

A review of **Atiku Abubakar** 2023 Policy Document

**POLICY
BRIEF**



About Civichive

BudgIT Foundation established Civic Hive in 2017 with the goal of creating an innovative virtual and physical space for partnerships and to raise civic tech leaders/solutions in Nigeria. It was also set up to improve the capacity of existing non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and media groups, thereby making a remarkable impact in the civic space of Nigeria. The mission of Civic Hive is two-fold: First, with technology, Civic Hive builds a community of active citizens and civil society organizations that find the intersection between data, design, and technology. Second, through the created tech products, we improve the interaction between people and government by giving people a stronger voice in public decision-making and improving service delivery.

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Background

◆ Professional Experience

Alhaji Atiku Abubakar was born on November 25, 1946 in Jada town, an eponymous Local Government Area in Adamawa State. The candidate graduated with a Law Diploma from the Ahmadu Bello University Institute of Administration in 1969 and was employed by the Nigeria Customs Service the same year. The candidate worked in the Nigeria Customs Service for twenty years, retiring as a Deputy Director in 1989 to go into full-time business.

◆ Political Antecedent

The candidate is one of the most experienced political actors in Nigeria having participated actively in all of Nigeria's electoral cycles since 1989 in the following capacities:

Year	Principal Political Engagement
1989	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Elected as National Vice-Chairman of the Peoples Front of Nigeria. ▪ Won a seat to represent Jada constituency at the 1989 national Constituent Assembly.
1991	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Won the SDP Gubernatorial Primaries, but was disqualified by the government.
1993	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Contested the SDP presidential primaries, came third but winning 23.11% of delegate votes.
1998	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Joined the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP). ▪ Won the Adamawa State governorship elections. ▪ Accepted the position of running mate to the PDP presidential candidate.
1999	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Was sworn in as Vice President of Nigeria.

¹ Atiku Abubakar – Biography and Life of the 11th Vice President of Nigeria', Entrepreneurs.ng, July 17, 2019. <https://www.entrepreneurs.ng/atiku-abubakar-biography/>

Year	Principal Political Engagement
2006	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Moved from PDP to the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) in preparation for the 2007 elections. ▪ Contested the 2007 Presidential elections Under ACN, came third with 7.45% of votes cast.
2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Changed political party back to PDP
2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Contested for the PDP Presidential Primary, came second with 22.73% of delegates votes cast
2014	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Left the Peoples Democratic Party and became a founding member All Progressives Congress (APC) ▪ Contested the APC presidential primaries, came third with 15.92% of delegate votes
2017	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Exited APC and returned to the Peoples Democratic Party
2018	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Won the PDP Presidential primary election
2019	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Contested the presidential election, came second with 41.22% of total votes cast
2022	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Won PDP presidential primary election

²'Atiku calls for true federalism, state police and a two party system', Channels Television, September 18, 2012. <https://www.channelstv.com/2012/09/18/atiku-calls-for-true-federalism-state-police-and-a-two-party-system/>; 'Atiku canvasses true federalism, says Nigeria's structure "not working"', Premium Times, May 31, 2016. <https://www.premium-timesng.com/news/top-news/204457-atiku-canvasses-true-federalism-says-nigerias-structure-not-working.html>

³https://www.atiku.org/_files/ugd/eef005_4f1d1d33313f4b5abb69493068c04a57.pdf

⁴'Atiku canvasses true federalism, says Nigeria's structure "not working"', Premium Times, May 31, 2016. <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/204457-atiku-canvasses-true-federalism-says-nigerias-structure-not-working.html>

⁵'State Police Is Now A Necessity': Atiku Reacts To Zamfara School Abduction', February 26, 2021. <https://www.channelstv.com/2021/02/26/state-police-is-now-a-necessity-atiku-reacts-to-zamfara-school-abduction/>

Policy Priorities

This section highlights the policy focus of the candidate as deducible from the under listed sources:

◆ Policy Document

The candidate's proposed policy plan entitled 'My Covenant with Nigerians'³ identified the following as areas of primary concern:

- Restoration of Nigeria's unity through effective management of national diversity;
- Deepening of democratic values to secure and protect;
- Building inclusive economic growth that generates wealth and reduces poverty;
- Realigning of Nigeria's federal system, structure and process; and
- STEM-focused investment in education.

