

BOTCHED HOPE

A Report of People's Assessment of
President Muhammdu Buhari
Administration 2015 - 2023



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SURVEY DESIGN & METHODOLOGY



Number of Respondents:

1,082 (Minimum of 30 in each State of the Federation and the Federal Capital Territory)



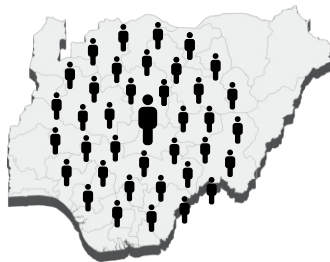
Survey Mode:

Questionnaire Administered by HEDA Community



Interview Dates:

May 12 to 27, 2023



Sample Population:

Adults living in Nigeria



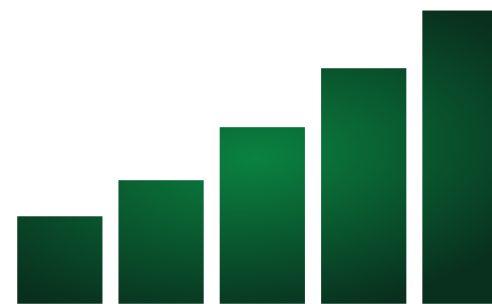
Sample Area:

At least 7 Local Government Areas across 36 States of Nigeria and the Federal Capital Territory



Sampling Method:

Random Sampling



KEY CALL-OUTS AND INTERESTING FACTS

IMPROVEMENT IN THE HEALTH SECTOR



Most of the Respondents

rated the improvement in the health sector as good under President Buhari compared to the period before 2015.

53% OF RESPONDENTS



The Majority (53%) of Respondents

were of the opinion that health infrastructure development under President Buhari is significant by rating him between average and excellent.

61% RATED THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION



Most of the Respondents (61%) rated

The Minister of Education, Adamu's appointment as either worse or poor.

THE ASUU CRISES



Majority of the Respondents

believed that President Buhari managed the ASUU crises poorly compared to the administration before it.

EDUCATION FUNDING



Most of the Respondents

(61%) have concerns regarding the funding and accountability measures in the educational sector during President Buhari's tenure by rating him poor and below average respectively.

53% RATED THE RELIEF AND POVERTY



Most of the Respondents

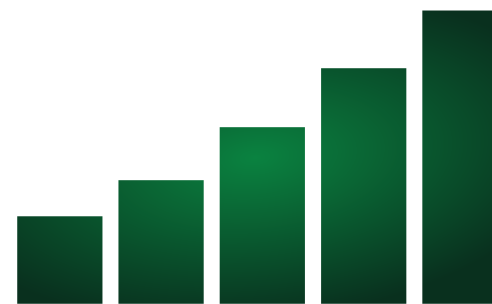
(53%) rated the relief and poverty alleviation programmes under President Buhari as (very) ineffective.

CURRENCY CHANGE



Most of the Respondents

(77%) said the currency change is not justified when it was done.



NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL CHAIRMAN



Most of the Respondents

(60%) said the National Economic Council Chaired by Prof. Yemi Osinbajo negatively impacted Nigeria's economy.

COMBATING CORRUPTION



Majority of the Respondents

(63%) expressed no satisfaction with President Buhari's efforts in combating corruption.

FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION



Most of the Respondents

(62%) were of the view that the problems associated with the fight against corruption lie in the entire system.

63% BELIEVES THAT THE COURTS HAVE NOT PERFORMED



Most of the Respondents

(63%) believe that the Courts have not performed satisfactorily in the fight against corruption thereby they rated the courts' performance as either worse or poor.

IMPROVEMENTS AND REFORMS PEOPLE EXPECT



Health Sector

Improved access to health, strengthened emergency services, improved infrastructure, affordable drugs, improved healthcare for rural areas, better equipment, improved infrastructure and motivated medical personnel.



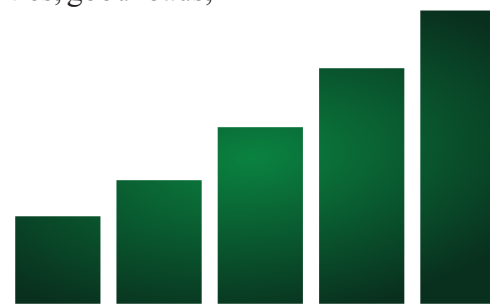
Education Sector

Increased funding, curriculum redesign, improved infrastructural development and good welfare for lecturers.



Economy

Security, reduction in inflation, job opportunities, good roads, improved electricity.



BACKGROUND

The Leadership Approval Rating (LAR) is an initiative of Human and Environmental Development Agenda (HEDA Resource Centre) aimed at providing Nigerians with a platform to express their opinions and views about governments across tiers and arms and their policies with a view to providing government with insights into public perception of them and their governance.

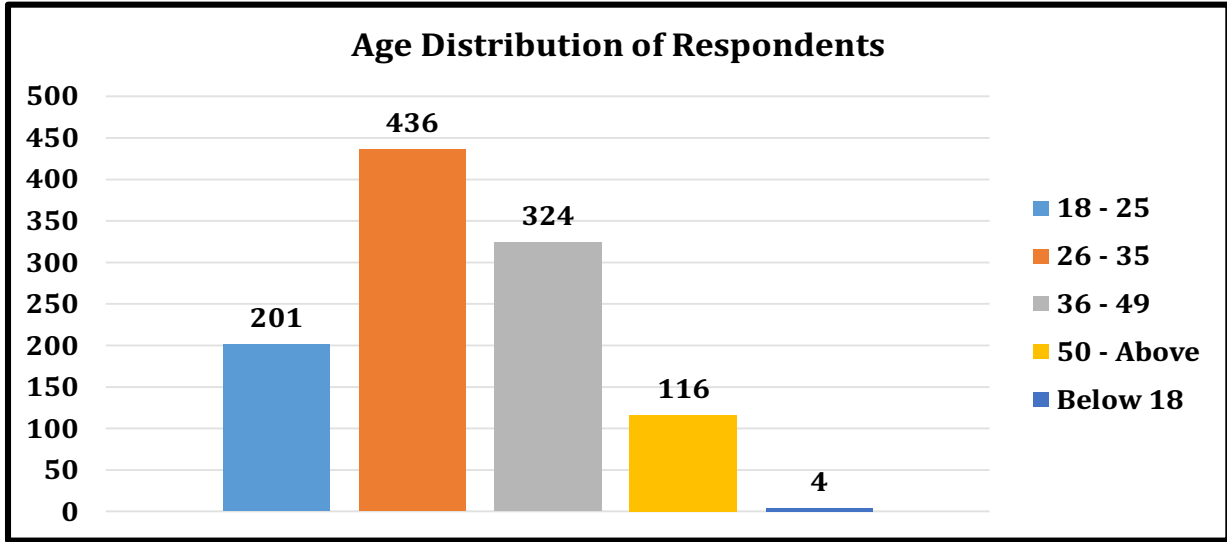
This edition, Volume 3, Number 1, is focused on the Muhammadu Buhari Administration (2015 – 2023). The survey was conducted May 2023, the same month that the former President Buhari completed his two-term tenure.

This rating, therefore, conducted across the 36 States of the Federation and the FCT, provides insight into the level of support enjoyed by President Buhari's policies and the level of satisfaction with the results of those policies among the population. A high approval rating suggests that the leader's decisions and initiatives are well-received and aligned with public expectations. Conversely, a low approval rating signifies discontentment and suggests the need for improvements or changes in the leader's approach.

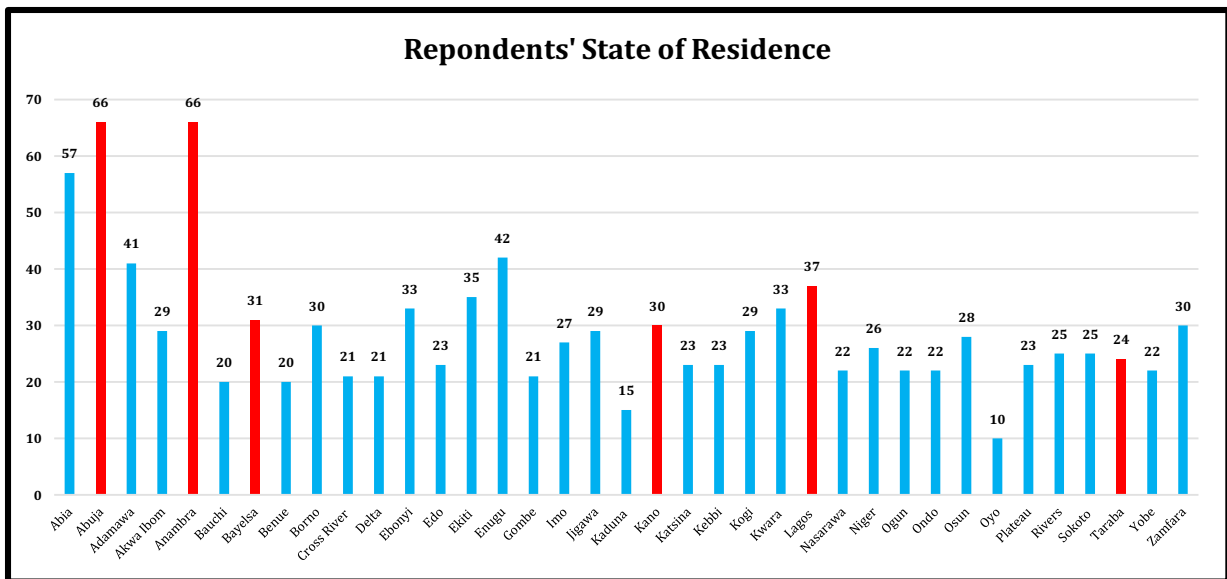
However, the results of this survey gives mixed feelings, seemingly paradoxical, indicative of a failed progress, abortive development and undelivered success.

