

## **CAMPAIGN PROMISE AND DIVIDENDS OF DEMOCRACY: BUHARI'S ADMINISTRATION IN PERSPECTIVE**

**Ohazuruike, Kennedy<sup>1</sup> & Elechi, Felix Aja<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>Department of Political Science and Diplomacy, Nile University, Abuja

<sup>2</sup>Department of Political Science, Ebonyi State University, Abakaliki

E-mail: kennedyohazuruike@yahoo.com

### **Abstract**

Since democracy is a two-way traffic; a relationship between the leader and the led, campaign promise unarguably, is as an avenues through which the leaders gives the citizens insights on how their relationship with the followers would look like. What this implies is that campaign promises are promises made by would-be leaders stipulating what actions they would undertake if eventually elected. In the light of the above, it can be said that campaign promise is one of the lens through which the success or failure of an administration could be glean. The paper examines the nexus between campaign promises and dividends of democracy with particular focus on the Buhari's administration. The paper employed a documentary analytical technique as our method of data collection, while qualitative descriptive method was used for our analysis. Anchoring our discuss on the theory of the post-colonial state, findings amongst others revealed that whereas campaign promises actually portends great expectations of the dividends of democracy, the Buhari's administration has been an exception as there exists great disparity between what the ruling party (the All Progressive Congress) had promised Nigerians during their campaign and the post election policies and actions of the Buhari's administration. The policies and actions of the Buhari's administration so far has been highly incongruous with his campaign promises, as his administration has failed to address the security challenges facing Nigeria, the problem of corruption, revamping the Nigerian economy, and division along ethnic and religious line, thereby necessitating calls for restructuring of the country. The paper recommends amongst others that there should be congruence between campaign promises and post election policies and actions of any administration that emerges the winner of the electoral contest.

**Keywords:** Campaign Promises, Dividends of Democracy, Buhari's Administration, Corruption, Restructuring

### **1. Introduction**

The importance of democratic government lies in the benefits that the citizenry stand to enjoy in a representative democracy. Therefore, for a democracy to be worthy, there are certain elements and structures to hold to and to hold by. These elements include: rule of law, electoral process, human rights, governance and co-existence. The moment these things are abused or out of place, then democracy is non-existent, or in proper language, a mockery of itself (Adeniyi, Olawale & Ademokoya, 2009). Democratic governments and legitimate systems all over the world concerns, centre on providing welfare and basic necessities that will make life easier and prepare its citizens for the challenges of nation building. Therefore, government at any level and in any society including Nigeria is geared towards providing quality service to people. The pattern of democratic governance is not just providing such services, but also ensuring that the people get carried along in the process of service delivery; this is indeed the very essence of democracy.

Since democracy is about the people, therefore, their wishes and aspirations should form part of the dividends of democracy. Ultimately, their concern is simply how democracy can bring about development in the society through good governance in an atmosphere that is characterised by the rule of law and order: Again, it suffices that democratic dividend is based on the social contract usually entered between the electorates and the political leaders that are voted into power every four years, as the case of Nigeria (Ubani, 2016).

In Nigeria for instance, the expectations include but not limited to the following:

- Protection of lives and property
- Maintenance of law and order
- Participation in the global peace efforts.
- Provisions of basic necessities of life (food, clothing and shelter)
- Provision of infrastructure facilities.
- Provision of health and educational facilities at both urban and rural areas.
- Provision of gainful employment opportunities.
- Provision of the enabling environment for private and public businesses to flourish.
- Provision of fundamental human rights of our citizens as enshrined in the federal constitution.

Democracy is a system that runs and encourages social contract between the rulers and the ruled; i.e., a system whereby the leaders layout or outlined to the people their plan of actions in order to win or gain their support and fulfilling their promises to the people when the time comes. But the reverse is the case in Nigeria as can be seen over the years where the Nigerian leaders has consistently made and broken their promises to the Nigerian people.

Nigerians greeted the coming to power of a new party, the All Progressive Congress (APC) which for the first time in Nigeria's history defeated the ruling party, the People Democratic Party (PDP), with widespread jubilation and optimism as they looked forward to a new era of change, stability, peace, and prosperity. However, three years after, Nigerians are still anxious to see and enjoy the “democracy dividends” encapsulated in the 'change' mantra such as social welfare, justice, equity, political assurances, and equal access to resources and power. A reflection on the above calls to question certain issues that stands as challenge(s) to democratic governance in Nigeria. These issues remain critical governance problems: Leadership challenges, corruption, lack of transparency, constitutional and electoral reforms, rising civil strife, poverty, unemployment, godfatherism, lack of human security and human rights (Olu-Adeyemi, 2012).

