

POLICY AND SCHEMATIC ASSESSMENTS OF CANDIDATES IN THE 2023 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION





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

Peter Gregory Onwubuasi Obi was born on July 19, 1961, in Onitsha, Anambra State. The candidate attended Christ the King College, Onitsha, and the University of Nigeria, where he graduated with a bachelor's degree in philosophy in 1984. The candidate as an entrepreneur and self-professed trader¹ has been involved in business firms and some of these include Fidelity Bank, Future Views Securities, Paymaster Nigeria and Next International.

◆ Political Antecedent

Comparatively, the candidate has a short political history, with his first entry into politics in 2003 as the Anambra State Governorship candidate of the All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA). His visibility on Nigeria's political horizon has since grown as a vocal advocate of change to the current political order.

The synopsis of the candidate's political engagements includes:

Year	Principal Political Engagement
2003	Anambra State APGA Governorship candidate
2006	Took office as Anambra State Governor through Court of Appeal judgement of 15 March 2006
2010	Was declared winner of the 2010 Anambra State Gubernatorial election
2014	Left APGA for PDP
2018	Running mate to Atiku Abubakar, the PDP's Presidential Candidate in the 2019 presidential election
March 24, 2022	Declared his intention to run for the position of President of Nigeria under the platform of PDP
March 24, 2022	Resigned his membership of PDP
March 27, 2022	The candidate joined the Labour party

¹ 'Obi To Soludo: I Governed Anambra As A Trader, It's Your Time To Deliver As A Professor', Daily trust, November 15, 2022

◆ Ideology And Followership

The candidate's brave persistence against all odds in using the court to secure and protect his democratic mandate in Anambra State between 2003 and 2006 reflects a firm personality committed to the pursuit of his ideals. That aside, the candidate's three-time change of political parties represent a prevalent opportunistic tendency to view political parties as dispensable vehicles to access power.

The candidate's presidential ambition is buoyed by a pan-Nigerian network of educated and urbane youth population, disillusioned by abuses of policing agencies and irresponsibility of the political leadership.

Policy Priorities

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

◆ Policy Document

The candidates policy document titled - **'IT'S POSSIBLE- OUR PACT WITH NIGERIANS'**- detailed out seven areas of policy priorities- security, industrialization, institutional reforms, technological innovation and digital economy, infrastructure, human capital development and diplomacy which are consistent with previous positions in media interviews and lectures such as"

- **Cross Carpeting:** 'Everyone knows today that APGA is not what it used to be. My assurance to our great leader did not imply that I would be loyal to a platform that some people have resolved to turn into an empty shell without an inner core of shared values. I remain faithful to those values and principles our great leader asked me to stand by and defend'; ²
- **Fuel Subsidy:** There is no reason why we should not encourage the private sector to build refineries and operate them. And they are not rocket science. You can use today to decide to remove fuel subsidies and use the resources to support critical areas of production¹³

⁸Asiwaju Tinubu, Restructuring and The King's College Speech', The Vanguard, October 1, 2017

⁹It's time for state police — Tinubu', The Vanguard, October 26, 2020

¹⁰Tinubu to FG: increased VAT will put pressure on Nigerians', The Nation Newspaper, March 28, 2019

- **Insecurity:** 'If I have the opportunity, every state will be responsible for their own security. I will make sure that the governors are given the powers to secure their states. Even if we have federal police, they will be responsible and reporting to the governor'⁴

Originality and Coherence

The candidate's 72 pages, 14,585 words policy document is chaptered into eight thematic sections, with the final section focusing on the biographies of the candidate and his running mate. The title of the policy document, - **It's Possible**- is similar to Mallam Nuhu Ribadu's 2011 presidential election campaign slogan- **It is possible**.

The document is largely original, with heavy usage of international-development related lingo and platitudes. While there is some clumsiness and incoherence in some sections (for example, Article III, page 13), the document lucidly discusses the problem of governance in Nigeria and makes bold commitments to restructure Nigeria's federalism.

On the other hand, for a candidate framed as an alternative to the current political establishment, the manifesto's overall non-quantitative commitment to the provision of public goods and services, non-distinction from existing policy directions in many parts, and absence of appropriate clarity pose questions on capability and overall preparedness.

Thematic focus and context

Focus 1: SECURITY, NATIONAL COHESION AND INCLUSIVE GOVERNANCE

Background: Affirmatively affixing state failure to Nigeria's name is contentious, as there are ongoing debates as to whether Nigeria has outright failed or is just in the process of

² 'Why I left APGA, Obi replies Bianca Ojukwu', The Vanguard, October 22, 2014

³ 'What Peter Obi said in his CNN interview', Premium Times, September 17, 2022. <https://www.premium-timesng.com/news/top-news/554521-what-peter-obi-said-in-his-cnn-interview.html>

⁴ 'Insecurity: Peter Obi backs creation of state police', Businessday, July 26, 2022

failing. However, there is universal agreement on the domination of the Nigerian state by armed groups and the inability of state institutions to protect and secure citizens within the Nigerian state.

After two decades of battling fundamentalist insurgency, Nigeria still ranks as the sixth most impacted by terrorism country in the world on the Global Terrorism Index⁵ and between 2007 and 2019, the economic impact of terrorism in Nigeria reached approximately 142 billion U.S. dollars, by far the largest value in Africa⁶. Banditry is the latest addition to Nigeria's long and growing list of public safety and security concerns.

In 2019, bandits were reportedly responsible for more Nigerian deaths than Boko Haram, armed robbers, kidnappers, and gangs combined: 47.5% of all violent deaths in 2019⁷. Ongoing conflict between farmers and pastoralists across Nigeria costs at least \$14 billion dollars in potential revenues, annually⁸ (Premium Times, 2016) and between 2011 and 2020, Nigerians paid at least \$18.34 million dollars as ransom to kidnappers⁹ (Premium Times, 2020).

Manifesto Highlights:

- Increase the personnel of our armed forces, police and other security agencies and optimally equip, train, and fund them to respond adequately to security threats;
- Deploy state-of-the-art military technology to fight terrorists, bandits, insurgents and kidnappers;
- Decentralise and professional management of security institutions and the use of grant-in-aid to encourage efficient criminal justice administration at sub national levels, namely, state, local government and community security administration;
- Police reform to introduce a three-level policing system – local, state, and federal – and introduction of frameworks to prevent abuse;
- Recreate community relations with security agencies in order to increase public trust and build human intelligence to restore law and order in the communities;

⁵ https://reliefweb.int/attachments/a62d4dc4-c69b-49ee-8ef5-50d98205e70d/GTI-2022-web_110522-1.pdf

⁶ UNDP, Measuring the Economic Impact of Violent Extremism Leading to Terrorism in Africa, 2019, 1

⁷ 'Bandits Kill More Nigerians Than Boko Haram, Robbers, Kidnappers, Cultists, Others', Daily Trust, September 22, 2019

⁸ 'Nigeria loses \$14 billion annually to herdsmen-farmers clashes — Report', Premium Times, April 15, 2016

⁹ 'Kidnappers collected N650 million as ransom in one year – Report', premium Times, August 13, 2022