◆ Media Interviews and Lectures

- **Restructuring:** 'The federal government is too big and too powerful relative to the federating units. That situation needs to change and calling for that change is patriotic'.
- **State Police:** 'State Police Is now a necessity'.
- **Anti-Corruption:** 'Refocusing of government anti-corruption initiatives to include the launching of a comprehensive national anti-corruption strategy, expeditious passage of whistle-blower, witness protection, electronic evidence, and cyber-crime legislations; consideration of amnesty for corrupt persons willing to surrender product of crime.'
- **Political Zoning:** 'The candidate advocated for geopolitical zoning of offices within the PDP in 2010 as a tool of inclusion, but reversed the position in 2022, stating that 'PDP Should Focus on Winning, Not Zoning'.

Originality and coherence

The 20,337 word and 74-page document is well designed and themes are discussed per chapter, with the copious use of the candidate's pictures. The policy document is largely original and passed the plagiarism test, however, it is laden with buzzwords and socioeconomic terms that are not defined to reflect any specific orthodoxy.

The policy document is consistent and coherent, moving from identified problems to proposed solutions, sequentially. The document also projects the candidate's experience in economic reform and political transformation.

Thematic focus and context

Focus 1: **ECONOMY**

The candidate's ambitious economic proposal includes the following definite and quantifiable plans:

- To raise GDP per capita from approximately US\$2,000 dollars to US\$5,000 dollars by 2030;
- Expand Nigeria's export base;
- To make Manufacturing 30% of GDP;
- To create 3 million new jobs and lift 10 million poor Nigerians out of poverty yearly;
- To make Nigeria Africa's leading FDI destination.

The candidate plans to achieve this through:

- Institutional reform;
- Economic de-regularization and liberation of such nature that breaks government monopoly;
- Restore investor's confidence and generate more FDI and DDI;

⁶2019: PDP reveals Atiku's strategy for fighting corruption', Daily Post, January 16, 2019. <https://dailypost.ng/2019/01/16/2019-pdp-reveals-atikus-strategy-fighting-corruption/>

⁷'I'll Consider Amnesty for Corrupt Persons Willing to Surrender Loot, Says Atiku', This Day, January 31, 2019

⁸'No, respect zoning say IBB, Atiku, others', The Vanguard, July 16, 2010

⁹'Atiku Abubakar: PDP Should Focus on Winning, Not Zoning', This day, April 18, 2022

- Policies and measures to boost export;
- Reforms to reposition the private sector; and
- Optimization of the potential of the non-oil sector.

Focus 2: INFRASTRUCTURE

Target 10,000MW transmission capacity over the short term and 25,000MW power generation through a mix of energy sources;

- 1 million housing units;
- Increase refining capacity to 2 million barrels per day;
- Construction of 5,000km of modern railway lines;
- Construction of 70,000km of road network.

The candidate plans to achieve this through a mix of the following plans:

- Doubling of national infrastructure stock to approximately 70% of GDP by 2030;
- Invest a minimum of US\$35 billion dollars annually in the next 5 years to finance all the core public infrastructure projects;
- Establishment of a specialised infrastructure unit in the presidency;
- Promotion of public-private partnership and incentivising private sector actors to mobilize local and international financing for investment in infrastructure projects;
- Privatisation of government-owned refineries and facilitating new private investment in the sector;
- Allow access to private sector investment in all phases of the power sector;
- Review extant financial, legal and regulatory frameworks to allow private sector participation in infrastructure development.

Focus 3: **AGRICULTURE, MANUFACTURING AND MSMEs**

The candidate proposes to make agriculture, manufacturing and MSMEs the drivers of growth and achieve the following:

- Improve Nigeria's food security index from the current 40.1% to 70%
- Reduce food import share from the current estimation of 20% to 5-10%
- Achieve a sustained increase in manufacturing output from 9% to 30% of GDP by 2025
- Reduce dependence on imported raw materials
- Increase the MSME funding window from the current N200 billion naira to N500 billion naira
- Harmonisation of State and federal tax laws to avoid over-taxing businesses
- Increase the inflow of foreign direct investment to a minimum of 2.5% of GDP by 2030
- Embolden the Nigerian Export Processing Zone Authority (NEPZA) in the establishment of Special Economic Zones (SEZs) across the 6 geo-political zones.
- The candidate proposes the following interventions to achieve these objectives:
 - State-federal government collaboration toward land regime reform
 - Strengthening of markets for agricultural commodities
 - De-risking access to finance and facilitating investments in agro-processing clusters
 - Modernization and mechanisation of all components in the agricultural value chain
 - Effective collaboration with private sector operators in policy generation and implementation
 - Robust enforcement of buy-in-Nigeria initiatives
 - Establishment of a 'Technology Support Programme' (TSP) to support the tech and ICT sector.

