

# The Buhari-Osinbajo Regime in Nigeria: A Post Mortem

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## ABSTRACT

*By 2023, the current administration, led by Buhari and Osinbajo will end, to give way to a new administration. It is pertinent for the people of Nigeria to have an objective appraisal of how well the Administration performed and what lessons to be learnt by a new regime. Using the Total Differential Modeling Approach (Ecostatometrics), we simulated the Nigerian economy by evoking the ex-post forecast from 2019 to 2021 and then applying the sequential dynamic feedback forecast of the Buhari administration, we evolved policy instruments to predict the state of the Nigerian economy to the end of 2023. The administration was focused and well on track between 2015 and 2018. All the sectors performed creditably well. However, from 2019, the economy began to experience grave problems and a decline in most sectors. Even though the agricultural sector, trade and services sectors performed creditably well, industry, manufacturing, construction, transport and education were depressed. General price level was as high as 295 points in 2018 and rose to 407 points in 2021, with inflation reaching an all time high of 409 points also in 2021. Unemployment rate was as high as 17.6% in 2018 and rose to 43.5% in 2021. Poverty increased as many people emigrated to other lands and over 35.5 absolute poor people were dead by 2021. Even though the administration did well in fighting and reducing corruption to N-107.5 billion by 2021, Oil revenue was still in deficit of N5.7 trillion in 2021. Insurgency and banditry grew from 126% in 2018 to 178% in 2021. Investment in Education and Industry declined from N472 billion and N4.0 trillion respectively in 2018 to N332.0 billion and N-2.8 trillion respectively in 2021. Generally, the standard of living was quite low. This poor performance may have been due to the outbreak of COVID-19 or the inability of the administration to fight and eliminate insecurity and/or poor policy choices. This postmortem analysis reveals the details. African states, political candidates for 2023 general elections and the electorate will find results of this study useful in refocussing Nigeria towards achieving its developmental goals. This study recommended the deliberate effort by the electorate to populate the organs of government with competent hands while striving at a remodeled constitution to take cognisance of the interests of all segments of the federation.*

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**Keywords:** Total Differential Modeling Approach, Covid-19, Insurgency, Banditry, Electorate and Developmental Goals.

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## INTRODUCTION

The challenges faced by the Buhari-Osinbajo administration had been enormous. According to Mahmud Jega (2022), “I thought by now the Nigerian Presidency will be so unattractive that people will have to be begged to come and take it. Why should anyone be eager to inherit Boko Haram terrorists, bandits, kidnappers, secessionists, communal warriors, oil thieves, sea pirates, depreciated naira, depleted foreign reserves, high debt service ratio, plummeting oil production, astronomical costs of diesel and aviation fuel, high unemployment, suspension of rail and aviation services, trillions in petrol subsidy, un-implementable Petroleum Industry Act, 13million out of school children, bloated civil service, ASUU strike, impending police strike, exploding illegal refineries, oil spills, River Niger flooding, advancing Sahara desert, shrinking Lake Chad, porous borders, flood of small arms, corruption, fake drugs, fake news, ritual killers, currency counterfeiting, frequent national grid collapse, hikes in DSTV, telecom and electricity tariffs, Ajaokuta Steel white elephant, partially completed Second Niger bridge, Apapa traffic snarl, COVID-19 and fallout of Ukraine war?

Whether all these were caused by the alleged “rot PDP left after 16 years in power” or “destruction of Nigeria in 8 years of APC rule” is beside the point. Personally, I will not accept this basket Free of Charge, not to mention for N100 million.” (Jega, 2022).

Many reasons have been proffered for this poor track record of the regime and some of the solutions suggested among which are:

- i. Fight Corruption effectively
- ii. Provide employment and reduce the unemployment rate,
- iii. Invest in Education
- iv. Invest in Industry, and
- v. Fight Terrorism.

Indeed, the extent to which these policies were implemented will determine the state of the economy under the regime. Even though the agricultural sector, trade and services sectors performed creditably well under Buhari, industry, manufacturing, construction, transport and education were depressed. General price level was as high as 295 points in 2018 and rose to 407 points in 2021, with inflation reaching an all time high of 409 points also in 2021. Unemployment rate was as high as 17.6% in 2018 and rose to 43.5% in 2021. Poverty increased as many people emigrated to other lands and over 35.5 absolute poor people were dead by 2021. Even though the administration did well in fighting and reducing corruption by N-107.5 billion in 2021, (or is this a measure of recovered stolen funds?)Which ever the case, it is pertinent to note that Oil revenue is in deficit of N5.7 trillion in 2021; another measure of stolen funds by unpatriotic Nigerians. Insurgency and banditry grew from 126% in 2018 to 178% in 2021. Investment in Education and Industry declined from N472 billion and N4.0 trillion respectively in 2018 to N332.0 billion and N-2.8 trillion respectively in 2021. Generally the standard of living was quite low. This poor performance may have been due to the outbreak of COVID-19 or the inability of the administration to fight and eliminate insecurity and/or poor policy choices.

Therefore the time is rife and a critical appraisal of the regime is apt so as to elicit what went wrong, and the lessons that can be learnt by a new regime.

The objective of this study among others, therefore include:

- 1) To build and use an expanded and comprehensive model of the Nigerian economy to determine the true state of the Nigerian economy as a whole, using the total differential modeling approach (ecostatometrics) under the Buhari-Osinbajo administration.
- 2) To evolve, prescribe and test policy instruments that could be adopted by the current administration for the remaining part of her tenure (2022 and 2023) that would reverse the dismal state of the economy, especially as they affect:
  - i. sectoral outputs,
  - ii. poverty,
  - iii. corruption,
  - iv. investment,
  - v. growth
  - vi. and other socio-economic indicators of the Nigerian economy.
- 3) Draw conclusions and make some recommendations.

