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nequality is perceptibly deep-seated and endemic in Nigeria, permeating through almost every part of Africa's largest country. According to the Commitment to Reducing Inequality Index 2018 by Oxfam, Nigeria falls on the last rung (157 of 157) of countries making efforts to breach the gap between haves and havenots.1 Chiefly, the phenomenon is manifest in the lopsided distribution of resources, where a few elites have control over the wealth of millions of Nigerians. This trickles through all sectors of the economy. The Public Health Centres (PHCs), despite allocated resources, are in poor state. Primary schools across the country are in dire straits with infrastructure begging for urgent overhaul. According to many observers, the poor state of things is connected to the fact that the facilities are not used by the privileged elite but the poor masses.

The Oxfam Report states that "Government spending on health, education and social protection is woefully low and often subsidizes the private sector. Civil society has consistently campaigned for increased spending." Since its creation, Tracka has worked to address critical issues to increase social and economic development in Nigeria. We do this by

drawing public attention to developmental projects in both local and urban communities, ensuring that the people engage and hold their representatives accountable for better service delivery. We also draw attention to public spending in key sectors like education, health and infrastructure, convinced that they are the critical avenues through which impact can be felt beyond the present.

In this report, Tracka analyses how inequality manifests in Nigeria and how our work is educating citizens, empowering them with information. Through stories from our field experience, we share narratives on how inequality further impoverishes Nigerians and how this is changing, gradually.

As the general elections beckon, this report is strategic to the polity – for citizens to further understand the state of things and, more importantly, their inalienable power to demand and equally effectuate good governance through the ballot. Beyond elections, Tracka remains an everimportant tool to keep tabs on elected officials visà-vis their campaign promises and government projects.



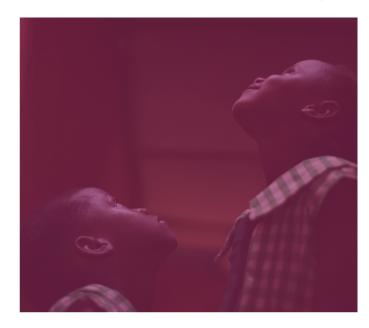




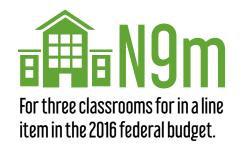
In 2018, a total sum of N651.2 billion was allocated to the sector, about 7% of the total budget.

ccording to United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), between 15 to 20% of the government budget should be allocated to education2. However, this is not the case in Nigeria where education remains largely underfunded. In 2018, a total sum of N651.2 billion was allocated to the sector, about 7% of the total budget. Till date, no government in Nigeria has allocated up to the recommended 15 to 20 per cent for education. In a country with a high young population-estimated at over 65 per cent-attention has to be paid to education. Yet, the right actions are not being taken. Underfunding of education is manifest in limited manpower, dearth of infrastructure and lack of teaching aid and materials.

For education, our major focus is limited to primary and secondary levels inline with the focus of many community projects. In 2017, Tracka tracked 128 education projects. While 52 were discovered/rated completed, 76 were uncompleted/abandoned. Meanwhile, to achieve the Sustainable Development Goal 4, "ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all" Nigeria has to do more, in budget allocation and execution of projects.



NOTES FROM THE FIELD



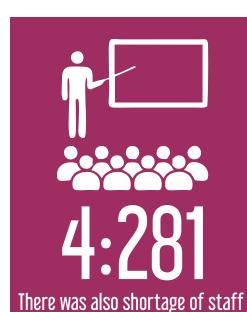
The existing schools in the Kadna community were run by the community itself, and are not provided for as part of a dedicated state or federal government initiative.

Kadna Community Gets New Classrooms: Completed and Satisfactory

In 2017 when we visited Kadna in Niger state, we wanted to inspect the construction and furnishing of one block of three classrooms for Ng million--a line item in the 2016 federal budget. The visiting team observed that the indigenes were unaware of the budgetary provision. However, we were informed by the people that their representative, Honourable Salihu Adamu, had approached the community and requested for a plot of land for the construction of a junior secondary school, which was provided. But we noted that the residents were unaware of the federal government provision on the zonal intervention projects for the community in the 2016 budget.