After the prolonged military rule in Nigeria and the subsequent return to democratic rule in 1999, the Nigerian people hoped for a life much better than during the military rule. According to Chaj (2008), democratic governments and legitimate systems all over the world concerns centre around providing welfare and basic necessities that will make life easier and prepare its citizens for the challenge of nation building. The primary reason for the democratic exercise of electing political leaders into office is to ensure that the dividends of democracy reach the people. During election seasons, campaigns are filled with plum and pageantry and promises. Political adverts are on point to target where the shoe is pinching

the common man. Sadly, these political activities hardly ever translated to tangible growth and development. The gully between promises and performance of politicians remain ever widening (Bandipo, 2016).

In the build-up to the 2015 elections, both the APC and PDP candidates, through their parties' campaign machineries, in documented manifestos as well as on the campaign trail, made promises to the Nigerian people. These promises formed the basis upon which Nigerians made their choices at the ballots in the general elections. On May 29, 2015, Muhammadu Buhari of the APC was sworn in as the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, having defeated the incumbent Goodluck Jonathan. It was, in the first time in Nigerian history that power had moved to the opposition through peaceful means. Many viewed this as a watershed moment, and as an opportunity to recalibrate Nigeria (SBM Intelligence, 2016). However, the focus of this paper is to examine, how three years down the line, the promises made by the APC presidential candidate who is now the president of Nigeria, Muhammadu Buhari are yet to be translated to dividends of democracy even the ones that were said to be fulfilled in the first six months of the administration. the paper is divided into six sections comprising the following; introduction, conceptual clarification, theoretical framework, juxtaposition of Buhari's campaign promises and the dividends of democracy, Buhari's campaign promises and the realities on ground (dividends of democracy), Buhari's campaign promise of equal representation and appointments into strategic positions, and conclusion and recommendations.

## **2. Conceptual Clarification**

### ***a) Campaign Promise***

The concept campaign promise is a promise or guarantee made to the public by a candidate or political party that is trying to win an election. Campaign promise is a promise made by would- be leaders to the electorates stipulating what actions they would undertake if they are elected. In the light of the above, it can be said that campaign promise, if strictly followed, would give the electorates insights into what action a candidate would undertake if elected. Furthermore, campaign promise is equally a veritable tool in evaluating the success or failure of a leader or a party in power since it is based on those promises that they were elected.

### ***b) Democracy***

For one to fully appreciate the concept of dividends of democracy, we have to first of all understand the meaning of democracy. Democracy just like other concept in the study of politics is a concept that has no universally accepted definition, but which has a similar idea or trend that cuts through most of the definitions given by scholars. According to Diamond, Linz and Lipset (1988) cited in Ayodele and Bolaji (2007), democracy connotes a system of government that meets three essential conditions. These conditions are:

- a) Meaningful and extensive competition among individuals and groups, especially political parties, for all effective positions of government power at regular intervals and excluding the use of force.
- b) A highly inclusive level of political participation in the selection of leaders and policies at least through regular and fair election, such that no major group is excluded.
- c) A level of civil and political liberties like freedom of the press, freedom to form and join organizations sufficient to ensure integrity of political competition and participation.

Democracy entails the ability of the people to control decision making for their benefit and for the progress of the society generally. It emphasizes freedom of the individual in various aspects of life, equality among citizens, justice in the relation between the people and government and the participation of the people in choosing those in government.

Governments the world over exist to maximize the welfare of the people. This is particularly so because government is a people organization run by the people's representatives who are charged with the sole responsibility of delivering value capable of improving the people's fortunes and their general standard of living.

### *c) Dividends of Democracy*

The concept dividends of democracy have been subjected to series of definition. Most scholars cum pundits see dividend of democracy as construction of roads, building of hospitals, building universities, rotting out free education etc. other scholars who hold a contrary opinion argues that the aforementioned projects do not in any way qualify to be tagged the dividends of democracy on the ground that many military leaders cum dictators have often provided such social amenities and some even provided a more standard type than what the so called democratically elected leaders offer.

Some scholars are of the opinion that freedom of expression is the main dividend of democracy. They justify this view on the ground that it is only democracy that offers the people true freedom of expression. Reacting to this view, Ezukanma (n.d.) is of the view that a “society does not need democracy to be freed from poverty and ignorance”. For him, a benevolent dictator can allow for freedom of speech, even if he chooses to ignore the expressed public opinions. Another school of thought sees dividend of democracy to mean “greater participation of the people in governing themselves and less domination of power by the elite few. This view is anchored on the belief that the people are the ultimate repository of power.