- Engage, support, and partner, with national and sub-national institutions and governments and network them into an integrated and reinforced;
- Swift, firm and fair prosecution of criminals, bandits and terrorists to end impunity;
- Reforming the security sector, with particular emphasis on re-focusing the military on external threats and border protection, and the police on internal security threats and law enforcement;
- Direct executive action and push for legislative mandate aimed at formulating a policy on Common Regimentation Emolument Structure Table (CREST) that will harmonise the wages of the federal public servants, so that public servants (whether elected or appointed) are not ranked or earn higher than career civil servants and the military such as those in the judiciary, academia, para-military, and federal statutory agencies;
- Resolve the national minimum wage problem by doing away with the extant salary structure and introducing an hourly productivity-based national minimum rate, by which public and private sector employers should pay employees based on their actual productivity;
- Make deliberate efforts to re-create a sense of patriotism, shared ownership, and responsibilities in matters of nation-building, integration, and cohesion

Focus 2: **ECONOMY, FISCAL AND MONETARY POLICY**

Background: Nigeria's population growth has remained constant at 2.5%, GDP increased by 3.6% in 2021; and its inflation and interest rates remain in double digits, reported at 20.5% and 15.50%, respectively. Import costs are rising due to the depreciating value of the naira against major world currencies. Income has worsened and is creating a national security challenge.

The business environment is also challenging and limits individuals' ability to acquire productive skills and access credit or capital for turning ideas into thriving businesses¹⁰.

¹⁰ <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/TX.VAL.MANF.ZS.UN?locations=NG>; <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/TX.VAL.MANF.ZS.UN?locations=NG>; https://datacommons.org/place/country/NGA?utm_medium=explore&mprop=amount&popt=EconomicActivity&cpv=activitySource%2CGrossDomesticProduction&hl=en; <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/556413-cbn-raises-key-interest-rate-to-highest-level-in-move-against-inflation.html>

Manifesto Highlights:

- Shift emphasis from consumption to production by running a production centred economy that is driven by an agrarian revolution and export oriented industrialization;
- optimise all the comparative advantages of 36 states and the FCT, across all the agricultural value chains through adequate and targeted investments, policies, and programs;
- create mandatory national certification for blue-collar artisans; strengthen some of the existing tertiary schools of science and engineering to train the next generation of experts in the Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) field;
- Shift emphasis from consumption to production by running a production-centred economy that is driven by an agrarian revolution and export-oriented industrialization;
- Application of entrepreneurial governance to dismantle the impediments to free trade and ease of doing business;
- Implementation of radical economic policies that will drastically reduce national debt-servicing ratio and debt to revenue ratio;
- Establishment of a Green Army tasked with identifying all opportunities to tap into the 3 trillion dollars international climate finance to engineer economic growth and employment for millions of our youths and transition our country to the green epoch;
- Incentivising and investing in agro-cluster and industrial cluster development across our geo-resource zones to take advantage of agglomeration and scale effects; and
- Radical reforms of entire national transport system including logistics and distribution, ports, customs, and other agencies connected to international trade

¹⁰ <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/TX.VAL.MANF.ZS.UN?locations=NG>; <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/TX.VAL.MANF.ZS.UN?locations=NG>; https://datacommons.org/place/country/NGA?utm_medium=explore&mprop=amount&popt=EconomicActivity&cpv=activitySource%2CGrossDomesticProduction&hl=en; <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/556413-cbn-raises-key-interest-rate-to-highest-level-in-move-against-inflation.html>

- Aggressive prioritisation of the mechanisation of the huge endowment of arable land across our nation, particularly in our Northern region, to make agriculture the new oil of a prosperous Nigerian economy;
- Scaling up the development of manufacturing and processing technological capabilities across the primary products value chains where we enjoy comparative advantage;
- Prioritise the exploration of the economic opportunities available through oceanic and marine resources around our country.

Focus 3: **RESTRUCTURING**

Background: Nigeria's 62 years of political independence can be condensed into a sentence-unending social and political experiment to create a sustainable political and economic order to replace a burdensome colonial inheritance. Nigeria has witnessed violent and unconstitutional changes in government, decades of military dictatorships, predictable cycles of electoral violence, inter and intra-ethnic conflicts, unbelievable levels of public corruption, and persistent economic and social policy reversals. and the last two decades have seen the rise of armed and violent non state actors, which have resulted in Nigeria's poor performance on almost all development indexes.

These manifest calamities of governance are underpinned by questions of Nigeria's elite composition and the nature of agreement between the various elite clusters that have shaped the economic and political outlook of the Nigerian state in the last six decades. The term "restructuring" remains one of the most common words in Nigeria's political lexicography since 1999, and the candidate, in furtherance of this political culture, has promised the items below:

Manifesto Highlights:

- Review of the 68 items on the exclusive list of the Federal government and moving agreed items to the concurrent list, to ensure effective public action for growth and sustainable livelihood;
- Immediate implementation of the Oronsaye Report which recommended the consolidation of agencies of government;

- Establishment of the Office of Regulatory Review in the Executive Office of the President to review and harmonise proposed regulations to ensure they pass cost-benefit analysis, and enhance economic efficiency and social justice before they are enacted;
- Drive the inclusion of our customary laws (norms and values - with respect to their compatibility with our constitution) in the contents of our formal law and in the administration of justice;
- Establishment of the Office of Special Counsel to investigate and prosecute every executive abuse of power and corrupt public practices that do not fall under the prosecutorial power of existing agencies or are bureaucratically concealed;
- Restoration of fiscal viability by discontinuing unaffordable subsidies which have left a black hole in the government's finances;
- Transparent liberalisation of the foreign exchange market and the dismantling of the opaque multiple exchange rate regime which effectively subsidises a few privileged persons, whilst depriving government of badly needed revenues;
- Redesign of Nigeria's fiscal architecture such that revenue mobilisation and allocation will be bottom-up like most federations across the world, and the federal government will now rely on revenues from taxes collected by states to drive the right incentive for efficiency and optimal allocation of resources;
- Expansion of Nigeria's tax net and base by authorising the Joint Tax Board (FIRS and States' IRS) to identify all payable taxes and fees by companies and individual and consolidation all tax databases into one centralised system;

Focus 4: INDUSTRIALIZATION

Background: There has been progress in the contribution of the industrial sector (comprising manufacturing, mining, and utilities) to the Nigerian GDP. The manufacturing sector now contributes around 9% to the GDP¹¹, up from only 4% in 2011¹². The mining

¹¹ <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2022/05/gdp-contribution-to-economy-manufacturing-sector-stagnates/>

¹² <https://ideas.repec.org/a/eco/journ1/2018-03-4.html>

¹³ <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1207943/gdp-by-mining-and-quarrying-sector-in-nigeria/#:~:text=Share%20of%20GDP%20by%20mining%20and%20quarrying%20sector%20in%20Nigeria%202021&text=In%202021%2C%20about%20six%20percent,5.6%20percent%20of%20the%20GDP.>

¹⁴ <https://www.ceicdata.com/en/nigeria/capacity-utilization-rate/capacity-utilization-rate-manufacturing#:~:text=Nigeria%20Capacity%20Utilization%20Rate%3A%20Manufacturing%20data%20was%20reported%20at%2051.300,Jun%202022%2C%20with%2048%20observations.>

and quarrying sector contributes around 6%, with crude oil and natural gas contributing around 5.6% of this¹³. But even at that, Nigeria's overall manufacturing capacity utilisation which fluctuated between 70 and 75 % between 1975 to 1980 has declined to around 51.3% in 2022¹⁴.

