



# THE BUHARIMETER REPORT

MATCHING CAMPAIGN PROMISES, PUBLIC EXPECTATIONS AND  
GOVERNMENT ACTIONS IN THE FIRST YEAR OF  
PRESIDENT MUHAMMADU BUHARI'S GOVERNMENT

---

© Centre for Democracy and Development, 2016

The Buhatimeter Report

ISBN 978-978-955-164-4

All Rights reserved, No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored 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](http://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 Content .....	ii
Acknowledgement .....	iii
Introduction .....	01
Governance Trends and Citizens' perception of Buhari Administration .....	04
- Corruption .....	04
- Security .....	15
- Economy .....	30
- Social Sector and other sectorial issues .....	61
Rating governance Trends against campaign promises .....	63
Conclusion and Recommendations: Aligning Promises, Expectations and Action .....	66



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD-West Africa) acknowledges the funding support of the Open Society Initiative for West Africa (OSIWA) and the Department for International Development (DFID). This support has helped the organisation in many ways to work towards actualising its mission of promoting democratic accountability in Nigeria.

The great team that worked relentlessly to realise the writing of this quality and insightful report deserve to be commended. In particular, the project officer, Yusuf Shamsudeen, who coordinated the day-to-day tracking and monitoring of policies and programmes of the incumbent administration, which have been crucial materials for the development of this report. We also commend the role of Audu John – assistant project officer and other colleagues in the organisation.

Our gratitude also goes to Prof. Okechukwu Ibeanu and his team, comprising of Dr. Nwachukwu Orji and Mr Iwuamadi Kelechi Chijioke, who undertook the analysis of the field data on citizens' perception of the administration's first year in office and help review this publication. We cannot end this acknowledgement note without appreciating the role played by the Youth Initiative for Advocacy, Growth and Advancement (YIAGA). YIAGA assisted with the mobilisation of field researchers and the collection of data on the citizens' perception survey.

**Idayat Hassan**



*Director, CDD*

## INTRODUCTION

The 2015 Presidential Election no doubt ranks among the most issue-determined contests in the history of elections in Nigeria. There was a clear divide between the then ruling party, the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), and the main opposition, the All Progressives Congress (APC), on the most critical challenges confronting the country. Although President Muhammadu Buhari (PMB), the then opposition party candidate, and his party, made over two hundred distinct promises during the election, they clearly articulated three crucial challenges facing the country around security, corruption and the economy. Based on these, both candidate and party asked for the mandate of Nigerians in the widely celebrated mantra of *change*. Nigerians largely agreed with them and for the first time in five electoral cycles since Nigeria's return to civil rule in 1999, there was a power transfer from an incumbent President to the opposition candidate.


Still, election promises remain a wish list until they are fulfilled. Consequently, a distinction has to be made between the idealism of campaign promises and the reality of converting them into policies and actualising them after elections. This remains a major challenge to opposition parties coming into office, who have to confront the stark realities of political economy when they have had time to evaluate the treasury and come to terms with the daunting task of navigating complex interests, particularly in a developing and multipolar country like Nigeria. In fact, President Buhari apparently acknowledged this challenge when he observed in a recent media chat that "whatever we did in the campaign, in fact we were saying rubbish and that made it very difficult for us. Things were even more difficult during the budget which you all know about".<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding the peaceful transfer of power from President Jonathan to President Buhari, the 2015 general election was very divisive. That fact makes the first year evaluation of the new administration even more important, as it provides a good context to not only appraise its commitment to election promises, but also its progress with post-election healing.

Although the origin of the celebration of the first year in office of a President is not clear, it is widely regarded as a milestone and an opportunity to evaluate how the administration is faring. For an opposition candidate who wins the Presidency, the assumption is that one year is long enough to lay down markers of the trajectory of the term of office. In the United States of America, one year in office would be the equivalent of the first state of the union address of a President. It is regarded as a major milestone and strong ground from which to anticipate the next three years of an administration.<sup>2</sup> The 'change agenda' of President Buhari made two hundred and twenty-two promises to Nigerians, as collated during the political campaign period. What does the report card of the administration look like?

---

1 Chat with State House Press Corps, 30 May 2016. See <http://newsdiaryonline.com/pity-lai-mohammed-jonathan-shocked-buhari-confesses/> [Accessed 31 May 2016]

2 Colleen J. Shogan 'The President's State of the Union Address: Tradition, Function, and Policy Implications', Congressional Research Service: <https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R40132.pdf> [Accessed 31 May 2016]



The Presidency has recently catalogued what it sees as the seventy-five achievements of the Buhari administration in its first year in office in seven areas: security, corruption, economy, power, judiciary, environment and national image.<sup>3</sup> But do Nigerians agree with them? How can these seventy-five achievements be viewed through the lens of Buharimeter?

The Buharimeter is a web-based citizen accountability mechanism designed to track sector-specific election promises in order to carefully monitor their implementation after a President wins an election. It tracks media reports from traditional (including television, radio and print newspapers) and online platforms on the policies and programmes of government aimed at attaining election promises. There is also rigorous analysis of policy enunciated by different government's ministries, agencies and department. The information generated about the promises is then classified into the categories of "Achieved", "Ongoing", "Not Yet Rated" or "Not Achieved". The Buharimeter is run by the Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD), Abuja, and is one of such several citizen's accountability tools in operation across Africa and elsewhere in the world.

The purpose of this report is to provide an independent and systematic assessment of PMB's first year in office. The report is divided into six parts. First, it introduces the report and rationalises the need to assess the performance of the administration its after first year in office. The second part outlines the methodology adopted in writing the report. The third and fourth sections analyse specific actions taken by the incumbent administration towards the achievement of the electoral promises and matters that arise from its actions. Lastly, we conclude and make constructive recommendations for how to tackle the issues that arise from the assessment.

---

<sup>3</sup> See Premium Times: <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/204226-presidency-lists-buharis-75-achievements-first-year-office.html> [Accessed 31 May 2016]



## METHODOLOGY

To ensure that all voices are heard above the din of partisan politics, this assessment adopted a multi-pronged method of data gathering. First, the assessment draws on an extensive review of reports in the media and online platforms. Reports on sector specific actions (policies and programmes) taken by the government towards the achievement of its electoral promises were also reviewed. The reports cover the period of a year, starting from May 30, 2015 to May, 29, 2016.

Secondly, an extensive desk review of relevant literature on the current state of affairs in the country was conducted. The literature reviewed is not limited to those produced by independent research institutions or civil society organisations (CSOs) but also includes periodic reports and publications of government agencies. Those from government agencies include NNPC monthly financial and operational reports, Economic reports from the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN), Consumers Performance Index (CPI) from the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), amongst others.

Thirdly, a Buharimeter national survey was conducted using a questionnaire. The questionnaire was administered in all the states of the federation to assess citizens' perception of the performance of the administration in the last year (Appendix 1). The questionnaire for this national Buharimeter survey was based on the three key policy areas of corruption - the economy (specifically unemployment) and insecurity - which the government articulated during and after the elections. It sought to probe for the perception of people on what the government has been doing on each of these and whether its performance is adequate or not. In each state, a team of field enumerators were deployed to the three senatorial zones and at least twenty respondents were targeted in each senatorial zone. In all, over two thousand Nigerians were sampled nationwide and the research instrument was administered to them by the field enumerators.

The respondents constitute a diverse mix of Nigerians, representing different ethnic, class, religious, political, educational, and occupational backgrounds, including government officials. A total number of 2,205 copies of the completed questionnaire (an average of 60 per state, except in Abuja where 20 were administered because it has only one senatorial zone) were returned from across the country. Data from the questionnaire were processed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). Frequency tables (counts and percentages) and cross-tabulation statistics were then generated for the report.

Finally, in-depth interviews were conducted throughout May 2016 with purposively selected principal officers of Federal Ministries. The initial plan was to conduct the interview in all ministries but only three were able to grant the interview – others were scheduled but could not be held because of unforeseen circumstances

## GOVERNANCE TRENDS AND CITIZENS' PERCEPTION OF THE BUHARI ADMINISTRATION

### 1. CORRUPTION

Although Nigeria is hugely endowed with natural and human resources, it has consistently been ranked low on the Human Development Index (HDI). For instance, in 2014 Nigeria was ranked 152 out of 188 on the HDI. Indeed, the country's huge resources have not been translated into development for its people. This state of affairs is often attributed to corruption. The country has year on year ranked very low on the Corruption Perception Index (CPI). For instance, a comparison of the 2014 and 2015 CPI<sup>4</sup> reveals Nigeria slipped in ranking from 136 out of 176 countries (with a score of 27 out of 100) in 2014 to 136 out of 167 countries (with a score of 26 out of 100) in 2015.<sup>5</sup> Progressively, attempts by successive administrations to combat corruption have yielded minimal results, leading to very high levels of corruption, particularly among public officials.

It was probably because of this that the fight against corruption became one of the key issues on the agenda of the Presidential Candidate Muhammad Buhari and his party during the 2015 general election campaigns. As Table 1 indicates, the President pledged to reinvigorate the fight against corruption by demonstrating personal commitment. He promised a public declaration of his assets and those of his political appointees, revamping of anti-corruption institutions and mechanisms, reform of anti-corruption strategies and processes, and revision of the existing anti-corruption legal framework

---

4 The index measures perceived level of corruption in the public sector. Between 2011 and 2014, Nigeria has maintained an average score of 26; which means that the country has made little or no effort within this period to fight against widespread bribery and punish corrupt public officials, which culminated in the poor score.

5 See <http://www.transparency.org/cpi2015#results-table>



**Table 1: Buharimeter: Promises on corruption**

Promise	Description
1	Publicly declare assets and liabilities and encourage all my (PMB) political appointees to also publicly declare their assets and liabilities .
2	Inaugurate the National Council on Procurement as stipulated in the Procurement Act. The Federal Executive Council, which has been turned into a weekly market for government contracts, will concentrate on its principal function of policy making .
3	Review and implement audit recommendations by Nigeria Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (NEITI) .
4	Work with National Assembly towards the immediate enactment of a Whistle Blower Act.
5	Work with National Assembly to strengthen EFCC and ICPC by guaranteeing institutional autonomy including financial and prosecutorial independence and security of tenure of officials .
6	Ensure that all MDAs regularly comply with their accountability responsibilities to Nigerians through the National Assembly .
7	Work with the leadership of National Ass embly to cut down the cost of governance .
8	Present a National Anti -corruption Strategy .
9	Make the Financial Intelligence Unit (FIU) an autonomous and operational agency .
10	Encourage proactive disclosure of information by government institutions in the spirit of the Freedom of Information Act.
11	End all private jet and first class foreign travel for government employees .
12	Audit all government workers to remove all ghost workers from government pay roll .
13	Introduce a legally enforceable code of conduct for all public officials, including elected representatives, with stringent sanctions .

Source: <http://www.buharimeter.ng/>

The promise of the public declaration of assets and liabilities was predicated on the constitutional provision<sup>6</sup> that a public officer must file a declaration of assets before the Code of Conduct Bureau (CCB), as a basis to assess if and when wealth are amassed unlawfully during the tenure in office. The Constitution did not provide for a public declaration, but the idea of a public declaration is to underscore that the President would have nothing to hide regarding his wealth while in office. A few days before the celebration of his 100 days in office, a summary of the assets of the President and his Vice President were made public by the Spokesperson of the President, Mr. Garba Shehu<sup>7</sup>.

However, eight months after they declared their assets, the President and his Vice President are yet to make public their asset declaration forms, as they promised, despite the fact the CCB has since concluded the verification of the assets as required by law<sup>8</sup>. It is also worth noting that the Executive Secretary of NEITI, Mr. Waziri Adio also publicly declared his assets<sup>9</sup>. However, ministers are yet to follow suit.

Since taking office, PMB has demonstrated an unprecedented political will to fight corruption. The Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC), Independent Corruption and Other Practices Commission (ICPC) and Code of Conduct Bureau (CCB) and other anti corruption agencies are seen vigorously prosecuting the war against corruption. The new fight against corruption has targeted public office holders and civil servants in no small measure. The anti-corruption searchlight is being beamed on income-generating enterprises<sup>10</sup>, the armed forces and other government institutions, political office holders, civil servants, private contractors, legal practitioners and individuals, all in a bid to recover looted funds and dismantle the setup that had hitherto engendered financial maladministration. The infographic below presents a summary of actions to tackle corruption taken in the first year of the incumbent administration.

---

6 Section 52 of the Nigeria Constitution

7 Presidency discloses details of Buhari, Osinbajo's assets September 3, 2015 <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/189497-updated-presidency-discloses-details-of-buhari-osinbajos-assets.html>

8 President Buhari also did not make public the assets and liabilities of his wife and grown up children as required by law

9 NEITI Boss, Waziri Adio, Declares Assets to CCB, April 14, 2016 <http://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2016/04/14/neiti-boss-waziri-adio-declares-assets-to-ccb/>

10 These include Nigeria National Petroleum Commission (NNPC), Federal Inland Revenue Service (FIRS), the Nigerian Maritime Administration and Safety Agency (NIMASA), etc.

# 17

MILESTONES



## IN THE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION

Publicly declared asset and liability by President Muhammadu Buhari and the Vice-President, Prof. Yemi Osinbajo.



Issued directive to civil servants to henceforth respond to the auditor's queries within 24hrs; and all pending queries must be responded to within 30 days.



Introduced Treasury Single Account (TSA) for all federal revenues.



Ordered constant Continuous Audit Process (CAP) to check personnel costs.



Set up Committee to review downward existing salaries and allowances of political, public and judicial office holders in the country.



Capturing of staff of all MDAs on the Integrated Personnel and Payroll Information Systems (IPPIIS) in order to curtail some of the abuses in the salaries and emoluments' processes of the government.



Constituted a 7-member Presidential Advisory Committee against Corruption (PACC) to advise the administration on how to craft policy and strategy on its anti-corruption programme.



Partnering with countries such as Switzerland, Britain and USA to help locate and retrieve stolen assets from Nigeria.



Appointed PWC and KPMG to conduct forensic audits into the accounts of all revenue-generating agencies of the government.



Commenced monthly publication of the NNPC's financial and operational report to promote transparency and accountability.



Created Efficiency Unit to cut waste and bolster the government's budget position and an economy battered by sliding oil prices.



Ban first class air travel for government officials.



Thorough audit of civil servant payroll uncovered and removed over 30,000 ghost workers.



Introduced executive bills (Money Laundering (Repeal and Re-enactment) and Mutual Assistance in Criminal Matters both 2016) to strengthen anti-graft agencies work in the fight against corruption.



Signed MoU with countries, such as Mutual Legal Assistance MoU with United Arab Emirate(UAE), to curtail corrupt practices.



Signed a Letter of Intent with Swiss Government on the Restitution of Illegally-Acquired Assets forfeited in Switzerland.



Inaugurated a National Prosecution Coordination Committee to handle high profile criminal cases.



PMB has unrelentingly sought the assistance of foreign countries in the recovery of stolen money and has consistently called on world leaders at different global platforms and gatherings to strengthen international instruments and mechanisms to combat corruption and, specifically, illicit financial flows. Switzerland, Britain and the United States of America have agreed to help Nigeria locate and retrieve stolen assets domiciled in their countries. For instance, Switzerland has expressed readiness to repatriate \$321million of Abacha's loot to Nigeria on the condition that a clear, practicable and implementable framework for managing the recovered loot will be developed. In the same vein, Nigeria and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) have signed bilateral agreements to boost the government campaign on the recovery and repatriation of stolen wealth. These include Judicial Agreements on Extraction, Transfer of Sentenced Persons, Mutual Legal Assistance on Criminal Matters, and Mutual Legal Assistance on Criminal and Commercial Matters<sup>11</sup>.

In line with the campaign promise on instituting an accountability mechanism within Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) to promote a corruption-free system, the administration has brought political will to bear and fully implemented the Treasury Single Account (TSA)<sup>12</sup>. This initiative is yielding positive results as the government claims to have so far saved between 2.1 and 3 trillion Naira. The TSA is further complemented by the Integrated Personnel and Payroll Information System (IPPIS) and Bank Verification Number (BVN). Through the IPPIS and BVN, the government says that it has so far uncovered 43,000 ghost workers<sup>13</sup> on its payroll and saved about N4.5 billion. Although these initiatives predate the present administration, it seems to have given them a new vitality and repositioned them to serve as veritable tools in fighting corruption.

The overall positive steps of the administration in fighting corruption are not lost on the Nigerian public. According to the result of the Buharimeter national survey, 86% of respondents are aware of government actions to fight corruption. Also, 84% agree that the government's approach to curbing corruption is a correct approach, while only about one in three respondents appear to be skeptical that the government's use of BVN and IPPIS will stop ghost workers in the civil service (Table 1).

- 
- 11 Nigeria signs agreement with UAE on recovery of stolen funds: <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/197014-nigeria-signs-agreement-with-uae-on-recovery-of-stolen-funds.html>
- 12 TSA became fully operational in April 2012 with 93 pilot MDAs accessing their allocations directly from the Consolidated Revenue Fund Account (CRFA). Incrementally, MDAs on TSA went to 225 (2013), 345 (2014) and 706 (2015). Currently, over 900 MDAs are on TSA according to Accountant General of the Federation (AGF), Ahmed Idris, at the ICAN UK International Zonal Conference, held in London reported in TSA: Opportunity for a Fledgling Economy THURSDAY May 11, 2016
- 13 FG verification exercise uncovers 43,000 ghost workers, <http://guardian.ng/news/fg-verification-exercise-uncovers-43000-ghost-workers/>



**Table 2: Federal government used Bank Verification Number (BVN) and Integrated Payroll Personnel Information System (IPPIS) to discover ghost workers in the civil service.**

Response	Do you know about this?	Do you think it is a good approach?	Do you think this can solve the problem?
Yes	86.3%	88.4%	62.6%
No	11.2%	6.1%	31.4%
No response	2.5%	5.5%	6.0%

Source: Buharimeter Project National Survey, May 2016

Since coming to office, the administration has established an Efficiency Unit (E-Unit) in the Ministry of Finance to help set guidelines and standards to benchmark government expenditure for efficiency and reduction in costs and overheads. The E-Unit is expected to benchmark government expenditures by comparing them with similar expenditures in the private sector, renegotiating prices, cutting costs and fundamentally reducing wastage and all forms of inefficiency<sup>14</sup>. One of the far-reaching initiatives of the unit is the ban of first class air travel by top government employees. However, its implementation is yet to be independently ascertained<sup>15</sup>.

Table 3 below shows that almost two-thirds of Nigerians who were surveyed in the Buharimeter national survey are aware that government has established an Efficiency Unit to promote transparency, curb wastage and ban first class air travel for officials (63.9% and 63.3% respectively). On the other hand, 82% and 76% respectively think that these are good approaches to solving the problem. However, there is a decline of 19% and 17% respectively in the numbers that think that these approaches would actually solve the problem. As much as Nigerians support the ban on first class travel, they are however worried about the frequent foreign trips embarked upon by the President in the last year. Only 49% of the respondents agree that the President's frequent foreign travel has yielded positive impacts. It is also important to note that a significant (37%) number of respondents said his travels have not yielded any positive impact in the last year, while others are not convinced that there is any positive impact from his travels during his first twelve month in office (see Fig 1). Regardless of the fact that, for many Nigerians, these measures seems appropriate in curbing corruption, some Nigerians (63%) as seen in Fig. 2, expect the federal government to do more to curb corruption in Nigeria. This is especially the case regarding the effective implementation of the measures without any bias. A window of opportunity exists for the government to prove them wrong by making sure the promises are fulfilled through effective implementation.

