

BUHARIMETER MID-TERM REPORT

May 29th, 2015 - May 28th 2017



Centre for Democracy & Development
Centre pour la démocratie et le développement

© Centre for Democracy and Development, 2017

Buhatimeter Mid-term Report

ISBN 978-978-961- 554-4

All Rights reserved, No part of this publication may be reproduced, store in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior permission of CDD

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

[E-mail:cddabv@CDDwestafrica.org](mailto:cddabv@CDDwestafrica.org)
www.cddwestafrica.org

DISCLAIMER

This document is a product of CDD. The views in this publication are completely ours and do not necessarily reflect those of our partners.

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 organisation.

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 African 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.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS	1
LIST OF FIGURES	2
LIST OF TABLES	4
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	5
ACRONYMS	6
ABOUT BUHARIMETER	10
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	11
METHODOLOGY	13
PLEDGE PERFORMANCE OUTLOOK (PPO)	15
ANALYSIS OF SECTORIAL/ISSUE PERFORMANCE	17
1. CORRUPTION	18
2. NATIONAL SECURITY AND DEFENCE	32
3. ECONOMY	47
Agriculture	50
Infrastructural Development	57
Industrialisation	70
Oil and Gas	75
Social Safety Net	79
Employment.....	83
4. FOREIGN POLICY	87
5. POLITICS AND GOVERNANCE	89
6. SOCIAL SECTOR	97
Education	97
Health.....	100
Housing	104
Water and Sanitation	106
Sports and Culture	110
7. WOMEN AND YOUTH EMPOWERMENT	114
8. PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES (PWDs)	119
9. ICT	121
10. ENVIRONMENT.....	124
11. NIGER DELTA.....	129
CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	132

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Overall Performance Rating (Year 1 Vs. Year 2)	15
Figure 2: PMB Promises on Corruption	19
Figure 3: Are you aware that President Buhari and Vice President Osinbajo publicly declared their assets at the beginning of their administration?	20
Figure 4: Performance Rating on Corruption	21
Figure 5: In your opinion, do you think FGN is genuinely cutting down on the cost of governance?	26
Figure 6: Promises on Security	33
Figure 7: Do you feel this present government is doing enough to ensure that the girls kidnapped in Chibok are rescued and reunited with their families?	35
Figure 8: Military-Police Security Operations across Nigeria	37
Figure 9: In your view, what measures should be taken to address the issues of Boko Haram, Farmers and Pastoralists conflicts and Militancy in Nigeria?	42
Figure 10: Do you support the plans for the creation of state police in Nigeria?	46
Figure 11: Inflation Rate Vs Interest Rate (Jan. 2015 – Apr. 2017)	48
Figure 12: In your opinion, how would you describe FGN approach in tackling the present economic recession in the country?	49
Figure 13: Promises on Agriculture	52
Figure 14: Inflation Rate on Food Item (Jan. 2015 to April 2017)	55
Figure 15: How/In what ways has the economic recession in Nigeria affected you or your household?	56
Figure 16: Rating of Performance, Agriculture	51
Figure 17: Promises on Infrastructure.....	58
Figure 18: Licenses for Power Generation Granted the Government Since 2015	61
Figure 19: Objective of the Power Sector Recovery Programme (PSRP)	56
Figure 20: Trend Analysis of Electricity Generation in Nigeria (May, 2015 – May, 2017) .	62
Figure 21: Domestic Gas Supplied/Power Generated to Gas-fired Power Plants (June 2015 – Feb., 2017)	63
Figure 22: Ongoing Road Construction by PMB	65
Figure 23: Other Infrastructural development Intervention of PMB	66
Figure 24: Interventions in the Aviation Sector	68
Figure 25: Interventions in the Maritime Sector	69

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 26: Promises on Industrialization	70
Figure 27: Refineries Combined Operational/Utilization Capacity (May 2015 to February 2017).....	74
Figure 28: Campaign Promises on Oil & Gas	76
Figure 29: Promises on Social Safety Net	80
Figure 30: Promises on Employment	84
Figure 31: Number of Jobs Created Rate (2015 – 2016)	85
Figure 32: Unemployment and Underemployment Rate (%) (2015 – 2016)	86
Figure 33: Promises on Foreign Policy	88
Figure 34: Promises on Politics & Governance	91
Figure 35: Incidents of Violation of Rights	95
Figure 36: Performance on Politics & Governance	96
Figure 37: Promises on Education	98
Figure 38: Promises on Health	101
Figure 39: Performance Outlook, Health	103
Figure 40: Promises on Housing	104
Figure 41: Rating of performance on Housing	106
Figure 42: Promises on Water & Sanitation	107
Figure 43: Rating of Performance, Water & Sanitation	109
Figure 44: Promises on Sport & Culture.....	111
Figure 45: Rating of Performance, Sports and Culture.....	112
Figure 46: Promises on Women & Youth Development	115
Figure 47: Rating of Performance, Women & Youth Empowerment	117
Figure 48: Promises on PWDs	119
Figure 49: Promises on ICT	121
Figure 50: Rating of Performance, ICT	122
Figure 51: Promises on Environment	128
Figure 52: Rating of Performance, Environment	113
Figure 53: Promises on Niger Delta.....	130
Figure 54: Rating of Performance, Niger Delta	132



LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Operational definition of rating system	13
Table 2: : Sectorial Performance	16
Table 2: If Yes, Do you think it is a good measure to encourage the reporting of corrupt practices in Nigeria?	16
Table 3: In your opinion, how satisfied are you with the performance of the FG in the fight against corruption in Nigeria?	30
Table 4: How would you rate the effectiveness of the anti-corruption campaign of PMB?	31
Table 5: Do you feel this present government is doing enough to ensure that the girls kidnapped in Chibok are rescued and reunited with their families?	31

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This report was prepared by a team led by Idayat Hassan, Director of CDD, and coordinated by Yusuf Shamsudeen Adio. CDD would like to acknowledge support provided by the team members in the preparation of the report, including Philip Olayoku, Hilary Matfess, Austin Aigbe, Olakunle Abiodun, Glory Ukwenga, and Timothy Yohana. Thanks are also due for the excellent review of the draft report by Prof. Shola Omotola.

We also want to acknowledge the technical support provided by NOIPolls in the Citizens' Perception Survey, which helped to bridge the gap between policies/programmes, the government and citizens' expectations. Our partnership with Premium Times in carrying out fact-checking exercises on selected government programmes has helped immeasurably in ascertaining the status and challenges of some interventions.

The team would also like to acknowledge the generosity of government officials in Ministries, Departments and Agencies for granting us interviews during the preparation of this report. Relevant insights into the gains and losses of government interventions provided by civil society groups are also acknowledged. The report has been copy edited by Anthea Gordon.

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

Signed
Idayat Hassan
Director
Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD)

July 2017

ACRONYMS

ABP	-	Anchor Borrowers Programme
ACGS	-	Agriculture Credit Guarantee Scheme
AEHE	-	Agricultural Equipment Hiring Enterprises Centre
AfDB	-	Africa Development Bank
AFRICMIL	-	African Centre for Media and Information Literacy
AGF	-	Attorney General of Federation
ANED	-	Association of Nigerian Electricity Distributors
APC	-	All Progressives Congress
APP	-	Agriculture Promotion Policy
BH4All	-	Better Health for All
BoA	-	Bank of Agriculture
Bol	-	Bank of Industry
BRICS	-	Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
BVN	-	Bank Verification Number
CAC	-	Corporate Affairs Commission
CBN	-	Central Bank of Nigeria
CBT	-	Community Based Targeting
CCB	-	Code of Conduct Bureau
CCECC	-	China Civil Engineering Construction Corporation
CDD	-	Centre for Democracy and Development
CMAM	-	Community Management of Acute Malnutrition
COO	-	Chief Operating Officer
CPI	-	Corruption Perception Index
CSOs	-	Civil Society Organizations
CST	-	Communication Service Tax
DBN	-	Development Bank of Nigeria
DISCOs	-	Distribution Companies
DSDP	-	Direct-Sale-Direct-Purchase
DSS	-	Department of Secret Service
ECMI	-	Equipment Component Manufacturing Initiative
ECOWAS	-	Economic Community for West African States
EFCC	-	Economic and Financial Crime Commission
ERGP	-	Economic Recovery and Growth Plan
FEC	-	Federal Executive Council
FEPSAN	-	Fertilizer Producers and Suppliers of Nigeria
FGN	-	Federal Government of Nigeria
FGSHLB	-	Federal Government Staff Housing Loan BoArd
FHF _s	-	Family Homes Funds
FIRS	-	Federal Inland Revenue Service

ACRONYMS

FISH	-	Federal Integrated Staff Housing
FMARD	-	Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development
FMBN	-	Federal Mortgage Bank of Nigeria
FMF	-	Federal Ministry of Finance
FMWR	-	Federal Ministry of Water Resources
FOI	-	Freedom of Information
GCGC	-	Gezhouba Construction Group Corporation
GDB	-	German Development Bank
GDP	-	Gross Domestic Product
GEEP	-	Government Enterprise and Empowerment Programme
GENCOs	-	Generation Companies
GGFRE	-	Global Gas Flaring Reduction Energy
HGSFP	-	Home Grown School Feeding Programme
HYPREP	-	Hydrocarbon Pollution Restoration Project
ICPC	-	Independent Corrupt Practices Commission
IFFs	-	Illicit Financial Flows
IMN	-	Islamic Movement in Nigeria
INDCs	-	Intended Nationally Determined Contributions
INEC	-	Independent National Electoral Commission
IOCs	-	International Oil Companies
IPOB	-	Indigenous People of Biafra
IPPIS	-	Integrated Personnel and Payroll Information System
IPPs	-	Independent Power Projects
JICA	-	Japan International Corporation Agency
JVAs	-	Joint Venture Agreements
LIFE	-	Livelihood Improvement Family Enterprises
MACBAN	-	Miyatti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria
MDAs	-	Ministries, Departments and Agencies
MNJTF	-	Multi-National Joint Task Force
MOPICON	-	Motion Picture Council of Nigeria
MoU	-	Memorandum of Understanding
MPC	-	Monetary Policy Committee
MPR	-	Monetary Policy Rate
MSC	-	Mining Support Centre
MSME	-	Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises
NAF	-	Nigerian Air Force
NASS	-	National Assembly
NBET	-	Nigerian Electricity Bulk Trading Plc
NBS	-	National Bureau of Statistics

ACRONYMS

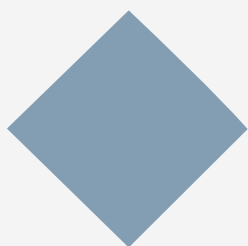
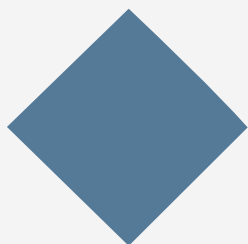
NCAA -	Nigerian Civil Aviation Authority
NCDC -	Nigeria Centre for Disease Control
NCS -	Nigeria Customs Service
NCWRs -	National Council on Water Resources
NDA -	Niger Delta Avengers
NDDC -	Niger Delta Development Commission
NDE -	National Directorate for Employment
NEDC -	North East Development Commission
NEITI -	Nigeria Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative
NERC -	Nigerian Electricity Regulatory Commission
NFIU -	National Financial Intelligence Unit
NGFCP -	National Gas Flare Commercialization Programme
NIEB -	Nigeria Import & Export Bank
NIOMCO -	National Iron Ore Mining Company
NIS -	Nigeria Immigration Service NITDA - National Information Technology Development Agency
NITDA -	Nigerian Information Technology Development Agency
NLFAC -	National Lassa fever Action Committee
NNPC -	Nigeria National Petroleum Corporation
NOSDRA -	National Oil Spill Detection and Response Agency
NOTN -	Nigerian Office for Trade Negotiations
NPA -	Nigerian Ports Authority
NPAMC -	National Petroleum Assets Management Commission
NPC -	National Police Council
NPK -	Nitrogen, Phosphorous and Potassium
NPPDS -	Nigerian Political Parties Discussion Series
NSR -	National Social Register
NYSC -	National Youth Service Corps
OGP -	Open Government Partnership
OSC -	Operation Safe Corridor
PACAC -	Presidential Advisory Committee on Anti-Corruption
PAF -	Presidential Air Fleet
PANDEF -	Pan Niger Delta Forum
PAP -	Presidential Amnesty Programme
PCAR -	Presidential Committee on Asset Recovery
PCNE -	Presidential Committee on the North East
PDP -	Peoples Democratic Party
PEBEC -	Presidential Enabling Business Environment Council
PFI -	Presidential Fertilizer Initiative

ACRONYMS

PHCs -	Primary Health Centres
PIGB -	Petroleum Industry Governance Bill
PMB -	President Muhammadu Buhari
PPAs -	Power Purchase Agreements
PPDC -	Public and Private Development Centre
PPP -	Public Private Partnership
PRESCOM -	Presidential Committee on Small Arms and Light Weapons
PSPAP -	Power Sector Payment Assurance Program
PSRP -	Power Sector Recovery Programme
PTAD -	Pension Transitional Arrangement Directorate
PTDF -	Petroleum Technology Development Fund
PWDs -	Persons with Disabilities
RBDAs -	River Basin Development Authorities
RECs -	Resident Electoral Commissioners
RMAFC -	Revenue Mobilization, Allocation and Fiscal Commission
SALW -	Small Arms and Light Weapons
SCTU -	State Cash Transfer Units
SDGs -	Sustainable Development Goals
SIP -	Social Investment Programme
SOCU -	State Operators Coordinating Units
SOML -	Save One Million Lives
SOP -	Standard Operational Procedure
SSA -	Senior Special Assistant
TCN -	Transmission Company of Nigeria
TI -	Transparency International
TRC -	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
TSA -	Treasury Single Account
TSCTP -	Trans-Saharan Counter-Terrorism Partnership
UAE -	United Arab Emirate
UNDP -	United Nations Development Program
UNEP -	United Nations Environmental Programme
UNICEF -	United Nations Children's Fund
WASHCOMs -	Water Sanitation and Hygiene Committees
WB -	World Bank
WSSCC -	Water Supply and Sanitation Collaboration Council
WSSSRP -	Water Supply and Sanitation Sector Reform Programme
YES -	Youth Entrepreneurship Support
YESSO -	Youth Employment and Social Support Operation
YIEDP -	Youth Innovation Entrepreneurship Development Programme



ABOUT BUHARIMETER



Buharimeter (www.buharimeter.ng) is an independent monitoring tool that enables Nigerians, scholars and political analysts around the globe to evaluate the implementation of the campaign promises of President Muhammad Buhari and his party, the All Progressives Congress (APC), made in the prelude to the 2015 general elections. Like other election pledge monitoring initiatives around the globe (such as Obameter, Mackymeter and Morsimeter), *Buharimeter* evolves 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 the norm. By analysing data gathered through multiple sources and rating the performance of the government, we hope to empower Nigerians to take an active role in making the APC-led government live up to its campaign promises.



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The connections between electoral campaigns and democratic accountability are well established. In spite of this, not much has been done to systematically measure the extent to which political office holders uphold their social contract with the populace, especially in a developing democracy like Nigeria. This gap assumes greater significance given that the 2015 general elections were not only adjudged to be the most credible, freest and fairest elections in Nigeria's fourth republic, but also ranked among the most issue-driven contests in the history of elections in Nigeria. In fact, a few months before the presidential election, Muhammadu Buhari of the All Progressives Congress (APC) and the then incumbent President, Goodluck Ebele Jonathan of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) pledged to conduct issue-based campaigns. In view of this, they articulated their policy priorities and redefined the approach to addressing Nigeria's perennial socio-political and economic challenges through campaign pamphlets and party manifestos. Based on these, Nigerians made their choice on Election Day and, for the first time in Nigeria's political history, power was transferred from an incumbent President to the opposition party.

In light of the above, the need to hold the incumbent administration and the ruling party accountable for the 222 campaign promises they made during their election campaign cannot be over-emphasised. This is why the Buharimeter project was launched on 1st June 2015. This report is the sixth in the series undertaken to provide independent, systematic and non-political assessment of the performance of this administration against its election pledges, and is divided into five different sections. The first section introduces the report, and gives an overview of the key findings regarding the government's promises which are categorised as either broken, ongoing, achieved or not rated. The second section explains the methodology of the Buharimeter and the third section provides a summary of President Buhari's pledge performance outlook (PPO) by sector, during his first and second years in office. The main body of the report, the fourth section, gives a thorough analysis of actions taken by the Buhari-led administration to fulfill its promises across different issues and sectors, from corruption to education, and the implication of such actions on the government's performance rating. The last section concludes and provides projections about Buhari's subsequent years in office.

KEY FINDINGS

Not Achieved/ Broken Promises

Our findings reveal that five of the campaign promises have not and cannot be achieved by the incumbent administration within the period under review. These are broken promises! These include the promises to stop medical tourism abroad (at a time when medical tourism has become routine for the President himself); create three million jobs annually; build one million new houses a year over the next few decades; provide steady power supply to Nigerians between 12 and 18 months of the administration in power; and immediately increase the national budget to the health sector from 5.5% to 10%.

Achieved Promises

Seven of the promises have been achieved. Promises achieved include: public declaration of assets and liabilities; presentation of National Anti-Corruption Strategy; establish good working relationship with state governments in the conflict ridden North East, neighbouring countries and international community in the fight against Boko Haram; introduction of time-limited partial amnesty to rank and file of Boko Haram members; review health policy; introduce social insurance scheme; and review of structure of Joint Venture Companies and ensure transparent tendering process not managed by Federal Ministers.

Ongoing Promises

A comparative analysis of the performance of PMB in his first two years shows significant progress in terms of promises rated as achieved and ongoing. In the first year Buharimeter report released in July 2016, it was reported that overall performance was low, having achieved only one out of 222 campaign promises, while progress was being made towards fulfilling 45 of the promises. However, performance has improved within the year under review with an increase in the total number of achieved and ongoing election pledges from one to seven and 45 to 114 respectively, in Year 1 and Year 2.

Not Rated Promises

'Not rated' promises decreased from 179 to 96. Sectors that have received more government attention in terms of policy interventions and programmes include security, corruption, agriculture, oil and gas, social safety net and industrialisation. However, there are no corresponding interventions in sectors including education, health, sports and culture, women and youth empowerment. As such, these sectors have performed poorly.

METHODOLOGY

This initiative conceives election pledges as those proposed policy packages agreed to and accepted by the members of a political party or its candidates, developed to address lingering societal problems, and well communicated to electorates in the pre-election period in order to gain their votes. From this definition, four key elements of election pledges stand out:

1. Proposed policy priorities.
2. Emanate from political parties, their candidates or both.
3. An important tool for electoral campaign to win votes from eligible voters in elections.
4. Usually a pre-election activity.

Sources of election pledges tracked and documented include:

1. APC Manifesto: An Honest Contract with Nigeria
2. My Covenant with Nigeria released by the Campaign Team of the APC Presidential Candidate, Muhammadu Buhari
3. Unrefuted media reports including national newspaper reports and electronic media reports (television and radio) on election promises made by the President during campaign tours across the country
4. Pronouncement of the constituted authority of APC in pre-election debates organised by Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD-West Africa)

We employ a ranking system for rating performance per tracked promise, which is operationally defined in Table I below:

Table I: Operational definition of rating system

Ranking	Definition
<i>Achieved</i>	<i>This is when a pledge has been met.</i>
<i>Not Achieved</i>	<i>No action is taken at all towards achieving a promise by the end of tenure of office (4 years) or specific timeframe of a promise, as defined by political party or the President.</i>
<i>Ongoing</i>	<i>Government is in a process of achieving a promise but the pledge has not been fully met.</i>
<i>Not Rated</i>	<i>No action has been taken towards achieving a promise within a reporting period but NOT by the end of tenure or specific timeframe of a promise, as defined by the party or the President.</i>

The status of each of the promises is reviewed and verified by the project team using the above ranking system to measure the actions of the government aimed at fulfilling these promises. The accuracy of reported actions is carefully verified and fact-checked before the status of each promise is updated. At the time of the status update, we first ensure that the relevance of specific actions of the government to a particular promise is ascertained by looking critically into the objectives of the action as established by the incumbent administration. Data for the analysis is sourced through measures including: review of relevant policy documents and reports, fact checking, on the spot visits, interviews of government officials and experts, and media tracking. With respect to interviewing government officials, we wrote letters to ministers and coordinators of relevant offices requesting an interview and the sharing of documents that may enrich this report.

However, the response was not encouraging as many did not respond to our request. Even so, there is a marked improvement in the response compared to our request during the development of last year's report.

To ensure that all voices are heard above the din of partisan politics, a citizens' perception survey was conducted. Nigerians' perception of the government's performance was elicited on its three priority areas: corruption, the economy and security. The survey was conducted through face-to-face interviews between April 3rd and 22nd 2017. The interviews were conducted in five major languages (English, Pidgin English, Yoruba, Hausa and Igbo) in 111 local government areas (LGAs)¹ amongst 4,097 sampled populations. All states and senatorial districts in Nigeria were proportionately represented in the survey. Overall, the survey was carried out in 109 senatorial districts with three LGAs sampled per state, including the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja. Respondents for the survey were randomly selected.

The survey covered both urban and rural areas. Gender, social class, literacy levels, marital status, age, and income levels were proportionately represented in the survey. Post-stratification weights for the gender and senatorial district variables were constructed and applied to the data to make it more representative of the population, allow for more accurate population totals of estimates and reduce non-response bias. The weights assigned were in proportion to the 2006 Nigerian population figures.

The margin of error does not exceed plus or minus 2.55% at the mid-range, with a confidence level of 95%. Prior to the survey, a field test was conducted of 50 completed interviews. Issues identified during this field test were rectified prior to fielding the survey. These interviews were not incorporated into the final data set. In terms of scope, the period under review in this report is between May 29th 2015 and May 28th 2017.

¹ Out of a total of 774 LGAs in the country,

PLEDGE PERFORMANCE OUTLOOK (PPO)

A comparative analysis of the performance of PMB in his first two years (Years 1 and 2) shows significant progress in terms of promises rated as 'achieved' and 'ongoing'. In the first year Buharimeter report released in July 2016, it was reported that overall performance was low, having achieved only one out of 222 campaign promises, while progress was made towards fulfilling 45 of the promises. However, performance has improved within the year under review.

As shown in Fig. 1 below, the total number of achieved and ongoing election pledges has increased from 1 to 7, and 45 to 114 respectively in Year 1 and Year 2. At the same time, 'not rated' promises decreased from 179 to 96. However, the promises rated as 'not achieved' increased from 0 in the first year to 5 in the second year. The promises rated as 'not achieved' include medical tourism, provision of 1 million houses per year, creation of 3 million jobs yearly, ensure steady and uninterrupted power supply within 12 and 18 months of PMB administration in office, and immediate increase of national budget to health sector from 5.5% to 10%. Table 2 below provides disaggregated data on PMB performance during Year 2 in each sector where promises were made.

Figure 1: Overall Performance Rating (Year 1 Vs. Year 2)

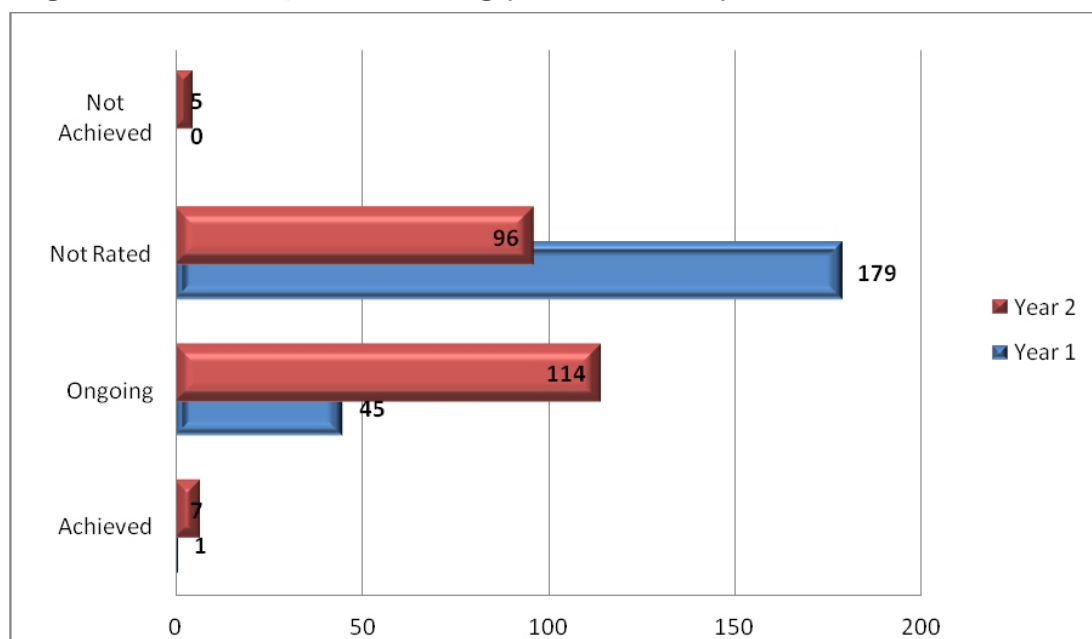


Table 2: Sectorial Performance, Year 2

Sector	Achieved	Ongoing	Not Rated	Not Achieved
Corruption	2	7	4	0
Politics & Governance	0	3	8	0
National Security & Defence	2	12	8	0
Employment	0	6	3	1
Industrialisation	0	9	3	0
Agriculture	0	11	8	0
Education	0	5	25	0
Health	1	2	3	2
Environment	0	8	5	0
Niger Delta	0	3	0	0
Foreign Policy	0	6	1	0
Housing	0	2	3	1
Social Safety Net	1	2	0	0
Infrastructure	0	15	2	1
Oil and Gas	1	10	0	0
ICT	0	2	2	0
Sport & Culture	0	4	9	0
Women & Youth Empowerment	0	4	8	0
PWD	0	1	1	0
Water & Sanitation	0	2	3	0



ANALYSIS OF SECTORIAL/ ISSUE PERFORMANCE



1 CORRUPTION

Overview

Since assuming office on 29 May 2015, tackling corruption remains one of President Buhari's main priorities. The administration has made a remarkable effort towards fulfilling promises to curb corruption in the country. The government has fulfilled two out of 13 campaign promises made in respect of fighting corruption within the period under review, while there are laudable moves by the government towards fulfilling others. Achieved promises include: public declaration of assets and liabilities and review and presentation of National Anti-Corruption Strategy. Seven of the promises in Figure 2 below are 'ongoing' and four are 'not rated' respectively. The latter promises, which the government has so far taken no observable steps towards fulfilling, include: establish a National Council on Procurement (NCP), strengthen the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) by guaranteeing financial and prosecutorial independence and tenure of office, establish an autonomous National Financial Intelligence Unit (NFIU) and introduce a legally enforceable code of conduct for all public servants, including elected officials.

Analysis

Nigeria has consistently been rated as one of the most corrupt countries in the world on the Transparency International (TI) Corruption Perception Index (CPI). Nigeria's corruption index averaged 20.17 points from 1996 until 2016, reaching an all-time high of 28 Points in 2016.² Taking pragmatic measures to curb corruption is of vital importance for Nigeria's future given its implications for security and the political, social and economic prospects of the country. Poverty, insurgency, militancy and infrastructural decay are largely a result of a culture of corruption that is deeply rooted in the social fabric of the society.

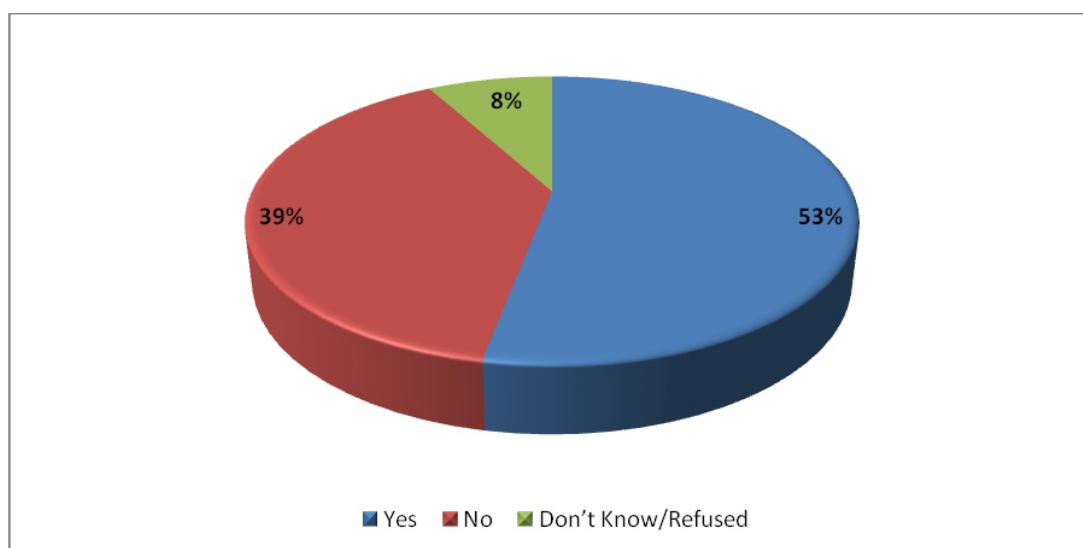
² [http://www.tradingeconomics.com/nigeria/corruption-index` `](http://www.tradingeconomics.com/nigeria/corruption-index)

Figure 2: PMB Promises on Corruption



Nigeria's corruption dilemma means most Nigerians welcome the anti-corruption drive of President Muhammadu Buhari. However, with regards to the achievement of a promise to publicly declare assets and liabilities by PMB and his Vice President, Prof. Yemi Osinbajo, the majority of Nigerians surveyed in the Buharimeter National Survey, 2017, are not aware of this development, as shown in Figure 3 below.

Figure 3: Are you aware that President Buhari and Vice President Osinbajo publicly declared their assets at the beginning of their administration?



Source: Buharimeter National Survey, May 2017

Respondents in the survey expressed mixed feelings regarding the way the President and Vice-President declared their assets: 47% of Nigerians who are aware of the declaration state that how they declared their assets and liabilities fell short of standard practice, while 40% responded on the contrary.

The Executive Secretary of the Nigerian Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (NEITI), Adio Waziri, has also publicly declared his assets and liabilities. However, within the period under review, no minister has publicly declared assets and liabilities upon assumption of office in September 2015. Some ministers are accused by the Code of Conduct Bureau (CCB) of non-compliance with procedures for declaring their assets³.

³ Premium Times, Asset Declaration: Fashola, Adeosun, Amaechi, 16 others yet to fully comply; CCB threatens arrests, <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/217772-asset-declaration-fashola-adeosun-amaechi-16-others-yet-fully-comply-ccb-threatens-arrests.html>

In December 2016, in a landmark development, PMB approved a Standard Operational Procedure (SOP), gazetted as CCB SOP 2017, on 30th January 2017⁴, to strengthen CCB particularly in the areas of asset investigation and tracking, devolution of activities to the state offices of CCB, and reporting. Due to this intervention, CCB will now not report to any government officer, including the President, in the delivery of its mandate. This received criticism from some top government officials who called for stepping down the implementation of SOP because, according to them, it is inconsistent with the 1999 Constitution (amended) and subsisting acts (such as the Procurement Act.). The unhealthy response it is receiving from the officials within the period under review may slow down its implementation.

Nigeria's extractive sector is unquestionably riddled with corruption. To reverse the trend, NEITI audit reports were recognised as an important tool for promoting transparency and accountability in the sector. Over the years, NEITI has made a good number of recommendations to rid the industry off corruption, including removal of crude swap deal, unbundling of Nigeria National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC), removal of subsidy, strict compliance to Federal Government Financial Regulations by NNPC, stoppage of granting pioneer status to companies in the oil and gas sector, and termination of cash call payments on Joint Venture Agreements (JVAs), amongst others

One of the major moves made towards implementing NEITI's recommendations was the announcement of replacement of crude-for-product exchange, popularly known as crude swap, with the Direct-Sales-Direct-Purchase (DSDP)⁵ Framework in February 2016 by the Minister of State for Petroleum Resources and then Group Managing Director of NNPC, Dr Ibe Kachukwu. In April 2016, the framework was fully adopted⁶ to ensure transparent supply of refined products in the country by allowing direct sale of crude oil by NNPC, as well as direct purchase of petroleum products from credible international refineries. Through the application of the DSDP Framework, as noted in the July/August edition of Energy in Brief, the country has saved a total of \$336 million from the sale of refined products between April and July 2016⁷

Concerned with the monumental corruption associated with the subsidy regime in the country, the administration yielded to the call for subsidy elimination by NEITI and other stakeholders in the industry by introducing what they called "New Framework for Petroleum Products Supply, Distribution and Pricing." However, the increase in fuel-pump price from N86/N86.5 to N143/N145 per litre that came with it did not augur well with ordinary citizens.

Additionally, following the revelation in NEITI's 2014 report that NNPC failed to remit N3.8 trillion of the N8.1 trillion generated from oil receipts into the Federation Account as required by the law, National Economic Council constituted a team of four governors (from Gombe, Edo, Akwa Ibom and Kaduna states) to inquire into the funds.

4 Anayo Okolie, Code of Conduct Bureau Gets Standard Operational Procedure, *Thisday Newspaper*, April 19 2017

5 Direct Sale-Direct Purchase to Replace Crude Swap, Takes off March – Kachikwu, retrieved at <http://www.nnpcgroup.com/PublicRelations/NNPCinthenews/tabid/92/articleType/ArticleView/articleId/621/Direct-Sale-Direct-Purchase-to-Replace-Crude-Swap-Takes-off-March-Kachikwu.aspx>

6 NNPC Group: Energy in Brief, July/August Edition, retrieved at <http://www.nnpcgroup.com/Portals/0/Monthly%20Financial%20and%20Operations%20Data/Energy%20in%20Brief/Energy%20in%20Brief%20July-August%202016.pdf>

7 Ibid, page 4.

The Federal Government has also recently decided to terminate cash call payments on Joint Venture Agreements with major international oil companies⁸. So far, it is apparent that government is acting upon recommendations they considered important in addressing the rot in the oil and gas sector.