Manifesto Highlights:

- Leapfrog Nigeria into the 4th Industrial Revolution (4IR), through the application of scientific and technological innovations to create a digital economy;
- Prioritisation of a structured approach to developing the digital skills of our young population to give them the competitive advantage to receive offshore jobs in the new gig economy;
- Reduce importation of refined petroleum products and eliminating the petrol subsidy regime through incentivization of the mid-stream segment of the petroleum sector by facilitating gas processing plants and privately-owned small and medium scale boutique refineries;
- Encouraging corporate entities and industries that make discernible efforts to transit to clean and alternative energy, not only for local consumption but also for export;
- Review and enforcement of the mandatory National Strategic Reserve of premium motor spirit (PMS), diesel (AGO), aviation fuel, and cooking gas to reduce our national vulnerability to sudden disruptions to the supply of these fuels;
- Prioritisation of the development of MSMEs through a boutique of incentives which include new structures, new capital access, new legislation to support small business growth and strategic centres of excellence;
- Expansion of Nigerian content initiative with emphasis on the promotion of

¹¹ <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2022/05/gdp-contribution-to-economy-manufacturing-sector-stagnates/>

¹² <https://ideas.repec.org/a/eco/journ1/2018-03-4.html>

¹³ <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1207943/gdp-by-mining-and-quarrying-sector-in-nigeria/#:~:text=Share%20of%20GDP%20by%20mining%20and%20quarrying%20sector%20in%20Nigeria%202021&text=In%202021%2C%20about%20six%20percent,5.6%20percent%20of%20the%20GDP.>

¹⁴ <https://www.ceicdata.com/en/nigeria/capacity-utilization-rate/capacity-utilization-rate-manufacturing#:~:text=Nigeria%20Capacity%20Utilization%20Rate%3A%20Manufacturing%20data%20was%20reported%20at%2051.300,Jun%202022%2C%20with%2048%20observations.>

- made-in-Nigeria goods and services as a pillar of our administration;
- Our government will pursue a combination of state-led and public-private initiatives to drive the penetration of broadband infrastructure and information super-highway necessary to empower smart industrialization.

Focus 5: INFRASTRUCTURE

Background: Energy consumption in Nigeria is still far below the sub-Saharan African average at around 140 kWh per capita (almost three times lower than the average for sub-Saharan Africa). Only 62% of the population has access to electricity, and fewer still (24%) have access to non-solid fuels¹⁵. The country suffers from a huge infrastructural deficit, as its total infrastructure stock represents only 35% of its GDP, which is significantly below the 70% average for an emerging economy. Nigeria's required financing for infrastructure is estimated at \$3 trillion over the next 30 years¹⁶.

Manifesto Highlights:

- Complete the \$2.3b Nigeria-Siemens network improvement deal (technical upgrade and strengthening) to achieve 7,000MW stable capacity by 2023, 11,000 megawatts by 2024, and 25,000 megawatts by 2025;
- Launch a solar power revolution across Nigeria, particularly Northern Nigeria, with a view of ensuring that all cities and industrial parks in Northern Nigeria have uninterrupted power by the end of 2024;
- By urgently reengaging the 14 Independent Power Producers (IPPs), who had in 2016, initialled PPAs worth \$2.5 billion to build a total 1,125 megawatts of installed solar capacity for delivery to the national grid;
- Increase the capacity of some of the 14 plants to achieve 5,000MW generation by expanding at least 10 of the projects;
- Invite experienced local and international developers to sign new PPAs for 8,000MW of solar and wind plants, including offshore wind farms in the Lagos, Warri, and

¹⁵ <https://www.enerdata.net/estore/energy-market/nigeria/>; <https://businessday.ng/news/article/infrastructure-deficit-hinders-nigerias-development-experts/>

- Port-Harcourt coastal areas with a mandatory latest commercial operation date of December 2025;
- Within 3 years, each of the southern states should develop and construct embedded power plants of capacities ranging from 5 MW to 30MW up to a total of 300 MW per state from locally-sourced gas in and around the states;
- Complete and commission the Mambilla HEP project, which is planned to deliver 3,050MW; the Kashimbila Dam project, planned to deliver 40MW; and the 40MW Dadin Kowa HEP plant;
- Develop 100,000 mini-grids across the country by end 2024 which will provide reliable power supply for up to 750,000 rural SMEs;
- Support the private sector to deploy 15 million solar standalone systems for residential and SMEs use by end of 2025;
- Release financing of new power generation to 25 GW by 2030, including an additional 5,000 MW of new power generation by the end of 2024;
- Creation of the Highway Trust Fund Account. This account will be funded jointly by federal government, states, and private sector on a ratio to be agreed upon, with government participation limited to those areas where there is a manifest need for government intervention;

Focus 6: HUMAN CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT

Background: Nigeria's health indicators are some of the worst in Africa, with a life expectancy at birth of 55 years, making it the third worst on the continent. Nigeria has the highest number of out-of-school children in Sub-Saharan Africa, with a figure estimated at between 10.2 million¹⁷ and 20 million. According to government records, 40.1% of Nigerians are classified as poor. Unemployment Rate is 33%, with youth employment substantially higher at 53.4% (15-24 years) and 37.2% (25-34 years). These very worrisome indicators are further compounded by Nigeria's 2.5% annual population growth,

which puts demographic growth far ahead of the government's ability to provide public goods and services¹⁶.

Manifesto Highlights:

- Address the gaps in the legislation guiding the funding access modalities to Universal Basic Education Commission (UBEC), and the Tertiary Education Trust Fund (TETFund);
- The Ministry of Education will work out a Public-Private model that involves private corporations assuming funding and managerial responsibilities in a specially restructured taxation plan. This design will see some private corporations pay their taxes in the form of taking management of a school while the Ministry continues to retain ownership, set the national curriculum and manage other oversight functions;
- Provide health insurance cover to 133 million poorest Nigerians including pregnant women, children, the aged and the disabled;
- Strive to honour Nigeria's commitment to the 2001 African Union Abuja Declaration on, which set the target of allocating at least 15% of annual budgets to the improvement of the health sector in African countries;
- Work with state governments to introduce state leagues in key sports such as football and basketball to enhance the growth and professionalisation of grassroots sports;
- Support the creative industries (fashion, music, arts, film, entertainment) to become significant areas of our comparative advantage and also sources of job creation for our youths and tourism;
- Candidate's approach to poverty alleviation is to engineer massive economic growth that will create jobs, grow incomes, build capacities and capabilities across the breadth of the socioeconomic divide;

¹⁶ The World Bank, Life expectancy at birth, total (years) - Sub-Saharan Africa (https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.LE00.IN?locations=ZG&name_desc=true); 'Out of school children, still depressing', The Guardian Newspaper, March 21, 2021; [https://www.thecable.ng/despite-alternative-intervention-number-of-out-of-school-children-keeps-rising-in-nigeria#:~:text=As%20of%20October%202022%2C%20almost,Fund%20\(UNICEF\)%20in%202020;https://nigerianstat.gov.ng/elibrary/read/1092](https://www.thecable.ng/despite-alternative-intervention-number-of-out-of-school-children-keeps-rising-in-nigeria#:~:text=As%20of%20October%202022%2C%20almost,Fund%20(UNICEF)%20in%202020;https://nigerianstat.gov.ng/elibrary/read/1092)

- Create financing incentives to unlock private capital provision of affordable social housing for Nigerian workers and people in proximity to their businesses and workplaces.

