

Four Years of Buhari Administration and the Challenge of Infrastructural Decay: A Study of the South East Geopolitical Zone of Nigeria

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Abstract

Lopsided distribution of projects has always constituted a front burner issue in most developing countries where some segments are either clamoring for genuine democracy through improved federalism, resource control and even outright disintegration and separation. This study examined the challenge of infrastructural decay in the south-east geopolitical zone of Nigeria and the extent to which the Buhari administration has succeeded in addressing the problem in its four years of existence. Data was obtained from secondary sources while the regime theory performance (Hood, 2001) was adopted as the theoretical framework. Data analysis was by content analysis. Results indicated that not much has been done to improve on the road network while the rail project still remains more of a lip service as some states are yet to feel the impact of these projects. Hence, the study recommended a speedy execution of the projects so as to convince the people that they are not white elephant projects.

Keywords: *Infrastructure, White elephant projects, The South-East Geopolitical Zone, Resource control, Separation*

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Background to the Study

Nigeria has witnessed at least fourteen different administrations since independence in 1960. Given the nation's abundant human and natural resources, the state of infrastructure and the level of socio-economic development and well-being of its citizenry is nothing to write home about. The high expectations, following the return to democracy in 1999 of the citizenry for a new era of socio-economic development and welfare of its citizens, remains defeated. This is in view of the high level of poverty, unemployment, corruption, and insecurity among others. On the one hand, the current administration under President Buhari's leadership, in its campaign promise vowed to end the long period of deprivations and all social as well as economic menaces if elected into office in 2015. Freedom, Christian, Temilola (2015) observed that:

On the other hand, many people believed that having assumed office he once occupied as a military officer and for which he contested four times, his administration is expected to urgently tackle several challenges that have besieged Nigeria over the last three decades.

However, things appear to be getting worse especially in view of the massive youth unemployment which has contributed to the high level of poverty and different sorts of crime across the country.

In consideration of the role of critical infrastructure in the nation's development, successive governments in Nigeria from colonial days to the present have given little or no attention to it. Ithembe (2011.504) captures this view in his assertion that, "infrastructure as a critical form of development plays an important role in any country or region or state. Seriously, it constitutes the hub upon which socio-economic aspects of society revolve". Infrastructure facilities are not demanded for their own sake, but for what they can assist in producing. In all aspects, whether in developed or developing societies, the capacity and capability required for the growth of business emanate from the acquisition of science and technology, culture and the availability of enabling infrastructure. The enabling infrastructures are the major factors which must exist to allow private enterprises to operate and grow. When available, infrastructure will make people to be creative, innovative, gainfully employed, self-reliant, wealth creators and ensure security. However, it is sad to note that the entire critical infrastructure in Nigeria is in a state of comatose thereby creating developmental crisis. The failure and inability of the country to maintain and sustain her critical infrastructure such as oil installations and pipelines, clean water, public health facilities, gas plant, power generators and transmission lines, educational facilities, railways, road networks, manufacturing industries, etc have accounted for the myriad of problems like; food shortage, poverty, high level of unemployment, high level criminality, high accidental cases on roads, desperation and migration from Nigeria to Europe, America and other parts of the world.

Statistical evidence on the state of infrastructure obtained from a survey conducted by Eneh (2011), shows that the south-east geopolitical zone is the most neglected in the country in terms of infrastructure investment.

Table 1: State of Infrastructure in the Six Geopolitical Zones of Nigeria

Parameters	Niger delta (south south)	South West	South East	North West	North Central	North East
Unemployment (19-24)	9.5	4.5	6.6	2.2	4.3	3.2
Access to school	70.0	87.5	58.9	70.3	70.6	70.1
Access to safe water source	45.5	73.1	40.3	50.2	48.5	80.3
Access to medicare	44.6	72.3	36.5	54.2	60.1	47.3

Source: Eneh (2011).

The table above shows the extent of neglect which is suffered by the south east and south south hence, “the South East geo-political zone is most marginalized of all the zones” Uzoh (2013). Uzoh (2013), further emphasized “the need for government to embark on sustainable infrastructural development”.