According to Omotola (2007) by dividends of democracy we mean the benefit and positive gestures which the new environment of democracy has brought to bear on the state and society. Ideally, it would include rising legitimacy of the state; improved standard of living for the majority of the populace; improved climate of human rights in all its ramification; all culminating in popular empowerment, participation and enhanced atmosphere of peace and stability as a prerequisite for development.

It is pertinent to note that none of these views is holistic as to the meaning of dividends of democracy; rather the three views should sum up and constitute the dividends of democracy. The dividends of democracy include, provision of social infrastructures like medical facilities, schools, Bus stations, construction of roads etc. It also includes freedom of expression as well as greater participation of the people in governing themselves. For the purpose of this paper, dividends of democracy include provision of social infrastructures, greater participation of the people in governance, and freedom of expression.

### **3. Theoretical Framework**

Our discourse in the paper is anchored on the theory of the post-colonial state as propounded by Hamza Alavi (1979), Ake (1975, 2000), Ekeke (1986) and Ihonvbere (1989, 2000). Alavi (1979) in his analysis of the states of Pakistan and Bangladesh provided an important starting point for analysis of the state in post-colonial societies, premised his argument on the historical specificity of post-colonial societies, a specificity which arises from structural changes brought about by the colonial experience and alignment of classes and by the superstructures of political and administrative institutions which were established in that context, and secondly from radical re-alignments of class forces which have been brought about in

the post-colonial situation." In general, the propositions developed by Alavi in his analysis of Pakistan and Bangladesh prove most illuminating when applied to the Nigerian experience.

Ihonvbere (1989) pointed out that the root of our problems lie in how the Nigerian state was constructed; the nature and character of its custodians; the politics and power balances that contribute to the articulation of public policy; and the general inability of the custodians of state power to develop a sense of nation and a national project. The Nigerian elite have become obsessed with the "power project" not for promoting growth and development but for inflicting pain and misery on the peoples of Nigeria. This project is also a diabolical strategy for subverting the goals of nationhood and recycling the inherited distortions and disarticulations of the Nigerian social formation.

However, Ake (1975) begins his theory of postcolonial state with the development of productive forces, which made the state to have very limited autonomy and the limited autonomization of the state reflects the rudimentary development of commodity production and exchange. To Ake the development of the state in Africa remains at a low level of the primitive accumulation with massive intervention of force in the labour process. Consequently, because of the low level of the development of the state, it is unable to mediate the struggle between classes and the struggle within the dominant class. Thus, the struggle to control, and the use of state power, becomes warfare. Consequently, power in Nigeria is over-valued and security lies only on getting more and more power. As a result, there is hardly any restraint on the means of acquiring power, on holding it and on using it. Hence, there is political instability because political competition becomes norm less and is carried to the extreme thereby turning political competition into warfare and the political class thus operates in a state of siege (Ihonvbere, 1989; Schraeder, 2004).

The post-colonial state is unsteady, uncertain, violent, aloof, inefficient, and relied on manipulation and intimidation. In several ways, it simply continued the policies and programs of the colonial state. The state, unable to emerge as a relatively autonomous force became the primary instrument of accumulation for the weak postcolonial elite. The struggle became how to penetrate the state and use it to support all sorts of dubious primordial claims. The resultant struggles contributed to the fragility and instability of the state and made it easy to find excuses for subverting the constitution directly and/or indirectly. Those who captured the state, its instruments of force and resources, simply personalized it, wiped out all features of sensitivity, and imaginary and real enemies were found, harassed and intimidated.

The first two decades of political independence in Africa witnessed the containment of the robust enthusiasm for freedom that had informed the popular challenges to colonial domination. The new power elite simply indigenized the exploitative, repressive, and arrogant appropriation and deployment of power that had been the tradition of the colonial state. This often required the containment of the media, the marginalization of rural areas, the harassment of opposition and political opponents, and the disrespect for the rule of law when it does not favour them. Within two decades of political independence therefore, the African continent was littered with coups and counter-coups, civil and inter-state wars, ethnic violence, agitations for autonomy, alienation from the state and its custodians, and the withdrawal of support for public policies. Good governance was thrown over-board and leaders busied themselves with the construction of dubious ideologies, personality cults, harassment and intimidation of opposition, and protection of corrupt officials who are related to them. As political decay, uncertainty, violence, and disillusionment replaced the euphoria of "Uhuru", even fractions of the power elite began to construct parallel structures of power and opportunities. This was evidenced in the use of foreign schools for the wards, reliance on foreign hospitals for medical attention, use of foreign banks, airlines and advisers; the use of private security in place of public police, the reliance of private water bore-holes and private

electricity generators in place of publicly provided alternatives, and investments abroad rather than in the local economy (Ihonvbere, 1989).