The promise to make corruption unattractive within Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) by instituting accountability mechanisms has been dealt with by the incumbent administration by, over the last two years, initiating and leveraging existing policies and programmes. A move towards fulfilling the promise is the presidential directives to all the MDAs to henceforth respond to auditor's queries within 24 hours.⁹ The President also ordered Continuous Audit Process (CAP) to check salaries and wages of government departments¹⁰ and appointed PWC and KPMG to conduct forensic audits into accounts of all revenue generating agencies of the government.¹¹

Additionally, to reduce diversion of government funds to secret accounts and promote a corrupt-free system within MDAs, the Buhari administration has ensured strict enforcement of the Treasury Single Account (TSA) to create a consolidated account system. As of November 2016, the government had reportedly saved N48 billion in the consolidated account¹² as a result of the introduction of TSA. The TSA, which is "a success story",¹³ will be extended to cover more statutory agencies in 2017. According to available information from the Honorable Minister of Finance, Mrs. Kemi Adeosun, at least N5.2 trillion has so far been moved to the TSA from commercial banks, and about 200,000 deposit bank accounts have been closed as a way of fighting corruption.¹⁴

The administration claims that the TSA has brought transparency, effective tracking of government revenue, and has blocked leakages and abuse in management of government finances. According to Accountant General of the Federation (AGF), Mr Ahmed Idris, during his interview with Economic Confidential in Abuja in April 2017, FGN has recorded over N7 trillion in the TSA towards the end of March 2017.¹⁵ This may have addressed the problems of efficient management and control of government's cash resources but its negative impact on liquidity level in the banking sector, delay in payment plan and dearth of funds in MDAs are major challenges posed by TSA. The dearth of funds necessitated the recent advocacy for decentralisation of TSA for efficiency¹⁶.

8 NEITI Applauds FGN JV Cash Exit, retrieved at <http://neiti.org.ng/index.php?q=news/2016/12/20/neiti-applauds-fgn-jv-cash-call-exit>

9 <http://maritimematters.com.ng/buhari-tells-mdas-answer-outstanding-audit-queries-within-30-days-or-face-sanctions/>

10 <https://www.pmnewsnigeria.com/2016/03/10/fec-approves-presidential-initiative-on-continuous-audit-of-mdas/>

11 <http://thewillnigeria.com/news/fg-hires-kpmg-pwc-to-conduct-forensic-audit-of-cbn-sec-nimasa-dpr/>

12 Ifeanyi Onuba, FG saves N48bn from Treasury Single Account, Punch Newspaper, November 13 2017

13 <https://thewhistler.ng/story/treasury-single-account-to-cover-more-agencies-in-2017-adeosun>

14 <http://politicsngr.com/2017/02/15/fg-expand-tsa-account/>

15 Wale Odunsi, TSA: Nigerian government realises N7trillion, Daily Post, April 17, 2017

16 TSA should be decentralized for efficiency – LCCEI, retrieved at

<http://www.premiumtimesng.com/business/business-news/232388-tsa-should-be-decentralised-for-efficiency-lcci.html>

Open governance and the inclusion of key stakeholders in the decision-making process is crucial for promoting transparency and accountability in the business of MDAs. As a follow up to commitments made by the administration at the 2016 London Anti-Corruption Summit¹⁷ it has acceded to the Open Government Partnership (OGP) and presented a draft of Nigeria's National Action Plan for OGP¹⁸ at OGP Global Summit held December 7-9, 2016, in Paris, France.

The draft document underscores government's plan to ensure fiscal transparency, beneficial ownership and citizen engagement, with specific milestones and a timeline to measure performance. To further enhance the transparency of the Nigerian Ports Authority (NPA), government moved to open an office for the Presidential Advisory Committee on Anti-Corruption in the NPA in line with a report submitted by the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) on the corruption index in ports administration.¹⁹ In addition, the NPA signed a MoU with civic transparency organisation, BudgetIT, to open its budget to the public. The MoU will result in the development of an open budget system platform for the NPA and the implementation of a public data dissemination programme that will help the agency in blocking illicit financial flows (IFFs) and other revenue leakages.

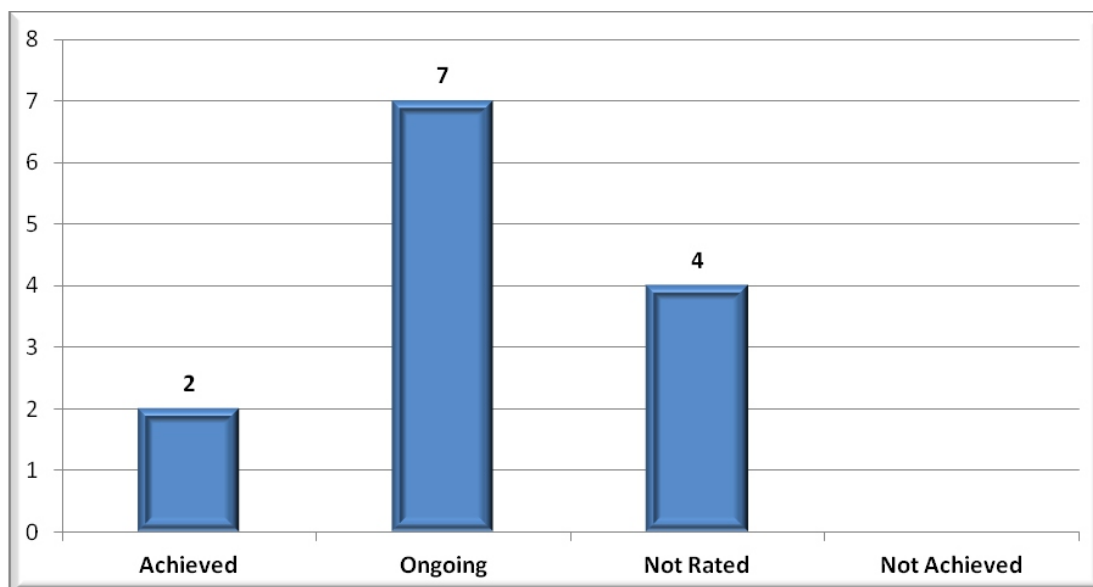
Government has applauded TSA and other instituted transparency and accountability instruments (including CAP, the Integrated Personnel and Payroll Information System (IPPIS) and Bank Verification Number) as measures to reduce the constraints in eliminating ghost workers from the public service across the country. At national level, government says it has so far removed 50,000 ghost workers from its payroll, saving the country N200 billion a year. Notwithstanding the fact that more ghost workers may still be uncovered following the ongoing implementation of the human resource component of IPPIS, 11 people allegedly championing the syndicate of ghost workers have been purportedly handed over to the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC)²⁰ for investigation and prosecution.

¹⁸ The draft document can be accessed via
http://www.justice.gov.ng/documents/2016%20DRAFT%20NIGERIA%20OGP%20NAP.pdf?utm_source=Aso+Villa+Newsletter+-+Government+At+Work&utm_campaign=7f55c8abab-EMAIL_CAMPAIGN_2016_11_27&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_c7d9702208-7f55c8abab-122878509

¹⁹ <http://www.nigerianports.org/news.aspx?id=339>

²⁰ Nigeria removes 50,000 ghost workers from payroll, saves N200 billion in 2016 – Presidency, retrieved on the

Figure 4: Performance Rating on Corruption



A promise to cut the cost of governance has received significant attention from the government. A few months into the administration, PMB reduced the number of federal ministries from 26 to 22²¹ and created an Efficiency Unit (E-Unit), domiciled at the Federal Ministry of Finance (FMF), to review all government overhead expenditure, reduce waste, promote efficiency and ensure quantifiable savings for the country²².

Subsequent decisions taken by the E-Unit such as a ban of procurement and distribution of bags, T-shirts and other souvenirs at events including conferences and seminars funded by MDAs²³ and the introduction of detailed price guidelines to ensure value for money in procurement by MDAs²⁴ have received commendation from Nigerians as measures to cut down the cost of governance in the country. For example, following public criticism of the huge amount spent for maintenance of Presidential Air Fleet (PAF), the Presidency advertised the sale of Falcon 7x and Hawker 4000 aircrafts²⁵ and handed over two Augusta AW 101, VVIP helicopters from the PAF to the Nigerian Air Force (NAF)²⁶.

21 It is worth noting that this move only reduced the number of Ministers and not the number of civil servants.

22 Nigerian govt establishes 'efficiency units' to reduce cost of governance, retrieved on the 25 November, 2015 at <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/193923-nigerian-g%E2%80%8Bov%E2%80%8Bt-establishes-efficiency-units-to-reduce-cost-of-governance.html>

23 Buhari bans distribution of souvenirs at govt. events, <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/207856-buhari-bans-distribution-souvenirs-govt-events.html>

24 Finance Ministry's efficiency unit devises strategies to cut procurement costs, <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/business/business-news/198291-finance-ministrys-efficiency-unit-devises-strategies-cut-procurement-costs.html>

25 Buhari bows to pressure, puts up 2 presidential jets for sale, <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/211974-buhari-bows-pressure-puts-2-presidential-jets-sale.html>

26 Cutting Cost: Buhari hands over 2 presidential helicopters to Air Force, <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/212480-cutting-cost-buhari-hands-2-presidential-helicopters-air-force.html>

One of the far-reaching initiatives of E-Unit is the ban of first class air travel by top government personnel in April 2016. According to the directive given by the President, travels with Business Class tickets [but not first class] would be restricted to only ministers, permanent secretaries, chairmen of federal government committees as well as chairmen and chief executives of parastatals and agencies²⁷. Fact-checks on compliance of officials to this directive reveal that not all public officials abide by the Presidential directive, and, for defaulters, no noticeable punitive action has been taken by the incumbent administration to enforce compliance. CDD personally spotted Chief of Army Staff of Nigeria, Lieutenant General Tukur Yusuf Buratai, flying business class, Lufthansa LU 0594, from Washington Dulles, DC, to Abuja, Nigeria, on Friday 16th September 2016. On the contrary, as revealed by Premium Times, the Comptroller General of Customs, Hamid Ali, was spotted on 19th July 2016, flying first class on British Airways flight, BA83, from London to Abuja, in clear violation of President Buhari's directive banning public officials from flying first class.²⁸

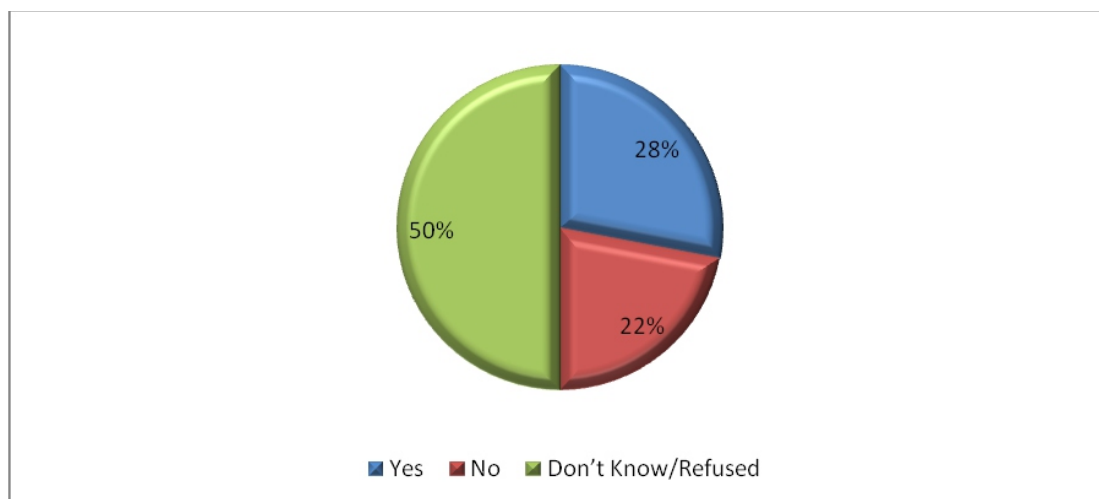
However, while significant moves have been made by the current administration to cut down the cost of governance, the sincerity of the administration to fulfill this promise without discrimination has been questioned. Essentially, reducing the tendency of profligacy in governance should not be limited to the sale of government assets but should consist of holistic reform of the public service spending. The presidential directive to Revenue Mobilization, Allocation and Fiscal Commission (RMAFC) to review salaries of public servants (including elected officials) has not seen the light of the day for more than a year now despite enthusiasm over its positive impacts on the cost of governance in the third quarter of 2015. The government should thus endeavour to take a critical look at its actions and ensure that attempts to cut down cost of governance actually fulfill its promise.

It is therefore not surprising that 50% of sampled populations during the National Survey conducted in April 2017 do not believe that the Federal Government of Nigeria (FGN) is genuinely cutting down the cost of governance, with only 28% of respondents believing that they are. However, there were regional variations, with the highest proportion in the North West (33%). 22% of respondents had no response.

27 Nigeria bars public officials from travelling with first class air tickets, <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/business/business-news/201372-nigeria-bars-public-officials-travelling-first-class-air-tickets.html>

28 Nigeria Custom boss, Hamid Ali, violates Buhari's directive, flies first class from London, retrieved at <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/207331-exclusive-nigeria-custom-boss-hamid-ali-violates-buharis-directive-flies-first-class-from-london.html>

Figure 5: In your opinion, do you think FGN is genuinely cutting down on the cost of governance?



Source: Buharimeter National Survey, May 2017

In view of the need for a holistic anti-corruption strategy, President Buhari set up a seven member Presidential Advisory Committee on Corruption (PACAC)²⁹ in 2015, headed by Prof. Itse Sagay, to advise the President on reform agenda in anti-corruption, prosecution of the war against corruption and implementation of reforms in the criminal justice system. Since its inauguration, the PACAC has convened a series of capacity building workshops and provided insights into strategies to address corruption cases. It should be stated that the Ministry of Justice recently published on its website the National Anti-Corruption Strategy in line with the administration's promise to present the strategy to Nigerians. Thus, this promise is rated as 'achieved'.

²⁹ The activities of PACAC are funded through Anti-Corruption and criminal Justice Reform Fund supported by Ford Foundation, MacArthur Foundation and Open Society Foundation and coordinated by Trust Africa.

The Federal Ministry of Justice, being the focal Ministry with oversight on the implementation of the Freedom of Information (FOI) Act, has undertaken some activities to encourage proactive disclosure of information by government institutions in the spirit of the FOI Act. As part of the effort, the Ministry in 2015 conducted in-house training for National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) FOI desk officers, staff of Raw Material Research and Development Council, and Federal Ministry of Finance. In addition, the Ministry collaborated with Piatabuchi Resources Nigeria Ltd to organise FOI workshops and trainings in Abuja, Nasarawa, Kaduna, Lagos and Calabar for heads of FOI Units and Committees in Public Institutions and continuously updated the developed FOI website: www.foia.justice.gov.ng.

The Ministry, also in 2015, collaborated with several CSOs, particularly Freedom of Information Coalition, on trainings relating to the technical aspects of the Act³⁰. Despite continued effort by the Ministry to encourage proactive disclosure, the FOI law, which has mandatory provisions on disclosure, is not being complied with by many MDAs. As with so many other laws, there are no viable instruments to enforce compliance, including the absence of sanction. According to a 2016 report on compliance benchmark released by the Public and Private Development Centre (PPDC), out of 131 public institutions surveyed, 100 did not comply with the FOI Act on issues relating to procurement and capital expenditure³¹. In April 2017, PPDC and the African Centre for Media and Information Literacy (AFRICMIL) secured a court order to sue CCB for its failure to provide information on written declaration of assets of elected and appointed office holders under the Freedom of Information Act 2011³².

In addition to the foregoing promised intervention strategies, the government has relentlessly sought the assistance of foreign countries in the recovery of looted and stolen money by signing bilateral agreements and setting-up different committees to strengthen the anti-corruption fight in the country. In addition to Britain and the USA's commitments to help in the recovery of looted funds stashed in foreign banks,³³ Switzerland continues to reiterate its willingness to repatriate \$321 million of Abacha's loot to the country and has signed a Letter of Intent (LOI) with the government, which set out conditions that the fund would be used for projects that would benefit Nigerians and the projects must be monitored by the World Bank. Similarly, Nigeria and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) signed bilateral agreements³⁴ to boost the government campaign on the recovery and repatriation of stolen wealth.

30 2015 Annual Report on the Implementation of Freedom of Information Act 2012 at www.foia.justice.gov.ng/foiportal/pages/uploadreport/uploads/downloader.php?filename=2015%20ANNUAL%20REPORT%20ON%20THE%20IMPLEMENTATION%20OF%20THE%20FREEDOM%20OF%20INFORMATION%20ACT%202012.pdf

31 100 public institutions breach freedom of information law – PPDC, retrieved at <https://www.today.ng/news/nigeria/189227/100-public-institutions-breach-freedom-law-ppdc>

32 Court Grants PPDC, AFRICMIL Leave To Sue CCB For Failure To Disclose Asset Declaration Of Senior Public Officials, retrieved at <https://www.abusidiqu.com/court-grants-ppdc-africmil-leave-sue-ccb-failure-disclose-asset-declaration-senior-public-officials/>

33 The United States government revealed that it has begun dialogue with the federal government on the release of the 458 million dollar Abacha loot but that the legal process for its recovery will take extra time (Source: Channels TV News).

34 For example: Judicial Agreements on Extraction, Transfer of Sentenced Persons, Mutual Agreement on Criminal matters and Mutual Legal Assistance on Criminal and Commercial matters

The administration also signed three MoUs with the Italian Government on mutual assistance in criminal matters, transfer of sentenced persons and an extradition treaty.³⁵ At national level, the government established the Presidential Committee on Asset Recovery³⁶ (PCAR) in November 2016 to strengthen its capacity to recover looted assets.

Since the inauguration of this administration, we have seen reinvigorated anti-graft agencies namely the EFCC, the ICPC, the CCB and the Code of Conduct Tribunal (CCT). These organisations are being proactive in investigating and prosecuting alleged corrupt officials. The EFCC particularly has taken giant strides in the recovery of stolen assets, and ensuring that corrupt persons face the law. High profile corruption cases currently being prosecuted by EFCC include Rt. Col. Sambo Dansuki, Chief Olisa Metuh, Ex. Governors Orji Uzor Kalu and Muritala Nyako, amongst others. The anti-graft agency has also secured forfeiture of recovered looted assets, including \$43m, £27,800 and N43m found in an apartment in Ikoyi³⁷.

Increasingly, there is a general consensus amongst Nigerians on the need to fight corruption and punish those who violate anti-graft laws. However, it is important that these are done within legally permissible limits. An analysis of the manner with which anti-graft agencies and the Department of Secret Service (DSS) are invading houses of and arresting suspected corrupt officials does not depict strict adherence to the principles of rule of law and respect for human rights. Unlawful detention of suspects and blatant disregard of court orders seem to have characterised the ongoing anti-corruption war despite the government's pledge to obey court order. In October 2016, the ECOWAS court ordered the government to pay a fine of N15 million to Rt. Col. Sambo Dansuki for his illegal detention. At the time of writing this report, the Nigerian government has not yielded to the order and still holds Dasuki in custody. This necessitated the threat by ECOWAS to sanction Nigeria if it does not obey the court order.

In a bid to support the fight against corruption, the Buhari administration introduced a Whistleblowing Policy. The policy, comprising three components, focuses on channels for reporting information and different classification of information.³⁸ The policy provides a reward system of between 2.5% minimum and 5% maximum of the recovered loot. The policy is said to have led to the recovery of monumental amounts of money by the government and has gained popularity amongst Nigerians who are aware of its existence.

For example, the Buharimeter National Survey conducted in April 2017 reveals that of the 47% who claimed to be aware of the policy, 76% believe it is a good measure to encourage the reporting of corrupt practices. Only 21% of respondents do not believe it works. This however has regional dimension as shown in Table 3 below:

35 <http://www.statehouse.gov.ng/>

36 The committee has the mandate to coordinate the collation and categorisation of recovered assets from 2015-2016; verify the records and status of physical assets such as buildings recovered under previous administration; set up the framework for management of recovered stolen assets to avoid re-looting and mismanagement of asset as was the experience in the past; create asset register for recovered asset to avoid a situation where former or serving public officers carry away government assets (Isaka Wakili, Buhari's policies at a glance, *Daily Trust*, May 2017).

37 Court Orders Forfeiture Of \$43m, £27,800, N23m Found By EFCC, retrieved at <http://saharareporters.com/2017/04/13/court-orders-forfeiture-43m-%C2%A327800-n23m-found-efcc>

38 Whistleblowers can report either via email to Whistle@finance.gov.ng or SMS to 0909 806 7946

Table 3: If Yes, Do you think it is a good measure to encourage the reporting of corrupt practices in Nigeria?

Response	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
Yes	77%	87%	79%	57%	69%	77%
No	21%	11%	20%	34%	23%	21%
Don't Know/refused	2%	2%	1%	9%	8%	2%

Source: Buharimeter National Survey, May 2017

It is evident from the table above that North East (87%) and North West (79%) respondents constitute a significant proportion of those who say government's whistle blowing policy is a good measure to encourage the reporting of corrupt practices. Nevertheless, none of the geo-political zones has less than 50% of respondents saying it would boost the fight against corruption. This popular perception may be informed by the statement of the Minister of Information, Culture and Tourism, Alhaji Lai Muhammed in April 2017, that the policy has helped government to recover at least N73 billion³⁹.

Overall, more than half of Nigerians surveyed in the Buharimeter National Survey are satisfied (52%) with the performance of the government in the fight against corruption and believed the campaign has been effective (56%). Compared to the 2016 Buharimeter National Survey in which 37% of surveyed Nigerians posited that government has met their expectations in the fight against corruption, the latest findings indicate a significant improvement in approval rating.

Notwithstanding the support that the anti-graft war has gained from Nigerians, as revealed by the latest Buharimeter survey findings, Table 4 below shows that a greater proportion of Nigerians who expressed satisfaction with government's anti-graft war are resident in the North West (80%), North East (61%), and North Central (55%) geo-political zones. 82% and 71% of surveyed Nigerians in the South East and South South respectively are not satisfied with the government's anti-graft war. More specifically, the North West (81%), North East (65%) and North Central (62%) geo-political zones constitute most of the respondents who rate the President's anti-corruption campaign as 'Effective', while respondents in the South East (76%) and South South (62%) zones mainly make up those who rate the campaign 'Not effective', as shown in Table 5. The variations in approval ratings across geopolitical zones should not be entirely surprising. It may be a continuation of the voting patterns that resulted in the election of the president in the 2015 elections. In the 2015 presidential election, the zones with a high level of approval voted massively for the APC while the South East and the South South, with very low approval ratings, voted massively against Buhari's APC.

39 Soni Daniel, Whistleblower: FG nets N73 billion in 4 months, *Vanguard*, April 16, 2017

Table 4: In your opinion, how satisfied are you with the performance of the FG in the fight against corruption in Nigeria?

Response	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
Satisfied	55%	61%	80%	17%	27%	50%
Not Satisfied	42%	38%	20%	82%	71%	50%
Don't Know/refused	3%	1%	0%	1%	2%	0%

Source: Buharimeter National Survey, May 2017

Table 5: How would you rate the effectiveness of the anti-corruption campaign of PMB?

Response	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
Not effective	36%	31%	17%	76%	62%	46%
Effective	62%	65%	81%	21%	35%	52%
Don't Know/refused	2%	4%	2%	3%	3%	2%

Source: Buharimeter National Survey, May 2017

In spite of positive developments, there are still several areas in which government has failed to live up to its election promises. Having spent two out of four years of tenure in office, the administration is yet to commit to its promise of inaugurating the National Council on Procurement (NCP), and it is yet to institute a standard of ensuring that contracts are devoid of corrupt practices and executed conclusively according to specifications, irrespective of who awarded them. President Buhari's failure to constitute the Council and mainstream it into the government touted anti-graft war may be counter-productive.

Also, the administration's pledge during the 2015 electioneering process that 'institutional autonomy including financial, prosecutorial independence and security of tenure of office' would be guaranteed to EFCC and ICPC has not been honoured. No observable action has been initiated to fulfill this promise except for EFCC Act (Amendment) Bill, 2016⁴⁰, sponsored by Senator Mathew M. Urhohide. The Bill seeks to amend the EFCC Act to provide for the protection of fundamental human rights of suspects and ensure that investigations are concluded before suspects are apprehended and charged to court and other related matters⁴¹. It has also failed to introduce a legally enforceable code of conduct for all public officials, including elected individuals, and it has not made the National Financial Intelligence Unit (NFIU) an autonomous and operational agency

40 The EFCC Act (Amendment) Bill, 2016 can be downloaded via <http://placbillstrack.org/upload/SB272.pdf>.

41 The EFCC Act (Amendment) Bill, 2016

2 NATIONAL SECURITY AND DEFENCE

Overview

President Buhari took office during a national security crisis. The Boko Haram insurgency is one of the most violent conflicts that the country has witnessed since its Civil War. President Buhari's campaign platform recognised that Boko Haram was the most significant security challenge facing the country - but also acknowledged that it was just one of a number of challenges to Nigeria's peace and stability.

With regard to National Security and Defence, the government has achieved only two promises (9% of the 22 promises). Efforts are being made towards fulfilling 12 promises (54.5%), while eight – 36.5% - are not rated. There are also specific promises for which necessary actions have not been taken. These include regular meetings of the Nigerian Police Council; the devolution of power to state governors for the oversight of local policing, including the appointment of state police commissioners; immediate pay rise for security personnel; and the establishment of the Federal Police Complaints Authority and Ombudsman to check the excesses of some security agents.

Analysis

Boko Haram

Under Buhari's tenure, the country is yet to nip the Boko Haram insurgency in the bud, but has also witnessed continued violence in the Middle Belt (as well as across other parts of the country) between farmers and herders, renewed militant activity in the Niger Delta, agitations among Biafrans, and conflict with Shi'a Muslims.

Integral to the fight against Boko Haram has been the cooperation with the Multi-National Joint Task Force (MNJTF). The MNJTF is an African Union authorised force comprised of troops from Nigeria, Benin, Chad, Cameroon, and Niger. In addition to the contribution of troops, the MNJTF helps to coordinate regional information sharing. MNJTF units have helped clear the Sambisa Forest, a vast expanse of forest in the North East used as a base by Boko Haram; and the regional coordination has helped stymie the spread of Boko Haram, denying them safe havens across borders. Hundreds of Boko Haram fighters have reportedly surrendered to MNJTF troops.⁴² Operation Gama Aiki, an air campaign against Boko Haram launched in June 2016, to dislodge Boko Haram from the Lake Chad Basin, was done as a partnership between Nigerian Surface Forces and the MNJTF.⁴³

42 Chiemelie Exeobi, "Boko Haram Terrorists Surrender to MNJTF," *This Day*, November 1, 2016.

<http://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2016/11/01/240-boko-haram-terrorists-surrender-to-mnjtf/>

43 "Boko Haram Intensifies Raids with Operation Gama Aiki," *Daily Trust*, Ronald Mutum, "Boko Haram: Air Force Intensifies Raids With 'Operation Gama Aiki,'" *Daily Trust*, June 20, 2016.

<http://www.dailytrust.com.ng/news/general/boko-haram-air-force-intensifies-raids-with-operation-gama-aiki/151853.html#9hcCID3IIIFQAFb4.99>

Figure 6: Promises on Security



PROMISES ON NATIONAL SECURITY & DEFENCE

- 1 Ensure that under my [Buhari's] watch, no force, external or internal, will occupy even an inch of Nigerian soil. I [Buhari] will give all it takes to ensure that our girls kidnapped from Chibok are rescued and reunited with their families.
- 2 Establish a properly trained and equipped Federal Anti-Terrorism Multi-Agency Task Force to destroy Boko Haram and any form of insurgency.
- 3 Give special attention to the welfare of our [Nigeria] armed forces and all other security personnel and their families, including State-guaranteed life insurance for all officers and men as well as protect the families of our fallen heroes.
- 4 Introduce an immediate pay rise and improved conditions for all five security services.
- 5 Ensure that acts of heroism and valour in the service to the nation are publicly recognized and celebrated.
- 6 Introduce a time-limited partial amnesty for rank-and-file Boko Haram members who have been coerced into the group in return for laying down arms and participating in a programme of reintegration into society.
- 7 Establish close working relationship with governors of the states affected by insurgency, with leaders of our [Nigeria] neighbouring countries and with leaders around the world to coor-
- 8 Address the underlying problem of unemployment, poverty and social injustice that caused the insurgency through a Comprehensive Economic Development Programme for affected states and communities.
- 9 Activate regular meetings of the National Police Council to ensure the discharge of its true constitutional roles in a transparent and accountable way
- 10 Establish a Truth & Reconciliation Commission to address human rights abuses that occurred during the insurgency as well as the fundamental issues that underlie the insurgency.
- 11 Urgently increase the capacity of Nigeria's military, police and other security agencies through the employment of additional personnel, provision of modern equipment and a commitment to professionalism, merit and excellence in the respective services to meet the needs of our growing population.
- 12 Rigorously enforce Agreements, Treaties and Regulations seeking to limit and reduce the incidence of illegal trade in and movement of small arms across the West Africa sub-region and into Nigeria.
- 13 Devolve the oversight of local policing, including the nomination of the State Police Commissioner and management of the provision of service to the state.
- 14 Carryout a national security audit to determine the state of affairs, capacity and capability deficits in our [Nigeria] armed forces, police and other security agencies.
- 15 Employ at least an extra 100,000 police officers.
- 16 Urgently review the management structures of the five security services – the Police, the Army, the Navy, the Air-Force and the intelligence services.
- 17 Urgent review of death and disability insurance to a minimum of N1m (one Million) only, from the current level.
- 18 Develop, promote and implement a public accountability framework to enhance the operational autonomy and efficiency of the military, police and other security agencies in the discharge of their constitutional mandates.



PROMISES ON NATIONAL SECURITY & DEFENCE

19

Establish a Federal Police Complaints Authority and Ombudsman to provide a transparent process for ordinary Nigerians to raise complaints over police conduct.

20

Introduce CCTV systems in our major cities and towns.

Deliver a Marshal Plan on insurgency, terrorism, ethnic and religious violence, kidnapping, and rural banditry and ensure that never again will Nigerian children be slaughtered or kidnapped at will.

21

In executing the war against Boko Haram, the administration prides itself on the establishment of working relationships with state governors, in addition to neighboring countries that are also affected by the onslaught. To redeem the pledge to work with the governors, President Buhari visited the governors of the conflict-ridden states with whom he embarked on regional talks and dialogues with neighboring countries to end Boko Haram. The government also sought assistance from the global communities during the G7 meeting in Germany in 2015; the African Union Summit on Peace and Security Council, South Africa in 2015; visits to United States of America (USA) and the United Nation (UN) General Assembly; meeting with John Mahama of Ghana; as well as meeting with Francois Hollande of France, amongst others.

Chibok

The Buhari administration has made great gains towards ensuring that all kidnapped Chibok girls are rescued and reunited with their families. These have been achieved through negotiations with Boko Haram with the mediation of the Red Cross and Swiss Government. These negotiations have yielded two separate mass releases: the first, in October 2016, led to the release of 21 girls for four Boko Haram prisoners⁴⁴ and the second, in May 2017, led to the exchange of 82 Chibok girls for at least five Boko Haram commanders.⁴⁵ In addition to this negotiated release, other abductees have been rescued and escaped the group.⁴⁶ More than 100 Chibok girls remain under Boko Haram's control. While gauging citizens' perception of whether they think the government is doing enough to rescue kidnapped Chibok girls, it is worth noting that 55% of Nigerians surveyed believed that the government is doing enough to ensure that Chibok girls are rescued and reunited with their families; respondents in the North West zone recorded the highest percentage of affirmation (73%), as shown in Fig. 7 and Table 6 below.

44 Nigeria: Boko Haram 'releases 21 Chibok girls, retrieved at

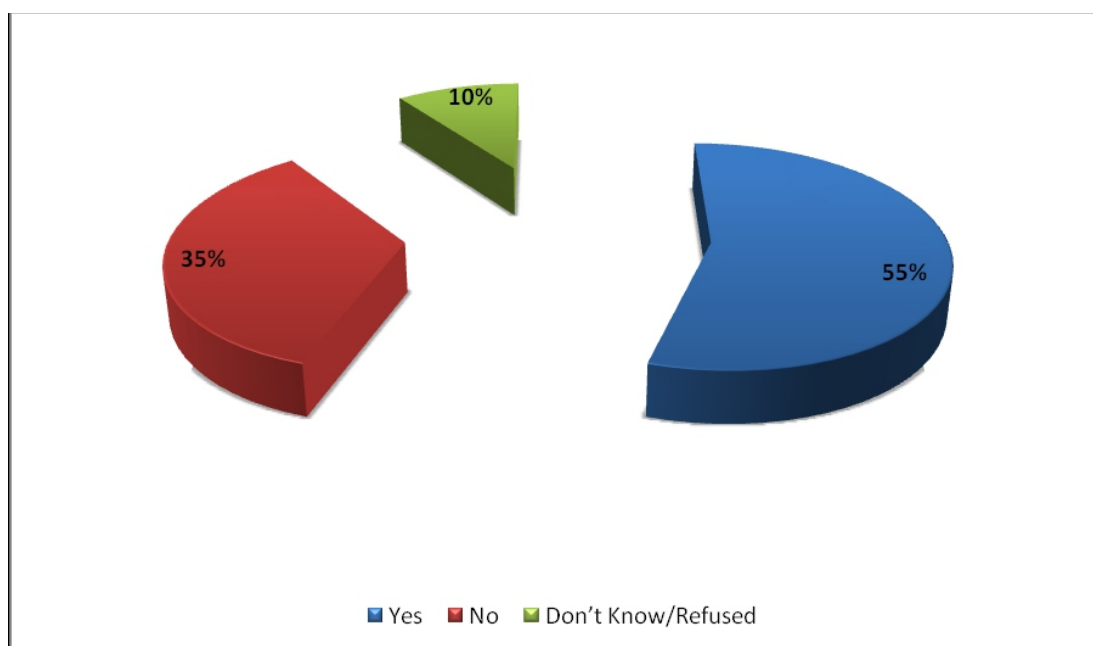
<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/10/nigeria-boko-haram-releases-21-chibok-girls-161013102746662.html>

45 "We Swapped Boko Haram Suspects for 82 Chibok Girls," *Vanguard*, May 2017.