Statement of Research Problem

One major factor that has contributed to the development crisis in Nigeria is that of critical infrastructure decay. These infrastructures range from roads, electricity, health, national assets, all targeted at the comfort of the society and its overall development. The challenge of infrastructure in Nigeria has manifested in various forms which include poor federal and state roads which constitute death traps. These roads are often not motorable. There is also the problem of disjointed and disconnected communities which affect all activities especially trade among neighboring communities. The situation becomes more glaring as FRN (2000) posits that about 195,000km road network exist across the country. The agency reveals that while 32,000km of these roads are federal roads, 31,000km belong to the states. It also reveals that a large proportion of the roads are so poor due to lack of maintenance and insufficient investment. Hence, Sanusi (2018) observes that, “the country's present infrastructure situation is one of the main factors debilitating the achievement of the aspired nation's vision of being one of the largest economies by the year 2020. The construction of the second Niger bridge and the reconstruction of the dilapidated roads in the south east geopolitical zone of Nigeria have been front burner issues in recent times. This study seeks to assess the extent to which the Buhari administration has achieved the reconstruction of the Port Harcourt-Enugu carriage way and the construction of the second Niger bridge in its first four years of existence. Specifically, the study seeks to:

- a. Ascertain the extent of the realization of the completion of the second Niger bridge at the end of the first four years of the Buhari administration.
- b. Examine how far the Buhari administration has gone with the completion of the reconstruction of the Enugu-Port Harcourt carriage way by the end of its first tenure in office

Literature Review

Conceptual Clarification

Infrastructure: According to Straub (2008), “ is one driven of economic development, enabling globalization” one of the foremost researchers to analyze the influence of public investment on productivity growth known as Aschauer (1989), assures that, the public infrastructure of roads, highways, mass transit airports, port facilities and the like-is argued to have positive and direct and productivity growth”

However, Torrance (2009), splits infrastructure in three different categories:

- i. Transport infrastructure, such as roads rail trades and airports with users fees;
- ii. Regulated infrastructure, such as water-electricity-and gas distribution networks with regulated service contracts with availability fees; and
- iii. Social infrastructure, such as schools and hospitals, for which governments pay are availability fee over a 20 to 30 year term.

The OECD concentrates its analysis on, “electricity infrastructure and services, water infrastructure and water-related services, long-term rail freight traffic and its infrastructure as well as urban public transport services” (OECD,2007). They also mention education and health spending in this context. Henckel and Mckibbin (2010) summarize different types of infrastructure to include— “telephone (fixed line and mobile), rail, air, sea and road transportation, energy and water”. They do not differentiate between sectors and services. However, they point out the economic characteristics that there is no perfect competition and ask whether the reason for this is slope, scale or Longevity. They recognize network externalities and the fact that “infrastructure is not a pure public but a collective good” (Henckel and Mckibbin, 2010). On a final note, Tey, Toman, Beritez, Csordas (2011), are of the view that “ infrastructure services are mostly provided through networks, a fact that implies a nonlinear relation with output”. Egert, Kozluk and Sutherland (2009) and Buhler(2004), name infrastructure as “networks”.

White elephant project: The term derives from,

“the sacred white Elephants kept by south east Asian monarchs in Burma, Thailand, Laos and Cambodia” “Royal Elephant Stable”. To possess a white elephant was regarded (and is still regarded in Thailand and Burma) as a sign that the monarch reigned with justice and power and that the kingdom was blessed with peace and prosperity According to Home (2013).

A white elephant is a procession which its owner cannot dispose of and whose cost, particularly that of maintenance, is out of proportion to its usefulness. In modern usage, it is an object, building project, scheme, business venture, facility, etc., considered expensive but without use or value.

Very few people are interested in owning or purchasing something considered to be a white elephant. In the case of a business, a business usually becomes known as a white elephant if it is unable to turn out profit because it so expensive to operate and maintain. Thus, a white elephant business is one that is unprofitable and is likely to remain so.

Separatism: The term “separatism” refers to a process by which a minority group chooses to break away from larger group. The term may also be to describe how members of a group (no matter how marginal) prevent those designated as “outsider” from joining it. Thus, Separatism refers not only to attempts to create alternatives to straight society, but also to exclusionary practices with the community itself. Pearsall and tremble (1996), quoting the oxford English reference dictionary, defined separatism as, “the advocacy of a state of cultural, ethnic, tribal, religious, racial, governmental or gender separation from the larger group”. As such, it includes a wide range of schisms, although the term is most commonly associated with national separations.

Resource Control: In line with the “democratic practice,” as Parkinson (2012) observed, “government is expected to provide for its people and must utilize every income made from resource exploration to the best interest of the people”. By definition, resource control is “the way and manner the governments revenue and democratic dividends are shared among the various tiers of government”(Kehinde 2013). The “principle of derivation”, “empowers constitute states and subordinate government to obtain some benefits from the income generated to the state from their lands”(omojuwa,2001, and Dibia(2006). This is practiced in some democracies while it is yet to be practiced in some others. The basic principle of resource control is the ability of a state government to exploit the natural resources of a state to the benefit of all (especially in a democratic state), such that every citizen bonded by the state's sovereignty and their allegiance to the state, has a benefit from the state's resource control as, “the power and rights of a community or state to raise funds by way of tax on persons, matters, services, and minerals within its territory”.