The existing schools in the Kadna community were run by the community itself, and are not provided for as part of a dedicated state or federal government initiative. There were no classrooms for Junior Secondary School students in Kadna; as such, they had to learn in classrooms within the community primary school. In many cases, pupils sit on the floor to learn. Majorly, employed teachers are secondary school graduates — not graduates of training colleges or other higher education institutions — albeit some teachers are National Diploma holders, which is a rare occurrence. From our findings, the ND holders are indigenes who had the opportunity to school outside Kadna and are back to serve their hometown. In all, meager fees are paid to these teachers termly (i.e. every three month) from Parent Teacher Association (PTA) collections. It is disheartening to see the educational aspirations of Kadna people short-changed by those who promised to serve them.

Despite the budgetary allocation, only one block of two classrooms was constructed. Speaking with Honourable Adamu on phone, we were made to understand that the budgeted sum of Ng million was insufficient for the construction of the one block of three classrooms. He explained that an additional N3 million was required to complete the



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construction, but failed to provide details of how he reached this conclusion.

The Tracka team further demanded the construction of more blocks of classrooms from the Niger state government through social media and Tracka Plus, a television production with Channels TV. In January 2018, we received a call from Kadna community that the Niger State Universal Basic Education Board sent a contractor to the community to request land to construct and furnish a block of three classrooms. The project was consequently completed: furnitures supplied while students now learn in a conducive environment. As such, the project is now rated satisfactory by community members.

N30M Allocation for Ogun School: Completed but Unsatisfactory

On September 20, 2017, Tracka team paid a visit to Ipokia Local Government Primary School, Akere, Ogun state. About half of the school population (students from three out of its six classes) were learning under a Mango tree. The classrooms were in bad shape, broken roofs, missing windows and doors, bare and sandy floor, all exposing pupils to health hazards. There was also a dearth of furniture as about seven pupils squeezed themselves on a

bench meant for two pupils while others sat on the bare floor. There was also shortage of staff with only four class teachers, one assistant headteacher and one headteacher handling the teaching/learning of 281 pupils. Regardless, the primary school provided elementary education to children in the community as well as neighbouring villages. It must be noted, however, that the poor state of the school led most of the community



children farther from their community; some take thirty-minute ferry rides across the ocean and go as far as Apapa and Badagry in Lagos state. The only private school in the community, built by the Redeemed Christian Church of God, is beyond the reach of many parents in the community.

Tracka team sensitised the school and community on the proposed school project which is the 'Renovation of Blocks of 8 Classrooms in Akere, Agosasa, Ajegunle and Idogo' for N30M. This could, in turn, be interpreted as the renovation of a block of two classrooms for four schools, at a sum of seven million and five hundred thousand naira per block. The disclosure of this information impulsively raised the people's hope. Tracka maintained that they must demand implementation, which they did.

However, feedback from the community leader, Chief Gandonu Joseph has not been positive. He stated that Honourable Akinlade Adekunle Abdulkabir, the lawmaker representing the area at the National Assembly, neither answered his calls nor responded to messages, a development since the community became

aware of the project. This story was published on our blog and also in the Nation Newspaper. The news went viral on social media and drew the attention of the state governor. The Ogun State Universal Basic Education Board queried the head teacher and asked him to appear before a panel. Turned out, the implementation of the school project began immediately. The project has been completed even though we are still not convinced that the students are learning within best conditions as classrooms are still insufficient.

It must also be stated that the budget item to renovate blocks of 8 Classrooms in Akere, Agosasa, Ajegunle and Idogo for N30M remains unimplemented. This particular project shows how state governments step in to rescue federal government projects. However, it also reveals a lapse in project execution as the line item, for which money has been released, remains unexecuted. Despite the completion of the project, it remains unsatisfactory since it does not cater for all education infrastructure needs of that community.

Zango Secondary School: Unexecuted Project

Zango Secondary School, located in Kangiwa, Kebbi state, has experienced exponential growth in student population, leading to heavy pressure on the existing infrastructure. Classes were overcrowded as students sit on the floor. To reach more students, the dining hall was even converted into a classroom.

On March 19, 2018, Tracka organised an advocacy campaign by reaching out to the principal and staff of the school in order to inform them of the construction and furnishing of a block of classrooms, a constituency project initiated by Honourable Husseini Suleiman Kangiwa in the 2017 federal government budget. The school principal, Mallam Lawal Ibrahim stated that he was unaware of the project nor the amount allocated for it. During the advocacy campaign, the Tracka PTO distributed publications containing the details of the 2017 budgeted constituency projects in Kebbi state.

The Zango Secondary School example shows that UNICEF's child-friendly school concept is not comprehensively adopted in Nigeria. Majority of schools, especially in rural areas, lack water, electricity and toilet facilities. Despite political commitment to reverse years of neglect in the education sector and a significant increase of the federal funding, investment in basic education in Nigeria is still low compared to other Sub-Saharan African countries.

