

# Next Level

to

what



## BUHARIMETER:

A Scorecard of Promises Tracked  
in the Last 2 years

# ABOUT US

We are a group of young, non partisan, talented, committed individuals that have a common goal of bringing truth to politics. We track promises made by elected officials, remind elected officials about their promises, fact check political statements and advocate for improved climate policies. AdvokC is a Civic Tech platform established to help citizens engage, track and hold elected officials accountable.

We rate campaign promises based on verifiable outcomes, not on intentions or effort. To create our promise meters, we pore through speech transcripts, TV appearances, position papers and campaign websites looking for promises. We define a promise as a prospective statement of an action or outcome that is verifiable.

This Buharimeter scorecard is the result of collaborative efforts of so many individuals and organizations.

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For the latest data on our promise meters, please visit [www.advokc.ng/presidential-tracker](http://www.advokc.ng/presidential-tracker)

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# METHODOLOGY

We define a promise as a prospective statement of an action or outcome that is verifiable. All of our promises list the source. We track these promises by staying informed about the activities and communications of the elected officials. following their official websites, social media accounts, Freedom of Information (Fol) act and reliable news sources.

We use Politifact style of rating, the promise meters have six ratings. The first three provide a broad picture of whether the official is making progress; the final three indicate whether he or she kept the promise.

**NOT YET RATED** — Every promise begins at this level and retains this rating until we see evidence of progress — or evidence that the promise has stalled.

**IN THE WORKS** — This indicates the promise has been proposed or is being considered.

**STALLED** — There is no movement on the promise, perhaps because of limitations on money, opposition from lawmakers or a shift in priorities.

**COMPROMISE** — Promises earn this rating when they accomplish substantially less than the official's original statement but when there is still a significant accomplishment that is consistent with the goal of his original promise.

**PROMISE KEPT** — Promises earn this rating when the original promise is mostly or completely fulfilled.

**PROMISE BROKEN** – The promise has not been fulfilled. This could occur because of inaction by the executive or lack of support from the legislative branch or other group that was critical for the promise to be fulfilled. A Promise Broken rating does not necessarily mean that the executive failed to advocate for the policy.

Promise ratings change when circumstances change. For some promises, it's possible that the status could initially go to In the Works, but then move back to Stalled if we decide the proposal has hit a lull, and then go back to the In the Works. Similarly, a promise could be rated Promise Kept, but if the official reversed course, the promise would then be rated Promise Broken.

*N.B. – Readers should understand that for the purpose of this scorecard, and in order to draw a conclusion as at the end of Buhari's time in office, we decided to rate/re-rate using just the 3 final verdicts namely– Compromise, Promise Kept, and Promise Broken.*

You can access the digital meter via <https://www.advokc.ng/buharimeter>

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

As President Buhari bowed out of office after 8 years, he left behind a myriad of challenges for the succeeding administration to handle. His tenure as President saw Nigeria battle with two recessions, record-high inflation and unemployment rates, rife ethnic clashes, widespread insecurity and a morbid debt-to-revenue ratio. Buhari, unlike his predecessor Goodluck Jonathan, is a former military General and Head-of-state who was touted by most to deal a decisive blow to the many issues facing the country, especially the issues of insurgency in the North-East and corruption which President Buhari said would be the focus of his administration.