Focus 4: HUMAN CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT

- Improve and strengthen the education system to make it more efficient, more accessible, more qualitative and relevant;
- Promote an all-inclusive system which will carry along citizens with special needs;
- Ensure universal access to basic maternal and child health, reproductive health, immunization and mental health as well as effective therapies;
- Government will position itself to deal proactively with emergency epidemics like Ebola, Lassa, COVID-19 and others which occasionally afflict the people;
- Lift 10 million fellow Nigerians out of extreme poverty annually;
- Expand the social protection currently expanding from current 3.10% of 7% by 2027;
- Institute microcredit scheme for home-based income generating activities;
- Review and expand scope of the School Feeding Programme;
- Reduce the rate of unemployment and under-employment to a single digit by 2025;
- Target the creation of up to 3 million self and wage-paying employment opportunities in the private sector annually- 1 million apprentices, 2 million jobs, 500,000 student enrolment and 100,000 entrepreneurs.

The policy pathways to achieve this include:

- Initiate the process of constitutional amendment to devolve the delivery of social and welfare issues to state and local governments;
- Devolve issues bordering on minerals and mines, internal security including Police, law and order, railways, communications, transport, environment, land matters, etc., to the concurrent list;
- Re-launch the National Open Apprenticeship Programme (NOAP) with special focus on young men and women who may not have had the opportunity to attend school or complete basic education. This programme will recruit, annually, 100,000 thousand Master Crafts Persons (MCPs) who will train

- 1,000,000 million apprentices in various trades;
- Introduce, and actively promote, a graduate trainee Internship Programme (GTI) and improve the technical and financial capacity of the Industrial Training Fund; and
- Create incubation centres, clusters and industrial/commercial hubs to provide a market place for MSMEs and SMPs.

Focus 5: **SECURITY**

- Inclusive and responsive governance that embraces Nigeria's diversity as primary tool for promoting national unity;
- Increase police workforce strength to 1,000,000 million personnel;
- Strategic engagement with state and non-state actors in theatres of conflict;
- Streamlining the functions and operations of policing actors in Nigeria to enhance efficiency and effectiveness;
- Emphasize prevention of corruption rather than detection and subsequent sanction;
- Foreign policy thrust that will have the promotion of economic diplomacy at its core.



Practicability and Clarity

Focus 1: **ECONOMY** *summary:*

The candidate's plan focused heavily on leveraging the private sector for financing infrastructure and economic growth. This is plausible considering the fiscal constraints of the government in addressing Nigeria's economic challenges. The quest for a stable macroeconomic environment is important for attracting foreign capital and also fixing limiting factors. The plan seeks to prioritise investments in SMEs and

also commitments to open up the generation and transmission end of the power chain.

The candidate's plan for economic productivity and improved manufacturing are built on huge assumptions that might not align with current structural limitations. Some of the ideas are not reasonable which include raising Nigeria's GDP per capita to \$5,000 by 2030, increasing Nigeria's refining capacity to 2mbpd. The plan to raise GDP per capita by 250% in less than 10 years is historically unattainable, as only around five countries have double their GDP in 15 years, ditto for the plan to make manufacturing 30% of GDP. These two critical components are central to Nigeria's economic prosperity raising questions about the depth of thought required to turn around Nigeria's economic decline and how prepared the candidate to handle the economy.

Focus	Current State	Practicability
To raise GDP per capita to US\$5,000 dollars by 2030	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> US\$ 2,085.00 dollars 	The candidate proposes approximately a 250% increase in GDP in less than 10 years, which is highly improbable. Available records show that only a few countries (China, South Korea, Botswana, Singapore, and Thailand) have doubled their GDP per capita in less than 15 years. Considering Nigeria's population growth, Nigeria needs to grow annually by at least 13% annually in the next seven years. The aspiration seeks to achieve the miraculous, which is unsupported by recent economic history.
To make Manufacturing 30% of GDP by 2025	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 12.67% of GDP 	A time series analysis shows that Nigeria at its peak manufacturing era had manufacturing at 21.1% of GDP. The candidate's aim of doubling the contribution of the sector to the GDP fails to realistically put in context the drivers of growth in nations that achieved rapid industrial growth and the existing glaring gaps in Nigeria. It is nearly impossible to double Nigeria's manufacturing output in two years. While initiatives such as reducing import duty, incidences of multiple taxation and Buy-Nigeria for public procurement are welcome, it is still a challenge to see how this raises Nigeria's manufacturing share of GDP as projected.

