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THE CHANGE AGENDA OF MUHAMMED BUHARI ADMINISTRATION AND SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA 2015-2023

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Abstract

This paper explores "the Change Agenda" of former President Muhammed Buhari Government which was outlined in 2015 as he assumed office for the purpose of Socio-economic Development in Nigeria from 2015-2023. The paper begins with the outlines of the strategies and policies proposed in the Agenda, which include investment in human capital, health care, energy, infrastructure, education, security, governance agriculture and industry. The work evaluates the extent to which the agenda as implemented leads to socio-economic impact or benefit for the nation. Finally, it concludes with discussion of the potential challenges to the effective implementation of the change agenda and identifies possible ways to overcome them. The study is primarily qualitative and utilized secondary sources of data collection which is aided with key informant interviews and social exclusion theoretical method while the data collated were analyzed with textual data analysis. Overall, the study finds that former President Muhammed Buhari's Change Agenda implemented several measures that should lead to socio-economic development in Nigeria from 2015-2023 in many critical areas of the economy especially in areas of human capital, health care, energy, infrastructure, education, security, governance, agriculture and industry. Regrettably, the paper finds out that the Agenda failed in most of the critical areas as the country witness a multidimensional poverty during the period. The study identified potential challenges in the implementation process which include lack of sufficient resources, endemic corruption, insecurity and inefficient bureaucracy. The paper

therefore, recommend diversification of economy majorly in agricultural sector, adoption of bottom-up development model, reduction of cost of governance and building of strong institutions and genuine fight against corruption in Nigeria for sustainable socio-economic development.

Key words: Change Agenda, Socio-economic Development, Multidimensional Poverty, Nigeria.

Introduction

The Administration of former President Muhammed Buhari began on May, 29th 2015 with a development initiative tagged "The Change Agenda" which was initially anchored on three-point Agenda and policy directions namely, to secure the nation (Security}; resuscitate the economy and finally to fight corruption head on. These three point-agenda where the vocal points in the manifesto of the APC party throughout the campaign period till the party defeated the sitting PDP government in February Nigerian general election 2015. Therefore, the Change Agenda as a development strategy underscore the fact that the greatest challenge facing Nigeria as a country is how to harness the enormous human and natural resources to ensure Socio-Economic Development of the State. The Nigeria state has development crisis that dated back to 1980s, this is not to say that, before then all was well with Nigeria Economy. In fact, the economic strategies of transfer of technology and import substitution industrialization which were adopted after independence did not address the structural problems and contradictions of the Nigerian Economy and served to predisposed the country to foreign borrowing (Amali, 2018}. This crisis of the 1980s was occasioned by the fall in the price of oil in the world market and worsened by the contradiction of "dependent accumulation pattern and a preponderantly mono-cultural economy based on rent from oil" (Momoh and Hundyin, 1999}. Nigeria successive governments have tried many developmental strategies or reforms to tackle this problem in a bid to reverse the worsening economic fortunes in terms of declining growth, increasing unemployment, galloping inflation, high incidences of poverty (Obasanjo,

2000}. But these efforts have not achieved its desired goal and success as evidenced by increasing poverty and unemployment and general bad state of socio-economic infrastructure among others (NEEDS, 2004}.

For instance, starting from 1999, the current weave of democratization process in Nigeria, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo who was elected President in 1999 and lead the country till 2007 tried National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS); Alhaji Musa Yar'Adua introduced 7point Agenda between May 29th 2007 till he dies in office on 5th May, 2010. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan who was his deputy continued with the program till 2011 when he was elected as the 5th President of this country. On resumption of office on May 29th, 2011, Jonathan developed Transformation Agenda as his own Administration's program to develop this nation.

In the end of that administration in 2015, Amali (2018} argued that the Transformation Agenda failed because it could not muster political will to ensure proper implementation of the agenda, it was modeled along the line of top-down model of development strategy hence could not involve the people in the conceptualization and implementation of the projects. The agenda therefore could not diversify the economy to create job and control the population increase to propel socioeconomic development. All these ensured that the political elites struggled to surpass each other in looting of the common wealth of the nation, such that the administration witness corruption never seen in the history of the Nigeria state.

