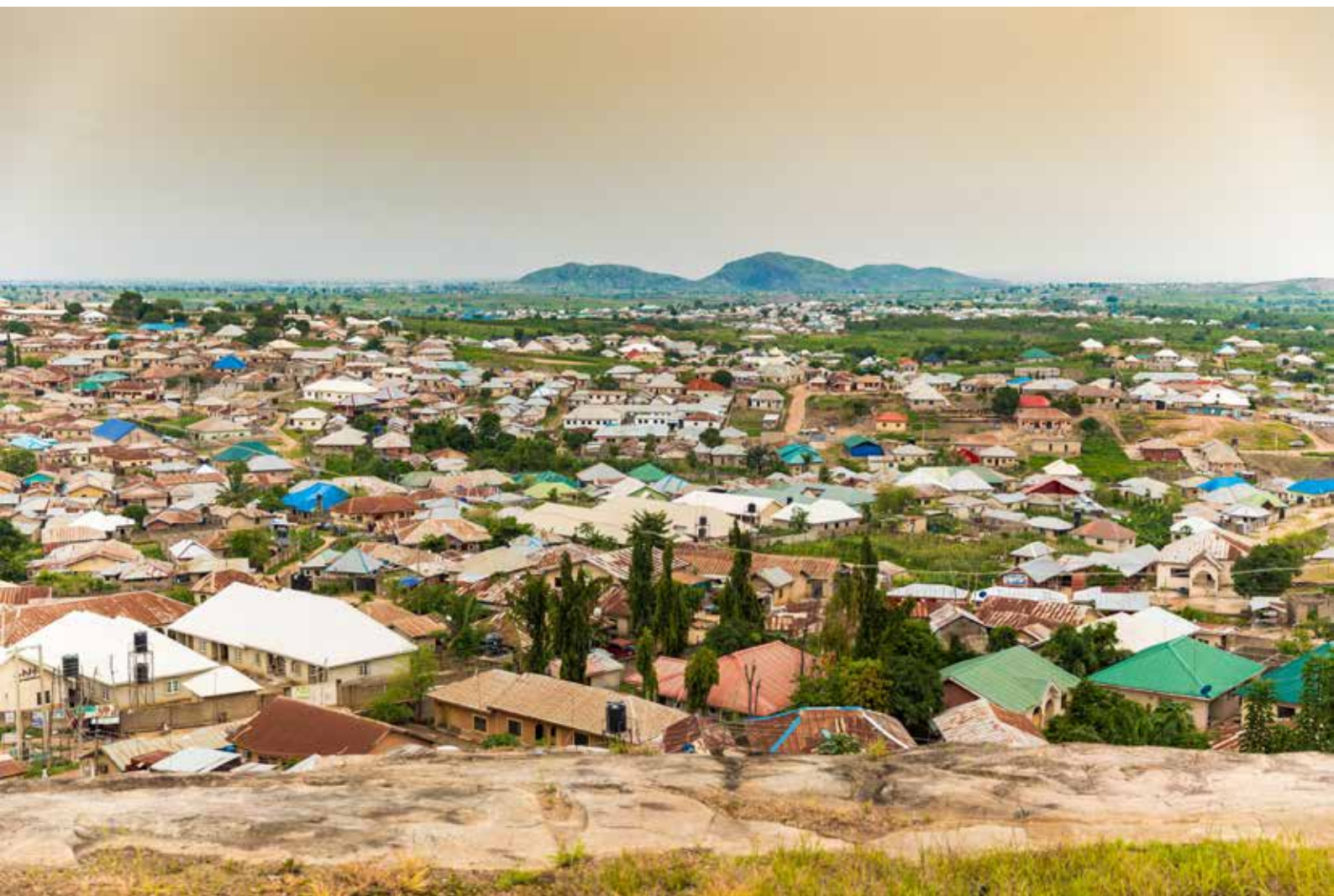
Failure in security sector governance has resulted in security and public safety agencies that are undermanned, under-trained, under-resourced, under-motivated and increasingly ineffective in responding to the growing challenges of insurgent and criminal groups. The lack of confidence in security agencies, particularly the heads of the security agencies who apparently reach their wits' end and still kept in office, is also a factor. Over the years, our security agencies have been infiltrated by sympathizers of Boko Haram and other insurgents. This compromises all military efforts at dealing with these groups. The weak coordination among the security agencies represents a major challenge.

The increasing availability of firearms, especially automatic rifles, has also lent a great boost to groups engaged in deadly conflict and banditry. Little or no sanctions for numerous violent and criminal activities over the years, has now emboldened gangs and other armed groups to act with greater audacity.

2.0 Objectives



As part of efforts to deepen citizen engagement and enhance voice and accountability in democratic government of Nigeria and its policy process, Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD) commissioned a national survey to elicit the views of Nigerians on three key areas. These are: the recent elections, policy priorities of government, and strategies to address lingering challenges over the next four years.



3.0 Methodology



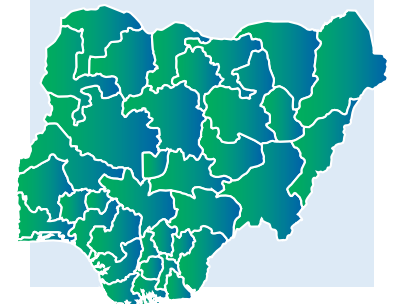
AA Nationwide Citizens Survey was conducted between 24th April and 20th May 2019. We elicited views of Nigerians across the country on the recently concluded General Elections and Policy directions of the Buhari Administration over the next four years. A mix of quantitative and qualitative approaches was adopted for the study. The quantitative component involved face-to-face interviews of target respondents aged 18 and above. Stratified Random Sampling⁵ was used to representatively select citizens in all 36 states of the nation and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT).

24th April to 20th MAY 2019



A total of 5,019 individuals were interviewed and included in the survey. The survey instrument contained two parts. In the first part, respondents were provided with categories that collectively reflect the universe of the set of possible opinions on the respective subject from which to select a response. The second part contained open-ended questions that allow the respondents to freely share their thoughts. In the open-ended segment, respondents to the survey were asked to share their opinions on what the administration can do to address specific challenges.

5,019
INDIVIDUALS INTERVIEWED



The analysis involved tabulation of responses into frequency tables and generating frequency charts from the summaries. The open-ended responses were first coded, analysed and summarized into optimal categories before generating frequency tables and charts. In addition, the qualitative component involved key-informant interviews with policy experts, who were asked to weigh in on two specific challenges – economy and security – that were top priorities for Nigerians. The contributions were analysed for recurring or common themes and the themes are reflected in the discussion of the strategic recommendations.

⁵ A method of sampling that involves dividing the population into smaller groups known as strata, and then drawing representative samples from the strata. In this case, the 36 states and Abuja constitute the strata from which representative samples are drawn.



4.0 The Sample

A total of 5,019 Nigerians aged 18 and above participated in the survey, of which 50.8% were male and 49.2% were female; 53.6% were from the Northern region while 46.4% were from the Southern region. Over a quarter (25.6%) of the respondents were from North West geopolitical zone, followed by 19.7% from South-West, 15.0% from South-South, 14.5% from North-Central, 13.5% from North-East and 11.7% from South-East. Overall, the sample locality was dominantly rural (rural – 39.4%; semi-urban – 29.1%; urban – 31.5%). A slight majority of respondents (51.0%) were married, 47.7% were single while the remaining 1.3% were separated or divorced.

A limited 13.9% of the sample were workers in non-agricultural formal employment (civil servants – 9.6%; professional workers – 4.3%); 8.0% were farmers or farm workers; 36.1% were own-account business men/women or traders; 8.4% were artisans; 20.4% were students or youth corps; 4.4% were religious leaders and other categories of occupations while the remaining 8.8% were unemployed. Only 39.7% of the sample had post-secondary education; of the remainder, 46.4% completed secondary school; 8.2% completed primary school while 5.8% had no formal education.