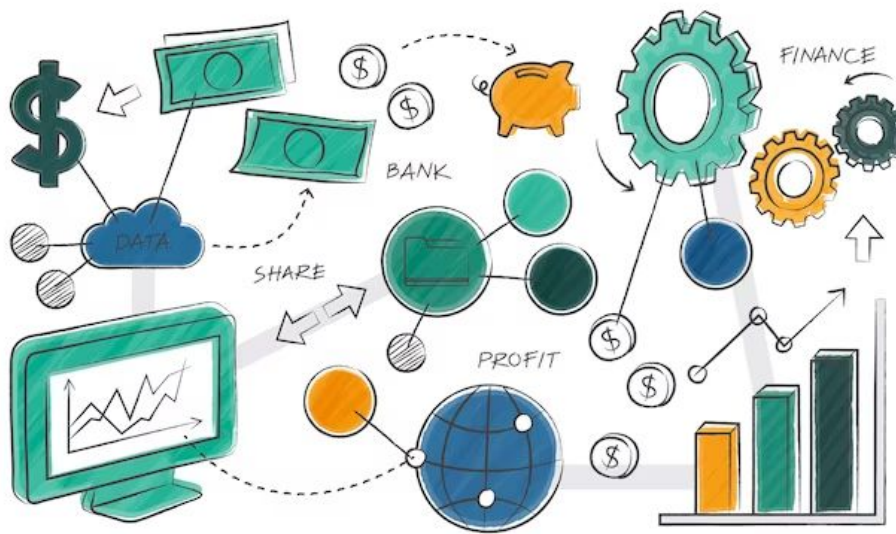
In the first four years as President, the Buhari Administration failed to make any progress in fulfilling the promises they made during the 2015 election campaign. Challenges like the rise of the separatist group IPOB in the southeast to the surge in Kidnappings and banditry in the south-south, north-west and north-central parts of Nigeria, weighed heavily on his government's capacity to lead the country out of turbulence and into a much-needed era of peace and prosperity. During his re-election campaign in 2019, President Buhari and his party the All-Progressives Congress (APC) campaigned with renewed efforts to accomplish what they previously failed to achieve in their first term.

The **#NextLevel** Agenda as it was called entailed the numerous Promises that Buhari had vowed to achieve if elected for a second time, and a lot of these promises were on infrastructure and social welfare.

This report provides an evaluation of President Muhammadu Buhari's second term in office in terms of fulfilling his campaign promises. It aims to assess the extent to which his administration delivered on its commitments during this period. AdvokC tracked and rated (*either Promise Kept, Compromise, or Promise Broken*) a total of 50 of the most important promises made by Buhari during his **#NextLevel** campaign. These promises would be assessed based on 5 categories namely:

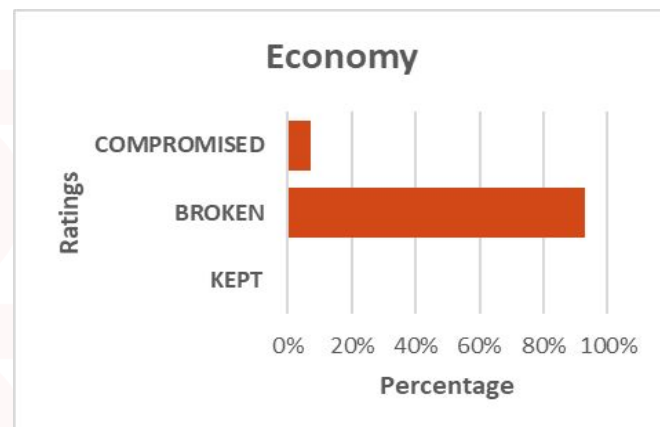
1. Economy,
2. Jobs,
3. Infrastructure Development,
4. Health,
5. Power,

A score out of 100% will be assigned to each category to reflect the level of promise fulfilment.



## ECONOMY

The administration made efforts to diversify the economy and promote growth through initiatives such as [the Economic Recovery and Growth Plan \(ERGP\)](#). While progress was made in some areas, challenges persisted, particularly in reducing unemployment rates and curbing inflation. Out of 14 policies tracked relating to Buhari's agenda, 13 were rated **"Promise Broken"** and 1 was rated **"Compromise"**. None of the promises being tracked was fulfilled making the percentage of promises rated **"Promise Kept"** 0%.