Former President Muhammed Buhari administration began in 2015 with three-point agenda of security, development of economy and fight against corruption, however in 2020 President Buhari modified his development agenda and increased it to nine (9}. Thisday (2020} reports that in welcoming some new ambassadors to Nigeria, the president listed nine policy issues that he will channel his energy and resources towards holistic development of Nigeria State. The modified nine agenda include growing the economy,

fighting the daunting challenge of poverty, improving access to quality education, healthcare, national security, and fight against corruption. In his report of the change in the policy direction Olaniyi (2020} argued that President Buhari in an effort to achieve a realistic domestic and foreign policy, as well as national development identified more nine priority areas to guide his policy direction which include to build a thriving and sustainable economy; enhance social inclusion; reduce poverty; enlarge agricultural outputs for food security and export; attain energy sufficiency in power and petroleum products; expand transport services; infrastructural development; expand business growth, entrepreneurship and industrialization; expand access to quality education; affordable healthcare and productivity in Nigerians; build a system to fight corruption, improve governance and create social cohesion; and improve security for all.

It is therefore, in view of the above modified 9 points agenda of Muhammed Buhari administration that this work seeks to assess and evaluate the Change Agenda on the improvement of the socioeconomic development of Nigeria state between 2015 to 2023 when the administration completed its eight years of governance. To determine whether the agenda achieved the set out objectives and to what extent the implementation of the Agenda impacted on the socio-economic development of Nigerians.

Why development strategy fails in Nigeria.

The Nigeria quest for development since her Independence in 1960 has been characterized by lot of obstacles namely: Imperialism and Colonialism, military rule, civil war, neo-colonialism, corrupt leadership, ethnicity, tribalism and religious upheavals (Ake, 2001, Nwoye 2005 and Amali, 2018}. Above this, one of the greatest obstacles to National Development and Integration is policy and strategy somersault and reversals. In recent past, Nigeria from 1980s to date has romanced with about seven (7) development strategies/economic policies or reforms, both under the military and civilian regimes. For instance, Alhaji Shehu Shagari who was elected in 1979 and ruled till 1984 tagged his

economic policy as the Green Revolution. This policy was aimed at transforming the Agricultural sector and to use the gains to revolutionize other sector of the economy. The brief first period of General Muhammed Buhari was spent in fighting corruption and instilling discipline in the polity (Nwoye, 2017, Amali, 2018}.

Thereafter, Gen. Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida took over the mantel of leadership in 1985 and hinged his government's economic policy package largely on the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP). This he did by opening up the domestic economy to international market forces and institutions such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) to play key roles with the hope of using the benefits to transform the whole economy (Ake, 2001} and Obianyo, 2012}. Gen. Sani Abacha came into power in 1993 after the controversial annulment of the 1993 Presidential elections with another policy somersault. His policy package radically de-emphasized the influence of international institutions and centered mainly on the exploitation of domestic effort towards transforming the economy (Ake, 2001, Obianyo, 2012}. In 1999, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo was elected as the President and Commander-in-Chief of Nigeria Armed Forces. To commence the Fourth wave of democratic dispensation in Nigeria, he took yet another radical departure from his predecessors. His first four years in office were focused mainly on consolidating democracy. Thereafter, he concentrated on reforms in Banking and Telecommunication sectors. He also initiated the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS) (Amali, 2018, Nwoye, 2017, Obianyo 2012, Ake, 2001]. Following the election of Alhaji Umaru Yar'adua in 2007, he introduced his policy package tagged the 7Point Agenda where he identified seven sectors of the Economy as the engine room to the transformation of the entire economy. With his demise in 2009, Goodluck Ebele Jonathan, the then Vice President, took over as substantive President and maintained the reform Agenda of his Predecessor up till May 2011. On winning election in 2011 Presidential election, Goodluck Ebele Jonathan initiated The Transformation Agenda as development strategy to drive development in all the sectors of the economy (Amali,

2018}. In 2015, Gen Muhammed Buhari became the 6th elected President of Nigeria and introduced The Change Agenda as his economic strategy aimed at holistic economic and social development of the country.

One peculiar thing in all the above developmental strategies is that they follow "top-bottom" approach in its conception and implementation, thereby ignoring the input and involvement of Nigeria mass. Secondly, the strategies did not tackle the problem of population increase and infrastructural development; hence diversification of the economy becomes impossible. Thirdly, the strategies failed to build inclusive institution that will drive the development; rather it was building strong men, thereby exposing the economy to pervasive corruption, impunity and mass looting of the common wealth.

Policy Implementation and Economic Development

No doubt, good development strategies have not eluded Nigeria; the problem lied squarely on poor implementations of identified development strategy. And this is peculiar to the developing nations whose economy is still dependent to the advanced economies and their former colonies. According to Ademolekun (1983), implementation of policy refers to the activities that are carried out in the light of established process. It involves the process of converting financial, material, technical and human inputs into output of goods and services (Egonmwan, 1991). To Edwards (1980, Obiora, 2017) policy implementation is a stage of policy making between the establishment of a policy and the transformation of the policy to affect the life of the people in a positive way. It involves a wide range of actions such as issuing and enforcing directives, disbursing funds, making loans, assigning and hiring personnel among others to achieve the objective of the strategy.