Not Feasible

¹⁰World Bank, GDP per capita (current US\$) - Nigeria, 2022. <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.CD?locations=NG>

¹¹<https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.KD?end=2018&start=1960>

¹²The Global Economy, Nigeria: Share of manufacturing, 2022. https://www.theglobaleconomy.com/Nigeria/Share_of_manufacturing/

Focus	Current State	Practicability
Lift 10 million poor Nigerians out of poverty yearly	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 95.1 million Nigerians are projected to living below the poverty line 	According to the World Bank, "approximately 40.1 percent of Nigerians were living in poverty, which is about 82.9 million people; poverty reduction had stagnated since 2015". While the right pillars in poverty reduction were stated, there were no clear quantifiable targets to fully measure how this challenge would be resolved.
Create 3 million new jobs a year	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nigeria's unemployment rate is estimated to be 33.3% and the figure is the highest in over 13 years 	The candidate has an actionable plan to meet the job target, however, the target falls short of the required 5 million jobs annually for the next 10 years to address Nigeria's current unemployment rate, putting in perspective Nigeria's unique demographic structure and a 2.5% annual population growth rate. The road to 3 million jobs if driven by the private sector will be a commendable achievement. These combines shoring up the informal sector, supporting technical colleges and strengthening the ICT pathway.
By 2030, increase the inflow of direct foreign investment to a minimum of 2.5% of our GDP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In 2020, Nigeria recorded only \$2.93bn as FDI, a drop from \$8.84bn as at 2011. 	The candidate has a multi-year plan to increase the flow of FDI into the non-oil sector. The plan includes reduction of corporate tax, full repatriation and non-expropriation of assets and easing the regulatory environment among others. While the candidate has a credible roadmap to achieve the goal, achievability depends on non-economic factors such as justice system performance, security and political instability. However, the need to recognize this opportunity as central to Nigeria's growth is very plausible. 2.5% of our GDP is approximately \$10bn and despite the current investment climate, this still sounds plausible to achieve this even in 2024.

Plausible

Feasible

Source: *Theglobaleconomy.com*

¹³World Bank, Nigeria Poverty Assessment 2022; A Better Future for All Nigerians, 2022, 2. <https://open-knowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/37295>

¹⁴Nigeria's unemployment rate rises to 33.3% — highest in over 13 years', Premium Times, March 16, 2021. <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/449150-nigerias-unemployment-rate-rises-to-33-3-highest-in-over-13-years.html>

¹⁵Nigeria needs 5 million jobs annually for 10 years to close gap — IMF', Premium Times, February 9, 2021. <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/441587-nigeria-needs-5-million-jobs-annually-for-10-years-to-close-gap-imf.html>

Focus 2: **INFRASTRUCTURE** *summary:*

The candidate's infrastructural proposals are confidently laid out in numeric terms and there is conceptual clarity on the link between infrastructural development and economic growth. The plan also does well on seeking alternative funding for infrastructure such as Infrastructure Debt Fund (similar to current CBN Infracorp N15tn initiative). It would have been good to itemise infrastructure that the candidates believe are bankable in Nigeria. There is a challenge in stimulating long-term investment in infrastructure with recent experiences of Abuja-Kaduna rail, Abuja metro rail among others. The candidate also has a thought-out plan to involve the private sector in all areas of infrastructural provision.

The power generation, road and rail construction and refining components of the plans are factually unattainable in the short term considering Nigeria's current poor revenue performance, the cost of implementation, political dynamics and other competing demands prioritised in the plan. Nothing highlights the impracticability of the key proposals under this heading than the plan to construct 5,000km modern railway lines and 70,000km of road network. The federal government for which the candidate has total control of has only around 32,000km, where is the differential going to come from? Does the candidate plan to take over state and local government roads? Or is there a plan to build new federal roads? And if yes, what are the implications of that for reforms to Nigeria's federalism that he promotes.