South- East Geographical Zone of Nigeria: “The southeast of Nigeria is one of the six geopolitical zones in the country. The region consists of the following states; Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu, and Imo”. Uchendu (1965) observes that, “the southeast came about following Alex Ekwueme's recommendations although it was formerly referred to as the Eastern Nigeria or simply East consequent upon the division of the country into three parts in the fifties. It was later split into three under the Gowon Administrators in 1967. By 1967. By 1976 more state were created including Imo and Anambra States. Prior to British colonial rule, south-Eastern Nigeria was home to many ethnic groups notably, the Ibo , Ijaw, Ibibio and Efik. These groups mostly had democratic systems of government and several kingdoms such as Akwa Akpa (Calabar), Aro confederacy and Obodo which had imense influences in the region.

Table 2: Past and Current Works by Researchers on Government Effort at Addressing Infrastructural Decay

Surname of researcher(s) Title of study/ year/ time frame of study	Geographical and content scope covered	Data source and analytical tools	Results / findings & conclusion
Rufus & Bufumoh (2017) critical infrastructure decay and development crisis in Nigeria. Baba and Abubakar (2015). Decaying nature of facilities and the need for infrastructural development in North east Nigeria.	Nigeria: the paper investigates comparatively, the critical nature of infrastructure to the overall development of provide answers to the epileptic power supply, poor road network and transportation/communication imbalance, failing educational structure overall unemployment, the disconnect between public and private sectors in Nigeria's infrastructure development. Nigeria: specifically, this work examined the decaying nature of public facilities across the six states in the north east geopolitical zone of the country. It also assessed the impacts of infrastructural decomposition on the lives of the people of region.	Secondary sources were used analysis was by content analysis. Both primary and secondary data were employed in the study. It carried out a library based documentation analysis.	The paper concluded that critical infrastructure must not be traced with levity and neglect if the nation must break out the dialectical cycle of development crises. The paper discovered that facilities in the education, health, water, electricity and other sector were seriously collapsing in the region. Population keeps growing while efforts by states towards infrastructural development in the zone are minimal. Also , the living conditions of the people were in seven states of agonies.

Theoretical Framework

(Regime theory and performance regimes Hood, Dollitt, Talbott, and Dean, 2001)

Generally speaking, literature identifies a regime as consisting of interactions among actors (interest groups, coalitions and institutions) who operate within relatively stable systems characterized by formal and informal rules and cultures (e.g Krasner, 1982). Regimes can be forced upon actors by external circumstances, but while government actors are usually regarded as the principal architects of regimes, they need not necessarily be mandated or imposed by a hierarchical state (Bebbington, Kirk and Larinaga 2012). Four specific contributions are particularly relevant in the development and application of this concept: Talbot's (2010) depiction of the institutions and instruments that make up a performance regime. The framework developed by Hood, Rothstein and Baldwin (2001) to analysis approaches to risk regulation; analysis by Pollit, Harrison, Dowsell (2010) of the impact of exogenous shocks and internal legics on performance indicator sets; and Dean's (1999) analytics of government framework which draws attention to the importance of invisible rationalities that shape regimes of practices.

In particular, analysis by Hood (2001) is useful in this study as it makes the concept of a regime tractable and the dimensions which it identifies connect with debates about performance assessment. They analyse regimes in terms of three features: the 'context' within which they operate; their 'content' (institutions configurations); and the control 'mechanism' that they deploy. Hood (2001) believes that, “examining these three cross cutting dimensions of regime make it's possible to capture, the complex of institutional geography, rules, practice, and animating ideas that are associated with the regulation of a particular risk, harzard, activity or performance.”

Research Methodology

This study is a qualitative descriptive analysis on the assessment of the performance of the Buhari Administration after its first tenure in the context of the challenge of infrastructure decay in the southeast geo-political zone of Nigeria. The theory of government performance assessment (Hood, Pollit, Talbott and Dean, 2001) was brought to bear on the content analysis which ran in the following sequence.

Research Question One (1): To what extent has the Buhari Administration gone with the completion of the second Niger Bridge in the south east geopolitical zone Nigeria?