14 Introducing Nigeria Efficiency Unit, Federal Ministry of Finance accessed at <http://finance.gov.ng/index.php/efficiency-unit/efficiency-unit-publications/226-introducing-nigeria-s-efficiency-unit>

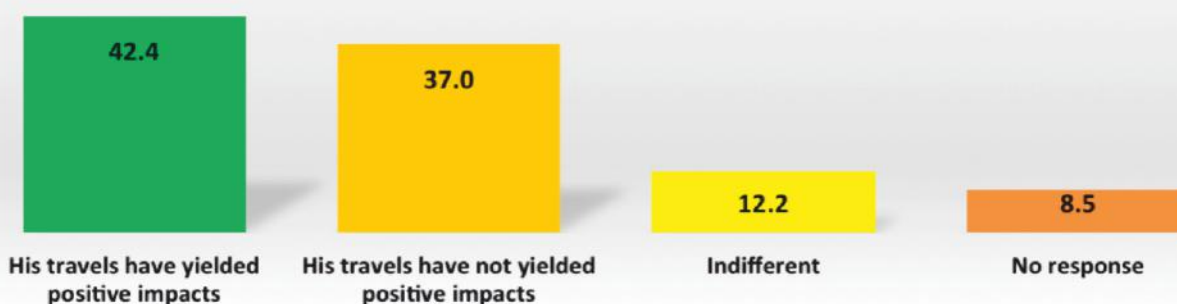
15 The APC during the campaign promised to ban first class travel for government officials

**Table 3: Citizens' view on the promise to promote transparency, curb waste, financial abuses, and ban first class travel for top government officials.**

Promise	Response	Do you know about this?	Do you think it is a good approach?	Do you think this can solve the problem?
Federal government has created an Efficiency Unit to promote transparency and curb wastage and financial abuses.	Yes	63.9%	82.2%	63.0%
	No	31.9%	9.9%	30.0%
	No response	4.2%	7.8%	6.9%
Federal government has banned first class travel for top government officials.	Yes	63.3%	75.8%	58.5%
	No	32.3%	16.1%	34.1%
	No response	4.3%	8.0%	7.3%

Source: Buharimeter Project National Survey, May 2016

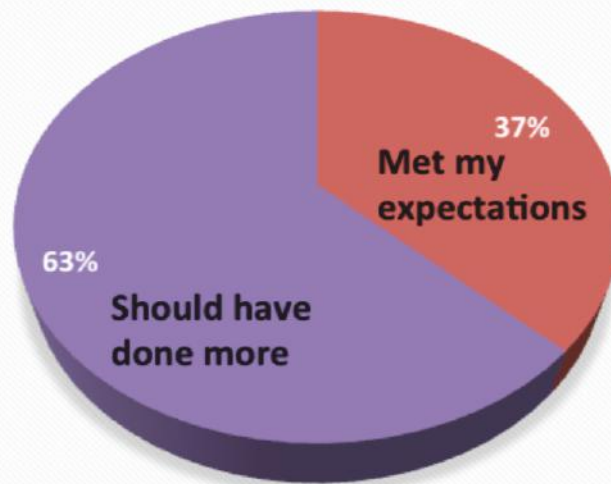
**Fig. 1: Nigerians View on President Buhari's Foreign Trips (Percentage)**



Source: Buharimeter Project National Survey by CDD, May 2016



**Fig. 2: Expectations of Nigerians from Federal Government in curbing Corruption**



Source: Buharimeter Project National Survey by CDD, May 2016

To advise the President on strategies to combat corruption, a seven member Presidential Advisory Committee on Corruption (PACC) was set up by the government. The Committee is saddled with the task of advising the administration on strategies to tackle corruption<sup>16</sup> and the implementation of required reforms in Nigeria's criminal justice system. An Anti-Corruption and Criminal Justice Reform Fund has been established, with funds contributed by three international development partners - namely the Ford Foundation, MacArthur Foundation and Open Society Foundation - to assist in the implementation of key components of the Action Plan and the work of the Presidential Advisory Committee.

Nigerians may not share same views on the best approach for fighting corruption in the country but there is a consensus that corruption has had and is having a negative impact on the economy, well-being and livelihood of the people. In the last one year, the administration has popularised the word 'corruption', making Nigerians aware of its negative consequences. Nigerians also know about the establishment of the Presidential Advisory Committee on Anti-Corruption, and that the prosecution of alleged corrupt persons is being carried out. As shown in Table 4, it is quite evident that across Nigeria, many citizens are fully aware of the advisory committee. However, some 60% Nigerians do not think that setting up an advisory committee would solve the problem of corruption. Similarly, many others (61%) are also watching with keen interest the pace of prosecution of the alleged corrupt persons, which they also feel cannot solve the problem of corruption. However, there are high expectations that at some point the fight against corruption will positively impact the quality of life of the ordinary citizen.

<sup>16</sup> BuhariConstitutes Advisory Committee on Anti-corruption ThisDay August 10,2015 <http://www.thisdaylive.com/articles/buhari-constitutes-advisory-committee-on-anti-corruption/217092/>

**Table 4: Citizens' view on the advisory committee, and prosecution of alleged corrupt persons**

Promise	Response	Do you know about this?	Do you think it is a good approach?	Do you think this can solve the problem?
Constituted an Advisory Committee on Anti-corruption.	Yes	66.6%	82.2%	60.8%
	No	29.2%	10.4%	32.0%
	No response	4.2%	7.4%	7.2%
Started the prosecution of alleged corrupt persons.	Yes	78.8%	82.2%	61.0%
	No	16.1%	9.3%	30.6%
	No response	5.1%	8.5%	8.4%

Source: Buharimeter Project National Survey, May 2016

Indeed, there are clear indications that based on current evidence regarding the government's promise to fight corruption, Nigerians see more hope than concrete achievements. This is clearly captured in the Buharimeter national survey. Asked whether the Buhari administration in the last year has met their expectations on the war against corruption, 34.5% of respondents said yes, while 62.1% said that government needs to do more (Table 5). Still more interesting is the breakdown of responses by geopolitical zones. The result of the survey shows that the most confidence in the administration's war against corruption was expressed in the President's home zone, the North West (60.2%).

**Table 5: Citizens' perceptions and expectations of the fight against corruption by the federal government**

Geo-political Zone	Yes, met my expectations	No, should have done more	No response
North East	46.8%	51.3%	1.9%
North Central	32.9%	63.9%	3.2%
North West	60.2%	37.6%	2.2%
South East	10.7%	86.2%	3.0%
South West	35.8%	62.0%	2.2%
South South	20.4%	71.3%	8.3%
Nationwide	34.5%	62.1%	3.5%

Source: Buharimeter Project National Survey, May 2016

The renewed fight against corruption by the PMB administration has been widely applauded as a step in the right direction, however there are still several challenges militating against the achievement of its set objectives.

One is the perception of a one sided war against corruption. Several pundits have consistently argued that the war against corruption mainly targets the opposition., with only politicians from the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) singled out for prosecution in the new war against corruption. For instance, there are several claims that the armsgate scandal popularly referred to as Dasukigate is targetting only the members of the immediate past PDP administration. This is further accentuated by the feeling that the government does not respect the rule of law and due process in handling culprits, particularly those linked to the previous administration. However, the President, in response to non-compliance with the rule of law in prosecuting the fight against corruption, identified the challenge of law enforcement and accepted responsibility that in some cases prosecution was done with the overriding interest of national security. According to the President, "I admit that there are a few cases where apparently stringent rules have been applied as a result of threats to national security and the likelihood that certain persons may escape from the country or seek to undermine the stability of Nigeria".<sup>17</sup>

Delays in publicly communicating the recovered loot and non-disclosure of the looters, has been criticised by sections of the Nigerian public and media. This is at least in part because the President initially promised to unveil the recovered loots and the looters on the 29th of May, as part of his address to Nigerians on democracy day.

<sup>17</sup> Full text of President Buhari's Speech delivered at the London anti-corruption summit. Accessed at: <http://www.herald.ng/full-text-buharis-speech-anti-corruption-summit-uk/#DdtdRcoF76eg7D4.99>

The failure to institutionalise the fight against corruption constitutes one of the biggest challenges to combating corruption in Nigeria. Firstly, the government emphasis in the last year has focused more on dealing with political corruption, with little emphasis on petty corruption which permeates all sectors of the polity.

Another challenge militating against the ongoing fight against corruption is the prosecutorial challenges encountered in bringing accused persons to book. The real litmus test for an anti-corruption war is securing convictions of accused persons, especially "high profile" persons. The country's judicial system is unusually slow in dispensing justice, partly due to capacity challenges in investigation and prosecution, but also due to corruption in the judicial system itself. Interestingly, at the end of PMB's first year of the anti-corruption war, only one conviction was secured<sup>18</sup>.

It has become imperative for the President to immediately redeem his campaign promise to create an enabling environment, legal framework and strong institutions to effectively combat the war against corruption. Top of the list is the guarantee of independence to EFCC and ICPC in three areas, namely prosecutorial independence, financial autonomy and guaranteed tenure of office. To support the promulgation of an effective legal framework for the war against corruption, the Money Laundering Prevention and Prohibition Bill 2016 and the Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters Bill 2016 (which are presently before the National Assembly) should be expedited and passed into law. So far there have been no efforts to enact the Whistleblowers Act or establish an autonomous Financial Intelligence Unit promised during the campaign. While the persona of the President as a staunch anti-corruption crusader is very important, it must be pointed out that the fight against corruption must be institutionalised for it to survive beyond the term of the present administration. Strategies that could help institutionalise the anti-corruption war include value reorientation, an effective legal and policy framework, strengthening institutions and degrading the conditions that currently make corruption attractive to the populace. Furthermore, the state governments must join in the war against corruption at the state level. It seems that the body language of state Governors, including APC Governors, is that the fight against corruption belongs to the President and the federal government.

---

18 Ex-NIMASA DG, Raymond Omatseye, jailed for five years over N1.5 billion contract scam May 20, 2016 *Premium Times*. Accessed at: <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/203773-ex-nimasa-dg-raymond-omatseye-jailed-for-five-years-over-n1-5-billion-contract-scam.html>

## 2. SECURITY

Since its return to democracy in 1999, Nigeria has been faced with the challenge of insecurity. Issues that pose security challenges in Nigeria include religious intolerance, ethnic conflicts, farmers/herdsmen conflict, armed banditry, kidnapping, piracy, militancy in the Niger Delta, and the insurgency by the Boko Haram. The Boko Haram insurgency in North East Nigeria have posed the greatest security threat to the country before and since the Buhari administration came into office. A year into the life of the administration, the Islamic terror group appears to have been substantially degraded as the security forces have weakened the sect's capacity to hold territory and attack major urban centres. The sect appears presently unable to mobilise enough forces to attack police and army barracks as they used to<sup>19</sup>.

All the territories previously controlled by the sect have been recovered and 11,595 Nigerians (including women and children) were reportedly rescued in March 2016 alone<sup>20</sup>, as well as two Chibok girls. Its capability seems to be now limited to spreading terror by occasionally attacking remote villages, burning buildings, destroying farms and livestock and the intermittent killing of villagers. These military gains against the terror group have, generally speaking, increased public confidence in the capacity of the government to safeguard life and property. Some internally displaced people are reportedly returning to their communities, and businesses are also beginning to pick up in areas formerly under Boko Haram control<sup>21</sup>.

The numerous security challenges confronting Nigeria were among the most prominent issues that dominated debates during the 2015 election campaign. This prompted the various candidates and their parties to propose remedies to address not only the social menace arising from the activities of the Boko Haram insurgents, but also other security problems in the country. In particular, as indicated in Table 6, President Buhari pledged to implement measures that would improve the capacity of the country's security agencies, boost the morale of security agents, strengthen the platform for coordination of security efforts, devolve oversight of local policing to the States, and safeguard the territorial integrity of the country.

---

19 Statement from President Muhammadu Buhari on the defeat of Boko Haram. Buhari: Boko Haram is technically defeated., Accessed at <https://www.naij.com/721415-boko-haram-technically-defeated-need-read-buhari-say.html>

20 Nigerian Military 'Rescues 11,595 Boko Haram Hostages' in March, *Thisday*. Accessed at: <http://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2016/04/06/nigerian-military-rescues-11595-boko-haram-hostages-in-march/> on the 7th of April 2016

21 Boko Haram containment revitalizes Nigeria's N1.9trn cattle market. *Businessdayonline*. Accessed at: <http://businessdayonline.com/2016/04/boko-haram-containment-revitalises-nigerias-n1-trn-cattle-market/>

**Table 6: Buharimeter: Promises on security**

Promise	Description
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	Give special attention to the welfare of our [Nigerian] armed forces and all other security personnel and their families, including State-guaranteed life insurance for all officers and men as well as protection for the families of our fallen heroes
3	Ensure that acts of heroism and valour in the service to the nation are publicly recognised and celebrated.
4	Establish a close working relationship with governors of the states affected by the insurgency, with leaders of our [Nigeria] neighbouring countries and around the world to coordinate efforts to cooperate in combating insurgency, oil theft, piracy and criminality.
5	Activate regular meetings of the National Police Council to ensure the discharge of its true constitutional roles in a transparent and accountable way.
6	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
7	Devolve the oversight of local policing, including the nomination of the State Police Commissioner and management of the provision of service to the state
8	Employ at least an extra 100,000 police officers.
9	Establish a properly trained and equipped Federal Anti-Terrorism Multi-Agency Task Force to destroy Boko Haram and any form of insurgency.
10	Introduce an immediate pay rise and improved conditions for all five security services.
11	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.
12	Establish a compensation scheme for victims of the insurgency.



13	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.
14	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.
15	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.
16	Carry out a national security audit to determine the state of affairs, capacity and capability deficits in our [Nigerian] armed forces, police and other security agencies.
17	Urgently review the management structures of the five security services– the Police, the Army, the Navy, the Air-Force and the intelligence services.
18	Urgent review of death and disability insurance to a minimum of N1m (onemillion) only, from the current level. .
19	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
20	Establish a Federal Police Complaints Authority and Ombudsman to provide a transparent process for ordinary Nigerians to raise complaints over police conduct.
21	Introduce CCTV systems in our major cities and towns.
22	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.

Source: <http://www.buharimeter.ng/>

The gains recorded in the fight against Boko Haram are clearly attributable to the efforts of the Buhari administration. The administration used various strategies to tackle the insurgency including strengthening its ties with state governments, as well as countries at regional and international level. At the regional level, the Multi-National Joint Task Force (MNJTF) involving Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad, Niger and Benin Republic was strengthened; while outside Africa, countries such as USA, United Kingdom (UK), France, Japan supported Nigeria in the fight by providing military, technical and financial assistance.



## Security Interventions

1

Relocated the Military Command and Control Centre (MCCC) from Abuja to Maiduguri, Borno state, after inauguration of the new administration.

2

Forged and strengthened regional and international alliances with countries like Chad, Niger, Cameroon, Benin, United States of America (USA), UK, Canada, France, India and Hungary, etc to improve capacity of security personnel.

3

Established Multi-national Joint Task made up of Nigeria, Chad, Niger, Cameroon and Benin.

4

Issued directive to security agencies to halt the preoccupation of pirates, the Niger Delta Avengers and Herdsmen in the country.

5

Pardoned and reinstated dismissed 3,032 convicted Nigerian military officers.

6

Offered scholarships to the children of slain officers and cheques to their families.

7

Constituted Presidential Committee on the North East Interventions, PCNI, for the development of comprehensive, integrated, and concerted plan for the development, reconstruction of the North-east region.

8

Inaugurated Committee to oversee social reintegration of at least 433 terrorists who renounced their membership following the announcement of government's willingness to negotiate with the sect.



## Security Interventions

9

Launched mobile containerised schools in Internally Displaced Persons' (IDPs) Camps to ensure that school-age children have access to basic education while in their respective camps.

10

Donated N40 million to victims of bomb blast in Kano State.

11

Signed \$2.3 billion grant from the United State Agency for International Development to address poverty in Nigeria, especially in the Northeast part of the country.

12

Commenced a process of compiling comprehensive data on all Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)

13

Rescued Chibok Girl from captivity of Boko Haram

14

Facilitated donation of \$800m by the World Bank to address poverty in the Northeast.

15

Initiated Operation Safe Corridor (OSC) to rehabilitate and reintegrate repentant Boko Haram members into the society.

16

Provided \$21million USD to the Task Force since June 2015


The infographics above provide highlights of some of the key interventions the administration made over the past year to achieve its electoral promises relating to security. One of the key areas is strengthening the capacity of the security agencies to meet contemporary threats facing Nigeria. Over this one year period, for example, the government provided \$21million out of \$100million it pledged to support the MNJTF, the US donated \$5million to the MNJTF and 24 armoured vehicles to fight Boko Haram, the Nigerian police received training from their Canadian counterparts, amongst others.

The ongoing recruitment exercise by the Nigeria Police Force will boost its staff strength by 10,000. It is not surprising that there is a strong agreement among respondents in the Buharimeter National Survey that the measures taken so far by the Buhari administration on security are the right solutions and that they can address the problem of insecurity. In Table 7 the majority of respondents, representing 84.4% of the sample, consider efforts to increase the capacity of Nigeria's security agencies as proper, although a lower proportion of respondents (60.5%) see this measure as capable of addressing the security challenge.

**Table 7: Promise to urgently increase the capacity of Nigeria's security agencies**

Questions regarding the promise to urgently increase the capacity of Nigeria's security agencies	% by Responses	
Do you think it is a good approach?	Yes	84.4 %
	No	9.2%
	No response	6.3%
Do you think this can solve the problem?	Yes	60.5 %
	No	32.7 %
	No response	6.8%

Source: Buharimeter Project National Survey, May 2016



Despite the progress made in the war against Boko Haram, challenges still persist. At the heart of the administration's promise to fight against Boko Haram is the rescue of the Chibok girls. In his inaugural speech on May 29<sup>th</sup> 2015, President Muhammadu Buhari (PMB) linked the defeat of Boko Haram to the rescue of the Chibok girls. In his words, "...we cannot claim to have defeated Boko Haram without rescuing the Chibok girls and all other innocent persons held hostage by insurgents"<sup>22</sup>.

One year into the life of the administration, only one of the Chibok girls have been rescued. The exact whereabouts of the abducted Chibok girls remains a mystery and no major rescue operation has been carried out. Moreover, the human toll of the terror group's activities in the North East remains very high. Our media monitoring of carnage in the North East since the inception of this administration reveals that over 2,300 people have been killed by the insurgents.

---

<sup>22</sup> Inaugural speech by His Excellency, President Muhammadu Buhari following his swearing-in as President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria on 29th May, 2015





## SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF BOKO HARAM ATTACKS



**956,453**  
private houses destroyed.

**5,335**  
classrooms



and other school buildings were destroyed in primary, secondary schools and two tertiary institutions.



**201**  
health centers destroyed.



**20,000**  
citizens murdered.



**665** municipal buildings



comprising ministry and LGA buildings, prisons, police stations and electric offices were destroyed by the



of 11 KV/415V and distribution lines of 415-230 V in the 27 LGAs.