Focus	Current State	Practicability
Target 10,000MW transmission capacity over the short term and 25,000MW power generation over the long term	Installed electricity generating capacity stands at 18,000MW, peak generation in the last year is 5,043.4MW and peak transmission is 5,222MW. The current government and Siemens Energy under the Presidential Power Initiative that aims to reach 25,000MW by 2028.	<p>While the candidate's objective of raising power generation and transmission capacity are well laid out, however, it fails to countenance the current government's investment in its plans. Also, there are questions on the methods of generation to shore up the current generation capacity of around 18,000MW.</p> <p>The second question remains the funding source. Around N5.864 trillion naira has been expended between 1999 and 2020 to achieve the current capacity; how does the candidate intend to secure the funds to finance this ambitious plan in the current era of revenue slump and increased demand for investment in infrastructure? How does this promise align with current Siemens Power Initiative?</p>

Focus	Current State	Practicability
1 million housing units per year	Estimates by the Federal Mortgage Bank indicate a deficit of at least 28 million housing units in Nigeria	Contextualising Nigeria's rapidly growing population and rate of urbanisation, the candidate's private enterprise-led 1 million housing units initiative is unambitious but would make little impact on the housing crisis in Nigeria.
Increase refining capacity to 2million barrels per day	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nigeria's four refineries have processing capacity of 445,000 barrels of crude oil daily Dangote refinery has a refining capacity of around 650,000 barrels per day with an estimated investment of \$19bn 	Beyond numerous controversies on the privatisation of government assets in Nigeria, the 2million barrels per day proposal of the candidate is highly improbable contextualising the fact that Nigeria currently produces around 1.08mbpd and also has capacity for 2.2mbpd ²² , with the 650,000 mbpd Dangote refinery expected to come on stream in the next few years, how does the candidate want to meet the shortfall and is Nigeria going to refine all its production? Also Nigeria does not have the refining capacity to achieve this in the short to medium term. The issues in Nigeria's oil and gas industry are beyond refining capacity in our own view. A fair privatization process of existing refineries is a welcome development. However, this must be done in context of \$1bn recently spent on the hydrocarbon complexes ²³ .
Construction 5,000km modern railway lines and 70,000km of road network	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nigeria has about 195,000 km of road network out of which a proportion of about 32,000 km are federal roads The rail lines are around 3,528 km The current government constructed 13,000km of roads nationwide 	<p>The national government is responsible for only about 32,000 km, the candidates aim of 70,000km exceeds its field of responsibility and the policy document is silent on how the figure is arrived at, raising valid questions about the credibility of this particular campaign promise.</p> <p>Also, the plan fails to analyze the economic costs of achieving the rail construction. If the 157km rail for Lagos-Ibadan costs \$1.5bn, how does he plan to finance a 5,000km rail project? How is the project going to be financed? (using the Lagos-Ibadan construction as a costing benchmark, 5,000km will cost around \$48bn) and what is the achievability of such a proposal in the midst of other competing priorities?</p>

Feasible Not Feasible Plausible

¹⁶'FG: Nigeria's Installed Electricity Capacity Stands at 18,000mw, Generates 8,000mw Daily', This Day, March 4, 2022

¹⁷'Electricity update: Nigeria's power generation peaks to record high of 5,000MW', Nairametrics, September 2, 2022.

¹⁸Nigeria transmits 5,222 MW electricity, highest ever – TCN', Premium Times, December 24, 2017. <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/253473-nigeria-transmits-5222-mw-electricity-highest-ever-tcn.html>

¹⁹'INVESTIGATION: Jonathan, Buhari spent N1.164 trillion on power in 8 years, yet Nigeria remains in darkness', Premium Times, October 14, 2019. <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/investigationspecial-reports/357448-investigation-jonathan-buhari-spent-n1-164-trillion-on-power-in-8-years-yet-nigeria-remains-in-darkness.html>

Focus 3: **OIL AND GAS, AGRICULTURE, MANUFACTURING AND MSMEs** *summary:*

This particular component is the most detailed across the five thematic areas, with the candidate specifically identifying areas of reforms for food security, strengthening the MSMEs and improving the business environment. The Oil and Gas component is also well defined by the thematic challenges but there needs to be quantitative points.

However, there's a failure to identify areas of improvement, ongoing plans and schemes by the current government and how it interfaces with his plans. The document did not align with current implementation of the Petroleum Industry Act and also current wave of demand for gas in Europe. The policy proposals do not explain about opportunities to ramp up investment in NLNG and attract oil majors to Nigeria's offshore oil fields. The component of reducing oil theft, transparency and accountability in NNPC Limited and also engagement with oil-producing communities is highly welcome.

The fiscal issues are reasonably well laid-out but there are no quantifiable targets to ascertain where the candidate sees Nigeria in next few years especially debt-to-revenue and tax-to-GDP metrics. While the fiscal solutions are firm on principles at the broad level, there is no clear detail on how these would be achieved. There is also a need to expand on the need for transparency, efficiency and accountability in management of public resources.