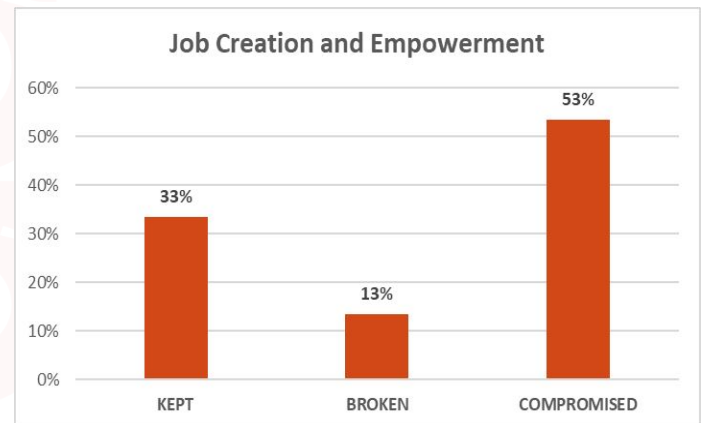


**0**/100



## JOB CREATION AND EMPOWERMENT

Efforts to create jobs and reduce unemployment rates were made, but challenges persisted. Initiatives such as the Microlending scheme TraderMoni and MarketMoni were vital in sustaining Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs) during the Covid-19 economic lockdown. Out of the 15 promises tracked here, only 5 were rated **“Promise Kept”** while 2 and 8 promises were found to be **“Promise Broken”** and **“Compromise”** respectively. Therefore, the percent of promise fulfilled is at 33%.

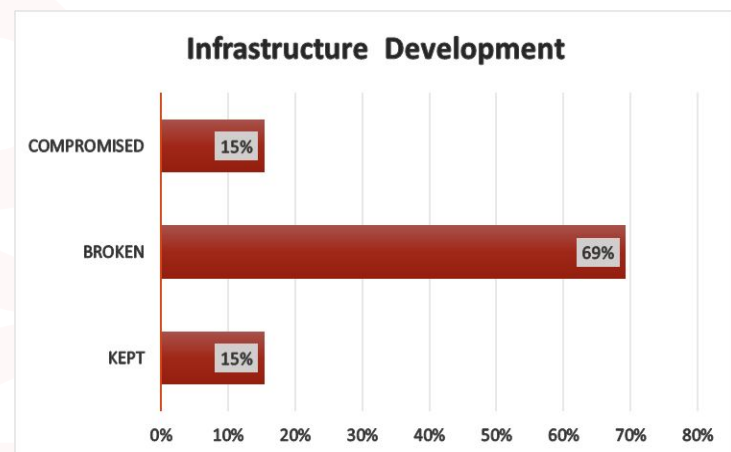


**33**/100



## INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT

While some infrastructure projects made progress, delays and incomplete implementation were evident. Infrastructural development remained a priority for the Buhari administration during the second term. The government embarked on ambitious projects such as the construction and rehabilitation of roads, bridges, railways, and airports. Notable initiatives included the Lagos-Ibadan Expressway, Second Niger Bridge, and ongoing efforts to revamp the railway system. These infrastructure projects aimed to improve connectivity, facilitate trade, and boost economic growth. All the same, out of 13 infrastructural promises tracked, 2 were rated **“Promise Kept”** making a 15% fulfilment rate. Out of the remaining 11 promises, 9 were **“Promise Broken”** and 2 were rated **“Compromise”**.



**15** /100



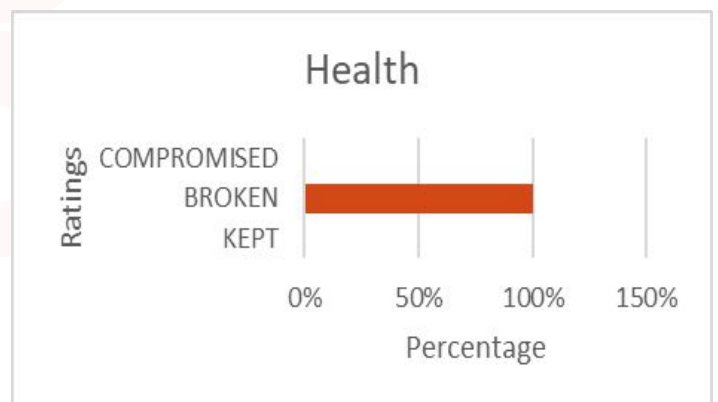


## HEALTH

The administration focused on strengthening primary healthcare services across the country. The revitalization of Primary Healthcare Centres (PHCs) and the implementation of the National Primary Healthcare Development Agency's (NPHCDA) programs helped enhance access to basic healthcare services, particularly in rural areas. This included efforts to upgrade facilities, train healthcare workers, and provide essential medications. Efforts were made to combat communicable diseases, such as malaria, HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, and polio. Initiatives such as the National Malaria Elimination Program, the National HIV/AIDS Response Program, and the polio eradication campaign aimed to reduce the burden of these diseases and improve healthcare outcomes.