The paper is therefore divided into five parts. Part I is the introduction and states the objectives of the study. Part II is the literature review and theoretical framework and is meant to show why things are not working well in the country; while Part III is the methodology. In Part IV, the results of the analysis are presented and discussed and Part V concludes the study and makes some recommendations.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

According to Aruofor (2019), corruption is the bane of the Nigerian economy and to fight it requires political will and decisive leadership. In another development, Aruofor and Ogbeide (2020), further observed that corruption was profound in the Public Service and more prevalent in the new democracy. To Chinhamo and Shumba (2007), it is a global threat and to development in that it aggravates inequality, injustice and undermines the stability of societies . Aruofor (2019), recognized that the constitution of Nigeria had been compromised and there was overwhelming need to redo the constitution of Nigeria to expunge all elements of religious bigotry and fanaticism.

Governance has been defined variously to include the manner in which a government administers and manages the territory and people under its jurisdiction. Indeed, it is the exercise of political power to move a nation's affairs (Landdell-Mills and Serageldim, 1991).

Ejifoma (2022) highlighted what she regarded as some successes of the Buhari administration in areas of infrastructure, legislative reforms, asset recovery and housing, amongst others. She indicated that Federal Ministry of Works and Housing is on projects in thirty four states in the federation. Family Homes Fund Limited (FHFL) which was incorporated in 2016 is the implementing agency for the National Social Housing Scheme and is said to have completed over thirteen thousand homes across nine states of the federation.

She went further to state that the regime has enhanced Nigerian Investment Promotion Commission's "pioneer status" to e-commerce. A National Centre for Artificial Intelligence and Robotics (NCAIR) was established in 2021. The regime completed Nigeria's first Marginal Field Bid Round to open up a new window of investment in Oil and Gas. In 2015, Nigeria had only

one functioning modular refinery but that in 2022, there are not less than six on-going brownfield and greenfield modular refinery projects.

The Anchor Borrowers' programme (ABP) of the Central Bank of Nigeria which was launched in 2015, is said to have disbursed over N800 billion to small farmers. In 2020, the regime set up an Economic Sustainability Committee (ESC) headed by Vice-President Osinbajo to respond to disruptions caused by Covid-19. It also set up the Presidential Task Force on Covid-19 (PTF) headed by the Secretary to the government of the Federation. This has transited into the Presidential Steering Committee (PSC) on Covid-19 since April, 2021 for necessary interventions.

However, Ramon, Morgan and Baiyewu (2022) x-rayed the Buhari regime in the last seven years in preparation for a general election in less than a year.

To them, between 2011 and 2015, regime change became inevitable due mainly to, alleged corruption, depressing economy, Boko haram insurgency and black out in power sector, amongst others. With the amalgamated party, All Progressives Congress, APC, virtues of Major-General Buhari were trumpeted to include incorruptibility, discipline and sincerity. Though PDP highlighted some negative aspects of his military leadership including disregard for human rights and rule of law in the said cause of fighting indiscipline and corruption, they were brushed aside. The attachment of Professor Osinbajo to the ticket, a respected lawyer and Pastor was handy to persuade critics. As Attorney-General of Lagos State from 1999 to 2007, he aided the state's economic transformation.

The 3-point agenda for the Buhari regime included:

- i. Getting rid of corruption;
- ii. Ending the reign of terror; and
- iii. Revamping the economy.

In 2015, the exchange rate was said to be about N230/\$, which was not ideal for the economy. It was not shocking therefore that in the Presidential elections of 2015, Buhari polled 15,424,921 votes against Jonathan's 12,853,162 votes (Ramon et al, 2022).

Almost at the end of the 8-year regime, the three writers indicated that the people seem disappointed. Citing some of the indicators, while sometime in 2015, the exchange rate was between N196/\$ and N230/\$, in 2022, officially, it has been over N445/\$. In 2015, electricity generated was 4,000 megawatts but in May, 2022, it was 3,522.80 megawatts. The unemployment rate is higher, food prices are higher, education sector has no boost and there is alleged trading of corruption for political favours when comparison is made between 2015 and 2022.

Buhari's inaugural speech of 2015 was referred to:

"I belong to everybody and I belong to nobody". But in implementation of policies, allegations of nepotism abound. The emergence of Sunday Igboho with the "Oduduwa Republic" campaign is said to be a spin-off of the perceived favouritism. To them, the three cardinal programmes of the regime seem worse off than when the administration took off.

From the general complaints of the people, the prevailing paradigm in governance is that of an alleged greedy, predatory political ruling class and the non-tolerant attitudes of fanatics which will not engender national integration and development have carried through to the present and will likely be projected into the future if care is not taken. These may have informed why Aruofor (2019), opined that the cost of running government in Nigeria is too high and that the constitution of Nigeria has been compromised and need to be reworked. A situation where Political office holders earn bogus salaries and allowances in the midst of poor masses is not only inimical to growth and development but is the height of corruption. Aruofor and Ogbeide (2022), further opined that a major problem of the Nigeria economy is that of the alleged religious bigotry and fanaticism and the unwillingness of Political office holders to separate religion from governance. Indeed, Aruofor and Ogbeide (2020 and 2022) are concerned about the alleged agenda to distort the secular nature of Nigeria and as generally observed, that appointments into top administrative and strategic positions under the Buhari-Osinbajo administration are allegedly sectional, lopsided and skewed in favor of one religion, amongst others, or any combination of the above.

## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

Theory is a guide to empirical investigation for it provides a researcher with sources of hypotheses with pointers to areas of further researches (Goode and Hart, 1986). It also enables the researcher to juxtapose a particular study within an identified framework which will assist in the analyses of relevant variables.