#### **4. Juxtaposition of Buhari's Campaign Promises and the Dividends of Democracy**

On many important categories that directly affect the Nigerian people the Buhari led administration has performed rather poorly, and in some cases abysmally. In some areas, things appear to have largely deteriorated since he took office. These include:

Asides improvement of the economy, three of the most important drivers of the Buhari's electioneering campaign promises were Anti-Corruption, Accountability in Public Service and Reduction of Cost of Governance. On the last two of these, there was zero performance scores recorded measured against the electoral promises. Even on the crucial promise of Anti-Corruption, a low 17% performance score was recorded when measured against the promises. This was because most of the promises required institutional fixes and engagements with the National Assembly, and there was no action on these. Whilst the administration's stance on the former has begun to evolve, it remains adamant on defending the value of the naira at almost any cost. Also evolving is the administration's stance on electricity subsidies. As the government looked to sort the quagmire in the power sector left by previous administrations, it quickly revised the electricity tariffs upwards and allowed the electricity distribution companies cut-off long term debtors, who include government agencies and institutions.

One of the administration's most significant missteps, the pursuit of a strong (but artificially propped) naira policy amid loud calls for a devaluation has led to a plunge in the nation's FX reserves, a spike in FX values at the parallel markets, shortages and scarcities of essential commodities and the clearest indication yet that economic policy is not run by the CBN but dictated by Aso Rock. This has led to Nigeria's delisting by major exchange indices providers like MSCI and record outflows in Nigeria-located and naira denominated assets.

Restore financial confidence in citizens and around the world by putting in place a more robust monitoring supervising and regulating of financial institutions. His stance on financial issues and the economy have not earned the confidence of citizens and the international investor community especially around management of the FX issue. However, below is a tabular presentation of the campaign promises of President Buhari and their levels of fulfilment.

**Table 1. The Campaign Promises of the President Buhari and their Levels of Fulfillment**

S/N	Campaign Promises of the President Buhari	Levels of Fulfillment
1	<p>Make our economy one of the fastest growing in the world with real GDP growth averaging 10-12% annually.</p> <p>Work with state governments to turn Northern Nigeria into Africa's food basket through a new system of grants and interest free loans, and the mechanization of agriculture.</p>	<p>In 2015 fiscal year, Nigeria posted its slowest economic growth since the return to democratic rule in 1999. Negative GDP growth of -0.36% for Q1 2016 and Q2, hence Nigeria officially entered recession.</p>
2	<p>Embark on Export and Product Diversification including investment in infrastructure, promote manufacturing and Agro-based industries; and promote and expand sub-regional trade in ECOWAS and AU.</p>	<p>This promise has not been achieved three years down the line, mostly due to the delay in the passing of the yearly budget.</p>
3	<p>Revive abandoned coal industry in the South East to generate electricity for the region and Ajaokuta Steel Company. Public pronouncements have been made in this regard but no official policy statement has been published or implemented.</p>	<p>There have been public indicators of interest but no executive or legislative action on this pledge.</p>
4	<p>Revive textile industry that has been rendered dormant because of inappropriate economic policies and reinvigorate the solid mineral sector by revamping aged mining legislation and attract new investment. Create additional middle-class of at least 2 million new home owners in our first year in government and 1 million annually thereafter; by enacting national mortgage single digit interest rate purchase of owner occupier house as well as review the collateral qualification to make funding for home ownership easier, with 15 to 30 year mortgage terms.</p> <p>Create 740,000 (20,000 per state plus FCT) jobs within the first one year, and target the creation of three million new jobs per year through industrialization, public works and agricultural expansion.</p>	<p>On the first ambit of the pledge, the government has not been able to revive the textile industry, actualise its 2 million homeowners promise. It has also not been able to formally legislate a single digit interest rate purchase for owner -occupier homes or control it via market forces or the federal mortgage bank of Nigeria (FMBN).</p> <p>On job creation, the pledge has not been fulfilled; the situation has deteriorated as figures released by the NBS shows the highest unemployment levels in Nigeria's history.</p>
5	<p>Explore and develop alternative sources of power such as small, medium and large hydro plants, wind, and coal. Generate, transmit and distribute from current 5,000 – 6,000 MW to at least 20,000 MW of electricity within four years and increasing to 50,000 MW with a view to achieving 24/7 uninterrupted power supply within ten years, whilst simultaneously ensuring development of sustainable/renewable energy. Guarantee steady power supply within the next 12-18months.</p>	<p>This pledge was not fulfilled for a myriad of reasons economic headwinds that made power project funding difficult, a mostly directionless power sector policy, the snail pace of power sector reform, sabotage of key power installations as well as a lack or shortage of key commodities that power the value chain (e.g. gas) and an arcane, bloated and inefficient distribution system ill fit for 21st century Nigeria.</p>