The poor implementation of strategies in most developing economies necessitated the often great gap between good intentions and actual result or the outcome of the strategy. And many writers have argued that poor implementation makes nonsense of good and wonderful intention of a development strategy. The works of Ogwumike (2002); Oyoeze

(2003); Maduagwu (2005); Nwafor (2005) and Adamu (2006) show this reality. For instance, Maduagwu opined that politics of personal rule, the master and servant relationships between the government and the citizenry associated with the programmes of alleviating poverty in Nigeria accounted for the failures of the past development strategies in Nigeria. To Adamu, political and policy instability are the major cause of programme failure in Nigeria. Oyoeze identified lack of project continuity on the part of the incumbent government and frequent change of government, while Nwafor (2005) argued that the problem lied with the neo-colonial influence and the millennium economic strategies of liberalization, policy reversals, and non-transparent programme administration. To Ogwumike (2002) the main implementation failure in Nigeria is as result of programme inconsistency, poor implementation, corruption of government officials and public servants, poor targeting mechanisms and failure to focus directly on the poor and less privileges groups.

Furthermore, Egonmwan (1984) identified inadequate goal definition which explains why many policies are not clear from onset; over ambitious strategies and choice of inappropriate organizational structure in implementation of the projects as the cause of poor implementation of programmes. He further pointed out that policy makers erroneously assume that they know the needs of the people and that explain why they never consulted them for inputs in either conceptualization or implementation of the projects.

To Ake (2001), Nwoye (2005, 2017) and Amali (2018} the factors that combine to frustrate development strategies in Nigeria include impunity, pervasive corruption, chronic mismanagement, intense parochialism, poor leadership and lousy work ethnics. They in their separate writing further argued that when corruption penetrates the implementation process, public policies become mutated and the desired goals may not be achieved.

Theoretical review
Social Exclusion Theory

Social exclusion describes a situation where everyone has no equal access to the opportunities and services that allow them to lead a decent and happy life. The theory argues that some people in a society are often kept from attaining the benefits of socioeconomic impact. These people are denied access to the resources of the state that are available to others in society. People in society who often fall into the social exclusion category include youths, women, girls, and people from the lower echelons of society (Silver, 1994). The term social exclusion was used for the first time in 1974 by Rene Lenoir to refer to the situation of certain groups of people- "mentally and physical challenged, suicidal people, aged invalids, abused children, drugs addicts, multi-problem household among other whom he said are one-tenth of France population. The term later gain popularity among scholars of some of whom traced the origin of the concept to Aristotle (Sen, 2000) and Max Weber (Hills et al., 2002). However, its contemporary usage is credited to Rene Lenoir, who in 1974 was concerned with the exclusion of the social groups in France that had fallen from the protection of the welfare state (Akinyetun et al., 2021). Social exclusion is multidimensional and incorporates a range of issues, such as poor public relationships, lack of access to employment, and the absence of a political voice (Khan et al., 2015). Social exclusion implies multidimensional disadvantage and multifarious deprivations (Room, 1995; Sen, 2000).

Dean (2016) opines that social exclusion emphasizes the process through which advantage is conferred on a person or group of persons and denied to others. Since the experience of poverty is individualistic (Law & Shek, 2014), social exclusion theory is relevant in analyzing poverty in Nigeria because it looks at poverty from a multidimensional perspective by paying attention to the various dimensions of poverty. As noted and as our findings indicated, poverty in Nigeria is multidimensional; every box of the dimensions and indicators of multidimensional poverty is boldly ticked. As such, the theory captures

deprivation concerning health, education, and living standard and in the indicators identified in the study: healthcare, education, electricity, water, and housing. In Nigeria, deprivation is neither restricted to gender, ethnic group, or religious affiliation nor to age or health status. As Birchall (2019) notes, social exclusion in Nigeria has no penchant for biological or psychological orientation; it is intersectional and impedes groups' participation in society.

Before the review of the socio-economic development under change agenda 2015-2023, it is important to report that Nigeria spent more money during the period of Muhammed Buhari than any other government in Nigeria history.

Table 1. Nigeria Budget size 2013-2022

YEAR	BUDGET AMOUNT IN TRILLION N
2013	4.99
2014	4.69
2015	4.5
2016	6.06
2019	8.92
2022	16.39

Source: NBS 2023

The above table shows that there was a significant growth in government expenditure between 2015-2023 that should translate to better living condition of the people of Nigeria.