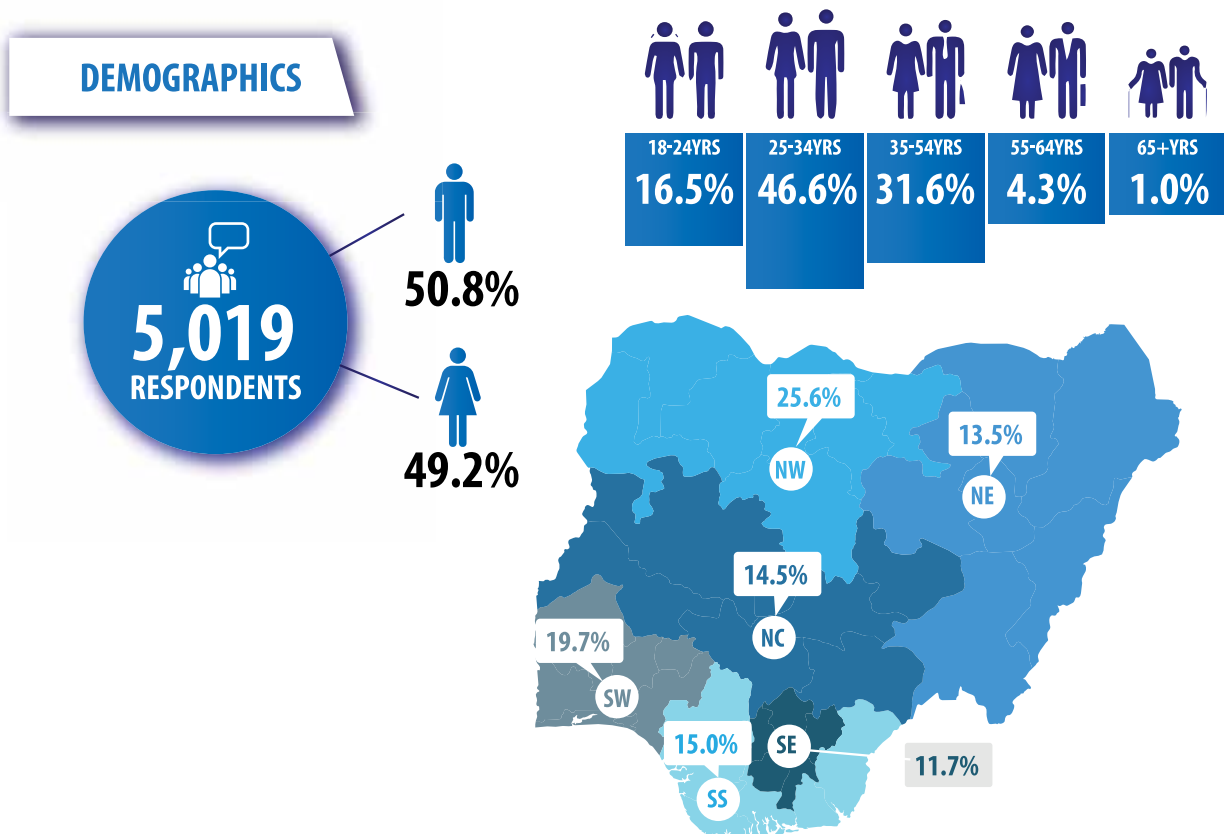


Table 2: Socio Demographics Characteristics of Respondents

VARIABLE NAME	VARIABLE LABEL	N	%
Gender	Male	2,550	50.8%
	Female	2,469	49.2%
Geo-Political Zone	South-East	586	11.7%
	South-South	752	15.0%
	South-West	991	19.7%
	North-East	678	13.5%
	North-West	1,284	25.6%
	North-Central	728	14.5%
Age-Group	18 – 24 Years	827	16.5%
	25 – 34 Years	2,336	46.6%
	35 – 54 Years	1,588	31.6%
	55 – 64 Years	215	4.3%
	65+ Years	53	1.0%
Locality	Urban	1,583	31.5%
	Semi-Urban	1,459	29.1%
	Rural	1,977	39.4%
Marital Status	Single	2,393	47.7%
	Married	2,562	51.0%
	Separated / Divorced	65	1.3%
Religion	Islam	1,988	39.6%
	Christianity	2,983	59.4%
	Traditional	47	0.9%
	Others	2	0.0%
Occupation of Respondent	Student	946	18.9%
	Self-Employed Trader	910	18.1%
	Business Man / Woman	903	18.0%
	Govt. Worker / Civil Servant	481	9.6%
	Unemployed Youth / Adult	446	8.9%
	Artisan	420	8.4%
	Farmer / Agric. Worker	404	8.0%
	Professional Worker	213	4.3%
	Youth Corper	75	1.5%
	Religious Leader / Missionary	31	0.6%
	Others	190	3.8%
Literacy Level	No formal Education / Illiterate	254	5.1%
	Completed Primary School	387	7.7%
	Completed Secondary School	2,327	46.4%
	Completed Tertiary Education (HND, Bachelor's Degree)	1,867	37.2%
	Completed Post Graduate Education (PGD, Masters, PhD)	125	2.5%
	No formal Education / Illiterate	34	0.7%
Completed Primary School	25	0.5%	
Total		5,019	100.0%

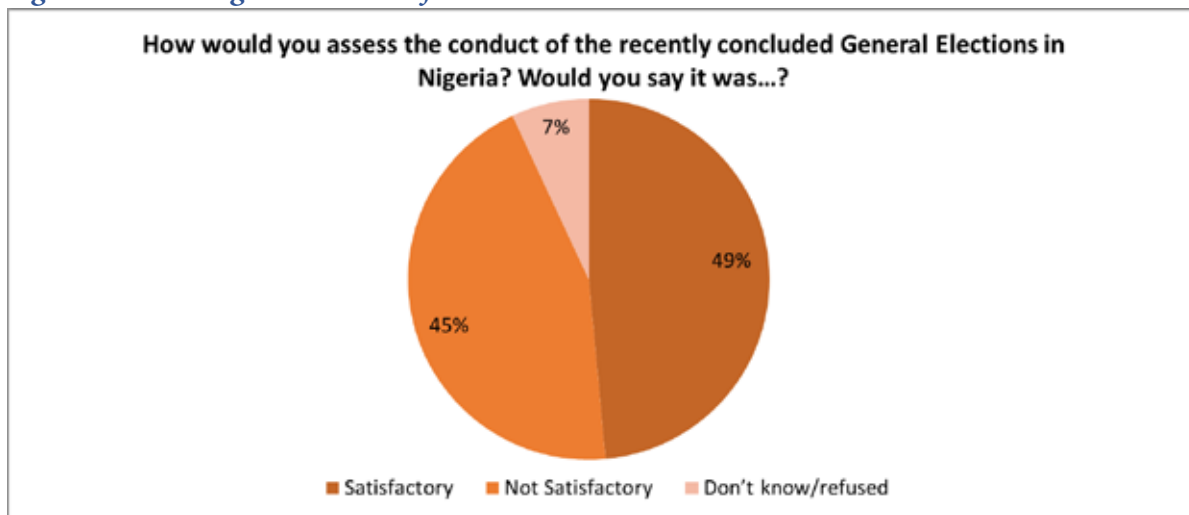


5.0 Survey Findings

5.1 Assessing the Conduct of the 2019 General Elections

The survey assessed the conduct of the last General Elections in Nigeria, to feel the pulse of the nation, given ongoing litigations surrounding its conduct and outcomes.

Figure 4: Assessing the conduct of the 2019 General Elections



Overall, 49% of the respondents considered the conduct as satisfactory; while 45% considered the conduct unsatisfactory. Men were more satisfied with the conduct than women (male – 52%; female – 45%). Respondents from North-East (68%) reported the most satisfaction, followed by South-West (64%) and North-West (55%) while the South-South (28%) and South-East (18%) were the least satisfied.

Table 3: Assessing the conduct of the 2019 General Elections by Gender and Geo-Political Zones

	Gender			Geo-Political Zone					
	Nigeria	Male	Female	South East	South South	South West	North East	North West	North Central
Satisfactory	49%	52%	45%	18%	28%	64%	68%	55%	43%
Not Satisfactory	45%	43%	47%	73%	60%	31%	26%	41%	49%
Don't Know / Refused	6%	5%	8%	9%	12%	5%	6%	4%	8%

The elderly (aged 65 and above) and respondents aged 25-34 were the least satisfied with

the conduct with 51% and 48% of the respective age groups declaring the conduct as not satisfactory. Also, respondents from urban settings were most satisfied (54%) compared to respondents from semi-urban (44%) and rural (48%) settings.

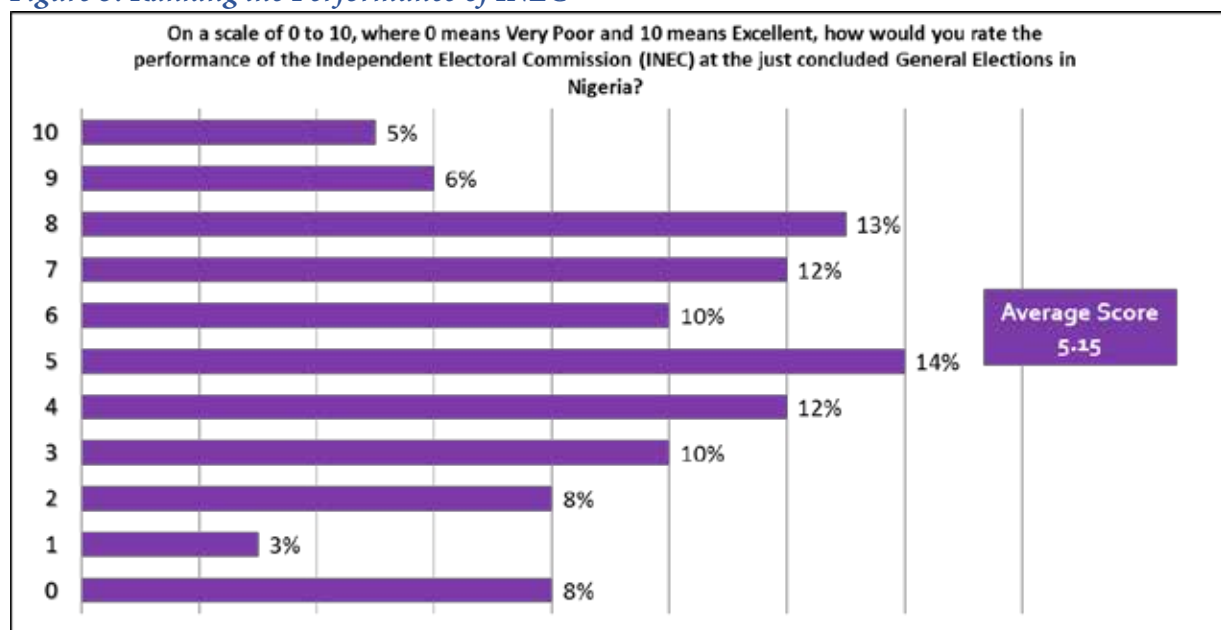
Table 4: Assessing the conduct of the 2019 General Elections by Age-Group and Locality

	Nigeria	Age-Group					Locality		
		18 – 24	25 – 34	35 – 54	55 - 64	65+	Urban	Semi-Urban	Rural
Satisfactory	49%	52%	46%	50%	51%	45%	54%	44%	48%
Not Satisfactory	45%	40%	48%	43%	42%	51%	42%	48%	45%
Don't Know / Refused	6%	8%	6%	7%	7%	4%	4%	8%	7%

5.1.1 RATING PERFORMANCE OF THE INDEPENDENT NATIONAL ELECTIONS COMMISSION (INEC)

Respondents were asked to rank the performance of INEC on a scale of 0 to 10 where 0 represents very poor and 10 represents excellence. The average score by all respondents was 5.15 while the modal score was 5.

Figure 5: Ranking the Performance of INEC



In consistency with the ranking of the conduct of the elections, men rated the performance of INEC better than women (male – 5.26; female 5.03), and in terms of geopolitics, the rating was highest in North-East (6.07), then North-West (5.62) and South-West (5.31), North-Central (5.25), South-South (4.51) and South-East (3.48). These relative ratings of the performance of INEC by gender and geopolitical zone are direct mirrors of the satisfaction with the conduct of the election.

Table 5: Ranking the Performance of INEC by Gender and Geo-Political Zones

	Gender			Geo-Political Zone					
	Nigeria	Male	Female	South East	South South	South West	North East	North West	North Central
Average Score	5.15	5.26	5.03	3.48	4.51	5.31	6.07	5.62	5.25

The rating of INEC’s performance by age group and locality departs from their relative satisfaction with the conduct of the election. The rating of INEC fell off with age from 5.34 by age group 18-24 to 4.99 by the elderly age 65 and above, while satisfaction with the conduct exhibited a different pattern (see preceding subsection). Also, respondents in rural areas gave the highest ratings on the performance of INEC (5.38) while respondents in urban areas were the most satisfied with the conduct of the general elections.