²¹<https://www.nsenergybusiness.com/projects/dangote-refinery-lagos/>

²²<https://www.thecable.ng/nigerias-oil-production-decreased-to-1-08m-b-d-in-july#:~:text=Nigeria's%20crude%20oil%20production%20decreased,production%20data%20for%20July%202022.>

²³<https://www.vanguardngr.com/2021/01/afrieximbank-set-to-provide-1bn-for-port-harcourt-refinery-rehabilitation/>

²⁴'135,000km road network in Nigeria un-tarred- ICRC', ICRC, September 7, 2017. <https://www.icrc.gov-.ng/135000km-road-network-nigeria-un-tarred-icrc/#:~:text=%E2%80%9CNigeria%20has%20about%20195%2C000%20km,31%2C000km%20are%20state%20roads.>

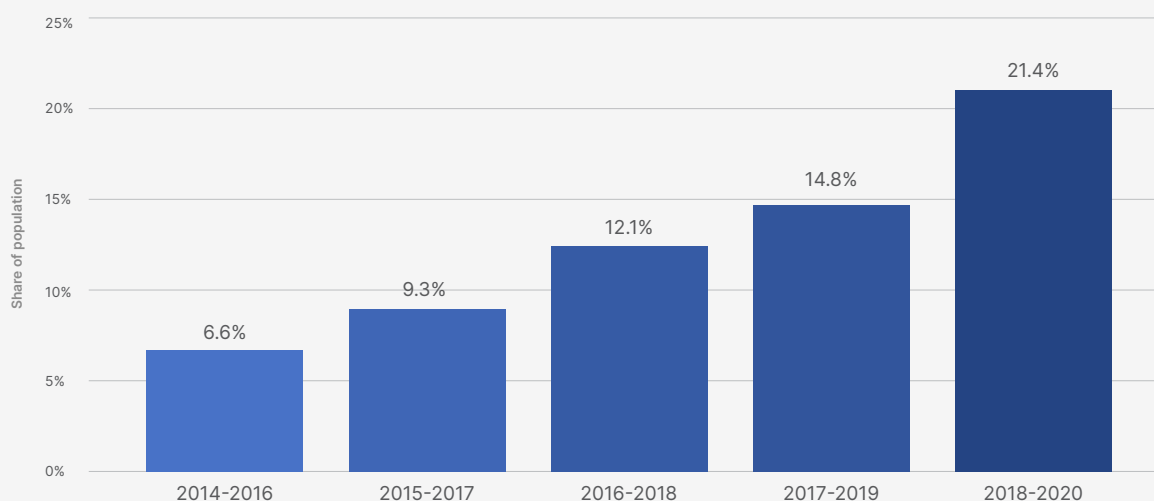
²⁵<https://www.worlddata.info/africa/nigeria/transport.php>

²⁶'Buhari's Govt executing 800 contracts, 13,000km of roads, says Fashola', the Vanguard, August 13, 2021

Focus	Current State	Practicability
Food Security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nigeria suffers from a serious level of hunger and ranks 103rd out of polled 116 countries with sufficient data to calculate for the 2021 Global Hunger Index 	<p>The candidate's proposals to improve food security consist of 5 interlinked steps: land reform, commodities exchange, de-risking access to finance, establishment of agro-processing clusters and modernization of agricultural practices across spectrum.</p> <p>The candidate will positively improve Nigeria's food security ranking if properly implemented. The ideas still lack quantification to understand how these elements add up to improvement of Nigeria on the Global Hunger Index.</p>
MSMEs and the Business Environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nigeria is ranked 131 among 190 economies in the ease of doing business index 	<p>One of the most focused areas of the candidate's plan are MSMEs and the overall business environment. Putting his experiences in business in context, this is one of the candidate's strong areas of strength in this proposal. The SMEs component deserves commendation with raising investments to N500bn and facilitating a private sector-led venture fund of \$250m. The candidate's economic plans are lucidly stated and some components are benchmarked with figures and milestones for ease of tracking and proper analysis. The proposal for tax reliefs for microenterprises, expanding export opportunities and expanding the NIRSAL de-risking mandate are important to SME growth.</p>

Plausible Feasible

PREVALENCE OF SEVERE FOOD INSECURITY IN NIGERIA FROM 2014 TO 2020



Source
FAO ©Statista 2022

Additional Information:
Nigeria; 2014 to 2020

Focus 4: **HUMAN CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT** *summary:*

The candidate plans to formalise craft education through the re-launching of the National Open Apprenticeship Programme (NOAP). Despite the identification of the sector as central to economic productivity, security and national wellbeing, this policy component is bland, unimaginative and uncommitted to any measurable outcomes beyond the plan to increase social spending by approximately 3.1% of GDP to 7% by 2027.