<http://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/05/we-swapped-b-haram-suspects-for-82-chibok-girls/>

46 "Another Chibok Girl Rescued from the Sambisa Forest, says Army," *Punch Nigeria*, November 6, 2016, punchng.com/another-chibok-girl-rescued-sambisa-forest-army/

Figure 7: Do you feel this present government is doing enough to ensure that the girls kidnapped in Chibok are rescued and reunited with their families?



Source: Buharimeter National Survey, May 2017

Table 6: Do you feel this present government is doing enough to ensure that the girls kidnapped in Chibok are rescued and reunited with their families?

Response	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
Yes	54%	57%	73%	30%	32%	63%
No	36%	35%	22%	50%	53%	30%
Don't Know/refused	10%	8%	5%	20%	15%	7%

Source: Buharimeter National Survey, May 2017

While the return of the girls under any conditions is worth celebrating, the media attention paid to the freed Chibok girls threatens their privacy. Human Rights Watch released a statement following the release of the 82 Chibok girls criticising the government for publicising the girls' names and photos, as "this exposes the girls to unnecessary scrutiny and possible stigma, and violates the basic rights of survivors of the type of violence and abuse by Boko Haram to anonymity."⁴⁷ There are also allegations that the families of the earlier released Chibok girls lack access to them as they remain in government custody.⁴⁸ While continuing to work for the release of the Chibok girls - and the thousands of other women abducted by Boko Haram - the government should bear in mind that these girls deserve respect, privacy, and freedom as Nigerian citizens.

President Buhari also promised to establish a compensation mechanism for victims of the insurgency; to address the socio-economic drivers of the insurgency through a comprehensive development programme; to establish a truth and reconciliation program for the region; and deliver a Marshal Plan on insurgency, terrorism, ethnic and religious violence, kidnapping, and rural banditry (as shown in Fig. 7 above).

On the compensation scheme, one of the few instances where victims have been compensated is related to abuses by the Nigerian military during a raid in Abuja, in which the families of the eight casualties were awarded \$200,000 each, and the 11 people injured were each given \$150,000.⁴⁹ However, there have been no announcements of impending compensation for the thousands killed and injured in Borno, Yobe, and Adamawa States.

President Buhari's move to fulfill the promise to address security challenges in the country is not all encompassing as it only focuses on the North East. In 2016, the administration released the 'Buhari Plan' as an overarching blueprint for humanitarian relief and socio-economic stabilisation of the North East as well as the return and resettlement of displaced persons⁵⁰. The Buhari Plan is being implemented by the Presidential Committee on the North East Initiative (PCNI). Additionally, President Buhari has cultivated partnerships with groups like the World Bank to acquire funding for the redevelopment project (it is worth noting the scale of this challenge - Boko Haram is thought to have caused about \$9 billion in damages in the region).⁵¹ Being an integrated framework, the plan provides a holistic policy framework to address socio-economic, political and cultural problems that drive the Boko Haram onslaught in the North East.

47 Human Rights Watch, "Nigeria Fails to Protect Freed Chibok Schoolgirls' Privacy," May 8, 2017.

<https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/05/08/nigeria-fails-protect-freed-chibok-schoolgirls-privacy>

48 Human Rights Watch, "Nigeria Fails to Protect Freed Chibok Schoolgirls' Privacy," May 8, 2017.

49 Kunle Awosiyani, "ECOWAS Court ORders FG Pay Compensation to Innocent Victims of Boko Haram Shooting," *Silverbird TV*, June 9, 2016. <http://silverbirdtv.com/security/12649-ecowas-court-orders-fg-pay-compensation-innocent-victims-boko-haram-shooting>

50 The Buhari Plan, <https://pcni.gov.ng/the-buhari-plan/>

51 "Senate Passes Bill Establishing North-East Development Commission," *Vanguard*, October 20, 2016.

<http://www.vanguardngr.com/2016/10/senate-passes-bill-establishing-north-east-development-commission/>

However, a cursory look at the security situation in the country shows that the Boko Haram onslaught is only one out of many security challenges Nigeria is facing. There are numerous security threats in the country including rural banditry, farmers/pastoralists conflict, Southern Kaduna conflicts, kidnapping, and Niger Delta militancy. Accordingly, several operations have been established to tackle the phenomena, including Boko Haram, as shown in Figure 8 below.

Figure 8: Military-Police Security Operations across Nigeria



Cattle rustling has been a complex phenomenon to manage across the country because it often takes place in ungoverned spaces, including locations like the Fagore, Kamuku and Kiyanbana forests; subsequently, several links have been drawn between cattle rustling and the funding of the Boko Haram Insurgency.⁵² The menace is reported to be prevalent in 10 states in Nigeria including Taraba, Kaduna, Zamfara, Kebbi, Kastina, Benue, Plateau, Niger, Yobe and Nasarawa states.⁵³ These states have witnessed spates of violence in which hundreds of lives have been lost with property and livelihood destroyed. Women, girls and children constitute a large percentage of the casualties. In most cases, victims - whether farmers or herdsman - are compelled to pay for protection or lose their livestock and at times produce.

However, tearing apart the social fabric of the country is the farmer/herder conflict. The conflict is ongoing in 17 states of the federation, plus FCT. The states are Adamawa, Anambra, Abuja, Benue, Delta, Edo, Enugu, Imo, Kaduna, Kastina, Kwara, Nasarawa, Ogun, Ondo, Plateau, Taraba and Zamfara. Benue State was the most affected. The State recorded 37 cases of this phenomenon leading to 612 deaths between 4 August 2015 and 25 April 2017⁵⁴.

In July 2015, PMB summoned a security meeting at the Defence Headquarters with governors of Kaduna, Kebbi, Kastina, Nasarawa, Niger, Benue, Zamfara and Plateau States, alongside representatives from the federal government, to find lasting solutions to the farmer/herder conflicts taking place in their states.⁵⁵ This gave birth to Operation Sharan Daji (Operation Sweeping of the Bush), which commissioned a military task force to combat ethnic killings, cattle rustling and farmer/herder conflicts.⁵⁶ On August 14th 2016, the members of the operation, in collaboration with the Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps (NSCDC) recovered an AK-47 rifle and ammunition in Katsina State. On another occasion, a cattle rustling kingpin, Abubakar Mohammed (AKA Gora) was arrested alongside associates in the process of recovering 49 cattle and 25 sheep in Katsina.⁵⁷ As of January 2017, the Katsina State Governor Aminu Bello Masari facilitated the recovery of 361 weapons (47 AK47, 267 handmade guns and ⁵⁷ guns of other brands) from rustlers using monetary compensation as incentives.⁵⁸

On 10th May 2016, the Minister of State for Agriculture, Mr Heineken Lokpobiri maintained that the government is proposing to establish ranches to end the violent clashes between farmers and herders.⁵⁹ This proposal seems to be a more viable option than the creation of grazing routes, which has been challenged due to purported land encroachment. The target states for the creation of these irrigated ranches include Plateau, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe, Katsina, Taraba, Niger, Adamawa, Jigawa, Sokoto and the FCT. Nonetheless, the proposal for the establishment

52 Rufai, Saheed. 2017. Of Ungoverned Space, Cattle Rustling and National Security. *The Guardian*.

<https://guardian.ng/opinion/of-ungoverned-space-cattle-rustling-and-national-security/>

54 The data was extracted from www.nigeriawatch.org – it is a research project that monitors lethal violence, conflicts, and human security in Nigeria. It began in July 2006 and currently based on the campus of the University of Ibadan with the support of the French Institute for Research in Africa (IFRA-Nigeria) since July 2013.

55 Kumolu, Charles. 2016. Invasion of Farming Communities: Between Cattle Rustlers and Killer Herdsmen.

Vanguard. <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2016/05/invasion-farming-communities-cattle-rustlers-killer-herdsmen/>

56 Ibid

57 Op Cit Kolawole Anthony

58 Op cit, Rufai Saheed

59 Herdsmen/Farmers Clashes: Nigerian Govt Proposes Ranches, Herdsmen Insist on Grazing Routes. *Premium Times*. <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/203225-herdsmenfarmers-clashes-nigerian-govt-proposes-ranches-herdsmen-insist-grazing-routes.html>

of ranches is yet to be accepted by Miyatti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria (MACBAN).⁶⁰ The non-prosecution of convicts of attacks on innocent citizens has remained a dent on the will of the government in battling the root causes of the violence.

The payment of the foreign herders as claimed by Kaduna State Government, as well as the justification of the president's silence with the statement that 'he is not a talkative',⁶¹ have left a sour taste in the mouths of the victims as well as other stakeholders. This has led state governors to establish Anti-Grazing Laws in Ekiti and Benue States. Several calls have been made to the government to strengthen border protection and track migrant movements through the National Immigration Service (NIS), since the herdsmen have been alleged to be mainly migrating from across the Sahel. The search for a lasting solution to the crisis continues with a proposed national conference by the government to bring together aggrieved farmers, policy makers, security agents, the Ministry of Agriculture as well as other major actors to brainstorm⁶² on the way forward.

Shi'a Conflicts and the Southern Kaduna Crisis

The separatist movement in the Southeastern part of Nigeria, the Southern Kaduna crisis, and the daily protest for release of Shi'a leader are other major security threats to the country. Within the period under review, the Nigerian government's adopted state-centric approach to compel compliance by clamping down on agitators or protesters has further exposed the government's inability to tactically address the problems. One of the major issues that stood out from its approach is blatant disregard for court orders for the release of Ibrahim Yaqub Zakzaky, leader of Islamic Movement of Nigeria (IMN). The IMN, a Shi'a religious group with a large following all over Northern Nigeria and other parts of the country was conducting a "hoisting of flag ceremony" at their national headquarters in Zaria, Kaduna State.⁶³

A large crowd of IMN members were controlling the traffic on that very busy highway and had set up a road block just as the convoy of the Chief of Army Staff (COAS), was coming from Dutse, Jigawa State to attend the Passing out Parade (PoP) ceremony of the 73rd regular recruits at the NA Depot, Zaria. The IMN refused to allow the COAS passage. This immediately led to a skirmish that resulted in the loss of an alleged 10 lives. This was followed by an operation in the three vantage headquarters of the movement including Hussainiya and the Gyallesu residence of the IMN Leader, amongst others.

60 Olaitan, Kayode. 2016. Curbing Herdsmen/Farmers' Crisis in Nigeria. The Nigerian Observer. <http://nigerianobservernews.com/2016/07/curbing-herdsmenfarmers-crisis-in-nigeria/#.WTAoXmjyu00>

61 Ibid

62 FG to Organise National Conference to Address Farmers, Herdsmen Crisis. AgroNigeria. <https://agronigeria.com.ng/fg-organise-national-conference-address-farmers-herdsmen-crisis/>

63) See the Report of the Judicial Commission of Inquiry into the Clashes Between the Islamic Movement in Nigeria and the Nigerian Army in Zaria, July 2016.

At the end of the army operation, almost a thousand people were claimed to have been killed with the killings of 347 IMN members confirmed by the Kaduna State Government. Since the arrest of the leader of the sect, Ibraheem El-Zakzaky, in December 2015, he is yet to be released despite court orders. Ibraheem El-Zakzaky has also lost six of his sons to the Nigerian government, three in 2014 and the other three during the December 2015 attacks to the Nigerian Army. In the same vein, there was no noticeable development towards the implementation of the recommendation of Kaduna Judicial Commission of Inquiry that called for the trial of culpable members of the Nigerian Army in a court of competent jurisdiction.

The violence in Southern Kaduna arose again in June 2016, with several violent inter-communal conflicts rocking the area. The violence recorded an unconfirmed number of deaths, for instance, the Kafanchan Diocese of the Catholic Church put the number of deaths recorded at 808 people killed across 53 villages in Southern Kaduna, cutting across four local governments of Kaura, Sanga, Jama'a and Kauru⁶⁴ while the National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA), an agency of the Federal Government put the casualty figure at 204⁶⁵.

The killings in Southern Kaduna further exacerbated tension in the country, especially amongst the Christian Community⁶⁶, with the government chided for inaction in several quarters. The Kaduna State Government has also been criticised for its inability to immediately stem the violence in Southern Kaduna, coupled with the proposal for a Kaduna State Religious Bill, proscription of the Shi'ite group and the granting of amnesty to Fulani herdsmen.⁶⁷ The government continues to claim that the perennial nature of the crises, which have not been conclusively dealt with by previous administrations, has remained a major challenge in their management while denying allegations that some herdsmen have been given monetary compensation.⁶⁸ Nonetheless, the threats to peace and security in the state remain a cause for concern, especially with allegations of the ethno-religious politicisation of the state government's interventions.

Biafra Separatist Movement

The leader of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), Kanu Nnamdi, regained his freedom in April 2017 following satisfaction of bail conditions. Extra-judicial killings that characterised agitations and protests for his release are worth mentioning. According to an Amnesty International report from 2016, titled: "*Bullets Were Raining Everywhere*": *Deadly Repression of Pro-Biafra Activists*, at least 60 defenceless IPOB protesters were shot dead over a period of two days leading to the Biafra Remembrance Day of 30th May 2016. It took the Nigerian Army almost

64 See This Day, 20th December 2016

65 See Premium Times, 13th January 2017

66 Ibrahim Jibrin, Conflict Analysis for Kaduna State, Centre for Democracy and Development, forthcoming

67 Why are We Silent about the Southern Kaduna Killings? *Ventures*. <http://venturesafrica.com/silent-southern-kaduna/>

68 Op Cit., Sani, Uba. 2017.

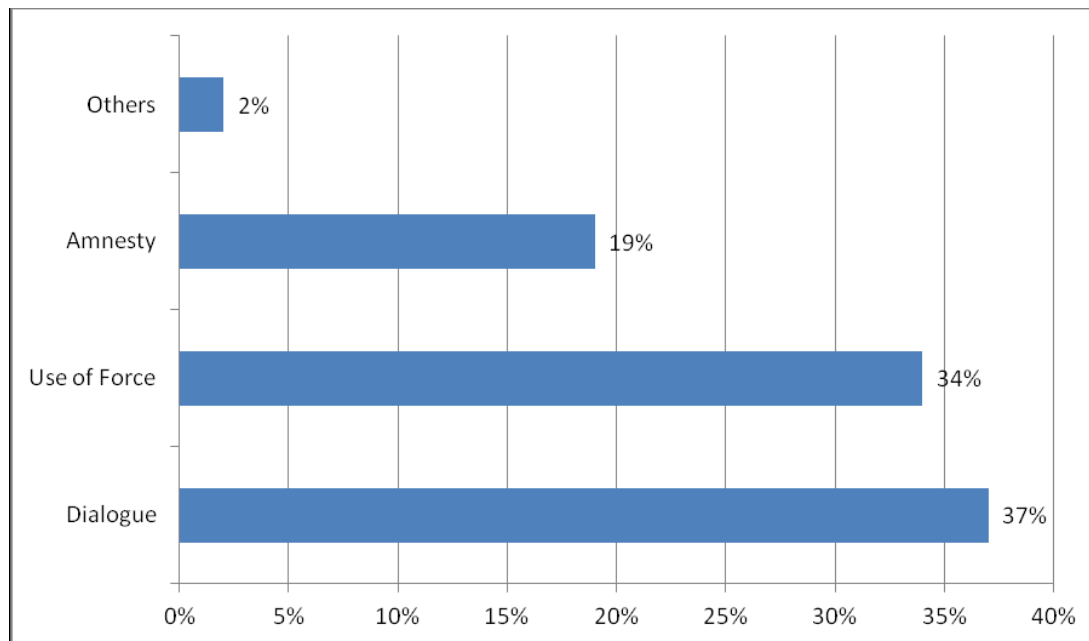
a year to set up an eight-man panel to investigate the allegations. The outcome of the investigation remains unknown, as there is no public knowledge of its key findings or recommendations with which to hold its perpetrators accountable.

Niger Delta

The militancy in the Niger Delta, arising from the activities of Niger Delta Avengers (NDA) and proliferation of different militia groups, has been raising security concerns since the beginning of this administration. In 2016 there were several attacks and vandalism of pipelines, which has had negative implications for daily oil output and government revenue. In resolving this crisis, the Acting President visited oil-producing communities in the Niger Delta and engaged in dialogue with stakeholders, outlining government's commitment to peace, security and development in the region. In response to the 16-point demand agenda by the Pan Niger Delta Forum (PANDEF), the government, in November 2016, approved some initiatives, including establishment of Maritime University (MU) and additional funds for Presidential Amnesty Programme (PAP).

From the foregoing, it is obvious that the government's strategy for solving security challenges in the last two years involves a mix of approaches including use of force, dialogue and amnesty. This seems to be partly supported by Nigerians, as shown in the Buharimeter National Survey. According to the survey's findings, the majority of Nigerians surveyed suggested a mix of Dialogue (37%) and Use of Force (34%) as against Amnesty (19%) and others (2%) that are less supported by Nigerians.

Figure 9: In your view, what measures should be taken to address the issues of Boko Haram, Farmers and Pastoralists conflicts and Militancy in Nigeria?



Source: Buharimeter National Survey, May 2017

The Military

President Buhari has worked with a number of Nigeria's allies to upgrade Nigeria's military equipment. In May 2016, the Minister of Foreign Affairs gave a statement discussing negotiations with China "and other friendly countries" to upgrade Nigeria's military equipment to be able to defeat Boko Haram.⁶⁹ In March 2017, the defense minister announced the acquisition of "mine-resistance ambush patrol vehicles, 20mm mortars and ammunition, and patrol boats."⁷⁰ It was also announced that "a contract for helicopters from Russia for the Nigerian Air Force had been awarded and approval for four more MI 35M aircraft were being awaited". Also, the Air Force procured an additional 20 unmanned aerial vehicles.⁷¹ Nigeria is also arranging to buy "Super-T" propeller planes from the United States - though this proposed sale has been criticised by a number of human rights advocates.⁷²

69 Sen. Iroegbu, "Boko Haram: FG Looks to China for More Weapons," This Day, May 14, 2016.

<http://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2016/05/14/boko-haram-fg-looks-to-china-for-more-weapons/>

70 Tobi Soniyi, "Osinbajo Gets Security Briefing, More Equipment Acquired to Fight Boko Haram" This Day, March 2, 2017.

<https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2017/03/02/osinbajo-gets-security-briefing-more-equipment-acquired-to-fight-boko-haram/>

71 Tobi Soniyi, "Osinbajo Gets Security Briefing, More Equipment Acquired to Fight Boko Haram" This Day, March 2, 2017.

72 Hilary Matfess, "Here's the Case Against Trump Selling Super-T planes to help Nigeria's Battle with Boko Haram," April 17, 2017. <https://qz.com/960597/heres-the-case-against-trump-selling-super-t-jets-to-help-nigerias-batte-with-boko-haram/>

In addition to upgrading Nigeria's military equipment, President Buhari has also continued important international partnerships to professionalise the security sector, including police professionalisation programmes run with the European Union, and military professionalisation with the American-led annual Exercise Flintlock through the Trans-Saharan Counter-Terrorism Partnership (TSCTP).⁷³

One of the most frequent complaints among the security sector is inadequate compensation. In particular, up to 22,000 soldiers posted to the North East reported delayed or missing payment.⁷⁴ This is a far cry from President Buhari's campaign promise to raise the pay and improve working conditions across the security sector. Some soldiers even claimed not to have seen any increase in their salaries despite being promoted. However, there is effective administration of a life insurance scheme for service personnel who die in active service. For example, on 23rd July 2017, families of 218 deceased soldiers and officers of the Nigerian military were presented with cheques of insurance⁷⁵.

In August 2015, PMB reiterated the promise to recruit more police officers at the National Security Summit in Abuja by recruiting an additional 10,000 out of the 100,000 police officers promised by the APC government. The government's move towards fulfilling this promise started in March 2016 with the release of application guidelines and the eventual recruitment of 8,500 police officers in December 2016. The recruits (including 500 Cadet Assistant Superintendents of Police, 500 Cadet Inspectors, and 7,500 constables) are presently undergoing training in various police colleges and training schools across the country. In furthering the fulfillment of this promise, there was an announcement of the government's plan to recruit an additional 30,000 policemen annually to meet international standards.

SALW

Nigeria's proximity to trans-Saharan trade routes and its long coastline has made the country vulnerable to an influx of small arms and light weapons (SALW). Many of these weapons are unregistered and illicit; the availability of these weapons makes conflicts more likely to escalate. Religious conflicts, disagreements over land, and criminal activities (including armed robbery) have become significant hurdles to Nigerian security because of the availability and affordability of SALW.⁷⁶ The Presidential Committee on Small Arms and Light Weapons (PRESCOM) claimed in 2017 that there are 1.3 million illicit weapons in circulation in Nigeria.⁷⁷ President Buhari's administration has undertaken a number of initiatives to reduce the circulation of these weapons.

73 US Army, "Flintlock 2017 kicks off in Niger," March 2, 2017. www.nigeriasun.com/news/252110949/d

74 Jasmine Buari, "Soldiers ask Buhari to Investigate non-Payment of Salaries," *Naij*, May 2016.

<https://www.naij.com/726769-nigerian-soldiers-beg-president-buhari-pay-salaries-fighting-boko-haram.html>

75 218 families of fallen soldiers receive insurance cheques from FG, retrieved at

<https://www.naij.com/1084724-218-families-fallen-soldiers-receive-insurance-cheques-fg.html>

76 Presidential Committee on Small Arms and Light Weapons, "SALW in Nigeria," <http://prescom.ng/salw-in-nigeria/>

77 "1.3m Illicit Weapons in Circulation -- Presidential Committee," *Vanguard*, February 10, 2017.

<http://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/02/1-3m-illicit-weapons-circulation-presidential-cttee/>

In 2016, the country underwent a national survey to determine the scope and characteristics of SALW in the country.⁷⁸ Acting on the results of this survey and the recognition of the pernicious effects that SALW have on Nigerian security, the Buhari Administration developed a plan to reduce the circulation of SALW. The framework, developed by the National Security Advisor Maj-Gen. Munguno (retired) is based on the successful whistleblowing policy developed by the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC); this framework is a reward system for people reporting illegal possession of weapons.⁷⁹ In addition to developing a domestic strategy, the Buhari Administration also facilitated the entrance of Nigeria into the ECOWAS-EU Small Arms Project in 2017. The programme, a partnership between the EU, ECOWAS and UNDP has more than N600million at its disposal to help "harmonise approaches to combating the proliferation of small arms and light weapons in the region."⁸⁰ The project "aims to raise citizens' awareness in the border areas about the dangers of illicit arms trafficking, to strengthen the capacities of the security forces through training and to promote alternative livelihoods in targeted communities."⁸¹ Nigeria's participation in this project (as well as the adoption of national strategies to reduce the number of SALW in circulation) will promote domestic and regional security.

Transitional Justice in the North East

In line with its promise of granting partial amnesty to repentant Boko Haram, the government launched Operation Safe Corridor (OSC) as a counter insurgency exit strategy. The programme is mandated to deradicalise, rehabilitate and reintegrate ex-Boko Haram fighters. The government has commenced the enrollment of repentant Boko Haram in the scheme, situated in Gombe State. In addition to the partial amnesty programme, PMB and APC promised to establish a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) to identify and address human rights abuses prior to the crisis and during the insurgency. In the two years that President Buhari has been in office, nothing has been done at the federal level on this issue.

Creating a TRC for the victims of the Boko Haram insurgency and a related counter-insurgency campaign may provide a valuable opportunity to foster and rebuild trust between the government and citizens throughout the North East. This will require an apolitical, well-financed, and transparent TRC that is capable of holding both members of Nigeria's security sector, as well as members of Boko Haram, responsible for the abuses they committed. However, this will have to unpack the state's role in allowing and perpetrating human rights abuses. The question of a potential future TRC is related to the issue of impunity and lack of professionalism among certain parts of the Nigerian security sector. For example, despite the

78 "Nigeria Conducts Survey on Small Arms and Light Weapons," *Channels Television*, May 4, 2016.

<http://www.channelstv.com/2016/05/04/nigeria-conducts-survey-small-arms-light-weapons/>

79 "FG to reward Whistle-blowers on Illegal Weapons -- Presidency," *Pulse NG*, April 23, 2017.

<http://pulse.ng/local/buhari-fg-to-reward-whistle-blowers-on-illegal-weapons-presidency-id6570446.html>

80 "Nigeria Joins the ECOWAS-EU Small Arms Project and Becomes the 7th Member State," *ECOWAS*, February 14, 2017. <http://www.externalpartners.ecowas.int/nigeria-joins-the-ecowas-eu-small-arms-project-and-becomes-the-7th-member-state/>

81 "Nigeria Joins the ECOWAS-EU Small Arms Project and Becomes the 7th Member State," *ECOWAS*, February 14, 2017.

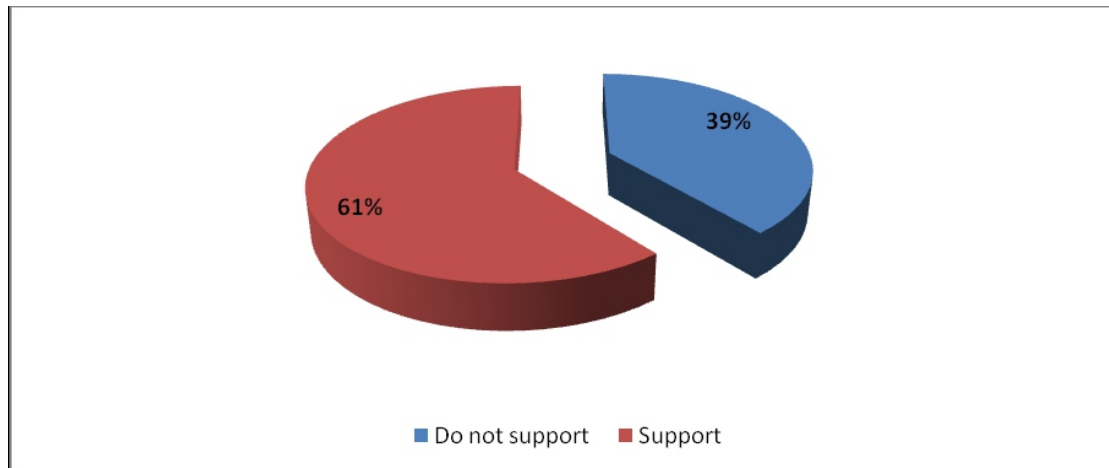
loss of hundreds of civilian lives in the North East arising from uncoordinated attacks of the military and other security personnel, nobody has been held accountable. In Kaduna State, no military officer has been held accountable for attacks allegedly perpetrated by the Nigerian military in December 2015. Rather, the Nigerian Government at federal and state levels continues to repress the IMN, and is still holding its leader, Sheikh Ibrahim Zakzaky, in custody. Actions such as these have a way of perpetuating grievances, even if unfounded.

Security Agencies and Police

The administration of PMB prioritised security from the outset. While remarkable progress has been made, especially in terms of the fight against Boko Haram, there is still a lot of work to be done to fulfil campaign promises relating to the security sector more generally. For instance, while the President had promised to publicly recognise and celebrate acts of heroism and valour by members of the security forces, the only notable recognition during his administration is the gallantry award given to Lieutenant Colonel Abu Ali at Gaboru in September 2015 for his heroism in the fight against Boko Haram. Beyond this, the government has reviewed the management structure of the security agencies with the appointment and re-appointment of new officers to manage their affairs.

However, the government is also yet to set up a mechanism for regular meetings of the Nigerian Police Council. The devolution of power to state governors for the oversight of local policing, including the appointment of state police commissioners, is yet to be initiated. In the latter, the operations of the Nigerian police are still largely under the control of the Federal Government. This is contrary to the popular support for the creation of state police in Nigeria. As shown in Fig. 10 below, about 6 in 10 Nigerians support the creation of state police.

Figure 10: Do you support the plans for the creation of state police in Nigeria?



Source: Buharimeter National Survey, May 2017

The government is yet to take proactive steps in the introduction of closed-circuit television (CCTV) (except for the ongoing probe into contracts issued by the past administration), ensure regular meetings of the National Police Council, devolution of policing power to states, immediate pay rise for security personnel, and the establishment of the Federal Police Complaints Authority and Ombudsman to check the excesses of some security agents. Overall, government has achieved only two promises (which constitute 9% of the 22 promises), efforts are made towards fulfilling 12 promises (54.5%), while eight – 36.5% - are not rated.

3 ECONOMY

Overview

Campaign promises relating to the economy are divided into the sub-sections of: agriculture, infrastructural development, industrialisation, oil and gas, social security net and employment.

Despite numerous steps taken to achieve its campaign promises on agriculture (11 out of 19 promises are ongoing), there have been no observable steps taken on eight election pledges or 42% of the entire promises. This includes the amendment of the Land Use Act and creation of a new system of freehold and leasehold; establishment of agricultural produce storage, pricing and marketing systems to ensure real commercial value and minimise waste; lay the groundwork for a standardised market uptake and aggregation outlets for specific agricultural produce; and liberalise and expand agricultural and the rural insurance system with premium subventions support to farmers.

In terms of rating performance in the area of infrastructural development, out of 18 campaign promises made, the PMB-led administration is only working towards fulfilling 15 promises, which constitute 83.3% of the entire promises. There have not been any observable steps taken towards the achievement of two promises (11.1%), while one (5.6%) of the promises is not achieved within the period under review.

Out of 12 promises made regarding industrialisation, none of them have been achieved within the period under review. Attempts are being made towards the fulfilment of nine promises while necessary steps are yet to be taken on three of the promises.

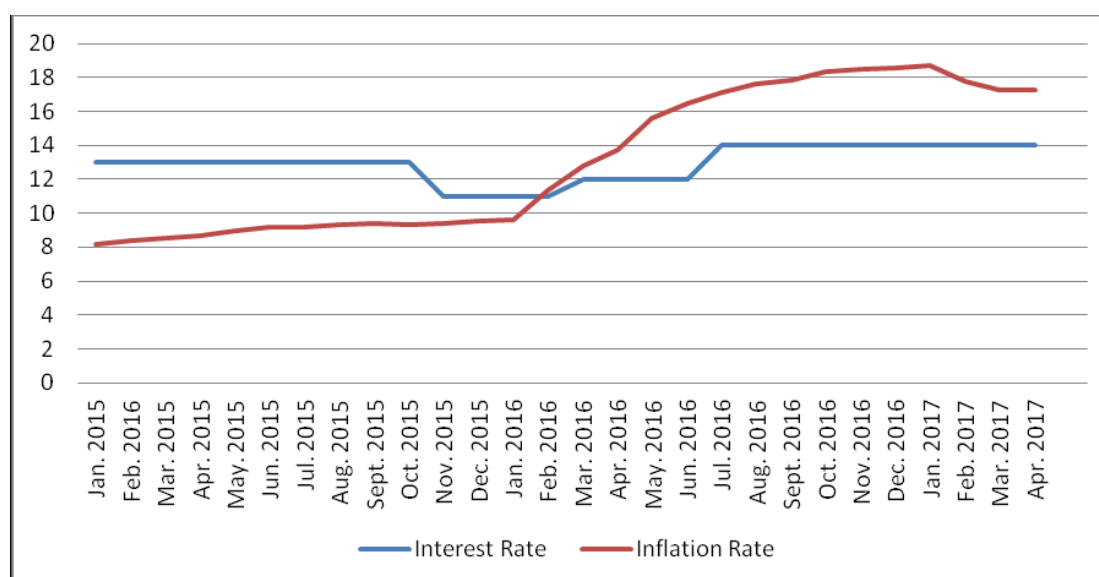
The oil and gas industry continues to be the mainstay of Nigeria's economy despite a decline in the price of crude oil in the international market. Out of 11 campaign promises made by the administration under this sector, only one has been achieved while efforts towards fulfilling ten of the promises are ongoing. These constitute 9% and 91% of the promises respectively.

While the government has made numerous efforts geared towards creating jobs, the administration's performance on job creation has not been encouraging given the fact that it has not achieved the promise to create 3 million jobs annually. Progress is being made towards fulfilling six out of ten promises made under employment, while three and one of the promises are 'not rated' and 'not achieved' respectively.

Analysis

Since the country has been in recession, the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) has been making frantic efforts through monetary policies to reverse the trend. The Monetary Policy Committee (MPC) has intervened by increasing the interest rate, which has been at 14% since July 2016. Through the Monetary Policy Rate (MPR), CBN intends to set the floor for the interest rate regime in the monetary market, affecting the supply of credit, savings and investment. The instrument is expected to limit access to liquidity, thereby reducing the amount of money spent by consumers and consequently leading to growth in the economy and increased inflation. However, as revealed by Fig. 11 below, an increase in the interest rate has not made any meaningful impact on the all-time inflation rate, although it declined by 7.9% between January and April 2016.