There are some basic assessment/evaluation designs aimed at guiding the planning, execution and evaluation of government policies and they are as follows:

- a) 'Before and After' evaluation design which is to assess changes produced since implementation of policy;
- b) 'With and without' or Experimental evaluation design which is to assess changes in a target when compared with another target without such a policy;
- c) 'After only' evaluation design which is to examine the extent of goal achievement when compared with status quo (initial point); and
- d) 'Time series' evaluation design which is to assess changes produced by policy over a long time.

To Anifowose and Enemu (2008:290), this policies of government are responses of the political system to the pressures generated from the environment. David Easton's Political System model whereby Inputs in forms of Demands and Support through the Conversion Box (system) producing Outputs in forms of authoritative decisions with a feedback mechanism that in turn generates fresh Inputs, is explanatory of this policy process. This is diagrammatically represented as follows:

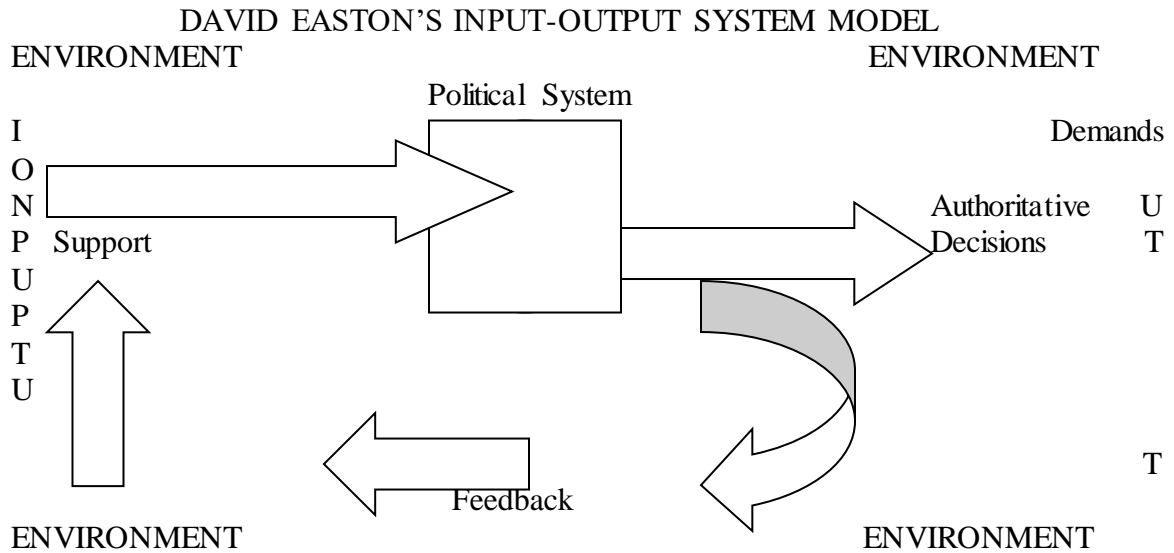


Fig.1.1

Source: Anifowose, R. and Enemu, F. (2008). *Elements of politics*. Lagos: Sam Iroanusi Publications.

There are basically two types of assessment namely, Formative Assessment and Summative Assessment. Formative assessment, which is also known as Process evaluation entails policy monitoring for the purpose of making improvements as implementation is unfolds. Summative assessment, otherwise known as Outcome evaluation which takes place after the full implementation of a set of policies or regime, is aimed at checking if it meets the objective or not, and why (Birkland, 2005).

The theory applied in this research is the David Easton's Input-Output Theory with a "Before and After" Evaluation Design.

## METHODOLOGY

The approach used in this study is termed the total differential modeling approach (see Aruofor, 2001, 2017, 2019, and 2020), Aruofor and Okungbowa (2018), Aruofor and Ogebeide (2019), and Aruofor and Ogebeide (2022). It assumes and rightly so, that in the real world situation, every economic variable or subsystem depends on and is depended upon by other variables or subsystems.

A schematic representation of the above theory is presented in Fig. 1.2.

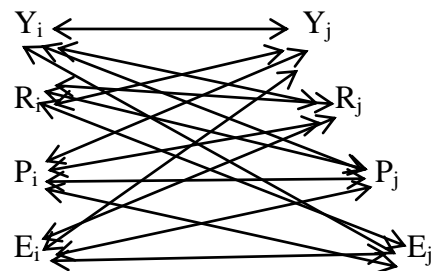


Fig: 1.2: The True Socio – Economic Causal Chain

- Y = Production variables;
- R = Primary Factors;
- P = Policy instruments;
- E = Environmental variables.

This theory was first mooted by Walras as early as 1874 even though it was not developed beyond the conceptual stage. The true practical empirical systems total differential modeling approach (Ecostatometrics), was achieved by Aruofor (2017) and relies on statistically significant multiple simple linear regression coefficients as opposed to multiple linear regression parameters. It is a blend between the traditional Input Output Analysis and Econometrics and assumes the structure of programming models. The theory behind it is that an economy is not truly dynamic but only dynamically static. It is the change that occurs in an economy in the current year(t) that determines where the economy (the endogenous variables) will be at the end of the current year (t) and not in the next year(t+1). This model is a departure from the normal econometric approach, where the structure of the economy is determined by combinations of economic theories. The true structure of an economy is so complex that economic theory will be self defeating (see Duesenberry et al , 1965 and Gordon, 1968). *Indeed, Adeyoku (1975) had rightly noted that “the unstable nature of population and its growth, national income and its distribution, investment capacity, employment opportunities, balance of payments and raw material base often lead to conflicting theories of economic development”.* Thus, we do not need any elaborate theories to explain the working of an economy.