Table 2. Africa GDP growth in 10 years 2013-2023

Country	Growth percentage
Egypt	Plus 56.7
South Africa	Plus 1.2
Nigeria	Minus 7.3

Source: IMF WEO April 2023.

This table shows that though there was increase in the government spending during the period, but there was never economic growth. This explains why the government debt profile increased under Muhammed Buhari as the administration resulted in reckless borrowing and printing of Naira to meet the government expenditure as a result of poor economic production and revenue generation. This is why the world Bank gave Nigeria population growth rate to 2.5 percent in 2021, while the economy was barely growing above the rate of population growth. This simple means that the economy is not expanding enough to cater for the increasing population.

Table 3. ***Nigeria oil and gas annual production and earning 2006-2023***

Year	Price (US$ per barrel)	Crude oil Production (daily, millions bpd)	Crude oil Export (daily, millions bpd)	Revenue (Annual, US$ billions)
2006	66.67	2.38	1.93	46,965.68
2007	74.96	2.20	1.75	47,880.70
2008	101.02	2.10	1.65	60,839.30
2009	63.9	2.11	1.66	38,717.01
2010	80.9	2.47	2.02	59,647.57
2011	113.76	2.38	1.93	80,138.23
2012	113.72	2.32	1.87	77,619.59
2013	110.97	2.18	1.73	70,072.01
2014	100.4	2.21	1.76	64,496.96
2015	52.65	2.13	1.68	32,284.98
2016	43.81	1.82	1.37	21,907.19
2017	54.09	1.89	1.44	28,429.70
2018	72.66	1.92	1.47	38,985.72
2019	65.85	2.01	1.56	37,494.99
2020	41.89	1.76	1.31	20,029.70
2021	70.12	1.31	0.86	22,010.67
2022	104.62	1.14	0.69	26,348.55
2023	81.35	1.23	0.78	13,325.13

** Data for 2023 is from January to July only

Year	Gas Production (billion cubic metres)	Gas Exports (billion cubic metres)
2012	39.2	27.9
2013	33.1	22.5
2014	40.0	26.1
2015	47.6	26.9
2016	42.6	24.6
2017	47.2	28.3
2018	48.3	27.8
2019	49.3	28.8
2020	49.4	28.4
2021	45.2	23.4
2022	40.4	19.6

The above data shows the annual production of crude oil and gas and income in US dollar from 2006 to 2023. It confirms the fact that there was drastically decrease in both production and income throughout the period of Muhammed Buhari administration. This Therefore, pave way for massive borrowing and printing of Nigeria currency.

The Analysis of Change Agenda on the Socio-economic Development 2015-2023

The impacts of the Change Agenda on the living conditions of the people and the socioeconomic development of the Nigeria state are now being evaluated under the following subheadings:

1. **Road Infrastructure:**

It is widely known that the majority of roads throughout the Nigeria, especially in south east zone where in a deplorable and deteriorated condition due to substandard construction and insufficient maintenance during the time under review. It was also unfortunate that the construction of federal roads was often entrusted to seemingly unqualified contractors who exploited the lack of proper oversight by the federal Ministry of Works and Housing to deliver subpar work. The roads in south east zone and many others areas of south-south and north-east appear to be the worst since the beginning and end of former President Buhari.

2. **Health Facilities and Life Expectancy:**

It is a well-known fact that health is wealth. Health is a crucial aspect of a nation's development, as it is intertwined with socio-economic progress. The state of a society's health facilities and institutions reflects its commitment to development. Health encompasses complete physical, mental, and social wellbeing, meaning that a nation cannot truly prosper unless its citizens enjoy good health.

While it is unrealistic for every citizen to be healthy, a significant portion of the population must be healthy, with accessible health facilities and information on the nation's major health issues. Despite the substantial amount spent on healthcare in the last eight years, Nigeria had seen minimal improvement. Contrary to The Change Agenda claimed achievements in healthcare, Nigeria had consistently ranked low in the UNDF Human Development Index reports. Life expectancy in Nigeria was 52 years, with only 1.9 percent of the nation's budget allocated to health and 68.0 percent of Nigerians living below $1.25 per day. Health reports have also ranked Nigeria as the worst place to be born, one of the

worst places to be a mother, and one of the countries in the serious category of the Global Hunger Index (the Nation, May 23, 2020). Therefore, the Change Agenda Agenda development strategy did not improve the health situation for the people of Nigeria.