There are conflicting reports on the progress over the second Niger Bridge project. According to the controller Federal Ministry of Works, Awka in Anambra state, “work on the second Niger Bridge linking Asaba in Delta state with Onitsha in Anambra state, has reached 50 percent completion.” (Ajani, n.d). He told News Agency of Nigeria (NAN) in Awka that 310 out of the 615 piles in the project had been driven in addition to one pipe culvert and four box culverts. He also stated that “seven pile caps at 100, 110, 120, 290, 300, 310 and 320 had also been completed. “At the Asaba end, abutment has been completed while preparation of reinforcement for the piles, pile caps, pier stems and box culverts are in progress at the Onitsha main yard,” he said. The benefits of the bridge include reduction in the strain on the current bridge infrastructure and easing traffic flow. According to him, “it will improve safety and security in the area by potentially reducing the traffic congestion; and improve the commercial viability of the immediate states and country”: (Ajani, n.d). NAN (n.d) reports that “the construction firm has commenced the building of a new site yard at Ogbaru in Anambra state to ensure ease of work.” Meanwhile, the people of the riverine communities of Amakom and Oko-Analu in Delta have appealed to the Federal Government to expedite action on the project according to them, the slow pace of work on the project is not desirable and disappointing.

Mr Uzoma Achidike , a teacher at Amakom primary school, said the pace of work was a major source of concern to the people because they had expected government to give it priority attention. [here in a community, we have expected that government would take this project very seriously by ensuring prompt provisions of logistics and strict supervision to enable the contractor to deliver. Regrettably, the reverse is the case. As you can see, the whole place is just sand and sand pilling every day. There has been no major work going on here]. Another indigene Mr. Boniface Okelue, who is incidentally, a youth leader in Amakom, said the pace of work had not been encouraging. It is also reported that when NAN visited the Asaba end of the project, only security men guarding the heavy equipment including cranes, cabins, corrugated metal pipes, culvert rings and tractors, among others were seen.

The conflicting nature of the above report notwithstanding, it is clear that some level of politicking is going on over the project. However the NAN reports, indigenes and other spokesmen of the community cannot all be cooking up stories. Thus, if the account of these indigenes are anything to go by, it then implies that the current administration is politicking over a serious matter. This is a way of making it clear that nothing is happening on the bridge

and no work is ongoing at the site. The Buhari administration has done nothing on the bridge which is only a white elephant project.

Research Question Two (2): What is the extent of work done on the Enugu Port Harcourt carriage way?

According to Abu (n.d).

A road that fell into disrepair few years after it was constructed was the 230kms, Enugu- Port Harcourt road commissioned in 1979. Following the deplorable conditions of roads in the country, some measures were introduced by President Obasanjo between 1999 and 2007 to address the problem of dilapidated road infrastructure in the country. One of such initiatives was the establishment of the Federal Road Maintenance Agency was saddled with the responsibility of monitoring and maintaining the Federal roads.

In a statement released from the Federal Ministry of information and culture (2018), and credited to the Minister of Information and culture, Alhaji Lai Mohammed;

The Federal Government has released the list of 69 ongoing road and bridge projects in the south-east. Though the contracts for many of the roads were awarded before the advent of this administration. They were either poorly funded or not funded at all, hence work on the roads has lingered.

The Minister said the 69 roads and bridges, which are spread across the five states in the south-east are now in different stages of completion; thanks to the funding sourced by the present administration from budgetary allocations from the Sukuk Bond and the Presidential infrastructure Development fund. While announcing the projects while include the rehabilitation of the existing Niger Bridge as well as the construction of the 2nd Niger Bridge. The Minister promised to publish the full list of the roads as well as give a state by state breakdown of the total figure. According to the list, Enugu-Port Harcourt road contract which was No.45, was awarded to RCC Nigeria Limited at the cost of ₦38,034,539,413.79 on the 17th of march,2018 (Vanguard, August 27, 2018). The list is hereby presented.

Table 3: List of contracts on 69 Roads and Bridges in the south-east including the Enugu Port Harcourt carriage way by the end of the first tenure of the Buhari Administration in Nigeria Road Projects Across the South East Geopolitical Zone of Nigeria Between 2015 and 2019.