6	<p>Review the PPP enabling environment with a view to addressing legal and regulatory and operational bottlenecks challenging the effective administration of the system by creating enabling legislation and create a National Infrastructural Development Bank to provide loans at nominal interest rates exclusively to rebuild our infrastructure and create employment. Also, enact new legal and regulatory frameworks to establish independent regulation and incentives to accelerate public and private sector investment in seaports, railways and inland waterways.</p>	<p>There has been little movement on this pledge. No legislation has been presented by NASS to this effect.</p>
7	<p>Make oil and gas in Nigeria one of the world leading and cutting edge centres for clean oil and gas technology also producing leading oil and gas technologists, scientists and owning mega -structure installations and drilling stations supported by the best scientists, services and research facilities. Also, fully develop the oil and gas sector's capacity to absorb more of the nation's new graduates in the Labour Market. Provide funding to the sector to produce world class but home grown engineers, technologists and scientists, enforce the government master-plan for oil companies to end flaring that pollutes the air and damages communities and ensure the oil companies sell at least 50% of their gas produce in Nigeria. Make Nigeria the world's leading exporter of LNG through the creation of strategic partnerships. Modernize and unbundle NNPC and make it the national energy champion. The reform and potential unbundling of the NNPC has formed a corner piece of the current administration's anti -corruption, clean go vernalment agenda. Having acknowledged this, the NNPC is still substantially the same bloated, inefficient corporate juggernaut that it has been over the last four decades and some. Speedily pass the PIB and ensure local content issues are fully addressed The PIB is still mired in the same political rignmarole that has characterised its elongated tenure in the legislature.</p>	<p>There has been little movement on these pledges since May 2015. Any progress in this area must acknowledge the efforts of the last administration.</p>
8	<p>On the security of lives and properties, curbing the threat posed by the Boko Haram insurgency, the federal government led by the President Buhari had the following promises:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Urgently increase the capacity and capability of Nigeria's military, police and other security agencies through the employment of additional personnel, provision of modern equipment, and a commitment to professionalism, merit and excellence in the respective services to meet the need s of our growing population;</li> <li>• Work with our neighbours to use military force to destroy those factions of Boko Haram who refuse to lay down their arms.</li> <li>• Use both military and non -military means to secure the release of all those who have been kidnapped by the insurgents.</li> <li>• Introduce a time -limited partial amnesty for rank -and-file Boko Haram members who have been coerced into the group in return for laying down arms and participating in a programme of reintegration into society.</li> <li>• Establish a compensation scheme for victims of the insurgency.</li> </ul> <p>Carry out a national security audit to determine the state of affairs, capacity and capability deficits in our armed forces, police and other security agencies</p>	<p>In all the points listed under security, not much effort has been made to fulfilled them, the Boko Haram has continued to wreaked havoc on Nigerians and even military formations across the North east, the astronomical increase in the Fulani herdsmen and farmers clashes that has metamorphosed into territorial occupation by the Fulani herders who now occupy some of the sacked farming communities in North -Central Nigeria. The increase of incident of kidnapping in the north and south-western region of the country, the rise of banditry in Zamfara and Sokoto states, and the emergence of the Niger Delta Avengers, have not been fully address by the federal government led by Muhammadu Buhari despite his numerous promises during the campaign.</p>