Table 4. ***Nigeria's HDI trends based on consistent time series data and new goalposts. Source: Shelly (2019).***

Year	Life expectancy at birth %	Expected years of school %	Mean years of schooling %	GNI per capita %	HDI value %
2015	**51.3**	**9.0**	**5.2**	**4.716**	**0.492**
2016	**51.7**	**9.0**	**5.2**	**4.949**	**0.496**
2017	**52.1**	**9.0**	**5.2**	**5.176**	**0.500**
2018	**52.5**	**9.0**	**5.2**	**5.353**	**0.504**

Although Nigeria has increased its life expectancy from 47 years in 1990 to an average of 54 years in 2019 (WHO, 2020), it is crucial to recognize that despite this modest improvement, the same report ranked Nigeria high in maternal and infant mortality rates. According to UNICEF (2021), Nigeria experiences the loss of approximately 2,300 children under five years old and 145 childbearing-age women daily, making it the second-largest contributor to global under-five and maternal death rates. The progress in Nigeria's health sector was too slow, with generally poor indicators, as UNICEF highlights that over 70% of the estimated one million under-five deaths in Nigeria are due to preventable infectious diseases such as malaria, pneumonia, diarrhea, measles, and HIV/AIDS (UNICEF, 2021).

As at 2019, Nigeria had only about 29,000 doctors (both general and specialist) to care for over 200 million Nigerians, including only 600 pediatricians for the country's 40 million children under six, 120 urologists for over 50 million Nigerian men's reproductive health issues, and no podiatrists for the nation's growing diabetic population. These factors make it challenging for Nigeria to achieve significant improvements in the healthcare sector. A

key indicator of the decline in healthcare quality over the years, particularly during the period under review, is the fact that state dignitaries and other privileged individuals, including high-profile business people, continue to seek medical treatment abroad for various ailments, ranging from common to complex. The Nigeria Medical Association has reported that the country loses over N600 billion annually to what it terms 'medical tourism' (Good morning Nigeria, 2020).

3. **Education Sector:**

The education sector in Nigeria was in a state of disrepair, lacking in infrastructure and qualified teachers in public schools. The welfare of teachers and staff in public schools was also a concern, as their monthly salary is insufficient. Education is crucial for the advancement of any modern society, and it is imperative that the government provides adequate attention and support to prevent the collapse of the education sector in the State.

Timeline of ASUU strikes under Nigeria leaders 1999-2022



4. Job Creation and Employment Generation:

The quality of life and economic prosperity of a nation is linked to its citizens' ability to find and participate in meaningful economic activities for self-sustenance. Many government policies focus on sectors that can provide employment opportunities for the

country's youth. Therefore, job creation is a primary objective of any responsible government, which is why effective policies aimed at generating employment are essential.

Table 5. ***Percentage of unemployment in Nigeria 2015-2022*** ***Source: NBS 2022***

S/N	YEAR	PERCENTAGE OF UNEMPLOYMENT
1	2016	21.10%
2	2017	22.90%
3	2018	23.9%
4	2020	40.75%
5	2022	55.5%

The table above shows the trend of unemployment rate in the country. In 2016, the rate stood at 21.10%, but it increased to 22.90% and 23.9% in 2017 and 2018 respectively. In 2020, the figure rose to 40.75%, and in 2022, it reached an all-time high of 55.5%.

In an interview, Hon. Pharm. Obinna Emeneka, the Anambra State House Committee Chairman on Finance and Appropriation, and the Anambra State head of service identified population increase and lack of economic diversification as the major challenges to employment creation in Nigeria. They called on the private sector to support the government in creating jobs, as the government cannot employ all job seekers.

Nigeria youths' unemployment ratio bar chart 2017-2021

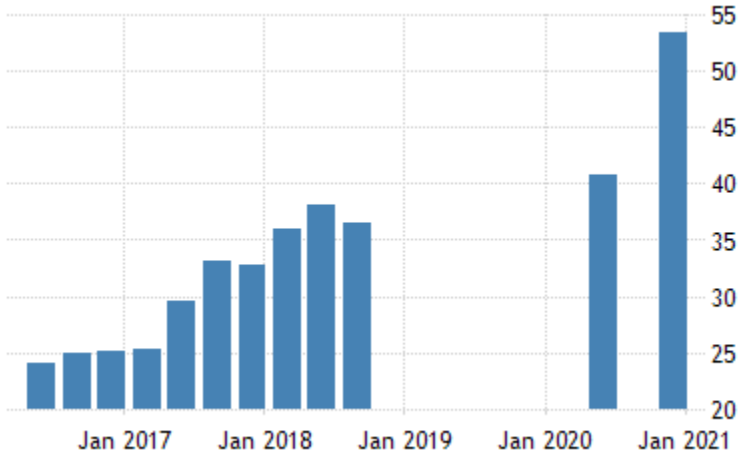


Fig 2: Nigerian Youths Unemployment Ratio Bar Chart 2017-2021
Source NBS report 2022