Practicability and Clarity

Focus 1 : **SECURITY, NATIONAL COHESION AND INCLUSIVE GOVERNANCE**

Summary: The policy documents lumped security, national cohesion, and inclusive governance together as a theme, thereby combining related policy subjects with related strategic solutions into the same basket. However, having security reform and the introduction of an hourly productivity-based national minimum rate in this section is clumsy and distracting.

The manifesto grimly contextualised the threats that insecurity, as driven by insurgency, banditry, terrorism, and other organised transnational crimes, among others, poses to Nigeria's social and economic development. The candidate also highlighted his efforts in collaborating with and resourcing the police during his tenure as the governor of Anambra state as evidence of his intention in managing security challenges.

The manifesto did not show enough details that beyond the need to increase personnel and fund arms and ammunition, there need to invest in community building, trust, transitional justice and soft elements in arresting the spate of insurgency. While there are specific provisions in ensuring a more united country in the manifesto, such endeavours are better localised than appointment of few persons into positions. The manifesto did not properly define the soft elements required to counter insurgency.

In terms of structure, it would have been more effective to merge security with the full detailing of the necessary reform of the justice system as both elements are related. The inclusion of unified payment for all government personnel, codifying minimum wage and codifying consolidated Occupational Health and Safety Act would have been

¹⁶ The World Bank, Life expectancy at birth, total (years) - Sub-Saharan Africa (https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.LE00.IN?locations=ZG&name_desc=true); 'Out of school children, still depressing', The Guardian Newspaper, March 21, 2021; [https://www.thecable.ng/de-spite-alternative-intervention-number-of-out-of-school-children-keeps-rising-in-nigeria#:~:text=As%20of%20October%202022%2C%20almost,Fund%20\(UNICEF\)%20in%202020;https://nigerianstat.gov.ng/elibrary/read/1092](https://www.thecable.ng/de-spite-alternative-intervention-number-of-out-of-school-children-keeps-rising-in-nigeria#:~:text=As%20of%20October%202022%2C%20almost,Fund%20(UNICEF)%20in%202020;https://nigerianstat.gov.ng/elibrary/read/1092)

better stated under the labour and fiscal components of the manifesto. However, there is still a need for more details and quantifiable targets, especially in this security sector. Is there a spending target for the security sector? Is there going to be more investment in building community trust at local levels? How will the state policing system be addressed under a constitutional framework with enough provisions to check abuse?

Security-wise, the document's most significant and definite policy commitment is the reform of police structure in Nigeria to allow states and local governments to establish and control their respective policing outfits as one of the ways to address Nigeria's current security crisis.

Focus	Current State	Practicability
Increase the personnel of our armed forces, police and other security agencies and optimally equip, train, and fund them to respond adequately to security threats	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The size of the Nigerian military has grown more than 50% (106,500 to 223,000) between 2000 and 2019¹⁷, ditto for the police force that has witnessed close to 60% size increment in the same period¹⁸. Also, defence budget increased from \$0.57B in 2000 to \$2.57B in 2022¹⁹. In spite of this growth, all indexes on public safety and security point to a worsening of security outcomes in Nigeria. 	<p>The candidate makes a bland commitment to increase the size of the armed forces and increase funding without specifics, which essentially is what has happened in the last two decades.</p> <p>While the candidate clearly outlined the threats that insecurity poses to national development, his plans unsurprisingly reflect past governments' interventions, it is not well stated how his proposed interventions provide a different outcome.</p>
Police Reform: To introduce a three-level policing system – local—state, and federal –federal—introduction of frameworks to prevent abuse	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Nigeria Police Force is the singular most important policing agency in Nigeria primarily because of its constitutional mandate and its size; While states impelled by worsening insecurity have created policing outfits, but the jury is out on the constitutionality of these agencies²⁰; Past attempts since 1999 at constitutional amendment to accommodate state police has failed and there is a current bill before the national assembly to that effect²¹ 	<p>Structural reform of the police is primarily a contested political process as it involves constitutional amendment requiring a two-third majority support in the National Assembly, concurrence of at least 24 states and the support of non-political stakeholders.</p> <p>The candidate's political party does not have enough candidates across contestable positions for the 2023 elections, indicating that even if he emerges as a winner, he would require enormous political capital to drive his policy agendas at the National Assembly and at the state level.</p>

 Plausible

¹⁷ <https://www.macrotrends.net/countries/NGA/nigeria/military-army-size>

¹⁸ <https://www.refworld.org/docid/48d2237ac.html>; <https://www.interpol.int/en/Who-we-are/Member-countries/Africa/NIGERIA>

¹⁹ <https://www.macrotrends.net/countries/NGA/nigeria/military-spending-defense-budget>

Focus	Current State	Practicability
Resolve the national minimum wage problem by doing away with the extant salary structure and introducing an hourly productivity-based national minimum rate, by which public and private sector employers should pay employees based on their actual productivity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Section 15 of the Labour Act stipulates that the wage payment period varies between a day to one month, depending on the period specified in the employment contract; The minimum wage in Nigeria is based on monthly income with an average working period of 8 hours daily and 5 days weekly²²; The National Minimum Wage Act 2019 provides that every employer shall pay a national minimum wage of not less than N30,000 per month to every worker under his establishment, except where the number of employees is less than 25, are paid on a part-time basis, or are seasonal employees. 	<p>The candidate's proposal to change Nigeria's extant salary structure to an hourly based one for effectiveness will require the concurrence of labour unions, state governments, and other stakeholders, this will be particularly difficult, putting in perspective the fact that the current government has not been able to enforce the payment of the current minimum wage across Nigeria. The idea of a minimum wage considering the wide disparity in living costs across the country is highly contested.</p> <p>While there is evidence in literature of some level of relationship between productivity and wages, however, the relationship is neither linear nor absolute²³, raising questions on how the introduction of an hourly based system will drive productivity in a country where there are arguments about the adequacy of the current minimum wage? How will the proposed hourly rate address externalities like poor urban planning, road traffic, power inadequacy, and weather disruptions, among others?</p>
Swift, firm and fair prosecution of criminals, bandits and terrorists to end impunity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> It takes an average of 5.9 years for a contested case to move from filing to delivery of justice²⁴; States owned courts are the most important courts in terms of the criminal justice system in Nigeria, as more than 90% of criminal cases that get tried commence in magistrate courts and 80% or more of those cases terminate in magistrate court²⁵ 	<p>The failures of the Nigerian criminal justice are cross-cutting and multidimensional, represented at almost all processing points and components, highlighting the failures of past attempts at reform.</p> <p>Achieving the candidate's objective would require an extensive reform of all components of the Nigerian criminal justice system. While this is doable, it will require a high level of prioritisation, engagement, and political will.</p> <p>Moreover, banditry and some other national security threatening crimes are state offences, which are outside the prosecutorial control of the federal government. There is no clear definition on how to approach coordination on these processes especially at the subnational levels.</p>