	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Improve the security forces -in return for increases in funding, modernized equipment and more personnel they will be kept to new higher standards of accountability, openness and professional management.</li> <li>• Urgently review the management structures of the five security services the Police, the Army, the Navy, the Air - Force and the intelligence services.</li> <li>• Introduce an immediate pay increase for all five security services.</li> </ul>	
9	<p>Revive and reactivate our minimally performing refineries to optimum capacity. After some early success in reactivating the Kaduna Refinery, setbacks in the supply of fuel and technical complications have set in.</p>	<p>No significant developments in this regard since the start of 2016 as persistent fuel queues across the country will attest to.</p>
10	<p>Target up to 20% of our budget for education whilst making substantial investments in training quality teachers at all levels of the educational system.</p>	<p>The percentage of the budget that is allocated to education represents only 6% of the budget since 2016 to the present.</p>
11	<p>The new APC government will put Nigeria to work, building a modern economy through a series of massive public works programmes. This will provide million of new jobs, channeling money into the wider economy. The APC government will embark on a process of rapid industrialization to achieve a level of growth in the productive sectors of our economy that will help us progressively reach arid then sustain the creation of 3 million new jobs a year.</p> <p>Unveil a policy that all federal contractors must employ at least 50% young people, implement the National Gender Policy including 35% of appointive positions for women, restore the integrity of the Niger Delta by implementing relevant sections of the Ledum Technical Committee report, restore the integrity of the Niger Delta by implementing relevant sections of the Ledum Technical Committee report. The Buhari's administration acknowledged the UN report which described the Niger Delta as "the most polluted waterway system on earth" and promised to implement its recommendations on Ogoni land.</p>	<p>These have simply not happened</p>
12	<p>Adopt a zero -tolerance approach to corruption -rooting out dishonest public servants and imposing tough sanctions including jail sentences.</p>	<p>The fight against corruption has not yielded much result as it is rather targeted at political opponents as against every one found wanting, as the Buhari's administration is being accused of harbouring people who are corrupt.</p>

Source: SBM Intelligence (2016). Analysing Buhari's 170 Campaign Promises.

Modified by the Authors

The following promises about managing the economy of Nigeria were made by Buhari in the course of his campaign;

- Making the Nigerian economy one of the fastest growing economics in the world with a real GDP growth averaging 10% annually.
- Making information technology, manufacturing, agriculture and entertainment key drivers of our economy.
- Stabilizing the Naira.

An analysis of the economic policies so far as part of Buhari's campaign promises, he promised to make the Nigerian economy one of the fastest growing economics in the world with a real GDP growth averaging 10% annually. The reality on ground is that while in 2014 and early 2015, Nigeria was named the third fastest growing economy in the world by CNN money, in 2016, Nigeria could not make the list of the fastest growing economies in Africa not to talk of the world. ). Recently, Nigeria has emerged as one of the countries with the highest poverty level in the world, all thanks to the failure of the Buhari's administration to fulfill his campaign promise of tackling the poverty and inequality in Nigeria.

Also, as part of his campaign promises, Buhari promised to stabilize the naira. On Monday, 23<sup>rd</sup> March 2015 during the South-east presidential rally of APC at Dan Anyima stadium, Owerri, Buhari said that he would ensure that the Naira was equal to the dollar in value, if voted into office (vanguard news, 23 March, 2015). It is worthy of mention that this particular promise came at a time when 1 dollar was equal to 199.134 naira. As at 31<sup>st</sup> August 2018, spot inter-bank mark saw 1 USD= 362.521 Naira, www.poundsterlinglive.com). This represents a record 163.387 Naira increase per IUSD.

**Buhari's promise on Governance:** The following promises were stated by Buhari in the aspect of governance during his campaign.

- Ban on all government officials from seeking medical care abroad.
- No plans to Islamize Nigeria.
- Embark on PPP schemes that will ensure all 36 states have functional airports each.
- Increasing the quality of all federal government owned hospitals to world class standard within five years.
- Reforming and strengthening the justice system for efficient administration and dispensation of justice system for efficient special courts for accelerated hearing of corruption, drug trafficking terrorism and similar cases of national importance.

## **5. Buhari's Campaign Promises and the Realities on Ground (Dividends of Democracy)**

On the president's campaign promise of building at least one functional airport in each of the 36 states, it would not be out of place to state that this promise was a product of President Buhari's wishful thinking, for not even one airport has been built in any state under the Buhari's administration.

Increasing the quality of all federal government owned hospitals to world class standard within five years: While Nigeria and Nigerians were drowned in the world of fantasy courtesy of the president's promise in the health sector, what they got was a strike action by the joint health sector unions (JOHESU) over what

the union tagged “Governments refusal to implement the agreement reached with them”. This strike action by JOHESU saw many patients abandoned in government hospitals across the country without proper treatment. What more can one expect when the president jets to the United Kingdom from time to time for medical treatment? How do we expect him to be committed in revitalizing the health sector when neither him nor any member of his family get their treatment in the country. While Buhari promised to ban all government officials from seeking medical care abroad, he was the first to travel abroad for medical treatment. Within the 3years of his presidency, Buhari's medical trip abroad has been unprecedented in the history of Nigerian presidency. Below are records of his medical tips.