**470,000**

livestock were killed or stolen



Source: World Bank report: Borno lost N1.9trn to Boko Haram, <http://www.dailytrust.com.ng/news/general/world-bank-report-borno-lost-n1-9trn-to-boko-haram/138786.html>



The difficulties faced by persons displaced by the Boko Haram insurgency are yet to abate, despite interventions by the government and Nigeria's development partners. Most of the IDP camps are overcrowded and lacking basic services and facilities, thus posing high health risks to the camp population. The conditions of children in the camps are particularly worrisome as many of them have been traumatised by the violence arising from the conflicts and have lost their loved ones, leaving them with no choice but to look after themselves.

The high population density in the camps, coupled with minimal health facilities, have made the children vulnerable to health challenges and preventable diseases such as diarrhoea, cholera, malaria, and common cold. With regards to education, the initiatives adopted by the government and other stakeholders<sup>23</sup> have failed to cater fully for all the displaced children in the camps. For instance, only a total of 2,400 displaced children are now in schools to receive formal education through the School on Wheels programme initiated by the government. The limited reach of the government's intervention is further worsened by the fact that many IDPs do not live in government approved camps where these services are available. Reports of sexual violence, unwanted pregnancies, child labour and trafficking and sexually transmitted diseases continue to filter out of the IDP camps. For instance, the allegations that some workers in IDP camps give preferential treatment in the distribution of foods and other relief materials to females in return for sex led the House of Representatives Committee on IDPs to initiate an investigation<sup>24</sup>.

The process of resettlements of the IDPs in liberated communities has commenced, however the challenges of funding, security and the removal of landmines remain paramount. For instance, the Borno State Commissioner of Reconstruction, Rehabilitation and Resettlement has estimated that it would cost around 40 billion Naira to reconstruct Bama,<sup>25</sup> an amount which he claims is beyond the means of the state government. Landmines remain a challenge in the resettlement processes as there have been several reports of landmine explosions which have claimed lives. For instance, five farmers were reportedly killed in May 2016 while trying to cultivate their farm land upon return to the liberated communities<sup>26</sup>.

Rebuilding the North East is one of the complex challenges confronting the administration presently. Through partnership with the government, donor agencies are developing several programs to help in the post conflict reconstruction of the North East<sup>27</sup>. The North East Nigeria Recovery and Peace Building Assessment (RPBA) was undertaken by the Federal Government of Nigeria alongside the six states in the zone.

---

23 UNICEF, FOMWAN and other non-government organisations

24 House c'ttee probes alleged sex for relief materials at IDPs' camps. *Vanguard*. Accessed at: <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2016/01/house-cttee-probes-alleged-sex-for-relief-materials-at-idps-camps/>

25 Nigeria planning return of Boko Haram displaced. December 12 2015. *ReliefWeb*. Accessed at: <http://reliefweb.int/report/nigeria/nigeria-planning-return-boko-haram-displaced>

26 North East Farmers Face Landmine Explosions, kidnapping. 4th May, 2016 *Pulse*.

27 For instance, Nigeria signed a \$2.3 billion assistance agreement with USAID and received \$800 million assistance from World Bank to eradicate poverty in the country, especially in the conflict-ridden zone.

The RPBA, supported by European Union, United Nations (UN) and the World Bank, provides an elaborate framework for peace building and reconstruction of the North East, if implemented. The President has constituted a Presidential Committee for North East Initiative (PCNI) to develop a comprehensive plan for reconstruction of the zone. While these efforts are primarily aimed at bridging the historical gap between social classes and creating an enabling environment for development-focused social and economic interventions in the geo-political zone, for it to be successful it must include all parties to the conflicts in the implementation process.

Beyond Boko Haram, Nigeria currently faces security challenges caused by smaller, less popular radical Islamic groups. For instance, Yanlabaiku<sup>28</sup> in Kebbi state is preaching against Western education and Westernisation, and Niger State is pervaded by different radical Islamist groups. Most of these groups live in seclusion, preaching and practicing radical Islam. For example, the Darul Salam is displaced in Mokwa, and Ibrassiya Huda Islamic Sect is displaced in a forest from Lapai. While for now they may seem peaceful, they are likely to constitute a threat to the Nigerian state in future.

In the last year, rural banditry and violent conflicts between pastoralists and farmers in Nigeria have been on the rise. These conflicts have traditionally consisted of disputes over natural resources and are often presented as conflicts between settlers and nomadic people. However, what began as conflict between pastoralists and farmers over land has recently developed into banditry with heavy human and economic cost. In March 2016, Agatu became a red spot when alleged Fulani cattle rearers invaded several villages and farm settlements, killing about 300 people in Aila, Okokolo, Akwu, Adagbo, Odugbehon and Odejo. This was followed by another attack in Nimbo community in Enugu state, where another 30 people were reported dead during an attack allegedly perpetrated by Fulani herdsmen. Between January and May 2016 alone, over 500 people lost their lives in clashes and reprisal attacks between Fulani herdsmen and farmers in Enugu, Delta, Anambra, Benue, Taraba, Zamfara, Kaduna, Ekiti States. These conflicts are exacerbating tension across the country, particularly with the stigmatisation of the Fulanis as criminals and the escalating ethnic tensions in the country. While the government at both national and state levels is making attempts to address this challenge, the violence is unabating. Palliatives such as grazing reserves and others being proposed must be well thought out and comprehensive to control these ongoing conflicts.

---

28 New Sect, Yanlabaiku Emerges in Kebbi. *Daily Trust*. Accessed at <http://dailytrust.com.ng/daily/index.php/news-menu/news/58184-new-sect-yanlabaiku-emerges-in-kebbi#iXZQ4gg4TqCkW3go.99> .

The agitation for the State of Biafra has continued in both the South East and South South Regions of the country. This has become an added burden in terms of the security challenges facing the administration. Clearly, its campaign promises on security were principally predicated on fighting Boko Haram in the North East region of Nigeria. The almost sudden resurgence of pro-Biafra agitations makes the pursuit of that election promise even more complicated. The detention and very tardy trial of the presumptive leader of the Biafra agitation, Mr. Nnamdi Kanu, has only deepened the resolve of the agitators. Several lives have been lost in clashes between pro-Biafra agitators and the military, the most recent happening at Onitsha, Anambra State at the end of May 2016 during a march by agitators to commemorate the declaration of the state of Biafra in 1967. An Amnesty International Report on the clash indicted the Nigerian Army for shooting 17 unarmed pro-Biafra protesters, prompting a response by the military in which it accused the respected international human rights organization of waging a "campaign of calumny against the Nigerian Army".<sup>29</sup>

Nigeria is facing a resurgent uprising in the South South Region. The Niger Delta militancy, which had relaxed for almost seven years, was revived with the emergence of a new militant group, Niger Delta Avengers (NDA) in February 2016. The NDA vowed to cripple the Nigerian economy and so far have blown major oil pipelines, leading to a drop in the country's output and ceding of its position as Africa's largest oil producer (to Angola). The NDA's main demand is for a Niger Delta Republic. It has refused all forms of dialogue with the government. In response, the government has vowed to deal with the NDA. On the sidelines of the London anti-corruption summit, President Buhari expressed his stance on the NDA, stating: "I spoke with the Chief of Naval Staff and other service chiefs...to make sure that those who are blowing the installations, sabotaging investments in Nigeria, we will deal with them eventually". This has informed the government response so far. Aircrafts and war boats have been deployed to confront the NDA. While most of the demands of the group are difficult to meet, the need for negotiation must not be foreclosed as the main victims in any military operation will always be innocent women and children.

The polity is pervaded by "ungoverned spaces". In these spaces, terrorists and criminal groups operate at will and reel out demands that threaten the sovereignty of the state. PMB and his party acknowledged the need to avert this problem and pledged to achieve this through devolving the power of policing and increasing salaries of security personnel. In the first instance, in Table 8 below, most of the respondents (71%) consider the promise and efforts to devolve the oversight of local policing as a good approach to tackle insecurity in Nigeria. Again, fewer of respondents (55.9%) think that this approach would address the high level of insecurity in Nigeria.

---

29 See the Amnesty International position at [www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2016/06/nigeria-killing-of-unarmed-pro-biafra-supporters-by-military-must-be-urgently-investigated/](http://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2016/06/nigeria-killing-of-unarmed-pro-biafra-supporters-by-military-must-be-urgently-investigated/) and the Nigeria Army reponse at [www.army.mil.ng/amnesty-internationals-campaign-of-calumny-against-the-nigerian-army-on-massobipob-violent-protest-in-onitsha-and-environs-uncovered/](http://www.army.mil.ng/amnesty-internationals-campaign-of-calumny-against-the-nigerian-army-on-massobipob-violent-protest-in-onitsha-and-environs-uncovered/) .

**Table 8: Promise to devolve the oversight of local policing**

Questions regarding the promise to devolve the oversight of local policing	% by responses	
Do you think it is a good approach?	Yes	70.8 %
	No	21.0 %
	No response	8.2 %
Do you think this can solve the problem?	Yes	55.9 %
	No	35.9 %
	No response	8.2 %

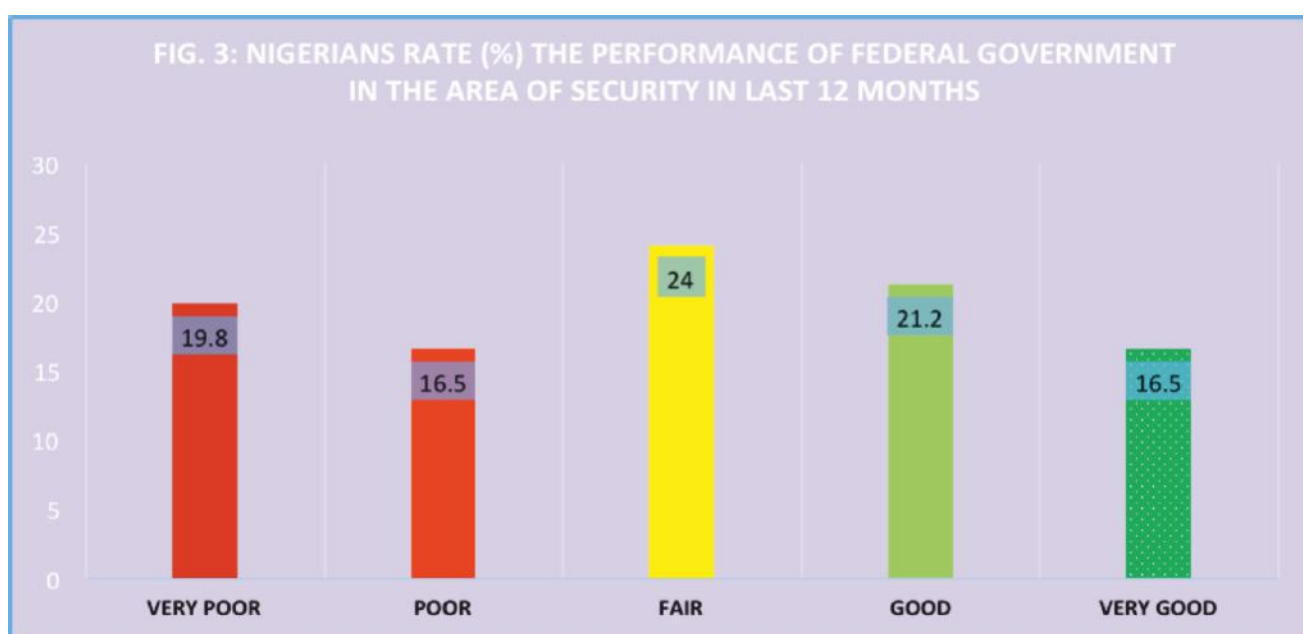
Source: Buharimeter Project National Survey by CDD, May 2016

In Table 9, most of the respondents (78.1%) agreed that the promise and efforts to improve the working conditions of the security services, including an increase in salaries, are a good approach to tackling insecurity in Nigeria. As in the other cases, fewer respondents (58.5%) see this measure as capable of solving the insecurity in Nigeria.

**Table 9: Promise to increase the salaries and improve the working conditions of security services**

Questions regarding the promise to increase the salaries and improve working conditions of security services	% by responses	
Do you think it is a good approach?	Yes	78.1 %
	No	14.7 %
	No response	7.2 %
Do you think this can solve the problem?	Yes	58.5 %
	No	33.8 %
	No response	7.7 %

Respondents to the Buharimeter Survey gave the Buhari administration an middling rating on its performance in the area of security during its first year in office – 16.5% and 21.2% of respondents rate the government's performance in the area of security as "very good" and "good", respectively; 19.8% and 16.5% of the respondents assess the government's performance as "very bad" and "bad", respectively; while 24% of the respondents consider the government's performance as "fair" (see Fig. 3).

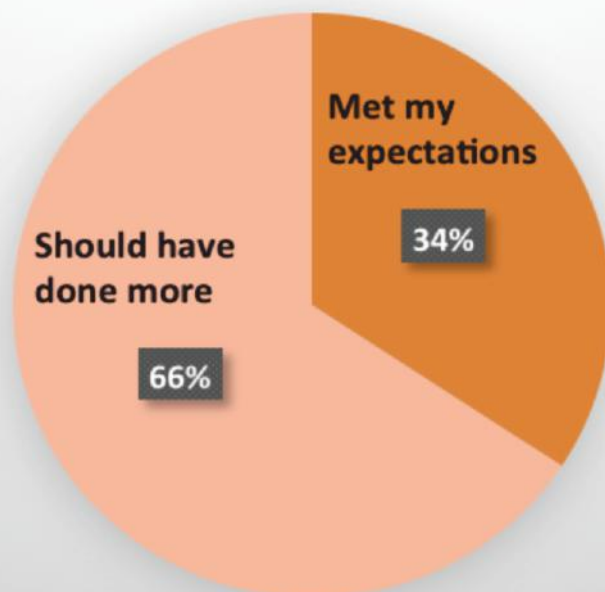


Source: Buharimeter Project National Survey by CDD, May 2016

Although the Buhari administration received an average rating on its performance in the area of security, only 34% of the respondents reported that the administration met their expectations with regards to improving the security situation in Nigeria (Fig. 4). The majority of the respondents (66%) do not feel satisfied with efforts so far and want the government to do more to improve security.

The enormity of the security challenges facing Nigeria, the need for urgent solutions, and the high expectations on the Buhari administration are, probably, the main reasons for the disappointment expressed by the respondents.

**Fig. 4: Expectations of Nigerians from Federal Government in improving Security**



*Buharimeter Project National Survey by CDD, May 2016*

As part of the measures to increase the strength of the police force, the federal government promised to employ an additional 10,000 police officers. The recruitment process is ongoing, and most respondents, especially about 79% of the younger respondents, agree that this is a good approach to solving insecurity problems in the country (see Table 10). While this promise is being addressed, the issue of improved working and living conditions of security agents remains inadequately addressed.



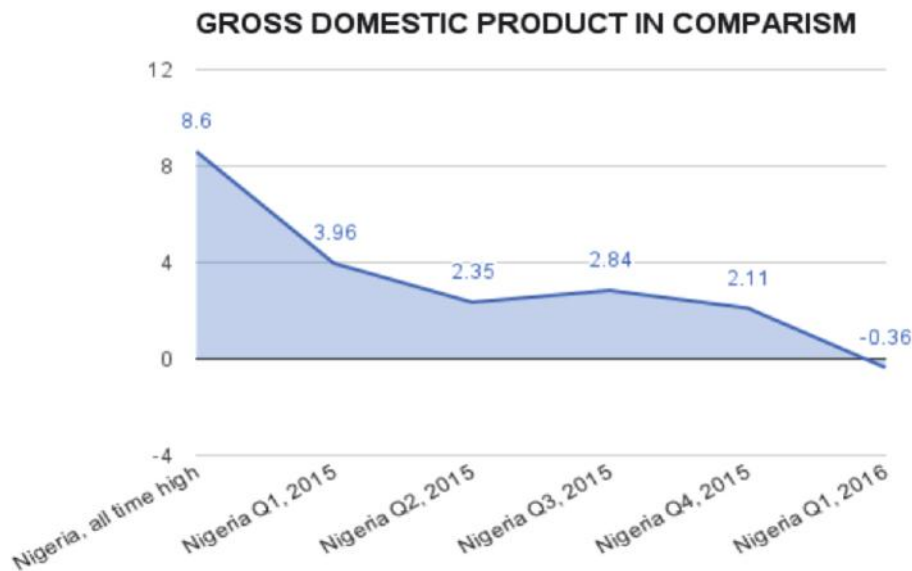
**Table 10: Questions regarding the promise to recruit additional 10,000 police officers**

Age	Do you think it is a good approach?			Do you think this can solve the problem?		
	Yes	No	No response	Yes	No	No response
18- 25	23.4%	33.8%	23.9%	24.6%	30.8%	25.6%
26- 35	33.6%	24.6%	29.1%	32.5%	28.8%	29.2%
36- 45	23.7%	21.6%	18.8%	23.7%	20.4%	21.0%
46- above	17.7%	17.2%	10.3%	17.7%	17.2%	12.8%
No response	1.4%	2.7%	17.9%	1.5%	2.8%	11.3%

Source: Buharimeter Project National Survey by CDD, May 2016

### 3. ECONOMY

In the past twelve months, Nigeria's gloomy economic outlook has become a source of serious concern to citizens. Within the period under review, the economy decelerated to its lowest rate since the return to democracy in 1999. The data recently released by the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) shows that Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in Q1 of 2016 slides to a 25-year low of -0.36% from 2.11% and 3.96% in Q4 and Q1 of 2015 respectively. It is essential to note that the downward trend in Nigeria's GDP started from 2014 when the country experienced a decrease in its GDP growth rate from 6.54% in Q2 to 5.94% in Q4, according to figures from NBS.



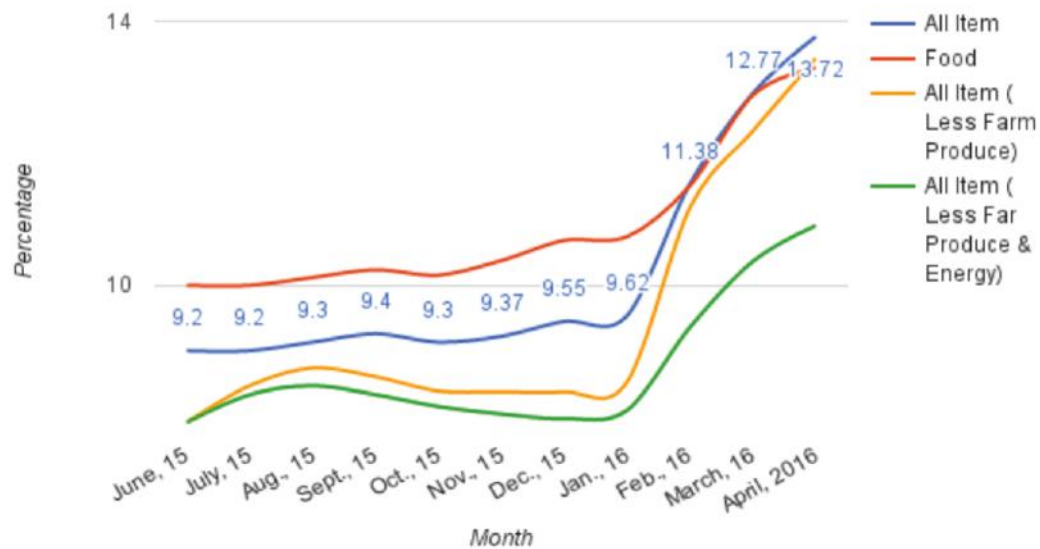
It is generally considered that the continuous deceleration of Nigeria's growth rate has been largely due to the low oil price (which led to low government revenue), deteriorating terms of trade, severe dollar scarcity and challenges confronted in other key sectors of the economy, such as power, real estate and transportation.