Table 6: Ranking the Performance of INEC by Age-Group and Locality

	Nigeria		Age-Group				Locality		
	18 – 24	25 – 34	35 – 54	55 - 64	65+	Urban	Semi-Urban	Rural	
Average Score	5.15	5.34	5.11	5.12	5.09	4.99	5.22	4.76	5.38

5.2 Policy Priorities for the Second Term

A combination of actions, policies and programmes of the first term and second-term campaign platforms and manifestos is expected to lead the public to form perceptions about the priorities of the incumbent administration for the second term. However, based on experiences and realities faced by the citizens, the public may have divergent expectations regarding the set of priorities the government should pursue.⁶

5.2.1 PERCEPTION ABOUT GOVERNMENT PRIORITIES

As evident in the chart below, based on the percentage of the sample that cites a particular issue, job creation (51%) and security (48%) are the most cited second-term priorities associated with the Buhari administration. Following remotely are corruption (32%), agriculture and food security (26%), economy (23%), education (22%), poverty

⁶ Convergence between perceptions and expectations will depend on the extent that policies and actions of government, which drive perceptions, are evidence-based and reflects the experiences of the public, which drives expectations.

eradication (21%) and infrastructure (20%). Meanwhile, job creation, agriculture and food security, economy and poverty eradication are either drivers or consequences of economic growth. Translating the data into relative frequencies and grouping the priorities associated with economic growth into a single category, the leading priorities are economy (42.9%), security (17.0%) and corruption (11.3%).

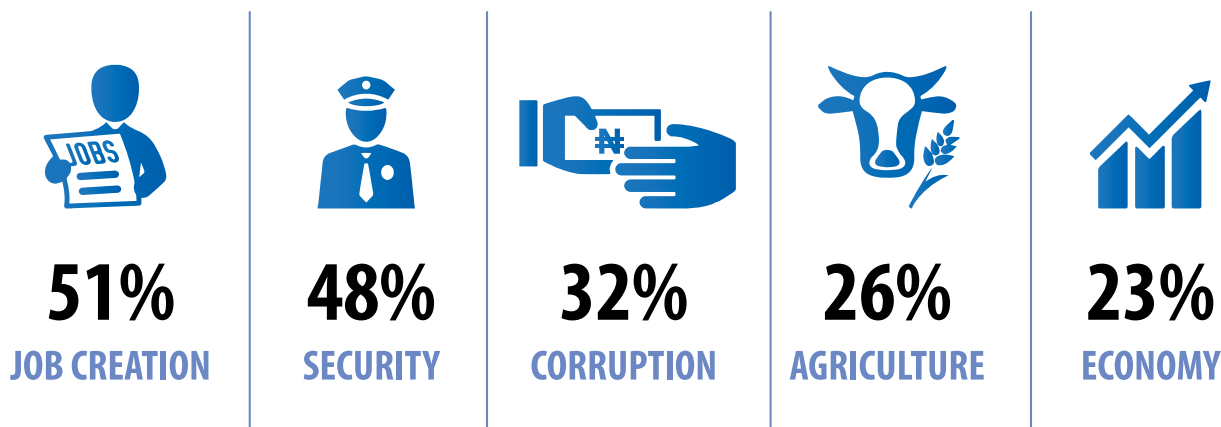
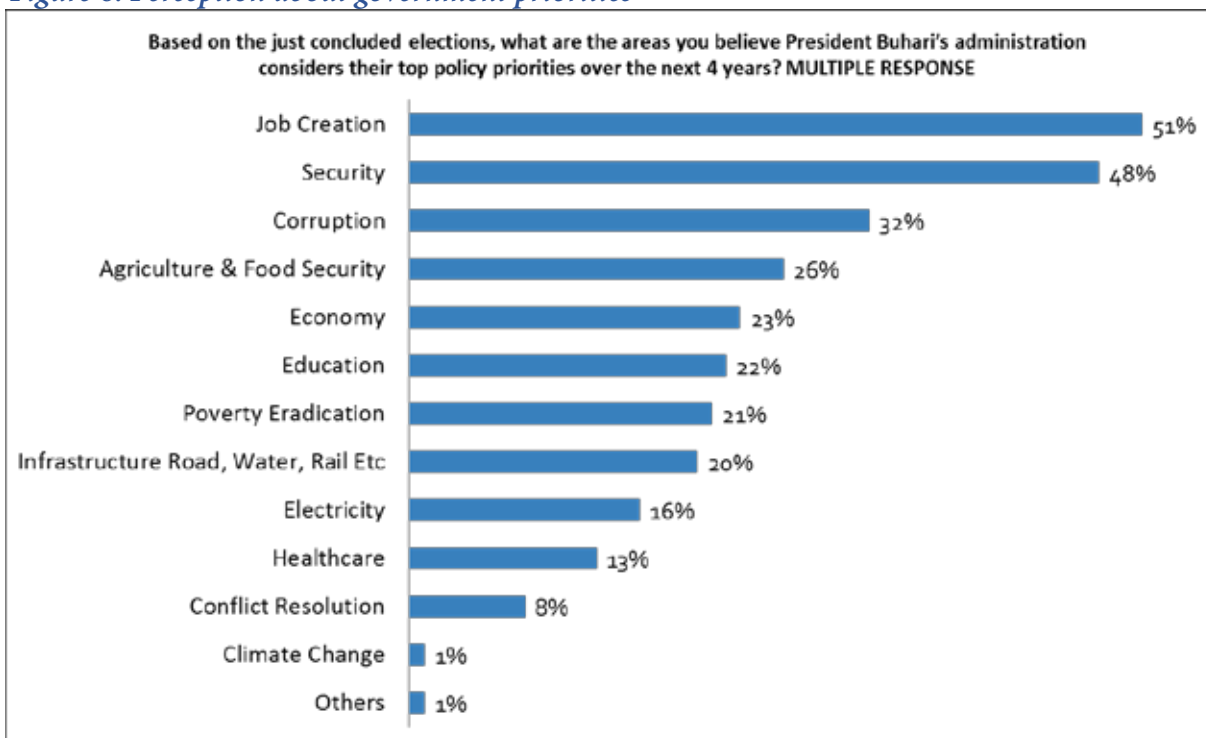


Figure 6: Perception about government priorities



In addition to the perceptions, the survey also asked the respondents about what priorities they expect the government to pursue during the second term of four years. The responses, provided as relative frequencies in the chart below, reveals similarities and differences between the perceptions and expectations.

5.2.2 MOST IMPORTANT PRIORITY AREA FOR NIGERIANS

The most important priority area of the general public remains job creation (35%), followed by security (24%) and followed remotely by poverty eradication (7%). Corruption, which ranked third in the perceptions, has dropped significantly in priority and now ranks as the eighth most important priority. Combining the priorities of job creation, poverty eradication, economy and agriculture within the economy group raises its total score to 52%.

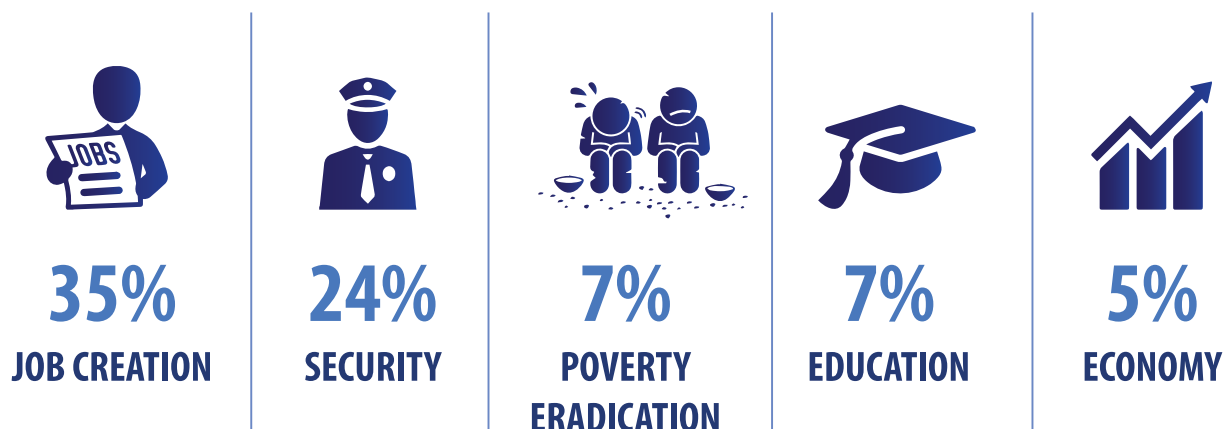
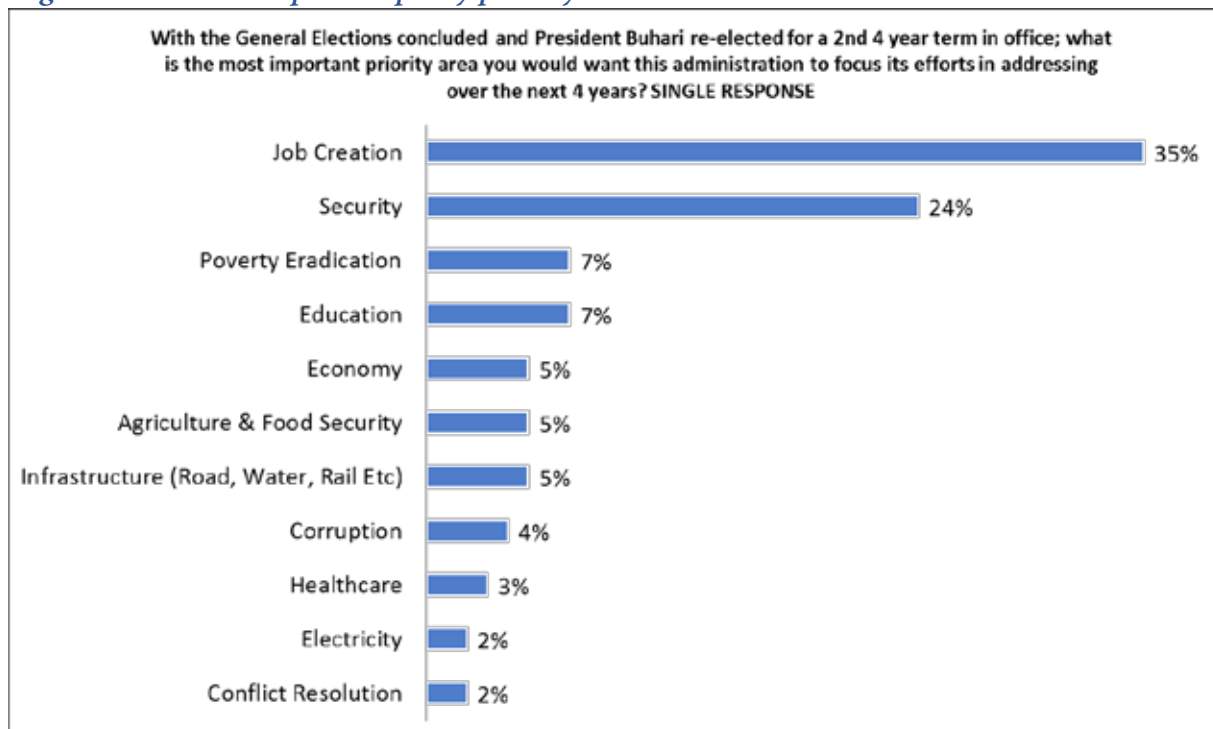
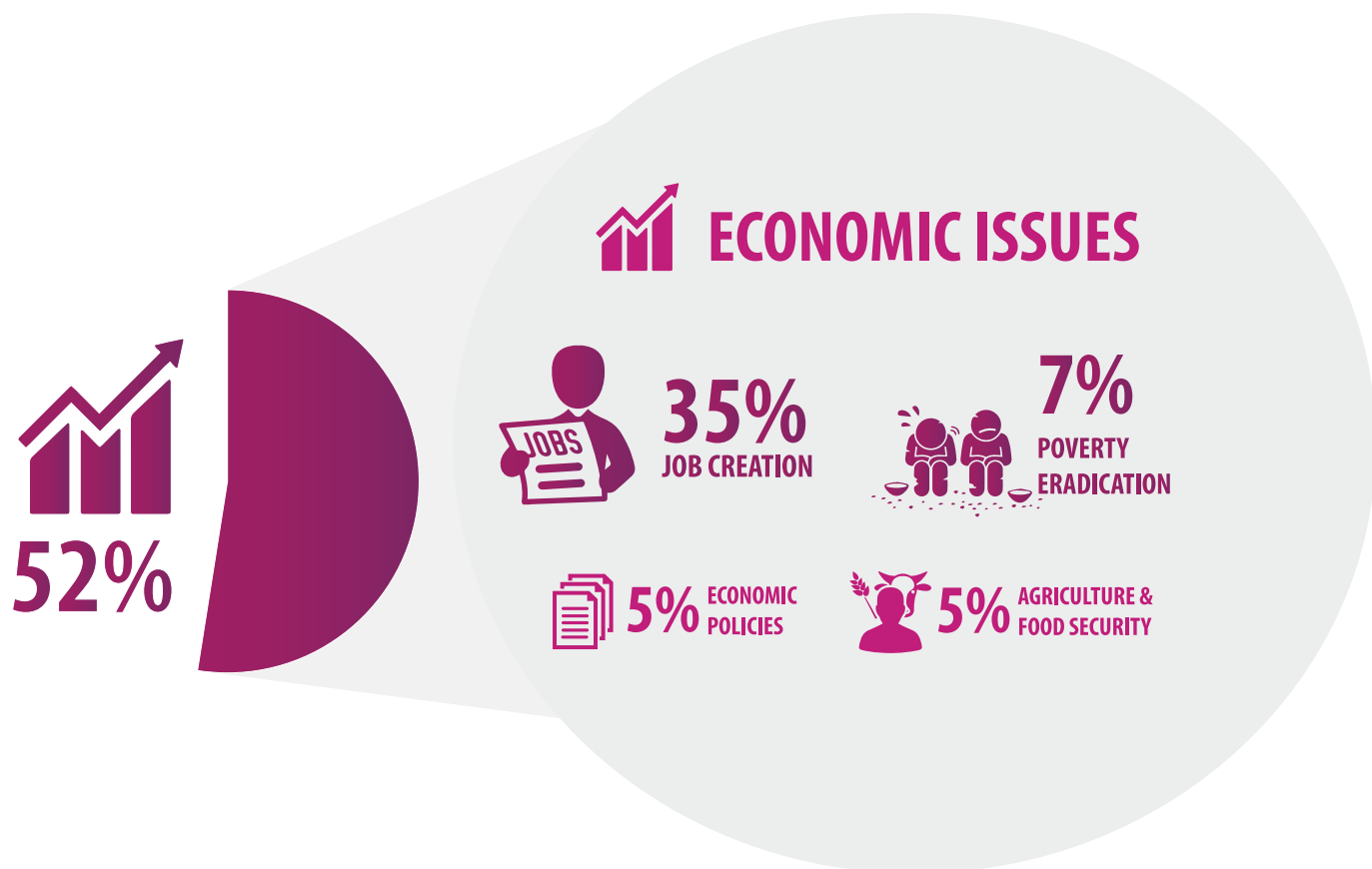