CORE OF THE SURVEY

Demographic Details

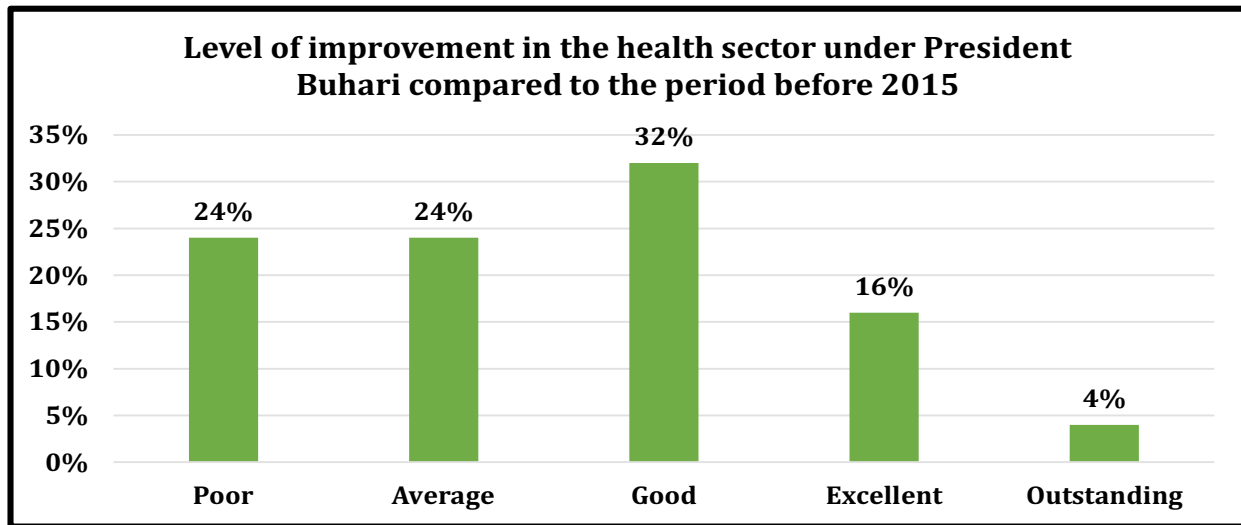


The age distribution provides insights into the demographic composition of the respondents involved in the survey. It highlights the participation of individuals across various age ranges, allowing for a more comprehensive understanding of their perspectives and opinions. The data set shows the distribution of respondents by age groups, with the majority of respondents falling in the 26-35 age range (436), followed by the 36-49 age range (324), while the lowest number of respondents was in the below 18 age group (4).

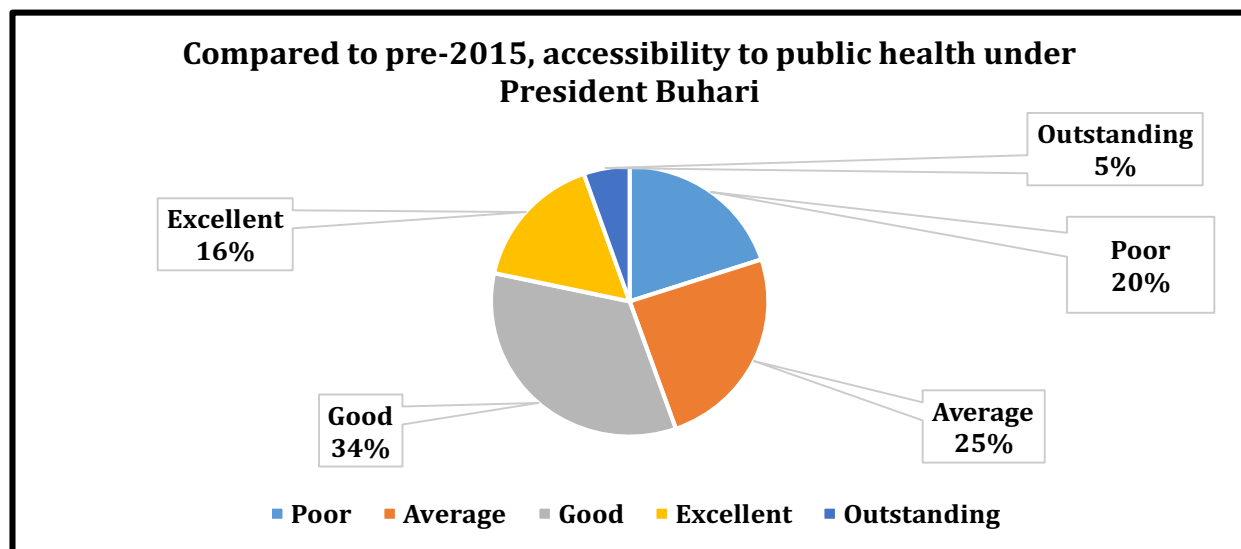


The dataset represents the number of responses given by respondents from different states in Nigeria, with values ranging from 10 to 66. The highest responses of 66 were given by respondents from Abuja and Anambra, while the lowest response of 10 was given by respondents from Oyo state.

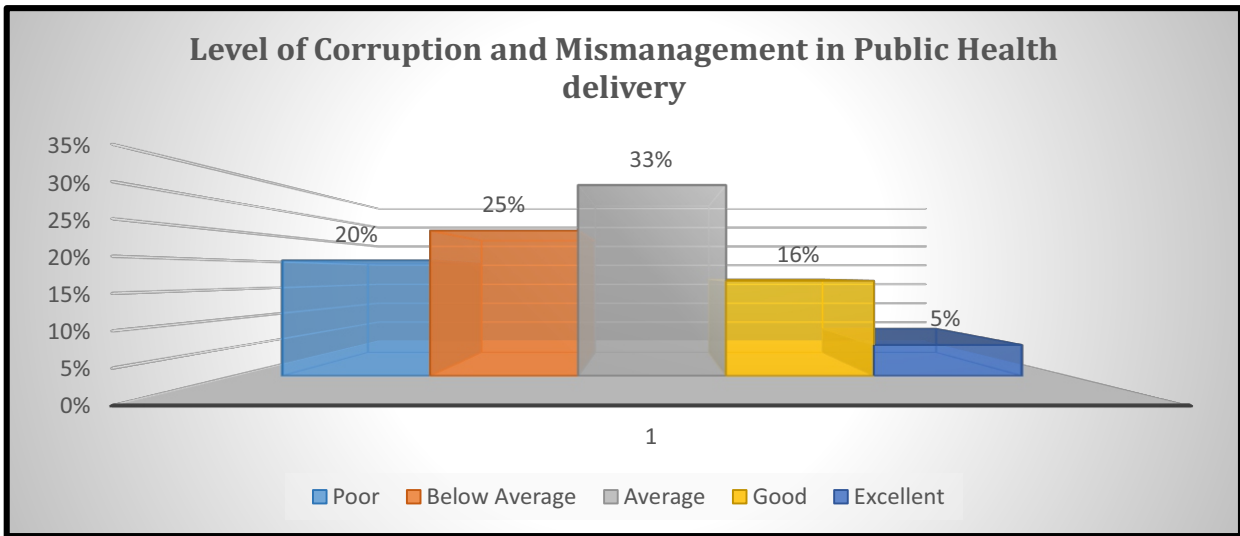
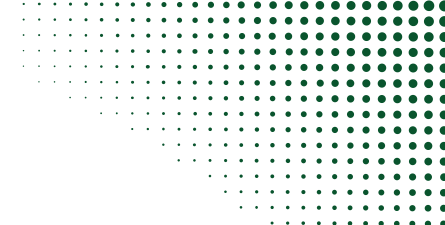
ASSESSMENT OF PERFORMANCE IN THE HEALTH SECTOR



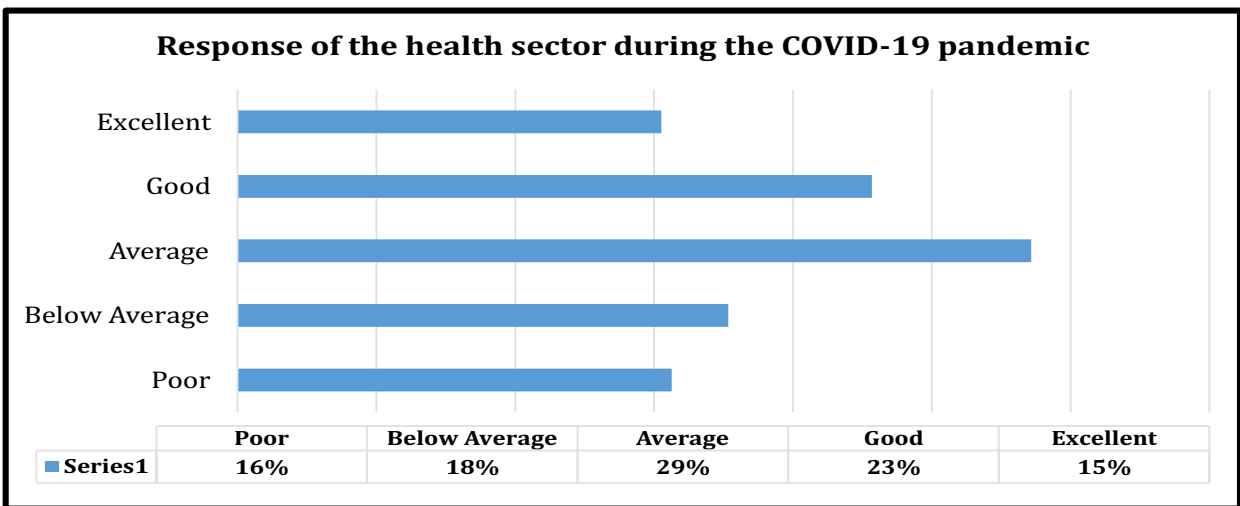
The data set reveals that 32% of respondents rated the improvement in the health sector under President Buhari as "Good" compared to the period before 2015. An equal proportion of respondents rated it as "Average" (24%). However, a notable number of respondents (24%) considered the improvement to be "Poor." Furthermore, a smaller percentage rated it as "Excellent" (16%) or "Outstanding" (4%). When considering the combined ratings of "Good," "Excellent," and "Outstanding," it amounts to 52% of the respondents, indicating a significant level of improvement in the health sector.



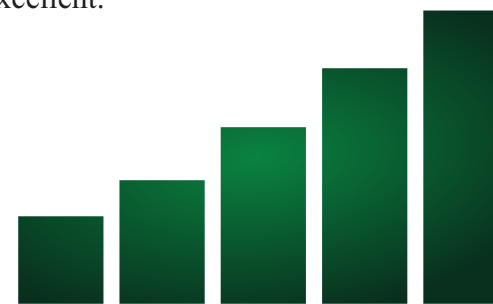
Under President Buhari, there was a mixed perception regarding the accessibility to public health compared to the period before 2015. A significant proportion of respondents rated it as "Good" (34%), while a considerable portion found it to be "Average" (25%). However, a notable percentage considered it to be "Poor" (20%), indicating room for improvement in enhancing accessibility to public health services. From this result, the majority (55%) feel accessibility to public health is satisfactory compared to pre-2015 by rating it between good and outstanding.