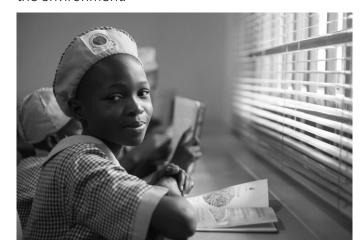
Odo-Otin High School, Okuku, Osun State: Ongoing

In October 2017, Tracka team visited Okuku in Odo-Otin Local Government Area, Osun state, to sensitise its residents on a project within their community: rehabilitation and furnishing of blocks of classrooms in Odo-Otin High School, Okuku. The indigenes of neighbouring communities, trek many kilometre distance to access education at Odo-Otin High School, Okuku. Meanwhile, the high school was in a deplorable state. There were few classrooms for the teeming student population, hence some learning happen under trees.

During our visit to the community, we distributed

copies of the simplified budget that showed that 130 million Naira had been nominated by their representative for a 2017 zonal intervention project. The Tracka team encouraged the residents to demand the status of the project from their elected representative. The residents wrote a letter to the representative of the senatorial district, Senator Olusola Adeyeye, and the ministry in charge to enquire an update on the school project. Tracka team also wrote a letter to the representative at the National Assembly to avail us information on the school project captured in the 2017 budget line item. Both the residents and Tracka got no response.

But by April 2018, we observed that the school project has been initiated, a development we believe which will contribute to a better learning condition in the environment.







N359.3bn

Yearly, Nigeria is said to lose about N359.2 billion to health tourism, quite higher than the total allocations for health.

he healthcare sector glaringly shows the depth of inequality in Nigeria. While the wealthy—including the Nigerian president—seek healthcare services abroad, most Nigerians are trapped in understaffed local hospitals without basic equipment. Allocations in the 2018 budget of the Ministry of Health rose to N340.46bn (4% of the federal government budget) up from 2017 levels of N308.46bn. Of the total, N269.3bn (78% of the budget) will be spent on recurrent items, while the balance of N71.11bn will be spent on Capital projects. Yearly, Nigeria is said to lose about N359.2 billion to health tourism⁴, quite higher than the total allocations for health.



Primary healthcare centres being the closest healthcare facilities 5 to the people are in really bad shape; general hospitals are no better even as tertiary institutions have only two radiotherapy machines for two million cancer patients 6. Yet, Nigerian doctors keep leaving the country en masse 7, searching for greener pastures abroad. In 2018, most of our work was focused on PHCs while tracked 96 health projects. Of the tracked projects, 41 were completed, 25 were uncompleted, while 30 were ongoing.

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Kebbi Health Centre: Completed but Unequipped

For the teeming population in Maurida, a town about 15 kilometres away from Birnin-Kebbi, the capital city of Kebbi state, an effective public health system is a mirage. For the agrarian community with a population of about 18,000 people, access to quality healthcare remains a dream due to the dire state of a 22 million naira health centre project that has not seen the light of day.

Our team visited the existing dispensary in Maurida town. The dilapidated health centre was overburdened with a population of about fifty to sixty patients per day. It lacked adequate infrastructure like hospital beds and stretchers; patients sit and lay on the bare floor. In the eventuality of serious illness, ailing patients travel 15 kilometres away to access quality medical care. This further emphasizes the urgent need of a quality healthcare facility in the constituency.

Between October 2017 and January 2018, Tracka paid several advocacy visits to Maurida to raise awareness on the construction of a primary healthcare centre nominated by Honourable Abdullahi Umar Farouk representing Kalgo/Bunza/Birnin Kebbi Federal Constituency. During a town hall meeting, the Tracka team distributed printed copies of the 2017 FG Budget to Maurida residents in order to encourage them to follow-up on projects within the community. The village head, Aminu Mohammed Maurida affirmed the knowledge of the inclusion of the project in the 2017 budget but could not ascertain the allocated amount.

Upset about the lack of action despite the huge allocation, the community wrote letters to its representative as well as the ministry of health. In December 2017, the Tracka's PTO received phone calls from members of the community confirming the presence of construction workers at the project site. By February 2018, work was completed on the health centre but the project remains unequipped.



The dilapidated health centre was overburdened with a population of about fifty to sixty patients per day.

Nevertheless, the advocacy continues to ensure that the people of Maurida have a functional healthcare facility.