Notably, Nigeria achieved significant progress in the fight against polio and was declared polio-free in June 2020. Also when the Covid 19 Pandemic began to spread, proactive measures were taken to contain it and protect public health. Collaborative efforts with international partners, improved surveillance systems, and the establishment of isolation and treatment centres were notable achievements in emergency response. But of the 3 health-related promises AdvoKC tracked, all were rated **"Promise Broken"** making the fulfilment rate 0%.

0/100





## POWER

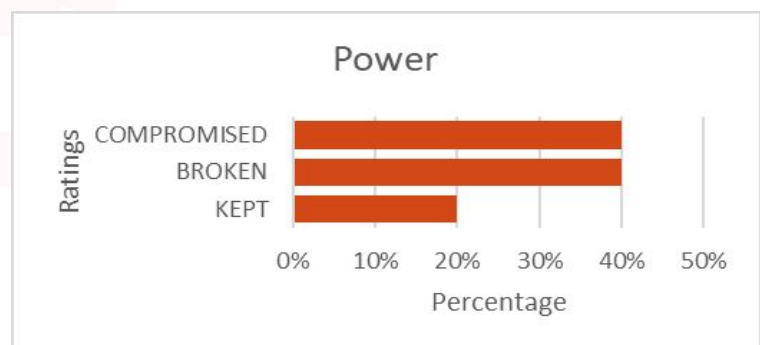
The government of President Buhari made efforts to increase power generation capacity in the country. The administration pursued the completion of ongoing power projects and the revitalization of existing power plants. Notably, the completion of the 700MW Zungeru Hydroelectric Power Plant and the 240MW Afam III Fast Power Plant contributed to boosting the overall power generation capacity. Recognizing the potential of renewable energy sources, the government took steps to promote their adoption.

Policies were implemented to incentivize investments in solar, wind, and other renewable energy projects.

The launch of the Energizing Education Program and the Energizing Economies Initiative facilitated the deployment of solar power systems in schools, markets, and rural communities, increasing access to reliable electricity. Despite efforts to improve power generation and distribution, challenges persist in the power sector, including issues such as inadequate gas supply, transmission and distribution losses, and electricity tariff affordability.

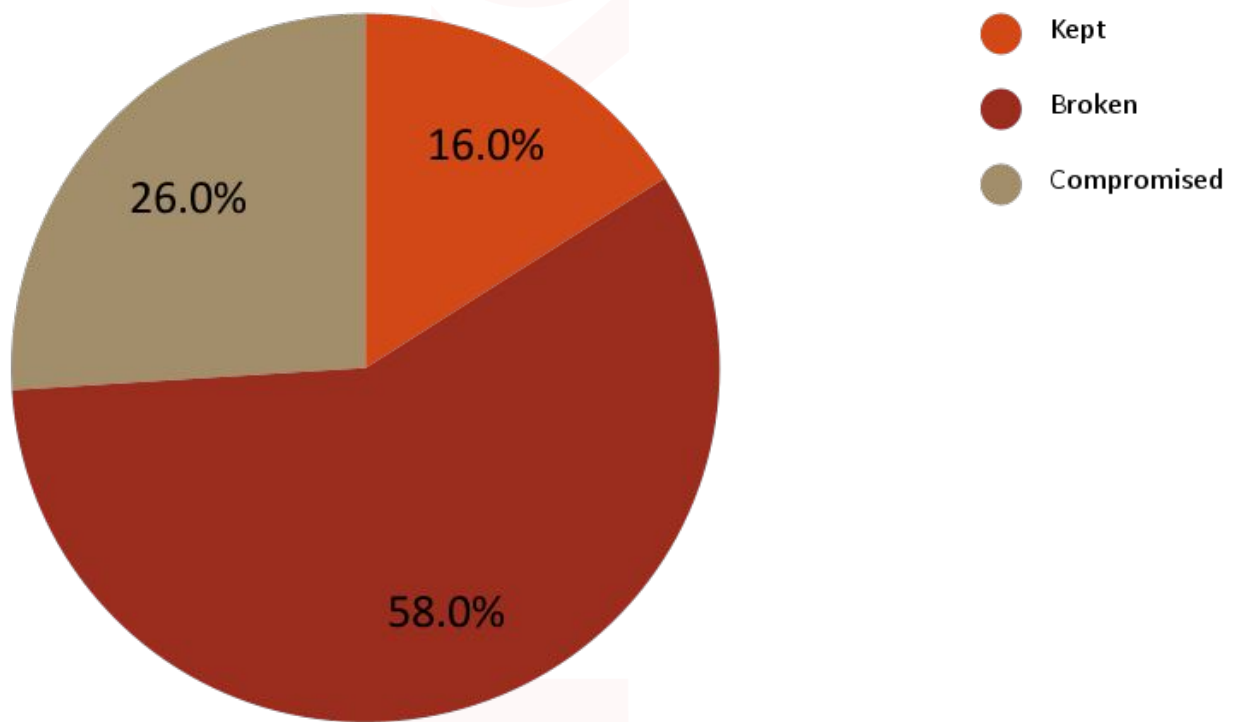
We tracked 5 promises in relation to Power, and only 1 promise was rated **“Promise Kept”** making it a 20% fulfilment rate.

