

POLICY AND SCHEMATIC ASSESSMENTS OF CANDIDATES IN THE 2023 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION



Asiwaju Bola Ahmed Tinubu



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

Bola Ahmed Adekunle Tinubu was born on March 29, 1952 in Lagos to the Tinubu family of Lagos State, his mother, Chief Abibatu Mogaji, was the former Iyalaja of Lagos State. He graduated in 1979 with a Bachelor of Science degree in Accounting from the Chicago State University¹. The candidate worked in a number of American firms- Arthur Andersen, Deloitte, Haskins & Sells, and GTE Services Corporation and returned to Nigeria in 1983 to join Mobil Oil Nigeria, and later became an executive of the company².

However, questions have been raised over his age, academic qualifications, parentage and even place of birth⁴. Some reports equally linked the candidate with drug trafficking rings in the United States⁵.

◆ Political Antecedent

The candidate is one of Nigeria's most influential political actors since 1999, largely for characterising the face of opposition politics before the assumption of office of President Muhammadu Buhari and pushing the Nigerian progressive brand of politics.

His active engagement with politics includes the following:

Year	Principal Political Engagement
1992	▪ Represented the Lagos West constituency in the Nigerian Senate
1999 -2007	▪ Governor of Lagos State
1992	▪ Founder of Action Congress of Nigeria ⁶
1992	▪ Played a pivotal role in the establishment of All Progressives Congress ⁷

¹Don Richie, Jagaban: The Profile of an Iconic Leader: Asiwaju Bola Ahmed Tinubu full biography, life experiences and career, 2022.

²Web Archive: My Profile: Bola Tinubu (<https://web.archive.org/web/20110723020125/http://www.asiwajubolatinubu.net/about/index.html>)

³'Tokunbo Afikuyomi falsified Tinubu's academic credentials to INEC, says Campaign Headquarters', Peoples Gazzette, JUNE 25, 2022 (<https://gazettengr.com/just-in-tokunbo-afikuyomi-falsified-tinubus-academic-credentials-to-inec-says-campaign-headquarters/>)

⁴'Tinubu and the certificate scandal that refuses to die', The Vanguard Newspaper, June 30, 2022

⁵'Nigerian Pres' Svengali Tied to Heroin', Daily Beast, April 14, 2017 (<https://www.thedailybeast.com/nigerian-pres-svengali-tied-to-heroin>)

⁶'Tinubu's Three Decades of Democratic Struggle', Thisday Newspaper, August 2, 2022

⁷Afolabi Adekaiyaoja, The Inevitability of Bola Ahmed Tinubu, The Republic, August 30, 2022

◆ Ideology And Followership

The candidate was involved in the agitations for the return to democratic governance in the 1990s and built a political career on democratic consolidation and reform of the Nigerian federal system. The candidate as a governor equally pioneered some bureaucratic and governance system reforms, some of which have been copied and replicated in states across Nigeria.

Policy Priorities

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

◆ Policy Document

The policy document titled- **Renewed Hope, 2023**- has national security, economy, agriculture, power, oil and gas, transportation, education, the digital economy, sport, entertainment and culture, youth empowerment and entrepreneurship, women empowerment, social programs, judicial reforms, federalism and decentralisation of power and foreign policy as thematic areas of priority.

◆ Media Interviews and Lectures

- **Restructuring:** “Moving many of the 68 items in the Exclusive List to the Residual List as was the case in the 1963 Constitution will help ensure true federalism, he said. These items include police, prisons, stamp duties, regulation of tourist traffic, registration of business names, incorporation of companies, trade, commerce and census.”⁸
- **State Police:** “The time has come to take the necessary legal actions to allow for the creation of state police and the recruitment and training of many more police officers. Such state-created forces should be based on the modern tenets of community policing and optimal relations and cooperation with local communities.”⁹

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

- **Taxation:** “If you reduce the purchasing power of the people, we can further slow down the economy. Let us widen the tax net. Those who are not paying now, even if they are relatives of Bola Tinubu, let the net be bigger and we take in more taxes. That is what we must do in the country instead of another layer of taxes for now.”¹⁰

Originality and coherence

The 80-page document is serialised into 18 chapters and each focused on thematic governance areas, with the candidate summarising in the foreword his aspiration for Nigeria, using his performance as the governor of Lagos State as the foundation of his proposed presidency.

While the content is largely original, the title '**Renewed Hope, 2023**' is similar to Chief M.K.O Abiola's '**Hope, 1993**', campaign documents. Whether there is an ideological correlation between the candidate's worldview and Abiola's or just plain similarity in phrasing remains to be seen.

The policy document is coherent and well laid out, however it is filled with aspirational statements, with very limited quantitative commitments against which performance can be measured.

Thematic focus and context

Focus 1: NATIONAL SECURITY

Background: Since the return to democratic governance in 1999, Nigeria has witnessed the disturbing rise in the activities of violent non-state actors and their domination of national and sub-national security agendas. It is therefore not surprising that Nigeria has performed poorly in almost all indicators benchmarking public safety and security.