If we can estimate all the independent relationships among the variables of the economy taken two at a time, (depending on whether they are statistically significant) and classify the significant



coefficients into a matrix  $B$ , according to whether they are endogenous or exogenous, then we would have in matrix notation,

$$Y = BY + CX + A + U$$

$$\therefore [I - B]Y = CX + A + U$$

$$Y = [I - B]^{-1}CX + [I - B]^{-1}A + [I - B]^{-1}U$$

$$\frac{dY}{dX} = [I - B]^{-1}C$$

$$\therefore dY = [I - B]^{-1}CdX$$

$$\text{i.e } \Delta Y = [I - B]^{-1}C\Delta X$$

$$\therefore Y_t = [I - B]^{-1}CX_t - [I - B]^{-1}CX_{t-1} + Y_{t-1}$$

Where,  $Y$ =endogenous and  $X$ =exogenous variables. The fact that the relationships are not estimated by multiple linear regressions means that the issue of simultaneous equation bias is by-passed and all the estimation difficulties, including multi-collinearity associated with econometric multiple linear regression, which renders it inconsistent and therefore non-operational, are also by-passed. Moreover, no complicated econometric and economic theories are needed to proceed. It is then possible to view the whole economy at a glance and the structure of the economy is determined automatically.

Thus, given a simple linear regression between two variables,  $X$  and  $Y$ , we proceed as follows and state the equation as below:

$$Y = a + bX + u$$

Where  $Y$ = the dependent variable

$X$  = the independent variable

$a$  &  $b$  = parameters

$u$  = error term.

The estimate of the parameters  $a$  &  $b$ , is achieved by the application of least squares to the data on the variables, with a view to minimize the sum of squared deviations around the regression line (Koutsoyiannis, 1977, Aruofor, 2001, Aruofor, 2019 and Aruofor, 2020).

The parameters can be estimated by solving the following normal equations:

$$a \sum 1 + b \sum X = \sum Y \quad (1)$$

$$a \sum X + b \sum X^2 = \sum XY \quad (2)$$

This was the basic procedure adopted and the coefficients were estimated by means of a computer software, ESM-Lab 4.4, that tested for statistical significance at the 5% level of significance using the asymptotic t-ratios. It was designed jointly by the author and Microcraft



Nigeria Limited. The procedure is to determine the important variables required for the solution of the problem, classify them into endogenous and exogenous variables before feeding them to ESM-Lab 4.4. The model is then estimated, and the statistically significant coefficients are automatically classified into a matrix  $B$  and the structural relationship of the economy is automatically specified. Further analysis can then be performed. (The computer software can be downloaded as esmlab.com.ng from the internet and ran as administrator). For this study, the data were assembled from the Central Bank Statistical Bulletin (CBN, 2017, 2018, 2019 and 2021) and Aruofor, (2017) and Aruofor and Ogbeide (2019). The time series ranged from 1981 to 2021. The list of variables consists of one hundred and twenty five variables, made up of one hundred and seven (107) endogenous variables followed by eighteen (18) exogenous variables

### THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE COMPOSIT MODEL OF NIGERIAN ECONOMY.

The Nigeria model consists of the primary sectors comprising of the agricultural sector, the manufacturing sector, industry, construction, transport, services, education and health; and other real sectors including national income, consumption and investment, population, labor and employment, foreign sector, economic indicators and policy instruments. Together, they comprise the endogenous variables of the model, while the exogenous variables consist of Buhari-Oshinbajo Policy Instrumental variables. The policy thrust of the exogenous instruments are presented in Table 1.

**Table 1: POLICY INSTRUMENTS FOR BUHARI-OSHINBAJO ADMINISTRATION**

	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023
BUHARI	1	1	1	1	1	1
BEXCHRTN	306.08	360	486	507	507	507
BPOP(t)	224,439,678	231,172,8683	239	246	283,842,439	283,842,439
BIMPORT(t)	13,445,112.75	20,449,968.39	20,519,192.15	22,394,498.09	3842010.062	5974891.588
BXPOTOil	17,281,953.13	16,703,434.07	11,058,151.84	16,737,339.63	22287469.72	24831088.93
BXPTNOil	1,425,374.30	3,207,099.74	1,555,440.86	2,466,831.25	2,466,831.25	2,466,831.25
BDODBT(t)	12,774,405.70	14,272,644.79	16,023,885.38	19,242,557.11	5849423.359	6989745.991
BEXTDBT	7759231.59	9022421.64	12705618.48	15855231.25	15855231.25	15855231.25
BGEXPDM(t)	5440304.014	6102315.479	10017381.05	6723658.597	11170387.52	11170387.52
BPRIMELR	19.33	15.53	12.32	11.55	11.55	11.55
BINTSAV(t)	4.07	3.95	3.22	1.55	1.55	1.55
BMONYSS	25079720.98	35167529.95	35167529.95	48797867.32	2556797.232	6135801.135
BTAX(t)	1350079.642	1428647.312	1928248.307	2547839.523	2547839.523	2547839.523
BACGSC	4,377,626.29	4,070,032.47	4,321,663.85	5,786,729.88	5,786,729.88	5,786,729.88
BDFUELP(t)	143.8	121.5	151.56	167.32	170	170
BEDUINV	520062.8532	731201.0909	724082.8659	928652.1975	1067950.03	1228142.5
BINDINV	6317589.341	9820467.414	11641959.91	18308691.85	23801299.6	30941690
BOKOHAR	1	1	1	1	0	0

## THE POPULATION MODEL AND DERIVATION OF VARIABLES

Extant models of the Nigerian economy lacked data on total active work force, employment, etc. These are major defects and according to Stolper, (1966), the development planner cannot afford to assume his facts; he must find them as best as he can. We therefore proceeded as follows:

The population of Nigeria is growing at approximately 3% per year. Given this fact, we back cast the population at 3% discount rate to 1901 and projected it to 2021 assuming that the population has been adjusted for deaths.

- 1) Going by international standard, children are those people of ages Sixteen (16) years and below and was derived as:

$$\text{Children} = \text{Pop}_t - \text{Pop}_{t-16}$$

- 2) Population of people eighty years and below was derived as:

$$\text{Pop}_t - \text{Pop}_{t-80}$$

- 3) Estimated potential active work force (EPAWF) =  $\text{Pop}_t - \text{Pop}_{t-80} - \text{Children}$ .