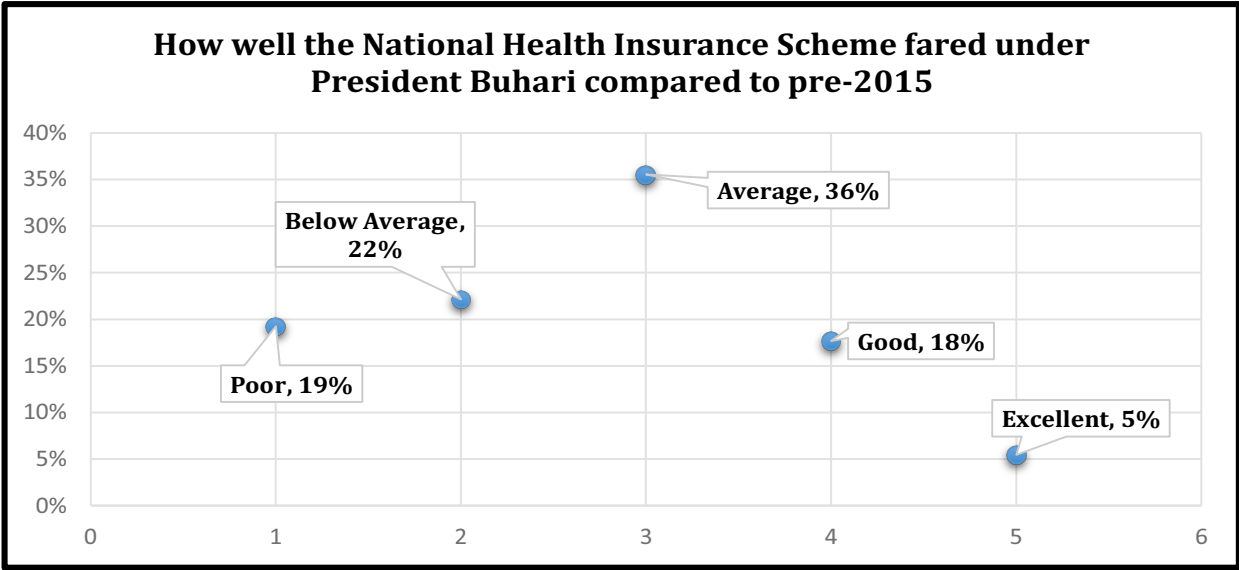


The data set shows that 20% of respondents rated the level of corruption and mismanagement in public health delivery as "Poor," while 25% rated it as "Below Average." Additionally, 33% of respondents considered it to be "Average," while 16% rated it as "Good," and only 5% perceived it as "Excellent." These findings suggest a significant perception of corruption and mismanagement in the public health sector, with a majority (78%) of the respondents expressing dissatisfaction or a lack of confidence in its delivery.

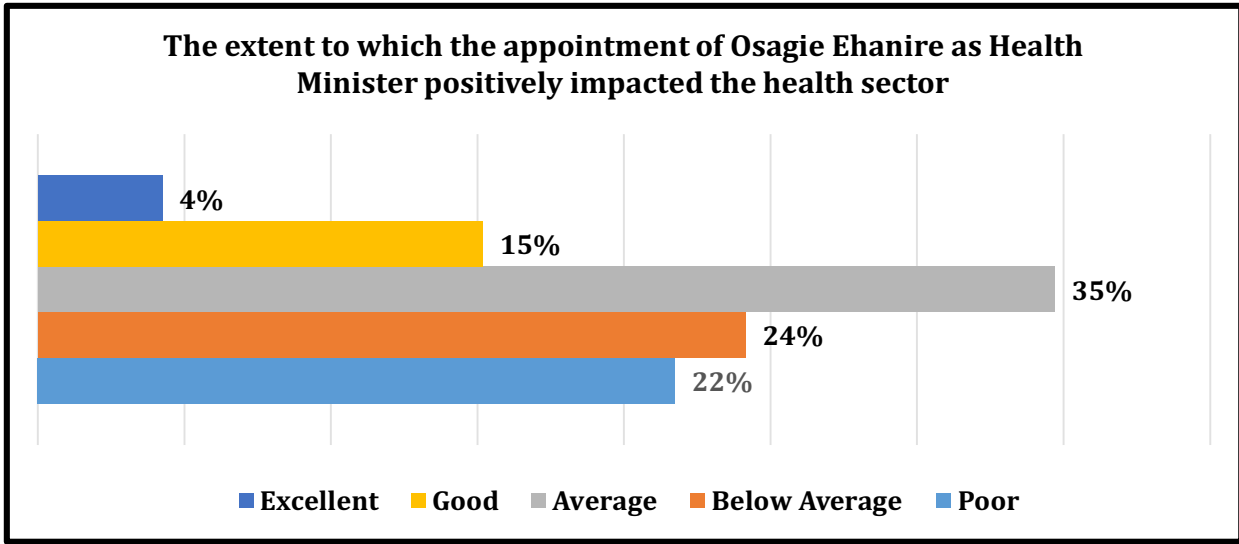


During the COVID-19 pandemic, the level of response by the health sector was perceived to be poor by 16% of respondents, while 18% considered it below average. Approximately 29% rated the response as average, with 23% considering it good and 15% rating it as excellent. These findings indicate a mixed perception of the health sector's performance during the pandemic, with room for improvement in effectively addressing the challenges posed by the health crisis. Although, the majority of the respondents rated the response of the health sector as between average and excellent.

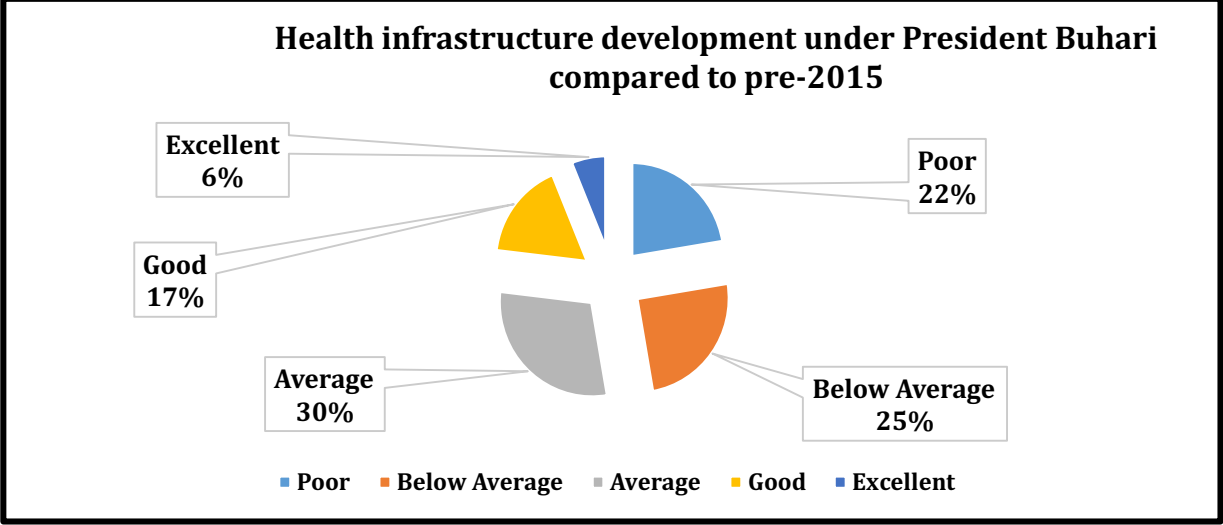
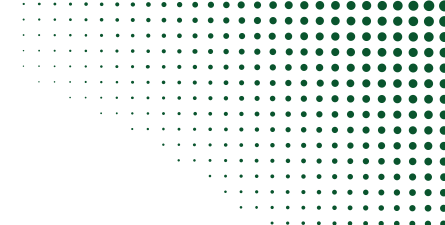




The data shows that a significant proportion of respondents (19%) rated the performance of the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS) under President Buhari as "Poor" compared to the period before 2015. Furthermore, 22% of the respondents considered it to be "Below Average", while 36% rated it as "Average". Only a small percentage (18%) perceived the NHIS to be "Good", and an even lower percentage (5%) rated it as "Excellent". Taken together, the majority (59%) of the respondents were of the opinion that the NHIS performed moderately by rating it between average and excellent.



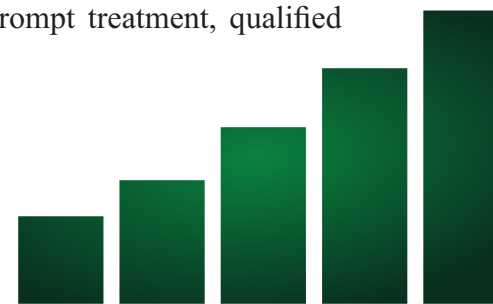
The data set reveals that a minority of respondents (4%) rated the appointment of Osagie Ehanire as Health Minister as "Excellent" in positively impacting the health sector. However, a significant portion of respondents had relatively negative perceptions, with 22% rating it as "Poor" and 24% rating it as "Below Average". Furthermore, 35% of the respondents considered the impact to be "Average". Thus, the majority of the respondents feel the appointment of Osagie Ehanire didn't impact the health sector positively.