Recent data from the CBN and NBS reveal that the country's CPI otherwise known as inflation rate, rose to all-time high of 13.7% (year-on-year) in April 2016<sup>30</sup>. This is roughly 0.9% points higher than the rate recorded in March, 2016 (12.8%)<sup>31</sup>. Between June 2015 and April 2016, the rate of inflation increased by 4.52%.

30 National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), Consumers Price Index (CPI), April 2016. Accessed at: <http://www.nigerianstat.gov.ng/report/380> on the 20 May, 2016.

31 Ibid

## CONSUMER PURCHASING INDEX



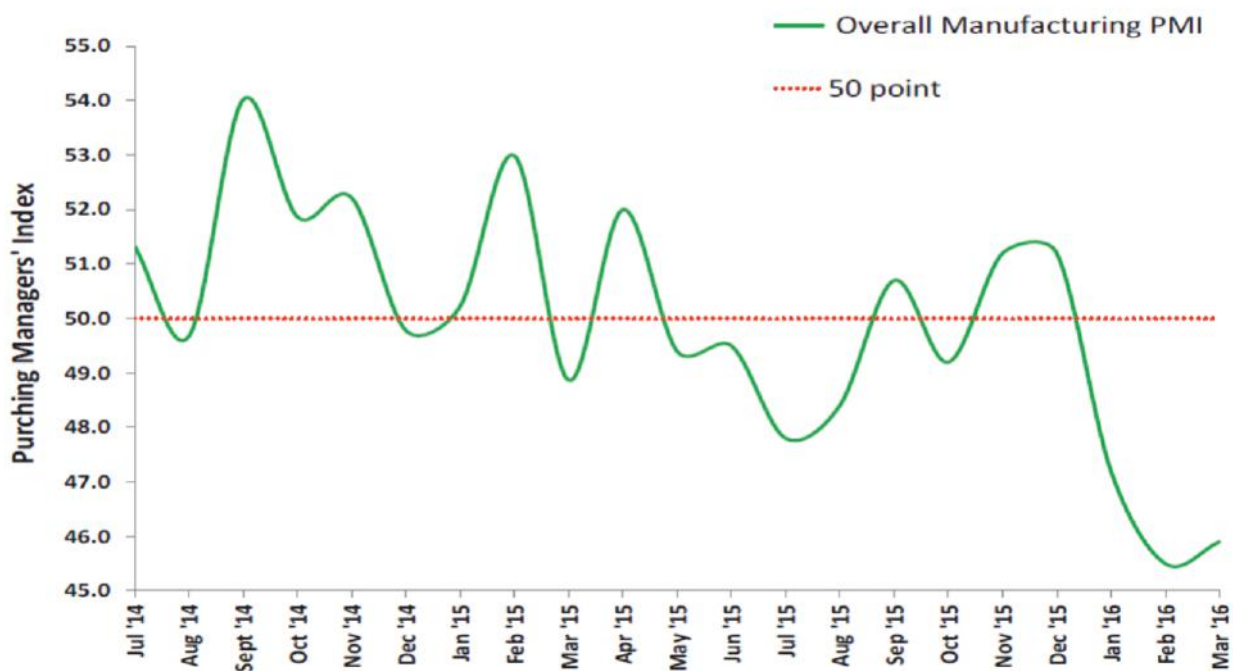
A look at the chart above highlights the consequences of the tightened economy under the current administration. Apart from 'All Items', the inflation rate continues to maintain an upward trend with inflation rate on food items consistently growing higher until March 2016. The current reality in the country is that hitherto affordable food items have become costly and unstable, while the personal income of Nigerians remains stable. This development is propelled by a combination of factors of which fuel shortage, increased transportation fare and electricity tariff, and volatility of the Naira, are noteworthy.

The volatility of the Naira on the parallel market has been unprecedented, despite the CBN regulated exchange rate of N197–N199 to a dollar. Since the introduction of the regime, the Naira has continued to downswing on the parallel market as it fell sharply to more than N370 to a dollar, as against N270 at the beginning of 2016. The current forex regime was introduced in June 2015 as part of a long term plan by the current administration to cushion the effect of the slump in oil prices - by curtailing the unfounded pressure on the Naira, preserving external reserves, encouraging local manufacturing and diversifying the economy. Since the first quarter of 2015, CBN restricted supply of foreign exchange to importers, limited products that can be bought using dollars to a list of 41 items and cancelled the sale of dollars to Bureau De Change (BDC) operators.

The economic crisis that looms in the country following the foreign exchange policies of the CBN has prompted wake up calls by experts and critical stakeholders for relaxation of the monetary policies. Nonetheless, the Monetary Policy Committee (MPC) of the CBN held on to the restrictive monetary policies and went further to increase Monetary Policy Rate (MPR) to 12% from 11% and the Cash Reserve Ratio (CRR) to 22.5% from 20% following the concern that excess liquidity in the banking sector further contributes to the current pressure on the foreign exchange market in March 2016.

The March 2016 Purchasing Managers' Index (PMI)<sup>32</sup> report released by the CBN provided a useful insight into the economic health of the manufacturing sector in Nigeria. As narrated in the report, manufacturing PMI improved marginally to 45.9% in March 2016 compared to 45.5% in the preceding month and the manufacturing sector declined at a slower rate during the period under review. Out of the sixteen sub-sectors<sup>33</sup>, twelve reported a decline<sup>34</sup>. At the same time, the production level index and new order index are 46.6% (which shows a decline for the third consecutive time) and 43.0% respectively, in March 2016.

The employment level index in March 2016 stood at 45.5%, indicating a decline in employment for the thirteenth consecutive month.



32 The PMI index is based on five major indicators: new orders, inventory levels, production, supplier deliveries and the employment environment.

33 The sixteen manufacturing sectors include transportation equipment; furniture and related product; plastics & rubber products; textile, apparel, leather & footwear; printing & related support activities; non-metallic mineral products; paper products; fabricated metal products; primary metal; computer & electronic products; appliances and components and electrical equipment.

34 These include petroleum and coal products; food beverage and tobacco products; cement; and chemical and pharmaceutical products.

The debt stock profile of Nigeria, according to Debt Management Office<sup>35</sup>, has reached a new height of N12 trillion<sup>36</sup>. In the the 2016 budget, over N1.8t (representing about 25% of the budget) is earmarked for debt servicing, while the budget deficit stands at N2.2t. However, our borrowing pattern is still within the global threshold of 40% of our GDP. Even so, in the light of the current dwindling oil price and low revenue generation capacity, N0.6t may be added to our debt profile year-on-year if we continue to service our debt at this rate annually. This calls for serious attention in the face of the current economic connundrum the country is confronted with, and the need for proactive measures to practically diversify Nigeria's economy in order to broaden the country's revenue base.

Within the period under review, President Muhammadu Buhari has maintained his stance on the devaluation of the currency, which some experts and international bodies such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) have advanced as a panacea to addressing the current economic problem. At different fora, the President insisted on no further devaluation of the Naira as it has never paid the country any good<sup>37</sup>.

One of the drives for the government's commitment to addressing the lingering challenges of the economy is to find a lasting solution to the problem of unemployment in Nigeria. Unemployment is thought to be a major contributor to various social problems in Nigeria. The problem of unemployment is particularly associated with younger Nigerians. President Buhari made strong pledges during and after the 2015 election campaigns to address unemployment, and this is probably the reason why many young people<sup>38</sup> backed his candidacy. The promises made by President Buhari in the area of employment are outlined in Table 11.

---

35 This was revealed by the Director General of DMO, Abraham Nwankwo at a one-day Enlightenment Workshop for the Nigerian Union of Journalists, NUJ, held in Abuja on the 8 April, 2016, with the theme 'Debt Sustainability and the Challenge of Financing Economic Recovery'.

36 This figure includes domestic and external debts owned by both the federal and state governments (including FCT) and represents 13% of GDP.

37 See Buhari: Nigeria Derived No Benefit from Naira Devaluations in the Past. *Thisday*. Accessed at <http://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2016/04/23/buhari-nigeria-derived-no-benefit-from-naira-devaluations-in-the-past/>

38 Prior to the presidential campaign period, particularly between 2013 and 2014, Nigeria's youth unemployment rate was alarming and rose to 23.9% from 5.10% (sources: National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), 'Unemployment Report', 2014; National Institute for Socio-economic Research (NISER), 2013, 'Analysis and Design of Safety Nets and Capacity Empowerment Programme for Unemployed Youth in Nigeria'; National Population Commission, NPC (2013), 'Nigeria's Unemployment rate rises to 23.9%', *Punch Newspaper*, October 13, 2013. This precarious situation, among other things, most likely engendered many youth, especially the unemployed, to vote for the APC presidential candidate hoping that the party would create three million jobs annually as promised by President Buhari.

**Table 11: Buharimeter: Promises on employment**

Promise	Description
1	Create new job opportunities through a massive public works programme, especially the building of a national railway system of interstate roads and ports. These projects must commence early in the life of the new administration
2	Target the creation of 3 million new jobs a year through industrialisation, public work and agricultural expansion.
3	Work with state governments to turn Northern Nigeria into Africa’s food basket through a new system of grants and interest free loans, and the mechanisation of agriculture.
4	Establish a new Federal Coordinating Agency – Build Nigeria – to fast track and manage these public works programmes with emphasis on Nigerian labour.
5	Encourage and promote the use of sports as a source of job creation
6	Make Nigeria an IT/Professional Telecom services outsourcing destination hub, to create millions of jobs
7	Diversify the economy through a national industrial policy and innovative private sector incentives that will move us [Nigeria] away from over reliance on oil – into value-added production, especially manufacturing.
8	Fill the huge gap in middle level technical manpower with massive investment in technical and tradesmen’s skills education.
9	All foreign contractors to include a plan of developing local capacities (Technology transfer).
10	Develop a new generation of domestic oil refineries to lower import costs, enhance our [Nigeria] energy independence and create jobs.

Source: <http://www.buharimeter.ng/>



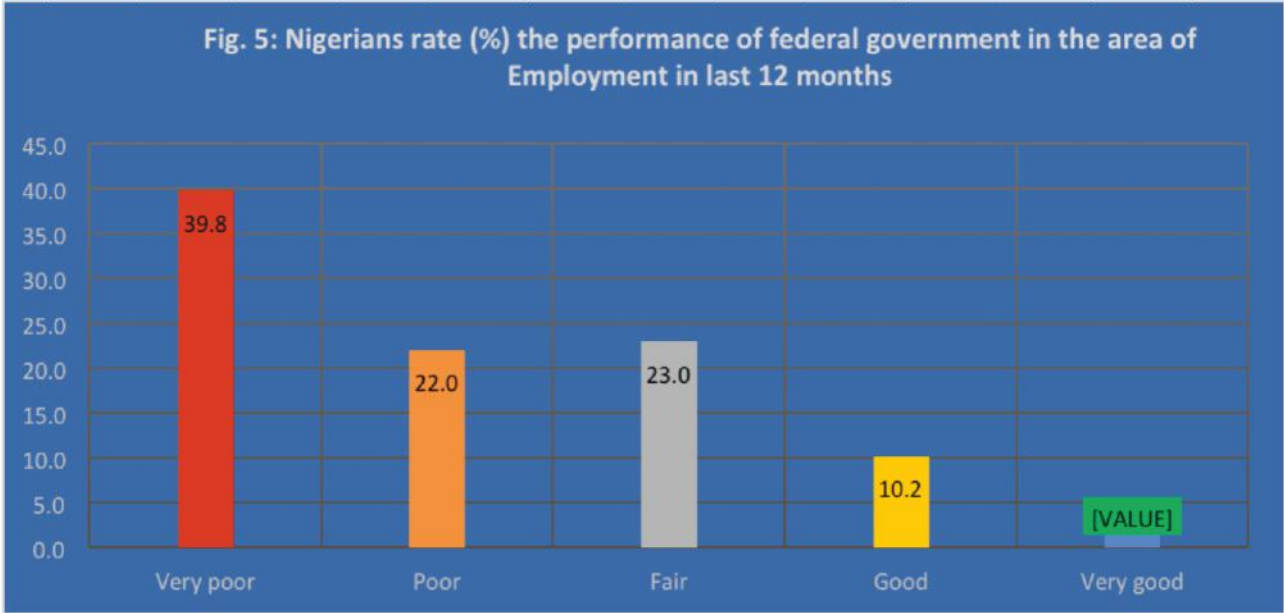
Notwithstanding these promises, the NBS 2016 report on unemployment rate reveals that the number of unemployed in the labour force increased by 1,449,18 people (increase of 518,000 between Q3 and Q4 2015) between Q4 2015 and Q1 2016 resulting in an increase in the unemployment rate to 12.1% in Q1 2016 from 10.4% in Q4 2015, 9.9% in Q3 2015 and 8.2% in Q2 2015. Nigeria was therefore unable to create the 1.5m jobs required between Q4 2015 and Q1 2016 to keep the unemployment rate constant at 10.4% in Q4 2015<sup>39</sup>.

So far, the government has adopted a multi-sectorial approach to create jobs through recruitment, vocational training and skills development and facilitating access to soft loans and credit facilities. For example, the federal government, in partnership with the Bank of Industry (BoI), recently launched the Youth Entrepreneurship Support (YES) programme aimed at developing the entrepreneurial capacity of youth by providing start up loans at concessionary interest rates to support their business plans. This laudable move by the government aligns with its promise to work with the banking sector to increase funds to businesses.

Against the backdrop of the Buhari administration's promises and actions to address unemployment, we asked Nigerians to rate the performance of government in the area of employment generation. The result of the survey (shown in figure 5) indicates a low rating of the government's employment generation programme by the respondents. Nearly two-thirds of the respondents rate the government's performance in employment generation as either "very poor" (39.8%) or "poor" (22%).

---

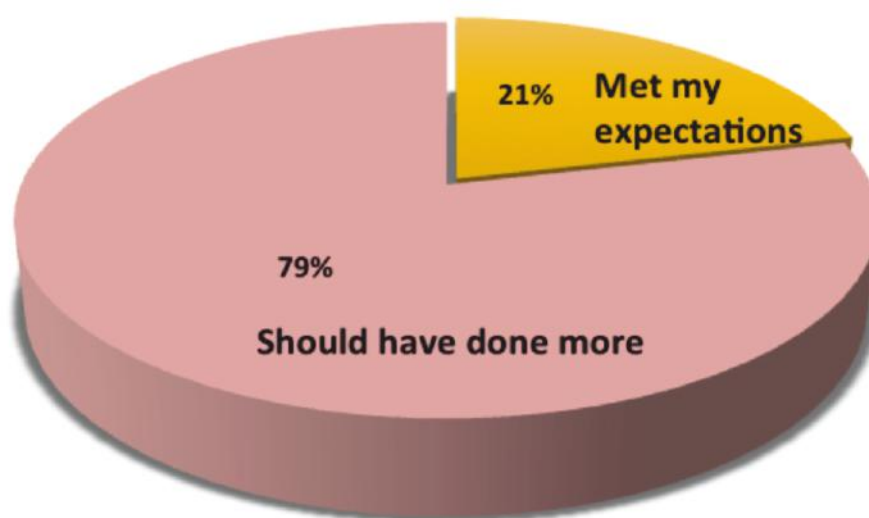
39 NBS (2016) Unemployment/Underemployment Watch assessed at <http://nigerianstat.gov.ng/report/397> on the 27th of May, 2016



Source: Buharimeter Project National Survey by CDD, May 2016

Less than a third of the respondents indicated that the government's efforts in the past year met their expectations, while a majority of the respondents (79%) thought that the government could have invested more to address unemployment in the country.

**Fig. 6: Expectations of Nigerians from Federal Government in curbing Unemployment**



Source: Buharimeter Project National Survey by CDD, May 2016

Among the promises on employment, two key issues dominate the debate: entrepreneurship and the creation of 3 million jobs. From the findings during the survey, entrepreneurship development appears to be largely acknowledged as the key to resolving the issue of employment in Nigeria. From Table 12, it can be seen that most Nigerians surveyed in the Buharimeter national survey, especially the youth, are aware that the federal government have started Youth Entrepreneurship Support Programme (YES). Similarly, a large number of youths are of the view that the YES programme is a good approach and will solve the problems of employment. However, the success of this programme essentially depends on its implementation and federal government commitment to ensuring that its set out goals are achieved.

**Table 12: Commencement of the Youth Entrepreneurship Support (YES) Programme**

Government has commenced the YES Programme	Do you know about this?			Do you think it is a good approach?			Do you think this can solve the problem?		
	Yes	No	No response	Yes	No	No response	Yes	No	No response
Age									
18-25	25.0%	27.4%	19.9%	25.8%	25.2%	21.5%	25.3%	28.9%	21.2%
26-35	32.3%	30.0%	35.1%	31.7%	31.2%	33.0%	32.2%	29.5%	31.7%
36-45	24.1%	21.4%	21.9%	23.0%	23.9%	23.0%	23.3%	21.0%	24.5%
46-above	16.5%	19.6%	13.2%	17.5%	17.4%	14.5%	17.3%	18.4%	14.9%
No response	2.2%	1.6%	9.9%	2.0%	2.3%	8.0%	2.0%	2.3%	7.7%

Source: Buharimeter Project National Survey by CDD, May 2016

During the campaigns, the President and his party also promised to create 3 million jobs yearly, which raised hopes that his election would solve the problem of unemployment. At the end of the first year of the administration, it is debatable whether that number of jobs have been created. Although many Nigerians are aware of this promise and believe that it is a good approach and can solve the problem of unemployment (see Table 13), the challenge is for the government to deliver on this promise.

**Table 13: Promised to create 3 million jobs yearly in industry, public works & agriculture to curb unemployment.**

Promised to create 3 million jobs yearly in industry, public works & agriculture to curb unemployment.	% by responses	
		Yes
	No	18.7%
Do you know about this?	No response	2.3%
	Total	100.0%
Promised to create 3 million jobs yearly in industry, public works & agriculture to curb unemployment.	Yes	89.9%
	No	6.3%
Do you think it is a good approach?	No response	3.8%
Promised to create 3 million jobs yearly in industry, public works & agriculture to curb unemployment.	Yes	83.4%
	No	11.9%
Do you think this can solve the problem?	No response	4.7%

As part of the government's efforts to equip Nigeria's unemployed youth with technical know-how on Information, Communication and Technology (ICT), the federal government signed an MOU with Huawei in 2015 to train 2,000 Nigerians in the area of ICT. A similar MOU was also signed with Global Good on Technology Solution in the same year. It is, however, unfortunate that until the end of first year in office, there have not been obvious actions taken by the incumbent administration to commence the implementation of the MOUs.

If the above could be achieved, more Nigerians, especially the youth, would be gainfully employed. This initiative, as seen in Table 14, has been acknowledged by most Nigerians (80%) who confirmed is a good approach while 73% strongly believe that if successful, it help solve the problem of unemployment.