- 4) Population of old people equals the residual.

- 5) Unemployed work force = EPAWF x Unemployment rate.

- 6) Employed work force (EMPWF) = EPAWF - Unemployed work force.

- 7) Employment =  $\Delta \text{EMPWF}$

- 8) Average wage rate =  $\text{Labor Force Compensation} / \text{EMPWF}$

- 9) National Productivity =  $\text{NGDP} / \text{Labor force compensation}$

- 10) Labor Productivity =  $\text{NGDP} / \text{EMPWF}$

- 11) Demand for Employment =  $\Delta \text{EMPWF}_{-1}$

- 12) Demand Pressure for Employment =  $(\Delta \text{EMPWF}_{-1}) / \text{Unemployed Work Force}$

- 13) Demand for Health care =  $\Delta \text{HGDP}_{-1}$

- 14) Demand Pressure for Health care =  $\Delta \text{HGDP}_{-1} / \text{Pop}$

- 15) Demand for Education =  $\Delta \text{EdGDP}_{-1}$

- 16) Demand Pressure for Education =  $\Delta \text{EdGDP}_{-1} / \text{Pop}$

- 17) Demand for Imports =  $\Delta \text{IMPOTS}_{-1}$

- 18) Penchant for Imports =  $\Delta \text{IMPOTS}_{-1} / \text{Pop}$

- 19) Import Dependence =  $\text{IMPOTS} / \text{NGDP}$

- 20) Slavery =  $\text{EXTDEBT} / \text{Pop}$

Some other variables were derived from existing data as follows:

- $\text{GROWT RATE} = ((\Delta \text{GDP}) / \text{GDP}_t) * 100$
- $\text{DINCOM} = \text{GDP} - \text{TAX}$
- $\text{COLIVN} = (\text{CONS}_{t-1} ((1 + (\text{INFRT}_t / 100))))$
- $\text{POOR} = \text{POP} / ((\text{RGDP} / \text{EXCHRT}) * \$720)$
- $\text{ABPOOR} = \text{POP} / ((\text{RGDP} / \text{EXCHRT}) * \$360)$

- $RICH = POP - (POOR + ABPOOR)$
- $RPOVRT = (1 - ((RGDP/EXCHRT)/RGDP) * 100)$
- $DDMONY = (\Delta MONYSS)_{-1}$
- $DDMOPR = ((\Delta MONYSS)_{-1} / POP)$
- $IMPDD = (\Delta IMPORT)_{-1}$
- $IMPDDPR = ((\Delta IMPORT)_{-1} / POP)$
- $XPOTDD = (\Delta EXPORT)_{-1}$
- $DBTBDN = (EXDBT / (GDP/EXCHRT))$
- $INVEDU = (INVSTNENT/NGDP) * EDUGDP$
- $INVIND = (INVSTNENT/NGDP) * INDGDP$

### PROPOSED POLICY TRUST AND INTERVENTION FOR 2022 TO 2023.

The available data on the Nigeria economy from Central Bank of Nigeria was up to 2021 and so the model was estimated using data from 1981 to 2019, partly to avoid COVID-19. The ex-post forecast was carried out using exogenous data from 2019 to 2021 corresponding to Buhari-Osinbajo tenure. The prescribed policy intervention for 2022 and 2023 are part of this study to indicate what the Buhari-Osinbajo administration could have done policy wise to have improved the economy.

The current instruments were chosen by comparing the last policy prescription with the recent feedback instruments. The positive and most realistic and desirable instrument between the two was adopted. The main policy interventions were increasing investments in Education and Industry by 15% and 30% per annum from 2022 to 2023. The prescribed policy instruments are as shown in Table 1, for 2022 and 2023. This approach for determining good policies was simpler than optimal control approach and produced better results. This does not rule out the possibility of experimenting with other policy instruments. What is important is that ESM-LAB will facilitate any such efforts.