Figure 11: Inflation Rate Vs Interest Rate (Jan. 2015 – Apr. 2017)

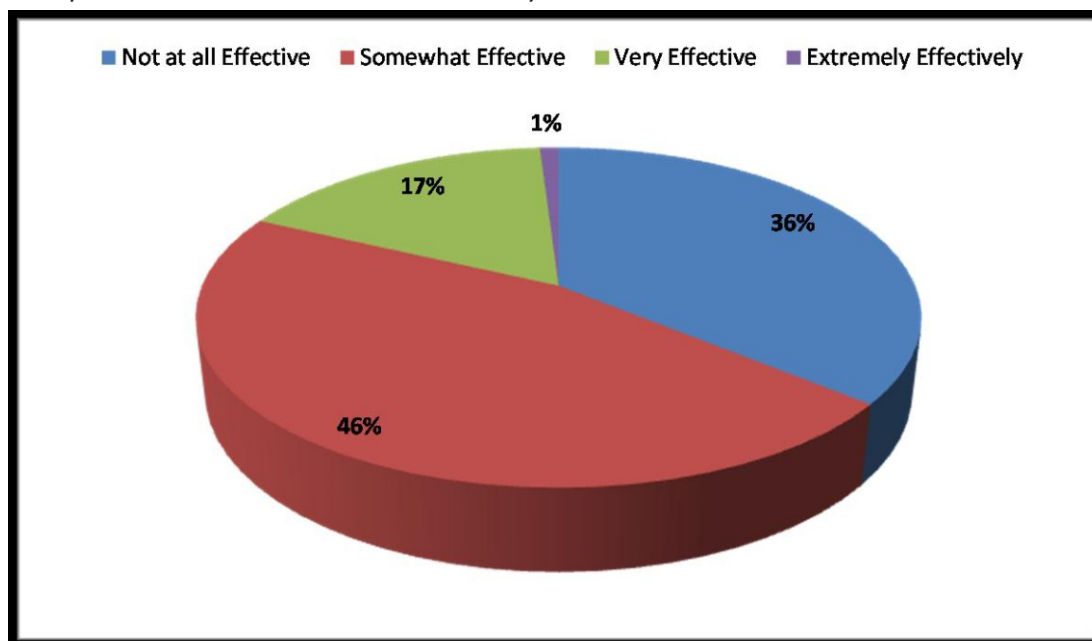


Source: Central Bank of Nigeria

The government recognised access to foreign exchange as one of the major factors for the increasing inflationary rate as well as the negative position of the country's GDP. As such, in 2015 the government excluded 41 items from the CBN foreign exchange window. Following the failure of the decision to impact positively on the economy (in fact it had the negative consequence of making it difficult for investors - both domestic and international - to invest profitably in Nigeria) CBN revised the list and introduced new a Forex policy by injecting dollars into the economy, among other measures.

In spite of the government's efforts to tackle the economic recession, most Nigerians do not believe these approaches are effective. The Buharimeter National Survey reveals that only 17% and 1% of Nigerians consider government's approach to tackling the economic recession very effective and extremely effective, respectively. 46% and 36% of surveyed Nigerians consider the government's approach somewhat effective (with the majority from South-East at 71%) and 'Not at All Effective' respectively.

Figure 12: In your opinion, how would you describe FGN approach in tackling the present economic recession in the country?



Source: Buharimeter National Survey, April 2017

In April 2017, the FGN launched the Economic Recovery and Growth Plan (ERGP) which focuses on: promoting economic diversification and encouraging investment in people through social inclusion, job creation and improved human capital; building on the global competitive economy through investment in infrastructure; improving the business environment; and promoting digital-led growth. To ensure effective implementation of ERGP, FGN established the Nigerian Office for Trade Negotiations (NOTN)⁸².

Essentially, the administration has taken some critical steps towards the achievement of economy-related campaign promises ranging from agriculture, industrialisation, oil and gas and infrastructural development which are in line with the aspiration articulated in the ERGP document. Nevertheless, there are grey areas where the government should work to achieve more.

82 FEC Approves Creation of Nigerian Office for Trade Negotiations, retrieved at <http://www.channelstv.com/2017/05/10/fec-approves-creation-of-nigerian-office-for-trade-negotiations/>

Agriculture

Agriculture has been identified as one of the administration's priority sectors to enhance the growth and development of the country's economy. In fact, transforming the economy through the government's diversification agenda is largely dependent on the capacity of the sector to grow as a real alternative to the oil sector. In view of a need for renewed efforts to transform the sector to achieve the government's economic diversification agenda, inclusive growth and shared prosperity, the administration launched the Agriculture Promotion Policy (APP), detailing clear policy interventions to boost the agricultural value chain. This is one of the later critical steps taken by the incumbent to modernise the sector and stimulate transition from self-subsistence agricultural output to that of a medium to large scale-farming nation. The document was an output of the four National Committees⁸³ set up by the government on the revitalisation of the sector.

Similarly, as part of the effort to transform the sector for improved productivity through local production of at least one million metric tonnes of blended Nitrogen, Phosphorous and Potassium (NPK) fertilizer, the administration entered into agreements with Morocco⁸⁴. This later translated into what the government called the Presidential Fertilizer Initiative (PFI). PFI involves a partnership between the Fertilizer Producers and Suppliers of Nigeria (FEPSAN) and Cherifien de Phosphate (OCP), a state-owned Moroccan company and a world leader in phosphate and its derivatives, in which OCP would supply discounted phosphate to Nigeria, to help support the domestic blending of NPK Fertilizer, starting in 2017⁸⁵.

In terms of outcome, it is expected to revitalise blending plants across the country which will lead to annual savings of \$200 million in foreign exchange and N60 billion in budgetary provisions to fertilizer. Combined with this effort is the commencement of the use of national soil map data to promote soil-specific fertilizer formulations and application on prescribed dosages based on soil types for improved farm production and better yields. According to a report by Daily Trust, as of March 2017, seven out of the existing 32 fertilizer blending plants across the country have started production and distribution of fertilizer ahead of the 2017 rain-fed farming season under the PFI⁸⁶. The government has also introduced a new tomato policy⁸⁷ to support domestic producers and production.

83 The Committees include Operationalisation of Federal Government storage and Agro Processing facilities; Resuscitation of Cotton, Textile and Garments; strategic Action Plan for the Development of Grazing Reserves and Stock Routes Nationwide; and Revitalisation of Agricultural Extension Services in Nigeria.

84 The agreement was one of several reached during His Royal Majesty Mohammed VI's visit to Nigeria in December 2016.

85 Everything You Need to Know About the Presidential Fertilizer Initiative (PFI), retrieved at <https://medium.com/@TheAsoVilla/everything-you-need-to-know-about-the-presidential-fertiliser-initiative-pfi-e6879d424dd6>

86 Vincent A. Yusuf, FESPAN scales up fertilizer production, Daily Trust, March 16, 2017

87 The policy, which aims to reduce the N52 billion spent on the annual importation of 150,000 metric tons of tomato concentrates, increases the tariff to 50% with an additional levy of \$1,500 per metric ton.

In line with the promises to work with state governments to launch Agricultural Support Programmes (ASP) that will drive agricultural land development and mechanisation and provide incentives, including matching grants to encourage states to achieve this national objective, PMB has done remarkably well. For example, through the Anchor Borrowers Programme (ABP), though principally initiated by the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) and the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (FMARD), the Federal Government worked with state governments⁸⁸ to provide thousands of smallholder rice farmers with repayable loans with a single digit interest of 9% to lift them out of poverty, create direct and indirect job opportunities, and diversify the country's economy⁸⁹.

Through our fact-checking mission to Kebbi State, it was evident that CBN and FMARD collaborated with the State Ministry of Commerce to provide support to the programme and ensure that loans are not diverted to purposes other than rice farming. The Ministry performed this function through verification of land, recovery of loans, and grouping of beneficiaries into cooperative associations. Additionally, sampled beneficiaries attested to substantial improvements in their livelihoods as they became entrepreneurs and created jobs. The market has also expanded for the distribution of their goods with customers including state government, rice millers, rice merchants and final consumers.

However, several concerns were expressed about the implementation of the programme by farmers. First, contrary to the government's claim that land verification was applied in all cases, it was revealed that assistance was given to some farmers without verification of any farm land. This position was held by many farmers, especially those who benefitted from the private sector arrangement in the state⁹⁰. Secondly, it was revealed that nepotism and favouritism characterised the selection process. The list for allocation was alleged to have been mixed with the names of friends, relatives and political cronies of Kebbi State officials, most of whom were not even interested in farming activities. Other challenges highlighted include delay in disbursement of loans, lack of funding coordination, ineptitude of some stakeholders, and disparities in access to funding, amongst others⁹¹. We therefore call on the coordinating agencies to make the process of registration more open and transparent, review patterns of distribution of inputs through proper disaggregation of needs, speed up infrastructural deficit of satellite services in local areas, and properly communicate the roles of participating MDAs more effectively to farmers.

These will help to bolster public confidence in the process as well as maximise the benefits of the programme⁹².

88 The states include Adamawa, Kebbi, Kano, Ebonyi, Katsina, Jigawa, Taraba, Anambra, Enugu and Benue.

89 Increasing Rice Production in Nigeria through Anchor Borrowers' Programme (ABP): A Policy Brief, Centre for Democracy and Development, 2017.

90 Ibid

91 Op. Cit.

92 Ibid

Figure 13: Promises on Agriculture



Embedded in most of the government's programmes are an agricultural extension and rural support service system, cooperative system, and a system of low interest loans and grants for farmers to mechanise their farms, which the administration promised they would revamp if elected into office. These cut across interventions such as the ABP, N-Power (focusing on agriculture), Livelihood Improvement Family Enterprises (LIFE)⁹³, the Agriculture Credit Guarantee Scheme (ACGS)⁹⁴, and the Agricultural Mechanisation Framework for Agricultural Equipment Hiring Enterprises Centre (AEHE)⁹⁵ of the past administration. Indeed, these systems aim to drive rural agriculture, improve stakes for smallholder farmers and take advantage of existing opportunities in the agricultural value chain. In fisheries and aquaculture, the administration through FMARD distributed over 200 smoking kilns to selected fish markets and fish farmers to promote preservation and reduce post-harvest loss. They also upgraded and reactivated non-functional sections of the Federal Boatyard and Fibreglass Fabrication Centre in Igbokoda, Ondo State, and Lokoja boatyard, to aid fibreglass tank production, boat construction, maintenance and a capacity building programme. The administration is reportedly supporting capacity building of 25,000 cocoa farmers to enhance cocoa productivity, and engaging 50,000 farmers for cotton production.

On the promise to revamp the key development banks including Bank of Agriculture (BoA), Bank of Industry (BoI) and Nigeria Import & Export Bank (NIEB) to fund inclusive agricultural value chain operations, the government has been making commendable progress in strengthening their capacity. Apart from the apparent increasing interventions of BoI in repositioning the country's industrial base as evident in GEEP, Youth Entrepreneurship Support (YES), amongst others, the bank is part of the concessionary credit facilities arrangement with China's EXIM for \$383m to establish 40 large scale rice processing plants in the country and \$2.1bn for 18 High Quality Cassava Flour processing plants. Given that this is a private-sector driven initiative, the government is partly working towards fulfilling its promise to invest in companies that wish to open local value-added processing plants for food and other agricultural products. Moreover, the government has approved restructuring, recapitalising and repositioning of BoA to ensure loan disbursement at a single digit interest rate in the agriculture sector, and has secured the approval of a grant of \$1.1 million from the Africa Development Bank (AfDB) for restructuring of the bank.

An assessment of the promise to revamp key agriculture research institutions and deliver their outputs through effective network of extension services shows significant progress recorded by the incumbent administration. The government is currently working towards refocusing the mandate of existing three federal universities of agriculture (Makurdi, Abeokuta and Umudike).

93 LIFE programme, which commenced during the past year, is geared towards promoting community-based on-farm and off-farm business activities as a model for job and wealth creation amongst unemployed youth and women in rural and suburban households. The programme is designed to establish 150,000 cooperatives nationwide, establish and operate up to 1,000 cottage industries and ultimately engage about 1,995,500 youth and 997,500 women for enhanced productivity.

94 The ACGS programme is not initiated by the incumbent administration but started in the 1970s as a credit scheme to boost agriculture productivity in the country.

95 This scheme provides machinery and maintenance facilities to farming communities at an affordable commercial rate to suit the needs of small, medium and large scale farmers and the requirements of the commodity value chain. Tractors and implements were rolled out by the incumbent administration in Ilorin and Abuja on 12th January 2016 to support targeted commodity value chains.

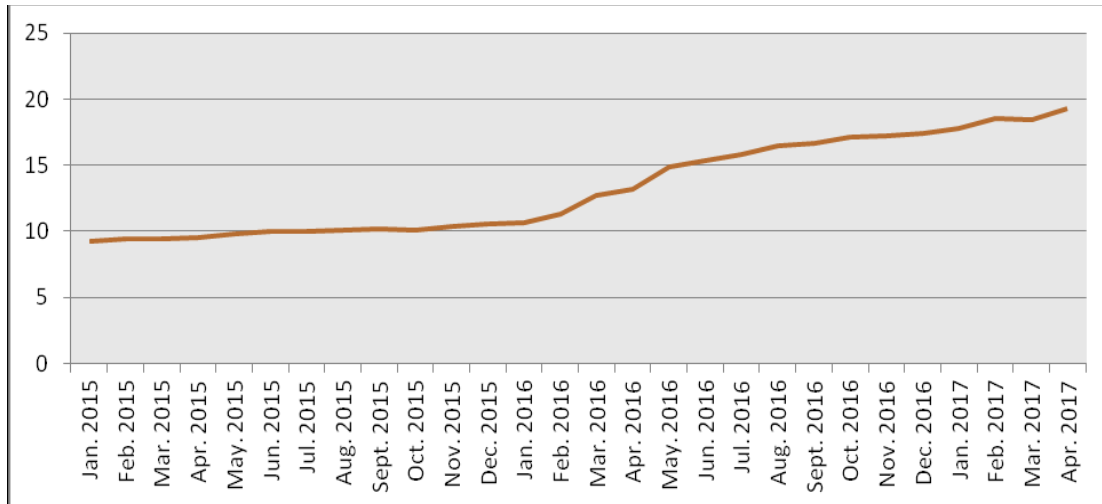
In February 2017, FMARD set up a working group to move supervision of the three universities from the Federal Ministry of Education (FOME) to FMARD. The working group has held a number of meetings, developed a work plan, identified critical stages of reintegration and re-functionalisation of the universities. Through a contract agreement with the College of Agriculture, Kabba, Kogi State, the government had procured 2,880kg Brazilian Jumbo and Indian Dwarf variety cashew for distribution to cashew farmers in Kogi, Osun and Kwara States as well as 70 bales of carbon-free jute bags for raw cashew storage.

On the promise to develop a system of small-scale irrigation systems to ensure all-year round farming, the government has not performed significantly in the last two years to overcome the irrigation challenges and put available irrigation facilities in the country into effective use. FMARD and the Federal Ministry of Water Resources (FMWR) have developed a National Irrigation Policy and Strategy and an inter-ministerial committee has been constituted to assess the status of infrastructure in all the 12 River Basin Development Authorities (RBDAs). The committee was tasked with making recommendations for immediate and effective use of existing facilities for commercial farming and the Federal Government graduate employment scheme. The Committee has completed its task and submitted a report to FMARD for necessary interventions. Nonetheless, this intervention has not gone beyond policy level; there is a need for government to swing into action to ensure that concrete and tangible outcomes are realised as soon as practicable.

Through varying interventions of the government in the agricultural sector, significant progress has been made in facilitating access to seeds by farmers, promoting inclusiveness, increasing agriculture productivity and boosting the economic base of local farmers, and increasing contribution of the sector to the country's GDP. According to data from the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), the agricultural sector increased its share of GDP in 2016 compared to 2015. Although the non-oil sector contribution to GDP declined by -0.33% in real terms in Q4 of 2016, real agriculture GDP growth in the same quarter was 4.03%. This was an increase of 0.56% compared to growth in the corresponding year of 3.48% but lower than growth of 4.54% recorded in Q3 of 2016.

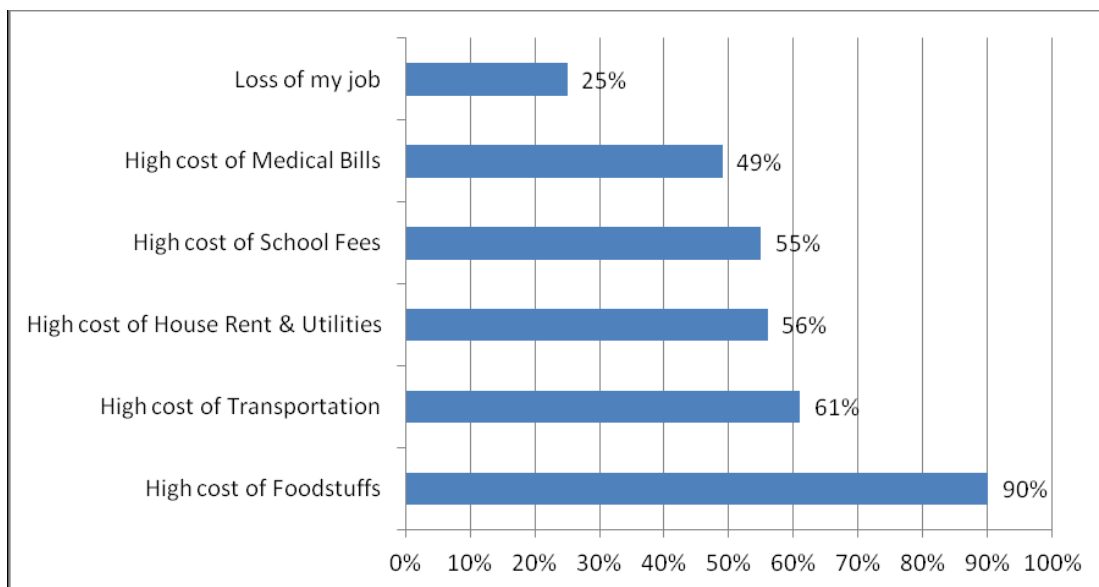
Nigeria is experiencing growth in agriculture's contribution to the country's GDP, but the fundamental problem that remains for an average Nigerian is its impact on food prices. As shown in the chart below, inflation on food items has increased and maintains an upward trend since the start of this administration. From a single digit of 9.8% in January 2015, it increased to 19.3% in April 2017.

Figure 14: Inflation Rate on Food Items (Jan. 2015 to April 2017)



Source: Central Bank of Nigeria

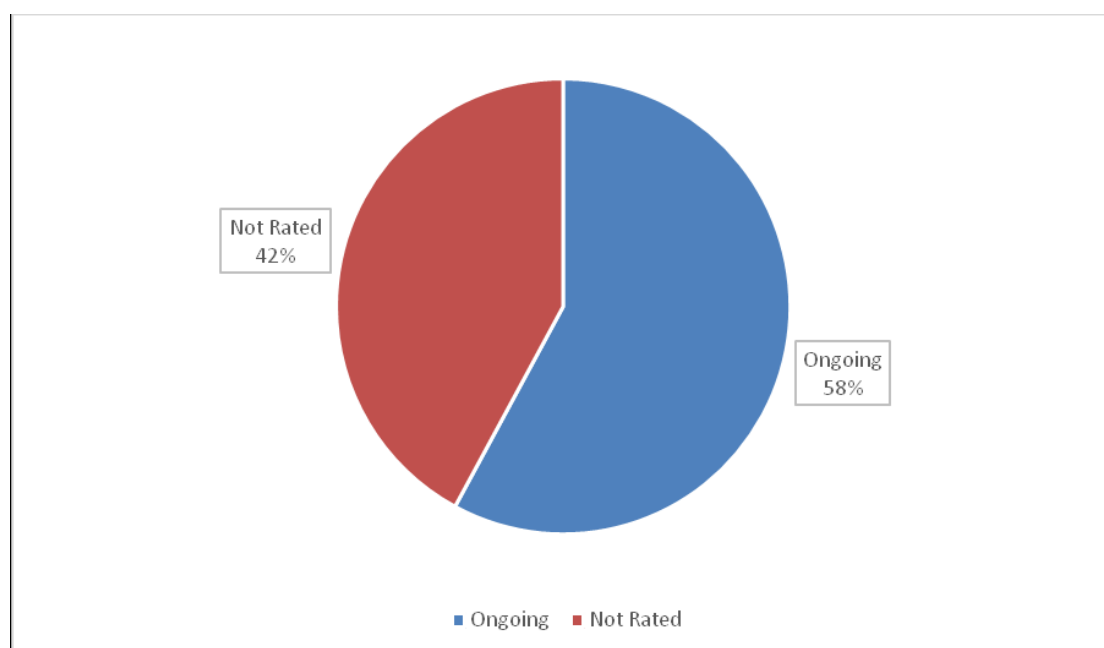
Rising food insecurity and its attendant impact on livelihoods are substantiated by the findings of the Buharimeter National Survey. When people were asked how / in what ways has the economic recession in Nigeria affected you or your household, 9 in 10 Nigerians surveyed expressed that the recession has resulted in 'High cost of foodstuff' (90%) followed by high cost of transportation (61%), high cost of house rent and utilities (56%) and high cost of school fees (55%), amongst others, which have altogether affected their household negatively.



Source: Buharimeter National Survey, April 2017

In response to the increasing inflationary rate on food items, in February 2017 the government set up a task force on food security to put an end to wastage⁹⁶. For example, over 50% of tomatoes produced in the country are lost due to poor storage systems, poor transportation and lack of processing enterprises, leading to artificial scarcity and increase in prices of staple foods in Nigeria.

Figure 16: Rating of Performance, Agriculture



Although, the incumbent administration is attempting to fulfil 11 (58%) of the 19 election pledges, there are yet no observable steps taken on 8 (42%) election pledges. These include: amendment of Land Use Act; creation of a new system of freehold and leasehold, the establishment of agricultural produce storage; pricing and marketing systems to ensure real commercial value and minimise waste; initial steps towards a standardised market uptake and aggregation outlets for specific agricultural produce; as well as expanding agricultural and rural insurance systems for farmers.

⁹⁶ Sani Tukur, Nigeria sets up task force to check rising food costs, *Premium Times*, February 1, 2017

Infrastructural Development

As indicated in the administration's ERGP, investment in infrastructure especially roads, power, railways and ports is a priority for the government. This is pertinent for restoring economic growth and laying the foundation for long-term development through diversification.

The philosophy underpinning the government's strategy for economic growth and development through intervention in the power sector was lucidly articulated during the 2015 election campaigns. In fact, the administration had promised to immediately undertake a power audit to ascertain Nigeria's energy needs, encourage investment of power generation companies to build power plants, extend national and regional power grids and gas pipeline, increase the country's refining capacity, expand the rural electrification programme and promote sustainable development of renewable energy. While the audit of energy needs has not fully commenced, the government, through a Public-Private Partnership (PPP), has made laudable inroads into boosting investment in the power sector for extending national grid, providing adequate power supply to Nigerians and creating an enabling environment for businesses to thrive. Nevertheless, this has not resolved the problem of unstable power supply in the country.

The administration's attempt to guarantee steady power supply in the country began with the signing of two major Memoranda of Understanding (MoU) with Japan for emergency improvement of electricity supply facilities for communities around Abuja, and the United Kingdom (UK) on solar energy to boost its power programmes and provide electricity to rural people⁹⁷. The government also facilitated the signing of an agreement between North South Power Company Limited and Sinohydro Corporation for construction of 300MW solar power plant in Shiroro, Niger State⁹⁸. The MoU signed has reportedly yielded positive outcomes. For example, signing of agreement between the North South Power Company Limited and Sinohydro Corporation culminated into repair of Unit 4 of Shiroro Hydro Plant at the cost of \$8.5 million with capacity of 150MW to generate to full capacity of 600MW from its initial 450MW⁹⁹. Likewise, through Japan International Corporation Agency (JICA), the government of Japan donated 1.2mw¹⁰⁰ solar power worth \$9.7 million to the Federal Government to boost electricity in the country¹⁰¹.

97 Buharimeter One Year Report, CDD, 2016

98 Ibid

99 See Power Supply: Faulty Shiroro Hydro Station generator comes on stream, retrieved at <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2016/07/power-supply-faulty-shiroro-hydro-station-generator-comes-stream/>

100 See Fashola inaugurates Japanese 1.2MW solar power donation to Nigeria, retrieved at <https://www.thecable.ng/fashola-inaugurates-japanese-1-2mw-solar-power-donation-to-nigeria>

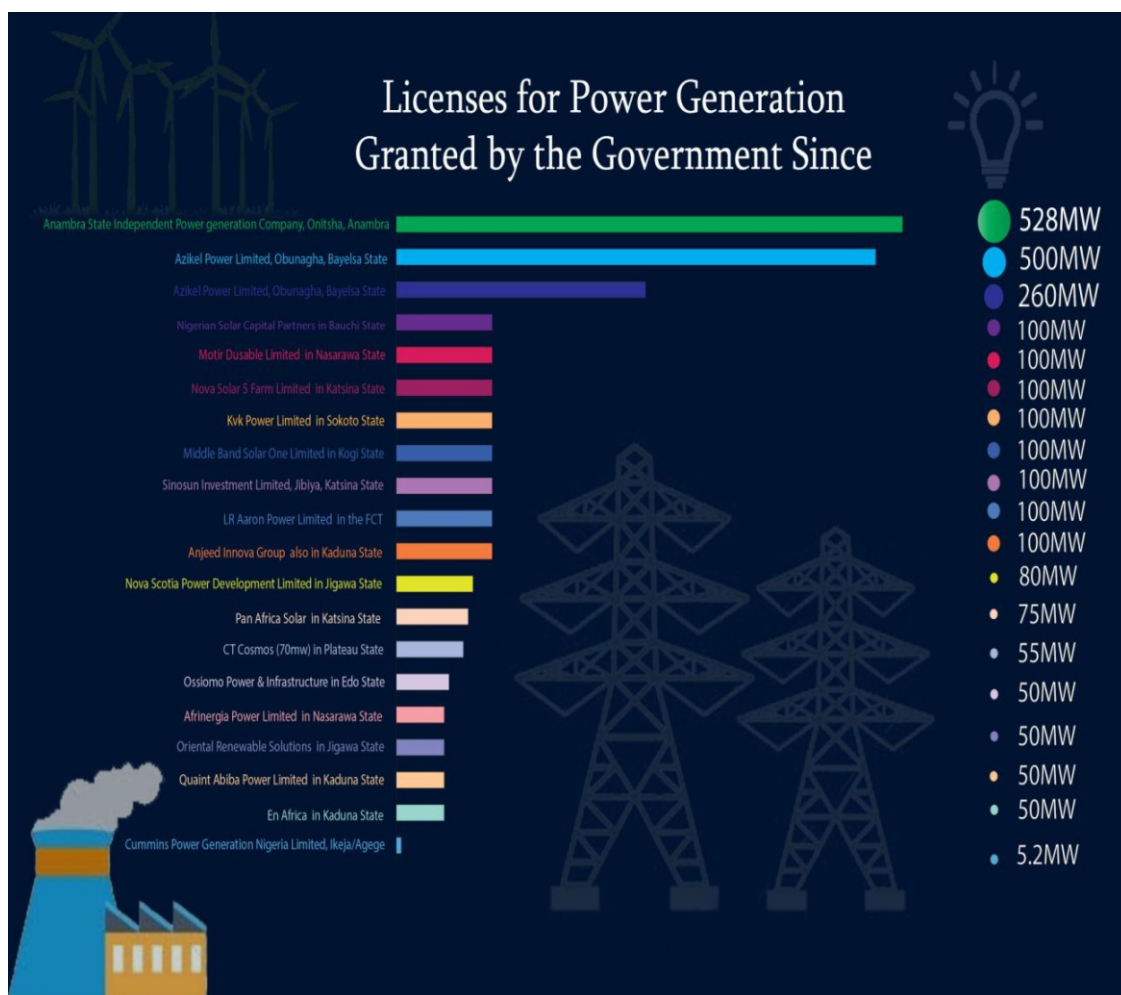
101 See Nigeria: Country Gets Solar Power Worth \$9.7m from Japanese Govt retrieved at <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2016/08/japanese-govt-donates-solar-power-worth-9-7m-nigeria/>

Figure 17: Promises on Infrastructure



Within the period under review, the Nigerian Electricity Regulatory Commission (NERC) licensed ETA-Zuma to construct power plant in Itobo community of Kogi State to generate 300MW at the initial stage out of the agreed 1,200MW¹⁰². Additionally, this effort received a boost when Power Purchase Agreements (PPAs) were signed between Nigerian Electricity Bulk Trading Plc (NBET) and twenty firms with a combined capacity to generate 2,573.25MW electricity were also licensed.

Figure 18: Licenses for Power Generation Granted the Government Since 2015



¹⁰² Buharimeter One Year Report, CDD, 2016

The Ministry of Power, Works and Housing responsible for the initiation, implementation and completion of power projects to deliver on the incremental power programme of its roadmap, launched in mid-2016, initiated and completed a number of projects. The Ministry reportedly resumed work on Kashimbilla (40MW) and Gurara (30MW) Hydropower Projects as well as Katsina Wind Farm (10MW). This was awarded in 2010 for completion in 2013, but was stalled by the withdrawal of Contractor. Disagreements between two Chinese companies (the Gezhouba Construction Group Corporation, CGGC, and the Sinohydro Corporation) that previously caused a setback for completion of the Mambilla Hydro power project (3,050MW) has been resolved and scope of work for its completion was presented to the government¹⁰³.

The incumbent has also reportedly restored the operation of Katampe 60MW substation, commissioned 40MW mobile substation in DamBoA, Borno State, and is carrying out maintenance of Egbin Power Station and the Makeri to Pankshin 132KV line in Plateau and Okpella line in Edo. The government also commissioned a new Ikot-Ekpene-Alaoji-Ugwuaji Switching Station and Transmission Line.

For expansion of the rural electrification programme and promotion of the use of independent 'off-grid' renewable energy schemes, the government approved \$150m Rural Electrification Implementation Scheme to improve access to power for rural communities, by focusing on the following "anchor" components: 1) Education Intervention Project¹⁰⁴, and 2) Constructing Small Hydro Dams in rural areas to support agriculture and agro-processing. FGN also unveiled Power Sector Payment Assurance Program (PSPAP) and committed N702 billion to the Nigerian Bulk Electricity Trading (NBET) to enable the government agency pay its obligations to GENCOs that can in turn pay their gas suppliers, equipment suppliers, banks and other partners. Nevertheless, the Association of Nigerian Electricity Distributors (ANED) criticized the move by the government. They argued that the intervention fund is insufficient to solve the perennial challenges of the sector. Rather than adopting palliative measures, a more holistic strategy should be adopted to bring lasting solutions to the problem¹⁰⁵.

Following the unveiling of the PSPAP, a Power Sector Recovery Programme (PSRP) was approved by the Federal Executive Council (FEC) in March 2017. The PSRP aims to improve performance of distribution and transmission companies and Figure 19 below summarizes the focus of the PSRP.

103 3050mw Mambilla hydro power project set to start retrieved at <https://www.dailytrust.com.ng/news/general/3050mw-mambilla-hydro-power-project-set-to-start/161544.html>

104 Because universities are usually located in/around rural areas, the projects will kick-off with 37 federal universities and seven teaching hospitals. A total of 37 independent power plants will be deployed (nine gas plants, and 28 solar plants) to guarantee a total of 120 MW, to replace 1,105 generators currently producing only 210mw.

105 NERC Unveils Six Action Plans to Stabilise Power Sector, retrieved at <https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2017/04/18/nerc-unveils-six-action-plans-to-stabilise-power-sector/>

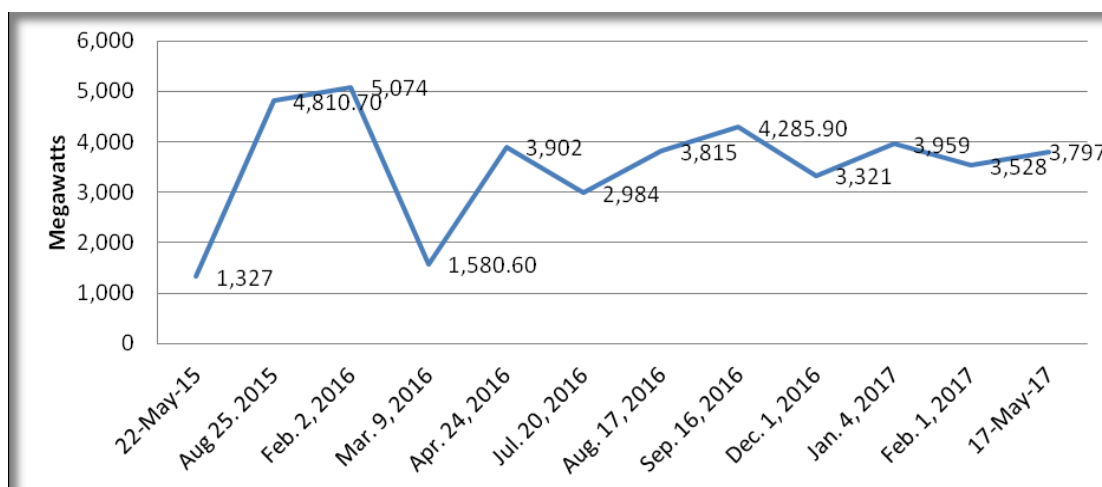
Figure 19: Objective of the Power Sector Recovery Programme (PSRP)



The CBN and Bol still play active roles in powering Nigeria through the provision of N55 billion financial assistance to 24 power firms¹⁰⁶ and solar energy solutions for rural communities in Nigeria. Apart from the commissioning of a N32 million solar power project (24KW micro-grid solar system) in Charwa/Chakun community in Makarfi Local Government Area, Kaduna State¹⁰⁷, Bol recently inaugurated a N1 billion Solar Energy Fund for Micro Small and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs)¹⁰⁸.