The image above is a chart that shows the ratio of Nigeria youths unemployment 2017-2021. It clearly shows a consistent increase in unemployment from 2017 which was at about 33% but rose to 40% in 2018 and reached an all-time high of 55% in 2021 under the former President Muhammadu Buhari administration. This had affected the employment situation of youths in Nigeria.

5. Poor living Condition and Poverty Level in Nigeria.

In order for any policy to be considered successful, it must meet the needs for which it was formulated. The success of national socio-economic policies is evaluated based on how they affect the lives of people, which is measured using poverty indices. Poverty has been a problem for over 80 percent of the Nigerian population in the past eight years, and there have been no real changes in living standards, despite increases worldwide. According to the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) in 2021, Nigeria's poverty rate is 85 percent, and 80 percent of Nigerians live below $1. 5 per day, despite the country's increasing wealth from natural resource exploration. The United Nations Development Program (UNDP)

ranked Nigeria 158 out of 187 countries on the Human Development Index (HDI) scale in 2019, and in 2021, Nigeria ranked 153 out of 186 countries. Poverty in Nigeria is both a rural and urban issue, as most development projects are either abandoned or never implemented, leaving many rural and urban areas devastated with no access roads and little or no basic amenities. According to World Bank President Jim Yong in 2021, Nigeria was one of the top five countries with the largest number of poor people, ranking third in the world, while India and China ranked first and second, respectively. Seven percent of the world's poor people lived in Nigeria in 2022.

Table 6. ***The Nigerian Unemployment, inflation, debt to GDP and Exchange rate up to 2015 Source: UNDP-NG-MDGs Report 2015***

Year	*Unemployment*	*Inflation rate*	*Debt to GDP*	*Exchange rate*
2007	14.60	5.40	11.70	125.80
2008	19.40	11.60	11.80	118.50
2009	21.40	12.50	15.40	148.90
2010	21.40	13.70	15.40	149.70
2011	23.90	10.90	17.50	153.90
2012	N/A	12.20	19.40	157.50
2015	33	15	24.50	158.50

Addressing poverty necessitates understanding the primary locations where the largest population of impoverished individuals reside and formulating a targeted policy to tackle poverty in those areas. It also involves focusing on regions where hardship is particularly widespread. Given that the majority of Nigerians live in rural and community areas that heavily rely on the informal sector, the concentration of economic activities in urban areas has contributed to another form of poverty known as multidimensional poverty caused by the duality in the national economy and lack purposeful leadership and sustainable development. The persistent decrease in opportunities for those without means and the

continual rise in the poverty rate, despite economic growth, clearly indicate that the Change Agenda has failed in its objective in Nigeria.

6. Power and Electricity:

Before 2010, Nigeria needed approximately 35,000 MW of energy to provide electricity for homes and industries. However, the country generated less than 10% of this requirement, with 3,463 MW until March 20, 2014, when it fell to a dismal 2,500 MW or 7% (The Nation, May 23, 2015:2). Although the government attributed this decline to reduced gas supply and fire incidents along the Benin-Sapele highway, it is evident that power generation under former President Muhammad Buhari (2015-2023) has been insufficient for the over 200 million citizens. During this period, the government spent N833 billion (about $4 billion) to revive the power sector, but this massive expenditure has not improved the situation, as Nigerians experience less than six hours of electricity daily (The SUN, May 23, 2019:2). Meanwhile, around N800 billion is spent yearly on fueling generators. Rt. Hon. Uche Okafor acknowledges the importance of power and energy for economic development but laments the government's failure to enhance energy generation and supply, as the funds allocated have not resulted in improved power availability.

Nigeria's 4,500 MW of electricity is insufficient to ensure a stable power supply for 200 million people or drive industrialization. In contrast, South Africa, with a population less than a third of Nigeria's, generates over 44,000 MW of electricity. Consequently, Nigeria cannot achieve a stable power supply with a meagre 4,000 MW in power generation.

7. Security of Life and Property:

Security is the foundation of any society, influencing its social, political, economic, and cultural growth. Neglecting this crucial aspect of development often leads to various social issues, including violent crimes such as armed robbery, kidnapping, ritual killings, child trafficking, and other criminal activities. However, by the end of the administration, insecurity in Nigeria had worsened, making Nigeria one of the most unsafe places in the world. The high level of social insecurity affects road, air, and water transportation.