Fig 2: LEGEND OF VARIABLES NIGERIA ECONOMY COMPREHENSIVE

S/no.	ACRONYM:ACTIVITY	UNIT
1	AGRSEC(t) 1. Agriculture	N million
2	INDUST(t) 2. Industry	N million
3	MANUFCT(t) (c) Manufacturing	N million
4	ELECTSS(t) 3. Electricity,Gas,Steam & Air conditioner	N million
5	WATER(t) 4. Water supply, sewage, waste Mang.	N million
6	CONSTN(t) 5. Construction	N million
7	SERVCS(t) C. SERVICES	N million
8	TRADE(t) 1. Trade	N million
9	ACCOFOOD 2. Accomadation and Food Services	N million
10	TRASPOT(t) 3. Transportation and Storage	N million
11	TRANSEV(t) e. Transport Services	N million
12	POSTCUR(t) f. Post and Courier Services	N million
13	INFOCOM(t) 4. Information and Communication	N million
14	TELECOM(t) a. Telecommunications and Information Services	N million
15	PUBLISHN(t) b. Publishing,	N million
16	MPIC&SNC c. Motion Pictures, Sound recording and Music production	N million
17	BRODCST(t) d. Broadcasting	N million
18	ARTRECRT 5. Arts, Entertainment & Recreation	N million
19	FININSUR(t) 6. Financial and Insurance	N million
20	FINANCE(t) a. Financial Institutions	N million
21	INSURANSI b. Insurance	N million
22	REALEST(t) 7. Real Estate	N million
23	PROFSERV(t) 8. Professional, Scientific & Technical Serv.	N million
24	ADMINSUF 9. Administrative and Support Services	N million
25	PUBADMN 10. Public Administration	N million
26	EDUCATN(t) 11. Education	N million
27	HLT&SOC 12. Human Health & Social Services	N million
28	OTHSERVS 13. Other Services	N million
29	NGDP(t) GDP at Current Basic Prices	N million
30	DISPINC(t) Disposable Income	N million
31	REALINC(t) Real Income	N million
32	REALGDP(t) Real GDP	N million
33	GROWTRT Growth rate	%
34	GROWTH(t) Growth	N million
35	CONS(t) Consumption	N million
36	INVST(t) Investment	N million
37	CAPITAL(t) Capital accumulation	N million
38	FDI(t) Foreign Direct Investment	N million
39	CPI(t) Consumer Price Index	
40	INFLTD(t) Inflation Dummy = 1 when CPI increases, otherwise = 0	
41	INFLATN(t) Inflation = INFTD X CPI	
42	INFLTRT(t) Inflation Rate	%
43	UNEMPL(t) Unemployment Rate	%
44	LABCOMP Labor Force Compensation	N million
45	CHLDRN Children Population (16 years and below)	Million
46	CHDRNSS Children Supply	Million
47	EPAWF Estimated Potencial Active Work Force	Million
48	NADDWF New Addition to Workforce	
49	POPOLD Population of Old People (80 years and above)	Million
50	UNEMWFF Unemployed Work Force	Million
51	EMPWFF Employed Work Force	Million
52	EMPLMNT Employment	Million
53	PRDTIVTY Productivity	
54	LPROVITY Labor Productivity	
55	AVWAGE Average Wage Rate	Naira
56	DDEMENT Demand for Employment	
57	EMDDPR Employment Demand Pressure	
58	POOR(t) Poor	Million
59	EXTPOOR(t) Extremely (Absolute) Poor	Million
60	POVRT(t) Poverty Rate	%
61	SLAVERY Slavery	
62	SAVINGS(t) Savings	N million
63	BOT(t) Balance of trade	N million
64	BOP(t) Balance of payments	N million
65	EXTRES(t) External reserve	N million
66	DBTBDN(t) Debt burden or Bondage	
67	OILREV(t) Oil revenue	N million
68	NOILREV(t) Non-oil revenue	N million
69	CORPTD(t) Corruption Dummy = 1 when DDMOPR increases, otherwise = 0	
70	CORRPTN(t) Corruption= CORPTD X DDMOPR.	
71	DDMONY(t) Demand for money	N million
72	DDMOPR(t) Demand for money pressure	
73	DEMOCY(t) Dummy Variable 1.0 for New Democracy and 0 elsewhere.	
74	CORDEM(t) Equals DEMOCY x CORRPTN	

Fig. 2 : LEGEND OF VARIABLES NIGERIAN ECONOMY COMPOSIT (CONTINUED)

S/no.	ACRONYM: ACTIVITY	UNIT
75	PWLFARE Personal Welfare (Per capita income)	Naira
76	STDOLIVN Standard of Living	
77	PUPWER Purchasing Power	
78	FODSRITY Food Security	
79	HLCARE Health Care	
80	DDHCARE Demand for Health Care	
81	HCRDDPR Health Care Demand Pressure	
82	HRESDEV Human Resource Development	
83	DDEDUC Demand for Education	
84	EDUDDPR Education Demand Pressure	
85	WEALTH National Wealth	
86	PWEALTH Personal Wealth	
87	IMPDPEN Import Dependence	
88	DDIMP Demand for Imports	
89	PENCIMP Penchant for Imports	
90	TIME(t) Time	
91	EXCHRTRP Exchange rate (Relative poverty)	N million
92	POP(t) Population	Million
93	IMPORT(t) Imports	N million
94	XPOTOIL(t) Oil export	N million
95	XPTNOIL(t) Non-oil export	N million
96	DODBT(t) Domestic debts	N million
97	EXTDBT External debts	\$ million
98	GEXPDN(t) Government expenditure	N million
99	PRIMELR(t) Primary lending rate	%
100	INTSAV(t) Interest rate	%
101	MONYSS(t) Money supply	N million
102	TAX(t) Tax	N million
103	ACGSC Agricultural Credit Guarantee Scheme	N million
104	DFUELPT) Domestic fuel price	N/Litre
105	EDUINV Investment in Education	N million
106	INDINV Investment in Industry	N million
107	BOKOHAR Boko-Haram	
EXOGENOUS VARIABLES		
108	BUHARI Dummy Variable 1.0 for Buhari administration and 0 elsewhere.	
109	BEXCHRTR) Buhari Policy	N million
110	BPOP(t) Buhari Policy	Million
111	BIMPORT(t) Buhari Policy	N million
112	BXPOTOIL(t) Buhari Policy	N million
113	BXPTNOIL(t) Buhari Policy	N million
114	BDODBT(t) Buhari Policy	N million
115	BEXTDBT) Buhari Policy	\$ million
116	BGEXPDN(t) Buhari Policy	N million
117	BPRIMELR(t) Buhari Policy	%
118	BINTSAV(t) Buhari Policy	%
119	BMONYSS(t) Buhari Policy	N million
120	BTAX(t) Buhari Policy	N million
121	BACGSC) Buhari Policy	N million
122	BDFUELPT) Buhari Policy	N/Litre
123	BEDUINV) Buhari Policy	N million
124	BINDINV) Buhari Policy	N million
125	BOKOHAR) Terrorism during Buhari-Oshinbajo Administration	

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION:

The Nigeria economy was on track between 2015, (when the Buhari-Oshinbajo administration came on board), to 2018. During this period, all primary sectors performed well. However, from 2019, the economy started to experience grave problems; even though the Agricultural sector, Services and Trade performed well, attaining N33.5 trillion, N106 trillion and N35.3 trillion

respectively by 2021. If the administration had implemented the suggested prescribed policies in 2022 and 2023, the impact on these sectors would not have been too drastic. See Figs 3 to 13 below.