On the 2021 safety and security sub-index of the Global Prosperity Index, Nigeria ranked 143 out of the 167 countries polled (Legatum Institute, 2021). On the World Bank's political stability and absence of violence component of the Worldwide Governance Indicators, Nigeria scored 4.72 out of the 100 gradable scores (World bank, 2020).

In a decade of measurement, Nigeria witnessed a decline on the Security and Rule of Law component of the Ibrahim Index of African Governance (Mo Ibrahim Foundation, 2020).

Against this backdrop the candidate's main focus security-wise includes the following:

- Creation of Anti-Terrorist Battalions;
- Upgrade Tactical Communications and logistics;
- Upgrade weapon systems and improve local arms production;
- Improve Salaries and general welfare of security services;
- Provide economic and social assistance to communities impacted by security crisis;
- Development of critical infrastructure protection plan;
- Revitalization of Ranger or Forest Guard force and enhanced protection of rural and border communities;
- Improved management of national database for security purposes: and
- Reform and reposition of the police

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

Background: Nigeria is a natural resource dependent country, and manufactured goods make up only about 6% of all exports from Nigeria . National Income comes primarily from Crude Oil, Natural Gas and Agriculture . Nigeria's population growth has remained constant at 2.5% , GDP increased by 3.6% in 2021¹³, while inflation and interest rates remain in double digits – reported at 20.5% and 15.50 respectively¹⁴. 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. Business environment is also challenging and limits individual ability for acquiring productive skills and for accessing credit/capital for turning ideas into thriving businesses.

¹¹ <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/TX.VAL.MANF.ZS.UN?locations=NG>

¹² <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/TX.VAL.MANF.ZS.UN?locations=NG>

¹³ https://datacommons.org/place/country/NGA?utm_medium=explore&mprop=amount&popt=EconomicActivity&cpv=activitySource%2CGrossDomesticProduction&hl=en

¹⁴ <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/556413-cbn-raises-key-interest-rate-to-highest-level-in-move-against-inflation.html>

The candidate's plan to turn around the economy includes:

- Review of fiscal allocation formula to allow states greater flexibility to foster grassroots economic development;
- 10% GDP growth based on 2021 World Bank Data;
- Promotion of rapid industrialization;
- Reduce Youth unemployment by half in 4 years;
- Reform of the current oil-based dollar denominated budgetary methodology;
- Using investment in national infrastructure modernization to provide employments to millions of Nigerians and drive economic growth;
- Utilisation of tax credits, rebates and other targeted fiscal measures to incentivise global brands to Nigeria;
- Creation of a progressive tax regime, while plugging harmful loopholes, enhance the efficiency of collection and give the people a greater sense of responsibility in relation to their taxes;
- Civil service reform and reduction of the cost of governance;
- Significant expansion of government revenue by creating the enabling environment to expand the private sector initiatives;
- Limiting foreign currency denominated debts to essential expenditures that cannot be adequately addressed by either naira denominated expenditures or debt obligations;
- Creation of geopolitical based industrial hubs- Northwest and Northeast- textiles; South East and South-South - dry port and labour intensive manufacturing; South West- highest quality glass items; North Central- mineral explorations.

Focus 3: CRITICAL ECONOMIC LEVERS (HOUSING, AGRICULTURE, OIL AND GAS, DIGITAL ECONOMY, SPORTS & INFRASTRUCTURE)

Background: Energy consumption in Nigeria is still far below sub-Saharan Africa average at around 140kWh per capita (almost three times lower than the average for Sub-Saharan Africa). Only 62% of the population have access to electricity and fewer still (24%) have access to non-solid fuels¹⁵. The country suffers from a huge infrastructural deficit, as total infrastructure stock represents only 35% of the 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 years.¹⁶

The candidate's focus in this area includes:

- Review and Revision of Land Use Act;
- Establishment of a new social housing policy;
- Deliver 4 million housing units per year;
- Generate, transmit and distribute sufficient, affordable electricity to give our people the requisite power to enlighten their lives, their homes, and their very dreams;
- Eliminate estimated billing method;
- Regulatory reform to allow private sector, local and state government actors to electrify rural communities;
- Review of the Electric Power Sector Reform Act 2005;
- Increase crude oil production to 2.6mmbpd by 2027 and 4mbpd by 2030;
- Increase indigenous share of crude oil production to over 1mbps by 2027;
- Achieve full deregulation of midstream gas prices within 6 months, increase gas production by 20% and complete critical gas infrastructure projects by 2027;
- Ending fuel subsidy regime;

¹⁵ <https://www.enerdata.net/estore/energy-market/nigeria/>

¹⁶ <https://businessday.ng/news/article/infrastructure-deficit-hinders-nigerias-development-experts/>

- Review of the organisation, structure and operations of the Nigerian Railway Corporation;
- Rehabilitation and expansion of existing federal roads and expressway;
- prioritisation and completion of critical ongoing national railway projects;
- Increase cultivation percentage of arable land in Nigerian from 35% to 65%;
- Support initiative to construct fresh produce storage facilities in major marketplaces of major cities and towns to minimise waste and better preserve perishable food items;
- Introduction of commodity boards to establish minimum prices for strategic crops such as cashew, cocoa, sesame, soya, cassava, yam, rubber, okra, palm kernels, groundnut and okra;
- Launch the Irrigate Nigeria Project, which will be based on a PPP approach to the construction of small-scale irrigation and water catchment systems.