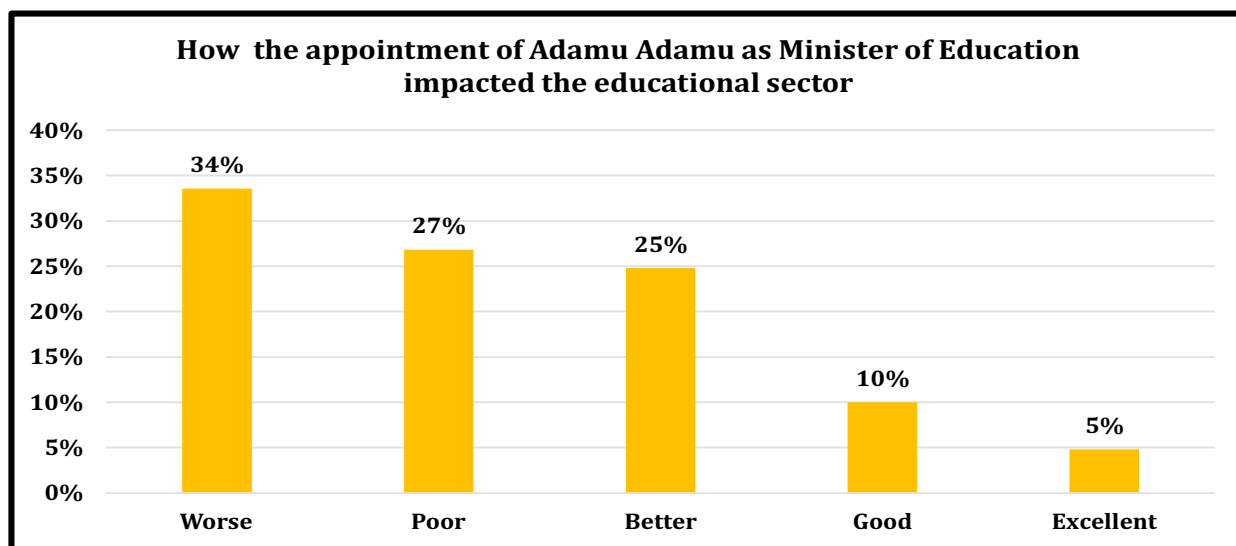
The data set on health infrastructure development under President Buhari compared to pre-2015 shows that 22% of respondents rated it as "Poor", 25% rated it as "Below Average", 30% rated it as "Average", 17% rated it as "Good", and 6% rated it as "Excellent". These results indicate that a significant portion of the respondents perceived the health infrastructure development as below average or poor, while a smaller percentage considered it good or excellent. Based on this, the majority (53%) of the respondents were of the opinion that health infrastructure development under President Buhari is significant by rating it between average and excellent.



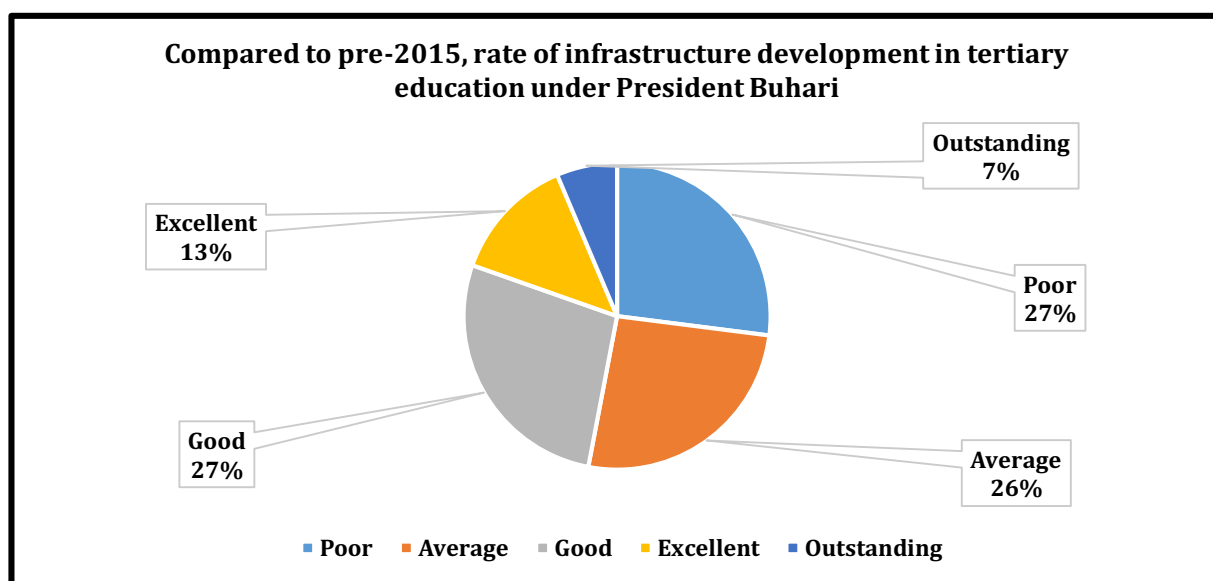
Respondents want to see improvements in equipment, infrastructure, prompt treatment, qualified medical personnel and so on.



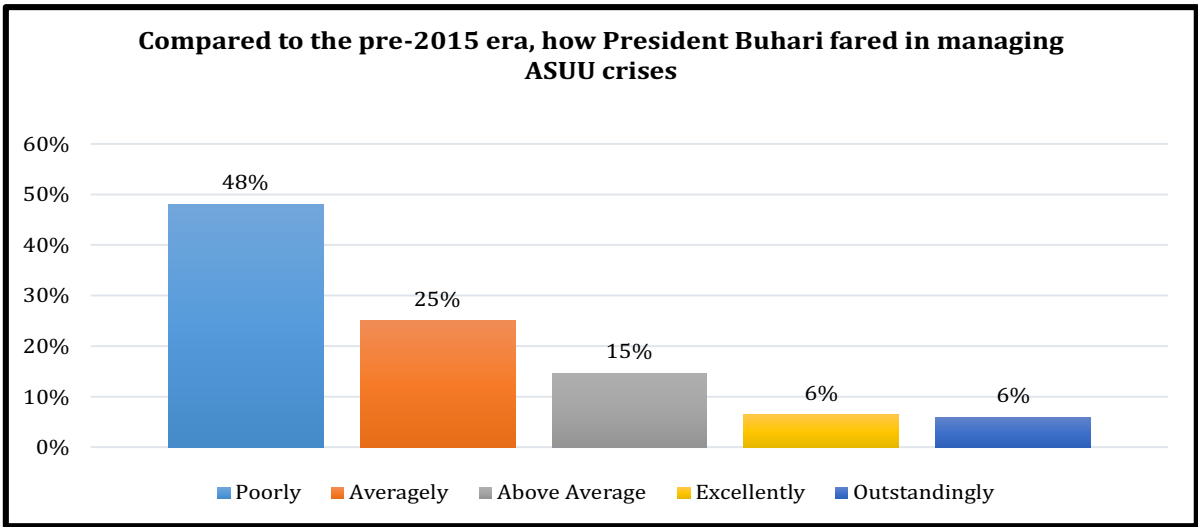
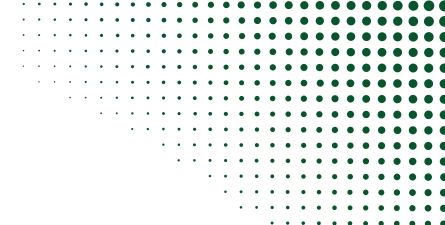
ASSESSMENT OF THE EDUCATION SECTOR UNDER PRESIDENT BUHARI



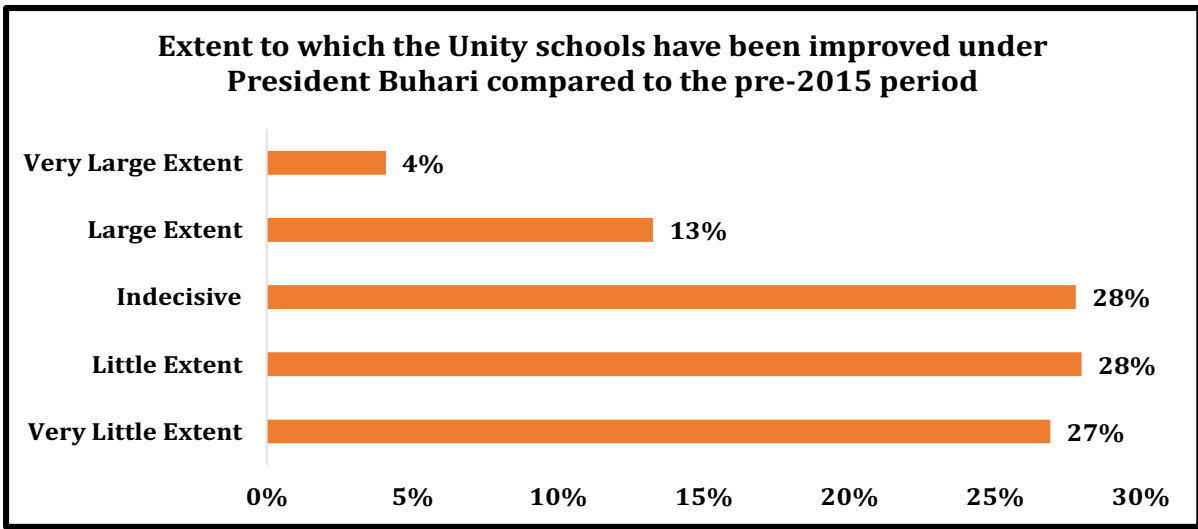
The appointment of Adamu Adamu as Minister of Education had a negative impact on the educational sector, as indicated by 34% of respondents who rated it as "Worse" and 27% who rated it as "Poor". However, a smaller percentage of respondents (25%) perceived some improvement, rating it as "Better", while only 10% considered it "Good" and 5% rated it as "Excellent". Taken together, most of the respondents (61%) rated Adamu's appointment as either worse or poor.



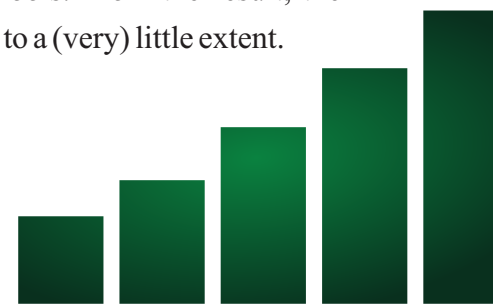
The data set indicates that under President Buhari, the rate of infrastructure development in tertiary education compared to pre-2015 is perceived to be rated as follows: Poor by 27% of respondents, Average by 26%, Good by 27%, Excellent by 13%, and Outstanding by 7%. These ratings reflect a mixed perception of infrastructure development in the tertiary education sector during President Buhari's tenure, with the majority of the respondents (53%) considering it as poor or average.