Figure 7: The most important policy priority





The ranking of most important priority area in the overall population (job creation – 1st; security – 2nd) is maintained across gender but varied across geopolitical zone, with the North-East and North-West ranking security as the first priority above job creation, while the remaining zones – North-Central, South-East, South-South and South-West – all maintained the overall ranking of job creation first and security second. However, the third ranking most important priority varied across geopolitical zones. It was poverty eradication in the North-East, poverty eradication, education and infrastructure in the North-West, poverty eradication, education and corruption in North-Central, agriculture and food security in South-East, and education in South-South and South-West.

Table 7: The most important policy priority by Gender and Geo-Political Zones

	Nigeria	Gender		Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	South East	South South	South West	North East	North West	North Central
Job Creation	35%	36%	34%	30%	41%	42%	26%	30%	42%
Security	24%	24%	24%	14%	15%	12%	40%	37%	21%
Poverty Eradication	7%	7%	7%	4%	3%	5%	23%	5%	6%
Education	7%	6%	7%	11%	9%	8%	1%	5%	6%
Infrastructure (Road, Water, Rail Etc.)	5%	5%	6%	5%	8%	6%	1%	5%	5%

Agriculture & Food Security	5%	5%	5%	12%	4%	6%	1%	4%	5%
Economy	5%	5%	6%	9%	7%	7%	1%	3%	4%
Corruption	4%	5%	3%	4%	3%	5%	1%	4%	6%
Healthcare	3%	3%	3%	3%	6%	2%	4%	3%	2%
Conflict Resolution	2%	1%	2%	3%	1%	2%	1%	2%	1%
Electricity	2%	2%	2%	3%	2%	5%	1%	2%	1%
Climate Change	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Others	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	1%	0%	1%	0%

The overall ranking of priorities also holds across age group and across locality with the exception of rural localities where respondents are more concerned about security than jobs.

Table 8: The most important policy priority by Age-Group and Locality

	Nigeria	Age-Group					Locality		
		18 – 24	25 – 34	35 – 54	55 - 64	65+	Urban	Semi-Urban	Rural
Job Creation	35%	33%	34%	38%	29%	36%	34%	44%	30%
Security	24%	23%	26%	23%	15%	26%	19%	19%	32%
Poverty Eradication	7%	5%	8%	6%	10%	6%	13%	3%	4%
Education	7%	10%	5%	7%	10%	0%	5%	6%	8%
Infrastructure (Road, Water, Rail Etc.)	5%	7%	5%	5%	7%	3%	4%	6%	6%
Agriculture & Food Security	5%	5%	5%	5%	5%	4%	6%	5%	4%
Economy	5%	5%	6%	5%	6%	3%	6%	6%	4%
Corruption	4%	5%	3%	4%	6%	3%	4%	4%	4%
Healthcare	3%	6%	2%	3%	5%	3%	4%	4%	3%
Conflict Resolution	2%	1%	2%	1%	4%	7%	2%	2%	1%
Electricity	2%	1%	3%	2%	3%	0%	3%	2%	2%
Climate Change	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	4%	0%	0%	0%
Others	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	4%	0%	0%	0%

5.2.3 SECOND MOST IMPORTANT PRIORITY AREA FOR NIGERIANS

The ranking of second most important priority also shows that economy issues are

uppermost at 45% (job creation – 17%; economy – 10%; agriculture – 10%; poverty eradication – 8%), followed by security at 15% and corruption at 9%. This clearly emphasizes the importance of job creation, revamping of economy and security to Nigerians.

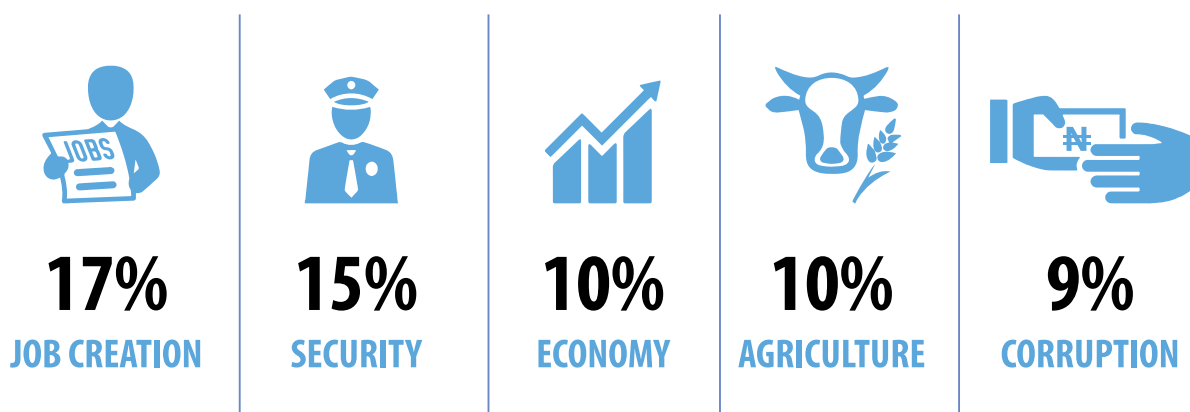
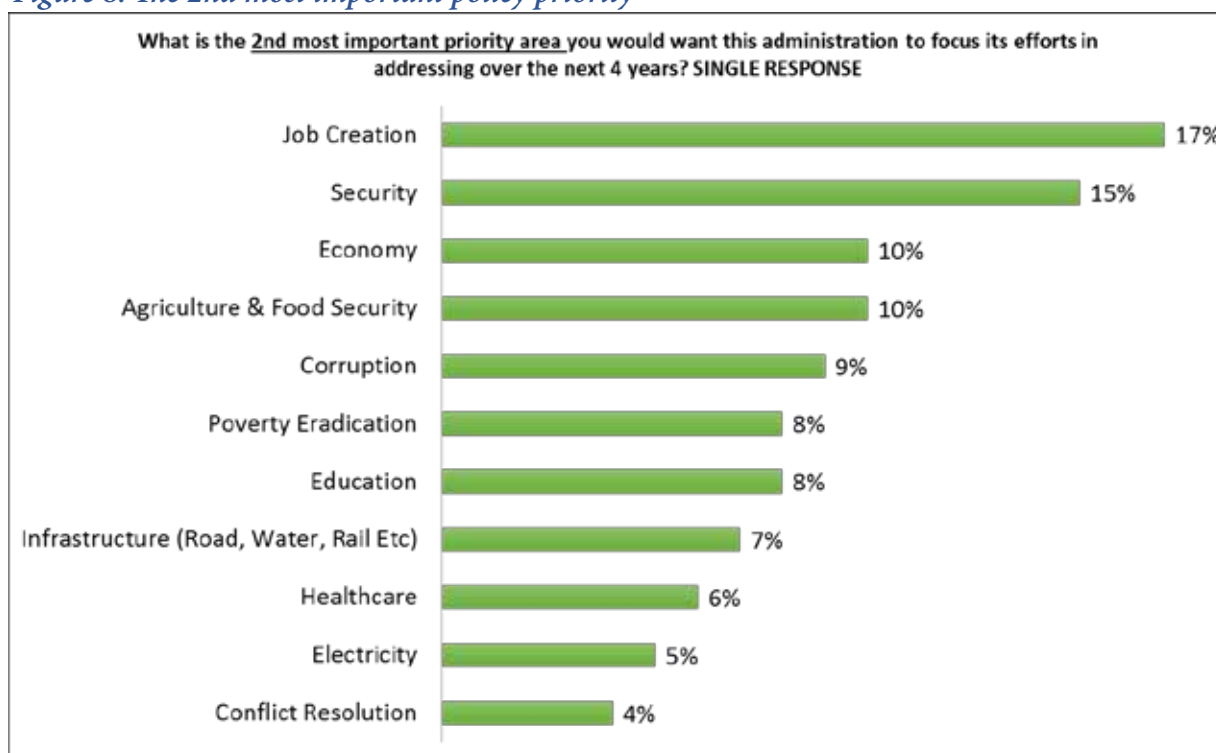