Focus 4: HUMAN CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT (EDUCATION, HEALTH AND SOCIAL PROTECTION)

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.¹⁷ Nigeria has the highest number of out-of-school children in Sub-Saharan Africa, a figure estimated at between 10.2million¹⁸ and 20 million.¹⁹ By 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 atrocious indexes are compounded by a 2.5% annual population growth rate, with increasing demand on public service and infrastructure, which in turn slows economic growth and reduces government's ability to invest in public service and infrastructure.

¹⁷ 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)

¹⁸ 'Out of school children, still depressing', The Guardian Newspaper, March 21, 2021

¹⁹ [https://www.thecable.ng/despite-alternative-intervention-num-](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.)

[ber-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.)

²⁰ <https://nigerianstat.gov.ng/elibrary/read/1092>

The candidate's focus in this area includes:

- Management and policy reforms of educational system;
- Institute a pilot student loan regime;
- Establish a special education fund that will be responsible for funding university education through selling of bonds;
- Establish a task force headed by a special czar will be created to address the problem of out of school children;
- Implementation of a mandatory health insurance scheme to cover at least 40% of the population within two years;
- support the allocation of about 1% of pooled health insurance funds to health research;
- Creation of one million new jobs in the ICT sector within its first 24 months in office;
- Deliver broadband services to 90% of the population by 2025;
- Establishment of a Media City as a Special Economic Zone to attract foreign investment and incentivise both local and international participation in the initiative;
- Build a modern Media City modelled on the Dubai Media City;
- Establishment of an Athletes' Welfare Fund;
- Engage 2 million volunteers Entrepreneurs and professionals on intergenerational, business mentoring and co-operation;
- To reduce youth unemployment by half within four years;
- Reserve at least three cabinet positions for persons under the age of 40 and 6 more positions for person under the age of 50.

Practicability and Clarity

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

The candidate's economic plan is built on tripod- reforms of the structural model of the Nigerian economy, incentivisation of the private sector and active engagement with sub-national components and investment in infrastructural development to spur economic growth. The candidate's plan links economic growth with the functioning of other sectors of national life, essentially conceiving economic growth as the outcome of multi-

ple functioning processes and systems.

The plan reiterates some of the challenges that ail the economy and the insufficiency of oil receipts alone to drive Nigeria out of current fiscal crisis. The plan also takes positive cognisance of the need to arrest youth unemployment and also expand industrial capacity of urban centres, thereby providing the opportunity for job creation.

On monetary policy, the document lays out the challenges of a dysfunctional exchange rate but does not commit to unifying the exchange rate. It plans to “...work with the Central Bank and the financial sector to carefully review and better optimise the exchange rate regime.” The document also provides its explanation on the inflation rate currently at 22% YoY while explaining that it does not intend to curtail public spending in order not to suppress demand.

There is a need for more clarity on how it intends to ramp up production. While attention was copiously paid to import substitution and support for tax rebates for domestic manufacturers, there was no position of rapidly expanding exports with non-oil exports at \$3.45bn as at 2021. Elements of limiting foreign debts are also welcome but the crowding effect of the private sector in context of the proposed N20tn bond the CBN is not well defended in the document.

There’s a commendable position of raising revenue as the document asserts that “A Tinubu government shall deploy the same skills and expertise used in Lagos State to generate record levels of internally generated revenue, create wealth and attract investment.” It is important to provide more specificity but acknowledging raising Nigeria’s tax profile and reforming corporate taxation is commendable. However, no target was stated as the current tax-to-GDP of 6% remains incredibly low and the document doesn’t offer a direction on quantification.

The document also states that “we will streamline the amount that the government spends on itself. A cap will be placed on fiscal expenditures for the construction of government buildings and on the salaries and related compensation packages of elected officials and senior personnel in the executive branch of the Federal Government... However, we will continue the process of weeding out ghost workers, as well as ghost projects and expenditures from the system.” This is a significant promise considering how messy Nigeria’s budget has been in recent years with dubious insertions and the rising overhead costs. However, there was no mention of the monster in the room – Nigeria’s rising debt servicing costs – which has reached 86% of public revenues. There’s no mention of what the candidates aim to do about it.

Additionally, the policy also builds on the successes of the current government and enlarges the role of private investment and innovation in economic growth. However, certain targets are unrealistic and not grounded such as a visualised projection that Nigeria is expected to grow at 10% annually and reallocation of revenue formula without containing the worsening fiscal condition of the Federal Government.

The candidate's economic plan is high on economic buzzwords and ambitious claims, however disappointingly low in quantifiable commitments against which progress can be measured. The ludicrous element of the plan is a position that seeks to "Much like the European Union has done, we too must be realistic and legislatively suspend the limits on government spending during this protracted moment". This is a dangerous position as recent outsized intervention by the CBN to prove this theory through "Ways and Means" has led to significant rise in inflation and weakening of the currency.

To clarify this, to suspend the nexus between revenue and expenditure is to destroy macroeconomic fundamentals that have dire consequences in the near term. Nigeria's fiscal spending must be rooted in efficiency, rapid embrace of productivity and restructuring the revenue collecting agencies to expand the tax bracket.