S/N	Zone	Project Title	Data of Award	Location	Name of Contractor	Contract Sum (N)
		ABIA				
1	South East	Construction of Nkporo-Abiriba-Ohafia Road in Abia State C/No. 6130	#####	ABIA	Dutum Construction Nigeria Limited	2,739,105,600.20
2	South East	Rehabilitation of Umuahia-Bende-Ohafia Road,C/No. 5821 in Abia State	3-Oct-05	ABIA	Niger Construction Limited	2,093,033,385.88
3	South East	Rehabilitation of Bende – Arochukwu – Ohafia Road Section II		ABIA	Hartland Nigeria Limited	199,475,325.00
4	South East	Rehabilitation of Bende – Arochukwu – Ohafia Road Section I in Abia State	11-Jul-18	ABIA	Hartland Nigeria Limited	5,490,680,078.33
5	South East	Emergency Repairs of Failed Section in Umuahia-Ariam-Ikot Ekpene Road	8-Feb-18	ABIA	Desak Construction Coy Nigeria Limited	156,469,825.05
6	South East	Construction of Ahiakwu-Amangwo-Umuahia-Ngwa-Ngwa Road in Abia State C/No. 6094	#####	ABIA	La Ann Engineering Nigeria Limited	589,554,307.65
7	South East	Rehabilitation and Reconstruction of Enugu-Port Harcourt Dual Carriageway Section I: Lokpanta-Umuahia Tower (CH. 61+000-CH. 120+500) in Abia State. C/No. 6208	#####	ABIA	Setraco Nigeria Limited	39,548,900,597.79
8	South East	Rehabilitation and Reconstruction of Enugu-Port Harcourt Dual Carriageway Section II: Umuahia Tower-Aba Township Rail/Road Bridge Crossing (CH. 120+500-CH. 176+600) in Abia State. C/No. 6209	#####	ABIA	Arab Contractors Nigeria Limited	50,892,770,722.04
9	South East	Construction of Olokoru-Isiala-Oboro-Nnono Junction Road in Abia State C/No. 6091	#####	ABIA	Bok Company Nigeria Limited	515,315,493.00
10	South East	Construction of Olokoru-Aluaukwu-Itaja-Okwu-Obuohia-Ikwuano Road C/No. 6063	#####	ABIA	Rhas Nigeria Limited	990,673,340.00
11	South East	Construction of Abiriba-Arochukwu-Ohafia Road in Abia State, C/No 6158	#####	ABIA	Beks Kimse Nigeria Limited	2,265,982,372.50
12	South East	Construction of Ohafia-Oso Road in Abia/Ebonyi States, C/No 6160	#####	ABIA	Uniglobe Construction Engineering Limited	2,293,965,030.00
		ANAMBRA				
13	South East	Limited Rehabilitation of Umama-Ndiagu-Ebene-Amansi Awka Express Road,C/No. 5874 in Anambra State	#####	ANAMBRA	Master Holdings Nigeria Limited	734,039,288.90
14	South East	Rehabilitation of Onitsha bound Carriageway of the Onitsha-Enugu Road (Phase II, Section I) in Anambra State, C/No. 5929A	3-Dec-09	ANAMBRA	CCC Construction Nig. Limited	4,613,734,090.35
15	South East	Construction of the Main works including Associated Infrastructure for the Second Niger Bridge linking Anambra and Delta States C/No.6475	4-Jul-18	ANAMBRA/ DELTA	Julius Berger Nigeria Plc	206,151,693,014.87
16	South East	Emergency Repairs of Existing Niger Bridge at Onitsha/Asaba in Anambra/Delta States C/No 6206	6-Aug-13	ANAMBRA/ DELTA	Matiere-Johnson Consortium Limited	8,005,181,313.52
17	South East	Construction of Ihiala-Orlu Road in Isseke Town-Amafuo-Ulli with Spur (Ihiala-Orlu-Umuduru Section) in Anambra State, C/No. 6220	30-Oct-13	ANAMBRA	Tomline Nig. Ltd.	711,888,234.75
18	South East	Construction of Ikemba Drive Spur on Oba-Okigwe Road Through Permanent Site of Nnamdi Azikiwe University Teaching Hospital in Anambra State C/No. 6218	30-Oct-13	ANAMBRA	Jireh Hibitation International Services Nig Ltd.	625,690,820.37
19	South East	Rehabilitation of Oba-Nnewi Road section I in Anambra State, C/No. 5986	#####	ANAMBRA	CCC Construction Nig. Limited	3,794,656,941.08
20	South East	Rehabilitation of Oba-Nnewi-Okigwe Road Route 429 Section II: Anambra/Imo States Border-Ibinta-Okigwe Road, C/No. 5986A	5-Jun-09	ANAMBRA	Bullettine Construction Limited	2,572,473,142.28
21	South East	Construction of Oseakwa Bridge in Anambra State, C/No. 6043	6-Oct-09	ANAMBRA	Horizon Construction Co. Ltd	896,863,529.10
22	South East	Rehabilitation Of Spur From Onitsha-Owerri Road To Okija-Ihembosei-Afor Ukpokor-Ebenator-Ezenifite In Nnewi South LGA in Anambra State C/No 6112	#####	ANAMBRA	Ffordiac Engineering Company Limited	1,786,546,349.60
23	South East	Rehabilitation of Dual Carriageway and Roads from Upper Iweka to Zik Roundabout and Dual Carriageway from Amawbia Roundabout – Amansea Bridge in Anambra State	30-Oct-13	ANAMBRA	IDC Construction Limited	10,636,799,741.81
24	South East	Rehabilitation of Otoucha-Ibaji-Nzam-Innoma-Iheaka Ibaji Section of Otoucha-Ibaji-Odulu-Ajegwu Road in Anambra State, C/No. 6024	3-Dec-09	ANAMBRA	Niger Construction Limited	7,173,909,755.40