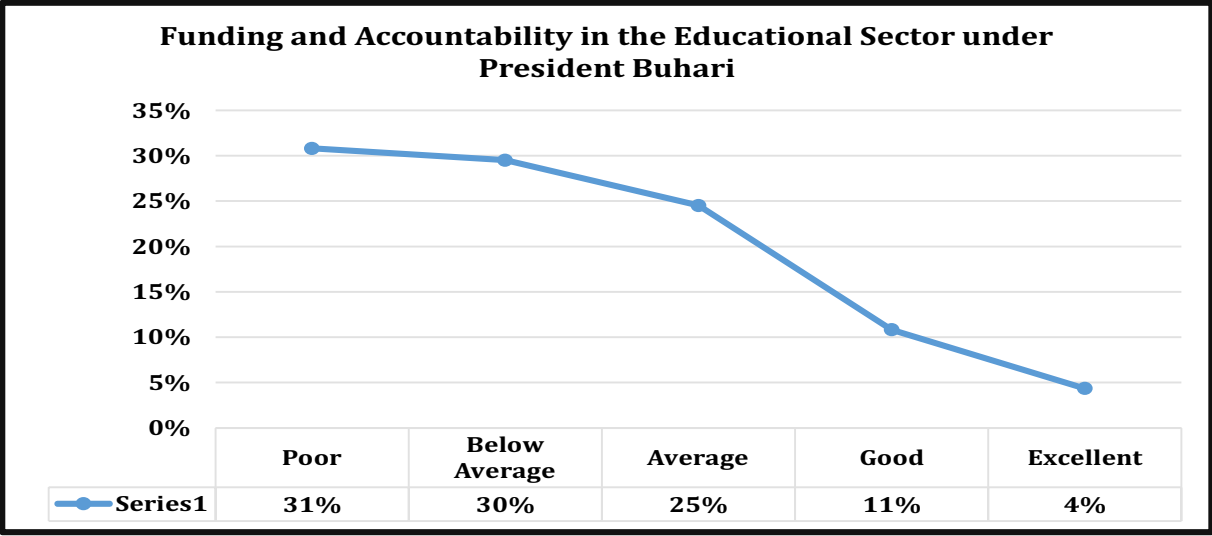


ASUU is the Academic Staff Union of Universities. According to the data, 48% of respondents believed that President Buhari managed the ASUU crises poorly compared to the pre-2015 era. A smaller percentage of respondents rated his performance as average (25%) or above average (15%), while only 6% considered it excellent or outstanding. These findings suggest a significant dissatisfaction with his handling of the ASUU crises with the majority of the respondents (73%) rating him as either poor or average.



The data suggests that the perceived improvement in Unity schools under President Buhari compared to the pre-2015 period is limited, as 27% of respondents believe there has been very little extent of improvement. Similarly, 28% of respondents perceive a little extent of improvement, while another 28% are indecisive about the extent of improvement. Only a minority of 17% of respondents believe there has been a large or very large extent of improvement in Unity schools. From the result, the majority of the respondents (55%) believed that the Unity schools improved to a (very) little extent.

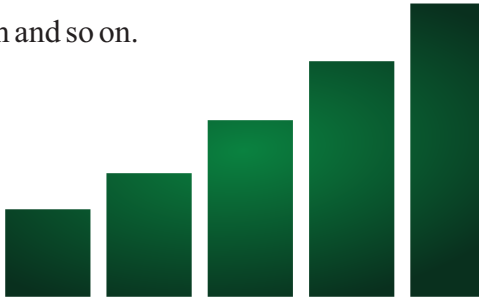




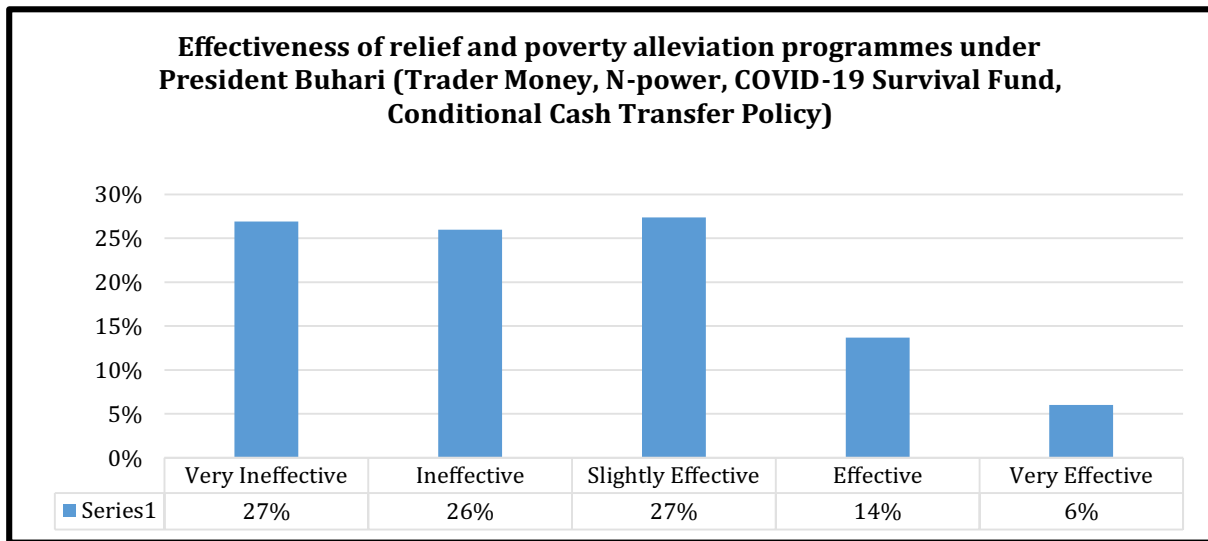
The data set reveals that 31% of respondents rated the funding and accountability in the educational sector under President Buhari as poor, while 30% considered it to be below average. Additionally, 25% of respondents perceived the funding and accountability to be average, while only 11% rated it as good and 4% as excellent. These findings suggest a significant portion of the respondents (61%) have concerns regarding the funding and accountability measures in the educational sector during President Buhari's tenure by rating it poor and below average.



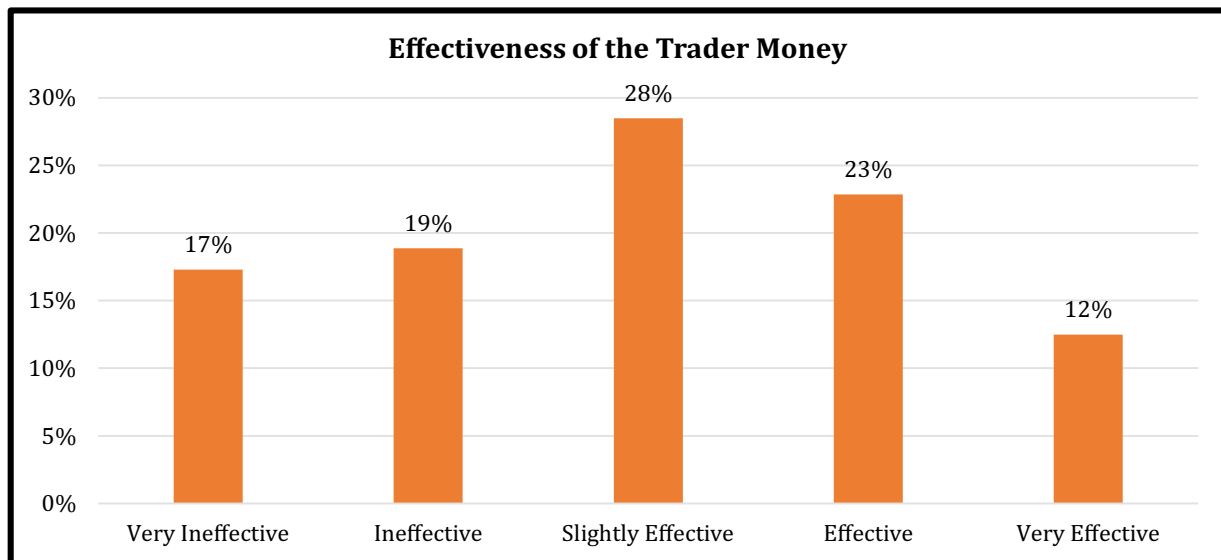
Respondents want to see improvements in infrastructure, funding, curriculum and so on.



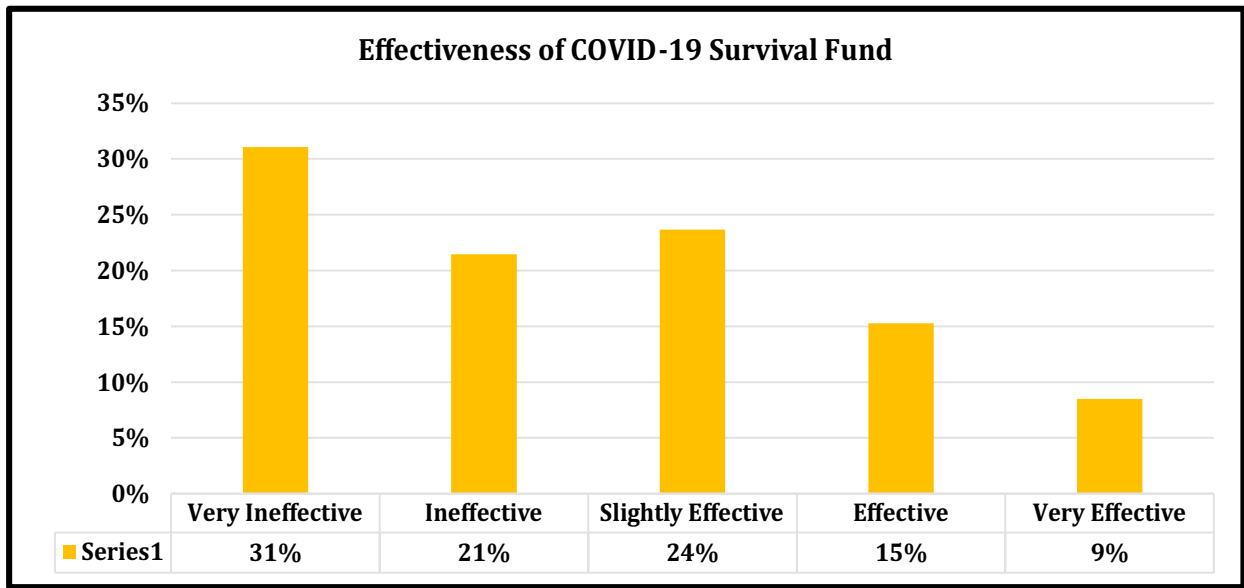
EFFECTIVENESS OF RELIEF AND POVERTY ALLEVIATION PROGRAMMES UNDER PRESIDENT BUHARI