Notwithstanding efforts towards improving power supply, the country is still far away from the ambition to generate 20,000MW each year as suggested by the Minister of Power, Work and Housing, Mr Babatunde Raji Fashola. While certain gains have been made in this area, their sustainability is threatened by factors such as the unreliable supply of gas to generation companies (GENCOs), low water levels, paucity of funds, transmission constraints and maintenance¹⁰⁹ and activities of militant groups. Fig. 20 below provides insight into the situation of power outputs in the country:

Figure 20: Trend Analysis of Electricity Generation in Nigeria (May, 2015 – May, 2017)



Source: Transmission Company of Nigeria

106 See: CBN Disburses N55bn to 24 Power Firms as FG Seeks Improved Supply retrieved at <https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2016/05/21/cbn-disburses-n55bn-to-24-power-firms-as-fg-seeks-improved-supply/>

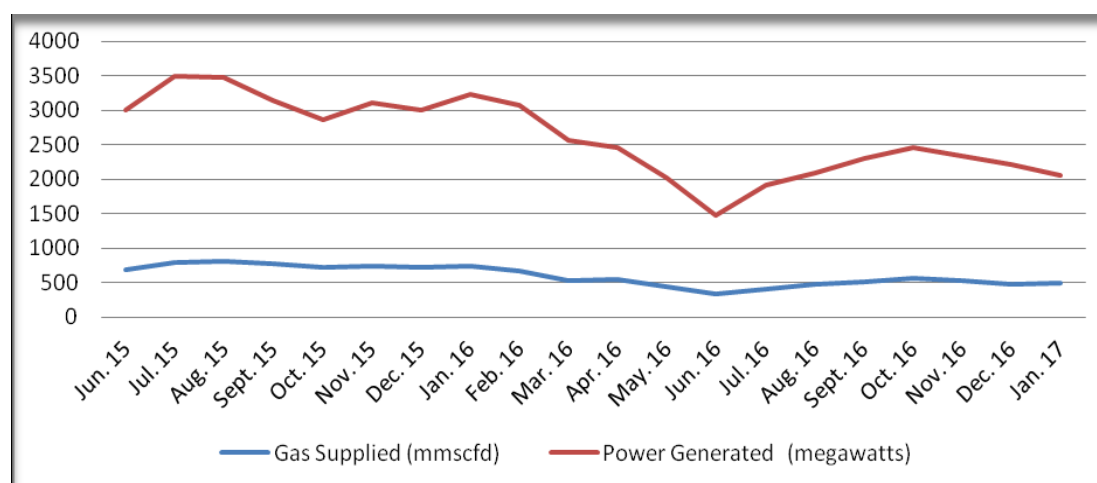
107 See: BOI commissions N32m solar power in Kaduna, retrieved at <https://www.dailytrust.com.ng/news/business/Bol-commissions-n32m-solar-power-in-kaduna/148877.html>

108 See: Bol unveils N1bn solar energy fund for MSMEs retrieved at Bol unveils N1bn solar energy fund for MSMEs

The chart above reveals an erratic and unstable state of electricity generation in the country since the inception of the administration; although not as low as it was when it came to power on 29 May 2015. Prior to the new government, Nigeria witnessed a decline in power output to an all-time low of 1,327MW on 22 May 2015¹¹⁰. This increased to 4,810.7MW¹¹¹ on the 25 August 2015 and reached its peak of 5,074MW on 2nd February 2016 due to an increase in the gas supply to the existing gas-fired power plants in the country¹¹².

Through April 2016 to May 2017, there have been inconsistencies and fluctuation in the power output arising from several challenges which have not guaranteed the steady power supply that the incumbent administration promised Nigerians in the prelude to the 2015 general elections.

Figure 21: Domestic Gas Supplied / Power Generated to Gas-fired Power Plants (June 2015 – Feb., 2017)



Source: NNPC Financial and Operational Reports (2015-17)

110 Nigeria's power generation at "all-time low" crashed to 1,327MW, *Premium Times*, May 22, 2015 Accessed at: <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/183496-nigerias-power-generation-at-all-time-low-crashes-to-1327mw.html>].

111 Abdulwasii Hassan (2015), Nigeria generates 4,810.7 megawatts of electricity, *Daily Trust*, August 26. Accessed at: <http://www.dailytrust.com.ng/news/news/nigeria-generates-4-810-7-megawatts-of-electricity/108086.html>)

112 Buharimeter One Year Report, CDD, 2016

To measure performance with regards to the incumbent's pledge to increase gas supply to power plants for steady electricity supply, analysis shows a decline in the quantity of gas supplied to gas-fired GENCOs. The amount of gas supplied in January 2017 (487mmscfd) decreased by almost 39% from 679mmscfd supplied in June 2015 – almost a month into the administration. This is 40% lower than the highest supply (812mmscfd) in August 2015. Continuous low power output in Nigeria has limited capacity of electricity distribution companies (DISCOs) to provide steady power supply. This is evident in the recent move by production firms opting for independent power projects (IPPs) in industrial clusters¹¹³.

Moving away from the power sector, during the 2015 general elections the APC declared that it will build a 3000km superhighway, including service trunks and also construct 4,800km of modern railway lines¹¹⁴. The administration recognised the need for urgent reconstruction of all inter-state highways, rehabilitation and maintenance of existing federal roads, and other roads that have economic value and could stimulate ongoing effort for genuine diversification of the Nigerian economy.

On getting to office, the government acknowledged the need to complete the inherited 206 road projects already contracted out by previous administrations. These projects have outstanding completion cost of N1.5 trillion across the six geo-political zones. Following the approval of the 2016 budget in May 2016, the government commenced construction and rehabilitation of roads. Below are some ongoing construction projects and initiatives to rehabilitate roads and bridges across the six geo-political zones:

113 Manufacturers opt for cluster plants to tackle energy cost, *The Guardian*, Monday, May 22, 2017, page 1.

114 See APC Manifesto, An Honest Contract with Nigeria

Figure 22: Ongoing Road Construction by PMB



Additionally, the government approved N80 billion for construction of roads including Numan, Jalingo roads connecting Adamawa and Taraba states, replacement of bridges at Mayachi along Gusau-Sokoto road in Zamfara state, and construction of roads in Bauchi, Plateau, Osun, Kwara, Kano, Oyo, Enugu, Kaduna, and Kano¹¹⁵. There was another approval of N150.8 billion for the engineering and consultancy design for access Road 1 and 2 to link Asaba in Delta State and Onitsha in Anambra State to the Second Niger Bridge¹¹⁶. From this, it is obvious that the incumbent is not only concentrating its investment into construction of the superhighway alone. Essentially, it recognises the economic value of other roads and their importance to the diversification agenda.

Regarding construction of a 4,800km railway, the administration started-off the railway interventions with the approval of a \$200 million World Bank loan¹¹⁷ by the Senate, upon request by the President for approval of Lagos State Development Policy Operation III under the Federal Government External Borrowing Plan (2015-2017), for Lagos State Government for the

¹¹⁵ All efforts to gather more information from the Ministry of Power, Works and housing proved abortive. A letter sent requesting information about all completed projects, if any, and ongoing projects was not honoured. By implication, we cannot categorically ascertain if all or some of the roads are part of those captured in the infographic or for new ones, among other issues.

¹¹⁶ See Nigerian govt approves N80 billion for construction of roads across 12 states, retrieved at <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/226884-nigerian-govt-approves-n80-billion-construction-roads-across-12-states.html>

¹¹⁷ This is a third tranche of Lagos State Development Policy Operation DPO (budget support) for \$600 million approved by the World Bank in 2010 to be disbursed in three tranches of \$200 million each.

construction of development projects, including light rail project¹¹⁸ in the state. As part of the gains of the President's visit to China, Infrastructure Bank and SinoHydro Corporation limited signed \$2.5 billion agreement for the development of the Lagos Metro Rail Transit Red Line project¹¹⁹. However, translation of this bilateral agreement to actual development support for the construction of the overdue metro rail is still a subject for debate.

The signing of a renegotiated agreement with the China Civil Engineering Construction Corporation (CCECC) for the construction of Lagos-Calabar Coastal Railway was also remarkable. The contract amount which was hitherto put at \$11.917 billion was renegotiated to \$11.117 billion, saving the government \$800 million. The government also completed the \$1.457 billion Abuja-Kaduna standard-gauge railway line in Nigeria, which was conceived by the Former President Olusegun Obasanjo and commenced under the immediate past President, Goodluck Ebele Jonathan. Figure 23 below provide further information about specific actions of the government to development infrastructure.

Figure 23: Other Infrastructural development Intervention of PMB



118 Apart from the 27km light rail, the fund is meant to finance education, roads and bridges, water and health sector development, among others.

119 See: Presidency lists Nigeria's benefits from Buhari's China visit, retrieved at <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/201873-presidency-lists-nigerias-benefits-buharis-china-visit.html>

To enhance the improvement of the railway sub-transportation sector, FGN inaugurated a 20-member Steering Committee for Concessioning of the Nigerian Railways, headed by the Minister of Transportation, Mr Rotimi Ameachi, to oversee the concessioning of Nigeria's railways¹²⁰. The Committee had the mandate to create a one-stop shop for the concession, fast track the process and beat the red-tape and bureaucratic bottlenecks¹²¹

The Federal Executive Council (FEC) has approved Transaction Advisers for concession of Nigeria's 3,500km narrow gauge railway corridor to General Electric (GE). At the town hall meeting held in Lagos on 16th May 2017, Mr Rotimi Ameachi informed attendees that the intervention will be at no cost to the government; GE will manage the corridor for 25 years to recover its costs and rehabilitate and invest in other railway infrastructure in the country¹²². In addition to managing Lagos-Kano¹²³ and Port Harcourt-Maiduguri¹²⁴ routes, GE will establish a University of Transportation, with a Faculty for Railways, which would permanently address the manpower crisis in the sector, and a railway manufacturing plant in Nigeria to service the West African sub-region¹²⁵. Questions remain as to why the Federal Government seems to prefer to take loans from the Chinese government while the GE option presents an opportunity to lessen the increasing debt burden of the country and, at the same time, implement its infrastructural development plan.

The aviation and maritime sub-sectors have also received a good number of interventions from the government. These are aptly presented in Figure 24 below:

120 See: Osinbajo Inaugurates Committee On Nigeria's Railway Concession, retrieved at <https://www.channelstv.com/2016/08/12/osinbajo-inaugurates-committee-nigerias-railway-concession/>

121 The Committee is also charged to advise the National Council on Privatisation (NCP) on policy issues that impact on stakeholders' interest, advise the Bureau of Public Enterprises (BPE) on efforts at improving stakeholders' relations and also advise BPE and Federal Ministry of Transportation on planning, coordination and implementation of Nigerian Railway Corporation. It will also review existing legislations, reports, studies and any other relevant information on the railway sector and provide guidance on policy issues, review economic and financial viability of the project and recommend the level of Federal Government of Nigeria's investment and review the concession framework developed by the Project Delivery Team (Ibid, 2016).

122 See: Breaking the railway concession deadlock, retrieved at <http://thenationonlineng.net/breaking-railway-concession-deadlock/>

123 This includes Lagos, Abeokuta, Ibadan, Ilorin, Kano, Funtua, Zaria, and Kaura-Namoda

124 This includes Port Harcourt, Aba, Umuahia, Enugu, Makurdi, Jos, Gombe and Bauchi to Borno State

125 Op. Cit.

Figure 24: Interventions in the Aviation Sector



The government is making important steps to improve and modernise the aviation sector. All these interventions will assume more positive impact if the regulatory agency, the Nigerian Civil Aviation Authority (NCAA), can take critical action with regards to frequent delay and arbitrary suspension of flights. In the third quarter of 2016 alone, it was reported by the regulatory agency that domestic airlines operating in Nigeria recorded 7,722 cases of delayed flights. Between January and June 2016, 16,353 similar cases were reported¹²⁶.

Figure 25: Interventions in the Maritime Sector



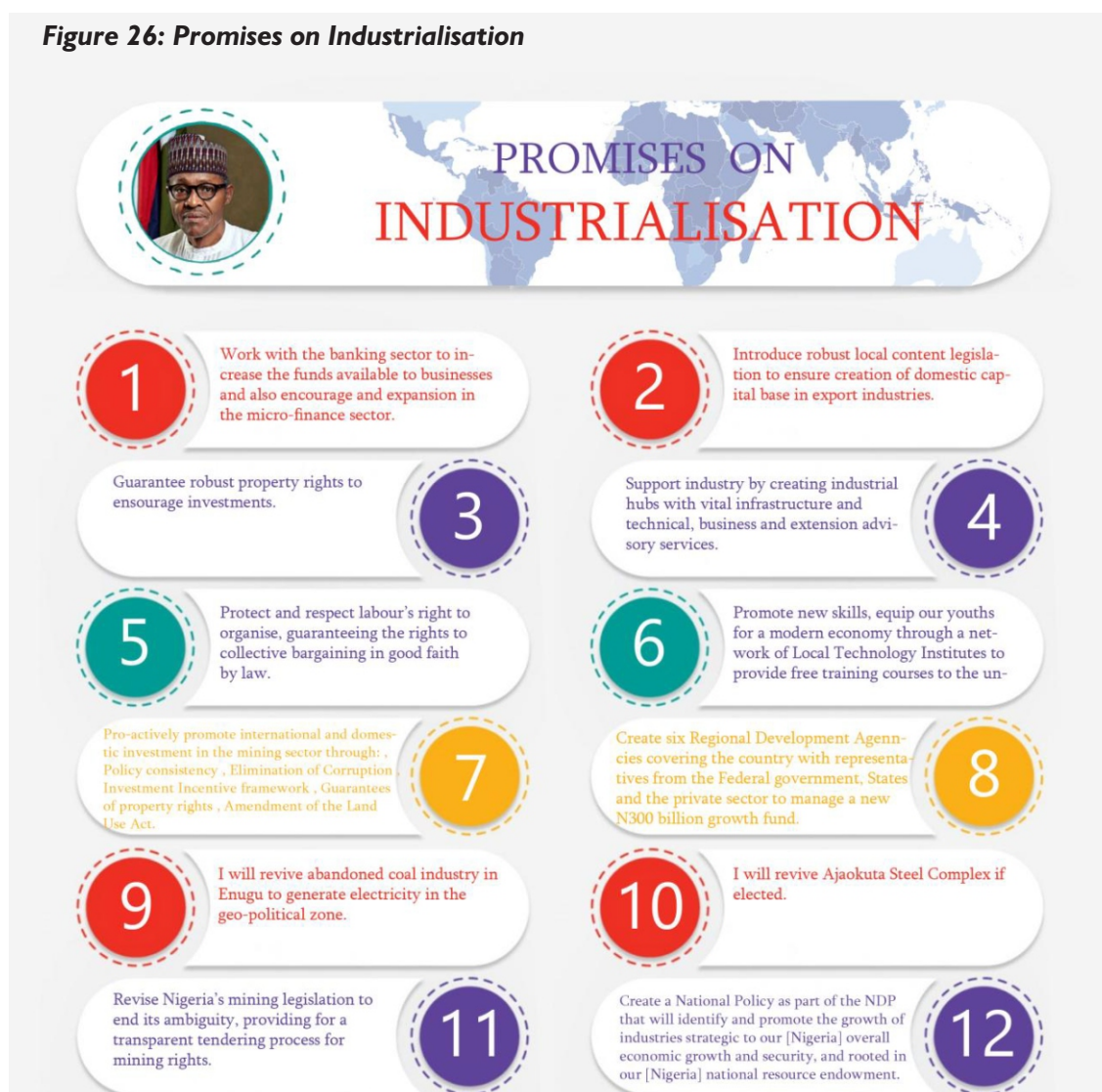
¹²⁶ See: ANALYSIS: Performance of Buhari's ministers after one year in office (Part 2), retrieved at <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/215154-analysis-performance-buharis-ministers-one-year-office-part-2.html>

Overall, of 18 campaign promises made, PMB-led administration is working towards fulfilling 15 promises. However, there have not been any observable step taken towards the achievement of two promises (11.1%), while one (5.6%) of the promises is not achieved within the period under review.

Industrialisation

Numerous challenges have affected the growth of industries in the country. These range from a shortage of industrial raw materials and inputs, infrastructure challenges, inadequate linkage among industrial subsectors, administrative and institutional problem to absence of venture capital, high cost of capital, poor macroeconomic environment (including inadequate regulation), insecurity and multiple taxation. To reverse the trend, PMB and his political party, APC, made 12 campaign promises in the prelude to the 2015 general elections to reposition industry.

Figure 26: Promises on Industrialisation



Following the appointment of Ministers by PMB five months into his administration, the creation and development of policy documents to drive economic growth became a priority. This witnessed the setting up of various committees to carefully examine and re-evaluate the state of each sub-sector of the country's economy, resulting in the formulation of practical strategies to address longstanding economic problems. Starting from June 2016, the incumbent administration started rolling out different Ministries' development policy plans, including the Agriculture Promotion Plan (APP), Roadmap for the Growth and Development of Nigerian Mining Industry, and 7 BIG Wins: Short and Medium Term Priorities to Grow Nigeria's Oil and Gas Industry, to promote the growth of the administration's priority industries and push forward the diversification agenda.

To facilitate an enabling environment for businesses to thrive and to eliminate bottlenecks associated with doing business in the country, PMB inaugurated the Presidential Enabling Business Environment Council (PEBEC) in August 2016. PEBEC implemented a National Action Plan (NAP) between February and April 2017 and has recorded a good number of successes; including simplifying the process of confirmation of company names on the website of Corporate Affairs Commission (CAC), upload of registration documents online, elimination of the need for SME to hire lawyers for registration purposes, introduction of single form for company incorporation, integration of Federal Inland Revenue Service (FIRS) e-payment solution with CAC portal. From our fact-checking exercise, we confirmed that CAC has closed manual registration in five states (Enugu, Kaduna, Kano, Lagos, Port Harcourt and Abuja) and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT), and its website has been designed to facilitate upload of incorporation documents, starting from 15th May 2017. In line with this intention, the Acting President has signed an Executive Order on improving efficiency in the Business environment.

Recognizing the significant role of the Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs) to economic development, the government designed a series of capacity development and funding initiatives to support the sector. FGN established the Development Bank of Nigeria (DBN), and the MSME Clinic. DBN recently took off with initial funding of \$1.3 billion by the World Bank, KfW Development Bank and the African Development Bank (AfDB), and members of board and management team, led by Tony Okpanachi,¹²⁷ were constituted. On the other hand, MSME Clinic remains the government's mobile platform to reach out and interact with small business managers in various cities across the country. The first visit to Plateau State availed the Acting President an opportunity to inspect some of the 900 exhibitions displayed at the pollo field in Jos¹²⁸. The incumbent administration is currently making to boost the country's industrial base and, in turn, move out of the prolonged economic recession.

127 Nigerian govt unveils management, Board members of new Development Bank, retrieved at <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/business/business-news/227530-nigerian-govt-unveils-management-Board-members-new-development-bank.html>

128 Lamid Sadiq, Plateau MSME clinic impresses Osinbajo, *Daily Trust*, May 5, 2017

Apparently, the current focus of the administration towards addressing challenges confronting the growth of MSMEs is making capital available and creating enabling policy environment for small businesses to thrive. Nevertheless, priority should also be given to socio-cultural factors, multiple taxation, and structural challenge of micro-finance banks that threatens the growth of MSMEs in Nigeria.

On the promise to work with the banking sector to increase the funds available to businesses and also encourage expansion in the micro-finance sector, the government's intervention is two pronged. Firstly, the government is working closely with commercial banks in the implementation of social welfare programmes. For example, CBN and the National Youth Service Corp (NYSC) are collaborating with Heritage Bank to implement Youth Innovation Entrepreneurship Development Programme (YIEDP). Through YIEDP, the government is meant to provide affordable loans to young people to help them implement their business ideas. Secondly, national development financing institutions such as Bol and CBN continue to invest in businesses across the country. In 2016, Bol reportedly approved loans totaling N95 billion to more than 400 enterprises in the first quarter of 2016¹²⁹ and disbursed N31.37 billion of the CBN facility to beneficiaries in the Cotton, Textile and Garment (CTG) sector as at 30th September 2016¹³⁰.

The promise to introduce robust local content legislation to ensure creation of domestic capital base in export industries has received attention from both the President and the 8th National Assembly. On 16th June 2016, the Senate passed the Public Procurement Act 2007 (amendment) Bill 2016 into law. The essence of the amendment of the existing Public Procurement Act 2007 is to enhance patronage of locally made goods in all government procurements and ensure speedy completion of projects. To corroborate this move, the Acting President, Prof. Yemi Osinbajo, in May 2017, signed an executive order on local procurement of products and services by federal government establishments. The order has begun to gain traction amongst government agencies. The Nigerian Information Technology Development Agency (NITDA) has reportedly assembled a team to implement the Execute Order¹³¹ at the time of writing this report.

Significant progress has been made by the PMB administration to increase the contribution of solid minerals sector to the country's GDP. Key promises made to boost solid minerals industry include the promotion of international and domestic investment in the mining sector, revival of the coal industry in Enugu and the Ajaokuta Steel Complex, and revision of mining legislation to

129 Francis Arinze Iloani, BOI to disburse N212bn loans in 2016, *Daily Trust*, June 7, 2016

130 Ajogwu Glory, FG to Strengthen Textile, Garment Sector as Bol Approves N50bn Loans, *Guardian*, October 18, 2016

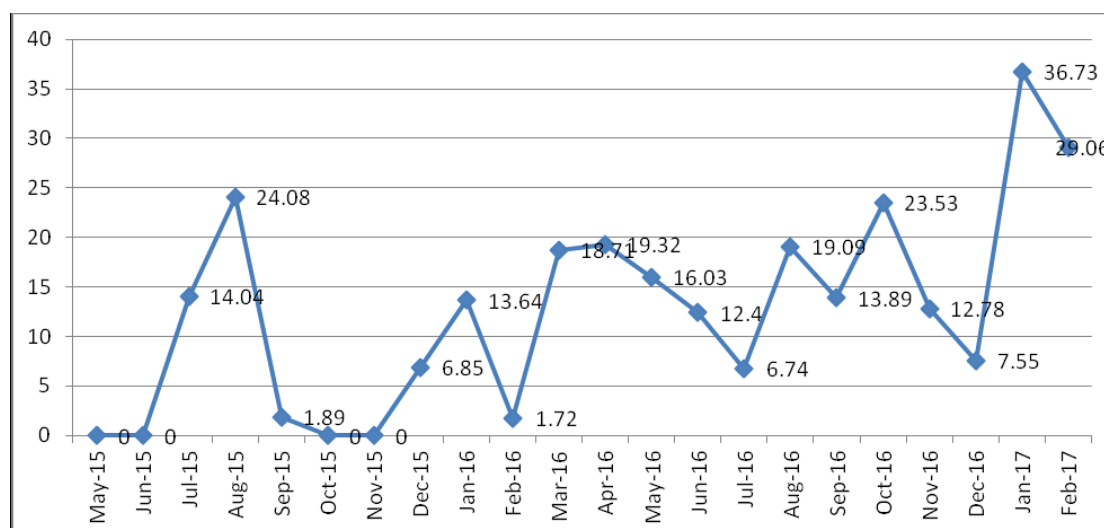
end ambiguity and provide transparency in tendering process for mining rights. The year under review saw significant progress made in the revival of Ajaokuta Steel Complex with an out-of-court settlement after long years of litigation between the Federal Government and Global Steel Company (GSC), India. Following the settlement, the Federal Government reclaimed Ajaokuta Steel Complex and signed a new concessionary agreement with GSC for resuscitation of National Iron Ore Mining Company (NIOMCO), Itakpe, Kogi State. The Federal Government has set up a due diligence audit to appraise the assets and liabilities of Ajaokuta to determine its present status and to spot out claims and obligations of both parties on the project.

The Ministry of Mines and Steel Development has commenced talks with AfDB to fund coal projects; including Okapara and Onyeama coal mines in Enugu, for the country to take advantage of its huge coal deposit to solve her economic challenges. The Federal Government is working with Ministry of Power, Works and Housing to develop coal power blueprint and making arrangement to commence Clean Coal Research Programme in 2017 as a proactive means to douse possible negative effect of coal generated energy.

The promise to promote international and domestic investment in the mining sector received a boost with the approval of N30 billion Mining Intervention Fund by the FEC for exploration, strengthening capacity, and providing access to finance for artisanal miners. The World Bank (WB) has also committed \$150 million to support the sector. Apart from funding, one of the key steps taken by the government to formalise mining activities of illegal or artisanal miners is the establishment of Mining Support Centre (MSC). MSC is established in partnership with state governments and the private sector, and the government has currently handed their operations over to three states (Zamfara, Benue and Sokoto). As a sign of incremental policy development, an additional 50 mining cooperative societies have been created to the existing over 500 cooperatives established by previous administration to support artisanal mining activities in the country.

In a bid to ensure safer mining environment and improved revenue, the government has put in place a Mineral Tracking System, collaborating with Customs and established Mine Police – in collaboration with the Nigeria Police Force. The Federal Government has also commenced talks with China and South Africa in devising a new strategy to stop illegal mining activities in the country. On enforcement of the law, 313 mining companies have recently been sanctioned for non-compliance with existing laws governing mining activities in the country. Although efforts are ongoing, the Federal Government needs to enrich its geo-science data to drive greater foreign direct investment, strengthen institutions such as the Nigerian Geological Survey, guarantee security of tenure for license, and ensure effectively formalization of illegal or artisanal miners.

Figure 27: Refineries Combined Operational/Utilization Capacity (May 2015 to February 2017)



Source: NNPC, Financial and Operations Reports (Various issues/editions)

The federal government has resolved to open up the refineries for privatization to attract \$700 million investment for their upgrade and full utilization towards the end of 2017. This is what the government refers to as 'co-location' in which the NNPC and the investor will jointly operate the refineries and would be given all off-take and marketing rights to refined products. Operations will include provisions for technical processes and procedures, strong safety policies, performance and profitability metrics, Nigerian content plans, including technology/capacity transfer and training programmes¹³². Through this, it is expected that capacity of the existing refineries will be expanded to 695,000 barrels of oil per day¹³³.

Apart from attracting investment, government continues to dialogue and negotiate with different stakeholders in the Niger Delta to address monumental and sustained attacks and vandalization of pipelines. The Acting President recently visited the region and met with critical stakeholders as a response to economic implications of activities of Niger Delta Avengers (NDA) and threats from the other militia groups in the region. As of July 2016, Nigeria was losing 750,000 barrels per day¹³⁴.

¹³² Adewale Sanyaolu, NNPC unveils guidelines for refineries' privatization, *The Sun*, 20 April, 2016

¹³³ Energy in Brief, July/August 2016 Edition, Vol. 6

¹³⁴ Ibid

While effort is being made to promote transparency in granting mining licenses to potential investors through the IT Automation Upgrade and the Web Port Development Project, there has been no observable step made towards revising the existing mining law to provide adequate legislation. It is also worthy to note that, on a general note, there is no practical action taken by the incumbent administration to achieve promises relating to guaranteeing robust property rights, establishment of Local Technology Institutes, and creation of six Regional Development Agencies (RDAs). Summarily, out of 12 campaign promises made, efforts are being made towards the achievement of nine promises (75%), while the remaining three promises (25%) are not rated.

Oil and Gas

The importance of Nigeria's oil and gas industry to her growth and development cannot be over-emphasised. Though the sector has suffered setbacks because of drastic falls in the international price of oil, it remains a major contributor to the country's revenue. More than two years ago, PMB and his party, APC, recognised the imperative of repositioning the sector by addressing longstanding institutional, operational and legal challenges confronting it and boost the country's revenue base and other benefits accruable to it. The government has not made significant progress in maximizing optimal capacity utilization of existing refineries in the country. The incumbent administration met the three major refineries (in Kaduna, Warri and Port Harcourt) working at zero level until three months (July 2015) into the administration that their combined utilization capacity increased to 14.0% after slight turn around maintenance. Since then, combined capacity utilization of the refineries has been rising and falling irregularly with the highest combined capacity recorded in January 2017 (36.73%).

Figure 28: Campaign Promises on Oil & Gas



The drive to fully develop capacity of the petroleum sector necessitated release of 7 Big Wins policy document which defines multi-pronged approaches and strategies to building and strengthening capacity of the sector. Draft National Gas, Oil and Fiscal policies have also been developed to provide meaningful direction to interventions and stimulate growth of the sector. Also, the government signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with China and India to the tune of \$80 billion for investment in infrastructure. An inter-ministerial committee, set up by the President, is working to transform the MoU into tangible investments in the downstream, gas infrastructure and refineries project.

In addition, the government in June 2016 approved an investment worth \$70 billion for the establishment of petrochemical industry and other projects in Akwa Ibom. The Equipment Component Manufacturing Initiative (ECMI) has reportedly facilitated several investments, including N305.5 billion General Electric Corporation multi-modal manufacturing and service centre in Calabar, N152.75 billion Kaztec integrated fabrication yard in Lagos¹³⁵. The establishment of the National Council on Hydrocarbons (NCH), inauguration of governing boards of parastatals, renegotiation of existing contracts, streamlining of NNPC, amongst others, are also critical steps taken by the incumbent administration to build the sector's capacity.

In 2016, the Petroleum Training Institute was reported to have graduated 1,500 Technologist and Technicians in different oil and gas core disciplines¹³⁶. In 2017, 389 scholars for Master's degrees (MSc) and 172 PhD students benefitted from the Petroleum Technology Development Fund (PTDF) signed with universities in Brazil, France and Germany towards free tuition and reduced tuition costs for postgraduate education and research programmes.

With respect to the promise to restructuring NNPC, the government continues to redirect its operations on the path of profitability.

Apart from the ongoing anti-corruption drive that necessitated disclosure of assets and liabilities of some key staff of the NNPC, it continues to publish monthly financial and operational reports. NNPC replaced offshore processing and crude swap arrangement with DSDP, and has been restructured into autonomous entities to reposition the corporation for high performance. From all indications, DSDP was designed to facilitate improved participation of Nigerian indigenous downstream companies in oil and gas deals. If the NNPC could seal the \$6 billion deal with local and international traders to exchange about 300,000 barrels per day of crude oil for

135 Ministry of Petroleum Resources: Scorecard 2016

136 Ibid

imported petrol and diesel, the hitherto overwhelming involvement of foreign companies would gradually reverse, thereby creating an enabling environment for robust engagement of Nigerian. NNPC's old structure has been replaced with separate entities to accelerate the drive for improved performance, accountability and transparency. The four entities created are: Upstream, Downstream, Refineries and Gas & Power, with a Group HQ and a Ventures unit. Each unit is led by a Chief Operating Officer (COO) who is responsible for driving profitability¹³⁷. It is however interesting to note that effort has been made towards unbundling the NNPC has not yielded meaningful results.

The long-awaited Petroleum Industry Governance Bill (PIGB) has recently been passed by the Senate. The bill seeks to introduce reforms that would engender transparency, while at the same time making the oil and gas sector more business-oriented and profit-driven. It will also restructure some organisations like the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation and the Department of Petroleum Resources, while setting up new ones like the National Oil Company and the National Petroleum Assets Management Commission (NPAMC)¹³⁸. The government is reportedly working with the National Assembly to ensure quick passage of other related bills¹³⁹.

To transform Nigeria's gas sector and end gas flaring through provision of gas infrastructure and enhancement of domestic gas supply, the government has developed a new gas policy rather than implementing the existing gas master plan. The policy, when approved by FEC, would strengthen institutional, legal, regulatory and commercial frameworks for the gas sector. Similarly, the government's partnership with the WB and the Global Gas Flaring Reduction Energy and Extraction Global Practice (GGFR) has culminated in the unveiling of the National Gas Flare Commercialization Programme (NGFCP) which is a critical component of the draft policy document.

The era of cash call by the Joint Venture operators in the oil and gas sector has been ended by the administration following the signing of exit agreement and adoption of alternation funding option for the cash call obligations¹⁴⁰. Under the new funding model, government would continue to receive royalties, taxes and profit from its equity share of Joint Venture oil and gas production¹⁴¹. Government has been working with the Dangote Group for completion of Dangote refinery (650,000 b/pd capacity), which started during the previous administration, and through its privatization programme, the government hopes to attract foreign investors to construct more refineries. The administration continues to grant license to indigenous companies for construction of modular refineries to augment existing flow of oil and gas products to domestic

137 Ministry of Petroleum Resources, Activities and Landmark Achievements (2015-2017), May 2017

138 Senate passes Petroleum Industry Bill, retrieved at <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/232157-breaking-senate-passes-petroleum-industry-bill.html>

139 These include Petroleum Fiscal Framework Bill; Petroleum Industry Downstream Administration Bill; Petroleum Industry Revenue Management Framework Bill and the Petroleum Host Community Bill.

140 Ministry of Petroleum Resources: Scorecard 2016

141 Ibid

consumers. It has also licensed additional four depots with combine storage capacity of 3,529m³ of Premium Motor Spirit (PMS), 39,691 m³ of Automobile Gas Oil (AGO) and 36,021 m³ of Dual Purpose Kerosine (DPK) respectively in 2016.

Despite its commitment to shift gas supply towards domestic production to end power shortages, it has achieved relatively little on this promise. Unstable operational utilization capacity of refineries raises fundamental questions about the government's capacity to address the problem and by implication fulfill the promises to enhance their optimal use. More so, the administration is yet to establish an independent Oil and Gas Regulatory Authority as promised. A revised gas policy may not be sufficient to putting untapped gas resources into use and address gas flaring problem. It is important to put in place measures that would enhance effective implementation. The executive needs to build on success recorded so far on PIGB to fast-track passage of other related petroleum industry bills in the National Assembly.

Overall, out of 11 campaign promises made by the administration under this sector, only one has been achieved (review of JVAs) and 10 ongoing which constitute 9% and 91% of the promises respectively.

Social Safety Net

During the election campaign of 2015, APC made three promises regarding the issue of social safety net. One is its commitment to create a Social Insurance Scheme to assist certain groups in the population with social welfare payments through a phased programme starting with young people under 30 and the unemployed, senior citizens over 70, the disabled and armed service veterans. The scheme involves payment of a N5,000 stipend to one million of the poorest and most vulnerable people in the country and to ensure that retirees receive their gratitude on the effective date of their retirement and that thereafter pensions are paid as and when due.¹⁴²

In a bid to fulfill its promise to create a phased Social Insurance Scheme (SIS), the government set up a National Social Investment Office within the Office of the Vice President. In 2016, it rolled out a N500 billion Social Investment Programme (SIP) and released N80 billion to the Accounting Office of the programmes (being the Ministry of Budget and National Planning) in the last quarter of the year. The SIP has four components which include: i) N-Power Volunteer Scheme, ii) Home Grown School Feeding Programme (HGSFP), iii) Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT), and iv) Government Enterprise and Empowerment Programme (GEEP). These programmes target unemployed youth, market women, traders, artisans, and students, among others. The programme aims to recruit 500,000 graduates in the N-Power Corps and 25,000 and 75,000 trainees in the N-Power Knowledge and Build respectively.