Plausible

Not Feasible

²⁰ 'Malami explains why Amotekun is illegal', the Vanguard, January 14, 2020

²¹ 'Reps approve bill to create state police, security outfits', Punch, July 6, 2021

²² <https://wageindicator.org/labour-laws/labour-law-around-the-world/minimum-wages-regulations/minimum-wages-regulations-nigeria>

²³ Johannes Van Biesebroeck, How tight is the link between wages and productivity? A survey of the literature, Conditions of Work and Employment Series No. 54, ILO, 2015

²⁴ Peter A. Anyebe, 'Towards Fast Tracking Justice Delivery in Civil Proceedings in Nigeria' in Nigerian Institute of Advanced Legal Studies. Judicial Reform and Transformation in Nigeria: A Tribute to Hon. Justice Dahiru Musdapher, Chief Justice of Nigeria. Epiphany Azinge (ed). 2012, 136-169. Retrieved from <http://www.nials-nigeria.org/journals/Peter%20Anyebe-%20Towards%20Fast%20Tracking.pdf>

²⁵ L. Pedro, 'Criminal Jurisdiction of Magistrate Courts In Nigeria: A Need For Review' A Paper Delivered At the 'Biennial National Convention And Delegates' Conference Of Magistrates' Association Of Nigeria Corruption delaying criminal justice in Nigeria-CJ, Punch Newspaper May 1, 2013; Yussuf Ali, Delay In the Administration of Justice at the Magistrate Court- Factors Responsible and Solution, 2016. http://www.yusufali.net/articles/delay_in_the_administration_of_justice.pdf

Focus 2: **ECONOMY**

Summary: The candidate's economic policy is built on a tripod- maximisation of national agricultural potential, energising Nigeria's production capacity, and targeting fields of regional and sectoral comparative advantage for investments.

However, the synopsis of economic interventions outlined by the candidate in the manifesto do not sufficiently support the promise to **'run an entrepreneurial state able to double Nigeria's GDP in a short time and abolish extreme poverty like China that removed 740m from poverty through economic policy that emphasises social market'**. This is a very huge undertaking especially “doubling” Nigeria’s economic output.

The emphasis on productive export-led growth as a pillar of driving the economy is a bold assertion that’s required for a turnaround. The document also provided ideas on investing in agriculture value chains and mechanisation, especially in Northern Nigeria which are required to take forward the largest component of the GDP. The document also features reducing the cost of governance and also re-skilling capabilities for technical workers. The position on driving the non-oil revenue framework through expanding investment in ports, reducing export processes, and strengthening product support among others.

As stated in the previous section, there is no need to lump fiscal issues with industrial investments and ideas such as reducing debt servicing costs and also applying zero-based budgeting are better put in another category. The approach of reducing debt servicing costs which would require debt restructuring and also zero-based budgeting which is highly bureaucratic and challenging for multi-year projects was too vague and not well stated.

There are also missing pieces on incentivising investment in Nigeria’s arts and culture - music, movies, fashion and others in terms of expanding non-oil earnings. Expanding Nigeria’s non-oil exports can also include services and investing in the entire production chain is equally important in fixing urban unemployment and growing foreign exchange earnings.

The economic proposal did not make a quantitative commitment about GDP increment,

job creation, percentile reduction in poverty rate, and wealth creation, making it difficult to juxtapose the interventions against facts of economics, Nigerian reality, and other countries' experiences. Beyond that, some of the proposals are vague, offering no ideological leaning and, most importantly, not referencing ongoing interventions by the current government.

Focus	Current State	Practicability
Incentivising and investing in agro-cluster and industrial cluster development across our geo-resource zones to take advantage of agglomeration and scale effects	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Nigeria Incentive-Based Risk Sharing System for Agricultural Lending (NIRSAL) has an ongoing project that focus on eight million farmers who will benefit from a 16,000 Geo-Clusters Scheme across the country²⁶; Federal government currently has an industrial cluster development program, which includes: SMEDAN's OLOP (One LG, One Product); redevelopment of existing Abuja Industrial Development Centres into industrial clusters; Bank of Industry's industrial cluster financing products among others. There are other programs such as well- the Nnewi Automotive Component Industrial Cluster, the Remo Economic Industrial Cluster, etc.²⁷ 	<p>The candidate here and across sections of the manifesto is clear on his sectoral clustering strategy, and this strategy is renowned for spurring industry growth across the world and one example of this, is the Japanese One Village, One Product program. However, the manifesto did not reference ongoing programs in that direction, and neither did the policy document detail the focus of his proposed intervention to distinguish it from existing ones.</p> <p>NIRSAL is a \$500 million non-bank financial institution, a creation of the Central Bank of Nigeria mandated to manage agribusiness-related credit risks in Nigeria. However, it has been riddled with corruption (including the Anchors Borrower's Program) with its Managing Director sacked recently. The manifesto needs to put this in context especially in applying accountability to such schemes.²⁸</p>
Create mandatory national certification for blue-collar artisans; strengthen some of the existing tertiary schools of science and engineering to train the next generation of experts in the Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) field	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The federal government launched the FG Launched a Skill Qualification Framework for blue-workers in 2018²⁹; The N-Power training scheme has a component that focuses on skills acquisition and capacity building for young Nigerians; The Federal Ministry of Labour and Productivity is the only state body authorised to issue Trade Test Certificates to artisans whose working skills meet the required standards. 	<p>Nigeria's unemployment crisis has been linked to gaps in technical skills, which drive the country's reliance on foreign artisans³⁰.</p> <p>The candidate's proposal has the potential to standardise knowledge and build the capacity of workers in the informal sector is highly welcome.</p>

Feasible

Plausible

²⁶ '8m farmers to benefit from 16,000 geo-clusters scheme – NIRSAL', Vanguard, January 12, 2020

Focus	Current State	Practicability
Implementation of radical economic policies that will drastically reduce national debt-servicing ratio and debt to revenue ratio	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Debt interest cost is projected to consume 24% of Nigeria's revenue in 2022 and Nigeria's debt service-to-revenue ratio would jump to 92% in 2022 from 76% in 2021 ; According to the 2022 fiscal³¹; performance report for January to April, Nigeria's total revenue stood at N1.63 trillion while debt servicing stood at N1.94 trillion, showing a variance of over N300 billion³² 	Nigeria's high debt-servicing ratio and debt-to-revenue ratio are driven by oil revenues underperforming due to significant oil production shortfalls and drive high non-oil taxes. Essentially, it is a revenue problem driven by a composite of security, political, and economic factors. The recent acceleration of public debt has not helped change things radically. The candidate has proposed radical economic reforms of no particular description to address this problem.
Scaling up the development of manufacturing and processing technological capabilities across the primary products value chains where we enjoy comparative advantage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nigeria's top export commodities are: Crude Petroleum (\$30B), Petroleum Gas (\$5.89B), Scrap Vessels (\$1.29B), Special Purpose Ships (\$775M), and Refined Petroleum (\$613M), Cocoa Beans (\$489 million) Gold (\$218 million)³³ 	Nigeria's current socio economic woes mandate the need to expand revenue sources, thus making the candidate's proposal timely. However, the proposal details are commendable but adding quantitative targets in terms of non-oil exports size would have been important.