Additionally, the policy does not include the financial requirements of the ambitious plans detailed in the policy document. Promises were made on development of dams, a bold national highway system, "Green Great Wall of the North" but there were no clear specific targets that can easily be measured. How many kilometres of roads? What road projects would be of priority to unlock the prosperity that the candidates seek?

Focus	Current State	Practicability
Reduce youth unemployment by half in 4 years	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Youth unemployment is substantially higher than national average of 40.1% at 53.4% (15-24 year) and 37.2% (25-34 years²¹) 	<p>The candidate would have to create 10.86million jobs for young Nigerians in 4 years to meet this target and that translates to 2.7million jobs a year. The candidate's pathway to achieving this target includes industrialization, ICT growth, maximising the potential of the sport and entertainment sector and agricultural reforms among others. The candidate's proposal even if fully achieved falls short of the 5 million a year threshold required to address Nigeria's current unemployment crisis.</p>

Focus	Current State	Practicability
10% GDP growth based on 2021 World Bank Data	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nigeria's GDP grew by 3.6% in 2021 from a 1.8% contraction in 2020 	With economies bracing from the impact of COVID-19, the fastest growing economies (India-7.2%; Bangladesh-6.9%; Rwanda 6.7%) are projected to achieve an average growth of less than 8% between 2021-2025. While 10% proposed GDP growth is theoretically doable, however the practicability of achieving that looking at Nigeria economic fundamentals is very slim based on the projections for inflation and GDP growth rate in Nigeria's MTEF 2023-2025.
Using investment in national infrastructure modernization to provide employment to millions of Nigerians and drive economic growth.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nigeria has a huge infrastructural deficit and would require an investment of \$100 to \$150 billion per annum for at least the next decade to close the gap.²³ 	There is empirical evidence that infrastructure spending does have a stimulatory effect on gross GDP that is larger than some other types of spending. The current government claims to have invested N8.9 trillion (\$20B) on infrastructure in the last 7 years ²⁵ , while this figure falls short of expected investment, the outlay is the highest any government in Nigeria has ever committed to infrastructure, yet unemployment remains historically high. The policy document fails to discuss how investment in infrastructure will be channelled differently from the Buhari's government for maximum impact and areas of priority in investment.

Not Feasible Plausible

²¹ '40% of Nigerian youths jobless; angry, restless — Adesina', The Vanguard, march 1, 2022

²² Focus Economics, the World's Fastest Growing Economies, 2021. <https://www.focus-economics.com/blog/fastest-growing-economies-in-the-world>

²³ 'Nigeria's infrastructural deficit: A clarion call for private sector', Businessday, July 29, 2021

²⁴ Vivien Foster and Mathilde Lebrand, How does infrastructure investment promote economic development in fragile regions of Africa?, World Bank Blogs, FEBRUARY 24, 2022. <https://blogs.worldbank.org/ppps/how-does-infrastructure-investment-promote-economic-development-fragile-regions-africa>

²⁵ 'Buhari's N8.9tn infrastructure spending biggest in Nigeria's history, Osinbajo boasts', Punch, September 25, 2021

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

The policy document conceives infrastructural investment as a driver of economic growth and job creation and there is linkage between these investments and other focal areas of national life. The policy documents highlight ongoing investments and infrastructural projects and commits to either enlarge or complete these projects.

The document also mentions regional specialisation in terms of industrial output which would require significant private sector investment. While expanding housing through mortgage guarantees would be a great idea, past efforts shows that this would require a significant outlay of at least N10tn as previous efforts such as Nigerian Mortgage Refinance Corporation created in 2013 has not lived to its promise.

A commitment to “review and revise the Land Use Act. We need to streamline and rationalise the land conveyance process. This way, we lower costs and delays and promote more efficient use of land” is highly welcome and would be keenly appreciated to liberate utilised capital. The provision of long-term mortgages for civil servants at fixed rates is also commendable and might be crucial to reducing corruption in the public sector.

Generally, the candidate's infrastructure component has a quantitative noncommittal outlook and beyond that, delivery mechanisms and processes are not properly articulated, leaving the assumption that the candidate will use the current government's project delivery systems.

Focus	Current State	Practicability
Deliver broadband services to 90% of the population by achieved 2025	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nigeria's current broadband penetration stands at 44.30% with more than 84 million internet subscriptions in the Country²⁶. 	Broadband penetration in Nigeria increased from 20.28% in 2018 to 42.27% penetration in 2022 and the current Nigerian National Broadband Plan 2020 – 2025 projects a 90% penetration in 2025 . The increase is largely driven by the private sector. The candidate's proposal primarily intends to sustain the current broadband strategy and provides no different strategic path.