Fig 3: AGRICULTURAL SECTOR OF NIGERIA

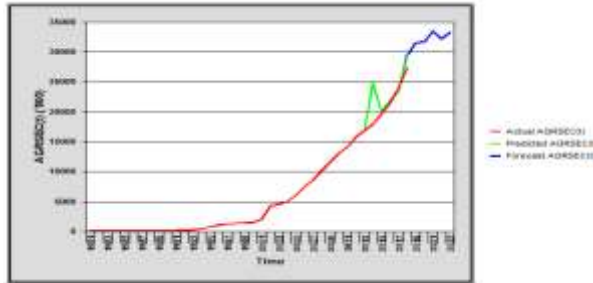


Fig 4: SERVICES SECTOR OF NIGERIA

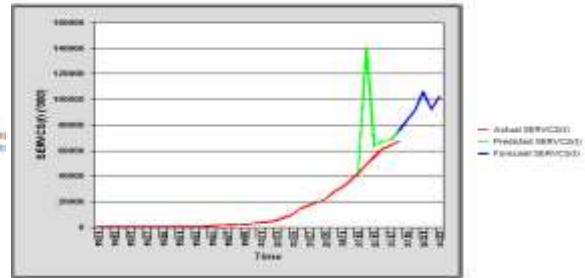
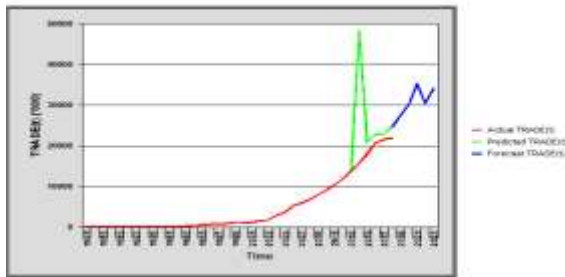


Fig 5: TRADE SECTOR OF NIGERIA



On the other hand, Industry, Manufacturing, Construction, Transport and Education, all declined to a low of N16.1 trillion, N143 billion, N2.2 trillion, N588.3 billion and N1.16 trillion trillion respectively by 2021. General price level rose from 295 points in 2018 to a high of 407 points, with a corresponding inflation of 409 points by 2021. Unemployment rate rose from 17.6% in 2018 to 43.5% in 2021. The apparent gains in agricultural output were eroded by inflation and high prices of foodstuffs and all commodities. Poverty increased with many people emigrating to other lands in search of greener pastures or died. Over 35.5 million absolute poor people were dead by 2021.

Fig 6: INDUSTRY SECTOR OF NIGERIA

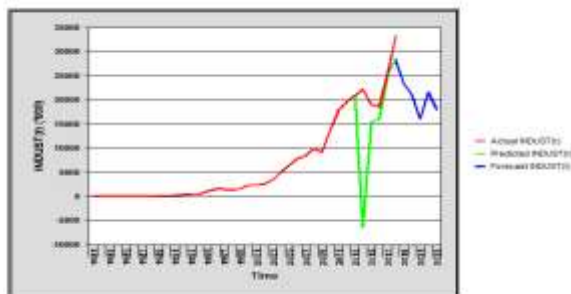
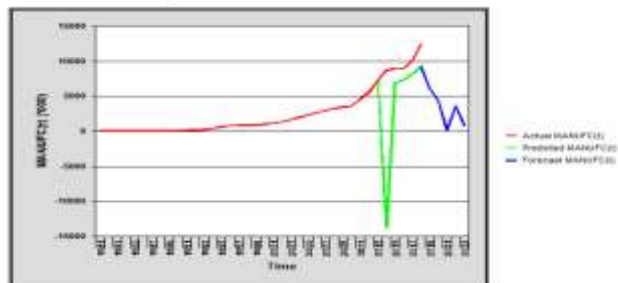


Fig 7: MANUFACTURING SECTOR OF NIGERIA



Oil revenue declined from N1.5 trillion in 2018 to a deficit of N5.7 trillion in 2021. Apparently, it will seem that the administration did well in fighting corruption which was reduced to N-107.5 billion by 2021. However, insurgency and banditry grew from 126% in 2018 to 178% in 2021. Investment in Education and Industry declined from N472 billion and N4.0 trillion respectively in 2018 to N332.0 billion and N-2.8 trillion respectively by 2021. Generally the standard of



living was quite low. The performance of the regime from 2019 may have been the result of a combination of factors, which include poor policy choices, out break of COVID-19 and insecurity as indicated by the growth of Boko-Haram.

However, between 2022 and 2023, we deliberately increased investments in Education and Industry by 15% and 30% annually respectively, assumed the absence of Boko-Haram, with all other policy instruments modified using the feedback prescriptions as guides (see table 1) and as can be seen, the depressed sectors rebounded. The economy generally performed better. This was