Security lapses are so evident that incidents of kidnapping, killings, and robbery occur daily across the country, along with youth-related crimes due to high unemployment and cultism. The complete failure of the security apparatus in Nigeria is the most significant challenge facing the APC-led federal government.

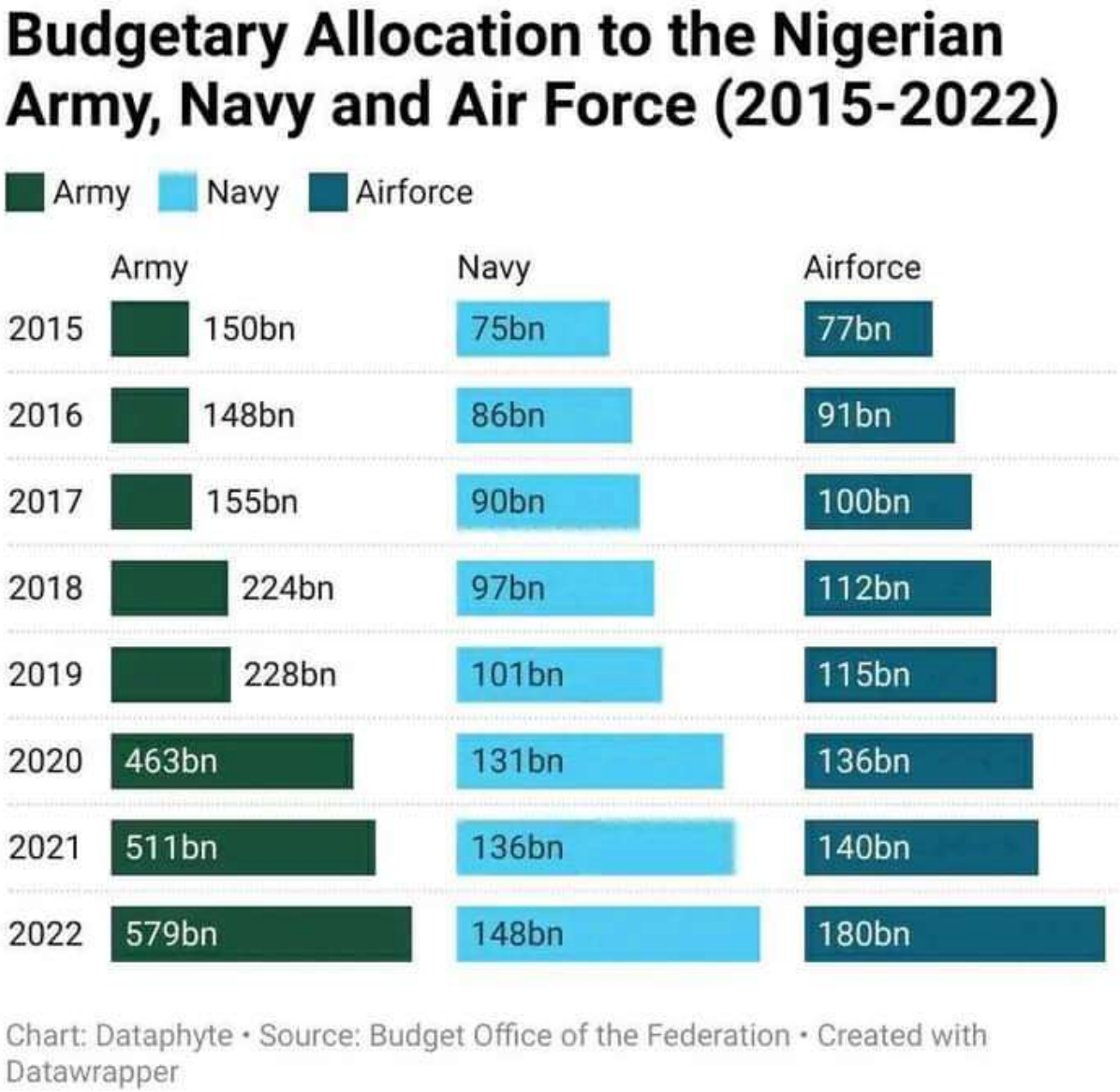


Fig 7: Budget allocation for defense in Nigeria 2015-2022

The image above shows the budget allocation for defense in Nigeria between 2015-2022. Yet the government could not secure the life and the property of its citizenry in the period under review.