**Table 14: Perception of Partnership with Huawei of China**

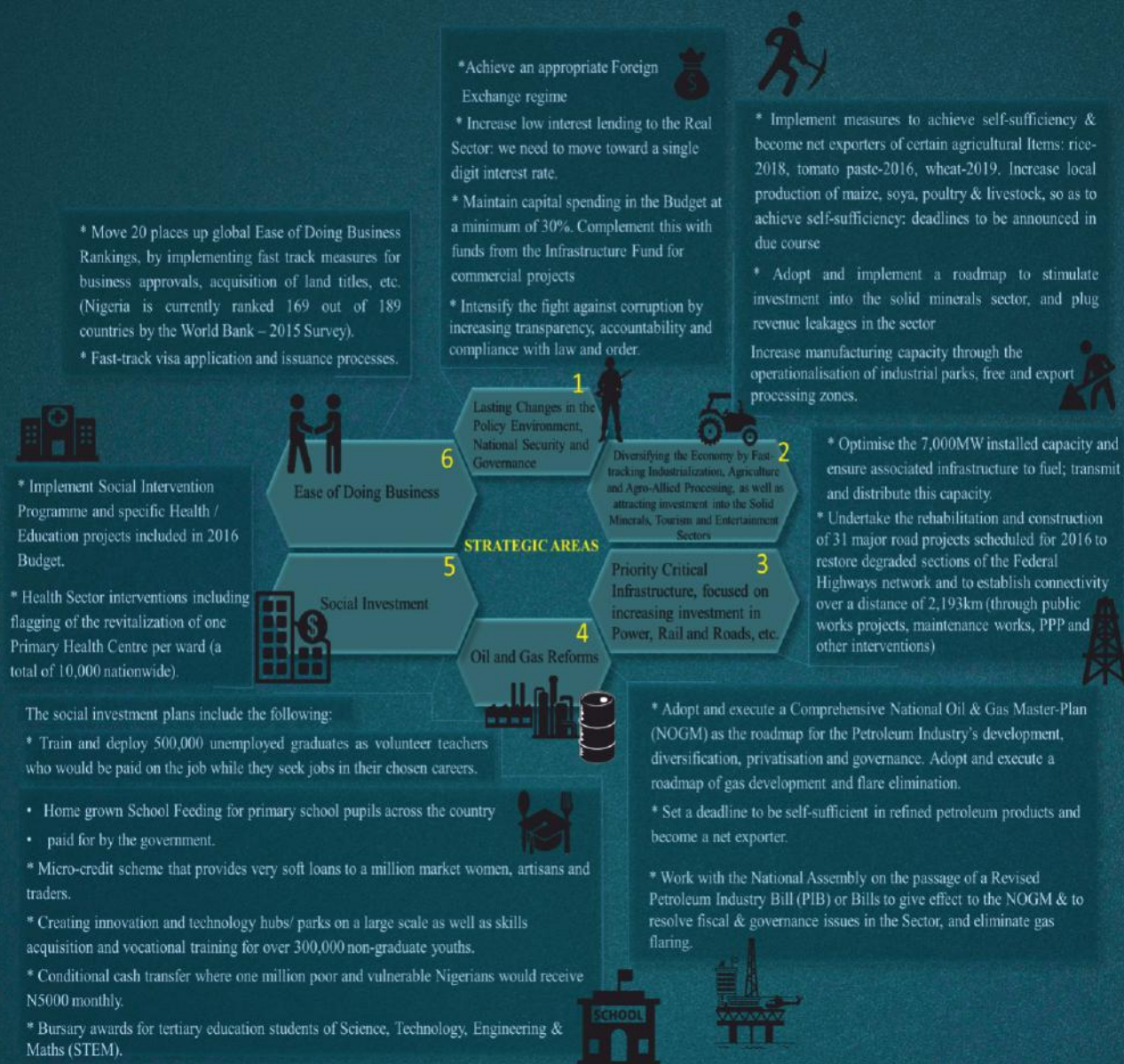
Federal government has signed and MOU with the Chinese Company, Huawei to train 2,000 Nigerians to create jobs in ICT:	% by responses	
Do you think it is a good approach?	Yes	80.1%
	No	13.8%
	No response	6.1%
Do you think this can solve the problem?	Yes	73.8%
	No	19.5%
	No response	6.7%

Source: Buharimeter Project National Survey by CDD, May 2016


The current administration has unveiled its economic agenda aimed at tackling the nation's current challenges. Table 15 below shows the federal government's economic blueprint under six thematic areas, including: enhancing stability in Nigeria's security and governance environment, diversifying the economy, boosting investment in the social sector, facilitating ease of doing business, reforming the oil and gas sector, and promoting infrastructural development.



## PRESIDENT BUHARI'S ECONOMIC PLAN TEMPLATE



Source: Presidency rolls out policy actions to revamp economy, <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/201422-presidency-rolls-policy-actions-revamp-economy.html>



A cursory look at the economic plan above suggests that the government is looking beyond the oil and gas sector, which has been the mainstay of Nigeria's economy for many years. In the face of the shortfall in the price of crude oil, the government has consistently re-affirmed its commitment to hasten the development of the non-oil sector, including Agriculture, Solid Minerals, Trade and Industry, as well as investing significantly in infrastructure (such as power, roads, etc.) to enhance speedy diversification of the country's economy.

To achieve this, the government has taken a two pronged approach, including the formulation of domestic policies and the facilitation of trade between Nigeria and other countries in the world. Below, we look at the state of different sectors that the government has identified to fast-track economic growth and development

## agriculture

Public discourse on the challenges affecting growth and development of Nigeria's agriculture sector is not new. Successive governments since the return to democracy in May 29, 1999 have formulated policies and programme to address these challenges in order to harness its full potential to create jobs and boost the revenue base of the country. Among these challenges are: lack of access to land for cultivation, lack of access to sustainable credit facilities, over-reliance on importation of food, rural to urban migration, infrastructure inadequacies and marketing.

Not surprisingly, during its campaign the current administration committed itself to addressing these problems as well as to revamping and revitalizing agricultural research institutions and agriculture extension programmes, and promoting a well-funded youth in agric-business programme.

In the past twelve months, the administration has developed an inter-agency approach to drive growth and development in the sector. The Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (FMARD), primarily tasked to boost the sector through policy formulation and implementation, has initiated the interventions outlined in the infographic below to reposition agriculture in Nigeria as one of the key drivers of economic growth and development.



# Key Actions

In the Agricultural Sector



## Agricultural Interventions



Set up four (4) National committees for the revitalization of the Agricultural sector.



Signed Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with an Indian firm for the establishment of a Bio-fertilizer factory and research center in Abuja.



Flagged-off the second phase of the Agricultural Equipment Hiring Enterprise (AEHE) in Ilorin, under the Mechanization Intervention Programme (MIP).



Launched Village Alive Development Initiative in Ilorin, Kwara State



Anchor Borrowers' Programme (ABP)

In partnership with CBN, launched Anchor Borrowers' Programme in Kebbi State to boost rice production. Its pilot phase hinged on the following programmes:

- ✓ Outgrowers support programme
- ✓ Training farmers, extension workers & banks
- ✓ Risk mitigation

Source: Obinna Chima, Boost for Economic Diversification, Thisday Newspaper, April 27, retrieved at <http://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2016/04/27/boost-for-economic-diversification/>



ACGS

Continues the Agriculture Credit Guarantee Scheme (ACGS), which started in the 1970's.

Source: CBN (2015), Economic Report, retrieved at <https://www.cbn.gov.ng/Out/2016/RSD/CBN%20Economic%20Report%20for%20November%202015.pdf>



Commenced the process of phase 3 of Agricultural Equipment Hiring Enterprise (AEHEs)



### Local Agro-machinery Exhibition

Approved the first-ever local agro-machinery fabricators' exhibition and stakeholders' workshop on standardisation of agro-machinery.



### IFAD credit

Secured credit from IFAD for the implementation of Climate Change Adaptation and Agribusiness Support Programme (CASP) within the Savannah belt of Nigeria and finalized recruitment of project team.

## Gains of the Intervention

### Anchor Borrowers' Programme

78,581

Farmers have been engaged under the scheme in Kebbi with total disbursements of N4,936,321,400 as at April 22nd, 2016.

573,958

Direct and indirect jobs were created and saved.



### Agriculture Credit Guarantee Scheme (ACGS)

N783.8m

was guaranteed to farmers under the ACGS in November, 2015.

5,420

Farmers benefitted from the Agricultural Credit Guarantee Scheme.

It is however important to note that out of 19 promises made to boost the agricultural sector, only 4 (21%) are ongoing and the government has not made any effort towards the achievement of 15 (79%) promises.



## solid minerals

Nigeria has a large reserve of underexploited solid minerals including barite, gold, limestone, gemstones, granite, lead and zinc. The sector was targeted by the previous administration to contribute 5% and 10% to GDP in 2015 and 2020 respectively. However, in 2015, it contributed approximately 0.46% to GDP<sup>40</sup>, which is a reversal of the historically higher percentage in the 1960s and 1970s. In the early 1970s, the country was a major exporter of columbite and coal. However, this production level began to fall when crude oil became the mainstay of Nigerian economy<sup>41</sup>.

Over the years, successive administrations in Nigeria have made efforts to increase production in the solid minerals sector. The year 1999 saw key changes in this regards, including the passage of a new Nigerian Minerals and Mining Act, 2007, a Nigerian Mineral and Metals Policy (2008), the creation of a modern Mining Cadastral Office, refinement of the tax code and expansion in airborne mapping of the country to sharpen knowledge of the mineral endowments<sup>42</sup>. Despite this, as revealed in the 2014 report released by Fraser Institute, *Survey of Mining Companies*, Nigeria is among 10 countries at the bottom of Investment Attractiveness Index<sup>43</sup>. Factors that contribute to the current situation are insufficient geological data required by investors and policy makers, inadequate infrastructure, policy uncertainty, insufficient funding, lack of political will<sup>44</sup> and lack of adequate linkages.

The current administration plans to transform the solid mineral sector to bolster government revenue base, create jobs and support industrialisation in the country. As part of the broader industrialisation agenda, PMB and his party, APC, promised to create domestic capital base in export industries, guarantee a robust property rights to encourage investment, end ambiguity in mining legislation and promote transparency in tendering process for mining rights, amongst others, through design and development of strategic interventions in this sector. It was also promised that the coal industry (specifically in Enugu) and Ajaokuta steel complex would be revived.

---

40 Cyril Azobu (2015), Developing the Solid Minerals Sector: Quick Wins for the New Government. *PWC*. Accessed at: <http://www.pwc.com/ng/en/assets/pdf/developing-the-solid-minerals-sector-2015.pdf> on the 1st of May 2016.

41 KPMG (2014), Nigeria Mining Sector Brief, retrieved at [https://www.kpmg.com/NG/en/IssuesAndInsights/ArticlesPublications/Documents/Nigerian%20Mining%20Sector%20Brief\\_v1.pdf](https://www.kpmg.com/NG/en/IssuesAndInsights/ArticlesPublications/Documents/Nigerian%20Mining%20Sector%20Brief_v1.pdf) on the 1st of May, 2016.

42 May Agbamuche-Mbu, 'Solid Minerals: Ready for Takeoff with Launch of Roadmap,' *Thisday Newspaper*, April 5, 2016.

43 An overall Investment Attractiveness Index is constructed by combining the Best Practices Mineral Potential index, which rates regions based on their geologic attractiveness, and the Policy Perception Index, a composite index that measures the effects of government policy on attitudes toward exploration investment.

44 It was gathered during an interview conducted on the 29th of April, 2016 with stakeholders in the Ministry of Solid Minerals Development that reform of the sector stopped in 2012 and since then, there has been no dedicated effort by government to address the perennial challenges confronting the sector



In the past twelve months, the following steps have been taken to scale up contribution of the solid minerals sector to Nigeria's economy:

## Key Actions

In the Solid Minerals Sector



- 

Developed a draft roadmap to strategically rebuild the sector and unlock its full potential in short, medium and long term.
- 

Facilitated signing of agreement for the construction and equipping of granite mining plant in Nigeria between Granite and Marble Nigeria Ltd and Shanghai Shibang valued at \$55m.
- 

Currently embarking on exploration of minerals assets to establish the quality and quantity of their concentrations in different states of the federation.
- 

Commenced a process of incorporating illegal miners into the formal space of mining activity.
- 

Facilitating the establishment of cooperative system through banks to enhance financial sustainability of illegal miners.
- 

Concluded its plan on prioritization of mineral assets
- 

Establishment of inter-agency collaboration (involving Ministries of Solid Minerals, Transportation and Justice) for speedy resolution of court cases associated with revival of Ajaokuta Steel Industry.



## power

The current status of electricity generated in Nigeria with regards to its population is grossly inadequate. In a country with a population of over 150m, it was estimated that Nigeria needed to generate 300,000MW of electricity by 2030 to sustain its energy needs<sup>45</sup>. Regrettably, for over 50 years of independence, the relationship between generated electricity and *per capita* energy consumption has not been encouraging. During the 2015 electioneering process, PMB and his party, APC, made 18 campaign promises<sup>46</sup> to address the problem of unsteady power supply and infrastructure deficit in the country as a means of building sustainable economy. However, an assessment of his performance in the sector reveals that generated electricity measured in terms of Megawatt (MW) has relatively improved but is still consistently faced with the problem of sustainability.

At the tail end of Goodluck Jonathan's administration, Nigeria witnessed a decline in power output to an all-time low of 1,327MW in May, 2015<sup>47</sup>. On 29 July 2015, the management of the Transmission Company of Nigeria announced that the national grid transmission has recorded an increase from 4,000MW in early July to a peak of 4,810.7MW,<sup>48</sup> as of 25 August 2015. This reached its highest peak of 5,074MW in February, 2016 due to increase in gas supply into the existing power plants in the country. However, the advancement was short-lived following inactiveness of many power stations and sub-units was caused by limited gas supply, water shortage, transmission constraints and maintenance. For example, in February, 2016 the Olorunsogo power station operated under the National Independent Power Projects (NIPP) was reportedly shut down, reducing power generation by 600MW<sup>49</sup>. As of 9 March 2016, the capacity of electricity dropped to as low as 1,580.6MW<sup>50</sup> which later increased to 2,030MW<sup>51</sup> and 3,902MW towards the end of March and April, 2016 respectively.

---

45 The Director-General of Energy Commission of Nigeria (ECN), Engr. Eli Jidere Bala, was quoted to have revealed this at the opening ceremony of a 2-day stakeholders workshop organised by the Nigeria Society of Engineers (NSE) with the theme, "Implementation of Sustainable Development Goals in Nigeria: Engineering Perspective".

46 This, amongst others, includes undertaking of urgent power audit of the nation, promotion of investment in key national and state infrastructure projects, embarking on National Infrastructure Development Programme, extension of regional and national power grid, creating an inland waterway transport system.

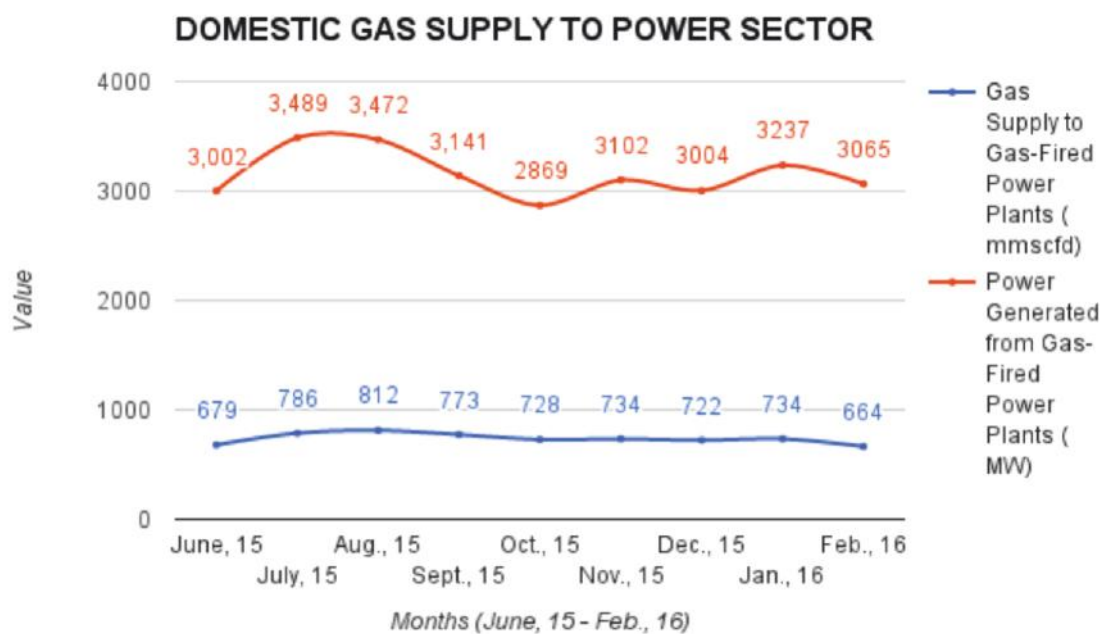
47 Nigeria's power generation at "all-time low" crashed to 1,327MW, *Premium Times*, May 22, 2015 Accessed at: <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/183496-nigerias-power-generation-at-all-time-low-crashes-to-1327mw.html>].

48 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>

49 Power generation slides to 4245MW, <http://guardian.ng/business-services/power-generation-slides-to-4245mw/>

50 Power generation drops to 1,580.6MW, <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2016/03/power-generation-drops-to-1580-6mw/>

51 Power generation falls to 2,030MW, <http://businessnews.com.ng/2016/04/01/power-generation-falls-to-2030mw>



Source: NNPC Financial and Operation Reports (August, 2015 to February, 2016)

The chart above reveals an implicit relationship between gas supply and the amount of generated electricity; albeit there are other challenges such as vandalism of gas pipelines that have further limited the gas supply available for power generation. It is obvious from the chart that as the country witnesses an increase in gas supply to power plants, output in terms of generated power increases but not at an equal level. For example, the number of gas supplied in February 2016 (3065mmscfd) is higher than the supply in October 2015 (2869 mmscfd), nonetheless, the amount of generated power for the latter month (728MW) is higher than the former, which is 664MW.


The resurgence of the militia group the Niger Delta Avengers (NDA), in the Niger Delta region has not helped the power situation in the country. A decline in the over 5,000MW of electricity attained in February, 2016 was as a result of government's failure to douse continuous vandalism of gas pipelines by the militia group. The prevailing state of the power supply in Nigeria currently has not created an enabling environment for investment as well as survival of Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) in most of the country. Given that out of Nigeria's 26 power plants, 23 plants are gas-fired, it is imperative that the government boost its effort to ensure security of gas pipelines, and, at best, diversify the country's power generation capacities by looking at other resources such as coal, wind, solar and hydro (water). Water is one of the major sources of power but this has not been fully harnessed. This is due largely to the fact that Phase II of the National Integrated Power Projects (NIPP), which covers the construction of 11 hydro dams in Northern Nigeria, has not been executed.