Figure 8: The 2nd most important policy priority



The overall top three second most important priority areas are: job creation, security and economy / agriculture, which are sustained among men and women. However, these rankings vary across geopolitical zones. The rankings are job creation, security and agriculture in North-East and North-West; job creation, security and corruption in North-Central; job creation, economy and poverty eradication in South-East; job creation, economy, security and infrastructure in South-South; security, job creation,

economy and agriculture in South-West.

Table 9: The 2nd most important policy priority by Gender and Geo-Political Zones

	Nigeria	Gender		Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	South East	South South	South West	North East	North West	North Central
Job Creation	17%	19%	15%	17%	13%	12%	26%	19%	14%
Security	15%	16%	15%	8%	12%	21%	17%	16%	14%
Agriculture & Food Security	10%	10%	10%	8%	8%	10%	11%	11%	10%
Economy	10%	9%	11%	17%	13%	12%	6%	9%	6%
Corruption	9%	8%	10%	6%	6%	9%	10%	10%	12%
Education	8%	8%	8%	6%	10%	7%	12%	6%	7%
Poverty Eradication	8%	7%	9%	12%	5%	9%	5%	9%	7%
Infrastructure (Road, Water, Rail Etc.)	7%	8%	7%	9%	12%	6%	4%	6%	7%
Healthcare	6%	6%	6%	5%	7%	4%	5%	7%	6%
Electricity	5%	5%	6%	6%	9%	5%	2%	4%	7%
Conflict Resolution	4%	4%	4%	6%	3%	3%	2%	3%	8%
Climate Change	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Others	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%

The ranking of second most important priority area also exhibits notable variation across age group and locality. The top two second most important priority areas are job creation and security among all age groups, except the group age 65 and above, which ranked healthcare as the top second most important priority area followed by security. The third ranked second most important priority area was a tie between economy and corruption among the group aged 18-24; agriculture and economy among the group aged 25-34; economy among the group aged 35-54; agriculture and infrastructure among group aged 55-64; and economy among elderly aged 65 and above.

Table 10: The 2nd most important policy priority by Age-Group and Locality

	Nigeria	Age-Group					Locality		
		18 – 24	25 – 34	35 – 54	55 - 64	65+	Urban	Semi-Urban	Rural
Job Creation	17%	15%	18%	17%	14%	7%	16%	15%	19%
Security	15%	14%	14%	19%	12%	15%	16%	18%	13%
Agriculture & Food Security	10%	9%	10%	9%	11%	9%	12%	9%	9%

Economy	10%	11%	10%	10%	9%	14%	11%	10%	10%
Corruption	9%	11%	9%	8%	9%	4%	10%	7%	10%
Education	8%	8%	10%	5%	6%	2%	7%	7%	8%
P o v e r t y Eradication	8%	9%	8%	7%	9%	0%	9%	7%	8%
Infrastructure (Road, Water, Rail Etc.)	7%	8%	7%	7%	11%	13%	7%	6%	9%
Healthcare	6%	6%	5%	6%	8%	28%	4%	7%	6%
Electricity	5%	5%	5%	7%	4%	4%	5%	7%	4%
Conflict Resolution	4%	4%	4%	4%	3%	0%	3%	5%	4%
Climate Change	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Others	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	3%	0%	0%	0%

5.2.4 THIRD MOST IMPORTANT PRIORITY AREA FOR NIGERIANS

In the distribution of the third most important priority area, the top two issues relate to the economy: poverty eradication and economy. Altogether, economy issues are central at 43% (poverty eradication – 13%; economy – 12%; agriculture – 9%; job creation – 9%) but electricity (11%), education (11%) and corruption (10%) now rank higher than security (9%).

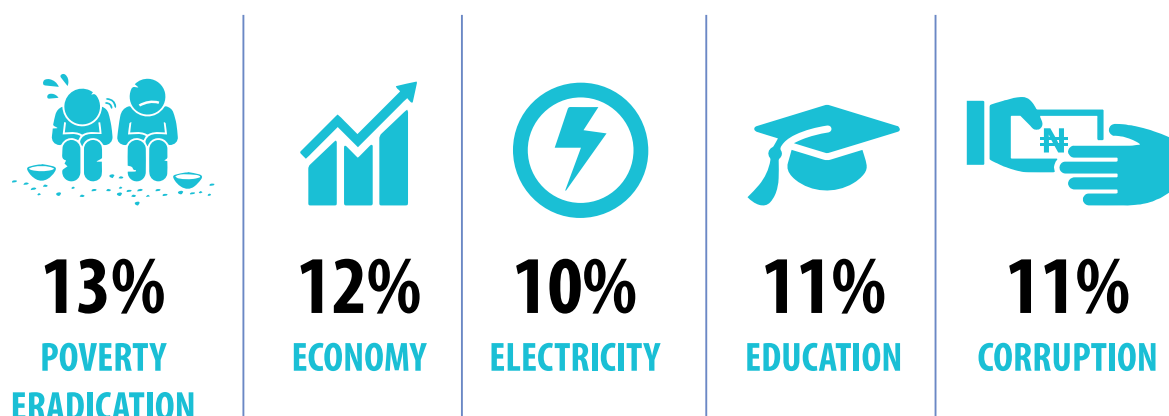
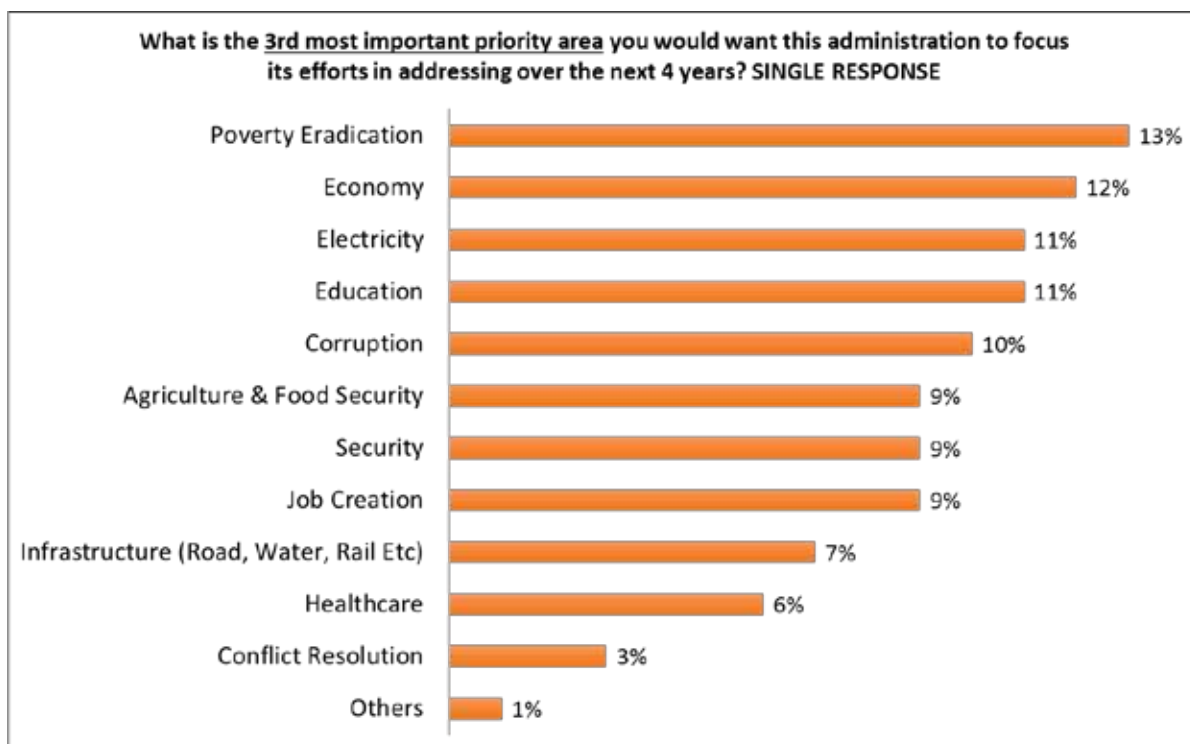


Figure 9: The 3rd most important policy priority



Variation from the overall ranking is observed in the South-East, where corruption is ranked as the topmost third most important priority (14%); in the South-South where electricity is the top ranked priority and infrastructure is ranked equally with economy issues; in the South-West where electricity and education are the outright top priorities; and in the North West where security ranks in the second place as the third most important priority.