25	South East	Rehabilitation of Ekwulobia-Oko-Ibinta-Nnobi with spur to Isuofia and Nanka Road, C/No. 5904 in Anambra State	4-Apr-07	ANAMBRA	Master Holdings Nigeria Limited	1,872,132,617.25
26	South East	Rehabilitation of Okija-Oguta-Imo State Border (19km) Route 406 (F. 228) in Anambra State, C/No. 6058	9-Feb-10	ANAMBRA	Roudo Nigeria Limited	599,926,404.00
27	South East	Emergency Repairs of Ihiala-Orlu-Umuduru Road	8-Feb-18	ANAMBRA	Samchase Nigeria Limited	98,541,899.25
28	South East	Rehabilitation of Igwe Ilike-Uke Road Idemili North LGA, in Anambra State C/No. 6244	#####	ANAMBRA	Fractal Construction Nigeria Limited	980,435,032.50
29	South East	Construction of Omo-Umulokpa Road in Anambra and Enugu States, Section I: km 0+000km 6+500, C/No. 6277	#####	ANAMBRA/ENUGU	Arrays Global Services Limited	979,889,663.45
30	South East	Early Works IV (EW IV) of the 2nd Niger Bridge project linking Anambra and Delta States, C/No. 6277	#####	ANAMBRA/DELTA	Julius Berger Nigeria Plc	14,446,010,410.16
31	South East	Rehabilitation of Abakaliki-Afikpo Road Section I: Abakaliki-Onueke-Abomega Road in Ebonyi State, C/No. 5989	#####	EBONYI	Uniglobe/Bullettine Construction Limited	2,987,774,166.30
32	South East	Emergency Repairs of Abakaliki-Oferekpe Road Due To Erosion	8-Feb-18	EBONYI	Kemmasphere Reality Company Nigeria Limited	99,996,911.74
33	South East	Rehabilitation of Abakaliki-Afikpo Road Section II: Abomega-Afikpo Road in Enugu State, C/No. 5989	#####	EBONYI	CCECC Nigeria Limited	3,500,000,000.00
34	South East	Construction of Nnenwe-Uduma-Uburu Road. Section I (26.27km), and Section II: Spur to Ishiagu Mile 2 Road(14km), Enugu/Ebonyi States C/No. 6148	#####	EBONYI/ENUGU	Setraco Nigeria Limited	11,603,191,818.53
35	South East	Rehabilitation of Enugu bound Carriageway of the Onitsha-Enugu Road, Phase I of Section I), C/No. 5929 in Anambra State	6-Apr-09	ENUGU	CCC Construction Nig. Limited	7,351,344,974.40
36	South East	Rehabilitation of Old Enugu – Portharcourt Road (Agbogugu-Abia Border Spur to Mmaku) C/No.6458	#####	ENUGU	Setraco Nigeria Limited	13,933,953,708.62
37	South East	Rehabilitation of Inyi-Akpugoeze to Anambra Border C/No.6461	#####	ENUGU/ANAMBRA	Anbeez Services Limited	2,695,755,677.42
38	South East	Emergency Repairs of Onitsha-Owerri Road	8-Feb-18	ENUGU/IMO	IIC Construction Co. Ltd	423,850,665.00
39	South East	Umulungbe-Umuoka-Amokwu Ikedimkpe Egede-Ojeyi Awhum Road C/No.6459	#####	ENUGU	IDC Construction Limited	6,245,100,307.91
40	South East	Rehabilitation of Amugo Uno-Oriemba Market-Amugo Isiorji Onuani Road in Enugu State C/No 6221	30-Oct-13	ENUGU	Beks Kimse Nigeria Limited	850,575,495.00
41	South East	Construction of Oji-Achi-Mmaku-Awgu Road With Spur To Obeagu-Ugbo in Enugu State, C/No. 6269	#####	ENUGU	Golden Construction Company Limited	994,661,294.55
42	South East	Rehabilitation of 9th Mile-Enugu-Port Harcourt Dual Carriageway in Enugu/Abia States, C/No. 6018	#####	ENUGU	CCC Construction Nig. Limited	9,675,130,731.00
43	South East	Rehabilitation of Ozalla-Akpugo-Amagunze-Ihuokpara-Nkomoro Isu-Onitsha(Enugu-Onitsha) Road with spur to Onunweke In Enugu State C/No. 6078	#####	ENUGU	Arab Contractors Nigeria Limited	6,796,939,488.99
44	South East	Construction of Ugwueme-Nenwenta-Nkwe-Ezere-Awgunta-Obeagu-Mgbidi Nmaku Road Project Enugu State. Contract No. 6293	#####	ENUGU	IDC Construction Limited	14,693,277,138.75
45	South East	Rehabilitation of 9th Mile-Orokam Road in Enugu State Contract No.6290	#####	ENUGU	RCC Nigeria Limited	38,034,539,413.79
46	South East	Rehabilitation Of Enugu-Port Harcourt Road Section III: Enugu-Lokpanta in Enugu State C/No.6251	#####	ENUGU	CGC Nigeria Limited	32,317,082,596.26
47	South East	Rehabilitation of Onitsha-Enugu Dual Carriageway Section II (Anambra State Border- Enugu) in Enugu State, C/No. 5988	#####	ENUGU	Niger Construction Limited	7,251,451,515.00
48	South East	Rehabilitation of Oji-Achi-Maku-Awgu Ndeabor Road in Enugu State, C/No. 6037	3-Dec-09	ENUGU	Master Holdings Nigeria Limited	4,805,288,034.75
49	South East	Rehabilitation of Oji-Achi-MMaku-Awgu Ndeabor Road Section I in Enugu State, C/No. 6476	4-Jul-18	ENUGU	Setraco Nigeria Limited	11,558,069,376.90
50	South East	Rehabilitation Of Outstanding Section Of Onitsha Enugu Expressway: Amansea- Enugu State Border in Enugu State, C/No. 6266	#####	ENUGU	RCC Nigeria Limited	24,243,308,789.82
51	South East	Rehabilitation of Nsukka-Obollo-Ikem-Ehamufu-Nkalagu Road in Enugu State, C/No. 5962	3-Dec-09	ENUGU	Mife Construction Nig. Limited	6,446,051,729.71
52	South East	Construction of Ogrute-Umuida-Unadu-Akpanya-Odoru Road in Enugu/Kogi States, C/No 6170	#####	ENUGU	P.W. Nigeria Limited	12,951,207,018.75
53	South East	Rehabilitation of Umana-Ndiagu-Agba-Ebenebe-Amansi Akwa with spur to Umumba Road Section II (Umana Ndiagu-Umunba/Nkwa-Ezeagu express Obelegu section) in Enugu State, C/No 6169	#####	ENUGU	CGC Nigeria Limited	10,370,810,187.53
54	South East	Construction of Aguobu-Owa-Mgbagbu Owa-Ebenebe (Anambra State Border) with Spur to Awaha-Oyoha-Oyofu-Iwollo Road in Enugu State, C/No 6153	#####	ENUGU	Coduc Nigeria Limited	3,035,439,907.50