Plausible

Focus 3: **COST OF GOVERNANCE & RESTRUCTURING**

Summary: The candidate in this section makes bold, incisive, and definite commitments towards the reform of the Nigerian federal system and most important financial institutions and processes. Restructuring has been a constant theme in every electoral cycle since 1999, and the candidate lucidly defined his ideas of restructuring, areas of priority, and provided alternatives to current systems.

The candidate commits to extensive reform of the civil service along the lines recommended by the Orosanye committee so as to reduce the cost of government and redundancy, integrate traditional institutions in the mainstream of governance, eliminate some of Nigeria's wasteful subsidy regimes, liberalise the foreign exchange regime, and reform the revenue sharing formula, among others. Undertaking this level of extensive reform requires political control of the National Assembly and broad influence in the polity; how-

²⁷ 'Ogun, firm in deal to develop Remo industrial cluster', Guardian Newspaper, November 14, 2022; 'Industrial Clusters and Economic Development in Nigeria', Bank of Industry Working Paper Series: No. 4, November 27, 2018

²⁸ 'Buhari Sacks Managing Director Of NIRSAL, Aliyu Abdulhameed Over Fraud Allegations, Withdraws His Exotic Cars', Sahara Reporters, December 2, 2022

²⁹ 'Unemployment: FG Launches Skill Qualification Framework', This Day, February 28, 2018

³⁰ 'Worries over declining training scheme for artisans', the Guardian, December 21, 2020

ever, the candidate is coming from outside the established political system, and there will be huge political capital required for implementation. The candidate is also very specific on the ideas on macroeconomic restructuring such as single exchange rate window, CBN financing and also lacks fiscal and monetary policy. The approach of building a single database of tax payers, tax delineation and other initiatives is a major plank to rebuilding Nigeria's revenue base as long as it is well founded on transparency and accountability, which have been well discharged in the document.

Focus	Current State	Practicability
Immediate implementation of the Oronsaye Report which recommended the consolidation of agencies of government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Stephen Oronsaye panel was set up by President Jonathan in 2011 to rationalise and restructure Federal Government parastatals, commissions, and agencies. The committee identified 541 government parastatals, commissions and agencies, both statutory and non-statutory, and recommended a reduction in the number of statutory agencies from 263 to 161; 38 agencies are to be abolished, 52 agencies merged and 18 agencies revert to departments within ministries. The committee submitted its report in April 2012, the federal government inaugurated the Adoke Committee to produce a white paper in 2014; in November 2021 Buhari setup to committees to review the report again and in July 2022 another committee was setup to review the white paper³⁴. 	<p>Past and current governments have avoided the implementation of the report due to the attendant political implications of massive job cuts in a nation with very high unemployment rates.</p> <p>Also, there is strong resistance from some of the agencies to be scrapped or merged, further raising the bar of possibility. While the candidate has expressed his clear intention to implement the controversial report, the capacity to restructure the civil service requires political control of the national assembly and the concurrence of critical stakeholders, two factors that the candidate is unlikely to possess immediately, even if elected as the president.</p> <p>Presidents with control of both National Assemblies and firm control of the polity have found it difficult to restructure. How realistic is a comprehensive reform by an incoming president from outside the established power blocs and projected to be without control of the national assembly? There is a huge political economy required to deliver this lofty idea.</p>
Drive the inclusion of our customary laws (norms and values - with respect to their compatibility with our constitution) in the contents of our formal law and in the administration of justice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Customary law may be divided in terms of nature into two classes, namely, ethnic or non-Moslem customary law and Moslem law; Customary law is observed routinely by the people, but it has limited application in Nigerian Courts³⁵; Traditional rulers, while not having specific constitutional roles, are widely seen as custodians of cultures. 	<p>The candidate's intention to bring traditional systems into the mainstream of justice administration in Nigeria is a very brilliant proposal that has the potential to revolutionise the administration of justice in Nigeria. The implementation of the proposal is at the sub-national level, which means applicability will require the support of local actors with diverse interests.</p>

Plausible

Not Feasible

³¹ 'Nigeria risks deeper debt crisis on low revenues - KPMG', Businessday, October 26, 2022

³² 'Nigeria broke as debt payment exceeds revenue', Premium Times, July 21, 2022

³³ <https://oec.world/en/profile/country/nga>; <https://commodity.com/data/nigeria>

³⁴ 'Why FG May Not Implement Oronsaye Report Before 2023', Daily Trust, November 14, 2022

³⁵ Matthew Nwocha, Customary Law, Social Development and Administration of Justice in Nigeria, Beijing Law Review, 2016, 7 (4)

Focus	Current State	Practicability
Restoration of fiscal viability by discontinuing unaffordable subsidies which have left a black hole in the government's finances	<p>The Nigerian government currently subsidises the following public goods and services:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ PMS ▪ Education ▪ Healthcare ▪ Power 	<p>While the candidate in other parts of the manifesto emphasised the need to remove petroleum subsidies in Nigeria, this section does not reference the other subsidies that would be removed to enhance fiscal viability.</p> <p>It is difficult to evaluate this proposal without the required specifics.</p>
Transparent liberalisation of the foreign	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Globally, most economies operate within a spectrum of a fixed and floating exchange rates. The extent to which a country's exchange rate is fixed or floating depends on its economic and political stability. A fixed exchange rate is one that is pegged to another currency, while a floating exchange rate is one that is allowed to fluctuate freely against other currencies. <p>declining receipts from crude oil sales.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ According to the CBN governor, doing away with the current dual exchange regime 'will certainly lead to capital flight, lead to massive depreciation or devaluation of the currency and ultimately to currency crisis in Nigeria and I think we should all know that it is a road to perdition to ever go in that direction'³⁷ 	<p>Nigeria's current dual exchange rate system is susceptible to manipulation by prospectors and has been reported to be a cesspool of corruption.</p> <p>However, the CBN governor and some economists have persistently argued against a change of this best of worst options.</p> <p>The candidate's proposal for liberalisation of the regime aligns with the view of international financial institutions and removes incentives for corruption.</p>

Plausible

Feasible

Focus 4: INDUSTRIALIZATION

Summary: There is a gap between the candidate's promises to 'leapfrog Nigeria into the 4th Industrial Revolution (4IR), through the application of scientific and technological innovations to create a digital economy' and the plans and strategies itemised in the policy document.