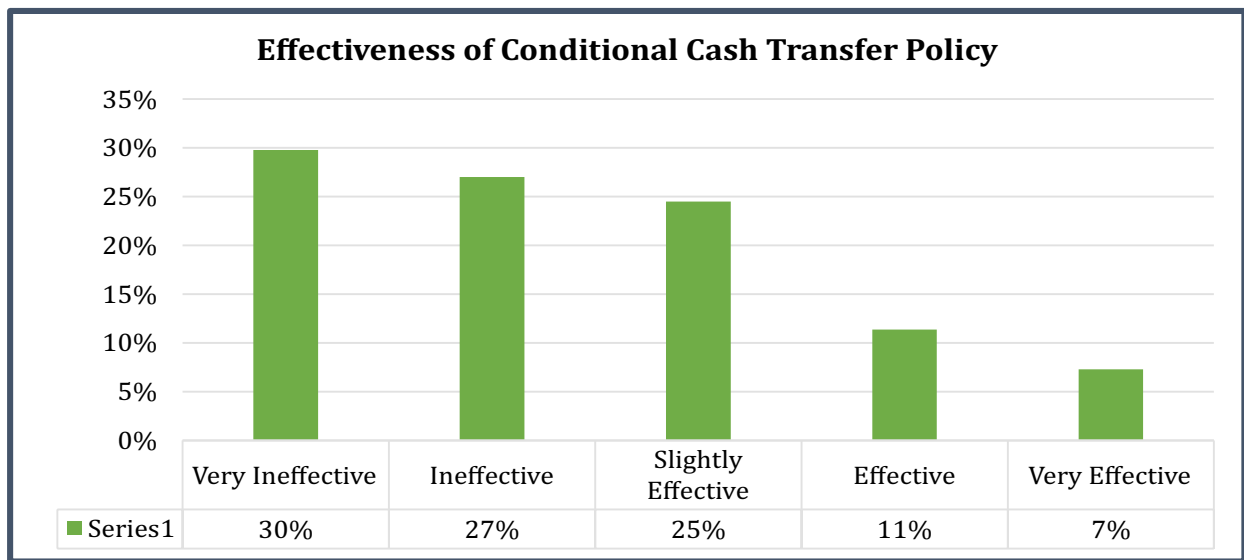
The data shows that a combined 53% of respondents rated the effectiveness of relief and poverty alleviation programs, including Trader Money, N-power, COVID-19 Survival Fund, and Conditional Cash Transfer Policy, as either very ineffective (27%) or ineffective (26%). A significant proportion (27%) considered these programs to be slightly effective, while only 14% and 6% of respondents rated them as effective and very effective, respectively. These findings suggest a need for further evaluation and improvement of these programs to enhance their impact on poverty alleviation because the majority of the respondents (53%) rated the programs as (very) ineffective.



According to the data, a significant proportion of respondents perceived the effectiveness of the Trader Money program as suboptimal, with 17% considering it "very ineffective" and 19% rating it as "ineffective". While 28% of respondents found the program to be "slightly effective", only 12% deemed it "very effective". The majority of the respondents (63%) suggest the need for further evaluation and improvement of the Trader Money program to enhance its impact by rating it between slightly effective and very effective.

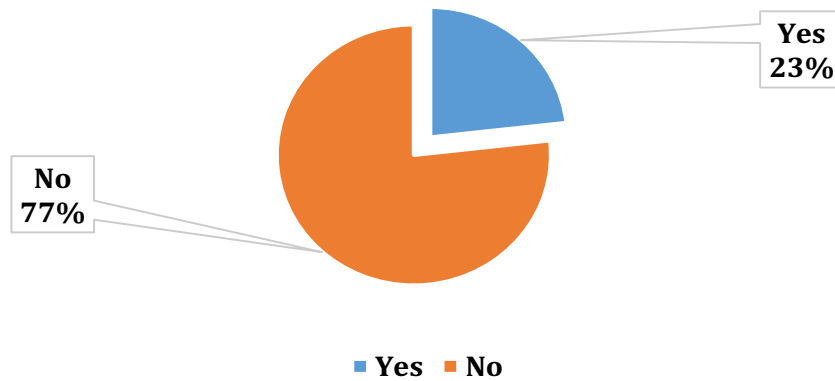


The effectiveness of COVID-19 Survival Fund was perceived as very ineffective by 31% of respondents, while an additional 21% rated it as ineffective. A quarter of the respondents found the program to be slightly effective, while only 15% considered it effective and 9% viewed it as very effective. Overall, the data suggests that a majority (52%) of the respondents were dissatisfied because the COVID-19 Survival Fund was not effective.



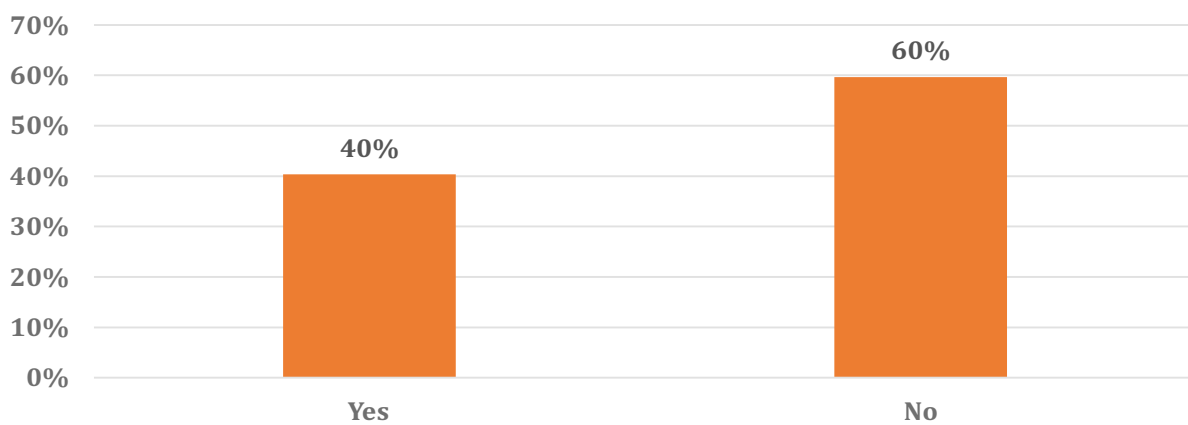
The data set reveals that 30% of respondents perceive the Conditional Cash Transfer Policy as "very ineffective," while an additional 27% consider it "ineffective." Only 11% of respondents view the policy as "effective," and a mere 7% deem it "very effective." A considerable portion (25%) rated it as "slightly effective." Taken together, the majority of the respondents (57%) were of the opinion that the conditional cash transfer policy is very ineffective.

Currency Change involving the 200, 500 and 1000 notes are justified



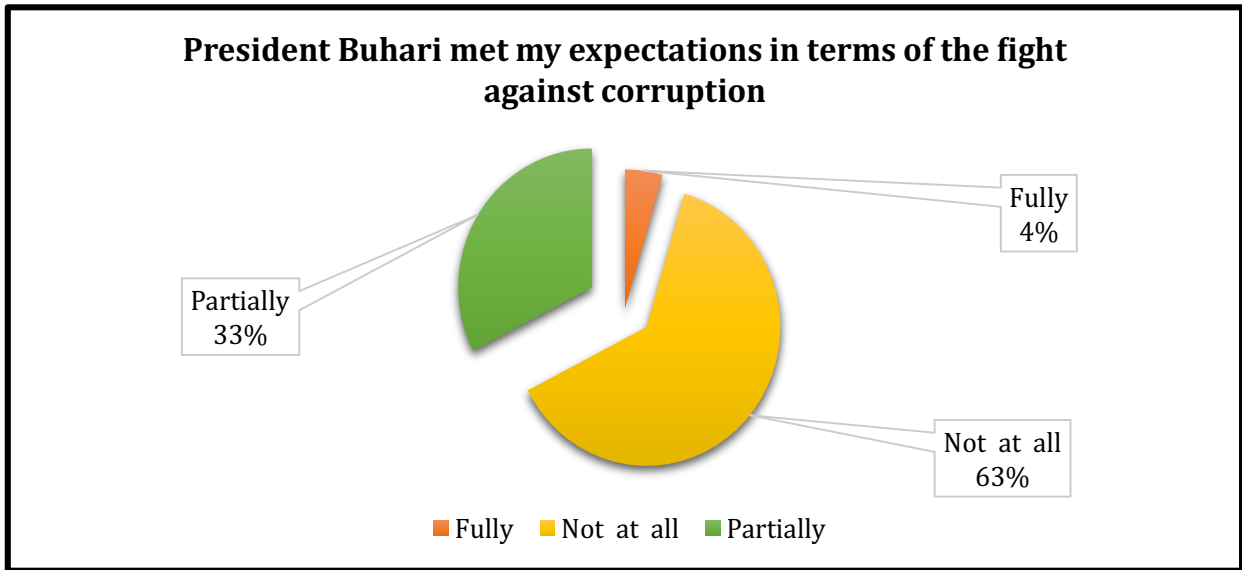
According to the data set, only 23% of the respondents believe that the currency change involving the 200, 500, and 1000 notes is justified, while 77% disagree. This suggests a widespread disagreement among the respondents regarding the decision to change the currency notes. The majority of the respondents (77%) believe that the currency change could not be justified.