Fig 8: TRANSPORT SECTOR OF NIGERIA

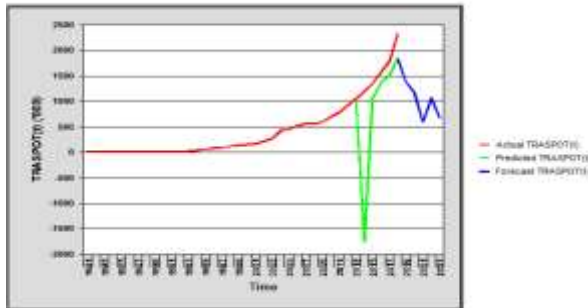


Fig 9: EDUCATION SECTOR OF NIGERIA

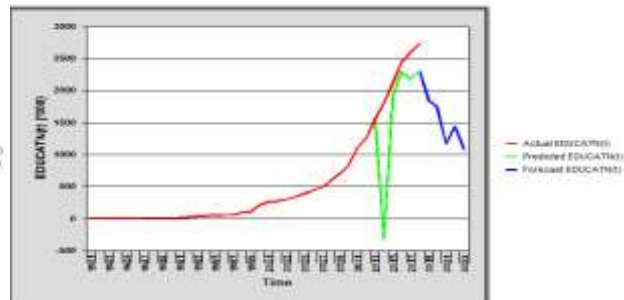


Fig 10: GENERAL PRICE LEVEL OF NIGERIA

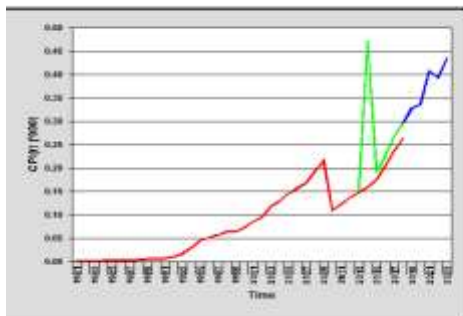


Fig 11: UNEMPLOYMENT RATE OF NIGERIA

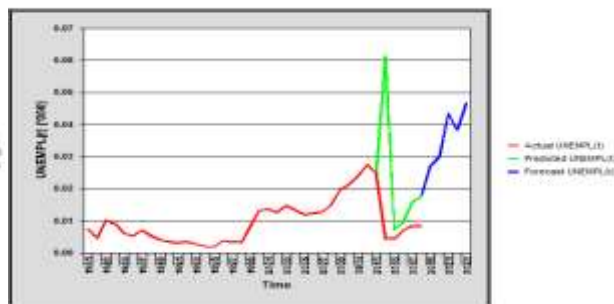


Fig 12: TERRORISM RATE OF NIGERIA

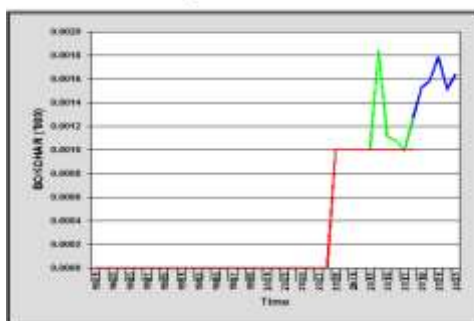
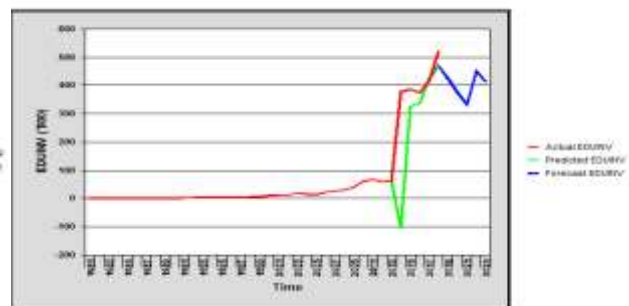


Fig 13: INVESTMENT IN EDUCATION SECTOR OF NIGERIA



to demonstrate the wrong policy choices made by the Buhari-Oshinbajo regime between 2018 and 2021. The new policy showed a decline in the activities of Boko-Haram.

**CONCLUSION**

It is evident that concentration on the Agricultural Sector alone will not solve the problems of Nigeria and that agriculture cannot return to being the mainstay of the Nigerian economy. Those



days are gone and cannot be undone. The welfare of the other sectors must also be addressed. The Buhari-Osinbajo administration tackled corruption reasonably but the proceeds from oil sale are still being allegedly embezzled by some unpatriotic Nigerians as indicated by oil revenue being in deficit of N5.7 trillion in 2021. Moreover, insurgency and banditry that the administration could not tackle effectively or may be, was unwilling to curb as indicated by the increasing strength of Boko-Haram, was the Achilles heel of the regime.

As for the incessant strikes by Labour Unions, including ASUU, no strike action is justified (see Aruofor, 2020b). However, the politicians and their bloated, undeserved salaries and allowances are not exonerated or justified either. Rather than fighting for increased salaries by labour unions, the fight should be for the right things to be done. And part of which is to reduce the cost of running government, including down sizing the salaries and allowances of political office holders to be commensurate with the rest of the economy.

Finally, attitudes need to change across board if Nigeria is to hold together as a nation and for things to work; because according to Aruofor (2020b), “Most of the quarrels that have plagued humanity have arisen as a result of the quest of domination by one group, and faulty or lopsided distribution and ownership of communal resources or common wealth and have often resulted in suspicions and lack of trust often leading to strife, factions and ganging up, leading to wars.”

So, it is justifiable to say that David Easton’s Input-Output theory has been suitable for this study because as a result of the unfulfilled expectations of the people *vis a vis* the promises of the regime at inception, support or loyalty is dwindling and disappointment is setting in.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The prescribed policy instruments between 2022 and 2023 demonstrate that better policies can be determined but for them to work, the right people must be in the Driver’s seat in the Executive, Legislature and Judiciary;
2. The reduction of corruption must start with the reduction of the salaries and allowances of Political office holders and a conscious and deliberate implementation of national policies, with dedication, honesty, probity and accountability. Nigerian politicians must make some concessions;
3. The Academics must not only be satisfied with their salaries and allowances but must seek ways to improve teaching (pedagogy) and research and agitate for increased investments for the development of the academic institutions.

In particular, the academic curricular of higher institutions should incorporate Economic Systems Engineering (Modeling and Applied Quantitative Techniques for Economic and Development Planning) and allied training in the use of ESM-LAB, Excel and related computer softwares. This is because the tool kits of Economic Systems Engineering (ecostatometrics) can help us plan development better and can assist us gain deeper and far reaching insights into our socio-economic systems and developmental problems. If used wisely and faithfully, in addition to a moral re-orientation of society, we shall have a long and lasting peace in Nigeria;

4. Above all, the Epilogue to Economic Systems Engineering should be taught side by side in Higher Institutions;
5. The Nigerian Constitution should be redone; and

6. Citizens of different faith should be more tolerant and accommodating of one another.

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