Beyond making not making quantitative commitments for ease of tracking, most of the proposals are ambivalent statements of purposes, most of which fail to countenance

³⁶ CBN, History of Foreign Exchange Management. [https://www.cbn.gov.ng/IntOps/FXManagement.asp#:~:text=Foreign%20Exchange%20Management%20from%201986%20to%202002&text=A%20transitory%20dual%20exchange%20rate,Foreign%20Exchange%20Market%20\(FEM\).](https://www.cbn.gov.ng/IntOps/FXManagement.asp#:~:text=Foreign%20Exchange%20Management%20from%201986%20to%202002&text=A%20transitory%20dual%20exchange%20rate,Foreign%20Exchange%20Market%20(FEM).)

ongoing interventions in the areas of focus.

The proposal to increase Nigeria's refining sufficiency did not make any numerical commitments about the quantum of refining outputs nor distinguish how his proposals depart from the current government launched refining roadmap. The investment in digital skills to apply frontier technologies such as decentralised finance, blockchain, IoT, artificial intelligence and other technologies is a well reasoned proposition. The investment in MSMEs also could have been better enunciated especially on how it targets employment.

Focus	Current State	Practicability
Reduce importation of refined petroleum products and eliminating the petrol subsidy regime through incentivization of the mid-stream segment of the petroleum sector by facilitating gas processing plants and privately-owned small and medium scale boutique refineries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The value of Nigeria's petroleum imports in 2021 was \$1.04 billion³⁸ Nigeria daily consumption is put at 62.9 million litres per day³⁹. Nigeria's refining capacity: Dangote refinery 650,000 BPD ; NNPC- 400,000bpd BUA Refinery- 200,000bpd; Waltersmith- 5,000bpd Duport Modular Refinery- 2,500bpd Under construction- 2,000bpd Atlantic Refinery; Azikel Hydro-skimming Refinery -12,000bpd⁴⁰ 	<p>The current government launched the Refining Roadmap which has four focus areas of - rehabilitation of existing four national refineries, co-location of new refineries, construction of greenfield refineries and construction of modular refineries. The candidate's plan did not countenance these ongoing investments and plans.</p> <p>While the candidate has made no specific commitments in terms of local refining capacity, current and planned investments in the sector are enough to guarantee local sufficiency in a short run.</p>
Encourage corporate entities and industries that make discernible efforts to transit to clean and alternative energy, not only for local consumption but also for export	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> According to the Association of Nigerian Electricity Distributors, the country has supply gap of at least 180,000 MW 	<p>Looking at the direness of Nigeria's energy crisis and decline in revenue, the cost of energy production is a critical factor, as issues around the high cost of renewable energy and the long wait for investment returns are essential considerations.</p>
Prioritisation of the development of MSMEs through a boutique of incentives which include new structures, new capital access, new legislation to support small business growth and strategic centres of excellence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> MSMEs account for 96% of all business activities in Nigeria. MSMEs sector currently contributes 50% of the GDP and has provided over 48% of all employment opportunities in the country⁴¹ 	<p>MSMEs are central to Nigeria's economic life and any prospective industrialization drive.</p> <p>The candidate identified areas of potential support for the sector but made no quantitative commitment in terms of financial outlay, number of each or milestones for ease of tracking and proper analysis.</p>

³⁷ 'How a unified exchange rate regime will impact Nigeria's economy', The Vanguard, February 1, 2019

³⁸ '\$1.04bn spent on fuel imports in 2021, says CBN', Punch, February 24, 2022

³⁹ 'Nigeria's Average Daily Petrol Supply is 68 Million Litres, NNPC Clarifies', This Day, September 5, 2022

⁴⁰ 'Nigeria targets 1.4mbpd domestic refining capacity in 5 years', Businessday, March 2, 2022

Focus	Current State	Practicability
Expansion of Nigerian content initiative with emphasis on the promotion of made-in-Nigeria goods and services as a pillar of our administration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Nigerian Content Development and Monitoring Board (NCDMB) which is in charge of the Nigerian content initiative was established in 2010 by the Nigerian Oil and Gas Industry Content Development (NOGICD) Act 	<p>Currently, the focus of the initiative is the utilisation of Nigerian human and material resources for the provision of goods and services to the petroleum industry.</p> <p>The candidate proposes to expand the initiative, however, the focal sector beneficiaries are not iterated, and the immediate focus is not described.</p>

Focus 5: INFRASTRUCTURE

Summary: The central focus of the candidate's infrastructural plan is the power sector, with the candidate detailing out areas of investment and making bold quantitative commitments to milestones. At the core of the candidate's plans for electricity generation and distribution are some of the current government's interventions, particularly the Siemens network improvement deal and the mini-grid development programs.

Putting in perspective Nigeria's critical infrastructure gap, particularly transportation and housing, there was surprisingly no specific commitment to road and rail beyond the promise to establish a Highway Trust Fund Account, ditto for housing, where the candidate made a terse assurance of **'creating financing incentives to unlock private capital for the provision of affordable social housing for Nigerian workers.'** It would be nice for the document to mention specific projects that are defined as core anchors of Nigeria's development especially in the roads and rail categories. Expanding fibre optic access to tertiary institutions is a huge backbone to drive access to quality education and foster quality service delivery.

The candidate's infrastructure plan which lays on the current efforts is welcome but there's need to situate this within the current fiscal restraints of the Nigerian government. The attention to invest in min-grids and also invest in 8,000 MW renewable power is commendable and long overdue. Reducing the cost of gas for embedded solutions will require a strong regulatory framework to ensure that process is not abused as this subsidy will have significant impact on NNPC revenue profile.

Considering the fiscal challenges, embarking on an expensive nuclear programme or additional financing to reach 25GW in the current climate might be a huge task. A combi-

⁴¹ 'MSMEs, backbone of Nigeria's economy — UNIDO', Vanguard, July 8, 2022

nation of efficiency, right market pricing and also expansion embedded with renewable energy might be enough. The power plan is solid and if well implemented might change Nigeria's energy dynamics, unleashing new jobs as well as economic growth.

Focus	Current State	Practicability
Complete the \$2.3b Nigeria-Siemens network improvement deal (technical upgrade and strengthening) to achieve 7,000MW stable capacity by 2023, 11,000 megawatts by 2024, and 25,000 megawatts by 2025	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The government in 2020 signed a contract with Siemens to upgrade the electricity network to achieve operational capacity of 25,000 megawatts (MW) from the current average of around 4,500 MW, through a series of projects spanning three phases 	The candidate's commitment to continue with the Siemens agreement as one of the pathways to solve Nigeria's current energy crisis is commendable.
Launch a solar power revolution across Nigeria, particularly Northern Nigeria, with a view of ensuring that all cities and industrial parks in Northern Nigeria have uninterrupted power by the end of 2024.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 19 northern states and the federal capital territory are in the process of achieving 4000MW off-grid electricity by 2023 through the building of 100-megawatt solar plants⁴² 	There are ongoing off grid solar power projects in Northern Nigeria that the manifesto in promising power sufficiency for the region did not reference. However, rapid investments in renewable energy is overdue considering abundant energy resource.
Develop 100,000 mini-grids across the country by end 2024 which will provide reliable power supply for up to 750,000 rural SMEs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The government in 2022 signed a €9.3m agreement for development of 23-Mini-grids solar project⁴³ Installed capacity of mini grids in Nigeria is 12MW, powering 135 communities⁴⁴ 	If a mini grid is an integrated local generation and distribution system with installed capacity below 1MW, capable of serving numerous end-users independent of the national grid, then the proposal to create 100,000 mini grids in around 20 months is unrealistic. While there is no limit to the number of mini grids that can be installed in Nigeria, the scheduled time, financial implications, and logistical considerations make it highly unlikely.