Focus	Current State	Practicability
Rehabilitate and expand existing federal roads and expressway	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The National government is responsible for 32,000km of Nigeria's 195,000 km of road network; President Buhari's government claimed to have constructed 13,000km out of these roads. 	While the candidate highlights the centrality of road transportation to Nigeria's economic development, the candidate fails to make any quantitative commitment to this sector. Does he intend to match the 13,000km of the current government or exceed it?
Generate, transmit and distribute sufficient electricity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Installed electricity generating capacity stands at 18,000MW, peak generation in the last year is 5,043.4MW and peak transmission is 5,222MW. 	<p>The candidate did not make any numeric commitment as regards power generation and distribution, however the document listed areas of policy reforms and system change and posits that the country's 'power problems cannot be solved overnight'.</p> <p>Putting in perspective the gap between what Nigeria currently produces & distributes and the standard energy requirement to power the country, the candidate's non-committal raises more questions than answers about his strategic vision and commitment to solving Nigeria's energy crisis.</p>
Prioritisation and completion of critical ongoing national railway projects	<p>The current government has the following ongoing rail projects:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lagos – Kano (\$8.1billion); Port Harcourt – Maiduguri (\$3.2 billion); Lagos - Calabar (\$11.10 billion); Kano - Maradi (\$1.8 billion). 	The collective cost of these railway projects is around \$24B with their respective funding structures and current level of investments by the current government is unknown. The candidates commitment to completing these projects goes a long way in addressing infrastructural deficit in Nigeria.
Deliver 4 million housing units per year	Estimates by the Federal Mortgage Bank puts housing deficit in Nigeria at 28 million housing units.	The candidate proposes to deliver 24 million housing units within 6 years. While this is ambitious and will go a long way in addressing housing crisis in Nigeria, however the policy has no cost implication and delivery mechanism.

Feasible Not Feasible Plausible

²⁶ 'Nigeria's Internet population grows by 108.39%, now 80.68 million', Punch, May 30, 2022

²⁷ NCC, Nigerian National Broadband Plan 2020 – 2025, 2020. <https://www.ncc.gov.ng/documents/880-nigerian-national-broadband-plan-2020-2025/file>

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

Unlike the others, the candidate made measurable and direct commitments in this component; however, some of these commitments are cautiously benchmarked with previous national outputs.

The candidates' position on agriculture provides mixed reactions based on analysts' point of view. Commodity boards have not shown promise in recent years and also depress farmer's income if not properly managed. Previous experiences with commodity boards also show it might be susceptible to corruption. However, points on access to finance for mechanisation, rural infrastructure, irrigation and farm cooperatives are sound propositions.

The interest to expand arable land from 35% to 65% is an audacious pursuit in 4 years and a review of Anchor Borrower's Program is needed, and not just a continuation. The candidate had a chance to include a quantifiable target but as previously identified, the document is flawed in this aspect. This gap is evidence that the document does not commit to any generation, transmission or generation target. Neither does this proposition show how many households are projected to be connected to renewable mini-grids. The document also does not situate its power sector ambitions in context of the Siemens Power Initiative currently being led by the governing party. There is a bit of incoherence in the power sector without core measurable targets.

The policy recognizes Nigeria's abundant gas reserves and wants a full deregulation within six months. This would have significant cost implications for the domestic industry and power sector. This was not properly analysed.

On transportation, specificity was mentioned as regards rail projects but completion of these projects with over 2,000km will require at least \$15bn. This was not well highlighted and how financing would be sought for completion. The document does not mention specific anchor road development and the entire infrastructure outlay under transportation would cost over \$30bn (including dredging, national carrier, airport revitalization, port reforms, roads). The interest to use PPPs is welcome but a lot will be determined by the financial viability of these endeavours.

While this part of the policy is critical to Nigeria's economic growth and wealth creation, the candidate articulated his plans in hazy and imprecise terms, raising serious concerns about the clarity and feasibility of his proposals. Despite the fact that MSMEs; if properly used, remain a vehicle for economic transformation, the candidate primarily discusses it in relation to poverty alleviation.

Focus	Current State	Practicability
Increase crude oil production to 2.6mmbpd by 2027 and 4mmbpd by 2030	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There are fluctuations in Nigeria's production figures, but it fell below a million barrels in August 2022. Nigeria peak production is around 2.5mmbpd in 2006²⁸ 	<p>The candidate makes a big claim on raising production to 2.6mbps by 2027 and 4mbpd by 2030. These are lofty ambitions considering that oil industry investments require time to incubate and Nigeria is also hampered by OPEC supply cuts</p> <p>Nigeria's oil production decline is informed by a number of factors- oil theft (around 20% of Nigeria's production is stolen), illegal oil refining, maturity of the fields and moving away from onshore to deep water²⁹. The candidate proposal to raise production in the short term to Nigeria's 2005/6 peak production by 2027 is partly doable particularly if the oil theft crisis is addressed.</p> <p>With current production of around 1.5mbps, it is an audacious or likely not feasible plan to make a quick turnaround. However, the interest to increase domestic investment in oil and gas considering the weak investment climate is commendable. The document did not address the host communities' challenges, especially the implementation of the Petroleum Industry Act that concerns this.</p> <p>However, 4mbpd by 2030 proposal offers a different prospect for which the candidate has offered no action plan for achieving and putting in perspective record low investment in Nigeria's oil and gas and continuous divestment by multinationals, this proposal is unrealistic.</p>
And complete critical gas infrastructure projects by 2027	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The current government has stated that over \$20 billion will be needed yearly in the next 10 years to bridge the gas infrastructure gap in the country ; 	<p>The candidate did not reference these critical infrastructure projects and the projected timeline is at variance with the position of the current government's decade long investment.</p>