The National Economic Council chaired by Prof. Yemi Osinbajo positively impacted Nigeria economy

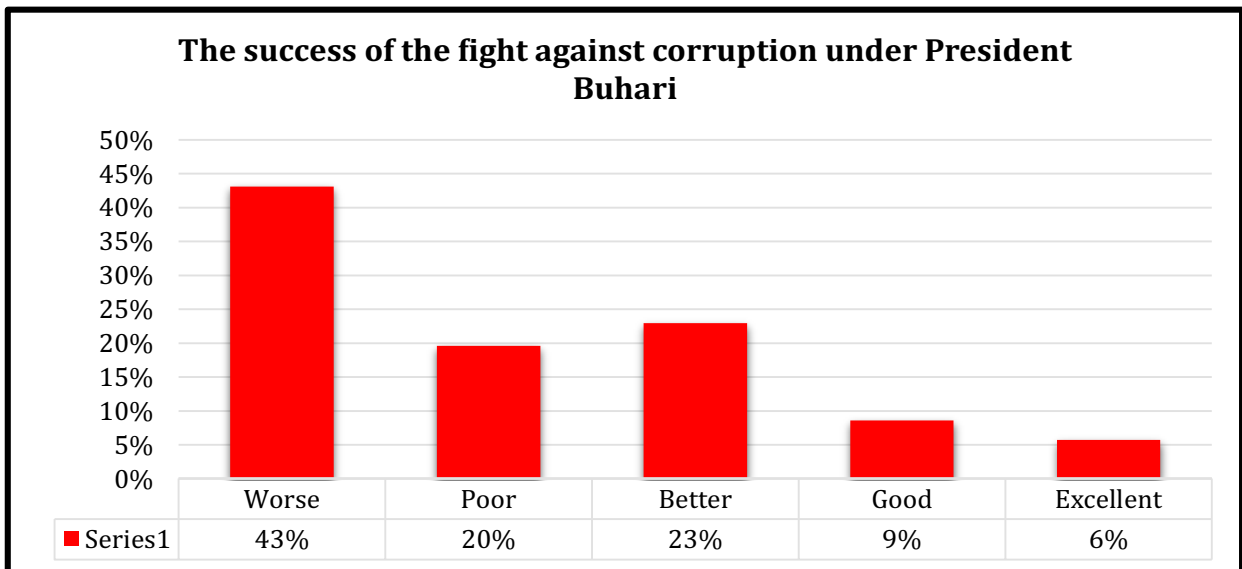


According to the data, 40% of the respondents believed that the National Economic Council chaired by Prof. Yemi Osinbajo positively impacted Nigeria's economy, while the majority, 60%, did not share the same sentiment. This indicates a mixed perception among the respondents regarding the impact of the council's activities on the country's economic performance. From this result, the majority (60%) of the respondents were of the opinion that Prof. Yemi Osinbajo led National Economic Council negatively impacted Nigeria's economy.

PERCEPTION OF THE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION UNDER PRESIDENT BUHARI

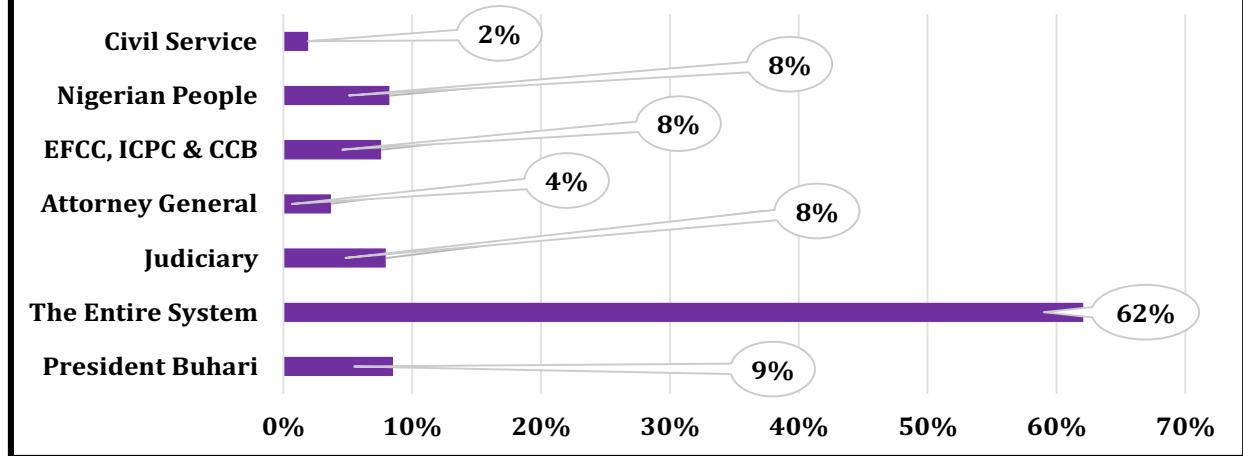


According to the data set, a large majority of respondents (680) indicated that President Buhari did not meet their expectations in terms of the fight against corruption. Only a small minority (4%) felt that he fully met their expectations while the majority of the respondents (63%) expressed no satisfaction with his efforts in combating corruption.



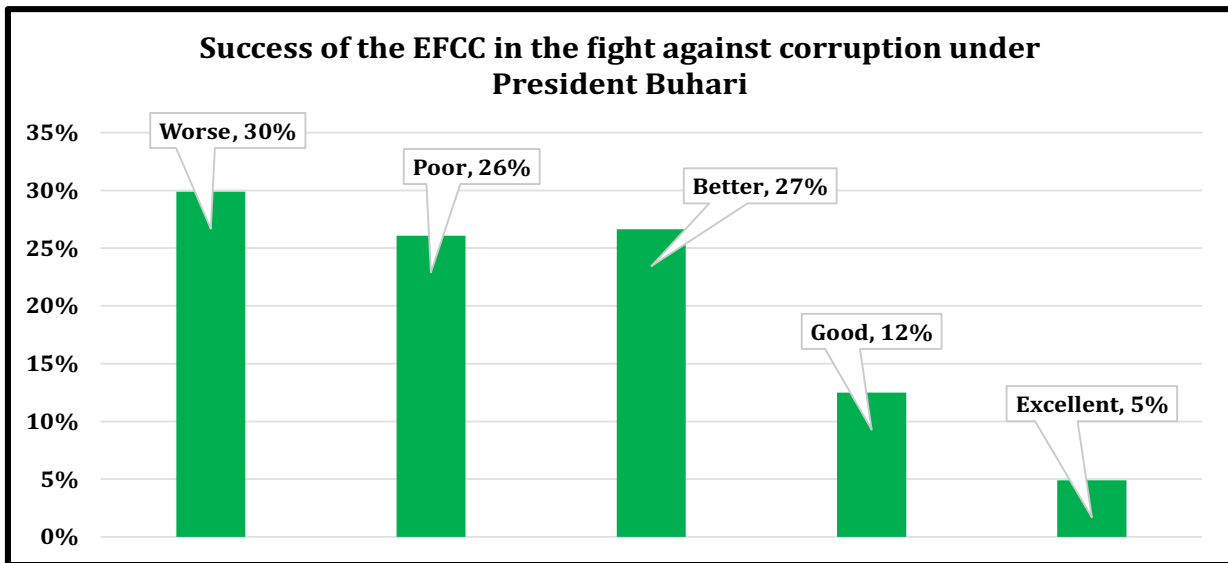
According to the data, 43% of respondents rated the success of the fight against corruption under President Buhari as "Worse", while 20% rated it as "Poor". Only a small percentage (9%) believed it was "Good", and an even smaller proportion (6%) considered it "Excellent". This means that the majority (63%) of the respondents rated his fight against corruption as either worse or poor. Thus, these results indicate significant dissatisfaction with the progress made in the fight against corruption during President Buhari's tenure.

Failures in the fight against corruption under President Buhari (Where the problem/ weakness lies)

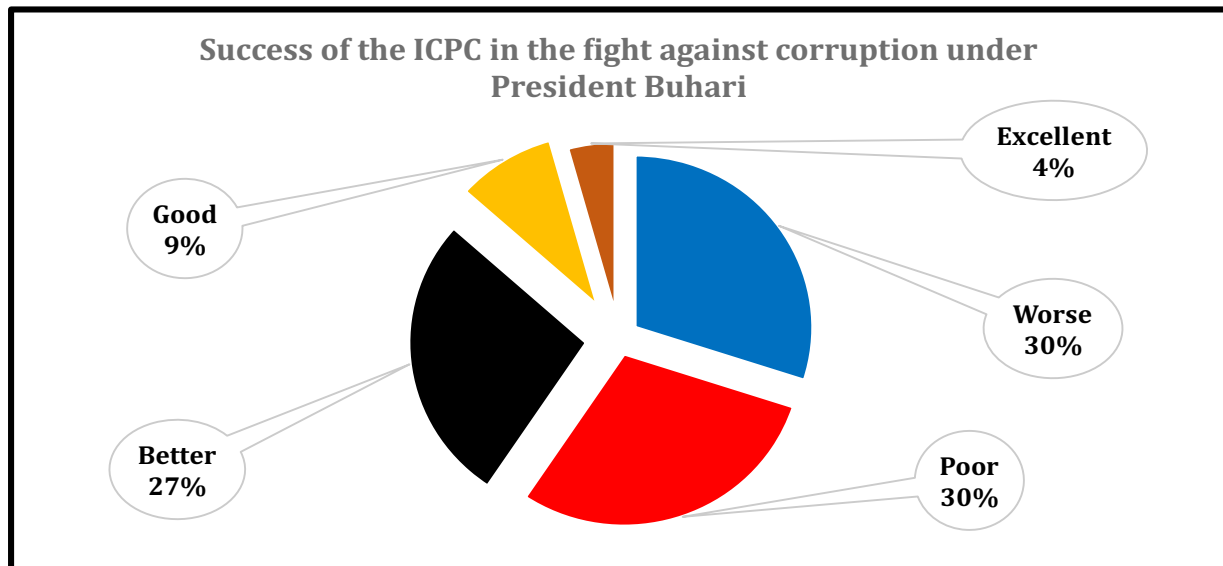


The data set reveals that respondents attribute the failures in the fight against corruption under President Buhari to various factors. The majority (62%) believe that the weakness lies in the entire system, indicating a systemic issue that needs to be addressed. Other identified factors include the judiciary (8%), the Nigerian people (8%), and the EFCC, ICPC, and CCB (8%), highlighting the need for comprehensive reforms and improved effectiveness in combating corruption. The majority of the respondents (62%) were of the view that the problems associated with the fight against corruption lie in the 'Entire System'.