Comprehensive Healthcare Centre at Ekrota, Delta State: Completed but Not Functional

In August 2016, Tracka visited Ekrota community in Udu Local Government Area to inspect the construction of a comprehensive health centre for N6o million which was allocated in 2016 Budget. We engaged the leaders and residents of the community in a town hall meeting and educated them on the provisions of the budget. The community needed a healthcare facility to solve its health challenges. Letters were written to Honourable Ahwinahwi Solomon, the representative of Ughelli North/South/Udu Federal Constituency, and the Ministry of Health, calling their attention to the project. Following the expiration of 2016 Budget, the healthcare centre was left undone but we never gave up in our advocacy to ensure service delivery.

When the 2017 Budget was published, the same item resurfaced. We geared up our advocacy in Ekrota community, re-engaging the indigenes once again. We wrote letters to the Honourable and the ministry in charge of the project yet again. On September 8, 2017, the Trackaplus team visited Ekrota with a camera crew to share their story with the world. Perhaps something would be done if more people knew about it.

In October 2017, Honourable Ahwinahwi Solomon responded to us. He promised that the construction of the health centre would start as soon as funds were released because it had been left undone for too long. He further said it was not done in 2016 because the released fund was not sufficient, hence the movement to 2017 Budget.

In March 2018, the president-general of the community informed us that the construction of the healthcare centre had started. In April 2018, we revisited Ekrota community, the project had been truly completed however albeit yet furnished. So it remained unused. Tracka will continue to advocate for the equipping of the health

N60m

In August 2016, Tracka visited Ekrota community in Udu Local Government Area to inspect the construction of a comprehensive health centre for N60 million which was allocated in 2016 Budget.

centre until it is functional. Only then can it meet the health challenges of the community. We look forward to a future where people with health challenges in Ekrota will walk into the health centre, get quality treatment and walk out absolutely healthy.

A LOOPED WASTE OF PHC FUND IN KALANJALI, TANGAZA LGA, SOKOTO STATE.

Primary healthcare should ensure the delivery of quality basic healthcare and services to citizens when they need it but the story is different in Kalanjali village. In 2012, the Federal Government budget stated a provision of the construction of Primary Healthcare Centre (PHC) in Kalanjani by Honourable Isah Salihu which did not see the light of the day. The project was abandoned for about five years.

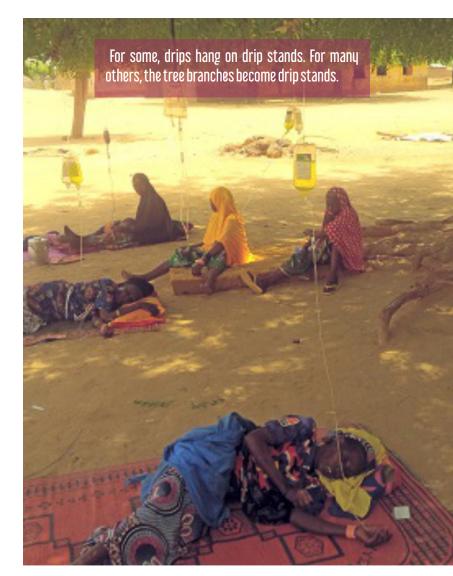
Upon visiting the community in 2017, Tracka team sensitised community members on the project, informing them of the reappearance of the project in the 2016 Budget, "30 million naira construction of PHC". In 2017, the same project was recaptured in the 2017 Federal

Government budget and stipulated for completion for a sum of 40 million naira.

In January 2018, when Tracka's Project tracking officer revisited the community to monitor the project, it was discovered that even though the PHC had been constructed, it was under lock, while drugs and equipment were not supplied. The residents expressed dissatisfaction over the development as child mortality raises in their community continues to soar yet they cannot access healthcare even though a PHC had been built for them.

PHC KAFFE: WHERE PATIENTS RECEIVE HEALTHCARE UNDER A TREE

Kaffe, a community in Gada Local Government Area of Sokoto state, is an agrarian community with a population of about 4,000 people. The Public Health Centre (PHC) that caters to the health needs of the community is in dire straits. In the 2017 FG Budget, there was a provision of N34 million for the upgrade and equipping of the PHC at Kaffe Gada LGA. After a Tracka sensitisation visit to the community, they



informed their representative of the urgency of the project.

Work is currently ongoing at the PHC. However, its ill patients pay the price: In the afternoons, they lay on mattresses or mats under a tree within the unfenced compound of the PHC. For some, drips hang on drip stands. For many others, the tree branches become drip stands. At night, power usually returns but medical care continues under the tree. In the absence of toilet facilities, the patients relieve themselves in bushes around the PHC. This was the situation for about a month when renovation was ongoing.