Even this is economically impracticable, except the candidate intends to expand the entire current Federation revenue on social spending. The policy plan made no definite commitment about funding and management of government owned educational institutions and the policy direction for healthcare delivery beyond policy platitudes.

Focus	Current State	Practicability
Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 18.5 million children, majority of whom are girls are out of school in Nigeria²⁷. Nearly 75% of university applicants in Nigeria do not get placement²⁸. Between 1999 and 2022, the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) have embarked on 16 different strike actions.²⁹ Around 59% of Nigerians with degrees or HNDs are employed.³⁰ 	While education is mentioned 11 times in the policy document, there is no singular quantitative commitment to improving education in the document. The policy document is replete with policy aspirations, whose success is difficult to measure. However, the policy thrust is firm but with a candidate that pushes devolution of powers, there needs to be more clarity on the role of state and local councils on education development. The case for creating another agency for regulating private tertiary education would further exacerbate the cost of governance.

Plausible

²⁷'18.5 Million Nigerian Children Are Out of School, UNICEF Says', AFP, May 12, 2022. <https://www.voanews.com/a/millions-nigerian-children-are-out-of-school-unicef-says/6569716.html>

²⁸Yomi Kazeem, 'Only one in four Nigerians applying to university will get a spot', Quartz Africa, July 20, 2022. <https://qz.com/africa/915618/only-one-in-four-nigerians-applying-to-university-will-get-a-spot/>

²⁹'ASUU embarks on 16 strikes in 23 years, FG, lecturers disagree over 13-year MOU', Punch Newspaper, May 16, 2022

³⁰'Is It True That Only 40% Of Nigerians With Degrees Are Employed?', Daily Trust, March 28, 2021

³¹'15% Benchmark to Health Sector in Nigeria- The Journey so Far', DPRC, 2021. <https://drpcngr.org/15-benchmark-to-health-sector-in-nigeria-the-journey-so-far/>

Focus	Current State	Practicability
Healthcare	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nigeria in the last two decades has failed to meet the 15% annual budgetary commitment to healthcare at the national and sub national levels under the Abuja Declaration Average budgetary allocation to the sector in the last 2 decades have been around about 4.7% At the peak of the COVID-19 pandemic, the country's allocation to health for 2021 fiscal year was 4.1%. 	Healthcare is mentioned 9 times in the policy document, however, there is no budgetary or statistical commitment in any direction towards healthcare. The document made reference to improved access, provision of state of the healthcare facilities, quality and affordability among others, but no benchmark to measure progress.
Social-protection Schemes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Only 4% of households received support – in the form of cash – from the federal, state, or local government during the pandemic in Nigeria³² Only 3% of Nigerians are covered by any health insurance coverage³³ 1.6 million poor and vulnerable households, comprising more than 8 million individuals, currently benefit from the Conditional Cash Transfer program³⁴ 	<p>Without a detailed funding plan and looking at Nigeria reducing revenue stream and increasing commitment to debt servicing, the plan to increase social spending by approximately 3.1% of GDP to 7% by 2027 is impracticable.</p> <p>Except the candidate intends to spend the entire current Federation revenue (\$28bn) on social spending, then this raises more questions than answers. Is the candidate willing to commit such outlay to a social protection scheme? This sounds very impractical.</p>

Plausible

Not Feasible

Focus 5: **GOVERNANCE AND SECURITY** *summary:*

The proposal states the quest for restructuring in five pillars. However, considering the candidate's huge proclamation on devolution of powers, it's essential to detail the constitutional procedure and other approaches to make this happen. It would have to be instructive to know what the proposed revenue-sharing formula would look like and if this would come with a review of Nigeria's tax architecture. The element of restructuring in the document does not provide the current baseline,

³²World Bank, Coverage of social protection and labour programs (% of population) - Nigeria, 2021. https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/per_allsp.cov_pop_tot?view=chart&locations=NG

³³'Health Insurance in Nigeria – Only 3% of Nigerians are Covered', Dataphyte, December 24, 2021. <https://www.dataphyte.com/latest-reports/development/health-insurance-in-nigeria-only-3-of-nigerians-are-covered/#:~:text=97%25%20of%20Nigeria's%20population%20is,for%20by%20employee%20health%20coverage.>

³⁴'1.6 Million Households, 8 Million People Benefit From Conditional Cash Transfers, Says Buhari', Channels TV, September 15, 2021. <https://www.channelstv.com/2021/09/15/1-6-million-households-8-million-people-benefit-from-conditional-cash-transfers-says-buhari/>

policy thrust and targets. For a candidate who built his messaging on restructuring, the points in the policy document are too thin and lack coherent details.