Not Feasible

²⁸ Libby George, Nigeria's oil output at 32-year low as thieves hobble output, Reuters, September 9, 2022. <https://www.reuters.com/business/energy/nigerias-oil-output-drops-below-1-mln-bpd-2022-09-09/>

²⁹ Omowumi Iledare, Nigeria is producing less and less oil. Here's why, The Conversation, September 24, 2022. <https://theconversation.com/nigeria-is-producing-less-and-less-oil-heres-why-191199>

³⁰ 'FG Inaugurates Gas Infrastructure Fund, Says \$200bn Needed to Bridge Deficit', Thisday, August 31, 2022

Focus	Current State	Practicability
Creation of geopolitical based industrial hubs- Northwest and North-east-textiles; South East and South south-dry port and labour intensive manufacturing; South West-highest quality glass items; North Central-mineral explorations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The textile industry in the North west and North East circa 1990 had about 124 textile industries and was the second highest employer of labour but has since declined to the point of relevance; SMEs in Nigeria have contributed about 48% of the national GDP in the last five years. With a total number of about 17.4 million, they account for about 50% of industrial jobs and nearly 90% of the manufacturing sector, in terms of number of enterprises³¹; While some of the largest glass manufacturing companies in Nigeria are in Lagos There is no organised presence of this industry in south Western Nigeria. 	This proposal is based on historical regional comparative economic advantages, however how does this fit in with contemporary socio-economic and socio-political realities, putting in perspective the fact that Lagos (34%), Southwest(14%) and South-South (23%) regions accounts for 71% of Nigeria's economy . Moreover, the policy document has no quantitative assessment of potential economic impact of these geopolitical hubs and proposed investments required to make them productive.
Increase cultivation percentage of arable land in Nigerian from 35% to 65%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> According to the Minister of Agriculture and Rural Development, 44% of Nigeria's arable land is being cultivated, which is 34.76 million hectares³⁵. 	The candidate plans a 30% cultivation rate increment in 4 years, there is no record of replication of such in any country as most country's keep a stable arable cultivation percentage. Moreover, Nigeria is currently among the top 10 countries with highest volume of cultivated land in the world ³⁶ , the real snag is Nigeria's comparatively poor yield percentage.
Introduction of commodity boards to establish minimum prices for strategic crops	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Commodity marketing boards for cash crops were set up in the 1940s in Nigeria. The boards recorded trade surpluses, had functional mechanisms for dealing with farmers and ensured international standards of produce were maintained. The boards were dissolved in 1986 on charges of corruption and abuse . 	Some agricultural commodities exporting countries still depend on the operations of commodities and trade boards to regulate trade in their respective countries and some stakeholders in Nigeria have called for the reintroduction of these boards ³⁸ . However, if implemented as proposed by the candidate, there must be a system to check corruption and abuse by the prospective board.

Feasible

Not Feasible

Plausible

³¹ N. GADO and M. Nmadu, The Performance of Textile Companies in the North West Zone of Nigeria: the Role of Infrastructure as a Resource , International Journal of Human Resource Studies, 2011, 2(1), 90

³² PWC, Nigeria SME survey, 2021. <https://www.pwc.com/ng/en/events/nigeria-sme-survey.html>

³³ Dun&Bradstreet, Glass And Glass Product Manufacturing Companies In Lagos, Nigeria. https://www.dnb.com/business-directory/company-information.glass_and_glass_product_manufacturing.ng.na.lagos.html

³⁴ 'How three regions account for 71 percent of Nigerian economy', Businessday, May 16, 2019

³⁵ '56% of Nigeria's Agricultural Land Not in Use, Says Minister', This Day, September 16, 2022

Nigeria's oil output lowest in decades

Nigeria's oil output has plunged this year due mainly to pipeline theft



Note: in million bpd

Source: OPEC data on Refinitiv

Focus 4: HUMAN CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT *summary:*

The primary focus of the candidate's planned interventions is based on continuing some current government programs, which is a favourable indicator of continuity in leadership. However, during the current administration, practically all indexes used to measure human development have seen a general deterioration, raising concerns about the logic of erecting the future on the shaky pillars of the present.

The plan to commit functional PHCs within a 30-minute walk is a lofty idea that would require significant buy-in at state and federal levels. The concern for curriculum at all levels, improved governance systems, health financing and alternative financing for education are brilliant ideas but would be difficult to track and measure.

As defined in this document, the candidate had a host of good ideas such as a media city for Nollywood, also attracting good points on youth and women inclusion. It also plans to continue the Social Protection Program as it is but still provides no measurable targets.

The approach in tackling youth unemployment is very weak and vague. While providing

³⁶ <https://worldpopulationreview.com/country-rankings/arable-land-by-country>

³⁷ 'Why We Need Agro Commodity Boards', Daily Trust, September 3, 2017

³⁸ 'Why Commodity Boards may return', The Nations, May 11, 2015

business mentorship for 2 million youths is welcome, however his ideas on ease of doing business, tax incentives, technical education and other elements that are critical for SME growth were not clearly enumerated in this policy.