The situation in Kaffe is pathetic for several reasons. First, the quality of care being received is questionable, as already sick patients may be exposed to other infections. Second, one would expect that alternative healthcare provisions would have been made for this community while renovation is ongoing. Third, the PHC is without perimeter fencing, exposing even neighbouring residents of the hospital to diseases, should there be an outbreak of communicable infections.

Some residents of the community, under the condition of anonymity, revealed that hoodlums come to the PHC from time to time to steal

mattresses meant for the PHC due to the absence of perimeter fencing in the facility.

Abudullahi, a resident, revealed to the team that the hospital lacks drugs, forcing patients to buy drugs from Gada town, almost 17 kilometres away. In the eventuality of serious illness, in fact, many ailing patients have to travel to Gada town to access good medical attention.

Based on our observation, the work ongoing at the Kaffe PHC does not reflect the amount allocated to it. One would expect that a 34 million naira refurbishing project should do more. We wait to see the upgrade of the health equipment at the PHC. Following our conversations with the residents, it will also be great if the facility is fenced to protect patients and secure the equipment at the hospital.

Honourable Musa Sarkin Adar is also from Kaffe village and has been the representative of the constituency since 2007. The residents expressed displeasure at what they call "bad treatment" from him. We hope that the situation in Kaffe is rectified soon. Indeed, we hope that Kaffe residents will not have to share the open air with mosquitoes while receiving medical care.



INEQUALITY IN INFRASTRUCTURE

he provision of basic social amenities—electricity, good roads, water—is essential towards improving the quality of life. Despite being one of the most funded ministries, in many rural communities in Nigeria, basic social amenities remain a dream. And representatives of these communities have used some of these projects as baits, especially during election time. It is not strange to see generations being shared as "empowerment projects" even when there is no way to measure its impact on the community at large. While Tracka is committed to ensuring that quality service is delivered to the people, it is important to draw attention to the poor execution of several infrastructural projects across the country.



NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Installation of Solar Street Lights in Ede North/Ede South Egbedore/Ejigbo Federal Constituency, Osun State: Unexecuted

In August 2017, Tracka officers visited Ladan community in Esatuntun in Ido-Osun, Egbedore Local Government Area, Osun West Senatorial District, to monitor the implementation of the N₁6million solar-powered street lights with lithium ion battery 3000/5000 lumens with PIR. Ladan residents were oblivious of the provision. A walk around the beneficiary communities in the budget showed that the project was yet to commence. At night, the communities are thrown into darkness thanks to power shortage. Should there be solarpowered street lights, things will be different: workers will not retire quickly to their homes, movement around the communities will be easier and safer at night. In turn, this will have a positive effect on the economy of the area.

At an advocacy meeting with indigenes of Ladan, to follow-up on the project, Tracka encouraged them to send letters to their representatives at the National Assembly.

In June 2018, Tracka PTO, when he revisited Ladan to monitor the status of the streetlight project, discovered that the project had not been executed. The PTO encouraged the residents to continuously ask for the implementation of the street light project from Senator Nurudeen Adeleke.

Power Tiller Machines and Fertilisers to Kebbi Central Senatorial District: Supplied but Undistributed

The concept of constituency projects in Nigeria is to distribute resources to the grassroots across the country but most legislators position constituency projects to seek for votes. Constituency projects are projects inserted into the national budget by the legislators to, as the claim goes, bring federal impact



home to their constituencies. Yet, when many of the projects are handed over, the representatives present it either in their names or as though they are personal gifts to the constituents/community. For several reasons, the projects hardly lead to societal development, as most of them do not serve the people's needs. While some projects are abandoned, others are implemented but not distributed and some others are under lock and key. The case of the supply of power tiller machines and fertilisers in Kebbi Central Senatorial District facilitated by Senator Adamu Aliero falls into this category.

Tracka findings in July 2018 showed that most legislators delayed the execution of empowerment projects as a way to seek votes for the 2019 elections or use the materials to campaign as one of their grassroots achievements.

From our findings, it does not appear as if the farmers are the target group as some of them claimed. The distribution might be political and aimed at politicians' allies rather than grassroots empowerment.