**Table 2. Buhari’s Medical Travels**

N/S	Date	Destination	Duration	Ailment
1	February 5, 2016	London	Six days	Not specified
2	June 6, 2016	London	Ten days	Ear infection
3	January 19, 2017 February 5, 2017	London London		Not specified A request on the national assembly to extend his Jan. 19 medical leave
4	May 7, 2017	London	104 days	not specified
5	May 8, 2018	London	4days	Not specified

Source: Egbas, (2018).

## 6. Buhari's Campaign Promise of Equal Representation and Appointments into Strategic Positions

While Buhari stated as part of his campaign mantra that he has no plan to Islamize Nigeria, the key appointments made so far by the president has contradicted that statement. Within the 3years of Buhari's presidency, all major security agencies as well as other strategic positions in the country have been occupied by northerners who are mostly Muslim faithful in what can be out rightly call a subtle Islamisation of the country. This was clearly captured by Prof. Nwabueze in his statement to Daily Post news. He made a list of such appointments which are as follows;

- Babachir Lawal, Secretary to the Government of the Federation, SGF; appointed in preference to a hotly tipped candidate from the South-East; after his removal following allegation of diversion of funds meant for persons displaced by the Boko Haram insurgency in the North-East, he was replaced by another northerner, Boss Mustapha, again in preference to a rumoured candidate from the South-East.
- Maj-General Babagana Monguno, (Rtd), National Security Adviser, NSA, replacing (Col) Dasuki, NSA under former President Goodluck Jonathan.
- Alhaji Abba Kyari, Chief of Staff to the President, replacing Brig-Gen Jones Oladehinde, (Rtd), the holder of the office under former President Goodluck Jonathan.
- Ibrahim Idris, IGP, appointed over the heads of some southern officers senior to him. The IGP is heading a Police Force, in which 15 out of the 22 Assistant Inspectors-General of Police, AIG, who exercise much of the function of the operational control of the Force, are northerners, while three are from the South-West and two from the South-East.

- Abubakar Malami SAN, Attorney-General of the Federation and Minister of Justice, AGF, a young SAN, who was raised to the rank in 2008, i.e. seven years before his appointment as AGF.
- Lt-Gen Abdulrahman Danbazau, (Rtd), Minister of Interior. viii: Magaji Abubakar, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Interior; he has publicly admitted to have wrongfully sidetracked the Head of Service (HoS), Mrs Winifred Ekanem Oyo-Ita, a Southerner in the reinstatement of Abdurashheed Maina, and has apologized to her accordingly (Vanguard of December 1, 2017).
- Ibrahim Magu, Acting Chairman, Economic and Financial Crimes Commission, EFCC; still kept in office in an acting capacity since 9 November, 2015 because of repeated refusal by the Senate to confirm his appointment.
- Hamed Ibrahim Ali, Controller-General, Nigerian Customs Services; customs is the underbelly of corruption in Nigeria.
- Mohammad Babandede, Controller-General Nigerian Immigration Services; immigration stands implicated in Maina's escape out of Nigeria after his sack from the civil service and his subsequent re-entry into it.
- Ambassador Muhammed Dauda, Acting Director-General National Intelligence Agency, NIA, replacing Ayo Oke, a Southerner; after he was sacked, following the discovery in the NIA offices in the Osborne Towers, Ikoyi, of the sum of \$43 million, £27,800 and N23 million.
- Alhaji Amed Idris, Accountant-General of the Federation, replacing Jonah Oggunniyi Otunla, a Southerner.
- Maitanti Baru, Group Managing Director, Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation, NNPC, replacing Ibe Kachukwu, a southerner, who, as Minister of State for Petroleum and Chairman, NNPC Board, was sidelined by Baru in the process for the award of some NNPC contracts.
- Earlier he has been downgraded from Minister of Petroleum to Minister of State for Petroleum, with the President taking over as his own Petroleum Minister.
- Abdurashheed Maina, Chairman, Presidential Task Force on Pension Reform; although his initial appointment took place before the Buhari Administration, his reinstatement after he was sacked occurred during that Administration, with the President's approval as the evidence shows.
- Professor Mahmood Yakubu was appointed as Chairman, Independent Electoral Commission (INEC).
- Hadiza Bala-Usman was appointed as Head of the Nigerian Ports Authority (NPA).
- Maman Daura, the former Director-General, Department of State Services (DSS), replaced Ita Ekpenyong. Apart from the DG, the top echelons of the DSS are occupied by mostly northerners.