20/100



PIE-CHART REPRESENTATION OF PROMISE RATING

**Buharimeter- Promise Scorechart**



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# RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE INCOMING ADMINISTRATION

*For the next administration who is to take over the reins of power, here are 10 recommendations and areas they should focus on:*

## 1. **Prioritize Job Creation and Economic Diversification:**

The incoming administration should focus on creating an enabling environment for businesses, attracting investments, and implementing policies that foster economic diversification, leading to sustainable job creation and reduction of unemployment rates.

## 2. **Strengthen Security Measures:**

The new administration should prioritize comprehensive security strategies, including intelligence gathering, community engagement, and adequate resourcing of security agencies. Collaboration with regional partners should be pursued to effectively address emerging security threats.

## 3. **Ensure Timely and Efficient Infrastructure Development:**

Efforts should be made to expedite ongoing infrastructure projects, ensuring quality standards and effective project management. Exploring public-private partnerships can help leverage resources and accelerate infrastructure development across the country.

## 4. **Enhance Social Welfare Programs:**

The incoming administration should strengthen the targeting mechanisms of social welfare programs, improve transparency and accountability in program implementation, and explore sustainable funding models to ensure the continuity and effectiveness of these initiatives.

## 5. **Strengthen Governance and Anti-Corruption Efforts:**

Prioritizing institutional reforms, enforcing accountability, and promoting transparency will be vital to enhance governance. Strengthening anti-corruption agencies like the EFCC and ICPC, and ensuring their independence will contribute to curbing corruption and improving public trust in government institutions.

## 6. **Diversification of Energy Sources:**

There should be a continued emphasis on diversifying the energy mix by promoting renewable energy sources such as solar, wind, and hydroelectric power. This can help reduce reliance on fossil fuels, enhance energy security, and contribute to environmental sustainability.

## RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE INCOMING ADMINISTRATION

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### 7. Increased Healthcare Funding:

The incoming administration should prioritize increased funding for the health sector to address infrastructure gaps, enhance healthcare service delivery, and improve the welfare of healthcare workers. Allocating a higher percentage of the national budget to healthcare will be crucial in achieving universal health coverage and improving health outcomes. Also, Increase in funds for health care would help strengthen the Primary Healthcare sector. By establishing and refurbishing Primary Healthcare Centers (PHC) across the country, citizens would get enhanced access to essential health care services especially in rural and underserved areas.

### 8. Climate Action and Resilient Agriculture:

Climate change poses significant challenges to Nigeria's agricultural sector and exacerbates conflicts between herders and farmers. The incoming administration should prioritize climate change mitigation and adaptation strategies in the agricultural sector. This includes promoting climate-smart agricultural practices, such as conservation agriculture, agroforestry, and sustainable water management. Investing in climate-resilient infrastructure, such as irrigation systems and storage facilities, can help farmers cope with changing weather patterns and reduce the vulnerability of their crops and livestock.