ASSESSMENT OF INSTITUTIONS IN THE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION UNDER PRESIDENT BUHARI

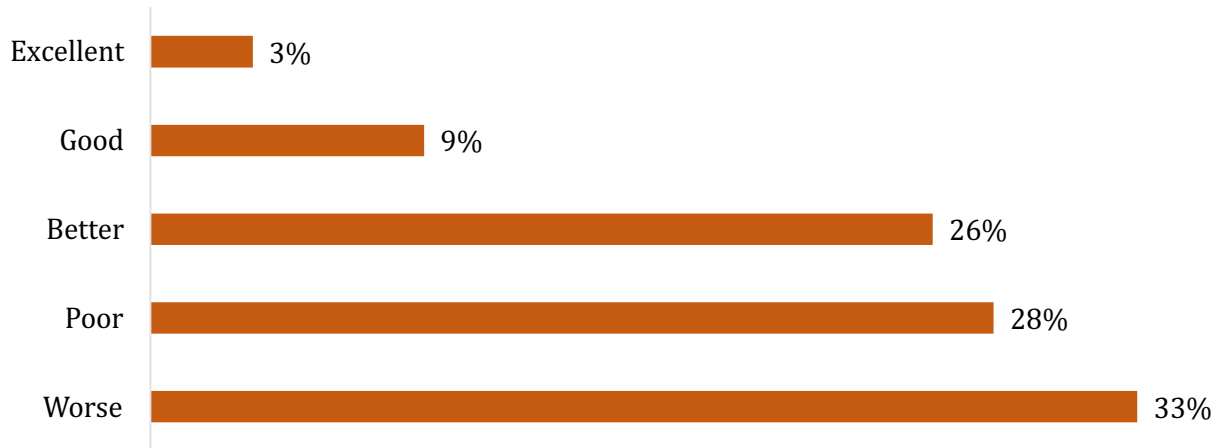


The data indicates that 30% of the respondents rated the success of the EFCC (Economic and Financial Crimes Commission) in the fight against corruption under President Buhari as "Worse", while 26% rated it as "Poor". On the other hand, 27% of the respondents perceived the EFCC's performance as "Better", and only 12% considered it "Good". A small percentage of respondents (5%) rated the EFCC's success as "Excellent". Taken together, the majority (56%) of the respondents rated EFCC's success as either worse or poor.



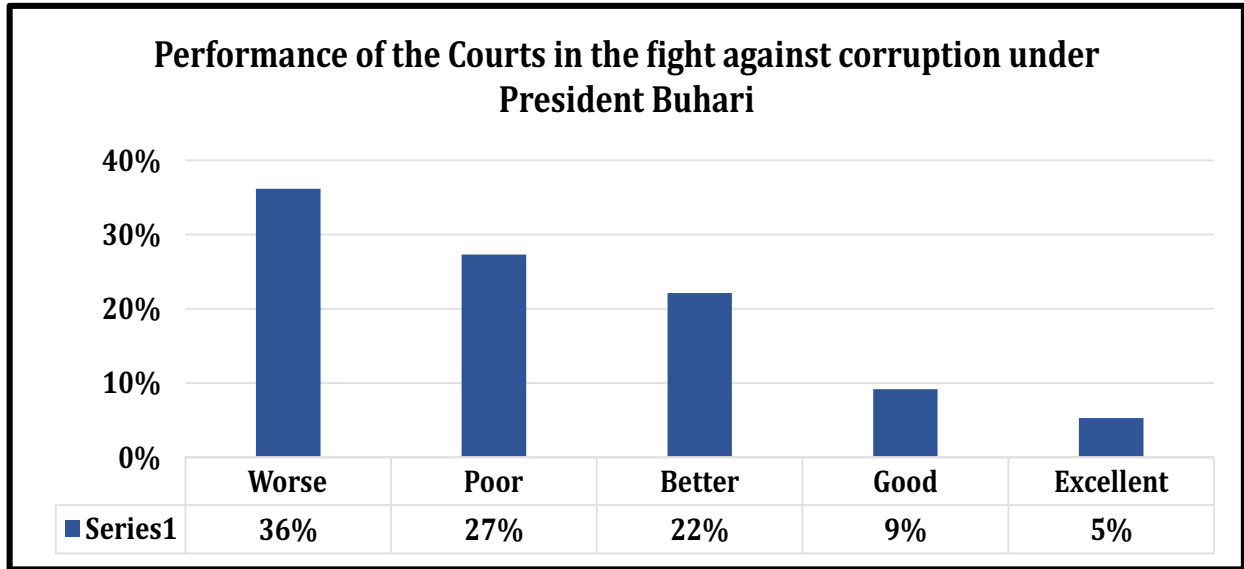
According to the data set, the success of the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) in the fight against corruption under President Buhari was perceived as worse by 30% of the respondents and poor by 30%. A smaller percentage rated it as better (27%), while only 9% considered it good and 4% regarded it as excellent. These findings suggest that there is room for improvement in the effectiveness of the ICPC's efforts in combating corruption during President Buhari's tenure as the majority (60%) rated it as either worse or poor.

Success of the CCB in the fight against corruption under President Buhari



According to the data set, the success of the Code of Conduct Bureau (CCB) in the fight against corruption under President Buhari is perceived as worse by 33% of the respondents and poor by 28% of the respondents. However, a portion of the respondents (26%) believe that the CCB's performance has been better. A smaller percentage of respondents rated the CCB's success as good (9%) or excellent (3%). The majority of the respondents (61%) rated the performance of the CCB as either poor or worse.

PERCEPTION OF THE JUDICIARY IN THE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION DURING THE TENURE OF PRESIDENT BUHARI



The data indicates that a significant proportion of the respondents (36%) rated the performance of the courts in the fight against corruption under President Buhari as "Worse". A smaller percentage (27%) considered it "Poor", while 22% perceived it as "Better". Only a minority of respondents rated the court's performance as "Good" (9%) or "Excellent" (5%), highlighting the need for further improvements in the fight against corruption within the judicial system. Most of the respondents (63%) believe that the Courts have not performed satisfactorily thereby rating the courts' performance as either worse or poor.

KEY CONCLUSIONS

- **Health Sector Improvement:** The perception of the improvement in the health sector under President Buhari is mixed, with a significant number of respondents considering it average or poor. Further efforts are needed to enhance the quality of healthcare and address concerns related to accessibility, corruption, and mismanagement in the sector.
- **Education Sector Challenges:** The appointment of Adamu Adamu as the Minister of Education and the management of ASUU crises were perceived negatively by a considerable number of respondents. The educational sector requires attention to improve infrastructure, funding, and overall effectiveness.
- **Social Intervention Programs:** The effectiveness of social intervention programs, including the Trader Money program and the COVID-19 Survival Fund, received mixed reviews. There is a need for better evaluation and enhancement of these programs to ensure they effectively alleviate poverty and address the needs of the population.
- **Currency Change Decision:** The decision to change currency notes did not find widespread support among the respondents, indicating a lack of justification and the need for clearer communication regarding economic decisions.
- **Fight against Corruption:** There is significant dissatisfaction with the progress made in the fight against corruption under President Buhari. Respondents attribute the failures to systemic issues, including weaknesses in the entire system, judiciary, and anti-corruption agencies. Comprehensive reforms and improved effectiveness are necessary to combat corruption successfully.
- **Judicial System:** The performance of the courts in the fight against corruption was perceived as poor or worse by a considerable portion of respondents, highlighting the need for improvements in the judicial system's ability to address corruption cases effectively.

Based on the key call-outs, here are some recommendations for improvements and reforms in various sectors:

1. Health Sector

- Increase investment in healthcare infrastructure to improve access and quality of healthcare services.
- Strengthen emergency services to ensure timely response and effective management of health crises.
- Focus on rural healthcare development, ensuring equitable access to quality healthcare in underserved areas.
- Improve drug affordability and availability, implementing measures to reduce the cost of essential medications.
- Enhance medical equipment and technology, ensuring healthcare facilities are well-equipped to deliver efficient and effective care.
- Implement strategies to motivate and retain medical personnel, such as providing competitive salaries and creating a conducive work environment.

2. Education Sector

- Increase funding for education, allocating a higher percentage of the national budget to support infrastructure development, curriculum improvement, and educational programs.
- Redesign the curriculum to align with current needs and equip students with practical skills for the job market.
- Improve infrastructure in educational institutions, providing conducive learning environments for students and teachers.
- Enhance the welfare of lecturers, including competitive salaries, professional development opportunities, and better working conditions.

3. Economy

- Prioritize national security to create a stable economic growth and investment environment.
- Implement measures to reduce inflation and stabilize the economy, such as fiscal discipline, effective monetary policies, and controlling excessive government spending. c. Promote job opportunities through the creation of an enabling business environment, attracting both local and foreign investment.
- Improve road infrastructure to facilitate transportation and logistics, reducing the cost of goods and services.
- Invest in the expansion and improvement of the electricity sector to ensure reliable power supply, which is crucial for industrial growth and economic productivity.



OTHER RECOMMENDATIONS BASED ON INSIGHTS FROM THE DATASET

1. Strengthen accountability and transparency in all sectors to combat corruption and improve public trust.
2. Foster collaboration between government, private sector, and civil society to achieve sustainable development goals.
3. Prioritize data-driven decision-making to identify gaps, measure progress, and inform policy interventions.
4. Engage with citizens and stakeholders through regular consultations and feedback mechanisms to ensure policies address their needs and aspirations.
5. Improve the effectiveness of government interventions and programs by conducting regular assessments and making necessary adjustments.
6. Enhance the capacity and efficiency of the judicial system to expedite corruption cases and ensure justice is served.
7. Promote inter-agency collaboration and information sharing to tackle corruption holistically.
8. Invest in public awareness campaigns to promote a culture of integrity, ethics, and anti-corruption among citizens.
9. Foster regional and international partnerships to leverage best practices, knowledge, and resources for sustainable development.

ABOUT HEDA

WHO WE ARE

The Human and Environmental Development Agenda (HEDA Resource Centre) is a leading good governance, anti-corruption, transparency and accountability, climate change, sustainable development and environmental justice organisation in Nigeria, founded in November 2001 and duly registered in Nigeria in 2004 as an incorporated trustee, a non-profit, non-partisan and Non-Governmental Organization (NGO). The organisation has observer status with the UN ECOSOC, UNFCCC as well as the Green Climate Fund.

VISION

An Africa where all persons regardless of locations and situation have the freedom and ability to enjoy the benefits of good governance, and respect for human dignity in a sustainable environment.

MISSION


To serve as a policy and campaign centre for research, training and advocacy on the environment, good governance, and human rights.

CORE VALUES

- Zero tolerance for discrimination against any person or group of persons based on gender, ethnicity, disability and religion.
- Zero tolerance for all acts perpetrating or encouraging all forms of abuse, violence and discrimination against women, children, and other vulnerable groups in society.
- Zero tolerance for discrimination against any person or group of persons based on disability, HIV status and any other non-communicable conditions so long as such individual(s) is/are medically and mentally able to discharge their tasks and roles diligently
- A principle of equal opportunities and inclusion
- Adhering to best practices in environmental protection, and biodiversity conservation in all programmes, procurement and activities
- Strict adherence to integrity, accountability, transparency, and best ethical standards in pursuit of organisational goals and objectives.



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