¹⁴² See <https://www.buharimeter.ng/sectors/8>

Figure 29: Promises on Social Safety Net



The N-Power scheme is a job creation programme of President Buhari's administration designed to engage unemployed Nigerians, including non-graduates and graduates from tertiary institutions across the country¹⁴³. Within the year under review, the government has only commenced the N-Power Corps component of the programme and is currently engaging 174,160 out of a targeted 200,000 beneficiaries under the N-Teach, N-Agro and N-Health sub-components across the country. 11,884 applicants were disqualified because of incomplete records and 13,956 beneficiaries were absent from physical verification.

The beneficiaries of the programme have begun to receive a N30,000 stipend but there are complaints by some beneficiaries about non-payment of their monthly stipend. It was revealed during our fact-checking exercise in Bauchi, Borno and Kwara States that some beneficiaries have not been paid since the beginning of the programme in December 2016. Inconsistency in registered name and bank details, supply of wrong bank details, improper registration, lack of effective coordination arising from inexperienced focal persons in states, unwarranted political interference (especially at state level) and failure of beneficiaries to present themselves for physical verification¹⁴⁴ are challenges threatening effective implementation of the programme.

143 See: Nigerian govt begins payment of N30,000 monthly stipends to N-Power beneficiaries at <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/219316-nigerian-govt-begins-payment-n30000-monthly-stipends-n-power-beneficiaries.html>

144 Interview with NSIO Official in Abuja and State Coordinator of the programme (Borno, Bauchi and Kwara States), April-May 2017

This necessitated recent protests by beneficiaries of the programme in Edo, Nasarawa and Lagos states, among others.

In addition to the N-Power programme, Bol in collaboration with the Federal Government has commenced the implementation of the N140 billion GEEP Fund targeting 1 million traders, women cooperatives and market women; 200,000 MSMEs; 260,000 enterprising youth; and 200,000 farmers and agricultural workers. Within the period under review, GEEP has disbursed a total of 57,000 loans to its beneficiaries across 30 states.¹⁴⁵

The HGSFP programme was designed to target 5,245,505 pupils from Primary 1 to 3 in 18 states¹⁴⁶ with the goal of increasing the enrolment and completion rate at primary school level. It was also designed to create jobs and raise demand for agriculture products. Central to FGN intervention is establishing partnerships with states for the sustainability of the programme and expanding its scope to reach pupils in other classes in primary schools. As part of its contribution to the scheme, the government trained food vendors on hygiene, gave them aprons, assisted them in acquiring decent cooking materials and supports them with N4,000 each as transport allowance¹⁴⁷.

Currently, the programme is running in seven states out of the targeted 18 states and engaging 1,051,619 pupils in 8,587 schools¹⁴⁸. The participating states have recruited 11,980 cooks, and the Federal Government has, within the review period, disbursed about N2 billion to participating states for the programme. States including Delta, Lagos, Cross Rivers, Jigawa, Imo and Kano are gearing up to join the initiative.

During our fact-checking exercise in Kaduna, Osun and Anambra states to observe the feeding process, it was discovered that the programme receives commendable support by the management of surveyed schools, pupils and their parents, and cooks who benefitted from it. However, there are major concerns about the need to increase the rate per child from N70 to N100. It was also revealed that the selection process of cooks has been hijacked by politicians at state level, who see the programme as a pay-back for their party supporters. Other problems include delay in the supply of raw food items (such as fish, beef or chicken) by their suppliers due to difficulties posed by the channels for receiving the items, and lack of transparency in the process¹⁴⁹.

145 Abia, Benue, Bayelsa, Adamawa, Akwa Ibom, Delta, Edo, Ekiti, Kaduna, Kebbi, Kogi, Kwara, Niger, Lagos, Osun, Ogun, Oyo, Ondo, Plateau, Rivers, Zamfara, Jigawa, Borno, Cross Rivers, Taraba, Enugu, Sokoto, Bauchi, Kogi, Gombe States), plus the Federal Capital Territory (FCT)

146 Anambra, Akwa Ibom, Ebonyi, Enugu, Sokoto, Kaduna, Borno, Zamfara, Ogun, Oyo, Osun, Plateau, Delta, Kano, Benue, Abia, Bauchi and Taraba States.

147 Joshua Oluwole, SPECIAL REPORT: How Buhari administration's school feeding programme increases pupil enrolment amidst challenges, *Premium Times*, May 28 2017

148 Update on the National Social Investment Programs, May 2017

149 Op. cit.

The CCT targets 1 million poor and vulnerable households (hhs). This group of Nigerians, who are drawn from the Social Register established across nine states where the Youth Employment and Social Support Operation (YESSO) project was implemented by the WB, will receive N5,000 monthly. From the National Social Register, 69,780 hhs were mined from across eight YESSO states, in addition to IDPs enrolled in Borno State. Out of this number, the government is currently engaging over 30,000 hhs with a validated Bank Verification Number (BVN) who are currently being paid. The Social Register is being expanded to reach 12 more states¹⁵⁰ and they have begun the Community Based Targeting (CBT) process. Within the period under review, 35 states have signed MoUs with FGN, and 21 states have opened State Operators Coordinating Units (SOCU), while 16 states have established State Cash Transfer Units (SCTU) and trained staff. 84 LGAs have established LG Cash Offices and trained staff¹⁵¹.

However, whether CCT is heading towards the right direction has been a major concern. While acknowledging its potential to contribute to poverty reduction in the country, this, together with other social welfare programmes, is insufficient in bringing about lasting gains in the social welfare of the poor population and may lack the potential to reverse the trend in the future. It should be noted that in order to reduce the growing poverty level in the country, there is a need to develop a more robust social safety net that goes beyond the elementary goals of providing poor households with minimum levels of consumption. The current social safety architecture should be holistic, with a pro-poor agenda which is central to the long-term national development agenda of the country.

On the promise about ensuring that retirees receive their gratuity on time, the Buhari Administration in April of 2017 released N54 billion to clear part of the backlog of accrued pension rights for the years 2014, 2015 and 2016¹⁵². This followed the verification and biometric capture of civil service pensioners, which started in November 2015, by the Pension Transitional Arrangement Directorate (PTAD)¹⁵³. The broader agenda of the verification exercise is not only to detect ghost pensioners and put a stop to fraudulent payments, but also to facilitate the restoration of monthly pension payments to genuine pensioners previously removed from the payroll, including those who had never been paid any pension or gratuity, some for over 10 years post-retirement¹⁵⁴. Following the completion of the 2015 verification exercise, the statement from the Directorate reveals that a total of 28,352 pensioners were verified; out of which over 11,000 were either found not to be enjoying their monthly pension or had filed a complaint at one time or the other on some outstanding pension benefits¹⁵⁵.

150 Plateau, Jigawa, Adamawa, Anambra, Benue, Enugu, Gombe, Kaduna, Katsina, Kano, Kaduna and Taraba

151 Update on the National Social Investment Programs, May 2017

152 See: Buhari releases N54bn to settle pension backlog, retrieved at <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/04/buhari-releases-n54bn-settle-pension-backlog/>

153 PTAD is as a Directorate under the Federal Ministry of Finance established in August 2013 in compliance with the provisions of section 30 sub-section (2) (a) of the Pension Reform Act of 2004 and as restated in section 42(1) of the amended act of 2014 to manage the old pension scheme (Defined Benefit Schemes –DBS) for pensioners who retired on or before June 2007 and did not transit to the new contributory Scheme (See: We've blocked fraud, saved Nigeria N100m monthly – Pension body retrieved at <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/more-news/194248-weve-blocked-fraud-saved-nigeria-n100m-monthly-pension-body.html>)

154 See: PRESS RELEASE: PTAD Commences North East Pensioner Verification Exercise, November 23, 2016 at <http://www.ptad.gov.ng/press-release-ptad-commences-north-east-pensioner-verification-exercise/>

155 FG pays 4,438 excluded pensioners retirement benefit, retrieved at <http://www.dailytrust.com.ng/news/business/fg-pays-4-438-excluded-pensioners-retirement-benefit-arrears/173979.html#fEDTS8JzMAQ7FQ5z.99>

Given this, PTAD has reportedly paid pension arrears of 4,438 qualified pensioners in late November 2016 in the two zones where the verification exercise was conducted in 2015¹⁵⁶.

It is apparent from the above analysis that the incumbent administration has achieved one (33%) of the promises under social safety net category following the introduction of the Social Insurance Scheme but still working towards fulfilling two (67%) promises. Proportionally, promises made under this category constitute 1.35% of the 222 promises.

Employment

The administration made ten campaign promises regarding employment generation during the electioneering campaigns of 2015. While these promises can stand on their own, it is important to note that they are closely intertwined with many other promises earlier highlighted under various sectors in this report. Overall, the PMB led administration promised to create 3 million new jobs annually through industrialisation, public work (construction activities), sports development, Information and Communication Technology (ICT) (including technology transfer), diversification of the economy, tradesmen's skills education and agricultural expansion (including grants and interest free loans), and by establishing a new Federal Coordinating Agency – Build Nigeria – to fast track and manage these public works programmes with emphasis on Nigerian labour.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid

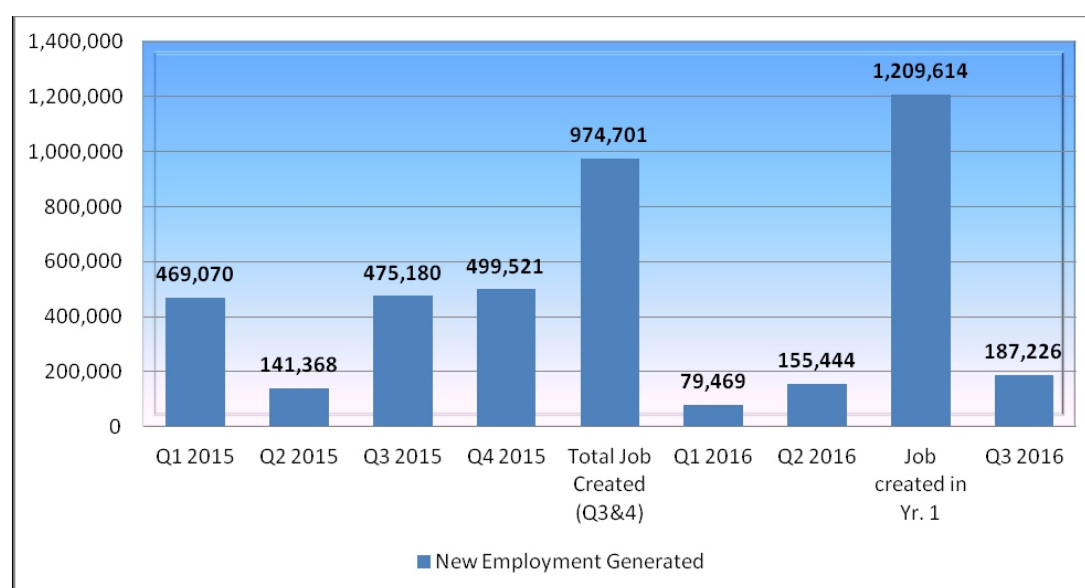
Figure 30: Promises on Employment



From the analysis of interventions in other areas, it is obvious that the administration is making giant strides in creating job opportunities through road/rail construction by mobilising contractors to sites, SIP interventions, agricultural expansions (as the case in Kebbi and elsewhere in the country), and ICT interventions. However, analysis of quarterly data from NBS reveals that the PMB-led administration has not achieved the promise to create 3 million new jobs yearly. Figure 31 below shows that the lowest employment generation rate was recorded in Q2 2015 (141,368), while the highest rate was recorded in Q4 2015 (499,521). The employment rate in Q4 2015 increased by 4.8% (24,341) and 35.3% (358,153) compared to Q3 (475,180) and Q2 (141,368) 2015 respectively.

The jobs created are mostly driven by informal sector jobs, which accounted for 90.2% (428,690) in Q3 2015 and 95.4% (476,563) in Q4 2015. Agricultural activities in rural areas contributed about 70% of the total jobs created in Q3 2015, mainly because of increasing farming activities during the period. In Q1 (79,469) and Q2 (155,444) 2016, a total number of 234,913 jobs were created, which decreased by 414.9% (739,788) compared to total jobs created between Q3 and Q4 2015. In summary, the total estimate of jobs created between Q3 and Q4 2015, and Q1 and Q2 2016 amounts to 1,209,614. By contrast, according to NBS, the number of jobs lost between January and September 2016 was 1.7 million¹⁵⁷. Therefore, available data shows that the incumbent administration has failed on its promise to create 3 million new jobs yearly.

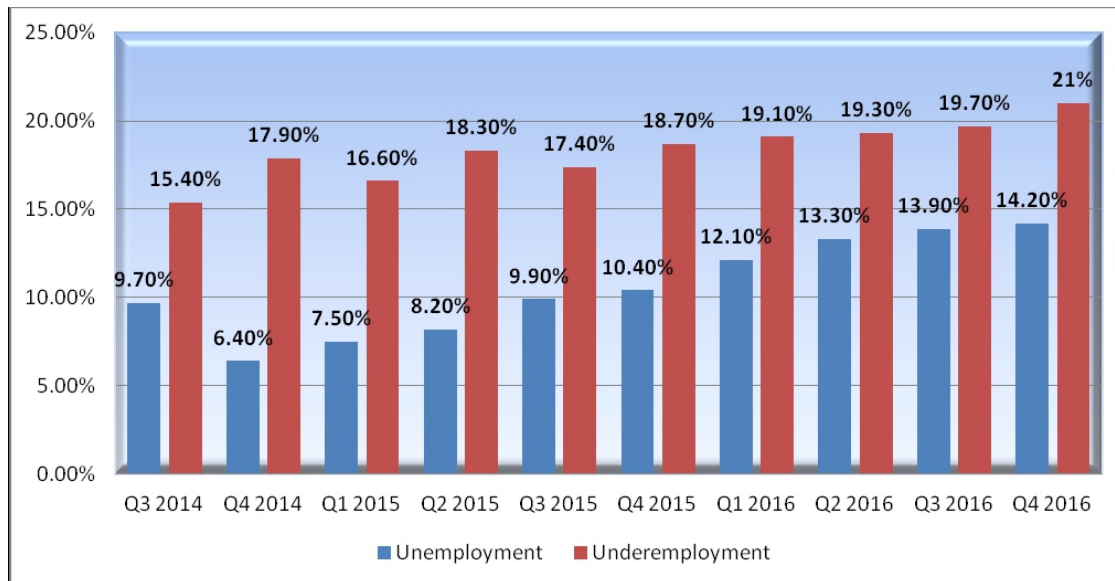
Figure 31: Number of Jobs Created Rate (2015 – 2016)



Source: National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), Job Creation Reports (Q1 2015-Q3 2016)

157 See: Nigeria's 1.7m Job Losses In Nine Months, retrieved at <http://independent.ng/nigerias-1-7m-job-losses-in-nine-months/>

Figure 32: Unemployment and Underemployment Rate (%) (2015 – 2016)



Source: National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), Unemployment/Underemployment Reports (Q1 2014-Q4 2016)

Figure 32 above reveals that unemployment and underemployment rates are accelerating despite the number of new jobs created by the administration. Although the number of new jobs created between Q2 and Q4 2015 (as shown in Fig. 31 above) increased from 141,368 to 499,521, unemployment and underemployment rates increased from 8.20% to 10.40%, and 18.30% to 18.70% respectively. Thus, there is no corresponding increase in the number of new jobs created. In relation to the increasing unemployment rate, what this suggests is that the magnitude of the economy has not been sufficient or adequate to meet the ever-growing labour market; hence, the continuous rise in the level of unemployment in the country¹⁵⁸.

Overall, the administration's performance on job creation has not been encouraging given the fact that it has not achieved the promise to create 3 million jobs annually. Thus, progress is being made towards fulfilling six promises, while three promises are 'not rated' and one promise is 'not achieved'.

¹⁵⁸ Q3 2016 Job Creation Report, NBS

4 FOREIGN POLICY

Overview

This is one of the areas in which the incumbent administration is making headway. An assessment of government actions so far shows effort towards achieving six out of the seven campaign promises.

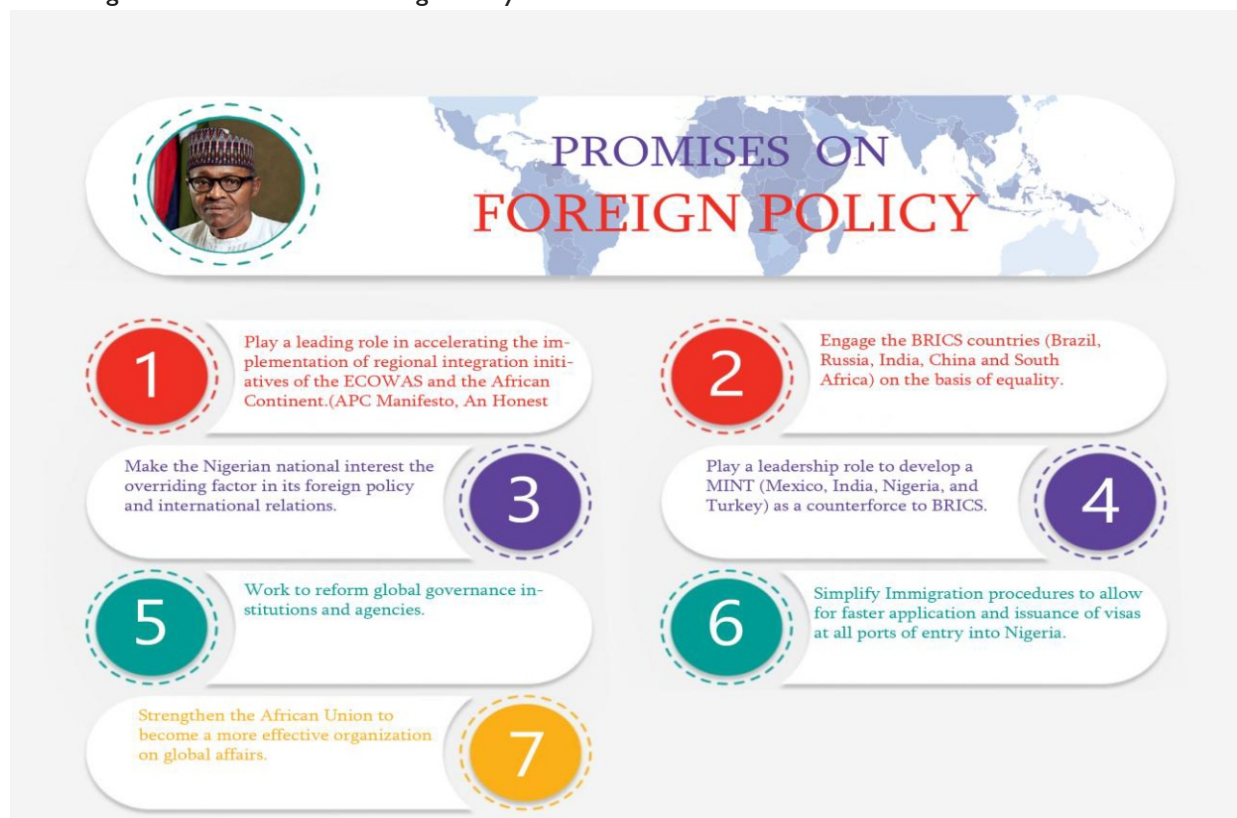
Analysis

In the prelude to the 2015 general elections, PMB made seven campaign promises, which are pointers to his focus on strengthening the foreign affairs of the country. These are:

1. Play a leading role in accelerating the implementation of regional integration initiatives of the ECOWAS and the African Continent
2. Engage the BRICS countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) on the basis of equality
3. Make the Nigerian national interest the overriding factor in its foreign policy and international relations
4. Work to reform global governance institutions and agencies
5. Strengthen the African Union to become a more effective organisation on global affairs
6. Play a leadership role to develop MINT (Mexico, India, Nigeria, and Turkey) as a counter force to BRICS
7. Simplify immigration procedures to allow for faster application and issuance of visas at all ports of entry into Nigeria.

At least four of these promises are inter-related and one action towards fulfilling any of these promises may largely influence rating of the promises.

Figure 33: Promises on Foreign Policy



The President has on many occasions expressed his concern over the need for review and improvement of the governance structure of ECOWAS and the regional bloc as a panacea for economic and political integration. For example, in his opening remarks at the 50th Ordinary Session of the Authority of Heads of State and Government of ECOWAS, held in Abuja in December 2016, he stressed the need to review the ECOWAS Treaty in order to make the regional organisation more responsive to new national, regional and global challenges.

This can be seen in his remark that "...We also need to make conscious efforts to improve on governance and accountability at all levels... This calls for the speedy conclusion of the reforms of all ECOWAS institutions to put ECOWAS on a much stronger footing and prepare us for the challenges of such institutional reforms¹⁵⁹". This was a follow up to the call made during the Extraordinary Summit of the Head of State and Government held in Abuja in June 2015, which led to re-adjustment and concretisation of command structures, and funding and deployment of the MNJTF beyond Nigeria's immediate region.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁹ See: Buhari calls for review of ECOWAS Treaty, retrieved at <http://punchng.com/buhari-calls-review-ecowas-treaty>

¹⁶⁰ Federal Ministry of Information and Culture; Town Hall Meeting, May 16th 2017

5 POLITICS AND GOVERNANCE

Overview

There were 11 election pledges made by the incumbent to advance politics and governance in Nigeria. There have so far been few attempts by the government to fulfill them in the first two years of the administration.

Analysis

The most significant of the government's pledges relating to politics and government is an amendment to Section 134 of the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria (as amended) to remove the immunity clause. The immunity clause as currently enshrined in the Constitution protects the President, governors, and their deputies from prosecution while in office. This provision has generated many controversies since the restoration of democracy in 1999. Given the country's experience of sheer impunity by some public office holders and its negative effect on the nation's development prospects, the quest for its removal has gained widespread popularity. This largely underscores the commitment by the incumbent and the ruling party, APC, for its removal as contained in the party's manifesto. The incumbent administration also made a commitment to promote human rights and a credible electoral process; ensure transparency in the appointment of judges and enhance the integrity and scope of court process; and ensure independence of state-owned media, amongst others. The infographic below provides a snapshot of election pledges made:

Boko Haram has been degraded and a partnership with international communities is being sought to accelerate the fight against the insurgency. The Buhari Administration has set up a team with a timeframe of two years towards restructuring ECOWAS and ensuring that Nigeria is also playing an important role in the African Union and United Nations. President Buhari's leadership role in ousting the former President of Gambia, Yahya Jammeh, who had insisted on staying in power despite losing at the polls, and the subsequent inauguration of Mr Barrow Adama, the winner of the election as the President of the Gambia, cannot be underestimated.

The Buhari Administration has worked to re-established Nigeria's position in the regional and global arena. He revived and strengthened broken relations with United States, United Kingdom, South Africa, Chad, Niger and Cameroon, which is clearly reflected in security and economic supports currently being received from these countries since 2015. On economic diplomacy, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs reviewed and re-negotiated some of our Joint Commission and bilateral agreements. These include Bilateral Air Service Agreements, Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement, Agreement on Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation, Avoidance of Double Taxation Agreement, with China, Morocco, Kenya, South Africa and India, among others. This is an indication of conscious and incremental engagements with BRICS countries.

In addition, President Buhari's administration made remarkable progress in traditional foreign policy pursuits, include providing consular services to Nigeria abroad, engaging with the Nigerian Diaspora, improving the image and international visibility of Nigeria abroad, and assisting African countries by supporting democracy, peace and security. President Buhari has engaged the governments of Switzerland, Jersey Island, United States, United Arab Emirates, and Liechtenstein, among others, in an effort to ensure the repatriation of Nigeria's stolen assets. The Swiss Government has agreed to repatriate illicit loot of about USD321 million, while another tranche is expected from Jersey.

In view of the need to fulfill the promise to simplify and accelerate the process of visa application and issuance, the Federal Government has approved processing of visas within 48 hours and given waivers to some countries¹⁶¹. Although the implementation of this is yet to be verified, it is an important move to attract foreign investors and guarantee ease of doing business in the country.

An assessment of the government actions so far shows that the government has made efforts towards achieving six out of the seven campaign promises. This constitutes 85.7% of the promises. It could be argued that this has worked towards rebuilding the country's image and economic and political relationship with countries across the world. However, nothing practical has been done to develop MINT as a counterforce to BRICS.

161 See: Ease Of Doing Business: Presidency Effects Visa-Free Policy, retrieved at <https://www.smeonline.biz/2017/03/23/ease-business-presidency-effects-visa-free-policy/>

Figure 34: Promises on Politics & Governance



A review of the government's actions on the aforementioned promises reveals that no action has been taken towards the achievement of eight promises, which constitute 72.7% of the promises. The government has not taken meaningful steps to: 1) ensure the removal of the immunity clause from the Constitution; 2) initiate a proposal for amendment of the Constitution to mandate federal and state governments to publish proceedings of meetings and approval of spending on items over 100 million and 10 million for local government; 3) establish Federal Judicial Appointment Commission; 4) introduce free Alternative Dispute Resolution procedures; 5) set time limits on court cases; and 6) introduce a system of mobile court.

There has been some progress regarding Chapter IV of the Constitution, ensuring the independence of INEC, and developing ongoing legislation to protect suspects of corruption against undue arrest.

According to the 2017 Freedom House Report, Nigeria's political rights rating has improved from four to three. This is due to increased transparency under the Buhari Administration and military gains against Boko Haram that led to a significant reduction in the group's ability to alter the religious and ethnic composition of the North East¹⁶². The National Assembly is considering Crimes Against Humanity, War Crimes and Genocide Bill, which is at the Committee Stage at the time of writing this report. The bill seeks to domesticate the International Criminal Court of Justice Treaty signed by Nigeria in 2000¹⁶³.

Notwithstanding commendable strides made by the PMB Administration to maintain and protect the secular posture of the country and defend citizens' rights, the government has nevertheless been enmeshed in controversies over its capacity to adequately protect lives and properties of Nigerians. For example, a review of human rights reports that provide evidence-based findings about the activities of security personnel (including the military) and some government agencies are quite revealing. A 2016 report by Amnesty International, Nigeria: Bullets Were Raining Everywhere, reveals a worrying pattern of arbitrary arrests and detentions of pro-Biafra supporters in Southeastern Nigeria; including soldiers arresting wounded victims in hospital, and of torture and other ill-treatment of detainees¹⁶⁴.

This was corroborated by Premium Times Nigeria in its special report Inside the massive extrajudicial killings in Nigeria's South-East¹⁶⁵. Security officers have not been held accountable for serious human rights violations allegedly committed by them in the North East. Another worrying example is the crisis that resulted from the infamous Shi'a massacre, which occurred from December 12th to 14th 2015. Hundreds of people were killed in Zaria, Kaduna State,

162 See: Nigeria profile: Freedom in the World Scores, retrieved at <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2017/nigeria>

163 See: Nigeria pushes bill to punish crimes against humanity, retrieved at <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/more-news/224894-nigeria-pushes-bill-punish-crimes-humanity.html>

164 Amnesty International, Nigeria: Bullets Were Raining Everywhere, 2016

165 Inside the massive extrajudicial killings in Nigeria's South-East, *Premium times*, Nigeria, retrieved at <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/investigationspecial-reports/204902-special-report-inside-massive-extrajudicial-killings-nigerias-south-east.html>

following clashes between the Nigerian Army (NA) and the Islamic Movement in Nigeria (IMN). The commission of inquiry set up to investigate the incidents ascertained that 349 people were killed, including one soldier and another Shi'a worshipper who died later in custody. The Commission recommended the immediate identification and prosecution of culpable members of the Nigerian Army who participated in the killings¹⁶⁶. The IMN leader, Sheik Ibrahim Zakzaky, who lost an eye and is said to be paralysed as a result of the incident, has remained in detention since December 2015; this is despite court rulings requesting his release.

In the same vein, the administration is noted for refusal to obey court orders and is even alleged of abuse of court processes. For instance, retired colonel Sambo Dasuki and a former security adviser to former President Goodluck Jonathan is facing trial for allegedly diverting and embezzling over \$2.2 billion dollars meant for arms procurement to stem the fight against Boko Haram. He has been in detention since December 2015. Dasuki has been granted bail by three different courts but these judgments have never been executed. The leader of IMN, Sheik Ibraheem El-Zakzaky and his wife Zeenat, have been in custody since December 2015. They have also approached the court for the enforcement of their fundamental human rights but remain in detention to date, despite several court orders directing their release.

In the period under review, Nigeria recorded a decline on the international press freedom index, with a 6% regression between 2016 and 2017¹⁶⁷. According to the 2017 World Press Freedom Report, Nigeria's ranking came down from 116 in 2016 to 122 in 2017. According to the report, it is nearly impossible to cover stories involving politics, terrorism, or financial embezzlement in Nigeria following exposure of journalists to physical violence, or the denial of access to information by government officials, police, and sometimes the public itself. Although the incumbent has, on several occasions, discredited unfavourable reports about how it handles press freedom and reiterated its commitment to respect for freedom of the press, this negative perception about its human rights and press freedom record subsists.

¹⁶⁶ Report of the Judicial Commission of Inquiry into the Zaria Clashes between Nigerian Army and the Islamic Movement in Nigeria <http://kdsg.gov.ng/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/Report-of-the-Judicial-Commission-of-Inquiry-into-the-Zaria-Clashes-1.pdf>

¹⁶⁷ See: Nigeria Press Freedom worsens in One Year, report retrieved at <http://saharareporters.com/2017/04/26/nigeria%E2%80%99s-press-freedom-record-worsens-one-year-reports>

Figure 35: Incidents of Violation of Rights

COL. SAMBO DANSUKI

Granted bail at least six different occasions by various courts but the Nigerian government has persistently refused to comply with the court orders.



Ibraheem El-Zakzaky & wife, Zeenat Disregards to court order for their release while government is yet to accuse him of any crime or file any charges against him.



LEKAN ADETAYO Chased out of the state house for reporting about President Muhammadu Buhari's ill health



DAPO OLORUNYOMI AND EVELYN OKAKWU Wrote stories which the authorities described as exposing a “deep hatred for the leadership of the Nigerian Army”



KEMI OLUNLOYO AND SAMUEL WALSON Kept in prison for a week before they were released for alledged defamation of David Ibiyeomie's character in a post.



Sources: SPECIAL REPORT: How Buhari administration serially disobeys court orders, <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/233665-special-report-how-buhari-administration-serially-disobeys-court-orders.html>; and Nigeria's Press Freedom Record Worsens in One Year, Reports, <http://saharareporters.com/2017/04/26/nigeria%E2%80%99s-press-freedom-record-worsens-one-year-reports>

With regards to creating a functionally independent and well-resourced Electoral Commission, there have been mixed results. Towards the end of 2015, there was public outcry regarding what many considered as the hesitant approach of President Buhari to appointing INEC Chairman, National Commissioners and Resident Electoral Commissioners (RECs) at state level. Following a call on the President by members of the House of Representatives in August 2015 to appoint the substantive Chairman of INEC¹⁶⁸, PMB appointed Prof. Mahmood Yakubu, together with five National Commissioners¹⁶⁹ in October 2015. In December 2016, PMB swore in six more National Commissioners¹⁷⁰, bringing the number of National Commissioners to 11, and later submitted list of 27 RECs to the National Assembly for confirmation¹⁷¹.

Associated with the need to create an enabling environment for conduct of credible elections is the establishment of the Ken Nnamani-led Constitutional and Electoral Reforms Committee. The Committee is to review electoral environment, laws and experiences from recent elections conducted in Nigeria and make recommendations to strengthen and achieve the conduct of free and fair elections in the country¹⁷². In terms of its operations, available evidence shows that the electoral umpire continues to independently take decisions about the management of the Electoral Body's affairs, and interface and consult with key stakeholders (including political parties) on election matters. INEC is financially independent given that it draws its fund from Consolidated Revenue Fund as prescribed in Sections 81 and 84(4) of the 1999 Constitution (as amended).

168 Repts to Buhari: Appoint INEC chair, commissioners now, retrieved at <http://www.dailytrust.com.ng/news/politics/repsto-buhari-appoint-inec-chair-commissioners-now/106122.html#BkmpGQzUGxPDECl.99>

169 Buhari appoints Mahmood Yakuba as new INEC chairman, five Commissioners, <http://dailypost.ng/2015/10/21/breaking-buhari-appoints-new-inec-chairman-five-national-commissioners/>

170 The six appointees were Ogunmola Ladipo, May Agbamuche, Abubakar Nahuiche, Okechukwu Ibeanu, Mohammed Haruna and Ahmad Muazu.