Furthermore, the document also lacks a big position on fighting corruption, especially how it intends to equip anti-corruption agencies and promote their independence. Despite restructuring being a major position of the candidate over the years, it is saddening to see it cast in vague and non-coherent terms without proper details. Sadly, there was no quantitative commitment to any success index in education, alleviating poverty, or child welfare, notwithstanding Nigeria's appalling human capital development performance.

Nevertheless, one must acknowledge that proper thought was given to the issues across sectors but this will require a huge fiscal space and private investment for fruition.

Focus	Current State	Practicability
Institute a pilot student loan regime	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nigeria had a Students Loans Board 1972 and 1991 and was dissolved due to insolvency and inability to recover loans³⁹; Lagos and Kaduna States currently have a students' loan board. 	The candidate's main response to the contentious issue of university tuition fees is the national return of the student loan boards of the past. This falls short of addressing the problem of funding and access to public tertiary education in Nigeria.
Implementation of a mandatory health insurance scheme to cover at least 40% of the population within two years	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Around only 3% of the Nigerian population has health insurance coverage; Nigerian ranks 10th globally in out of pocket payment for Healthcare.⁴⁰ 	The candidate's proposal to take coverage from 3% to 40% in 2 years without a definite strategy on engaging Nigerians in the informal sector is more aspirational than feasible.
Establish a task force headed by a special czar will be created to address the problem of out of school children.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nigeria now has about 20 million out-of-school children.⁴¹ 	Universal Basic Education Commission Act, 2004 only mandates local stakeholders to enforce relevant provisions of the law regarding enrolment of children in schools. The problem of out of school children is best addressed at the sub-national levels which questions the relevance and impact of this proposed taskforce.

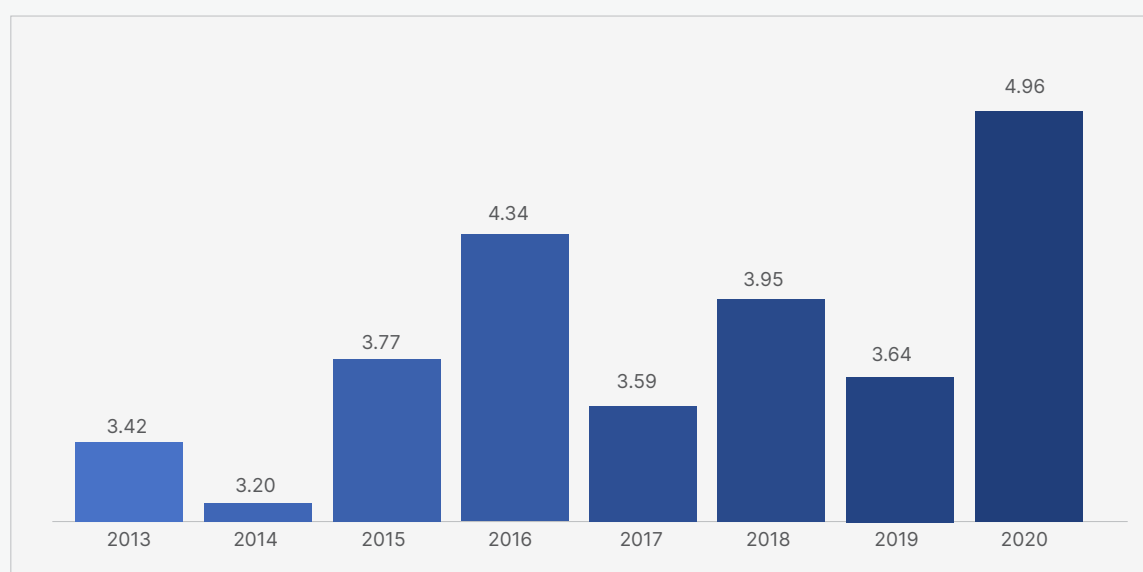
Focus	Current State	Practicability
Build a modern Media City modelled on the Dubai Media City	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lagos State government in partnership with a private business concern are in the process of constructing a Film and Media city in Epe, Lagos State.⁴² 	In an era of scarce resources and competing demands, proposing to invest resources into this venture where-as declining to quantitatively commit to any social welfare project raises concerns about the candidate's priorities. These ventures are better left for further investment by the private sector.
Establishment of an Athletes' Welfare Fund	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is no record of any structured welfare fund for athletes in Nigeria. 	This proposed fund will in no small measure incentivise and diminish the private burdens that athletes across Nigeria bear in representing the country.

Plausible Not Feasible

Focus 5: **SECURITY** *summary:*

The candidate's policy plan prioritised security by detailing it first in his plan of action and referencing security as a crosscutting deliverable throughout the document. The candidate also cited security sector reform interventions undertaken by him as the governor of Lagos as proof of his ability to deal with the current security crisis in Nigeria.