In general, Nigeria's ranking by global anti-corruption watchdog Transparency International has declined. In 2019, Nigeria ranked 158 out of 180 countries, while in 2021, it ranked 159 out of 177 countries. During the period under review, Nigeria experienced numerous corruption cases and widespread impunity despite the government claims of fight against corruption. This led to Nigeria's all-time low ranking of 154th out of 180 countries on the Transparency International 2021 Corruption Perception Index. Nigeria lost N42 trillion in crude oil theft in the first six months of 2022. Its debt service consumed over 100% of Nigerian revenue in 2022. Although the country has the capacity to produce 2 million barrels of crude oil per day, it only achieved 60% of that in 2022. The Nigerian government squandered the country's riches, with the excess crude account dropping from 2.2 billion dollars in 2015 to just above 350 million dollars in 2022 (Channels TV, 2022).

During the period under review, Nigeria's exchange rate policy favors consumption by the wealthy, with cheaper medical tourism costing 3 billion dollars annually, education 6 billion dollars annually, and technical services like aviation remittance at 15 billion dollars in 2019 (NGF, 2022). Debt servicing reached 10.43 trillion naira, as most economists criticize the federal government, arguing that high debt levels lead to heavy debt service, reducing available resources for investment in infrastructure and other key sectors of the economy. OPEC's 2022 report stated that Nigeria sold oil worth 206 billion dollars from 2015 to 2019, yet borrowed 81 billion dollars during the same period.

Between 2015 and 2022, the number of corruption cases in Nigeria increased significantly, leading to a decline in the living conditions of the general population and an overall decrease in socio-economic development. This has caused concerns for the ruling party, the APC, who may struggle to retain power beyond 2023 elections. Bloomberg, a media

company based in New York City, published an article on June 22, 2022, stating that neither the APC nor PDP candidates can campaign on an anti-corruption platform, except for Mr. Peter Obi, the candidate of the Labor Party.

Under the Buhari administration, corruption has been treated as a political offense, with government officials and APC party members being exempted from prosecution. The EFCC and ICPC have been used as political tools to target political opponents, while corrupt politicians simply switch to the APC and have their ill-gotten gains protected by the government. This raises questions about the difference between the political development of the PDP and APC in Nigeria since 1999.

CONCLUSION

The works set out to evaluate the Change Agenda Policy of President Buhari on the socioeconomic development of the Nigeria from 2015-2023. Indeed, over the years' various government at all level believed that they know all the problems of the rural community, hence packaged development model that is anchored on top-down model for community development. This of cause did not take into consideration the African inherent history of small nationalities and autonomous communities before the coming of the white colonisers. The issues of population that require alternative development strategy as a result of expansion in the activities of government explain why there is need to study a new model of development anchored on bottom-top model Amali (2023}.

The Change Agenda as economic Policy did not transform the socioeconomic life of Nigerian people. To achieve socio-economic development, policies and strategies should be people-oriented and people-centred. Leaders should use balanced and unbalanced strategies, promote exports and substitute imports, and prioritize the informal sector while maintaining zero tolerance for corruption and mismanagement.

Although Nigeria has abundant resources, it has not been able to effectively utilize them to attain sustained growth and human development. Thus, Nigeria, needs committed, focused, and just leadership, the right strategy, and zero tolerance for corruption to foster economic growth and development, reduce socio-economic problems, and promote community development on a sustained basis.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

- There is need to carry the Nigeria populace along in any policy of the government, the prevailing notion that government know every need of the people and therefore do not need to consult them should be discarded as involving the people do not only articulate their needs and views, it also gives them sense of belonging thereby reducing the incidence of sabotage and nonchalant attitude towards public policies and infrastructure.
- National socio-economic development and its innate strength include stable political atmosphere and national security. It also depends largely on how government approaches development in rural area. Since majority of Nigerians live in rural area it is important that government development policies and strategies should target those in rural areas. Rural development programmes should be conceived and structured as the core of a continuous dynamic process of national development rather than its ancillary. It is non-inconclusive to talk of socio-economic development if the transformation of the rural economy and life is not taking its true place, the living standard of the rural population should be improved in order to improve their contribution to national development.

- The culture of discontinuity and multiplicity of policies and strategies should be discouraged; the National and the State Assemblies should enact a law that should always ensure that policies enjoy legal backing to forestall the idea of policy inconsistency by political leadership whenever there is change in government. This

will ensure that no policy is abandoned by political leaders in quest for popularity. This is because Nigeria will never record any success in socio-economic development if every new regime is to be accompanied by new policy.

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