171 See: Buhari names 27 RECs for Senate confirmation, retrieved at <https://www.dailytrust.com.ng/news/general/buhari-names-27-recs-for-senate-confirmation/190558.html>

172 See: Buhari appoints Nnamani head of electoral reforms committee, retrieved at <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/211851-buhari-appoints-nnamani-head-electoral-reforms-committee.html>

Figure 36: Performance on Politics & Governance

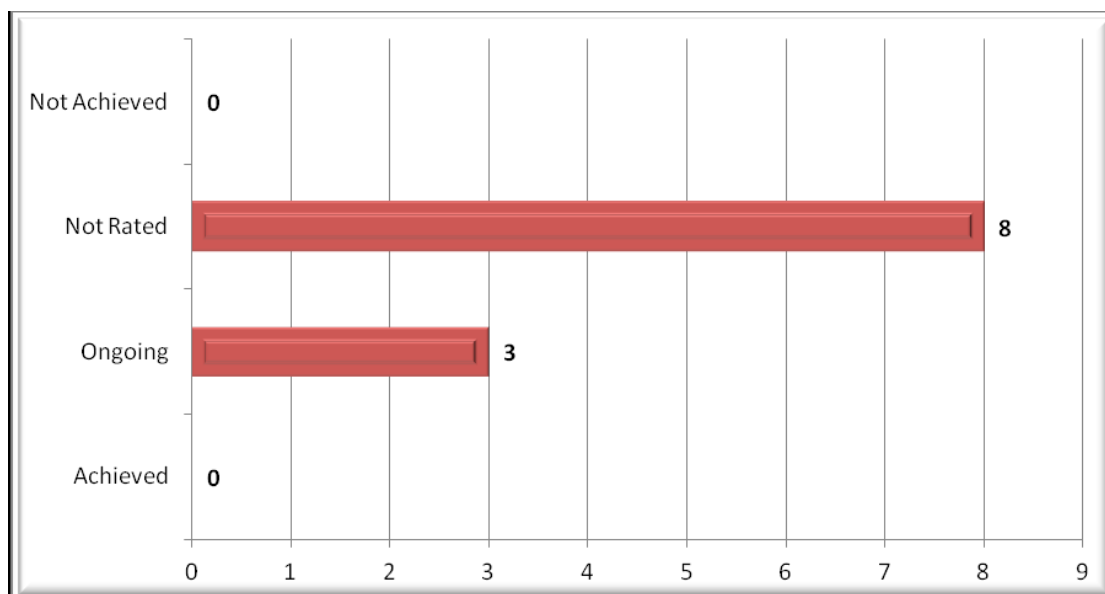


Fig. 36 above shows that the PMB-led administration performed poorly in the delivery of his election pledges under politics and governance. Out of 11 promises, efforts have been made towards fulfilling only three, which constitutes 27.3% of the promises.

There are unresolved controversies over the government's capacity to protect human rights and in turn respect the human rights treaties that the country has signed on to, as well as Chapter IV of the Constitution. It should be noted that government has consistently responded to uproar over threats posed to human rights, especially press freedom, with the message that such threats are generally not perpetuated by the government. However, it is the responsibility of government to promote human rights, and investigate and make public punishment of defaulters, in order to earn public trust about its willingness to defend human rights. Prioritising this is critical to strengthening our democracy and would help to a great extent in changing perceptions. In short, no promise has been achieved under politics and governance.

6 SOCIAL SECTOR

Overview

The administration made a series of campaign promises in this sector, cutting across Education, Health, Housing, Water and Sanitation, Sports and Culture. Obviously, this sector cuts across the basics needs of citizens and therefore demands some degree of priority in terms of ensuring speedy intervention.

Analysis

Education

PMB and his party, APC, made 30 campaign promises about education, making it the sector with the highest number of promises. In the past two years, intervention to improve the sector has been minimal and had little impact. The launch of the Home Grown School Feeding Programme to feed primary school pupils from classes Primary 1 to 3 has placed the government on the path of mass mobilisation of school age children to school. However, the promise to introduce a free daily school meal for all primary school children cannot be rated as achieved because the school feeding initiative is presently not targeting 'all primary school children'. It is not until the programme covers all primary school children, given the expectation that state governments would expand its scope, that it can be rated as achieved. Despite successes recorded since the launch of the programme, there are a number of challenges (as explained under the Social Safety Net) that require urgent attention from the government.

The government has had more success in other areas, such as teacher training and higher education. In February 2017, the Ministry of Education trained primary school teachers in Lafia, Nassarawa State, in a bid to achieve its promise to provide on-the-job re-training opportunities for existing teachers. Another intervention is the directive by the Minister of Education, Mr Adamu Adamu, to abolish the dichotomy between University and Polytechnic degrees. This has started yielding positive outcomes following the compliance of the Nigeria Customs Service (NCS). During the recent promotion made by NCS in April 2017, it was reported that HND holders on salary Grade Level GL 07 in the service were automatically moved to GL 08173 to remove the existing discrepancy between University and Polytechnic degrees

173 Hassan Adebayo, UPDATED: Nigeria Customs abolishes HND, BSC dichotomy, promotes HND holders, *Premium Times*, April 10, 2017.

Figure 37: Promises on Education





PROMISES ON EDUCATION

15

Provide on-the-job retraining opportunities for existing teachers at both the basic and secondary levels while providing the right incentives to keep teachers in the classrooms and attract bright young men and women to take up career in teaching.

Establish a standing committee of pertinent government ministries and agencies and representatives of the private sector in order to shape educational curricula to our [Nigeria] needs and realities of the global economy”

16

17

Embark on a vocational training, entrepreneurial and skills acquisition schemes for graduates along with the creation of a Small Business Loans Guarantee Scheme to create at least 1 million new jobs every year for the foreseeable future.

19

Phase-in the provision of communal internet ready desktops at all secondary schools in the nation by 2019.

18

Ensure the full optimization of the capacity of existing technical, vocational centres and tertiary institu-

Pursue a policy of non-discrimination between the universities and the polytechnics.

21

Work with other levels of government and through relevant government agencies to allocate resources to schools while strengthening community participant in school management.

20

23

Implement a comprehensive review of the goal and content of our [Nigeria] secondary education to ensure that it also serves the purpose of skills acquisition.

22

Improve the competitiveness of our Universities and Polytechnics and position them at the heart of the national productivity, innovation and enter-

Triple education spending over the next 10 years, from the current 8.5% to 24.5%.

25

Introduce a National Core curriculum for all public schools, setting out the minimum standards.

24

27

Decentralize management of primary schools to parents and communities.

26

Undertake a major national programme of secondary school construction and repair funded through Public-Private Partnerships. Tax incentives will be provided to businesses who participate in this programme.

Phase-in a free school meals programme after it has been established in primary schools.

29

Launch a programme for the redevelopment of teacher training colleges.

28

31

Focus the new LTIs on providing free training courses to our youth and unemployed in the basic skills necessary to sign up to the infrastructure public works programmes that we [APC] are proposing.

30

Encourage and finance support States with sprawling urban centres to embark on intra city metro lines and bus systems.

A review and follow-up on the government's response and implementation of its campaign promises thus showed that out of the 30 campaign promises made in the education sector, the government has only begun to implement five (16%) out of its thirty campaign promises. The remaining twenty-five (84%) are still not rated.

Health

Eight campaign promises were made regarding health during the election campaign. These include: increase federal budget spending on healthcare, improve life expectancy through national programme, review occupational health laws and immediately commence enforcement, unveil revised health policy, and partner with state governments and development partners for improved primary health plan. Within the past two years, one (12.5%) of the promises has been achieved (review National Health Policy), two (25%) are ongoing, three (37.5%) are not rated and two (25%) are not achieved (end medical tourism, and immediate increase of budget allocation to 10%).

In September 2016, the incumbent administration launched a Rapid Response Initiative, the "Better Health for All (BH4All)" programme, focusing on six major areas: 1) Rehabilitation of Primary Health Centres (PHCs) 2) Surgeries 3) Nutrition 4) Diabetes 5) Mutual Health Associations and 6) Disease Control¹⁷⁴. This effort relates to two campaign promises: the National Healthy Living Programme and coordinating numerous agencies of the Ministry for improved health.

174 See: Your Health, Issue 1, January 1, 2017 retrieved at http://www.health.gov.ng/doc/Your%20Health_Issue%201_040117.pdf

Figure 38: Promises on Health



Within the years under review, the government has tackled both acute and chronic health problems, responding to medical emergencies as well as offering routine treatments. Through the BH4All programme, the government reportedly responded to 200,000 cases of Severe Acute Malnourished (SAM) children in 28 IDP camps in the North East (four in Adamawa, 14 in Borno and 10 in Yobe States), and 724 PHCs facilities already implementing Community Management of Acute Malnutrition (CMAM) in 12 States¹⁷⁵. Following an outbreak of Lassa Fever, the government inaugurated National Lassa Fever Action Committee (NLFAC) to tackle the incidence and has developed a Lassa Fever Strategy through the Nigeria Centre for Disease Control (NCDC), to prevent another large outbreak and ensure quick response to any case in the country.

Through the Buharicare initiative, the government claims to have performed a number of medical procedures and treatments, including 26 cataract surgeries, 50 fistula repair surgeries, 80 refractions, and the ordering of 53 pairs of glasses at no cost for beneficiaries. It has also reportedly rehabilitated PHCs in some parts of the country, though there is not enough information to assess the validity of the government's claim in this regard.

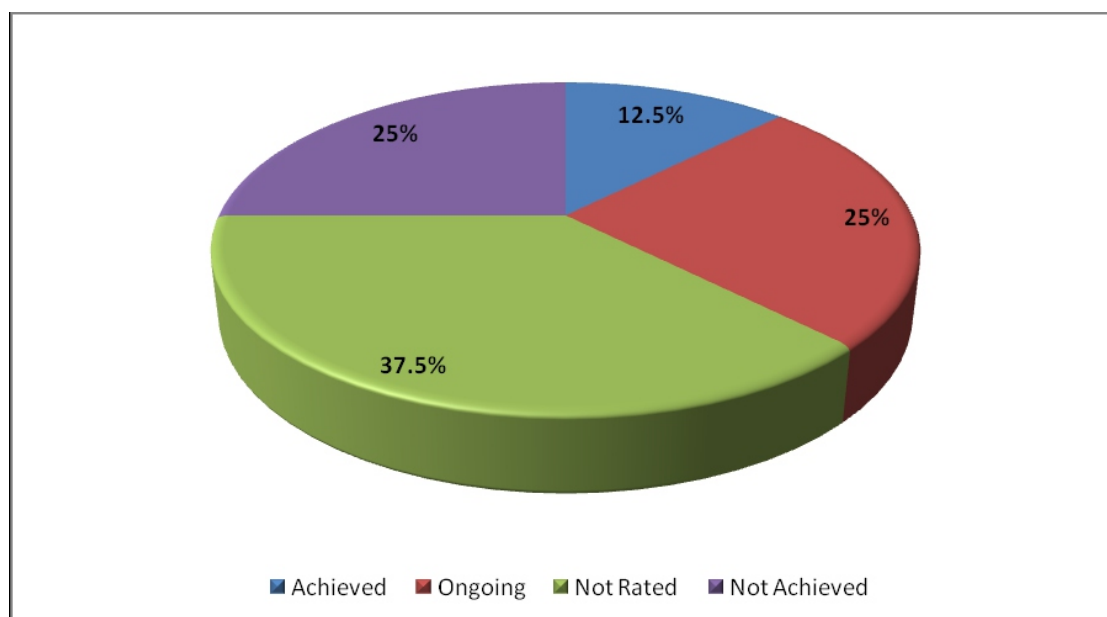
Through the Save One Million Lives (SOML) programme, initiated during the previous administration, the government is working with state governments and development partners to improve maternal, newborn and child health across the federation. In September 2016, the government unveiled its revised National Health policy, achieving its promise to develop health policy.

Notwithstanding these interventions, government needs to do more in the remaining two years of its term in order to make a significant impact on the lives of Nigerians. Despite the success recorded in reducing child and maternal mortality, the rate of death is still high compared to other countries with similar economic potential. According to a PWC study in 2015, Nigeria has just five hospital beds for every 100,000 people, as opposed to a global average of 35 beds and 24 beds per 100,000 in South Africa, which has the continent's most advanced medical care¹⁷⁶. The re-emergence of polio and malnutrition particularly in the ravaged North East, outbreaks of Lassa fever, cholera and meningitis calls for a more result-oriented, holistic and widespread intervention from the government.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid

¹⁷⁶ See: Nigerian Leader Extends Sick Leave Abroad as Citizens Suffer, retrieved at <https://www.voanews.com/a/buhari-nigeria-medical/3727002.html>

Figure 39: Performance Outlook, Health



Moreover, the ban on medical tourism for any government official has been consistently flouted, even by the President himself. In April 2016, PMB announced that his government would no longer pay for officials to travel abroad for medical services available at home. But two months later, the President was in London for treatment of an ear infection and has been travelling for medical treatment abroad since then.

Our assessment shows that government's action towards fulfilling the promise to *immediately* increase the proportion of federal spending on health from 5.5% to 10% has not been achieved. In 2016, the health sector received 4.64% of the total budget of N6.07 trillion, which is lower than the 6.24% allocation in the 2015 budget. This marks a decrease of 1.6%. This trend continues with the 2017 Appropriation Bill with a proposal of 4.17% of the N7.298 trillion submitted to the National Assembly for consideration. This also puts into question the government's commitment to guarantee financial sustainability to the sector. No effort has been made to review occupational health laws in the work place.

Housing

The housing sector is one area where government has performed poorly in terms of fulfilling campaign promises. Except for a few private sector interventions, the impact of government's interventions in the sector has not really been felt by Nigerians in the past two years. There were six promises made to provide affordable housing for Nigerians, including: establishment of National Housing Policy in co-operation with state governments to build 1 million new houses a year over the next few decades; development of new urban planning schemes; create obligations on private housing developers to build or contribute financially to the building of social housing projects; create mortgages by reforming land ownership; promote rural development to curtail rural-urban migration; and offer opportunities for Nigerians to own their own houses through a nationwide mortgage system.

Figure 40: Promises on Housing



The government has not made any progress towards fulfilling promises relating to reforming land ownership, promoting rural development to arrest rural-urban migration and developing new urban planning schemes. Furthermore, the government failed to achieve a promise to provide 1 million housing units to Nigerians annually. Our assessment shows that so far the government has commenced interventions towards achieving less than 50% of its promises in this regard.

In a bid to fulfill campaign promises, the government launched Federal Integrated Staff Housing (FISH) programme¹⁷⁷ in February 2017. The government is targeting the construction of around 5000 housing units as part of this scheme. Following the launch of FISH, the government made policy decisions to demonstrate commitment to providing affordable housing for Nigerians through enabling private sector participation and strengthening existing institutions.

Firstly, the Family Homes Funds and the Federal Government Staff Housing Loan Board (FGSHLB) signed separate MoUs with the Nigeria Mortgage Refinancing Company for N13 billion mortgage refinancing to provide affordable loans that would make it possible for some civil servants to purchase houses under the government backed FISH programme. In March 2017, the incumbent administration scrapped 10% equity from approved off-taker for housing mortgage below N5 million¹⁷⁸.

It is also strengthening the Federal Mortgage Bank of Nigeria (FMBN) by providing N500 billion to resuscitate the bank to make mortgage facilities easily available to Nigerians¹⁷⁹. In 2016, FGN launched its national housing programme known as 'Family Home Fund'. Through a Public Private Partnership (PPP) arrangement, FMBN, together with developers and other stakeholders, has commenced the implementation of the programme by commissioning 100-unit houses each in Imo¹⁸⁰ and Oyo¹⁸¹ States in 2017. The government is said to be raising N1 trillion for effective implementation of the programme.

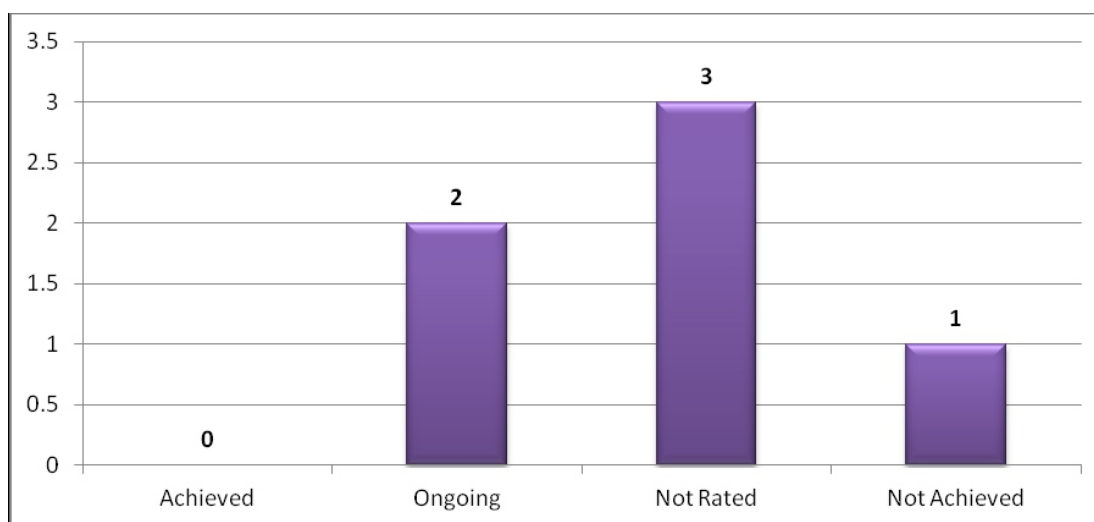
178 Chineme Okafor, FG Scraps 10% Equity Contribution on Housing Mortgage within N5m, *Thisday*, March 5, 2017

179 Housing: FG provides N500bn to resuscitate FMBN for mortgage facilities, retrieved at <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/04/housing-fg-provides-n500bn-resuscitate-fmbn-mortgage-facilities/>

180 FG Commissions 100-Unit Housing Estate In Imo, retrieved at <http://www.channelstv.com/2017/03/05/fg-commissions-100-unit-housing-estate-in-imo/>

181 Fashola inaugurates 100 housing units in Ogbomosho, retrieved at <http://nigerianpilot.com/fashola-inaugurates-100-housing-units-ogbomosho/>

Figure 41: Rating of performance on Housing



The government has commenced the implementation of housing programmes to address the longstanding housing deficit in the country. It has made significant efforts to work with the state government in providing land for the construction of housing units. However, this has not translated into the building of up to 1 million new houses a year, as promised by the administration. Thus, out of six campaign promises made, the PMB administration has so far not achieved any of its promises, although there are efforts towards fulfilling two promises (33%). Three (50%) and one (17%) of the promises are 'not rated' and 'not achieved' respectively.

Water and Sanitation

The Buhari administration also emphasised the importance of access to water and sanitation in the build up to the 2015 general elections. The importance of access to clean and potable water cannot be underestimated. The management structure of water supply in Nigeria is such that the Federal Government is responsible for the management of water resources, the state governments for supply to urban areas while the local governments are charged with the provision of water to rural areas. However, a huge percentage of the population is still burdened with the challenge of lack of access to clean water and this has adversely affected the way people live. For instance, an estimated 150,000 children under age five were reported to die annually due to causes traceable to the consumption of non-potable water. According to UNICEF, Nigeria ranks among the top five countries in the world where a large percentage of the population lacks access to safe water and improved sanitation, there is even still an observable practice of open defecation.¹⁸²

¹⁸² UNICEF BRIEFING NOTE, retrieved at, https://www.unicef.org/nigeria/UNICEF_support_to_WASH_in_Nigeria_since_2014_Jan_2017.pdf last updated January, 2017

Figure 42: Promises on Water & Sanitation



As of 2015, the WHO/UNICEF Joint Monitoring Programme for Water Supply and Sanitation reported that access to water supply in Nigeria was 69%, while sanitation remained very low at 29%.¹⁸³ In more vulnerable communities in the North East, this challenge is quite palpable especially as Boko Haram has destroyed infrastructure and displaced people from their immediate environment. In capturing this context, UNICEF in its March 2017 report observed that no less than 1,977,987 people were targeted in the region for provision of access to safe water, out of which only 166,332 were reached; 1,114,238 were likewise targeted for hygiene promotion and provision of kits but only 94,327 were reached. Lastly, of the 418,000 targeted to access improved sanitation facilities, only 42,170 could be reached.¹⁸⁴ This necessitates the re-evaluation of the campaign promises that the current administration as against what is presently attainable.

183 See: Statehouse.gov.ng

184 See: https://www.unicef.org/nigeria/NG_wwd_sitrep5_15_Mar_2017.pdf

In the APC manifesto, there was a promise to work with states and local authorities in the establishment of a 'regional arms-length' Water and Sanitation Agencies (WSAS), which was to develop a 10-year plan for the extension and upgrade of infrastructure. However, as of May 2017, the regional Water and Sanitation Agencies were yet to be established. Instead, on August 18th 2016, the Federal Government launched a water resources roadmap 'Immediate and Long Term Strategies for the Water Sector' which included the development and implementation of a National Irrigation Programme (2016-2030), identifying dams to generate hydroelectric power and drive development, developing and implementing a national water and supply and sanitation programme to attain the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), and strengthening the river basin authorities.¹⁸⁵

Closely linked with this is the second promise that the present administration will initiate a programme of universal access to potable water, provision of irrigation facilities for dry season farming and environmental sanitation, as well as the recycling of waste products to reduce waste. In line with this, the Federal Government is continuing its partnership with the European Union on the Water Supply and Sanitation Sector Reform Programme, Phase II (WSSSRP II), which was designed to run between 2012 and 2017. This is taking place in six EU designated focal states: Anambra, Cross River, Jigawa, Kano, Osun and Yobe. The WSSSRP II is designed to give technical assistance and funding to the provision of water supply and sanitation at federal and state levels¹⁸⁶. In October 2016, the Federal Government initiated Graduate Youth Farmers Empowerment Scheme across seven River Basin Development Authorities (RBDAs) in the country. As of April 2017, the programme has been re-launched with the ministry targeting improvements of food production across all RBDAs in 109 Senatorial districts.

In terms of environmental sanitation, on June 2nd 2016, the government initiated the implementation of the recommendations of a UNEP report, which, among other things, recommended the clean-up of the severely polluted Ogoniland. The Federal Government has also partnered with the World Bank to revitalise the RBDAs in order to resuscitate moribund irrigation facilities across the country and to effectively manage the irrigation projects. This partnership was launched as the Zamfara State Bokolori Irrigation scheme in January 2017. This is to be followed by the Rima Valley, Kano River, Hadajia Valley and Dadin Kowa water schemes.¹⁸⁷ It should also be noted that this aligns with the 2017 objectives of the Ministry of Water Resources, which has decided to focus on part completion of around 117 abandoned water projects across the country, instead of embarking on capital projects.¹⁸⁸

185 See: <http://wsssrp.org/event/fg-launches-water-resource-road-map/>

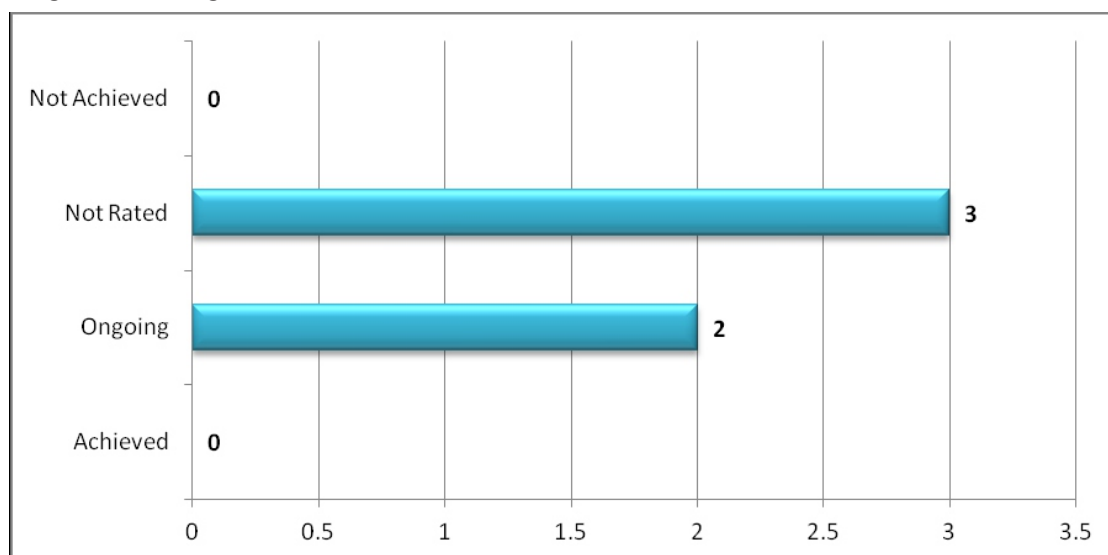
186 See: <http://wsssrp.org/objectives/>

187 See: <http://www.herald.ng/fg-world-bank-rehabilitate-bakolori-irrigation-scheme/>

188 See: <http://wsssrp.org/event/abandoned-projects-in-water-sector-to-be-completed-in-2017/>

The third campaign promise of this administration is to ensure that the Water and Sanitation Agencies develop public-private partnerships that help to improve access to water and sanitation. Although the regional WSAS are yet to be created, the government has embarked on several partnerships in the sector. For instance, on 7th November 2016, the Vice President, Prof. Yemi Osinbajo launched the Partnership for Expanded Water Supply Sanitation and Hygiene (PEWASH) in line with the attainment of Goal 6 of the SDGs to provide water and sanitation for all by 2020.¹⁸⁹ In the South South, Guinness Nigeria Plc provided seven hand pump bore holes in Bebi Community, Obanliku LGA in Cross River State to serve around 7,000 community members.¹⁹⁰

Figure 43: Rating of Performance, Water & Sanitation



¹⁸⁹ See: Statehouse.gov.ng

¹⁹⁰ See: <http://www.environmentnewsnigeria.com/world-water-day-guinness-commissions-boreholes-cross-river/>

In February 2017 the Minister for Water Resources, Suleiman Adamu announced that the Water Supply and Sanitation Collaboration Council (WSSCC) had given Nigeria a grant of N5 million from its Global Sanitation Fund, which has been used for sanitation projects in six local government areas in Benue and Cross River states.¹⁹¹ UNICEF has also partnered with Nigeria to digitise the rural water sector in Nigeria for planning and decision making processes; promote sanitation and hygiene through hand washing initiatives in schools; and empower women through Water Sanitation and Hygiene Committees (WASHCOMs), with over 100,000 women in six states promoting household hygiene practices and the provision of water facilities.¹⁹²

The Federal Government also promised to establish environmental sanitation guidelines and encourage state governments to reactivate inspectorate regimes. In this light, FEC approved the National Water Resources Policy and the National Irrigation Policy in November 2016. These contained, among other things, strategies to improve the management and delivery of water resources in the country. A bill on the National Water Act, in line with effective practices across the globe, was also moved to harness all water related laws in the country. Also in 2016, the National Council on Water Resources endorsed the national roadmap for making Nigeria Open Defecation Free by the year 2025. At state level, the Lagos State Government proposed in April 2017 that all residents would need to have permits to sink boreholes in order to curtail underground water pollution and waterborne diseases.

The present government also promised to support and accelerate the implementation of regional water transfer initiatives across the country. However, apart from the irrigation projects to boost agriculture as earlier mentioned, there is no indication that such a project has been initiated. Overall, out of five campaign promises, two (40%) are 'ongoing' and three (60%) are 'not rated'.

Sports and Culture

Both sports and culture, if well developed, have the potential to foster and promote friendliness and international co-operation as well as enhance the nation's tourism potential. Sports and culture are veritable tools for image making, in addition to engendering social cohesion and national integration. However, for many years, this sector has been treated with indifference by successive governments, in spite of the enormous advantages derivable from its development. Perhaps PMB and his party recognised the exigency of developing this sector as part of its broader agenda to address development problems in Nigeria when they committed themselves to 13 campaign pledges in this area.

¹⁹¹ See: <https://von.gov.ng/federal-government-provide-water-sanitation-facilities/>

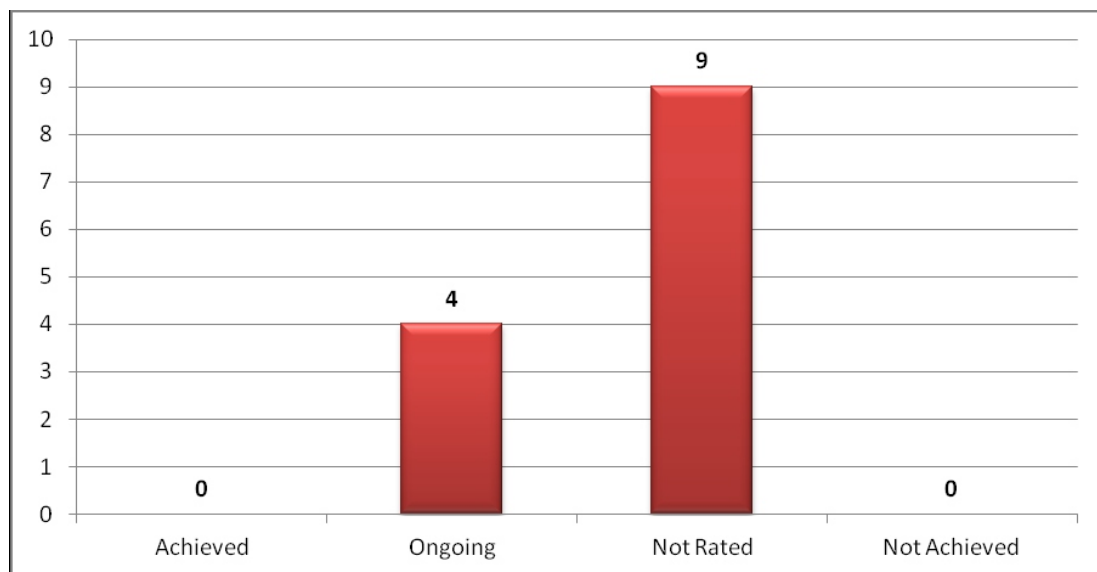
¹⁹² See: https://www.unicef.org/nigeria/NG_publications_promisingpracticeswash.pdf

Figure 44: Promises on Sports & Culture



However, out of the promises, as shown in Fig. 42 above, the government is only working towards fulfilling four promises, while there has been no effort towards achieving nine of the promises within the last two years. Apart from the re-construction and rehabilitation of an Olympic-sized swimming pool at the National Stadium, Surulere, Lagos, carried out in 2016 to enable mass participation in swimming¹⁹³, and the establishment of a committee to audit sports facilities and equipment in Nigeria, the administration has not taken any concrete action towards the achievement of most of sports-related campaign promises. The period under review involved little more than a reiteration of commitments by Minister of Youth and Sports Solomon Dalung, without commensurate action for a total overhaul of the sports sector in Nigeria.

Figure 45: Rating of Performance, Sports and Culture



193 See: <https://newsroom.ng/lagos-national-stadium-swimming-pool-ready-use/>

In the area of culture, the FGN set up the N3 billion Project Act Nollywood fund to finance the growth of the Nigerian movie industry and inaugurated a committee to review and restructure the project to achieve a better outcome. Through the project, the government trained 247 practitioners to improve their technical and professional capacities in the entertainment industry, co-financed 113 film projects, and designed an Innovative Film Distribution Programme to support viable solutions in film distribution and the prevention of piracy.

With regard to the arts more generally, as part of the effort to bring on board the private sector in promoting creative arts in Nigeria, the government signed a MoU with the British Council in Edinburgh. It has also set up the ministerial committee on the Motion Picture Council of Nigeria, (MOPICON), with a view to fast-tracking the process of passing the MOPICON Bill into law. The launch of Nigerian e-Copyright registration system to facilitate the growth and development of the entertainment industry in the country is another development.¹⁹⁴

The cultural industry is people-oriented, and includes products such as handicrafts made by people in rural areas. The government needs to do more to support and encourage the activities of this industry as it boosts the economic base of people living in rural areas and discourages rural-urban drift. The private sector should diversify its strategies and invest in the country's creative industry, not only to provide a vibrant market for our cultural enterprises, but also to confirm Nigeria's creative and cultural leadership on the African continent. Developing the art and craft market could, in turn, have the potential to address some of the nation's challenges, especially in the areas of wealth creation, poverty alleviation and employment-generation for youth in rural populations.

7. WOMEN AND YOUTH EMPOWERMENT

Overview

The current administration made 12 key campaign promises in this sector with a major focus on ending discrimination against women and youth and on fostering opportunities for their economic empowerment. While the government has made some commitments in terms of fostering opportunities for economic empowerment, so far it has not achieved any of its campaign promises in this regard: only four of the promises are ongoing while eight of the promises are pending or not rated.

Analysis

The empowerment of youth and women is a crosscutting issue, with relevance to areas including economics, public health, employment, and even security. President Buhari's campaign articulated a number of promises regarding these two key demographics, largely predicated on ending discrimination against women and youth and fostering opportunities for their economic empowerment. The promises are presented in Figure 46 below.

Figure 46: Promises on Women & Youth Development



The Buhari Administration's implementation of these promises has seen a mixed results since he took office in 2015. The area in which the administration has seen the greatest success is in the mobilisation of financial resources for women and youth. In 2016, responding to the number of applications to the Youth Entrepreneurship Support (YES) programme, Bol expanded the size of the programme, with the aim of accommodating 4,000 candidates, rather than the initially planned 1,200 beneficiaries.¹⁹⁵ Similarly, the Buhari Administration has overseen the continued success in the partnership between Heritage Bank and the Central Bank of Nigeria through the Youth Innovative Entrepreneurship Development Programme (YIEDP). The N3 billion programme empowers young graduates through skills development and training.¹⁹⁶ Unilaterally, CBN announced in 2016 a N2.5 billion fund to help members of NYSC with entrepreneurial ambition and feasible business plans.¹⁹⁷

Also in 2016, President Buhari announced a N1.6 billion Women Empowerment Fund, aimed at assisting rural women through micro-finance loans. The programme is particularly focused on assisting women who live in farming communities affected by the Boko Haram insurgency. The administration also authorised Bol to release N150 billion for female entrepreneurs. In late 2016, the Minister of Women's Affairs announced a new set of programmes aimed at women's empowerment through the National Women Empowerment Fund. N200 million will be disbursed in Adamawa, Borno, Yobe, Nasarawa, Jigawa, Akwa Ibom, Osun, and Abia States to help support 10,000 women in each state through small business loans.¹⁹⁸

The National Directorate for Employment (NDE) also launched a skills acquisition programme for women across the six geo-political zones in September 2016¹⁹⁹. All of these were aimed at improving the participation of women and youth in all sectors of the economy, as promised by the government. However, while these programmes have been announced, Buharimeter is yet to independently fact check the implementation of the several programmes to make any authoritative statements on them.

On the campaign trail, APC promised that women would control 35% of the government. However, just five of President Buhari's 37 appointed ministers are women²⁰⁰, with few appointed as Heads of MDAs and Special Advisers to the government. The passage of the Gender Equality Opportunity bill failed to proceed in December 2016 because the Senate public hearing on the bill failed to meet quorum.²⁰¹ The government has not fulfilled its promise to fully implement National Gender Policy, including ensuring that 35% of appointive positions are filled by women.