Chart 2: Military spending as a Percent of Total Government Spending



Source: **TheGlobalEconomy.Com**

Although the candidate detailed out areas of security priorities, the document avoided making quantitative commitment as well as explicit policy stands on issues-defining areas, such as state police and resourcing of Nigeria security services. There was also no specific promise on state policing except a vague position defined as, **“establishment or enhancement of civilian neighbourhood watch groups. Others may require the establishment of more formal locally-based law enforcement institutions.”** While other candidates were specific on the number of police officers to be recruited and at what levels, this manifesto did not provide this clarity. There was also no specificity on the candidates’ approach to the farmer-herder clashes which has been a critical security challenge mainly in Nigeria’s North Central region.

However, there are strong points on a Forest Guard/Range force and the idea of relinquishing the role of protecting the VIPs by the Nigerian Police. The nexus of Integrated Identity Database is also appreciated as this is crucial to national security under a strong data privacy framework. There were also specific mentions of working with the National Assembly/State Government which signals a proper grasp that reworking Nigeria’s security architecture requires combined efforts at all levels.

Furthermore creating of new “forces” such as anti-terrorist battalions and forest guards would have financial implications, the specific cost implications were not mentioned. The copious use of “high-grade military weapons” in the document would have a significant cost that would not be less than \$3bn to make a lasting impact.

Recent Defence acquisitions such as the \$1bn US attack helicopters explains the high cost of what’s proposed by the candidates. The manifesto should also have provided references to dysfunctional justice systems, high levels of poverty, and illicit proliferation of small arms as these are also key drivers of insecurity in Nigeria.⁴³

Beyond these, most of the candidate's commitments are not fundamentally different from what the current administration has been doing for the past seven years, so the question is whether the candidate will follow the same policy paths as the current one, and if so, where and how? Will the results then be any different?

³⁹<https://agorapolicy.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/11/Agora-Security-Paper-Full-Report.pdf>

Focus	Current State	Practicability
Creation of Anti-Terrorist Battalions.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 72 Special Forces Battalion of the Nigerian Army; Nigerian Army Special Forces Command (NASFC); Nigerian Air Force Panthers Nigerian Navy Special Boat Services (SBS)Nigeria Police Force 	<p>The candidate's plan to create new Anti-Terrorist Battalions as one his main response to Nigeria's current security crisis induced by banditry and religious fundamentalists fails to countenance existing counterterrorism units of the different branches of Nigeria's security services.</p> <p>Moreover, the candidate did not state the number of new battalions to be created, their thematic and geographical areas of operation and how the operation of these battalions will differ from those of existing antiterrorism units.</p> <p>Except the candidate intends to enlarge the size of the armed forces and fund new structures, his plans are not much different from existing ones.</p>
Upgrade weapon systems and improve local arms production.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The current government has spent N12 trillion in 7 years on security, which is more in percentage and absolute terms than past presidents have spent since 1999.⁴⁴ 	<p>The candidate did not benchmark his proposed plan against any specific budgetary or GDP percentage metrics; it is therefore difficult to evaluate the intent of this proposal in terms of focus, orientation and spread.</p> <p>There is also no alignment with the candidate promising that “our weapons systems will be upgraded to address current and anticipated security threats in the modern world” and his promise to “reduce our dependence on imported foreign military equipment by ramping up domestic production of basic and essential military hardware.”</p> <p>Also, the promise to reduce national dependence on imported military wares is not benchmarked against a specific time-frame and Nigeria's current industrial output makes such a proposal more aspirational than realistic in the short to medium term.</p>

Source: TheGlobalEconomy.Com

⁴⁴ 'Budget: Despite extra N12 trillion in 7 years, security remains elusive, as education, health suffer', daily Post, October 15, 2021. <https://dailypost.ng/2021/10/15/budget-despite-extra-n12-trillion-in-7-years-security-remains-elusive-as-education-health-suffer/>

Focus	Current State	Practicability
Reform and reposition of the police	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Various governments since 1999 have undertaken piecemeal reform of the police in Nigeria but none including the current government has undertake a system wide reform of the police and the reasons are largely political and economic. 	<p>While the candidate is a long time advocate of state policing and holistic reform of policing in Nigeria, the policy document like in other areas did not commit to any strategic path in police reform, only discussing the theme in generalised terms.</p> <p>Moreover, every government since 1999 have undertaken localised and limited reform of the police, the candidate's proposal does not depart from this pattern</p>

 Plausible

Focus 6: CONCLUSION

The candidate's manifesto follows a consistent stylistic pattern- defining the problem, the actions of the current government, the candidate's experience and proffered policy solutions. Despite the policy document being clear, fluid and dealing with critical national issues, there is an obvious reluctance to commit quantitatively and boldly to specific political and policy directions.

Whereas the obfuscation may be due to the political demands of intra-party relations in the ruling All Progressives Congress, it hinders the ability of the candidate to project his vision of the future and the ability of voters to make comparative judgments.

Although the document lacks an implementation cost component, the candidate cited his success in generating income and wealth in Lagos to demonstrate his ability to significantly expand Nigeria's revenue, without any percentile commitment to revenue increment.

Overall, the manifesto feels like a good read and a matrix of good ideas but targets will be hard to reach. Independent analysts will need to set the current baseline on these issues. The manifesto could have been better in terms of contextual analysis, review of current efforts (since this manifesto stems from the governing party) and provide proper quantification for civil society, analysts and experts to fully review.