The control of the NPF and DSS by northern elements must be taken together with the fact that the Minister of Interior and the Permanent Secretary of the ministry are northerners; that the Army and Air Force are headed by northerners; and, above all that President Muhammadu Buhari, a northerner, is the Commander-in-Chief of the Nigerian Armed Forces, and has the power under the Constitution to direct the operational use of the NPF for the maintenance and securing of public safety and public order; and his power to direct the operational use of the DSS is even more plenary. The implication of the control of

security by northerners is that the security of Nigeria and Nigerians is an exclusively a northern affair, thereby putting the rest of the country at the mercy of the northern elements. These blatantly lopsided appointments, all of which were made since the inception of the Buhari Administration, portray the NPF as an army of occupation deliberately designed to carry into effect President Buhari's Northernisation agenda in furtherance of the dream of the Sardauna to reduce the South to a conquered territory and thereby prevented from having control over its future.

The President's implacable opposition to re-structuring which envisages the establishment of State Police should not, therefore, surprise us. He wants to be able to continue to exercise control over the internal security of the Southern States and to continue to hold them hostage. It caricatures true federalism that a constituent state in a Federation should be under the control and yoke of the Federal Government in the matter of its internal security.

The listed appointments raise critical issues as to the intention or design behind them. They look like a swoop on the South, a Jihad designed to foist Northern domination, or even subjugation, on the South in pursuance of the Sarduna's agenda, announced as far back as 1960, to subjugate the South and reduce it to a conquered territory, with the object of preventing it from having control over its future, an agenda which President Buhari, in a speech in May 2015 as President-elect, re-echoed and vowed to carry to a finish (Daily Post News, January 1, 2018).

## **7. Conclusion and Recommendations**

For democratic governance to thrive in Nigeria, the people must be vigilant and demand accountability from the leaders at least in fulfilling the promises made to the people during the campaign period. It has been proven that, the strength of a democracy is only as great as the will of the people to uphold it. For all these to be possible the citizens must be politically educated and mature. This would enable the future leaders to make ethical decisions and for the people to begin to make political office holders accountable while within and outside office. The dividend of democracy means the benefits and the advantages of democracy. These include rule of law (supremacy of the law, equality before the law and fundamental human rights), legitimacy of the state, improved standard of living for the majority of the populace, improved atmosphere of peace and stability etc. All these suppose to be prerequisite for nation's development (Igba, 2012). Therefore, one will begin to wonder if Nigeria is really on the path to democratization which will deliver the promised “dividends of democracy” (Okeshola & Igba, n.d.).

Evidence abound on the failure of President Buhari to fulfilled his campaign promise as the economy crumbled and went into recession immediately he was sworn in to power due to some bad and obnoxious policies, with the Naira's value recording the lowest rate against the Dollar. Nigeria for the first time in her chequered history has become so divided along ethnic and religious line in relation to governance, the security situation has worsen to a point where the lives of cows are valued more than that of humans simply because the people being killed are not members of particular ethnic group or religious affiliations. The blatant refusal of the Buhari administration to declare the Fulani herders a terrorist organisation when by their actions, they have met the criteria to be called such, gave them (the Fulani Herdsmen) the impetus to wreak havoc across Nigeria while the Nigerian security forces, headed by Northerners, appear complacent. In term of employment, the Buhari administration has also failed woefully, as the recent publication by the NBS shows that the rate of unemployment in Nigeria has increased astronomically. Also, recent reports show that despite Nigeria's plentiful resources and oil wealth, Nigeria is now considered one of the 20 poorest countries in the world, with over 70% of its population classified as poor,

with 35% living in absolute poverty. Also reports indicate that 59% women die during or soon after childbirth every year.

Deriving from the above, the paper recommends that;

1. The Nigerian people should rise up and hold this government responsible for all the economic woes and hardship being experience since the government had promised to address them before coming into power.
2. President Buhari should realise that Nigeria is a multi-ethnic and multi-religious country; as such he has the mandate to carry all sections of the country along not minding his own ethnic and religious affiliation as he is not the president of the Fulani and Muslim only but president of Nigeria as a whole.
3. The Buhari administration should as a matter of urgency adhered to an inclusive and a proactive approach to governance in order to sustain their stay in power.
4. The democratic institutions should be strengthened so as to make it a more viable tool for democratic consolidation in Nigeria.
5. The federal government led by President Muhammadu Buhari should strive to fulfill the promises made during his campaign so as to maintain the support and confidence of the people who came out en-mass to support them.
6. There should be congruence between campaign promises and post election policies and actions of any administration that emerges the winner of the electoral contest.

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