196 See: Heritage Bank Shortlists Applications for CBN N3bn Youth Entrepreneurship Initiative, *BusinessDay Online*, June 2016. <http://businessdayonline.com/2016/06/heritage-bank-shortlists-applicants-for-cbn-n3bn-youth-entrepreneurship-initiative/>

197 Ifeanyi Onuba, "CBN sets aside N2.5 bn for Corp Members with Entrepreneurial Skills," June 30, 2016. <http://punchng.com/cbn-sets-aside-n2-5bn-corp-members-entrepreneurial-skills/>

198 "FG to disburse N200m each to 8 States to Empower Women," *Vanguard*, September 30, 2016. http://www.vanguardngr.com/2016/09/fg-disburse-n200m-8-states-empower-women/?utm_source=dlvr.it&utm_medium=twitter

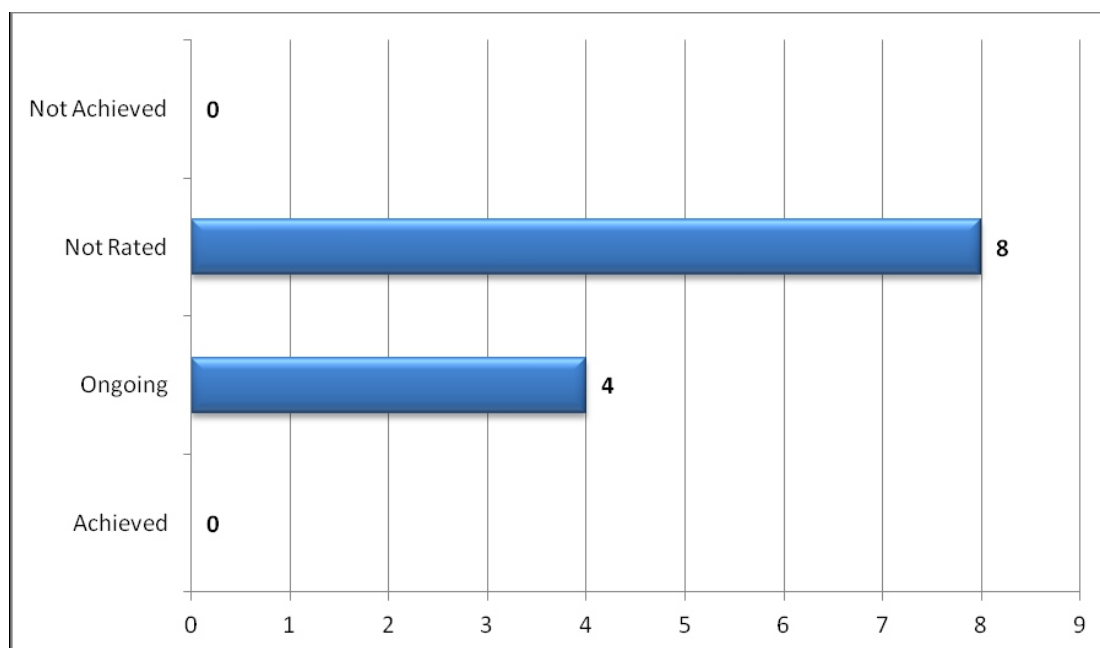
199 Collins Olakunle, NDE, Aisha Buhari initiative to lift 1,200 women nationwide, *The Guardians*, 15 September, 2017
200 Omotola Omolayo, "With the Low Representation of Women in Buhari's Cabinet, 'Change' in Female Leadership May be Slower than Expected," *Ventures Africa*, October 20, 2015. <http://venturesafrica.com/with-a-low-representation-of-women-in-buharis-cabinet-change-in-female-leadership-may-be-slower-than-expected/>

201 Mary Olushoga, "Year in Review: What it Means to be a Woman in Nigeria," *Sahara Reporters*, Decemebr 19, 2016. <http://saharareporters.com/2016/12/19/year-review-what-it-means-be-woman-nigeria-mary-olushoga>

Around the country, women's rights are threatened. The issue is most acute in the North East, where Boko Haram continues to abduct women and girls and sexual assault, harrassment, and other violations of women's rights run rampant in the government-run camps for internally displaced people (IDPs).²⁰² Kidnapping is also an issue many women in the Middle Belt face.²⁰³

In addition to these regional hurdles, nationally women's rates of literacy lag behind men's, gender-based violence remains a threat to women in their homes and communities, and women face discrimination in the workplace. The administration has not undertaken serious efforts to counter these challenges.

Figure 47: Rating of Performance, Women & Youth Empowerment



202 Mary Olushoga, "Year in Review: What it Means to be a Woman in Nigeria," *Sahara Reporters*, Decemebr 19, 2016.

203 Mary Olushoga, "Year in Review: What it Means to be a Woman in Nigeria," *Sahara Reporters*, Decemebr 19, 2016.

As the 2019 elections approach, the Buhari administration has an important role to play in facilitating women and young people running for office. The decline in the proportion of seats in the National Legislature held by women since the 2015 national elections should inspire action. In addition to providing support to female candidates within his party, President Buhari can champion efforts to revive the GEO bill; similarly, he could lend his support to the 'Not Too Young To Run' campaign and bill, which has passed a second reading.²⁰⁴

Given recent analysis concluding that the best predictor of whether a country will go to war is the status of its female citizens, allowing continued economic, social, and political marginalisation of women threatens Nigerian national security.²⁰⁵

Furthermore, enabling discrimination against women and youth undermines the platform that President Buhari was elected on.

204 "NGO Demands Speedy Passage of 'Not too Young to Run' Bill," *Vanguard*, April 25, 2017.
<http://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/04/ngo-demands-speedy-passage-not-young-run-bill/>

205 Valerie Hudson, Bonnie Ballif-Spanvill, Mary Caprioli, Chad F. Emmett, "Sex and World Peace," New York: Columbia University Press, 2014.

8

PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES (PWDs)

Overview

The government has not made much progress in addressing its two promises relating to people with disabilities. The government is yet to finalise the Disability Bill, and their only action relating to combatting discrimination has been able to appoint Dr Samuel Ankeli, a visually impaired person, as Senior Special Adviser (SSA) on disability. All the other promises are yet to be achieved or ongoing.

Analysis

According to the World Report on Disability 2011, around 25 million Nigerians have at least one disability, with 3.6 million of these having very significant difficulties in functioning²⁰⁶. The 2006 Nigerian census reported 3,253,169 people with disabilities (PWDs), or 2.32% of the total population in that year.²⁰⁷ PWDs are marginalised in all spheres. These trends have dispossessed them of the basic prospects eligible to every citizen, thereby undermining their fundamental human rights. As victims of neglect, PWDs have gained universal attention as a social group that is susceptible to societal discrimination. Recognising the need to attend to the needs of PWD, PMB and APC committed themselves to two promises: ensuring the passage of the National Disability Bill and the appointment of an Ombudsman to combat unwarranted discrimination faced by PWDs.

Figure 48: Promises on PWDs



206 See: www.who.int/disabilities/world_report/2011/en/

207 See: nigeria.opendataforafrica.org/xspplpb/nigeria-census

A review of the government's commitment to attend to the needs of PWDs revealed that their only action has been the appointment of Dr. Samuel Ankeli, a visually impaired person, as a Senior Special Assistant (SSA) on Disability. The government is yet to finalise the passage of the Disability Bill as promised, nor have there been moves to appoint an Ombudsman to combat unwarranted discrimination against PWD. Like elsewhere in the world, PWDs in Nigeria are still grappling with extreme poverty, high unemployment and poor school education and health services. Additionally, their political participation is still very low. It is thus important for the administration to liaise with critical stakeholders to fast-track the passage and assenting into law of the bill and put in place a mechanism for monitoring its implementation. While there is ongoing effort towards the passage of the Disability Bill, there is no observable effort directed towards fulfilling the promise to appoint an Ombudsman.

9 ICT

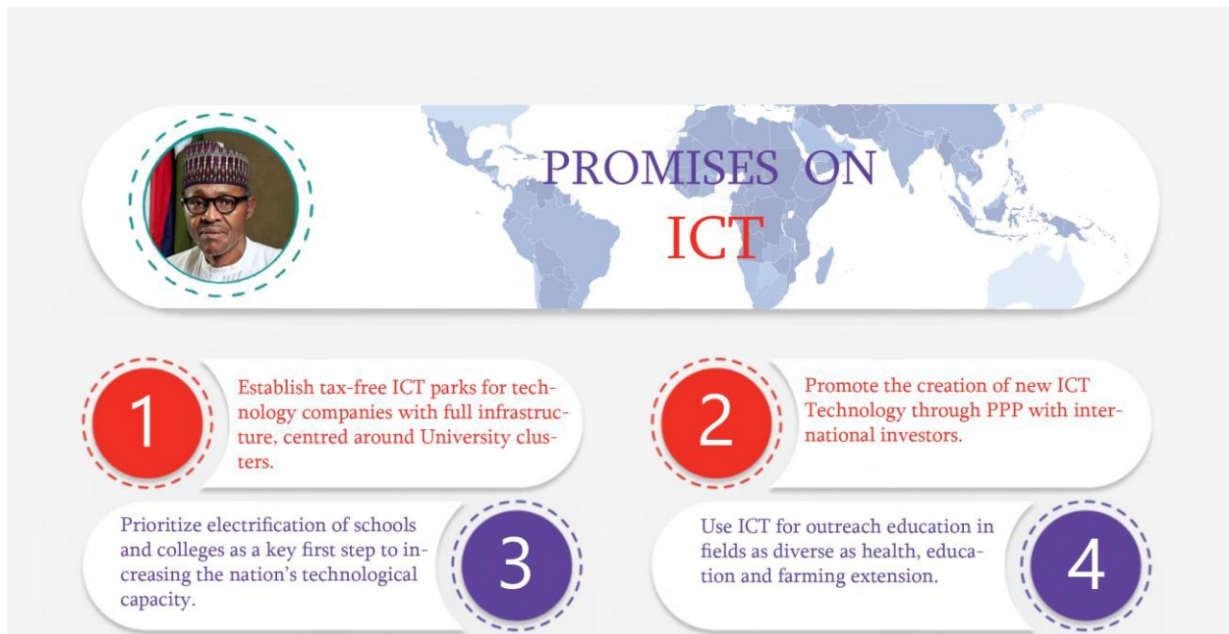
Overview

The administration has made tremendous progress in this sector, despite challenges including the unreliable power supply. All the campaign promises in this sector are ongoing at different levels. Of particular significance is the inauguration of a seven member committee with the mandate of producing a blue print through which the government can anchor its programmes to make Nigeria an ICT hub. However, the policy framework on ICT took the administration more than a year to develop, raising questions about the will and capacity of the government to harness the full potential of ICT for economic growth and development.

Analysis

Buhari's administration made four campaign promises regarding the Information, Communication and Technology (ICT) sector. These are captured in Figure 47 below.

Figure 49: Promises on ICT

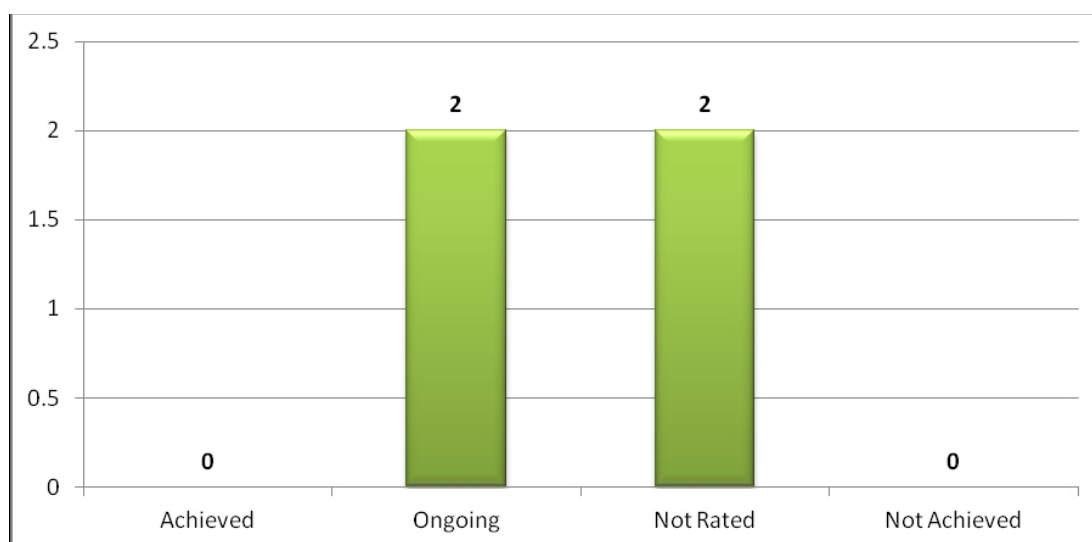


The years under review also featured solicitation of a partnership arrangement by the government with the EU to create a Digital Single Market. A partnership arrangement to boost the ICT sector is ongoing with countries such as Japan as well as private investors. In addition, the government has made a proposal for the establishment of an ICT University in the 2017 budget with a plan to purchase two additional satellites for Nigeria Communication Satellite (NigComSat) from China at the cost of \$550 million.²⁰⁸

To further enhance ICT outreach for education, the government reportedly continued the Knowledge and Community Access Centres of the previous administration through the National Information Technology Development Agency (NITDA), to facilitate access of pupils and students in rural areas to internet facilities. However, the possibility of this in the face of epileptic power supply and the poor condition of education facilities in rural areas remains an issue.

The government should devise a holistic approach to addressing communication challenges.

Figure 50: Rating of Performance, ICT



NITDA commenced the training of 100 university graduates from various disciplines in ICT skills, through its Graduate Internship Scheme (GIS) for the South West geopolitical zone, with plans to expand the scheme to the other five geopolitical zones of the country. It should be noted that despite all the interventions, the sector's contribution to the country's GDP fluctuated during 2016. According to available data from the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), in the first quarter of 2016, the sector contributed N1.41 billion, rising to N1.58 trillion in the second quarter. However, by the end of the third quarter, it fell to N1.398 trillion as a result of the recession²⁰⁹.

Nigerians have high expectations of President Buhari, especially stakeholders in the ICT industry, who feel the government needs to unveil a clear view of its policy thrust on the ICT sector. It is expected that this policy will build on existing foundations and transform the nation's economy. Nigeria has had a number of policies targeting ICT for socio-economic development, but the lack of political will and commitment to implement such policies has been a major drawback. The government should also reconsider the introduction of Communication Service Tax (CST). The bill, which has undergone deliberation in the NASS, would limit access of poor Nigerians to ICT.

208 See: www.vanguardngr.com/2016/10/fg-purchase-2-additional-satellites-nigcomsat-550m-shittu/

209 See: <http://www.nigerianstat.gov.ng/>

ENVIRONMENT

Overview

This sector is an area where the administration has made some effort to achieve its campaign promises. Eight out of the 13 key campaign promises have been implemented at different levels, including the ratifying of the Paris Agreement on Climate Change in 2016 and the approval of a \$10 million take off grant to implement the recommendation of the United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP) Assessment on Ogoni Land. The remaining five promises are, as yet, unrated.

Analysis

The Buhari-led administration acknowledges the importance of protecting Nigeria's environment - both as a way of protecting Nigerians' right to clean air and water, as well as a method of promoting economic innovation and sustainable growth. In view of this, Buhari made 13 campaign promises relating to the environment, as shown in Fig. 5 I below.

Perhaps the direst environmental crisis in the country is in the Niger Delta. Early into his term in office, President Buhari acted to address the environmental degradation in the region. In August 2015, the President approved a \$10 million "take-off grant" to implement the recommendations made in UNEP's Assessment²¹⁰ on Ogoniland and constituted Board of Trustees (BoT) and Governing Council of the Hydrocarbon Pollution Restoration Project (HYPREP). The initiative is to be a partnership between the Nigerian government and international oil companies (IOCs). In June 2016, FGN launched the Ogoni Clean-Up initiative, which was commended by Nigerians, particularly by civil society groups and leaders in the South South. However, since the programme was launched, little progress has been made.²¹¹

210 The UNEP assessment concluded that the project could be the "most wide-ranging and long term oil clean-up exercise" in the world. The project is tasked with restoring drinking water, soil, creeks and rehabilitating ecosystems. According to UNEP, the project could take 30 years; the first five years will be dedicated to the initial remediation, and restoration will take another 25 years.

211 Chidimma Okeke and Victor Edozie, "Ogoniland Oil Spill Eight Months After Launch of Clean Up: The Story so Far." *Daily Trust*, February 22, 2017. <https://dailytrust.com.ng/news/environment/ogoniland-oil-spill-eight-months-after-launch-of-clean-up-the-story-so-far/186292.html>

Figure 51: Promises on Environment



In December 2016, the presidential team revised the HYPREP document to conform to the current task the administration will undertake. Contractors for the first phase of the year-long clean-up programme were sent to the field in 2015.²¹² During this outreach, they trained 400 young people from around the community on clean-up techniques. Nevertheless, our fact-checking mission to the Niger Delta reveals that the programme is still at the planning stage and has not fully commenced. After 10 months, during which time the Governing Board and BoT were set up, the work plan of HYPREP has not been approved. Nevertheless, activities such as a trial test of the remediation exercise and ground assessment of various water plants in Ogoniland with a view to providing clean sources of water were undertaken. Reports suggest that the government under Buhari recognises that further outreach and more robust partnerships with the affected communities are necessary. Further delay of this programme will only prolong the suffering of communities affected by the activities of oil production in the Niger Delta.

Despite the delay of full commencement of the programme, the Buhari administration is committed to pursue legal action related to oil spills and environmental degradation. In May 2016, Buhari authorised the Attorney General of Federation (AGF) and Minister for Justice and National Oil Spill Detection and Response Agency (NOSDRA) "to commence legal action against Shell Nigeria Exploration and Production Company on behalf of 350 communities in Delta and Bayelsa States affected by Bonga Oil spills of 20 December 2011."²¹³

President Buhari made a significant commitment to good environmental stewardship when he ratified the Paris Agreement on Climate Change in 2016. As a result of this agreement, Nigeria is now committed to reducing greenhouse gas emissions by 20%, with a targeted reduction of 45%. According to reports, as part of the required Intended Nationally Determined Contributions (INDCs), Nigeria is "considering 30 per cent energy efficiency in industries, homes, businesses and vehicles, and increased use of natural gas in generators and renewable energy."²¹⁴ Nigeria is also considering curbing gas flaring and gas capture. The issue of gas flaring is cross-cutting: not only is it a major environmental and public health threat (research has found ties between gas flaring and acidification of rain and waterways, which in turn damages ecosystems and threatens flora and fauna)²¹⁵, it is an economic drain. The NNPC estimated that the Federal Government lost N523 billion to gas-flaring between 2015 and 2016²¹⁶ and commenced a programme in 2016 to address gas flaring.

212 Chidimma Okeke, "Ogoniland cleanup: Council Appoints Dekil Project Coordinator," *Daily Trust*, January 14, 2017. <https://www.dailytrust.com.ng/news/general/ogoniland-cleanup-council-appoints-dekil-project-coordinator/180633.html>

213 "FG Slams NI 3 tn Claim on Shell Bonga Spill" *This Day Live*, May 4, 2016.

<http://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2016/05/04/fg-slams-ni-3tn-claim-on-shell-for-bonga-spill/>

214 Chinedum Uwaegbulam, "Buhari ratifies Paris Agreement on Climate Change," *The Guardian*, March 29, 2017, <https://guardian.ng/news/buhari-ratifies-paris-agreement-on-climate-change/>

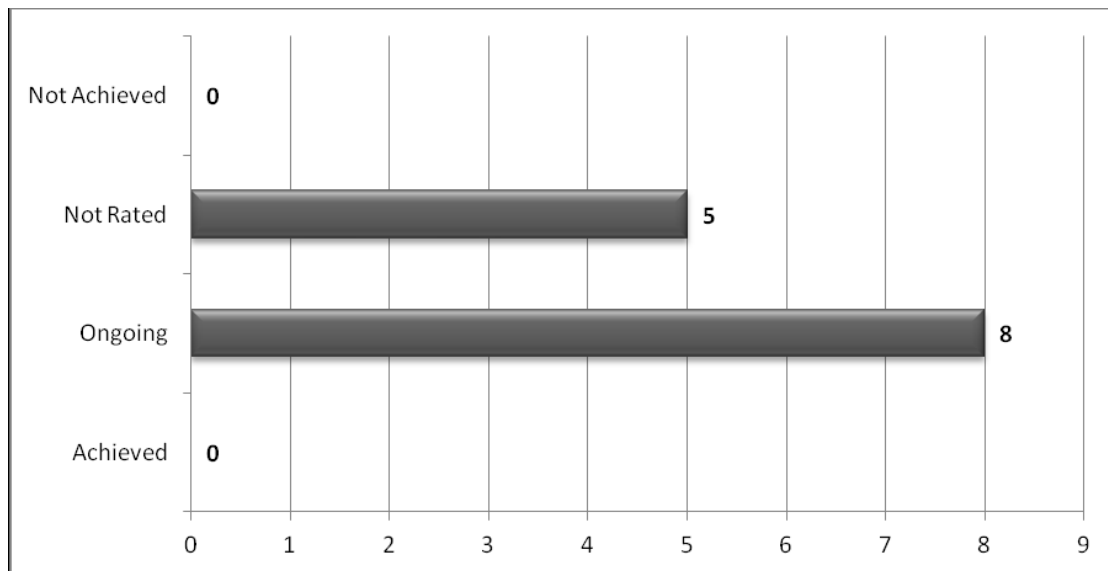
215 Anselm O. Ajugwo, "Negative Effects of Gas Flaring: the Nigerian Experience," *Journal of Environment Pollution and Human Health*. Vol. 1, No. 1. (2013). <http://pubs.sciepub.com/jephh/1/1/2/>

216 Roseline Okere, "Nigeria Lost N523 Billion to Gas Flaring in Two Years," *The Guardian*, May 8, 2017, <https://guardian.ng/business-services/nigeria-lost-n523-billion-to-gas-flaring-in-two-years/>

The Paris Agreement hopes to offer \$100 billion a year by 2020 to developing countries taking action against climate change. Nigeria's ratification of the Paris Agreement makes it eligible to receive this financial support. Even without access to this financial support, if Nigeria pursues these environmentally sound commitments, they are expected to yield \$4.5 billion in benefits to the country.²¹⁷

In line with FGN commitment in the Paris Agreement, the government has released guidelines for N78 billion green bonds project²¹⁸. The green bonds aim at improving the country's environmental footprint and encouraging economic growth.²¹⁹ The appointment by President Buhari of Amina Mohammed, who was previously the Minister of the Federal Ministry of the Environment, to serve as Deputy Secretary General of the United Nations is a useful move. However, her assumption of duties at the UN headquarters in March 2017 leaves a significant leadership gap at the Ministry. The Buhari Administration must immediately appoint a minister to complement the efforts of the incumbent minister, if it is to continue making environmental gains.

Figure 52: Rating of Performance, Environment



217 Chinedum Uwaegbulam, "Buhari ratifies Paris Agreement on Climate Change," *The Guardian*, March 29, 2017

218 Chinedum Uwaegbulam, "Nigeria releases guidelines for N78b green bonds projects," *The Guardian*, November 16, 2017

219 News Agency Nigeria, "Nigeria Plans Africa's First Sovereign Green Bond," *The Guardian*, February 23, 2017. <https://guardian.ng/news/nigeria-plans-africas-first-sovereign-green-bond/>

The administration has approved a revised National Environmental Policy to deal with the environmental challenges in the country, signed an MoU with the National Youth Service Corp (NYSC) on mass afforestation to curb the menace of desertification, and scaled up investment in the energy sector through investment in solar energy. However, the Buhari administration has not yet lived up to five (38%) of its campaign promises regarding the environment, though important work towards its campaign promises is underway. While a number of the administration's actions have established a solid foundation upon which a robust environmental policy can be built, the follow through on these foundations has floundered in the Niger Delta. How the Buhari Administration will pursue its commitments under the Paris Agreement remains to be seen.

D NIGER DELTA

Overview

The government made three key campaign promises on the Niger Delta, which are all ongoing. The slow pace with which the clean-up of Ogoniland is being implemented has been cause for concern. Even so, the approval of the commencement of the stalled Nigerian Maritime University in Delta State, granting of license for the establishment of modular refineries across the nine states on the Niger Delta and continuation of the presidential amnesty programme have all contributed to promoting peace in the region.

Analysis

There are three key campaign promises, as shown in Figure 51, to address longstanding challenges plaguing growth and development in the Niger Delta.

Figure 53: Promises on Niger Delta



As earlier highlighted under the environment section of the report, the government is making an effort to clean-up Ogoniland, which is a critical intervention to promoting development in the Niger Delta. Although the slow pace with which the government is implementing the clean-up initiative is raising concerns, the constitution of the Governing Board and the Board of Trustees has been commended as a laudable effort from the government. Our fact-checking mission to Ogoniland to examine the state of implementation of the clean-up initiative was revealing.

The overflow of hope expressed across Ogoniland after the launch of the project has since disappeared²²⁰ following lack of physical presence of the government for implementation of the programme. According to one of the interviewees, Mr Kpaama, "I witnessed the flag-off. I was there at the launch and since then till today nothing practical, no step taken has been made known to the Ogoni people publicly²²¹ .

After the constitution of members of Board of Trustees (BoT) and the governing council in July 2016, there was a delay of another four months until December when Marvin Dekhil was appointed the co-ordinator of HYPREP. Despite a ground-breaking ceremony for the launch of an Integrated Contaminated Soil Management Centre in Bori, Khana LGA in February 2017 by the then Minister of Environment, a visit to the site of the centre in April 2017 showed that elephant grass the height of a commemorative stone erected after the ground-breaking ceremony was growing on the land. No single brick has been erected on the land since then²²² .

In short, not much work has been done by the government within the period under review to implement the clean-up initiative.

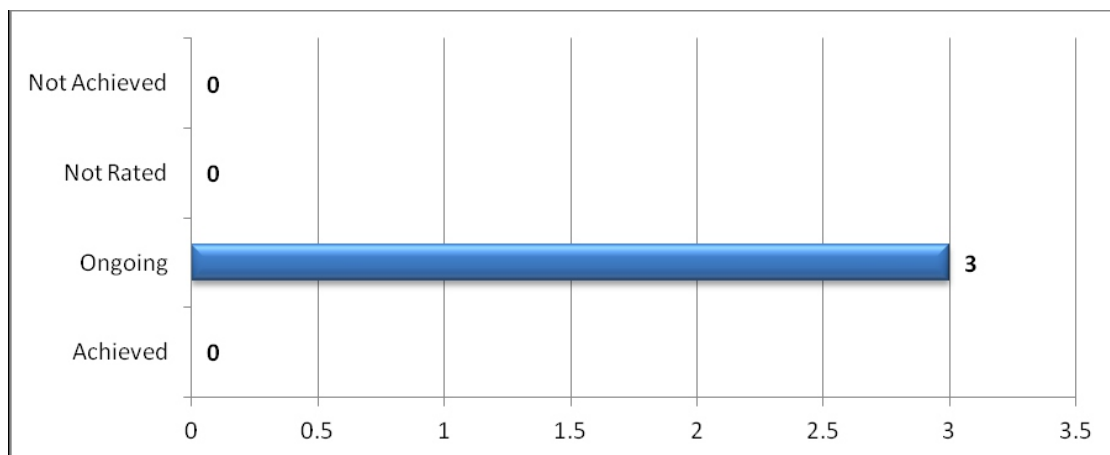
Apart from the SIP intervention, which the region is benefitting from, targeted interventions such as the approval of the commencement of the stalled Nigerian Maritime University in Delta State, establishment of modular refineries across the nine states of the Niger Delta, and continuation of the Presidential Amnesty Programme as part of plans to appease aggrieved militants are significant elements of Buhari's plan to build human development in the region. The President's vision is a response to the 16-point Demand Agenda of the Pan Niger Delta Forum (PANDEF) submitted in November 2016.

220 Nicholas Ibekwe, SPECIAL REPORT: Disappointment, anger in Ogoniland over Nigerian govt's delay to clean up oil spills, Premium Times, May 25 2017

221 Ibid, 2017

222 Ibid, 2017

Figure 54: Rating of Performance, Niger Delta



In the area of infrastructural development in the Niger Delta, the government set up a Committee to probe the N700 billion worth of contracts awarded during the reign of former Presidents, Yar A'dua and Goodluck Jonathan, and identified subsequent actions to be taken to respond to its key findings. This is part of the effort to ensure that the NDDC is held accountable.

Alongside this is ongoing construction of roads in the states of the region. Nevertheless, it is important that government attach necessary importance to ensuring transparency and accountability in the implementation of projects and programmes, to propel the development of the region.

Most importantly, many communities in the Delta are taking legal action against oil firms because of their non-compliance to standard operations in the region. If government was responsive to its mandate, community members would not have taken up this responsibility. It is imperative therefore that the government should take urgent action to curtail excessiveness of multinational oil companies by compelling them to comply with global standards in the oil industry.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This report provides a systematic assessment of the performance of PMB and APC using 222 campaign promises made during the 2015 general elections as the benchmark. According to the findings of our assessment, the performance of the incumbent administration improved during their second year in government.

This may be partly because the government began to implement promises, having had time to prepare for outlined programmes and determine which resources are required. Furthermore, ministers who were not appointed until November 2015 began work in Year Two. However, the government's approach needs to be holistic and not limited to fighting corruption, tackling insecurity and pursuing a diversification agenda. While these are important for the socio-economic and political development of the country, commensurate effort should be made to revive education, health and other key sectors.

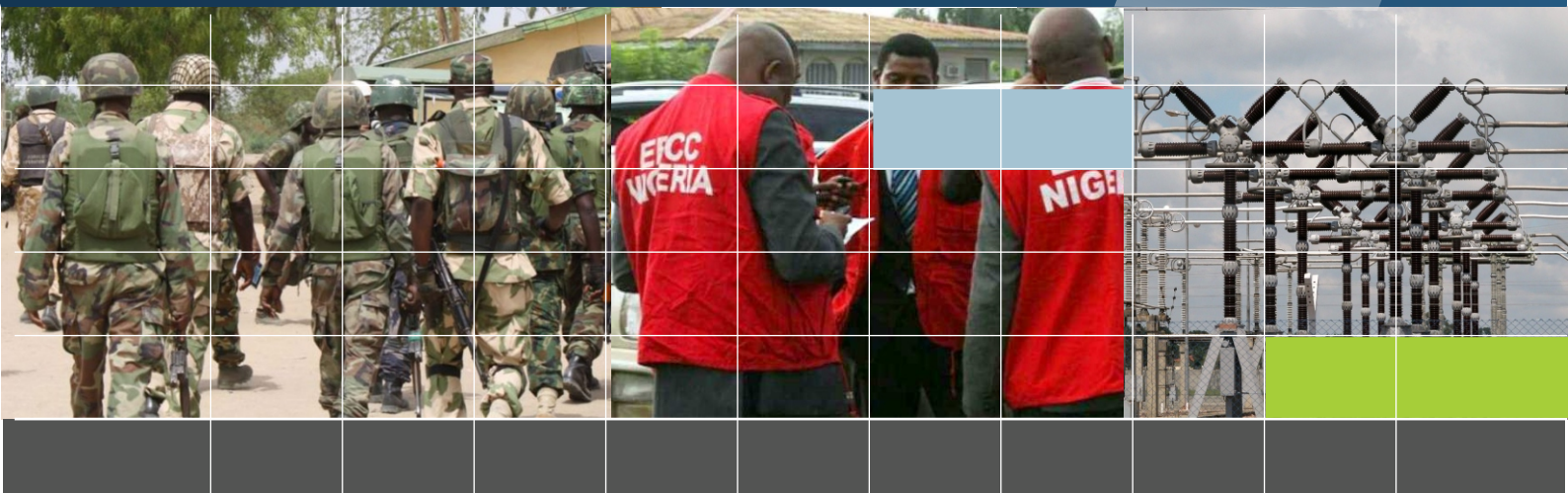
In particular, government should consider looking into concerns about adherence to the rule of law in its prosecution of the war on corruption; build institutions with the capacity to prevent corrupt practices, including strengthening the capacity of the anti-graft agencies; and work closely with the National Assembly to develop legal frameworks that could advance the anti-corruption war in the country.

In terms of fighting insecurity, the government appears to have begun to shift from the state and enemy-centric approach to an approach which uses dialogue and negotiation. While this may achieve laudable results in the case of the Niger Delta militancy, caution should be exercised in employing such a strategy to deal with Boko Haram. Fundamentally, tackling the underlying root causes of the violent situation is essential. Translating Buhari's plan into genuine development of the North East is paramount and should be given the necessary attention it deserves.

The South East separationist agenda must also be prioritised. Even before the Nnamdi Kanu led IPOB, the Biafra agitation was ongoing; groups championing the cause include the Biafra Zionists Movement(BZM), later renamed Biafran Zionist Frontier(BZF), Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), and Biafra Independent Movement (BIM). These groups have often levied citizens, enforced sit at home, boycotts with the Biafra Zionists Movement attempting a take over of the Enugu Government House in March 2014 and an attempted attack on the Enugu State Broadcasting Service (ESBS) radio and television stations, aiming to make a live broadcast on 5th June 2014.

Thus, with the success of the stay at home order and the recent call for boycott of all elections in the South East, it is imperative for the government to prioritise the Biafra agitations. Beyond dialogue and intervention in redressing the economic and other development issues bedeviling the region, it is important for Nigeria to acknowledge the local grievances from the Biafra civil war and chart a path towards memorialisation and healing.

The government should also step up its policy intervention in addressing economic challenges, especially rising food insecurity, and offer sustainable measures to tackle unemployment in the country.



Supported by

 **OSIWA**  **DFID** Department for International Development