Table 11: The 3rd most important policy priority by Gender and Geo-Political Zones

	Nigeria	Gender		Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	South East	South South	South West	North East	North West	North Central
Poverty Eradication	13%	12%	14%	13%	12%	10%	13%	11%	21%
Economy	12%	10%	13%	10%	12%	10%	10%	13%	13%
Education	11%	11%	11%	9%	9%	16%	19%	7%	7%
Electricity	11%	12%	9%	10%	13%	16%	2%	9%	14%
Corruption	10%	10%	10%	14%	8%	12%	7%	9%	12%
Job Creation	9%	9%	8%	9%	7%	7%	16%	9%	4%
Security	9%	9%	8%	7%	7%	6%	9%	12%	9%
Agriculture & Food Security	9%	9%	8%	7%	10%	6%	14%	8%	7%
Infrastructure (Road, Water, Rail Etc.)	7%	8%	7%	9%	12%	8%	4%	6%	6%
Healthcare	6%	5%	7%	9%	5%	6%	3%	8%	4%

Conflict Resolution	3%	3%	3%	3%	3%	2%	3%	3%	3%
Climate Change	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%
Others	1%	1%	2%	0%	0%	1%	0%	4%	0%

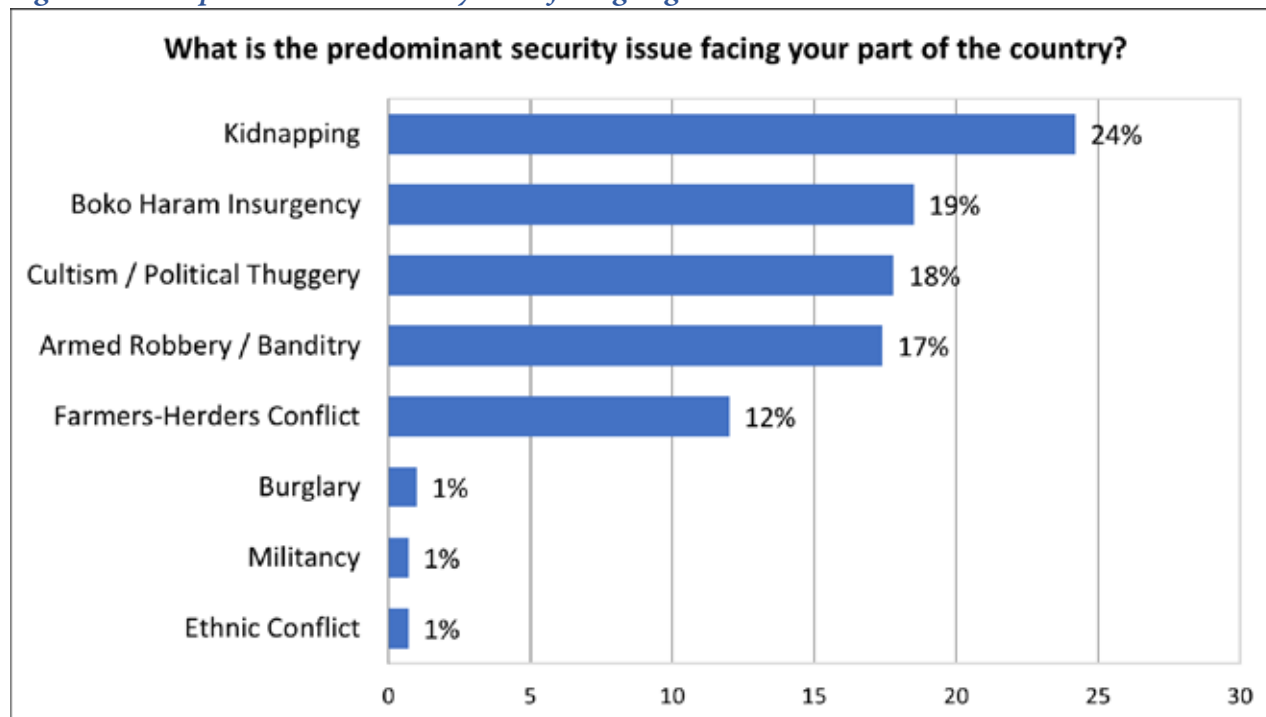
The ranking of the third most important priority varied widely across age group and locality. In departure from the overall ranking, electricity ranked as the top priority among age group 35-54 while corruption was top among age group 55-64. Corruption tied with an economic issue (agriculture) as the top issue in urban areas and electricity was the top issue in semi-urban areas.

Table 12: The 3rd most important policy priority by Age-Group and Locality

	Nigeria	Age-Group					Locality		
		18 – 24	25 – 34	35 – 54	55 - 64	65+	Urban	Semi-Urban	Rural
Poverty Eradication	13%	12%	14%	12%	10%	16%	11%	13%	15%
Economy	12%	10%	13%	11%	10%	4%	10%	9%	14%
Education	11%	11%	11%	11%	6%	12%	8%	12%	13%
Electricity	11%	10%	9%	14%	9%	15%	9%	15%	10%
Corruption	10%	11%	9%	11%	14%	9%	12%	6%	12%
Job Creation	9%	9%	8%	9%	8%	14%	11%	7%	8%
Security	9%	9%	9%	8%	10%	11%	10%	10%	7%
Agriculture & Food Security	9%	9%	9%	8%	11%	4%	12%	6%	7%
Infrastructure (Road, Water, Rail Etc.)	7%	8%	7%	8%	10%	10%	8%	9%	5%
Healthcare	6%	6%	7%	4%	7%	3%	5%	9%	5%
Conflict Resolution	3%	2%	3%	3%	4%	2%	2%	3%	3%
Climate Change	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%
Others	1%	3%	1%	1%	1%	0%	3%	1%	0%

Kidnapping is currently the most rampant security challenge faced by respondents across the country as reported by 24% of the sample. Next is Boko Haram insurgency (19%). A combination of cultism and political thuggery is reported by 18% of the sample; while another 17% reported armed robbery and banditry, as the predominant security challenge. Farmers-Fulani herder's crisis comes in the fifth position as reported by 12% of the sample. A total of 5% of the respondents cited banditry, militancy, ethnic conflicts and other forms of security challenge.

Figure 10: The predominant security issue facing Nigeria



5.2.5 SUMMARY OF MOST IMPORTANT PRIORITY AREAS

The summary of the most important priority areas, including the main, second and third, are summarized in the table below, listing only the top two areas. As the table shows, job creation and security are the top two first-tier policy priorities that Nigerians across gender, age-group, locality and geopolitical zone want President Buhari to focus on in the next four years. The top two second-tier preferences are also job creation and security across all dimensions with the additional mention of the economy in the South-East and South-South geopolitical zones and the importance of healthcare to the elderly population.

	Most Important	Second Most Important	Third Most Important
Overall	1. Job Creation 2. Security	1. Job Creation 2. Security	1. Poverty Eradication 2. Economy
Gender			
Male	1. Job Creation 2. Security	1. Job Creation 2. Security	1. Poverty Eradication 2. Electricity
Female	1. Job Creation 2. Security	1. Job Creation 2. Security	1. Poverty Eradication 2. Economy

	Most Important	Second Most Important	Third Most Important
Zones			
S/East	1. Job Creation	1. Job Creation	1. Corruption
S/South	2. Security	2. Economy	2. Poverty Eradication
	1. Job Creation	1. Job Creation	1. Electricity
S/West	2. Security	2. Economy	2. Poverty Eradication
	1. Job Creation	1. Security	1. Education
N/East	2. Security	2. Job Creation	2. Electricity
	1. Security	1. Job Creation	1. Education
N/West	2. Job Creation	2. Security	2. Job Creation
	1. Security	1. Job Creation	1. Economy
N/Central	2. Job Creation	2. Security	2. Poverty Eradication
	1. Job Creation	1. Job Creation	1. Poverty Eradication
	2. Security	2. Security	2. Electricity
Age Group			
18-24	1. Job Creation	1. Job Creation	1. Poverty Eradication
25-34	2. Security	2. Security	2. Education/Corruption
	1. Job Creation	1. Job Creation	1. Poverty Eradication
35-54	2. Security	2. Security	2. Economy
	1. Job Creation	1. Security	1. Electricity
55-64	2. Security	2. Job Creation	2. Poverty Eradication
	1. Job Creation	1. Job Creation	1. Corruption
65+	2. Security	2. Security	2. Agriculture & Food Security
	1. Job Creation	1. Healthcare	1. Poverty Eradication
	2. Security	2. Security	2. Electricity
Locality			
Urban	1. Job Creation	1. Job Creation	1. Corruption
S/Urban	2. Security	2. Security	2. Agriculture & Food Security
	1. Job Creation	1. Security	1. Electricity
Rural	2. Security	2. Job Creation	2. Poverty Eradication
	1. Security	1. Job Creation	1. Poverty Eradication
	2. Job Creation	2. Security	2. Economy

5.3 Strategic Policy Recommendations

5.3.1 UNEMPLOYMENT

Among the survey respondents, a dominant proportion (39% of respondents) recommend

“I also blame the education system. We also have an educational crisis in our hands. Some of the so-called “graduates” being churned out by our tertiary institutions are functional illiterates. A few years ago, the DG of the NYSC complained that some of them could not fill the forms for NYSC posting without assistance.

.. An Economic Sector Expert


youth-sensitive job creation as the strategy for addressing the unemployment challenge faced by the country. Next on the list is expansion of industries through investments by both local investors and foreign direct investment (15% of respondents) which will create new companies, as well as efforts to revive companies that closed down during the recent recession (7% of respondents).

Support for Made-in-Nigeria products was advocated by 8% of respondents in order to reverse our proclivity for imported goods and services which supports job creation offshore rather than at home. In this respect, Government is enjoined to provide leadership by deliberately raising the profile of “Made-in-Nigeria” goods in its public procurement process beyond the current recommendation of 30% of budget, increase the threshold on annual basis, and ensure compliance by all ministries, departments and agencies (MDAs). In addition, government through the central bank should sustain the instrumentation of foreign exchange sales to drive this agenda.

“We need not only to expand economic opportunities but to revamp the education system, retool the youths and train them in various skills. We need to refocus on the so-called STEM disciplines – science, technology, engineering and mathematics...we must not be foolish enough to invest in disciplines where the youths will come out and be unemployable.

.. An Economic Sector Expert

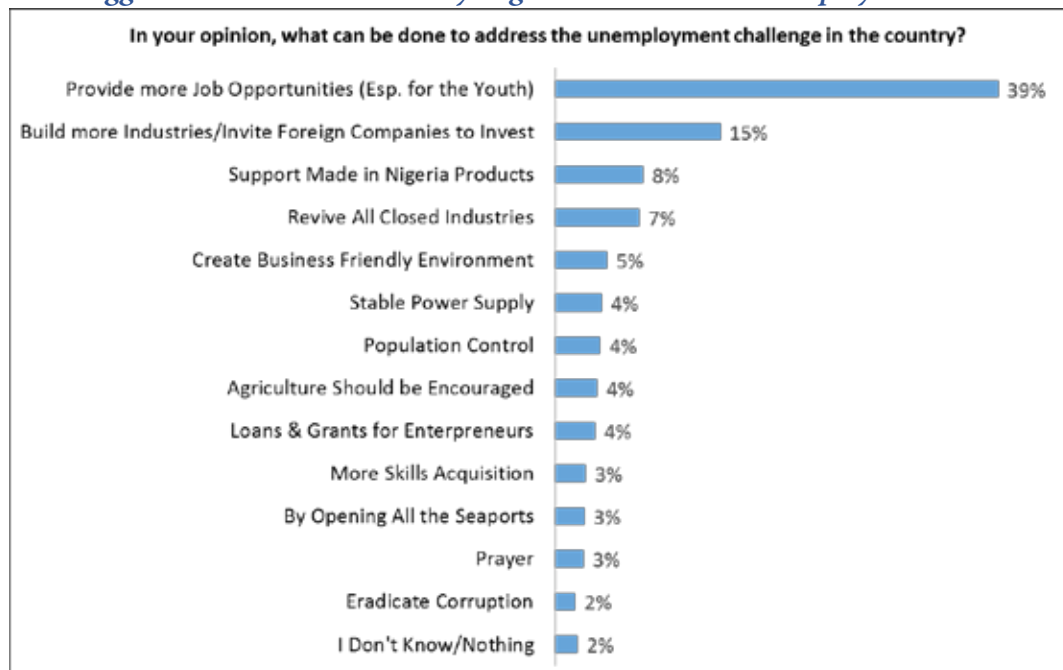
Other measures advocated by respondents to reduce unemployment include creation of business-friendly environment (5% of respondents), delivery of stable power supply (4% of respondents), access to loans and grants by entrepreneurs (4% of respondents), and encouragement of agriculture (4% of respondents). Other less-emphasized strategies are skill acquisition (3% of respondents), opening of all seaports (3% of respondents) and prayer (3% of respondents).