Focus 6: HUMAN CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT

Summary: The candidate, using charts and statistics, painted Nigeria's atrocious human capital development outcomes and identified some of the drivers of this poor performance. The candidate made significant promises in the healthcare sector, proposing to provide health insurance coverage for more than 60% of the Nigerian population and commit at least 15% of the annual budgetary allocation to healthcare. While these commit-

⁴² 'Northern states target 4000MW off-grid electricity by 2023', Businessday, September 2022

⁴³ 'FG, indigenous developers sign €9.3m agreement for 23-Mini-grids solar project', The Vanguard, February 18, 2022

⁴⁴ <https://nigeriase4all.gov.ng/mini-grids>

ments are commendable, there are doubts about the practicability of rapidly increasing health insurance coverage from 10 million to 133 million in four years.

However, the candidate's proposals in other human capital development components are uninspiring alternatives to current systems and processes. The candidate avoided a numeric commitment on job creation, percentile reduction in poverty, school enrolment, and funding of university education, among others. However, the broad ideas on “retraining, retooling and re-certification of teachers; incentivising industry experts to take up teaching roles in partnership with universities; curriculum overhaul and policy and institutional review” including revamp of UBEC and TETFUND are really good ideas on changing the education paradigm.

There is a big point on fighting multidimensional poverty but it does not have specific solutions except **“These interventions will focus on expanding access to quality health and nutrition, education, and labour force participation of every Nigerian and especially, youths, women, and people living with disability”**. A review of this section leaves the concern- do these proposals offer enough premise to hope for a change to the current human development crisis in Nigeria?

Focus	Current State	Practicability
Provide health insurance cover to 133 million poorest Nigerians including pregnant women, children, the aged and the disabled.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Currently around 10 million Nigerians are covered under various health insurance programmes by NHIS, state agencies and private plans by Health Maintenance Organisations⁴⁵ 	The plan by the candidate to increase health insurance coverage by more than 100% in four years without providing insight into his supposed strategic plan is plainly unrealistic, putting in perspective the fact that achieving the current 10 million mark has taken the country more than 15 years
Allocate at least 15% of annual budgets to the improvement of the health sector.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nigeria's health sector got 4.75% in 2019, 3.83% in 2020, 4.18% in 2021 and 5.35% in 2022 fiscal years. 	<p>20 years after the Abuja Declaration, where African states commit to allocating at least 15% of their annual budgets to health, Nigeria has never met the threshold.</p> <p>The plan by the candidate is commendable but will require immense fiscal adjustments.</p>
Alleviate poverty by engineering massive economic growth that will create jobs, grow incomes, build capacities and capabilities across the breadth of the socioeconomic divide.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nigeria's Annual GDP Growth Rate averaged around 2.65% from 2011 until 2022, with a peak performance of 6.88% in the first quarter of 2011 and a record low of -6.10 percent in the second quarter of 2020⁴⁶. A study finds that economic growth and MDG spending in 	<p>With 63% of Nigerians living below the poverty line and the poverty rate steadily increasing in the last decade, addressing poverty would require a deliberate strategy and action plan.</p> <p>The candidate's plan to hit poverty reduction on the back of economic prosperity is vague, but at what level of economics do we start making a dent on the hold of poverty looking at Nigeria's average</p>

⁴⁵ 'Over 170 million Nigerians without health insurance', The Guardian, September 25, 2020

Focus	Current State	Practicability
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nigeria has not substantially reduced poverty over the sample period (1980- 2004).⁴⁷ 	GDP growth rate?
Commitment to transform the educational sector and prioritise the funding of this critical sector. Our tertiary institutions will be remodelled to serve as hubs or centres for research, development, and commercialization of ideas for the quick industrialization of Nigeria.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nigeria has the highest number of out-of-school children in Sub-Saharan Africa, with a figure estimated at between 10.2million⁴⁸ and 20 million⁴⁹; Between 1999 and 2022, public universities in Nigeria have lost 4 years, 6 months to industrial actions; Between 1999 and 2022 the average budgetary allocation to education is between 5-6%⁵⁰ 	<p>Available indicators point to the fact that the educational sector in Nigeria is in a state of crisis and needs special attention.</p> <p>Unlike in healthcare, the candidate makes no budgetary percentile commitment to educational funding, and did not address the sustainability of the current model of university funding.</p> <p>The proposed reform of education is vague and leaves more questions than answers.</p>

Focus 7: CONCLUSION

The candidate is projected as a popular alternative to the two main popular political establishment aspirants and the preferred choice of Nigeria's young, active, and internet-savvy population. He was framed as progressive, receptive, and an embodiment of the aspirations of Nigeria's youthful population. His candidacy has amplified Nigeria's youthful population in the electoral process.

The candidate's manifesto made bold commitments in the areas of structural and fiscal reforms, healthcare financing and health insurance coverage, power generation and distribution, and police reforms, among others. Surprisingly, looking at the demographic characterization and expectations of the candidate's core supporters, the policy plan failed to make quantitative commitments in some of the most critical areas—job creation, poverty reduction, educational funding, GDP growth and youth empowerment, among others.

Taken as a whole, the policy document could have been better on its numerical element. It lacks clarity in some sections, and it misses the opportunity to provide distinct alterna-

⁴⁶ <https://tradingeconomics.com/nigeria/gdp-growth-annual#:~:text=GDP%20Annual%20Growth%20Rate%20in,the%20second%20quarter%20of%202020.>

⁴⁷ Malam Bello and Abdul Roslan, Has Poverty Reduced in Nigeria 20 Years After? *European Journal of Social Sciences*, 2010, 15 (1)

⁴⁸ Out of school children, still depressing', *The Guardian Newspaper*, March 21, 2021

⁴⁹ [https://www.thecable.ng/despite-alternative-intervention-number-of-out-of-school-children-keeps-rising-in-nigeria#:~:text=As%20of%20October%202022%2C%20almost,Fund%20\(UNICEF\)%20in%202020.](https://www.thecable.ng/despite-alternative-intervention-number-of-out-of-school-children-keeps-rising-in-nigeria#:~:text=As%20of%20October%202022%2C%20almost,Fund%20(UNICEF)%20in%202020.)

⁵⁰ Odigwe Francisca and Owan Valentine, Trend Analysis of the Nigerian Budgetary Allocation to the Education Sector from 2009 – 2018 with Reference to UNESCO'S 26% Benchmark, *International Journal of Educational Benchmark*, 2019 14(1); <https://www.macrotrands.net/countries/NGA/nigeria/education-spending>

tives to current policy frameworks and processes. The breadth of structural reforms proposed by the candidate is exciting, however, will the candidate have the required political control of the legislature and influence on the polity to undertake such levels of reform? Leaving one with the question, what is doable taking into account Nigeria's political economy of governance?