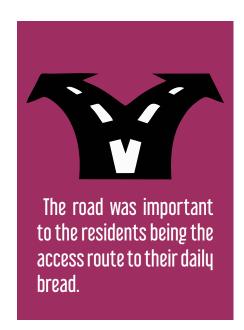
As at July 25, 2018, both the power tiller machines and the fertilisers remained undistributed to the beneficiaries. This singular act of not distributing

empowerment materials as at when due has a great effect on the economy of the community as most of the residents are farmers. If distributed, it will increase the yields on the farms and improve the local economy in the district; undistributed, the machines and fertilisers rot away under lock and key, their impact unfelt by those who need it most.

OGERE REMO: ONGOING EROSION CONTROL PROJECT

The news of the commencement of any local community project that is being tracked by Tracka team is always accepted with great joy. First, it is a testimony that our work is effectuating change, grown and development, one community at a time. Second, it will also serve the beneficiary community. So, in December 2017, we rejoiced when we heard that the erosion control project at Ogere Remo had commenced at Odo Aro market. The road that linked the community and the market had been destroyed by erosion, following years of neglect. It was the shortest and most deplorable route to the market.

Tracka started monitoring the project in 2017, by visiting and educating the community. The budget line for the project read that erosion/flood control



measures would be put in place for a 600m stretch in Ikenne Local Government, Ogun East Senatorial District. This was followed by letters to Senator Buruji Kashamu, the senate representative of the constituency. The road was important to the residents being the access route to their daily bread. As it was in destruction, they lost money and time having to ply a longer route.

Several civil society organisations were also instrumental to the work at Ogere Remo. They were the mediators that settled disputes between the site managers, local government executives and community members. The site engineer alleged that the local government sent delegates to the construction site to demand certain illegal entitlement at their office for the work to continue. More so, the community members also demanded a job of better quality from the contractor and threatened to stop the work. In the midst of these, Tracka team encouraged peace among the warring parties. The case was taken to the king who later encouraged the contractor to proceed but ensure to deliver a quality job.

The project commenced in December 2017 but however stopped midway due to heavy downpour that was claimed to have destroyed an entire day's job. It took another month for work to resume on the site. The reason for the stoppage remains unknown. But work proceeded once again to an extent.

Moreover, the work has only been done in parts: all the drainage slabs are yet to be replaced in their rightful positions thereby making it impossible for the aged to use the road. Even the slab which is supposed to link the project location to the main road is yet to be fixed. More so, grading the said area would have given more credence to the work done and further given room for vehicular activities on the road.

The residents of the area believe that the project, if completed, will combat flooding. However, the work could have been more laudable if the above mentioned yet-unattended-to issues are prioritised. Tracka will continue its advocacy until the young and the old in Ogere Remo can pass that road without fear of injury.

Enugu Community Battles Power Outage, Bad Roads, Water Scarcity, Insufficient Classrooms

Efulu is a farming community in Ugwuoba, Oji River Local Government Area of Enugu state, south eastern Nigeria. The community is represented by Senator Ike Ekweremadu in the Senate and Honourable Toby Okechukwu in the House of



Representatives. On a sensitisation visit to the community, BudgIT project tracking officers informed residents of the Efulu Ugwuoba Road rehabilitation project for N20 million allocation.

Present was Igwe of Efulu, HRH Silvanus Ibeh, who appreciated Tracka's visitation, acknowledging it as an eye-opener. He applauded the fact that Tracka team kept to the promise of attending the scheduled town hall meeting, describing the action as a show of (our) commitment to the implementation of the federal government constituency projects.

In Efulu, there is also a construction of a block of four classrooms for the primary school which is yet to kickoff. The Igwe revealed that the State Universal Basic Education Board(SUBEB) informed the community two years ago that the blocks of classrooms would be constructed but nothing has been done at the moment.

When asked about the state of electricity in the town, the Igwe offered that although Efulu is one of the communities in Ugwuoba which has gained rural electrification, there has been a power outage

in the past one year. Lamenting the sorry plight of the community as a result of the power outage, the youth leader pleaded for a quick intervention from government.

Also, Tracka discovered that the only source of water to the community is from the stream as there is no manual or motorised borehole. The Igwe pleaded for the construction of a motorised borehole in Efulu in order to reduce the stress of the water problem confronting the community.

Our team also observed that the major access road to Efulu from Ugwoba, Onitsha-Enugu Old Expressway, is in a state of disrepair. The frustration encountered with the bad state of the road had led to an increase in the fare charged by motorcycle riders, thus making life unbearable for indigenes. There is no gainsaying the fact that the community stands to benefit if the problems of road, power, water shortage and insufficient classrooms are solved.



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