This is so basic...I wonder why action has not been taken. If fighting crime is a priority, then why are efforts towards that goal often scattered across separate agencies that don't necessarily collaborate and communicate with each other? Govt must ensure that the structure and procedures necessary to see the big picture and accomplish the broad goals are in place and enabled.

.. A Security Sector Expert

Figure 11: Suggested recommendations by Nigerians to address unemployment



While these measures are focused on expanding capacity of local companies to create jobs on demand side of the labor market, they need to be complemented by measures to improve employability of job-seekers on the supply side, which has both quality and quantity dimensions.

The challenge of unemployment is partly blamed on the education system in terms of both quality and quantity of the workforce entering the labor market on a continuous basis. In terms of quality, the education system is apparently in a state of crisis.

In terms of quantity, there is a pressing need to re-engineer the education system to make it more responsive to the needs of the economy.

5.3.2 SECURITY

Fighting insurgency requires at least four key elements, namely countering the insurgents through military and other security operations, disrupting logistics and other material support to insurgents from both international and local sources, depriving insurgents local support by winning citizens' hearts and minds, and transforming the economic, social, environmental and other conditions that triggered the insurgency and feed its ranks. The federal government has concentrated on the military element of the strategy, but there are even evident deficiencies in that regard, not helped by its own self-deceptive denial of the continuing challenge. And it certainly needs to do a lot more work on the other three elements.

The federal government needs to have a clearly defined agenda for addressing security challenges and depart from the current national security strategy, which is weak and does not speak to the varied forms of insecurity in the country. For instance, mere deployment of troops is not enough; instead, the deployment should respond to a clearly defined strategy that has both kinetic and non-kinetic force, of which only the former is at play.

Looking at security challenges more broadly, experts recommend the following:

- In the short term, government needs to stop self-delusive denial of the continuing Islamist challenge in the North East, step up its counter-insurgency campaign, but also devote greater efforts to improving humanitarian and rehabilitation operations, as well getting the recently-established North East Development Commission to start longer term programmes for regional transformation and development.
- The President and his new government need to acknowledge and address the social, economic, environmental, educational challenges among others from the security threat perspective. The government needs to create jobs and arrest youth unemployment, including through sustainable improvement of electricity supply.
- Mr. President should come up with a clearly defined national security strategy that is comprehensive and effective in responding to the country's security strategy. The president needs to urgently formulate and implement comprehensive reform of the security and rule of law sectors.
- The President needs to pursue constitutional and administrative reforms that will guarantee citizens' rights, curb corruption, improve transparency and accountability, and enhance service delivery. He can readily find elaborate guides in the submissions of various high-level national reform conferences held over the years. To bring in fresh and hungry brains into the leadership of the security agencies with a work plan, evaluation plan, and timeline to meet objectives.
- President Buhari needs to make rapid progress towards ending the herder-farmer conflict, through a combination of security measures, local dialogues between belligerent groups and, most importantly, vigorous implementation of the ten-year National Livestock Transformation Plan which could end the conflict durably.
- Security Silos should be broken. The unintended consequence of operating various security-oriented agencies in silos is that there is often little-to-no cross-functional support among them, so internal power or budgetary struggles ensue; having an extreme impact on the overall integrity & security of Nigeria. The unfortunate result is that there is little communication between the silos, as they each operate independently of each other. Therefore, there is little or no interaction, sharing of information or collaboration to address threats; presenting numerous soft targets and a target-rich environment for terrorists and criminals across the country. .

An Intelligence-led infrastructure should be established. Initial preparations should include:

- Redeployment of all security personnel in the North East and Middle Belt into smaller bases (more spread out) such that every area in that region can be reached within an hour.
- Series of drones can be hired to give 24hrs sky level coverage of the region. These eyes-in-the-sky will also be stationed across the region in such a way that they can be up in the sky within minutes.
- Each of these smaller and new security bases will be given responsibility for a specific geographical area.
- The security team should recruit thirty ordinary people in each Local Government Area (LGA) in the region under consideration. These will be farmers, market sellers, traders, etc, people who will go about their day as normal. They will be equipped with an analogue phone, whose battery can last weeks, with pre-programmed numbers to call. These human agents will become a key part of an early warning system that will alert the control room of a problem in their area or of the presence of killers either suspected or ongoing attacks.

"From all previous killings, the killers do not rush their acts. They take their time, spending hours in the villages being attacked. They come in dozens and travel in convoys in the open. With minimum of thirty undercover agents in each Local Government areas, there will be better and more-timely alerts to security forces.

With an alert of impending or ongoing attack and a one hour reach to any location, the security personnel can intercept these killers either on their way to or from committing their crimes. Or even during the attack itself.

These new bases will form a boa-like protection for these areas thus constricting and strangling any killers in these areas. Within a short time, the killers will realise they cannot escape being caught either on their way to or from their crimes. This will be a formidable deterrent to them and those captured can then be mined for further intelligence."

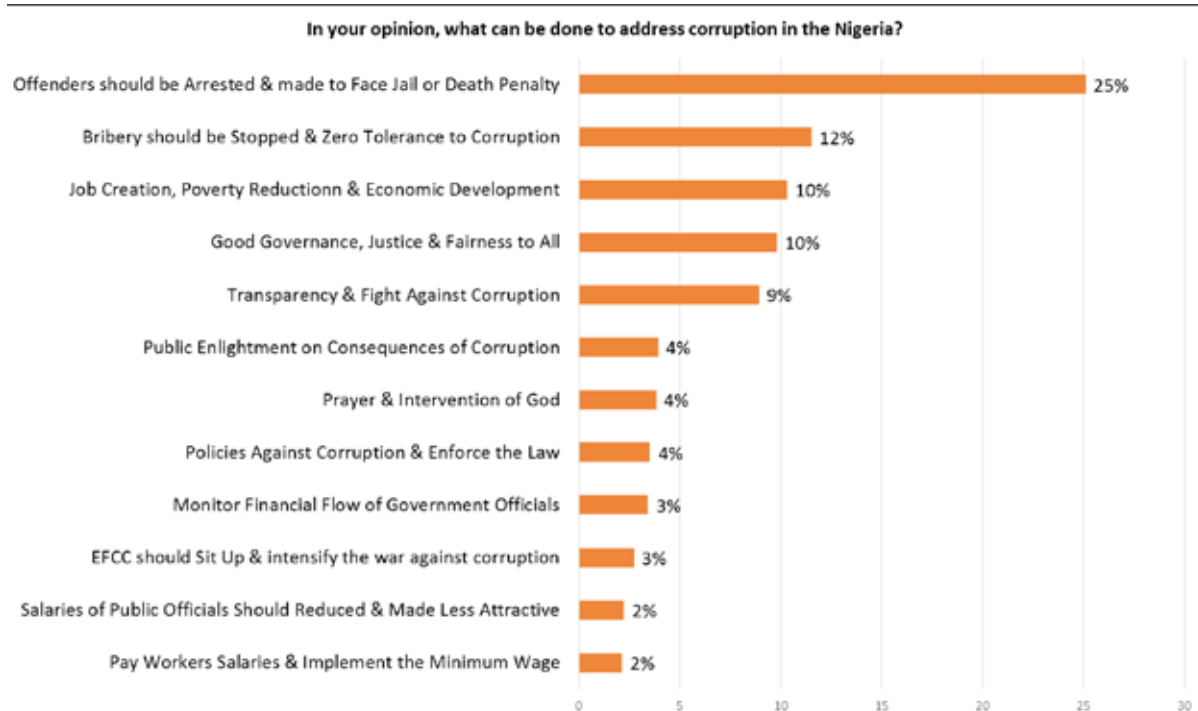
.. A Security Sector Expert

5.3.3 CORRUPTION

When asked about options to curb corruption, most of the respondents (25%) advised the government to arrest, jail and possibly apply the death penalty to offenders of the country's anti-corruption code as a strategy to tackle the deep-rooted problem of corruption. The option to put in place measures to bring bribery of officials to a halt and apply the policy of zero tolerance for corruption was advocated by 12% of the respondents. One-in-ten (10%) respondents advised the government to focus on job creation, poverty reduction and economic development while a similar percentage advocated good governance, justice and fairness to all citizens. The next major option advocated by 9% of respondents is for the government to exhibit transparency in its

fight against corruption. Other less prominent options include public enlightenment on consequences of corruption, prayer for divine intervention, enforcement of policies and laws against corruption, monitoring the financial transactions of government officials, establishment of more anti-corruption agencies, the reduction of salaries of public officials and making of public offices less financially attractive, implementation of minimum wages and adequate security.

Figure 12: Suggested recommendations by Nigerians to address corruption



5.3.4 OTHER IMPORTANT ISSUES

The majority of survey respondents (17%) advised the government to eradicate poverty and improve the standard of living as the means of addressing socioeconomic and political challenges faced by the country. Next is universal respect for and obedience of the rule of law (15%), encouragement of agriculture for food security (12%) and improvement of security system (10%). Other options suggested by the respondents include reducing the cost of living (9%), maintaining stable power supply (5%), construction of good roads (5%), bringing an end to corruption (3%), stabilizing the economy (3%), implementation of community policing (3%), youth empowerment and employment (2%), prayer (2%), more job opportunities (2%), prompt payment of salaries (2%), good and affordable healthcare services (2%), quality education (1%), good governance (1%) and encouragement of investors (1%).