55	South East	Completion of the Limited Rehabilitation of Umuna-Ndiagu-Agba Umuna-Ebenege-Amasi Awka Express Road with Spur from Umuna – Ndiagu (Agba-Ebenebe) Section I in Enugu State, C/No. 6194	#####	ENUGU	Master Holdings Nigeria Limited	995,369,082.81
56	South East	Construction of Nenwe-Nomeh-Mburubu-Nara Road with spur to Obeagu Oduma Road in Enugu State C/No. 6317	#####	ENUGU	Arab Contractors OAO Nigeria Limited	6,437,166,957.38
57	South East	Rehabilitation of Akpasha (Umuatugbuoma)-Obijiofia, Amodu Road in Nkanu West LGA in Enugu State, C/No. 6315	#####	ENUGU	Slok Nigeria Limited	3,278,317,359.89
58	South East	Rehabilitation and Asphalt Overlay of 2.2km Internal Roads at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka Campus, Enugu State	#####	ENUGU	Qumecs Nig. Limited	124,726,901.18
59	South East	Rehabilitation of Owerri-Umuahia Road with Road About at Imo in Imo State, C/No. 6060	9-Feb-10	IMO	Bolive Nig. Ltd	199,758,174.00
60	South East	Rehabilitation of Owerri-Umuahia Road Section I, II & III Imo/Abia States, C/No. 6126	9-May-12	IMO	Zerock Construction Nigeria Limited	4,207,774,864.51
61	South East	Rehabilitation of Oba-Nnewi-Okigwe Road Route 429 Section II: Anambra/Imo States Border-Ibinta-Okigwe Road, C/No. 5986A	5-Jun-09	IMO/ANAMBRA	Bullettine Construction Limited	2,572,473,142.28
62	South East	Rehabilitation and Asphalt Overlay of 1.72km Internal Roads, including Construction of Reinforced Concrete Drains at The Federal University of Technology Owerri	#####	IMO	Procon Construction Nigeria Limited	124,914,441.08
63	South East	Construction of Mbaise-Ngwa Road with Bridge at Imo River, Phase I in Imo/Abia States, C/No 6157	#####	IMO	Mangrovetech Nigeria Limited	2,943,534,543.18
64	South East	Construction of Ikot Ekpene Border-Aba-Owerri Dualisation Road, Section I, Phase I (11.26Km from	#####	IMO	Arab Contractors OAO Nigeria Limited	3,780,988,125.00
65	South East	Repairs of Mbaise-Umuahia Road	8-Feb-18	IMO	City International Dimension Construction Limited	102,545,783.88
66	South East	Repairs of Owerri-Okigwe Road	8-Feb-18	IMO	Lion Unisco Limited	127,253,148.75
67	South East	Repairs of Owerri-Onitsha Dual Carriageway (Route No.25A)	8-Feb-18	IMO	Rahama Civil Works Nigeria Limited	229,982,151.00
68	South East	Emergency Repairs of Onitsha-Owerri Road	8-Feb-18	IMO/ANAMBRA	IIC Construction Co. Ltd	423,850,665.00
69	South East	Rehabilitation of Amanwaozuzu-Uzoagba-Eziama Orié Amaohia Road in Imo State, C/No. 6234	#####	IMO	Vic Phranc Nigeria Limited	1,275,747,419.10