Notwithstanding this development, the federal government has undertaken the following steps to address the power problem in the last year:

## Key Actions

In the Power Sector



 **1,200MW**

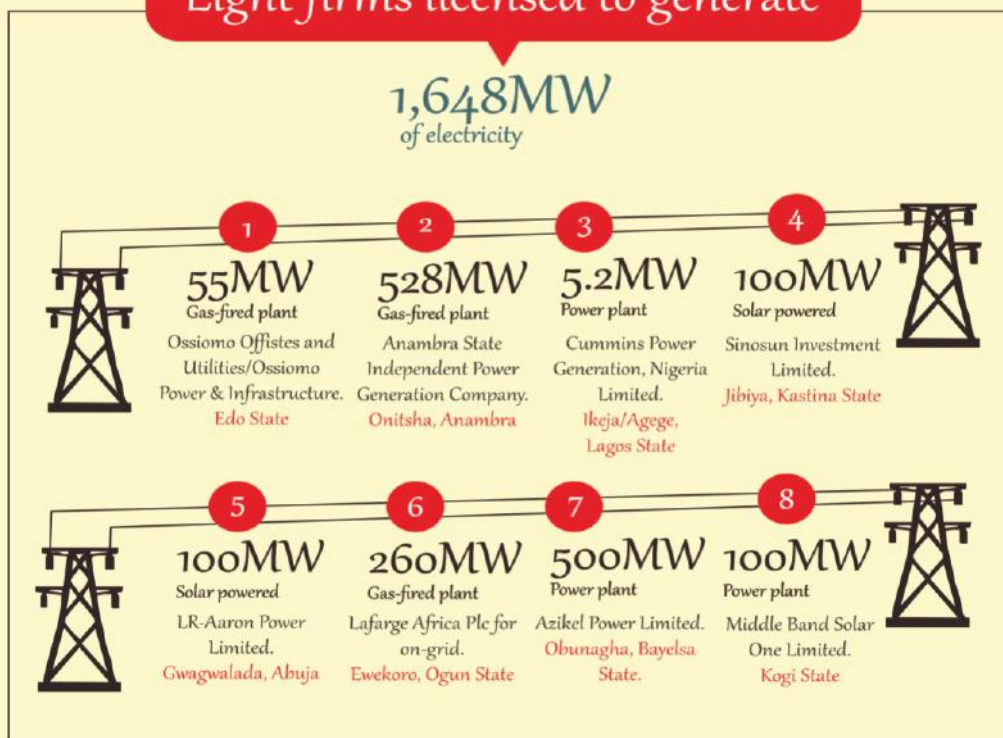
Licensed the ETA-Zuma to construct power plant in Itobo community of Kogi State by the end of 2016 to generate 300MW at initial stage out of agreed 1,200MW to be generated.

 **45%**  
Increase

Increased electricity tariff by 45% and mandated DISCO to hasten the process of pre-paid meter distribution.

### Eight firms licensed to generate

**1,648MW**  
of electricity



**MoU**

Signed Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with Japan for emergency improvement of electricity supply facilities for communities around Abuja.



**MoU**

Signed Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with United Kingdom (UK) on Solar Energy to boost its power programmes and provide electricity to rural people



**300MW**  
Shiroro solar plant

Facilitated signing of an agreement between North South Power Company Ltd and Sinohydro Corporation for construction of 300 Mega Watts solar power in Shiroro, Niger State.

# transport

Investment in the transportation sector is also crucial to boosting investment, industrial growth and the economy. The current administration has not done much to address the deplorable state of the transportation system in Nigeria within the reporting period. Some experts have argued that non-availability of a budget developed by the government and in line with its policy ideals is partly responsible for this. It is however important to note that while poor intervention in this sector may be rationalised against this backdrop, government is a continuum and necessary interventions ought to have been made to ensure that *what should work, works*.

The government committed to the following, amongst others, during the campaign to make Nigeria's transport system better:

1. Reconstruct inter-state highways;
2. Modernise aviation sector and the nation's port;
3. Make inland waterway functional;
4. Ensure that all federal roads are safe and motorable;
5. Invest in intra-city metro lines and bus system, etc.

In the past twelve months, some noticeable steps have been taken to achieve these commitments. However, there is a need to do more as the country enters into the second year of the incumbent's administration in office. The infographic below presents a summary of PMB's actions in the transportation sector in the last year:



# Key Actions

In the Transportation Sector



## National Carrier

Set up a committee to work out modalities for the establishment of a national carrier for the country.

## Lagos Metro Rail Line

Infrastructure Bank Nigeria and Sinohydro Corporation Limited signed a \$2.5 billion agreement for development of Lagos Metro Rail Transit Red Line Project.

## Greenfield Expressway

An agreement was also reached by the Infrastructure Bank Nigeria and Sinohydro Corporation Ltd for an investment of \$1 billion for greenfield expressway for Abuja-Lagos-Ibadan.

## Bilateral Agreement

Government signed Bilateral Air Service Agreement (BASA) with Qatar to facilitate direct flights between major cities of the countries.

## \$200m

Approved \$200 million for the construction of Lagos Red Line Rail Project.



## oil & gas

Nigeria's oil and gas industry remains one of the largest in Africa<sup>52</sup>. Although its contribution to the country's economy is declining following a drastic fall in the international price of crude oil since 2014, it has a major share of the contribution to the revenue of the government. Ironically, Nigeria needs oil to stop over-reliance on oil. What this suggests is that as much as the diversification agenda of the government requires strong leadership, political will and good policies, it also requires money to fill the infrastructure gap, provide power and create and grow other industries that are holding the country back<sup>53</sup>. In Nigeria today, even if the government raises taxes, it is not practical to generate the huge amount of financial resources required to bring its diversification roadmap into fruition. For this to happen, challenges in the industry has to be addressed. These include wastage of the country's resources and revenue loss, invention of a makeshift system by the nation's sole oil cooperation for financing its operations, discretionary retaining of ever-growing revenue and unbalanced Offshore Processing Agreements (OPA).

It is in recognition of the need to bolster the sector for economic growth and development that the incumbent administration, in the prelude to the 2015 general election, emphasised its commitment to address its many challenges. The President and his party pledged to revive and optimise the performance of existing refineries in Nigeria and make the NNPC more effective and efficient. Recognising the impact of the growth of the sector on unemployment and poverty in Nigeria, the President promised to develop the capacity of the petroleum sector to create job opportunities and provide energy to other sectors to drive its economic diversification agenda.

The incumbent administration has in fact taken some bold steps to reposition the oil and gas industry over the past year to create jobs, increase the nation's revenue base and boost the economy. The infographic below summarises the interventions:

---

52 The resurgence of militancy in the South South with the emergence of the Niger Delta Avengers has negatively impacted on Nigeria's output in the oil and gas sector. Frequent bombing of strategic crude oil pipelines by the militant group had resulted in an historic decline of about 750,000 barrels per day.

53 Outlook of the Nigerian oil and gas market, September 2015, Accessed at: [http://www.dentons.com/en/insights/alerts/2015/september/15/outlook-for-the-nigerian-oil-and-gas-market?utm\\_source=Mondaq&utm\\_medium=syndication&utm\\_campaign=View-Original](http://www.dentons.com/en/insights/alerts/2015/september/15/outlook-for-the-nigerian-oil-and-gas-market?utm_source=Mondaq&utm_medium=syndication&utm_campaign=View-Original) on the 26th of May 2016



# Key Actions

In the Oil and Gas Sector



Granted licence to 65 Nigerian companies to construct modular refineries with capacities ranging from 1,000 to 10,000 barrels per day.



Cancelled contract for delivery of Crude Oil to Refineries to reduce cost and the use of marine vessels to strengthen operational efficiency across its value chain.



Offshore Processing Agreements (OPA) Terminated

Reviewed and terminated Offshore Processing Agreement (OPA), and opened a bid for award of fresh OPA with 101 Nigerian and multinational companies competing for the deal.



\$1.2bn Drilling finance

Secured a \$1.2billion multi-year drilling financing package for 36 Offshore/ Onshore Oil wells under the NNPC /Chevron Nigeria Limited Joint Venture



Using tracking technology to protect pipeline vandalism.



Pruned top management personnel of the state-owned firm from 122 to 83 and reduced directorates from 8 to 4.



Cancelled Oil and Gas partnership inspection and monitoring agent's tendering process.



Issued 21 licenses for construction of refineries.



Released a new framework for Petroleum Products Supply, Distribution and Pricing which resulted to an increase of fuel pump price from N86/N86.5 to N143/N145.



New Pricing Framework



Co-Location of Refineries

Released a tender for Co-Location of Refineries to increase the nation's refining capacity from 445,000 barrels per day to 650,000 barrels per day.

There have been several improvements in the industry, which are encouraging. In order to introduce and entrench transparency into the "crude oil for product transaction" by the corporation and in line with global best practices, NNPC switched to Direct-Sale-Direct-Purchase arrangement to replace offshore processing and crude swap arrangement which hitherto resulted in huge losses (about 30% loss per cargo) as crude oil was exchanged for petroleum products through credible third party traders at a pre-determined yield pattern<sup>54</sup>. In addition, NNPC is currently being restructured into autonomous entities to reposition the corporation for high performance, and undertaking rehabilitation work targeted at running all refineries at a minimum of 70% capacity utilization within the next 6 – 8 months<sup>55</sup>, amongst others. Licenses for construction of modular refineries have been issued. However, no meaningful impact has been made in the past year.

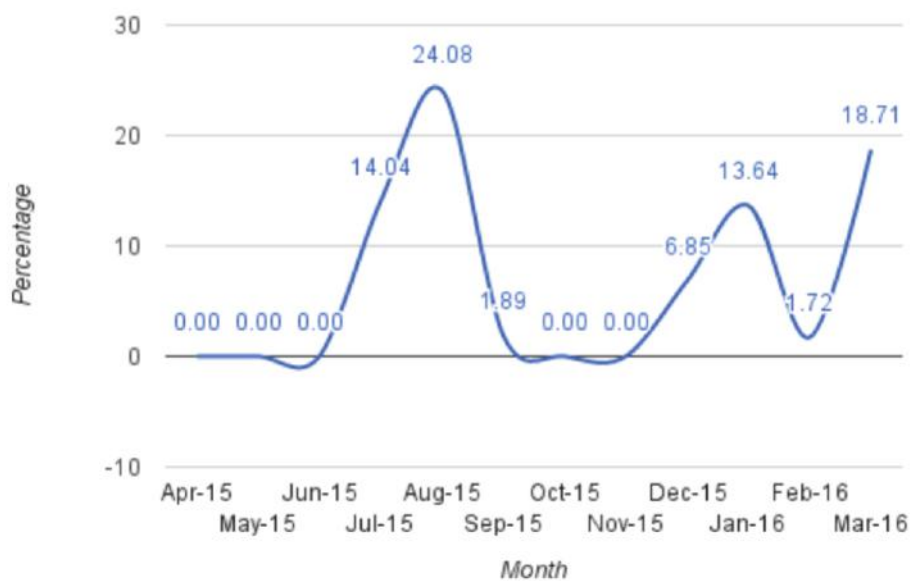
Notwithstanding these bold steps, the situation seems not to have changed as expected and promised. The quest to revive Nigeria's refineries has been met with many challenges for years. Despite spending a huge amount to carryout maintenance of the existing refineries, they were operating at zero capacity when the President took over in May 2015. As the graph below indicates, the administration grappled with the non-performance of the refineries in the first month in office until their consolidated operations increased from 0.00% to 24.08percent, which has been the highest so far, in August 2015. It has since fluctuated – dropping to 0.00% again in October 2016, before rising again in December 2015. As at March 2016, the refineries operated at 18.71% capacity

---

54 NNPC vows to end fuel scarcity, *Vanguard*, Accessed at: <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2016/03/nnpc-vows-to-end-fuel-scarcity/> on the 29th of March, 2016

55 Direct Sale-Direct Purchase to Replace Crude Swap, takes off March – Kachikwu, Accessed 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> on the 3rd of March 2016

### REFINERIES OPERATIONS CONSOLIDATED (12 MONTHS PERFORMANCE)

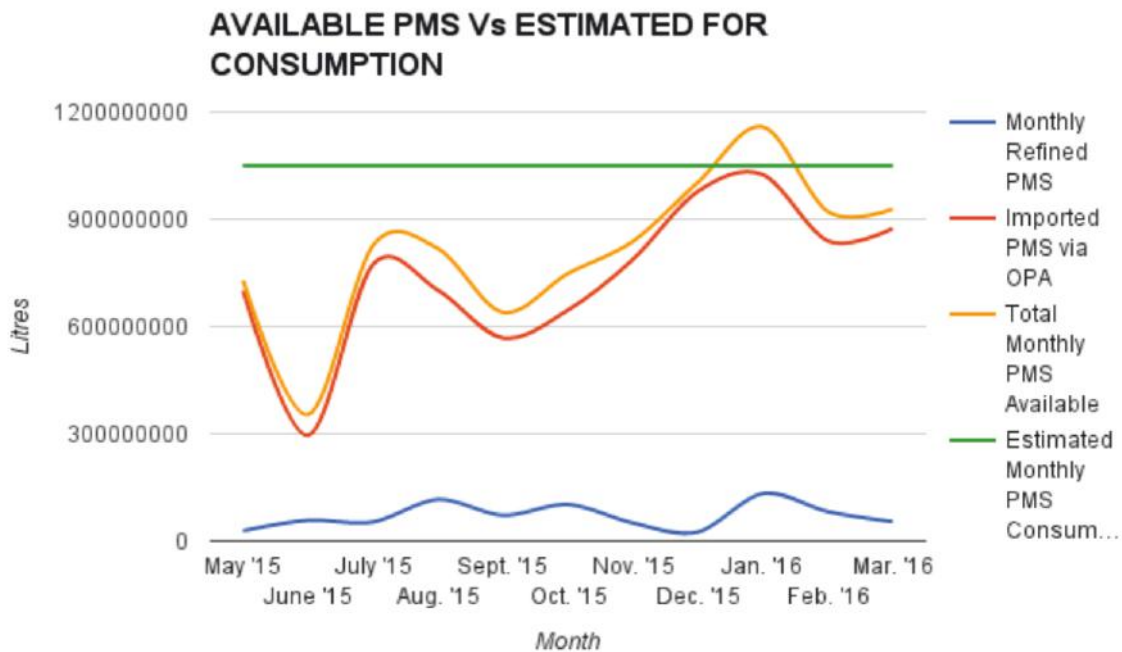


Source: NNPC, Financial and Operations Report, March 2016,

Some of the major problems arising from the government's failure to address the problem of low capacity of refineries in the past year are: the country's inability to meet its local demand for fuel consumption, over-reliance on the imported fuel through Offshore Processing Agreement (OPA), shortage of gas supply to power generation, and re-emergence of an artificial fuel subsidy. With regards to the inability to meet demand for local consumption, the table below shows that most of the PMS available for local consumption is sourced through OPA following low capacity of local refineries. According to an NNPC report released in March 2016, the highest locally refined PMS (133,272,603) was attained eight months after the inauguration of PMB in May 2015. When this was added to the imported product, PMS available to Nigerians in January 2016 exceeded estimated monthly consumption. Nonetheless, the accomplishment did not last long as the succeeding months (February and March 2016) witnessed a drop in locally refined product by 38.1% and 59.3%.

**Table 15: Premium Motor Spirit availability (May 2015 – February 2015)**

Months	Monthly Refined PMS	Imported PMS via OPA	Total Monthly PMS Available	Estimated Monthly PMS for Consumption <sup>56</sup>
May '15	28,980,351	700,039,657.96	729,020,008.96	1,050,000,000
June '15	57,822,579	295,642,465.38	353,465,044.38	1,050,000,000
July '15	53,394,597	773,679,148.25	827,073,745.25	1,050,000,000
Aug. '15	116,464,509	701,294,113.85	817,758,622.85	1,050,000,000
Sept. '15	72,011,700	567,601,005.43	639,612,705.43	1,050,000,000
Oct. '15	102,469,833	645,641,292.96	748,111,125.96	1,050,000,000
Nov. '15	50,524,857	787,212,195.72	837,737,052.72	1,050,000,000
Dec. '15	25,197,390	977,838,435.39	1,003,035,825.39	1,050,000,000
Jan. '16	133,272,603	1,024,766,825.60	1,158,039,428.60	1,050,000,000
Feb. '16	82,378,971	838,987,566.07	921,366,537.07	1,050,000,000
March '16	54,236,640	873,819,205.62	928,055,845.62	1,050,000,000



Source: NNPC, Financial and Operations Report, March 2016,

<sup>56</sup> It is generally estimated that people in Nigeria consume at most 35 million litres of PMS daily. If this is multiplied by an average of 30 days per months, an estimate of 1.5 billion litres of PMS is consumed monthly.

It is not surprising that Nigerians experienced one of the longest reigns of fuel shortage as queues in oil retail outlets failed to disappear for months until May 2016, by which time the situation seemed to be relatively managed<sup>57</sup>. The realisation of the need to boost the nation's refining capacity, and address perennial economic challenges arising from the fuel shortage necessitated the government's decision to co-locate the refineries. In addition to the co-location of refineries is the introduction of a new framework for pricing, marketing and distribution of petroleum product, which principally aimed at liberalising the sector. Following the introduction of the new framework, the government has increased pump fuel price by 67% – from N86/N86.5 to N145. The negative economic implications of the new framework are apparent as the cost of many consumer goods have exponentially increased.

What is also worth interrogating is the relationship between the utilisation capacity of the refineries and local production of PMS. Although the refineries capacity level increased by over 900% (1.72% to 18.71%) from February to March 2016, the number of litres of PMS locally refined reduced by 34.16%. This gap needs to be uncovered for better understanding of how low capacity of refineries affects its outputs.