The candidate commits to increase the number of the Nigeria Police Force by around 70% to meet the UN 1:450 ratio. The policy document proposes no definite strategy for addressing Nigeria's current security crisis largely driven by a number of state actors beyond engagement with these groups. The documents outlook on security is poor and largely fails to prioritize the current threats to national security, nor propose any particular plan to address banditry, terrorism and kidnapping.

Focus	Current State	Practicability
Policing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Staff strength of more than 370,000 men and women Unrivalled national geographical spread, with 127 area commands; 1,130 police divisions; 1,579 police stations, 2,165 police posts, and 1,591 village police posts³⁵ 	<p>The candidate commits to extensive reform and decentralisation of policing and at the same time increasing the number of police officers to at least a million. To meet the UN target, only requires around 450,000 police personnel. With around 370,000, total police personnel might not be more than 80,000. However, it is important that Nigeria requires more than the minimum.</p> <p>The current personnel cost of the Ministry of Police Affairs is put at N712 billion, tripling the number of the force will take the salaries alone to more than N2 trillion, which is more than 10% of the 2022 total expenditure of the Federal Government.</p> <p>There is a seeming incongruence on this critical issue. If states are going to constitutionally have state-supported policing outfits, then why increase the current number by more than 60%? This seeming lack of clarity is worrisome.</p>
Specific security threats- banditry, terrorism, kidnapping, etc.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nigeria ranks 6th on the most recent Global Terrorism Index Nigeria ranks among the kidnapping hotspots of the world Banditry is one of the major threats to food security in Nigeria 	<p>The policy document identified these crimes as threatening the national security of the Nigerian state. However, there is no specific strategic plan to tackle Terrorism, Kidnapping and Other Crimes.</p>

Not Feasible

Plausible

³⁵Tosin Osasona, The Political Economy of Police Corruption in Nigeria, International Journal of Law and Political Sciences, 2020, 14 (8), 591

Focus	Current State	Practicability
Engagement with non-state actors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Bandits and other organized criminal groups dominant in the North West ▪ Boko Haram, including JAS and ISIS-WA ▪ Militant groups in the Niger Delta ▪ Separatist movements ▪ Herders and farmers' militia groups ▪ Cults and gangs ▪ Traffickers and trafficking networks 	The candidate commits to the employment of strategic engagement tools with actors in the theatres of conflict in Nigeria. The candidate also plans to deal with insurgency using alternative approaches to conflict resolution.

 Plausible

Conclusion

While the proposal has no cost implication for the interventions proposed under the plan, however, Nigeria's 2023 earnings are projected at N6.34 trillion naira. The government intends to source 5.9% (or N373.17 billion naira) of that from oil-related sources and the other 94.1% or (N5.96 trillion naira) is to come from non-oil sources raising questions than answers.

Unfortunately, the policy document is very lean on revenue generation and resource management and puts in perspective Nigeria's current fiscal difficulties, with the current government struggling to finance its regular activities, including providing social services, paying for defence, and managing other government functions.

Beyond the document's failure to provide any ideological window into the candidates' views on fiscal management, it provides little or nothing on the management of Nigeria's spiralling debt crisis at both national and sub-national levels, poor revenue growth and expanding government expenditures. The candidate fails to provide an evidence-based direction on how he will finance the lofty projects itemised in the policy document.

³⁶<https://www.visionofhumanity.org/maps/global-terrorism-index/#/>

³⁷Control Risk, Analysis Kidnap for Ransom in 2022, April 19, 2022. <https://www.controlrisks.com/our-thinking/insights/kidnap-for-ransom-in-2022>

³⁸Daphne Ewing-Chow, In Nigeria, Terrorism Has Become A Major Threat To Food Security, Forbes, February 28, 2022

³⁹Budget Office of the Federation. (July, 2022) Medium Term Expenditure Framework and Fiscal Strategy Paper, at p. 26