### 9. Boost Regional Trade:

Collaboration and coordination with neighbouring countries should be encouraged to enhance regional connectivity and trade. The development of cross-border infrastructure projects can stimulate economic growth, facilitate regional integration, and enhance Nigeria's position as a regional hub. With proper implementation of the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) agreement, Nigerian businesses can be provided with expanded access to a larger market of over 1.3 billion people across Africa. By eliminating or reducing trade barriers such as tariffs, quotas, and non-tariff barriers, Nigerian exporters can tap into new market opportunities, increase their customer base, and diversify their export destinations. This expansion of market access can drive economic growth and boost trade volumes for Nigerian businesses.

### 10. Conflict Resolution Mechanisms:

Establishing effective conflict resolution mechanisms is crucial for bridging the gap between ethnic groups like herders and farmers and other religious organisation. The incoming administration should facilitate dialogue and mediation between the two groups, involving relevant stakeholders such as community leaders, traditional rulers, and local government officials. By promoting understanding, tolerance, and cooperation, conflicts can be minimized, and mutually beneficial solutions can be found

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## CONCLUSION

Overall, President Muhammadu Buhari's second term witnessed a poor record in fulfilling campaign promises. While progress was made in various areas, challenges persisted, affecting the administration's ability to fully deliver on its commitments. Based on the assessment of promise fulfilment, the administration **fulfilled a paltry 16%** of the promises it made during its 2019 re-election campaign. Out of the 50 promises we tracked and rated, only 8 were fulfilled while 29 promises were Broken and 13 were Compromised. It is important to note that this evaluation is subjective and influenced by multiple factors.

As Nigeria continues on its developmental journey, addressing the remaining challenges and sustaining progress in key areas will be crucial. This will require continued commitment, collaboration with stakeholders, and effective implementation strategies to enhance the lives of Nigerians and achieve the desired national development goals.

Based on the promise fulfilment assessment, it is obvious that challenges remain in various sectors. The incoming administration should consider the recommendations provided to address these challenges effectively. By prioritizing job creation, security, infrastructure development, social welfare programs, and governance, the new administration can work towards achieving sustainable development and improving the overall well-being of Nigerians.

# APPENDIX

## PROMISES KEPT

S/N	Promise	Sector	Rating
1	Skill up 10 million Nigerians under a voucher system in partnership with private sector	Job Creation and Empowerment	Promise Kept
2	Agriculture Mechanization Policy with Tractors and Processors to create 5 million jobs.	Job Creation and Empowerment	Promise Kept
3	Train 200,000 youth for outsourcing market in technology, services and entertainment	Job Creation and Empowerment	Promise Kept
4	Complete the 2nd Niger Bridge	Infrastructure Development	Promise Kept
5	Treat Broadband as Critical Infrastructure.	Infrastructure Development	Promise Kept
6	Soft Loans of up to N1million to small traders, artisans (carpenters, tailors, mechanics, hairdressers, barbers, plumbers, vulcanisers etc) and commercial drivers (Taxis, Keke and Motorcycles)	Job Creation and Empowerment	Promise Kept
7	Soft loans to support business ideas across different business value chains	Job Creation and Empowerment	Promise Kept
8	To ensure the completion of the on-going Zungeru Hydro Power project.	Power	Promise Kept

# APPENDIX

## PROMISES COMPROMISED

S/N	Promise	Sector	Rating
1	Next Level is to engage 1,000,000 N-Power graduates	Job Creation and Empowerment	Compromise
2	Anchor Borrowers Scheme to support input and jobs to 1 million farmers.	Job Creation and Empowerment	Compromise
3	Livestock Transformation Plan to create 1.5 million jobs along dairy, beef, hide & Skin, blood meal, crops	Job Creation and Empowerment	Compromise
4	Provide USD500m innovation fund to tech and creative sector to create 500,000 jobs	Job Creation and Empowerment	Compromise
5	6 Regional Industrial Parks and Special Economic Zones,	Job Creation and Empowerment	Compromise
6	Next Level of 109 Special Production and Processing Centres (SPPCs) to spur production and value additive processing	Job Creation and Empowerment	Compromise
7	Tractors and Processors Plan in Each Senatorial District Extra Jobs Created	Job Creation and Empowerment	Compromise
8	300,000 Extra Jobs created for Vendors & Farmers	Job Creation and Empowerment	Compromise
9	Complete Lagos- Ibadan-Kano Rail	Infrastructure Development	Compromise
10	After partnering with Google for free Internet access in key locations, next level will prioritise access to Internet to education, primary health care, markets, business clusters.	Infrastructure Development	Compromise
11	Energising Schools- 9 Universities will have uninterrupted power next when we complete the First Phase of 37	Power	Compromise
12	Energising Markets- Next level moves from 16 markets such as Sura, Ariaria to lighting up 300 markets and clusters with clean, uninterrupted off-grid power	Power	Compromise
13	Legislate and enforce deadlines for issuance of Government licences and Permits	Economy	Compromise