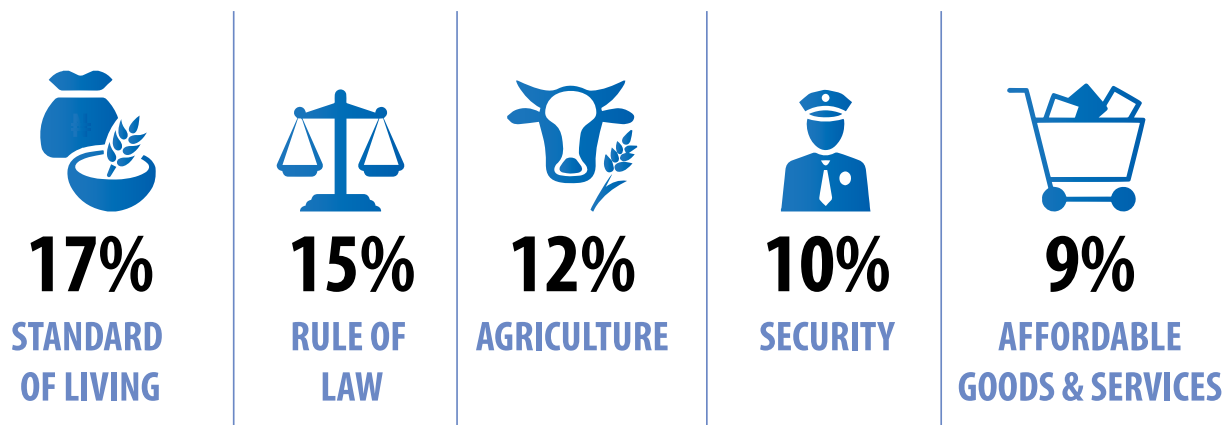
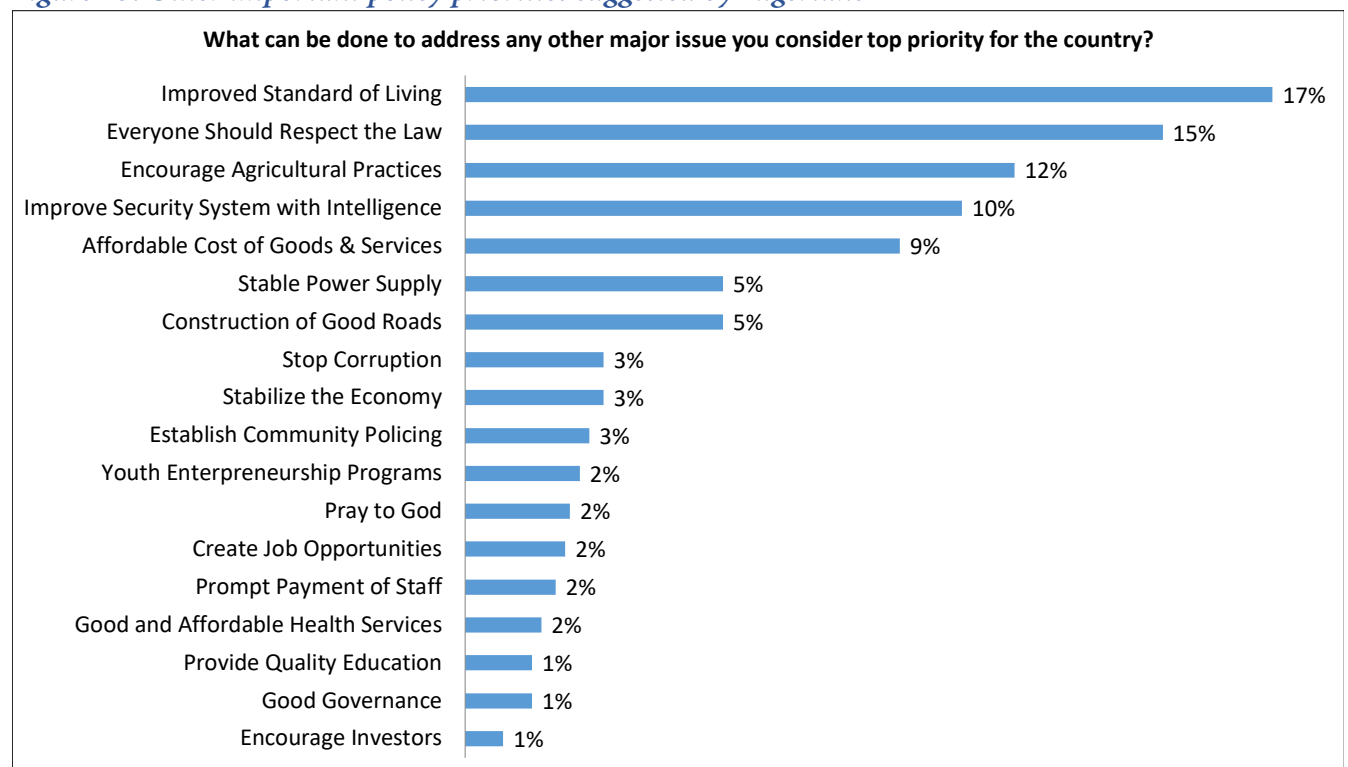


Figure 13: Other important policy priorities suggested by Nigerians



Other recommendations to improve the economy by experts include:

- Reforming the civil service to transform it into a system that is anchored in professionalism, performance and merit;
- Adoption of a private-sector type performance system for top government functionaries (political and career appointees) in respect of target setting and achievements;
- Build a strong economic team and develop a 21st century compatible economic philosophy on trade and competition.

5.3.5 HOW “NON-STATE ACTORS” CAN CONTRIBUTE

Non-State Actors could play several great roles in addressing the security challenges. The non-state actors should be integrated into the framework of security sector governance in the country. They should not operate outside the oversight of the government. They have become key actors in the security space and must be subjected to effective oversight. In the absence of a community policing framework, they should be supported and monitored to operate under strict guidelines.

Citizens and community leaders could support security agencies with information and intelligence on the activities of insurgent or criminal groups. Such information and intelligence could provide critical early warnings for pre-empting deadly incidents or important leads for investigating previous crimes and conflicts. This is the biggest problem Nigeria confronts. The breakdown of trust between the people and security agencies mean there is no effective intelligence coming from the people. Until trust is built people will not support the police or provide vital intelligence. Community vigilantes could help state security agencies, not only by gathering and providing grassroots intelligence, but also navigating the local terrain during operations.

The civil society community could be referred to as the ‘gate-watchers’ to put government and security agencies to task and demand early best-fit responses through consistent collective and strategic advocacy. Non-governmental organizations and civil society groups could also help by creating or promoting forums for conflict prevention, conciliatory dialogues and peacebuilding between groups in conflict. Lastly, the media is widely referred to as the fourth estate and gatekeepers.

5.3.6 PRESIDENTIAL LEGACY

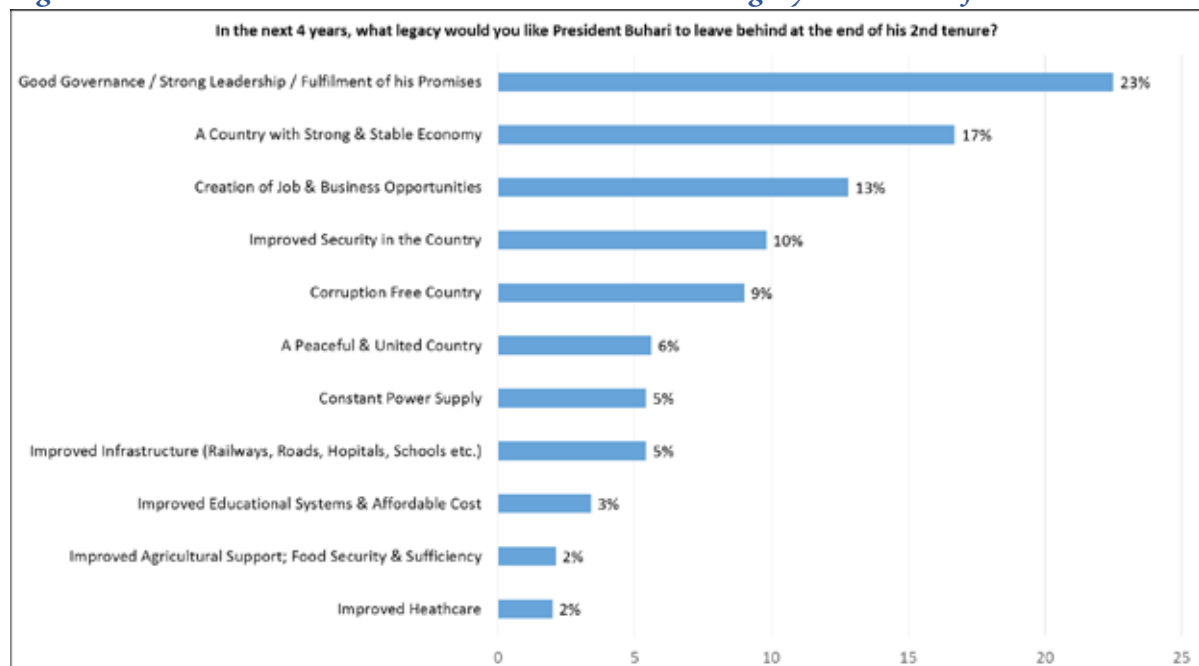
This component of the survey provides an opportunity for Nigerians to describe the legacy they would like President Buhari to leave behind after the next four years. The open-ended questions are coded into categories presented in the chart below. About 23% of Nigerians want President Buhari to leave behind a legacy of good governance, good leadership and fulfilment of promises made. Next on the ranking comes a country with a strong and stable economy, desired by 17% of the respondents, which is immediately followed by a legacy of jobs and business opportunities desired by 13% of the respondents. Given the links between jobs and business opportunities and the strength and stability of the economy, it implies that a combined 30% of respondents desire a legacy of sustained economic growth and stability. In effect, the leading legacy that Nigerians want from President Buhari is a strong and stable economy that is creating

jobs and economic opportunities.

While legacies of strong economy and good governance are the top priority for the majority (53%) of Nigerians, other Nigerians want the administration to leave behind different legacies. Of the remaining respondents, 10% want a legacy of improved security, 9% want a legacy of corruption-free country, 6% want a legacy of a peaceful and united country, 5% want constant power supply, 5% want infrastructural improvement, 3% want improved educational system at reduced costs, 2% want food sufficiency, and 2% want improved healthcare.



Figure 14: Areas President Buhari should address as his legacy at the end of his 2nd tenure



6.0 Conclusion



In summary, the study has revealed clearly that over the next four years, Nigerians want President Muhammadu Buhari's second term in office to focus mainly on job creation and improving security; and most importantly, for the president to leave a legacy of a strong and stable economy under good governance and security of lives and property. These findings highlight the issue of unemployment, particularly amongst youth aged 18 to 35 years, and the need to tackle the issue frontally. It has widely been acknowledged that youth unemployment is a ticking time bomb in Nigeria, and a key factor triggering youth restiveness, kidnapping, militancy and violent extremism experienced across the country.



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