Also important in the conversation around fuel availability is the artificial increase in the pump price of petrol by independent marketers. Despite the introduction of the new framework, there are reported cases of some independent oil outlets selling far above N145. Taking a cue from the past few months, when the price was fixed at N86 for NNPC fuel stations and N86.50 for independent or major marketers' retail outlets, data from the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) shows that it is sold in most states of the federation far above the price. As revealed in the infographic below, the average price for the months of January, February and March 2016 is more than the re-adjusted price, though almost at par in Lagos State. Due to the shortage of PMS in March 2016, the price of fuel was severely swollen compared to January and February

---

57 NNPC supply and monitoring of PMS

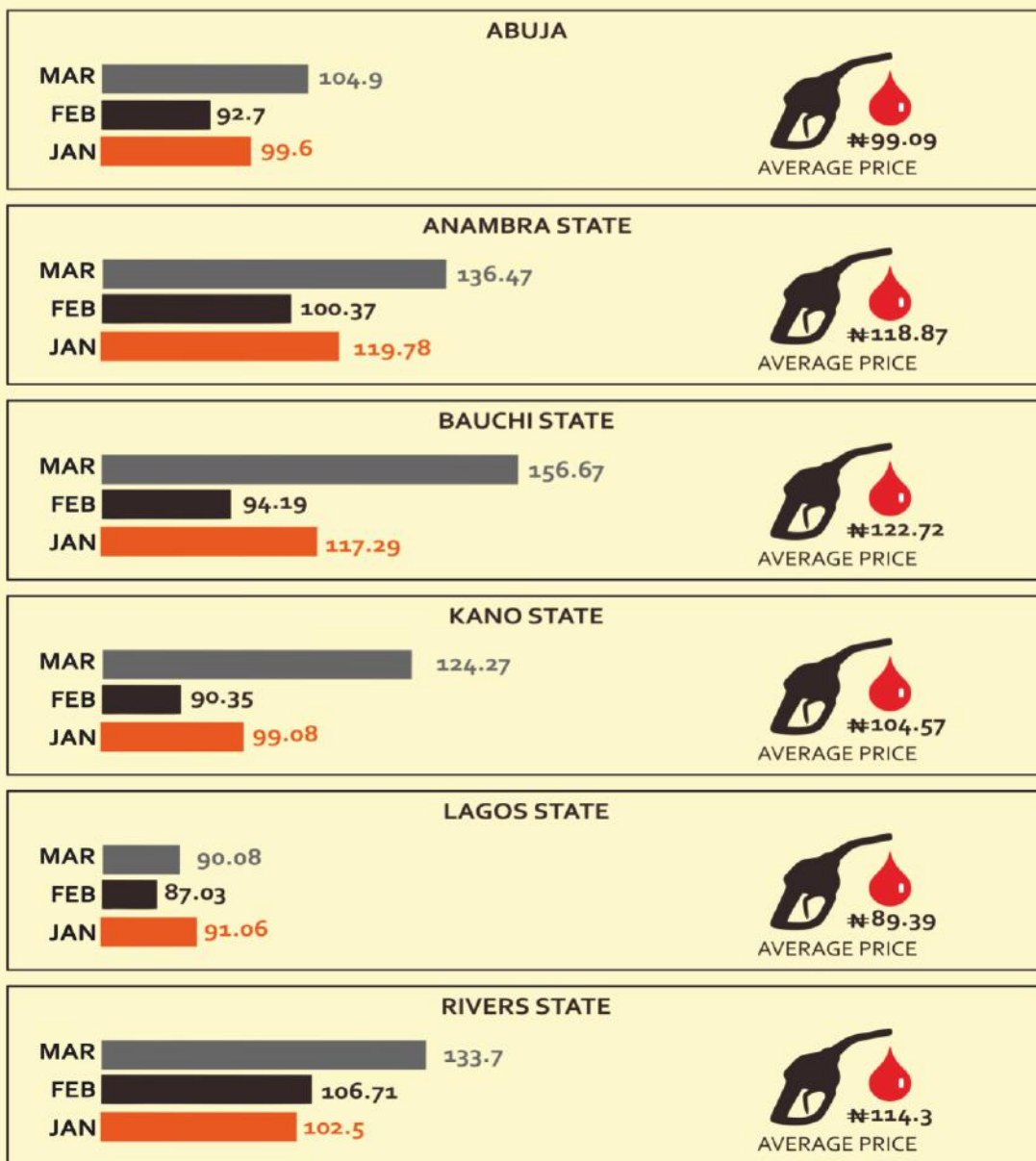


# Key Actions


Social Sector



## 2016 AVERAGE PETROL PRICE ACROSS 6 STATES (Value in ₦)







Apart from challenges facing the refineries, what is central to the government's agenda is reducing the activities of pipeline vandals. This singular stride would be sufficient to address the problem of power shortage, boost the revenue base of the nation and confidence of private investors in the sector.

Incidentally, NNPC reportedly loses N470m daily over pipeline vandalism<sup>58</sup> and has spent N103billion to repair vandalised pipelines<sup>59</sup>. The Niger Delta Avengers (NDA) has continuously embarked on its disruptive attacks on oil facilities and hit at the very heart of the country's primary source of income.

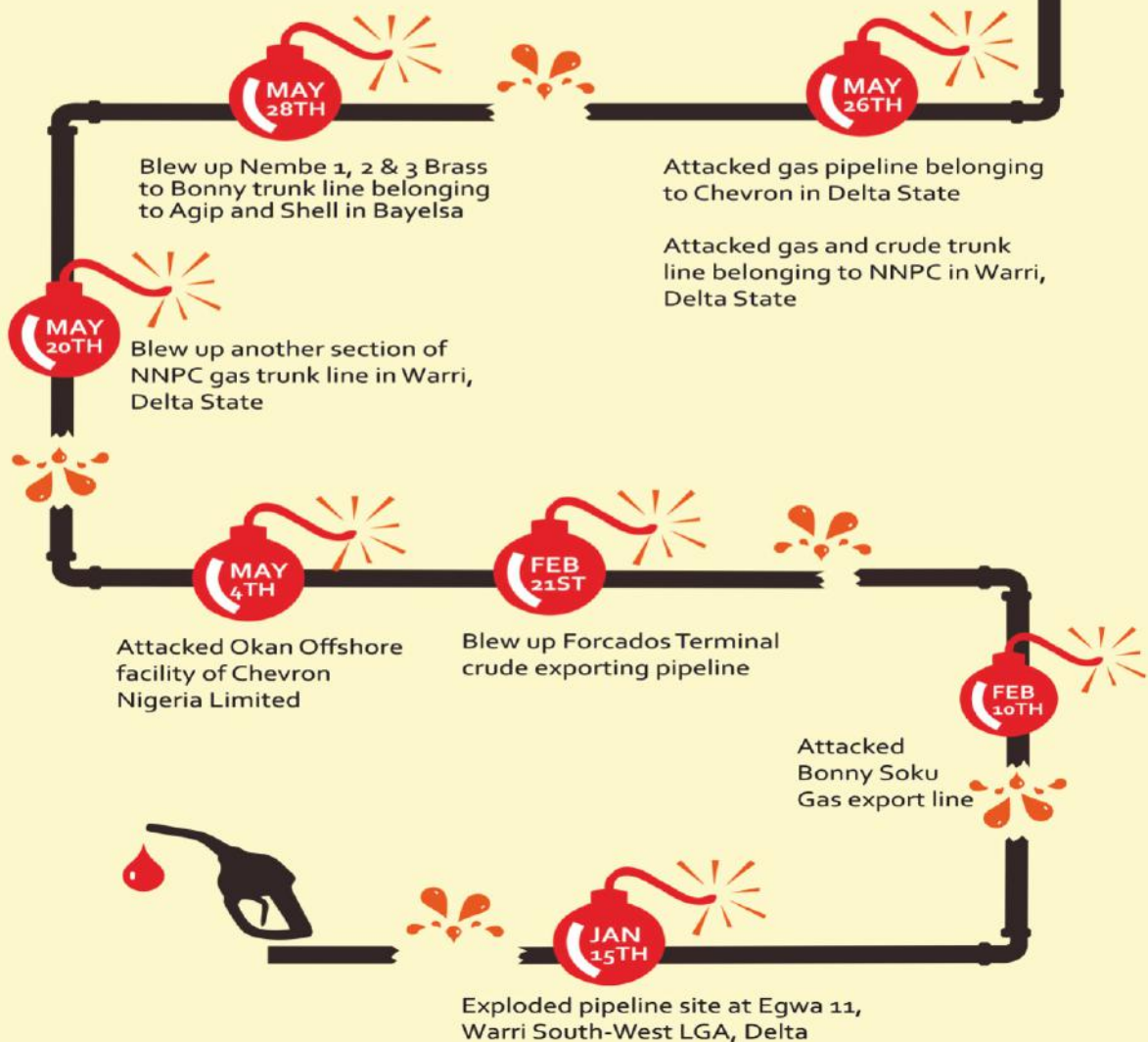
---

58 Nigeria loses N470m daily over pipeline vandalism, *Daily Trust*, Accessed at: <http://www.dailytrust.com.ng/news/general/nigeria-loses-n470m-daily-over-pipeline-vandalism/130553.html#ydMjb89y0FdEaX6B.99> on the 27th of January 2016

59 NNPC spent N103bn on pipeline repairs in 2015, *Daily Trust*, Accessed at: <http://www.dailytrust.com.ng/news/general/-nnpc-spent-n103bn-on-pipeline-repairs-in-2015/132322.html> on 7th February, 2016



## Niger Delta Avengers Attacks on Crude Oil Installations



It behooves the government to re-strategise its approach on the deployment of military to redress the worsening situation.

It is essential to note that the President's appointment of himself as the Minister of Petroleum and Mr Ibe Kachikwu as the State Minister of Petroleum, who also doubles as the Managing Director of the NNPC, reflects the daunting need to address key challenges in the sector - of which ensuring transparency in the sector is central. One of the key developments which arose from this quest was the monthly release of financial and operation report of the Corporation. A report released by the Natural Resource Governance Institute (NRGI) indicted the state-owned firm for withholding over \$4.2 billion (about N824.7 billion) out of a total of \$6.3 billion (N1.24 trillion) revenue realised from crude oil sales in the first six months of PMB in office. According to the report, the withheld revenues represented about 66% of the total revenue – \$1.4 billion earnings from Nigeria's regular crude oil exports for the period; \$3.4 billion from domestic crude oil sales, and \$1.5 billion from oil sold from the corporation's upstream subsidiary, the Nigerian Petroleum Development Company, NPDC oil fields<sup>60</sup>.

Within the reporting period, out of the 11 election campaign promises made by the current administration, four are ongoing, while seven are yet to be rated. Over the past year, government's efforts have been directed towards ensuring optimal utilization of refineries, making fuel available to Nigerians, promoting transparency and boosting private sector investment in the sector.

## 4. SOCIAL SECTOR AND OTHER SECTORIAL ISSUES

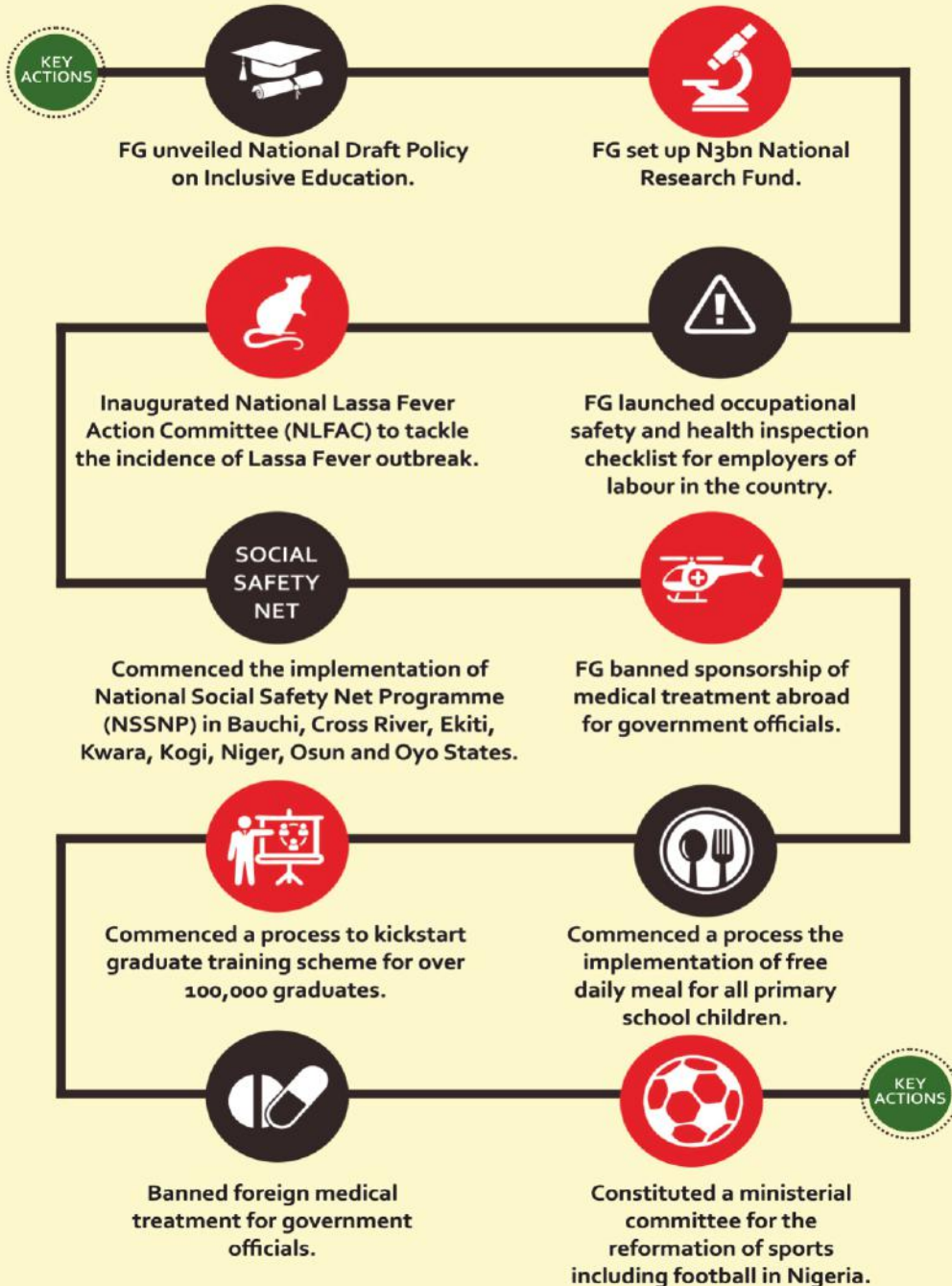
Critical to the government's effort to boost the economy is the ability to boost the social sector, including education, health, water and sanitation and housing. Within the period under review, the incumbent administration performed low in the delivery of promises made in the prelude to the 2015 general election. From all indications, the government is yet to roll out concrete and comprehensive policy frameworks to engender the development of the sector and achieve its electoral promises. Rather, governance of these sub-sectors in the past year have been characterised by re-acknowledgement of challenges plaguing the sector, re-commitment to and re-affirmation of government willingness to addressing the challenges. In fact, out of 65 campaign promises made (including Social Safety Net (3), Housing (6), Education (30), Health (8), Water and Sanitation (5), and Sport & Culture (13)), only three (4.62%) are ongoing while 62 (95.38%) are not yet rated

---

60 Aaron Sayne, Alexandra Gillies and Christine Katsouris (2015), *Inside NNPC Oil Sales: A Case for Reform in Nigeria*, published by the Natural Resource Governance Institute (NRGI), Accessed at: [http://www.resourcegovernance.org/sites/default/files/documents/nrgi\\_insidenpcoilsales\\_mainreport.pdf](http://www.resourcegovernance.org/sites/default/files/documents/nrgi_insidenpcoilsales_mainreport.pdf) 3rd December 2015.

# Key Actions

Social Sector



Within the period under review, the administration has shown little commitment to the implementation of recommendations of the United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) Assessment on Ogoniland. In 2015, it approved a \$10m take-off grant for clean-up of Ogoniland, as recommended in the report. However, there is no strong indication that this has commenced.

In the spirit of addressing sheer impunity by the executive arm of government, the current administration promised to remove the immunity clause from the constitution. In addition, an open governance initiative is intended through an amendment of the constitution to require state and federal governments to publish the minutes of their meetings, service performance data and spending items over N100m, amongst others. However, government has not taken any steps towards achievement of these promises.

## RATING GOVERNANCE TRENDS AGAINST CAMPAIGN PROMISES

In the Buharimeter, CDD developed four categories to estimate the degree of performance of the PMB-led administration.<sup>61</sup> These are *Achieved*, *Not Achieved*, *Ongoing* and *Not yet rated*. *Achieved* promises are those that have been fully actualised, *Not Achieved* are those that have neither been actualised nor seen any efforts to actualise them, while *Ongoing* are promises that have seen some action towards their actualisation, but are not fully actualised. *Not yet rated* is used to indicate those promises for which there is no evidence to support their categorisation.

As Table 16 shows, the government has made progress in a larger number of campaign promises rated as *Ongoing* compared to the President's performance in the first 7 months (May 29 to December 31 2015) in office. Between January 1 and May 28 2016, the number of electoral promises rated as ongoing increased by 40% (from 27 to 45). This boost occurred in the the following sectors: National Defence and Security, Social Safety Net, Sport, Agriculture and Employment. The 45 ongoing promises constitute 20.27% of the 222 tracked electoral promises.

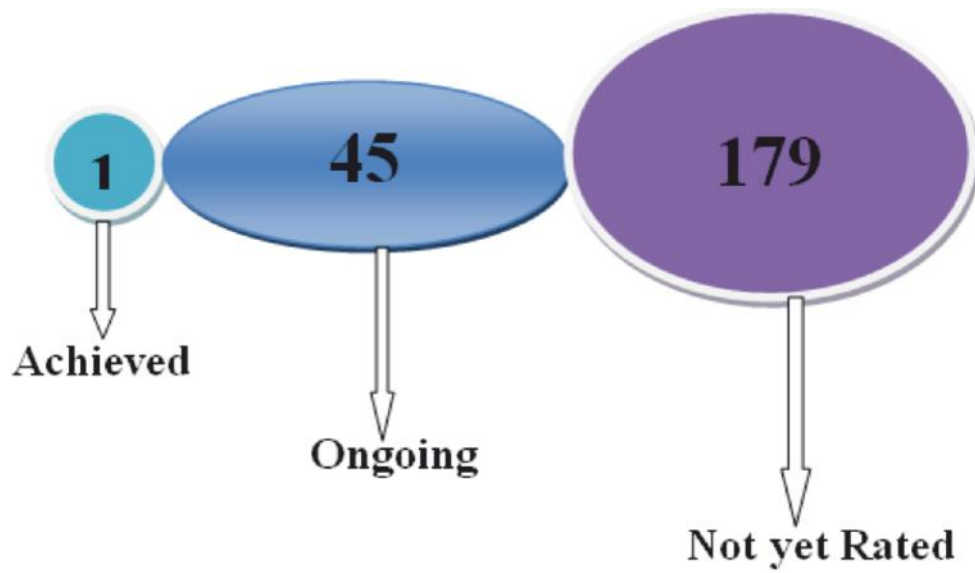
---

61 These categories are merely heuristic and should not be seen as a perfect rating system. For instance, the boundary of the Not achieved category may be difficult to fix because what is not achieved yet may be either ongoing or has not started at all. However, the rating gives us a useful basis to "feel" how the government is doing on its campaign promises.

Table 16: Buharimeter Ratings on PMB Campaign Promises

Sector	Achieved	Not Achieved	Ongoing	Not Yet Rated
Corruption	1	0	6	6
Politics & Governance	0	0	0	11
National Security & Defence	0	0	10	12
Employment	0	0	4	6
Industrialisation	0	0	0	13
Agriculture	0	0	4	15
Education	0	0	0	30
Health	0	0	1	7
Environment	0	0	3	10
Niger Delta	0	0	1	2
Foreign Policy	0	0	1	6
Housing	0	0	0	6
Social Safety Net	0	0	1	2
Infrastructure	0	0	7	11
Oil and Gas	0	0	4	7
ICT	0	0	0	4
Sport & Culture	0	0	1	12
Women & Youth Empowerment	0	0	1	11
PWD	0	0	0	1
Water & Sanitation	0	0	0	5





In the same vein, the number of not yet rated promises has decreased by 9.27% (from 194 to 176). Nonetheless, within the period under review, PMB has only achieved 1 campaign promise, which constitutes 0.5% of all the tracked promises.

## CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: ALIGNING PROMISES, EXPECTATIONS AND ACTIONS

One lasting challenge that faces any government after elections is to match campaign promises, public expectations and policy actions. Policy uptake and impact are usually gradual and measured, yet public expectations are immediate and urgent. It should be expected that even with the best of intentions and commitment to its promises, there would be a lot of room for improvement in the performance of the Buhari administration after only one year in office. It is therefore understandable that many Nigerians surveyed for this report, while agreeing that the government's actions could potentially solve the problems facing the country, repeatedly indicated that the government needs to do much more. Certainly, there are identifiable gaps in the implementation of the administration's promises, as indicated by the Buharimeter. These gaps should form priority areas where the attention of government should be focused over the next year and beyond in order to effectively align campaign promises, public expectations and government actions.