Source: Vanguard newspapers August 27, 2019 – Federal ministry of information press release

The above list shows the extent of politicking over the provision of infrastructural facilities across the South Eastern states. The first major observation is that all the project contracts were awarded in 2018, the year preceding the general election of 2019. The project appears to be white elephant projects in view comments by Nigerians which favour the fact that not much is taking place on the claim that the projects are at various stages of completion is only on the pages of national dailies as the road Enugu-Port Harcourt was recently used by the researcher himself barely one week before this study. It therefore confirms the allegation that south-east Nigeria is not favoured in any way on the issue of infrastructural development especially roads.

Findings: This investigation has revealed the following:

1. The 50% completion of the second Niger Bridge project as claimed by Ajani, an Awka based director is the Federal Ministry of works is false. The project is a white elephant project designed to garner the political support of citizens in the southeast geopolitical zone of the country.
2. The obvious benefit of safeguarding the first and existing bridge constructed several years ago, and reducing traffic on this existing bridge is far from being realized.

3. The people of the riverine communities of Amakon and Okon-Anatam in Delta state have appealed to the federal Government to expedite action of the road construction which they lament is going on at a very slow pace.
4. The Enugu-Port Harcourt fell in to its current state of disrepair shortly after construction.
5. The federal road maintenance Agency was established by president Olusegun Obasanjo in November 2002 to address the problem of road dilapidation.
6. The statement and claim by Alhaji Lai Mohammed that lea road projects awarded before and in 2018 are at various stages of completion is completely false. The roads may not be completed in the next five years considering the pace at which work is going on at the road construction sites.

Conclusion

The state of public infrastructures in the Southeast has never been any thing to write home about. The roads, bridges, hospitals, Airports, seaports, etc are not just dilapidated but continue to derogate. Worse still is that these infrastructures have continued to suffer more neglect by the current administration which has adopted the reconstruction of these projects as very good weapons for politic strategization to win elections. The scenario clearly presents the best platform to assess the performance of the administration today. Thus, in presenting this empirical score card for the Buhari Administration, this paper submits that in further subjugating and subjecting the South East states to further developmental and infrastructural poverty, the administration has failed to uphold the basic tenets of the constitution of the country which it swore to uphold on coming into power,

Suggestions

The following suggestions suffice on the levels of the analysis in this investigation;

1. The federal Government must stop politicking with the issue of the second Niger Bridge. Going by its activities on the Bridge, it is clear that it cannot complete the project even if its tenure is extended for another twenty years. It is better to stop talking about it in the present dispensation.
2. As suggested in the case of the second Niger Bridge, Government should either desist from making Enugu-Port Harcourt Expressway project a campaign issue or show signs of seriousness in putting the road to shape.
3. Since infrastructure projects now constitute campaign issues, for the current administration, the reality and seriousness over such projects should be ascertained through the confirmation of indigenes/residents/traditional/youth leaders in the areas affected and not by a minister or director in any governmental department.
4. Citizens in the southeast where Federal infrastructure projects are located should stop expecting anything better to avoid disillusionment and frustration that could lead to heartbreaks and health deteriorations.

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