# APPENDIX

## PROMISES BROKEN

S/N	Promise	Sector	Rating
1	Jobs- Increase Children fed from 9.2 million to Next Level of 15 million	Job Creation and Empowerment	Promise Broken
2	Complete the phased works on roads in each state of the federation.	Infrastructure Development	Promise Broken
3	Complete Eastern Rail (Port-Harcourt-Maiduguri) taking the network through Aba, all South East state capitals, Makurdi, Jos, Bauchi and Gombe.	Infrastructure Development	Promise Broken
4	Complete Coastal Rail (Lagos-Calabar)	Infrastructure Development	Promise Broken
5	After addressing uniform Right of Way charges, Next Level is to move broadband coverage to 120,000 km of fibre network across Nigeria.	Infrastructure Development	Promise Broken
6	A minimum of 1,000 MW New Generation incremental Power capacity per annum on the Grid;	Power	Promise Broken
7	Distribution to get to 7,000 MW under Distribution Expansion programme	Power	Promise Broken
8	Next level will take current number of 2.3 million traders, farmers, artisans under Trader Moni, Market Moni and Farmer Moni schemes to 10 million Nigerians under the People Moni Scheme	Job Creation and Empowerment	Promise Broken
9	Help beneficiaries to remove restraints such as skills, government bureaucracy and others	Economy	Promise Broken
10	Profiling and tailored advisory services for entrepreneurs	Economy	Promise Broken
11	Online Bank: Account Opening, Credit Rating done with technology	Economy	Promise Broken
12	Help with capacity development where needed	Economy	Promise Broken
13	Simplify investments, customs, immigration, trade and production procedures	Economy	Promise Broken
14	109 One Stop shops of all regulatory agencies (CAC, NAFDAC, SON, etc) under one roof in each senatorial district as Next Level for MSMEs (MSME Clinics) in each Senatorial District	Economy	Promise Broken
15	Every Child Counts will make our students digitally literate in Science, technology, engineering, arts and mathematics	Economy	Promise Broken
16	All Teachers will be retrained to deliver digital literacy	Economy	Promise Broken

# APPENDIX

## PROMISES BROKEN

S/N	Promise	Sector	Rating
17	10,000 schools per year will be remodeled and equipped	Economy	Promise Broken
18	Pay young doctors to stay in rural area	Health	Promise Broken
19	N500 monthly contribution leads to 45% increase in the population covered by primary health care by 2023 up from the present 12.6%.	Health	Promise Broken
20	Using co-payments to share the cost between individuals, the private sector and government. The poorest 40% will be exempted from such co-payments	Health	Promise Broken
21	To achieve 35% in female appointments.	Economy	Promise Broken
22	Special mentoring programme in governance with young graduates working with Ministers and other senior government appointees	Economy	Promise Broken
23	"We commit to progressively increase our annual domestic education expenditure by 50 per cent over the next two years and up to 100 per cent by 2025 beyond the 20 per cent global benchmark."	Economy	Promise Broken
24	To ensure completion of Manbilla Dam and Bridge.	Infrastructure Development	Promise Broken
25	To ensure the construction of the Makurdi Taraba Borno rail project.	Infrastructure Development	Promise Broken
26	To complete the bridges across the stretch of River Benue in Ibi local government area.	Infrastructure Development	Promise Broken
27	To resuscitate the Ajaokuta Steel Company	Infrastructure Development	Promise Broken
28	To complete the Itakpe/Warri link to Abuja, through Lokoja.	Infrastructure Development	Promise Broken
29	To sustaining the anti-insurgency war and curb insecurity.	Economy	Promise Broken

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