### a. Corruption

There is no doubt that the PMB administration has demonstrated a strong commitment to rid the country of corruption through multiple approaches. In fact, the past year has seen an unwavering commitment on the part of the government to fight corruption. As the President once said "If we [Nigerians] do not kill corruption, corruption will kill us." His resoluteness on rooting out corruption is shared by the vast majority of Nigerians because of the longstanding negative impact of this social ill on the nation's development. However, there are lingering concerns in some sections of the public about the approach the war on corruption has so far taken. One of the major concerns is the lack of adherence to the rule of law in the administration's prosecution of the war on corruption.<sup>62</sup>

This is not unrelated to the methods used by the anti-graft agencies. The EFCC in prosecuting its war, for instance, accused several people of corrupt practices and detained them beyond what is stipulated in law, which is that an accused person must be brought before the court 48 hours after arrest. Furthermore, court orders are sometimes deliberately disregarded or circumvented as is obvious in cases of re-arrest and detention of suspects who have been previously granted bail, as well as the abuse of holden charges by the anti graft body. It is also worth noting that so far the corruption fight has only targeted members of the opposition (PDP), resulting in the perception that the fight is one sided and targeted at the opposition. It is imperative for the government to pursue the fight against corruption within the ambit of law and due process.

---

<sup>62</sup> The President has consistently pledged he is a reborn democrat and as such will adhere to the rule of law and follow due process. However, some methods used in the campaign appear to disregard the principle of rule of law.



To establish a robust system that promotes a corruption-free society requires autonomous anti-graft institutions that would independently drive a nationwide campaign against corrupt practices. Apparently, the current administration has actually kick-started a process to strengthen the capacities of existing anti-graft agencies in the country. But, this cannot be fully achieved without taking practical steps to implement its electoral promises of guaranteeing financial and prosecutorial independence, as well as tenure of office for the agencies. Guaranteeing a system that enables independent operation of anti-graft agencies could have a huge positive impact on the operations of the agencies. Although important, the personality, will and "body language" of President Buhari are definitely insufficient to drive the anti-corruption war to a logical conclusion. Instead, it has to be institutionalised to have any hope of success and continuation beyond the life of this administration.

In addition, more attention should be paid to raising awareness against corruption among Nigerians from an early age. Primary and secondary school curricula should be carefully used to do this. Voluntary associations of young people such as Scouts and Guides should be revitalised and used to raise awareness among people from a young age. Indeed, since corruption is rooted in the minds of people, it is in the minds of people that a substantial part of the war against corruption must be waged.

The fight against corruption has to be inclusive. People should play major role in the fight by whistle blowing and exposing fraud and other forms of corruption in our society and at all levels of government. Exposing wrongdoing or financial improprieties in an environment where standards are lacking and whistleblowers are not protected will be almost impossible. After one year of PMB's administration, the Whistle Blowing Protection Bill has not been enacted and by implication Nigerians who are privy to materials that could assist in the campaign against corruption may not be willing to make them available. To make this happen, government needs to immediately pursue the enactment of the Whistleblowers Act. The enactment of the Act was one of the crucial points in the campaign of APC and thus must be immediately prioritised.

The government's attention also needs to be drawn to extra-constitutional immunity conferred on the President, Vice-President, Governors and Deputy-Governors. Under the 1999 constitution (as amended), the President and Governors are immune from civil suit, criminal process or indictment while in office. Although the insertion of this provision is rationalised on the grounds of preventing unnecessary interference with executive capacity, which may in turn affect its delivery of public goods, in the last 17 years of democratic government the country has seen executives hide under the immunity clause to perpetuate economic crimes. They have looted the country of huge financial resources that could have been ploughed into development projects. Despite PMB's and his party's commitment to remove this clause, not much has been done yet. Going forward, the administration should see this as an area of priority in any constitutional amendment.

Following Nigeria's failure to maximally utilize and harness its resources for human development, reform of the public procurement system was instituted, and this eventually culminated in the passage of the Public Procurement Act in 2007. This act provides for the establishment of a National Council on Public Procurement (NCP), a body conceived to promote transparency in the procurement process, thereby reducing corruption to its barest minimum. The council, if inaugurated, will be saddled with responsibilities such as considering and approving monetary thresholds for projects and making policies relating to procurement, amongst others. The inauguration of the NCP was one of the key promise of the APC in the prelude to the election. However, since inauguration, no concrete action can be discerned to inaugurate the Council. Inaugurating the Council is very critical in the fight

against corruption and curbing waste, especially at this time that the government has started the process of awarding contracts. To convince the public of its seriousness in the fight against corruption, the government should prioritise the inauguration of the National Council on Public Procurement (NCPP), strengthening the procurement process to block leakages by inaugurating the Council to play its oversight role.

## b. security

The Boko Haram insurgency has led to huge losses, both in terms of human lives and economic resources. Within the first year of the Buhari administration, over 2,307<sup>63</sup> deaths were recorded following the activities of the Islamic terror group. The government offensive against the terror group has yielded considerable positive outcomes as major attacks by the sect seem to have been reduced. Similarly, the capacity of the sect to hold territory has decreased and over 11,000 abducted persons, especially women and children, in March 2016 alone have been reportedly rescued<sup>64</sup>. Notwithstanding this remarkable outing, intermittent explosion of bombs at different check-points and hinterlands in the North East triggers worries about the capacity of the military and the effectiveness of inter-agency collaboration to win the war against the insurgency.

Related to winning the battle is the government's ability to win the hearts and minds of the people. Attempts by the government in this regard should transcend the deployment of the military or the adoption of an enemy-centric approach and include clear demonstration of efforts to combat poverty, fight against social injustice, and improve the daily lives of the conflict-ridden states' poor and marginalised people. Historical evidence suggest that military force has rarely been the primary reason that terrorist groups have ended. In fact, those rooted in religious ideology (which are larger and have wider networks), such as the radical Islamic group, are often difficult to end through military action.

What is paramount is the adoption of non-violent tactics and the tackling of the underlying root causes of the violent situation.

The government is currently piloting what it calls Operation Safe Corridor for repentant Boko Haram Members. However, there is also need to focus more on problems associated with social justice, education, health and re-distribution of wealth which are imperative to addressing poverty in the zone. Government should streamline its economic, social, political and security reform agenda in order to address the divergent causes of the insurgency.

---

63 Figures collated from the CDD ECOWAS Counter-Terrorism Tracker

64 See Nigerian Military 'Rescues 11,595 Boko Haram Hostages' in March, retrieved at

<http://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2016/04/06/nigerian-military-rescues-11595-boko-haram-hostages-in-march/> on April 7, 2-16

The reintegration of the Civilian Joint Task Force (CJTF) must also take priority in the government agenda. While the President has expressed his commitment to mainstream the CJTF into the country's security architecture, what is not clear is how many of them will benefit from such a recruitment exercise. It is also important to point out that the government re-integration must not be limited to recruitment only into the security services. The government must think carefully about what models of reintegration it adopts for the CJTF, answering questions such as whether it should differ from the model being adopted for liberated victims and repentant insurgents.

Government's response to the renewed Niger Delta militancy and agitations for the State of Biafra calls for serious concern. The country is currently grappling with the Boko Haram insurgency in the North East and cannot afford to simultaneously wage wars in two other geo-political zones of the country. Thus, it is worthwhile to explore alternative means, such as dialogue, in ending these conflicts. For instance, the renewed militancy in the Niger Delta by the Niger Delta Avengers is seriously impacting the fortunes of the country. Their continuous bombing of oil installations has not only led to the drop in power supply but also the country's oil production has dropped by an estimated 800,000 b/pd.<sup>65</sup> This unfortunately comes at a time when the price of oil has reached an all time high of \$50 per barrel. Prolonged disruption of oil installations and facilities will further increase the financial pains of the country.

There is a need for the government to immediately handle the security challenges and incessant killings arising from the protracted farmers and herdsmen conflicts lest it further divides the country. Between January and May 2016, an estimated 540 deaths were recorded from these conflicts. Considering the huge death tolls occasioned, the federal government response has so far been criticised. There is a need for the government to immediately and proactively ensure that the least draconian and divisive measures - such as the ban of the public cattle grazing adopted by the Ekiti State government following the attacks of Oke-Ako in Ikole Ekiti LGA by suspected herdsmen - are adopted by other states. It cannot be overemphasised that farming and cattle rearing are two production chains whose breakdown will inflict untold hardship on Nigerians.

Human rights abuses have reached an all time high in the last year. These can be defined in three ways: abuse by security agencies, abuse by criminal gangs such as Boko Haram and abuse by private individuals/vigilante justice. Human rights abuses associated with the military approach to ending conflicts reached an all time high over the year. The Shiite massacre in which the Kaduna State government have confirmed secretly burying a total of 347 dead<sup>66</sup>, the killings of the Biafra Protesters<sup>67</sup>, and the invasion of the Gbaramatu kingdom<sup>68</sup> in Delta State in search of members of the Niger Delta

---

65 Nigeria losing 800,000 barrels of oil daily – Kachikwu, *Vanguard*, retrieved at <http://punchng.com/nigeria-losing-800000-barrels-oil-daily-kachikwu/> on the 18<sup>th</sup> of May, 2016

66 The Secretary to the State Government (SSG), Balarabe Lawal, disclosed this in a government submission at the ongoing Public Hearing of the Judicial Commission of Inquiry into the clash- Kaduna Govt says 347 Shiites killed by Nigerian troops given secret mass burial- April 11, 2016 *PremiumTimes* Accessed at: <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/201615-kaduna-govt-says-347-shiites-killed-by-nigerian-troops-given-secret-mass-burial.html>

67 For instance, ten people were killed and another 20 injured during a national prayer during a demonstration by the Independent People of Biafra (IPOB) in Aba, Abia State. See: 10 pro-Biafra protesters 'die' in Aba, February 10, 2016 <http://thenationonlineng.net/10-dead-20-injured-in-pro-biafra-protest/>. Also a video allegedly showing Nigerian security forces attacking a pro-Biafra protester is circulating on social media.

68 Coalition of Gbaramatu communities in Warri South-West local Government Area (LGA) of Delta State alleged that the military operation in Oporoza was dehumanising as they molested, assaulted and brutalised people of the community. See *INVASION: Delta Communities slam Army Chief*, *Vanguard*, Accessed at: <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2016/06/invasion-delta-communities-slam-army-chief/>

Avengers are just a few examples of the security services abuse of human rights. Criminal gangs such as Boko Haram, suspected Fulani herdsmen and bandits are continuously violating human rights of Nigerian citizens. For instance the abduction of the girl child is yet to abate: Boko Haram and suspected herdsmen are continually raping and abducting girls and women. While all are egregious acts against human, it is in particular worrying that vigilante justice has risen in the last year to an unprecedented high in various part of the country. Private citizens are constantly taking the law into their own hands and killing and maiming suspects. This is not unrelated to the mounting insecurity and violence but is also caused by lack of trust in the judicial system.

The proliferation of Small and Light Weapons (SALW) in the country is one of the most serious factors in the intensification of social vices, conflicts and violent extremism. Concentration of arms in the hands of non-state actors has influenced the current rise in criminality and insecurity in Nigeria; especially in rural areas where security personnel are almost absent. Porous borders, lack of military intelligence and effective regulations are among the factors responsible for the explosion in access to arms and weaponry. To stem the tide of insecurity, the government must begin to redouble its efforts to ensure that necessary actions are undertaken to limit the movement of SALW in the country.


The government must also immediately evolve a new approach in its war against drugs. The country has gone beyond being a drug transshipment or destination country to one where drugs are heavily abused. In all the geo-political zones of the country, there are various drug problems, with the youth the most affected. It is important that a new policy which emphasises harm reduction, decriminalisation and rights based approaches must be immediately adopted.

## c. economy

The government monetary policies have continued to generate concern, for instance the restriction of forex for certain goods, refusal to devalue the Naira and strict pegging of the Naira against the dollar to an official rate of N197. With the fall of the country's GDP and the growing inflation rate, Nigeria's economic woes are exacerbated by loss of confidence in the business environment, as profit of foreign investors are trapped by the new monetary regime. The contribution of the manufacturing sector slowed by 2.98%. The slow pace of growth in the real sector and unstable business environment has resulted to loss of many jobs. The 2015 Q4 report released by NBS reveals over 700,000 jobs were lost between Q3 and Q4 of 2015.

Failure of the administration to constitute boards of overseas missions should not be misconstrued as a measure to reduce superfluity but rather it should be seen as an attempt that might frustrate the government's effort to attract foreign investments into the country. Within the reporting period, PMB has embarked on many foreign trips to attract capital to develop the economy and create jobs. Many MOUs and partnership agreements have been bilaterally signed and PMB has also facilitated signing of such by both domestic and international private investors. As much as this effort is applaudable, it requires significant follow up to translate these into positive outcomes. This is where the role of foreign missions are most needed and should be taken seriously as a measure to making the efforts come to fruition.





Apart from access to credit and markets, lack of security of tenure by farmers over their land is a major constraint to growth of agriculture sector. This problem undermines farmers' attempts to access credit, invest in land improvement and adopt appropriate soil conservation practices that would boost productivity. During the electioneering process, the APC led administration pledged to amend the Land Use Act of 1978 which vested power of land ownership in the state. In the past twelve months, the current administration has not taken meaningful steps to kick-start the process of the amendment. It is significant to note that reaping the full potential of the agriculture sector to achieve the economic diversification agenda of the government requires holistic policies that would open up space for farmers to adequately use land for their agricultural activities.

The shortage of gas supply to service existing gas plants for improved electricity (which arises from continuous vandalism of gas pipelines) is having serious economic implications on the growth of SMEs. SMEs are one of the key drivers of development and growth, especially their capacity to employ a huge percentage of the country's labour force. The current electricity crisis, which has not only been faced with the problem of sufficiency but also sustainability, has rendered the sector unproductive, thus contributing to downturn in the country's growth rate.

While the government has not relented in its decision to destroy illegal mini-refineries in the Niger Delta State, it has in turn issued over 60 licenses for the construction of modular refineries to shore-up domestic refining capacity of crude oil for local consumption. However, the approval was granted without due consideration to financial capacity of companies involved to bear the cost required for the management of these refineries. The government over-regulation of the sector and lack of enabling environment following the spate of attacks on oil installations has rendered the effort unproductive.

As the government tried to open up downstream sector of the petroleum industry with the increase of fuel pump price to N145, it is important to emphasise the need for government to ensure price stability of petroleum products. Since the introduction of the new framework, there have been reports that some independent and major marketers, especially in the Southeast of the country, sell the product higher than the regulated price. While the current price regime has undoubtedly heightened suffering amongst Nigerians, further arbitrary increase by the marketers would make the situation more precarious. The Department for Petroleum Resources (DPR) should ensure that it performs its monitoring role effectively and efficiently, and penalise any marketer found wanting.

## d. social sector

The social sector received little attention from the PMB-led administration in its first year in office. An assessment of government's interventions so far, including response to the Lassa Fever outbreak, unveiling of draft policy on inclusive education, establishment of National Research Fund, launch of occupational safety checklist as well as commencement of National Social Safety Net Programme (NSSNP), suggest that it only spent the first 366 days to develop policies and define priorities areas.

There is a need to immediately see concrete actions in these sectors (education, health, water and sanitation, environment), as they will define the long term growth of the country. Within the period under review, the environment did not receive much attention by government.

## e. empowerment of women youth and PWD

Inclusion of women in the current administration received a boost with the appointment of Honourable Abike Dabiri-Erewa, Princess Adejoke Orelupe-Adefulire and Hajia Maryam Uwaiz, and others as advisers to the President on different matters. However, the number of women in office is still marginal and below the 35% pledged by the administration. Furthermore, youth and PWD seem to have suffered more in terms of exclusion in the governance space.

To promote inclusive government and redress the age-old generational marginalisation of women, youth and PWD, it is important that the government should work out modalities to involve them in the governance process. Moreover, in spite of the passage of the National Disability Bill by the 7th Assembly, the bill has not been assented into law and there seems not to have been any concrete steps taken by the current administration to do so.

## f. communicating government activities

If democracy is popular government, public opinion remains central throughout the life of any government. Communication is at the very heart of shaping public opinion. This is essential not only because government policies and actions have to be effectively communicated to the public to retain its goodwill, but also because government communication should normally provide feedback mechanisms for citizens to make their feelings known to government. This two-way communication then creates a bond between government and the citizens, which is absolutely essential to democracy. Communication is also important in managing public expectations, especially in the aftermath of elections. During elections, many promises are made which normally raise public expectations tremendously. After elections, however, several economic, social and political realities confront government, especially a former opposition party. Effective communication helps both government

and the public to readjust to the realities in order to prevent an explosion of public demand, which could place the system under stress.

Evidence suggests that PMB's government could do better with communication with the public. Government not only has to implement its campaign promises, but it also has to let the public know what it is doing and the challenges it faces at regular intervals. In the Buharimeter national survey, respondents were asked if the government has been communicating its positions enough to Nigerians. Across all age brackets, it seems that most Nigerians think that government communication has not been adequate (Table 17). The highest percentage of persons who think so are between the ages of 18 and 35. On average, 49.4% of respondents within this age bracket said that government is not communicating enough, while 38.15% think that government communicates enough. This age bracket is very important because a vast majority of voting Nigerians fall within this group.

The problem may well be the form of communication commonly used by government. Information from the Buharimeter national survey suggests that most respondents got to know about what the government is doing through radio and television. Social and new media were not major sources of information about government. Persons between the ages of 18 and 35 are most active online. This suggest that the government needs to do more in using social and other new media in communicating with the public.

**Table 17: Do you think that federal government is communicating its positions enough to Nigerians?**

Age	Yes	No	Indifferent	No response
18 -25	37.0%	49.0%	8.2%	5.2%
26 -35	39.3%	49.8%	7.6%	3.1%
36 -45	39.9%	46.2%	8.8%	5.1%
46 -above	39.7%	43.2%	9.5%	7.1%

In conclusion, for the first year in office both the Buharimeter and the Buharimeter national survey show mixed results in the performance of the PMB administration. While this is expected, the government has done better in some areas than others. The fight against corruption and security seem to have progressed better than other issues in both the tracking of the campaign promises and the survey of perception of Nigerians. In the national survey, 61.7% of respondents rated government performance on security as positive, that is: "fair", "good" or "very good".

This means that only about 3 in 10 respondents rated it either "very poor" or "poor" on security. Likewise, 62.4% of respondents were positive about government performance on fighting corruption, as against 35.2% who were negative. The numbers, however, change dramatically on employment. While 60.6% of respondents thought that government has performed negatively on employment in its first year in office, only 37.5% were positive (see Table 18).

**Table 18: Overall rating of performance of federal government in employment, security and corruption (Buharimeter National Survey)**

Response	Employment	Security	Fight against corruption
Very poor	39.0%	19.8%	21.8%
Poor	21.6%	16.5%	13.4%
Fair	22.6%	24.0%	20.6%
Good	10.0%	21.2%	21.4%
Very good	4.9%	16.5%	20.4%
No response	1.8%	2.0%	2.2%

Source: Buharimeter Project National Survey, May 2016

We can also infer that there are still gaps between campaign promises, public expectations and government policies and actions. These need to be aligned properly going forward. Attempts, sometimes by the President's party, to disown certain promises made during the elections will not serve the government well. What is required is to focus on achieving the promises by prioritising them and carrying Nigerians along if there are challenges along the way.

To achieve this, communication and feedback will be key, particularly diversifying the channels of communication and targeting young people. The extent to which the PMB government remains focused on its key campaign promises, communicates effectively with Nigerians and remains open to constructive criticisms will determine its performance in the rest of its tenure.



SUPPORTED BY:

