

Citizens Report

of Constituency Projects
Monitoring in the Niger Delta

"UNMASKING THE SHADOWS"

CONSTITUENCY PROJECTS IN THE NIGER DELTA –
A CRITICAL ASSESSMENT OF TRANSPARENCY,
ACCOUNTABILITY, AND IMPACT."

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ISBN: 978-978-33416-5-6

Published by:

Social Development Integrated Centre (Social Action) 33, Oromineke Layout,

D-Line Port Harcourt,

Nigeria Tel/Fax +234 84 765 413

www.saction.org

Design by: 07067289832

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LIST OF ABBREVIATION

ZIPs: Zonal Intervention Projects
MDAs: Ministries, Departments, and Agencies
CSOs: Civil Society Organizations
IGR: Internally Generated Revenue
NDDC: Niger-Delta Development Commission
FCT: Federal Capital Territory
NHIS: National Health Insurance Scheme
LGA: Local Government Area
UBE: Universal Basic Education
HQRTS: Headquarters
NBC: National Boundary Commission
RBDA: River Basin Development Authority
PMI: Purchasing Managers' Index
CBN: Central Bank of Nigeria
GDP: Gross Domestic Product
IMF: International Monetary Fund
DMO: Debt Management Office
FAAC: Federation Account Allocation Committee
ICT: Information and Communication Technology
FUPRE: Federal University of Petroleum Resources
NIPP: National Integrated Power Project
FGN: Federal Government of Nigeria
SSA: Senior Special Assistant

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

This Report contains summaries of analysis and monitoring reports of projects in the 2024 Zonal Intervention Projects - “Constituency Projects” by partners, volunteers and associates of the Social Development Integrated Centre (Social Action). Organisations that supported the monitoring process included Niger Delta Budget and Citizens Platform; Action for Socio-Political and Economic Change (ASEC) Edo State; Delta Civil Rights Council (Asaba Unit); Ondo Budget Transparency and Accountability Platform (OBTAP); and Policy Alert, Uyo

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Special Appreciation goes to the projects monitoring team in the five states, namely, Osazee Edigin, Ehi Omokhomion, Bernard Osagie, Joy Edigbine, Stella Ikeokwu Nathaniel, Ekanem Ebong, Isaac Desmond Osuoka, Godwin Akinjirin, Olatunbosun

Ayodeji, Quadiri Salami, Mfon Gabriel, Dinah David, and Blessing Atunusha

Social Action's staff members, Anino Mercy Atsekurubu, Peter Mazzi, Ireju Abraham, Mercy Ejibendu supported the report development process.

This report is produced in the frame of the Strengthening Community Structures for Sustainable Engagements On Accountability, supported by the MacArthur Foundation.

The views contained in this publication are those of Social Action.

Executive Summary

This report provides an in-depth analysis of constituency projects, also known as Zonal Intervention Projects (ZIPs), in Nigeria, with a specific focus on the Niger Delta region. Introduced in 1999 to bring democratic dividends to the grassroots, these projects encompass various initiatives like infrastructure, healthcare, education, and rural electrification. However, their implementation has been marred by significant challenges, including a lack of transparency and accountability, resource mismanagement, corruption, and limited citizen participation.

The 2024 federal budget allocated N100 billion for ZIPs, a 19% increase from 2023. While the agricultural sector received the largest share, a critical concern is the vague project locations and the frequent misalignment of projects with the mandates of the implementing agencies. For instance, agricultural research institutes were allocated funds for electricity transformer repairs and solar street light installations.

Case studies from Rivers, Ondo, Edo, Delta, and Akwa Ibom states reveal similar issues. In Rivers State, despite significant allocations, some projects appear frivolous and misaligned. Ondo State also shows project misalignment, such as medical outreach funded through Budget and National Planning and palace construction under the Information sector. Edo State similarly exhibits discrepancies, with solar street lights under Water Resources and farming methods under Environment. Delta State mirrors these problems, with solar street lights under Agriculture and ICT centers under Special Duties. Akwa Ibom State also has solar

street lights under Science & Technology and a project located outside the state. Monitoring reports confirm instances of non-existent projects, incomplete work, and non-functional facilities across these states.

The report concludes with key recommendations to enhance the effectiveness of constituency projects, emphasizing the need for improved transparency, accountability, citizen participation, and stricter alignment of projects with sectoral mandates.

Findings and Key Recommendations

Findings:

- Vague Project Locations:** A significant issue identified in the 2024 Zonal Intervention Projects (ZIP) budget is the lack of specific locations for almost all projects. While the federal constituency is named, the exact community or area for project implementation is rarely provided. This ambiguity makes monitoring and accountability extremely difficult.
- Sectoral Misalignment:** Numerous projects are allocated to sectors or agencies that do not align with their core mandates. For instance, the Agricultural sector and its agencies are tasked with implementing electricity projects, including the repair of transformers and the installation of solar street lights. This misallocation extends to other sectors, with examples like ICT hubs under Agriculture and medical outreaches under Budget and National Planning.
- Frivolous and Non-Impactful Projects:** Some allocated projects appear to be of questionable impact or are disproportionately funded. Examples include a ₦40,000,000 drainage system and a

₦49,000,000 waterfront toilet in Rivers State. Similarly, the construction of palaces under the Information sector and motor parks under Science & Technology in Ondo State raise concerns about the strategic allocation of funds.

4. Poor Implementation and Abandonment: Monitoring reports from the surveyed states reveal a consistent pattern of incomplete, abandoned, or non-existent projects.

- **Ondo State:** Examples include a solar-powered borehole that stopped working after three weeks, no instructional materials supplied to schools despite allocation, and a solar borehole that was not sited anywhere in Oke-Okuta, Ondo City.
- **Edo State:** Reports show no renovation carried out on a primary healthcare center, a modern market store under construction since 2024 with no progress, a solar-powered borehole that only functioned after rain washed off dust, and no visible signs of road construction or dualization despite allocations.
- **Delta State:** Instances include a hostel still under construction, solar street lights attributed to state or NDDC projects rather than federal initiatives, a solar mini-grid not found in mentioned local governments, and empty poles for electrification without cables.

5. Lack of Transparency and Accountability: The report highlights a systemic issue of lack of transparency and accountability in the implementation of constituency projects, leading to allegations

of corruption and mismanagement of funds. This is further compounded by a lack of proper monitoring and evaluation mechanisms.

6. Limited Citizen Participation: Citizen groups have been largely alienated from the constituency project processes, from project nomination to budget allocation. This lack of participation means that projects often do not consider the actual needs and aspirations of the beneficiaries, contributing to a perception of projects as political handouts rather than impactful development.

KEY RECOMMENDATIONS:

- 1. Enhance Project Specificity and Location Tagging:** The budget details for constituency projects must include precise geographical locations (e.g., specific communities, streets, or landmarks) to facilitate effective monitoring and accountability. This will minimize the incidence of "ghost projects" and allow citizens to easily verify project implementation.
- 2. Ensure Strict Sectoral Alignment:** There should be a rigorous review process to ensure that projects are appropriately aligned with the mandates of the Ministries, Departments, and Agencies (MDAs) responsible for their implementation. Funds allocated for agricultural research should not be used for electricity projects, and vice versa. This will improve the efficiency and effectiveness of project delivery.
- 3. Prioritize Needs-Based Projects:** A more robust and transparent process for project nomination is needed, one that actively involves community members and reflects their actual needs and aspirations. This can be achieved through needs assessments and community consultations,

moving away from projects perceived as frivolous or misaligned with community development.

4. Strengthen Oversight and Monitoring Mechanisms: Legislative oversight needs to be significantly strengthened, moving beyond mere compliance to actual impact assessment. Independent monitoring and evaluation mechanisms, possibly involving Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and community representatives, should be institutionalized to track project progress, expenditure, and outcomes.

5. Promote Transparency and Accountability: Full disclosure of all project details, including contractors, timelines, and expenditure, should be made publicly accessible. Anti-corruption agencies should be empowered to investigate and prosecute cases of mismanagement and corruption in constituency projects without political interference.

6. Increase Citizen Participation and Engagement: Develop structured mechanisms for citizen participation in the entire project cycle, from identification and planning to monitoring and evaluation. This could include community development committees, public hearings, and feedback mechanisms, empowering citizens to hold their representatives accountable.

7. Capacity Building for Legislators and MDAs: Provide training for legislators and MDA staff on effective project planning, execution, monitoring, and evaluation, emphasizing transparency and accountability best practices.

BACKGROUND

Historical Context of Constituency Projects in Nigeria

The concept of constituency projects, also known as Zonal Intervention Projects, was first introduced during the early administration of former President Olusegun Obasanjo in 1999. The demand for these projects by the leadership of the National Assembly was born out of the need to cascade the dividend of democracy to the grassroots. Ever since then, Constituency projects have been a very important issue in Nigerian democracy. They have been a key aspect of the country's post-democratic governance landscape since the return to civilian rule in 1999, aimed at ensuring equity in the allocation of projects sited in the constituencies of state and federal lawmakers by various Ministries, Departments, and Agencies (MDAs) of government in the budgets of the federation or state.

Constituency projects are designed as a mechanism for lawmakers to address the specific needs of their constituencies.¹ These projects include a range of initiatives such as infrastructure development, healthcare services, educational facilities, and rural electrification. The establishment of these projects aimed to bridge the gap between government and the citizens, providing a channel for addressing local grievances and fostering community development. The idea, as envisioned by then President Olusegun Obasanjo, was to bring democracy closer to the people and let them feel the impact of their legislators. Constituency projects were created to ensure a minimum presence of government in every constituency by having

some grassroots projects sited in each during the budgeting process. This, however, represents an obvious departure from the traditional constitutional role of the legislature under the doctrine of separation of powers.

Initially, the implementation of constituency projects was framed within the context of fiscal federalism, where lawmakers were allocated funds to implement projects based on the socio-economic needs of their respective constituencies. Over the years, however, the modality and transparency of the process have come under scrutiny. While the aim was to empower local communities and facilitate grassroots development, some projects have been criticized for being poorly planned, underfunded, or ineffective, and funds mismanaged.

Development, Criticism, and Legislative Oversight

As constituency projects expanded throughout the 2000s, they became a focal point of both political influence and public criticism. While legislators utilized these projects to showcase their commitment to constituents, allegations of mismanagement and corruption frequently emerged. Many projects were reported as poorly executed or abandoned entirely, leading to widespread dissatisfaction among the public. To mitigate these issues, the National Assembly initiated oversight mechanisms to monitor project implementation. Nonetheless, the effectiveness of these oversight efforts varied, often falling short of addressing the underlying problems. The political landscape reflected a contrast where constituency projects served as a tool for political

1. <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/482770-constituency-projects-ngos-anti-graft-agencies-highlight-ways-to-ensure-transparency-accountability-in-budgeting-execution.html?tztc=1>

affirmation during elections while simultaneously being used to serve the interest (settlement) of political cronies, thereby revealing systemic weaknesses in governance.²

Since its inception in Nigeria, there have been various perceptions that constituency projects are a conduit pipe for legislators to siphon money because of their mode of operations over the years.³ Rather than focusing on their oversight function and strengthening constituency project implementation to impact the lives of the people of the region, legislators have been complacent in the entire processes, from budget allocations to lobbying for execution, which are direct interferences. The deviation of the legislature from its constitutional role of oversight has resulted in the level of endemic corruption that permeates the entire constituency projects idea. Over the years, several media reports have pointed out the effect of weak legislative oversights, politicization of projects and budget allocations, and endemic corruption as the bane of constituency project development in Nigeria. Constituency projects have been an avenue for lawmakers to take undue charge of these public projects and their funding as revealed by reports from anti-corruption agencies and CSOs.⁴

Challenges of Resource Mismanagement

Despite their potential benefits and the seemingly oversight role of the legislators, constituency projects continued to face significant challenges, particularly concerning resource mismanagement and

corruption. Project implementation processes, starting from procurement, contracts to execution, are plagued by issues such as inflated costs, ghost projects, or outright abandonment due to inadequate funding, lack of transparency, or poor oversight. Reports of embezzlement and misappropriation of funds have eroded public trust in governance, leading to skepticism about the effectiveness of these projects. In 2024, during a Policy Dialogue “The Role of the Private Sector in the Implementation of Constituency Projects in Nigeria”, Senator Opeyemi Bamidele affirmed that one of the greatest challenges facing constituency projects in Nigeria is the issue of lack of transparency and accountability.⁵ He further noted that “these projects are marked by allegations of corruption with funds misallocated or misused and projects left incomplete”.⁶ The lack of transparency and accountability in constituency projects implementation is heightened by the lack of proper monitoring and evaluation mechanisms which continue to hamper the ability to assess the actual impact of constituencies' projects. This is further compounded by what the EFCC described as conflict of interest. The EFCC noted that investigations by the commission revealed issues of conflict of interests involving some National Assembly members in the contract award and executions of some of the poorly executed and abandoned constituency projects that they have investigated.⁷ Consequently, the failure to hold stakeholders accountable can perpetuate a cycle of ineffective governance characterized by a disconnect between policy intentions and real-world outcomes.

Lack of citizens' participation in the whole constituency projects processes is a major

2. https://kijhus.kiu.ac.ug/assets/articles/1615653356_nigerian-legislature-and-administration-of-constituency-projects-in-nigeria-2015-%E2%80%932020.pdf

3. https://kijhus.kiu.ac.ug/assets/articles/1615653356_nigerian-legislature-and-administration-of-constituency-projects-in-nigeria-2015-%E2%80%932020.pdf

4. <https://punchng.com/constituency-projects-represent-impunity/>

5. <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2024/09/lack-of-transparency-accountability-challenges-facing-constituency-projects-senate-leader/>

6. <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2024/09/lack-of-transparency-accountability-challenges-facing-constituency-projects-senate-leader/>

7. Ibid.

challenge to the effectiveness of constituency project impact. Limited by lack of information on projects nomination to budget allocation, citizen groups have over the years been alienated from the process that was designed to impact their lives. In other words, yearly constituency projects planning and implementation does not consider the needs and aspiration of the beneficiaries. It is often seen by community people as a handout from benevolent politicians; hence, when any project is executed they are greatly celebrated, and when the projects are not executed, no one is held accountable. This situation continues to make the constituency projects idea a waste of resources. It is on this premise that citizen groups raise serious concerns over the perceived marginalization in the constituency processes.⁸ The problem of project implementation is occasioned by corruption, inadequate or absence of technical expertise on the part of contractors, poor project analysis, and political instability and environmental issues. The implication is that these projects have failed to achieve the desired objectives of positive impacts on the lives of constituents, because of either lopsided implementation or total failure. Constituency projects, hence, have been noted to drain scarce resources, deliver negligible benefits, and facilitate waste since their inception.⁹

Nigeria's Economic Outlook in 2023

Nigeria's economic outlook reflects a slowdown in growth, which decreased from 3.3% in 2022 to 2.9% in 2023, primarily due to high inflation and sluggish global economic performance, which fell from 3.5% to 3.2% during the same period. The growth was supported by the services and agriculture

sectors on the supply side, while consumption and investment drove demand. Inflation surged significantly, rising from 18.8% in 2022 to 24.5% in 2023, largely attributed to escalating fuel costs and a depreciating naira, with petrol prices skyrocketing by 167% within the year. The naira's exchange rate depreciated by 95.6% following its floating in June 2023, prompting a tightening of monetary policy, which saw the policy rate increase from 17.5% to 18.75% by December 2023. Although the fiscal deficit narrowed slightly from 5.4% to 5.1% of GDP, it was mainly financed through domestic borrowing, including from the Central Bank's Ways and Means. While public debt remained relatively low at 40% of GDP, the federal government's debt service to revenue ratio was worryingly high at 111%. The current account surplus improved from 0.2% to 0.9% of GDP, supported by higher oil prices, though international reserves fell from 6.6 months of import cover to 5 months amidst tight global financing conditions.

Nigeria's economic growth was projected to rebound to 3.2% in 2024 and 3.4% in 2025, driven by improved security, increased oil production, and stronger consumer demand. However, inflation rose to 31.6% in 2024 due to higher food prices and ongoing naira depreciation, before easing to 20.7% in 2025 as inflationary pressures subside. The fiscal deficit stood at 4.3% of GDP in 2024, bolstered by improvements in both oil and non-oil revenues. Nigeria's Current Account surplus accounted for 11.5% of the country's Nominal GDP in June 2024, compared with a 7.3% surplus in the previous quarter,¹⁰ thanks to increased oil exports. Nonetheless, the economy faces several headwinds, including insecurity, potential declines in oil production, rising fuel and food prices, and

8. Emma Acha, (2020, Feb), "NGO raises concern on constituency projects implementation in Enugu" Retrieved from, <https://nnn.com.ng/ngo-raises-concern-on-constituency-projects-implementation-in-enugu/>

9. <https://punchng.com/constituency-projects-represent-impunity/>

10. <https://www.ceicdata.com/en/indicator/nigeria/current-account-balance--of-nominal-gdp>

further depreciation of the naira. Conversely, the anticipated commencement of operations at the Dangote refinery is expected to alleviate energy prices by supplying the local market, presenting a potential tailwind for the economy.¹¹

However, the reality of the Nigerian economic situation in 2024 showed signs of positive growth, with the economy expanding by 2.98% in Q1 2024, surpassing the performance of all but one quarter in the previous year. This uptick in economic activity indicates that the adverse effects of energy and foreign exchange reforms, which contributed to sluggish growth in 2023, diminished.

Furthermore, stable business conditions, as reflected in the Purchasing Managers' Index (PMI) averaging 51.9, coupled with a recovery in the oil sector, are expected to further bolster economic growth. However, despite these encouraging indicators, the projected growth for the year is limited to around 3.1%, primarily due to sluggish household consumption as rising costs erode purchasing power and elevated interest rates posing significant risks to investment spending.¹² Consumer prices remained high during this period, with inflation reaching its peak at a record 34.19% in June 2024 before, although at some points, beginning to decline. The CBN also implemented a series of rate hikes, raising the policy rate by 800 basis points to 26.75% in an effort to control inflation. Nigeria's debt burden rose to 50.7 percent in October 2024 from 46.1 percent in the corresponding period of 2023, according to the IMF.¹³ The percentage of the Nigeria net debt burden to GDP rose from 46.1% in 2023 to 50.7% in 2024.

Tale of Massive Debt in the Face of Massive Budget Deficit

Nigeria's public debt continued to rise in the face of massive yearly budget deficit. Nigeria's public debt figure rose from N97.3 trillion in 2023 to N142.3 trillion as of September 2024.¹⁴ This represents a 46.2% increase in public debt burden. This increase can be felt in the skyrocketing rate of the nation's external and domestic debts. The external debt rose by 79.3% from N38.3 trillion in December 2023 to N68.8 trillion in September 2024. Similarly, domestic debt also rose by 24.1% in 2023 from N59.1 trillion to N73.4 trillion in September 2024.¹⁵ This shows massive reliance on external borrowing with severe implications on debt servicing.

Considering the DMO guideline for borrowing which stipulate a ratio of 40:60 borrowing framework, that is, external debt should not exceed 40% of the total public debt portfolio while domestic debt is pegged at 60%.¹⁶ However, available data from DMO shows that Nigeria has failed to comply with this guideline. Currently, external debt constitutes 48% of the total debt portfolio. The reason for this massive borrowing is not far-fetched. It is rooted in the nature of yearly bogus national budgets. Nigeria's national budget in 2023 was N21.8 trillion with an expected revenue of N10.4 trillion, leaving a deficit of N11.3 trillion.¹⁷ In 2024 the year's approved budget was N28.7 trillion while expected revenue was N19.6 trillion, leaving a budget deficit of N9.1 trillion, representing 31% of the budget to be borrowed.¹⁸

11. <https://www.afdb.org/en/countries-west-africa-nigeria/nigeria-economic-outlook>

12. <https://kpmg.com/ng/en/home/insights/2024/08/global-economic-outlook-nigeria.html>

13. <https://businessday.ng/business-economy/article/nigerias-51-debt-to-gdp-ratio-seen-falling-in-2025/>

14. <https://dmo.gov.ng/debt-profile/total-public-debt/5080-nigeria-s-total-public-debt-as-at-september-30-2024/file>

15. <https://dmo.gov.ng/debt-profile/total-public-debt/4591-nigeria-s-total-public-debt-stock-as-at-december-31-2023/file>

16. <https://www.dmo.gov.ng/1052-external-borrowing-guidelines-2008-2012/file>

17. https://budget.org/post_infographics/2023-approved-budget/#:::text=On%20January%203%2C%202023%2C%20President,trillion%20revenue%20and%20a%20N11.

18. <https://budget.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/05/2024-FG-Budget-Analysis-2.pdf>

NIGERIA ECONOMIC REFORMS

Removal of Subsidy

At the inauguration ceremony of the current administration, President Ahmed Tinubu, during his inaugural speech, announced the end to petroleum subsidy in Nigeria, leading to a significant hike in the price of petroleum motor spirit from about N175 in May 2023 to over N1000 in October 2024.¹⁹ This situation resulted in a massive hike in the prices of goods and services across the country, creating an unprecedented level of hardship for many Nigerians. Although the government argued that the removal of subsidy would help the government to mobilize enough resources to carry out government's business. Specifically, the argument was that the removal would improve the economy by increasing government revenue, reducing the budget deficit, and encouraging private sector investment. However, despite the realization of this agenda, there has been a significant leap in our yearly budget deficit and little or no improvement in the economy in real terms. In other words, the increase in revenue generation has not improved the standard of living of the people, which is the best measure of economic growth.

Unification of the Exchange Rate Regimes/Floating of the Naira

In June 2023, Nigeria's central bank abolished the country's multiple exchange rate system and effectively floated the naira currency.²⁰ In the new measures to collapse the exchange rate windows into one, the CBN put an end to subsidization of forex through the RT200 programme as well as the Naira4Dollar remittance scheme. It re-introduced the willing buyer, willing seller model where all foreign exchange transactions will be traded, determined by market forces.

19. <https://punchng.com/from-n175-to-n1030-how-pms-prices-skyrocketed-under-tinubu-as-petroleum-minister/>

20. <https://www.cbn.gov.ng/out/2023/ccd/operational%20changes%20to%20fx%20market.pdf>

THE 2024 BUDGET ANALYSIS



The Nigeria 2024 Budget, tagged 'Renewed Hope,' was presented in November 2023. The budget, as noted by the President, was targeted at cementing Nigeria's macro-economic stability, reducing the deficit, increasing capital spending, and allocation to reflect the eight priority areas of the Tinubuled Administration. A total of N27.5 trillion was initially proposed, with a projected revenue of N18.32 trillion and a deficit of N9.18 trillion. However, the total sum of N28.7 trillion was passed, with a revenue projection of N19.60 trillion and a deficit of N9.18 trillion.²¹ The approved budget was a N1.2 trillion increase from the proposed budget.

The approved budget has its actual revenue projection based on Federal government estimates: Oil revenue at N7.68 trillion, Government Owned Enterprises are expected to contribute N4.07 trillion, non-oil taxes are projected to be N3.52 trillion, independent revenue is set at N1.91 trillion, minerals and mining will account for N4.55 billion, while other revenue sources will bring in N1.13 trillion.²² The expenditure breakdown comprises a non-debt recurrent expenditure of N9.92 trillion, a capital expenditure of N7.72 trillion (exclusive of transfers), Debt service was planned to take up N8.25 trillion, a statutory transfer of N1.37 trillion, and a sinking fund of N243.66 billion. The 2024 budget was premised on the following

benchmarks: oil price benchmark of 77.96 US Dollars per barrel; daily oil production estimate of 1.78 million barrels per day; and Naira to US Dollar exchange rate of 750 naira per US Dollar for 2024.²³

The final approved budget signed by Mr. President shows some major increases in budget allocations. This includes budgetary allocation to the National Assembly, which was increased by 74% from the initial proposal of N197.93 billion to N344.85 billion. This, according to the lawmakers, was based on the reality of the high cost of living.²⁴ The lawmakers further raised statutory allocations to these following institutions: Niger-Delta Development Commission, Universal Basic Education Commission, National Assembly, Public Complaints Commission, Independent National Electoral Commission, National Human Rights Commission, North-East Development Commission, Basic Health Care Provision Fund, and National Agency for Science And Engineering Infrastructure from N1.38tn to N1.74tn. According to the information from the House of Representatives Federal Republic of Nigeria Order Paper, dated Saturday, December 30th, 2023, the change in statutory allocations are as follows: National Judicial Council N341.63bn (formerly N165bn), Niger-Delta Development Commission N338.93bn (formerly N324.85bn), Universal Basic Education Commission N263.04bn (formerly N251.47bn), National Assembly N344.85bn (formerly N197.93bn), Public Complaints Commission N14.46bn (formerly N13.69bn), Independent National Electoral Commission N40bn (formerly N40bn), National Human Rights Commission N5bn (formerly N5bn), North East Development Commission N131.84bn (formerly N126.94bn), Basic Healthcare Provision Fund N131.52bn

21. <https://statehouse.gov.ng/news/president-tinubus-2024-budget-presentation-at-the-joint-session-of-the-national-assembly-abuja/>
22. <https://fmino.gov.ng/the-facts-about-2024-budget/#:~:text=It%20is%20also%20important%20to,2%20Trillion.>
23. <https://statehouse.gov.ng/news/president-tinubus-2024-budget-presentation-at-the-joint-session-of-the-national-assembly-abuja/>
24. <https://punchng.com/president-signs-budget-as-nassembly-raises-lawmakers-allocation-to-n344bn/>

(formerly N125.74bn), and National Agency for Science and Engineering Infrastructure N131.52bn (formerly N125.74bn).

Overview of the 2024 Zonal Intervention/Constituency Projects

In the 2024 federal budget, the sum of N100 billion was provided for the Zonal Intervention Project (Constituency Projects). This amount represented a 19% increase from the approved allocation in 2023, which was N84.1 billion. The approved 2024 ZIP allocation was distributed among 36 MDAs/Sectors and subsectors. A further breakdown shows that the Agricultural sector got the highest allocation, N38 billion (38%), followed by Science and Technology with N12.6 billion. The Ministry of Labour, SGF, and Education got the next highest allocations of N9 billion, N7 billion, and N6 billion respectively. However, critical sectors of the economy such as Health got N1.8 billion, while the least allocation went to Arts, Culture, Creative Economy and the Ministry of Trade and Investment with N100 million allocations respectively.

A further breakdown of the projects shows that the N100 billion approved ZIP was allocated among some 1120 projects that include road constructions, provision of solar lights, provisions of transformers, renovation of primary health cares, training and empowerment, etc. While the projects cut across entire federal constituencies of the country, there are some key concerns from the ways the budget allocations were done. The first observable issue with the budget allocations is the vague locations of virtually all the projects. While the budget details provide the name of the constituency where

the projects are sited, it, however, fails to provide the details of the exact location or community where the project is to be sited. This scenario is prevalent in virtually all the projects. For instance, it's common to see a project like "Repair of some obsolete transformers in Anaocha/Njikoka/Dunukofia Federal Constituency, Anambra state", a project for which N49 million was allocated; there is no mention of any specific community where this project will be implemented. Another example is the "Construction of Solar Street Lights In Various Locations Of Ideato North & South Federal Constituency, Imo State" for which N33 million was allocated - another vague project. This same situation is prevalent throughout the list.

Another vague characteristic of the zonal intervention projects is the prevalence of non-alignment of projects with sectors. Throughout the ZIP list, there are over 409 projects allocated to the Agriculture sector, and to be implemented by some 20 agencies/institutions. However, a more detailed look at some of the projects revealed several project allocations that do not align with the mandates of some of these agencies. For instance, there are many projects that do not align with the focus or sector or for which they were allocated. An example of such is the "Repair of Some Obsolete Transformers in Anaocha/Njikoka/Dunukofia Federal Constituency, Anambra State" which was allocated to the Agriculture sector and to be implemented by the Agriculture Research Council of Nigeria. This raises concern over why it is a duty of an agricultural research institute to repair electricity transformers, something which should be the sole prerogative of the power sector players. There were several electricity projects allocated under Agriculture worth over N300 million. Other examples of unaligned projects include

"Construction of Worden Walkways in Dababilebu, Adoloseimo 2, Yoren All in Ilaje/Ese-Odo" for which N63.7 million was allocated under the Agricultural sector. Another one is the "provision of solar street light in Kugbanre, Agwobiri-Arogbo all in Ilaje/Ese-Odo" which was awarded under Agriculture. There are over fifty (50) solar power projects with budgetary allocations ranging from N40 million to N70 million totaling over N1 billion lumped under the Agricultural sector. There are also several instances of other non-aligned projects such as the construction of classrooms, supply of sewing machines, training of youth in filmmaking, and a non-specific "Strategic Training of Traditional leaders". Another funny allocation is the "Comprehensive

medical outreach in four local government area of the federal constituency" for which a whopping N11 million was allocated. All of these kinds of budgetary allocations brought into question the integrity of the ZIP. It further goes to show that funds are just allocated to sectors without considering the usefulness of such project(s) to the sector. In other words, projects and funds are allocated to sectors without aligning with the intended objective for the sector.

2024 Zonal Intervention Projects

ZIPs Budgetary Allocations:



Rivers State is one of the oil producing states in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. Between January and May 2024, Rivers state received the second highest federal allocations.²⁵ Rivers state also receives the 4th highest allocation of the 13% Derivatives given to the region.²⁶ In 2023, Rivers State ranked 3rd on the states internally generated revenue with N195.4billion after Lagos and FCT.²⁷ In 2024, the state's IGR rose significantly to N324billion, making it the second in the list of ranking.²⁸

Rivers State Constituency Allocation

The Rivers State Constituency project allocations amount to a total of N2.8billion Naira, focusing on various sectors including water resources, agriculture, education, health, and vocational training. Key projects include significant funding for agricultural empowerment initiatives across multiple federal constituencies, the construction of solar street lights, and the provision of vocational skills training for youths and women. Noteworthy allocations also include



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a major National Health Insurance Scheme initiative in the Rivers West Senatorial District and educational projects aimed at improving infrastructure and resources in local schools. These efforts reflect a comprehensive approach to enhancing productivity, health, and education in the region.

However, some allocations appear frivolous, such as 40,000,000 Naira for a drainage system in Port Harcourt and 49,000,000 Naira for constructing a waterfront toilet. These projects may seem less impactful compared to the broader aims of productivity and health improvements in the region.

25. <https://www.pulse.ng/articles/business/domestic/5-states-receive-the-highest-allocation-as-fg-shares-naira1013-trillion-2024072707443296336>

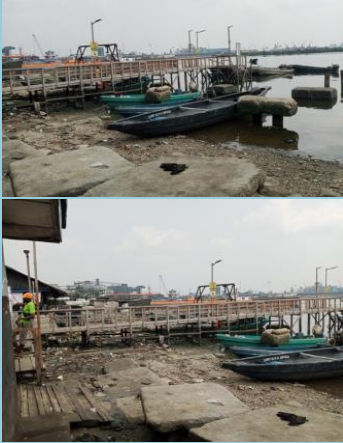


26. <https://www.thecable.ng/n113bn-for-delta-abia-got-n3bn-how-n341bn-derivation-fund-was-shared-in-six-months/>

27. <https://www.nigerianstat.gov.ng/elibrary/read/1241579>

28. <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/687737-rivers-internal-revenue-increases-by-100-per-cent-in-one-year-governor.html?tztc=1>

RIVERS STATE Monitoring Report

<p>Title</p> <p>Sector</p> <p>Amount in Budget</p> <p>Monitoring Report</p>	<p>Completion and furnishing of emergency care unit in Ahoada, Ahoada East Local Government Area of Rivers State.</p> <p>Health</p> <p>50,000,000</p> <p>We visited the hospital and met a staff who took us to the emergency unit and sadly no furnishing had been done. All available equipment /bets are in bad shape</p>	
<p>Title</p> <p>Sector</p> <p>Amount in Budget</p> <p>Monitoring Report</p>	<p>Provision of medical equipment in Degema General Hospital and Abonnema General Hospital in Rivers State.</p> <p>Science, Technology & Innovation</p> <p>100,000,000</p> <p>When we visited the General Hospital in Degema we were able to interview a staff who told us the condition of anonymity that they have not received any equipment from the Federal Government, that what they got were some malaria drugs from the Rivers State Government. And that of the Abonnema, it has been deserted and in an abandoned state no medical services at all. We were also informed that the place is not functional.</p>	
<p>Title</p> <p>Sector</p> <p>Amount in Budget</p> <p>Monitoring Report</p>	<p>Reconstruction and renovation of block of quarters, offices and classes at Degema National College.</p> <p>Office of the Secretary to the government of the federation</p> <p>200,000,000</p> <p>On visiting the school a renovated building was sited. We interviewed a teacher who took us round the school. We were told that the building is for the principal and the Vice Principal only. There is no other renovation going on classroom, and staff offices are still in bad condition.</p>	

<p>Title</p> <p>Sector</p> <p>Amount in Budget</p> <p>Monitoring Report</p>	<p>Construction of a landing Jetty in Abonnema Wharf to enable transportation of people and goods to Abiseke Elem Krama and Elem-Tombia in Rivers State.</p> <p>Science, Technology & Innovation</p> <p>100,000,000</p> <p>On visiting the Abonnema Wharf Jetty a makeshift wooden constructed Jetty was seen. we interviewed some transporters. They said the wooden Jetty was constructed by Boat owners(Transporters) and not the government.</p>	
<p>Title</p> <p>Sector</p> <p>Amount in Budget</p> <p>Monitoring Report</p>	<p>Construction of Internal roads in Eelenwo Obio/Akpor LGA, Rivers State.</p> <p>Work</p> <p>81,155,096.00</p> <p>Here in Eelenwo most Internal road are in a deplorable state some resident who spoke to us said the few road that are motorable were constructed 3 or 4 years ago. There is no road construction seen any where in the community.</p>	
<p>Title</p> <p>Sector</p> <p>Amount in Budget</p> <p>Monitoring Report</p>	<p>Construction of Women Hall for Odikirike Community, Obio/Akpor LGA, Rivers State.</p> <p>Women Affairs</p> <p>230,000,000.00</p> <p>There is no existence of this project any where in Obio/Akpor LGA, Rivers State. Further inquiry at the Local Government Secretariat shows confirmed no knowledge of such project.</p>	<p>Nil</p>
<p>Title</p> <p>Sector</p> <p>Amount in Budget</p> <p>Monitoring Report</p>	<p>Mgbuchi Town Hall</p> <p>Secretary to the Government of the Federation</p> <p>100,000,000.00</p> <p>The Mgbuchi Town Hall is in a bad shape, no renovation or construction work going on indigenes area not even aware of any project regarding a town hall in the community.</p>	

Title	Reconstruction of Kom-Kom Market in Oyigbo Federal Constituency
Sector	Agriculture
Amount in Budget	100,000,000
Monitoring Report	On visiting this project, we found out already completed reconstructed market shades some traders who spoke said it was completed by the end of December, 2024.



Title	Reconstruction of Ulakwa-Odagwa Road, Etche LGA, Rivers East Senatorial District
Sector	Science, Technology & Innovation
Amount in Budget	250,000,000
Monitoring Report	As at the time of visit to the site, work has been abandoned after some section of the road was graded. There was no equipment or workers on site, and we were informed by an indigene of that Community that the construction company left the site last year December, 2024.



Title	Procurement and Installation of Solar Street Light in Opiro, Etche LGA, Rivers East Senatorial District
Sector	Science, Technology & Innovation
Amount in Budget	50,000,000
Monitoring Report	Visit to the community revealed that street light have been installed in streets of Opiro Community. We were informed by a native of the community that the installation was completed in December, 2024





Ondo State, located in Nigeria's south-western region, is one of the country's oil-producing states. In the first half of 2023, the state received approximately ₦16.9 billion from the 13% derivation fund, ranking sixth among the nine oil-producing states.²⁹

In terms of Internally Generated Revenue (IGR), Ondo State recorded ₦41.5 billion in 2023, an increase from ₦32.6 billion in 2022. This growth reflects the state's efforts to enhance its revenue base.³⁰

Despite these improvements, Ondo State faces fiscal challenges. In the first half of 2024, the state's IGR was ₦16.1 billion, while its personnel costs amounted to ₦32 billion, indicating a significant reliance on federal allocations to meet its financial obligations.³¹

Ondo Constituency Projects Allocation:

The total project allocations for the Ondo Constituency amount to **₦1,967,000,000**, covering various sectors including Agriculture, Budget and National Planning, Education, Information, Labour, and Science & Technology. Agriculture received the highest allocation with **₦486,750,000**,

funding initiatives like solar street light construction and grants for women. Budget and National Planning received **₦289,000,000**, which involves projects like supplying laptops and medical outreach, though the latter's alignment with this sector is questionable. Education projects totaled **₦123,750,000**, while Information and Labour sectors accounted for **₦123,750,000** and **₦423,000,000**, respectively, with significant investments in integrated solar street lights as well as vocational training for unemployed youth. Science & Technology projects reached **₦351,250,000**, supporting health care refurbishment and solar borehole construction.

However, some projects appear misaligned with their respective sectors. For instance, the medical outreach in Delta North for which 52,000,000 was allocated, funded through the Budget and National Planning sector, is more relevant to health initiatives rather than fiscal planning. Similarly, the construction of palaces under the Information sector for which ₦100,000,000 was allocated does not fit typical communications objectives, and the provision of motor parks categorized under Science & Technology for which ₦123,750,000 was allocated leans more toward infrastructure development than technological advancement. These mismatches highlight the need for a more coherent alignment of projects with their designated sectors for effective resource allocation.





29. <https://www.thecable.ng/n180bn-for-delta-akwa-ibom-got-n130bn-how-six-month-n544bn-derivation-fund-was-shared>

30. https://www.ondobudget.org/materials/2023_Full-Year_Budget_Imp_Appraisal.pdf



31. <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/568846-how-we-spent-13-derivation-refund-ig-funds-ondo-govt.html>

ONDO

Budget Monitoring Report

<p>Title</p> <p>Sector</p> <p>Amount in Budget</p> <p>Monitoring Report</p>	<p>Provision of Intergrated 3-in-1 Solar Street Light in Aaua - Akungba Akoko, Ondo State</p> <p>Centre For Management Development</p> <p>100,000,000</p> <p>According to a Student, he said the street light has been useful during the night as also ease the educational process.</p>	<p>Photographs</p> 
<p>Title</p> <p>Sector</p> <p>Amount in Budget</p> <p>Monitoring Report</p>	<p>Construction Of Civic Centre In Oke-oka, Akoko, Ondo North Senatorial District, Ondo State</p> <p>Federal Ministry of Housing and Urban Development - Hqrts</p> <p>40,000,000</p> <p>The building is useful by the community for various activities like ceremonies and meetings.</p>	<p>Photographs</p> 
<p>Title</p> <p>Sector</p> <p>Amount in Budget</p> <p>Monitoring Report</p>	<p>Constructon Of 3 Rooms Classroom Block in Local Government Authority School (L. A Primary School), Ikare, Ondo State</p> <p>Universal Basic Education (UBE) Commission</p> <p>25,122,000</p> <p>There's a project of UBE which was built as far back as 2022 and one of the Principal Officer says there's was a proposed building by the UBE last year and since then, they never heard about it again.</p>	<p>Photographs</p> 
<p>Title</p> <p>Sector</p> <p>Amount in Budget</p> <p>Monitoring Report</p>	<p>Provision of Two (2) Nos Solar Powered Boreholes In Akunu Akoko North East LGA, Ondo State</p> <p>Federal Ministry Of Housing And Urban Development Hqrts</p> <p>30,000,000</p> <p>The water system was working very well not until 3 weeks ago, when it stops working and become abandoned.</p>	<p>Photographs</p> 

<p>Title</p> <p>Sector</p> <p>Amount in Budget</p> <p>Monitoring Report</p>	<p>Construction Of Two Classrooms In Community Secondary School, Akunu North East LGA, Ondo State</p> <p>federal Ministry Of Housing And Urban Development Hqrts</p> <p>25,000,000</p> <p>1. There's no school in Akunu with the name "Community Secondary School, Akunu", There's only "Akunnu Grammar School, Akunu" 2. There is no project from Federal Ministry of Housing And Urban Development Hqrts in Akunu Grammar School.</p>	<p>Photographs</p> <p>Nil</p>
<p>Title</p> <p>Sector</p> <p>Amount in Budget</p> <p>Monitoring Report</p>	<p>Construction of Ore, Ondo, Akure</p> <p>Federal Ministry of Works</p> <p>4,750,000</p> <p>Roads leading from Akure to Ondo down to Ore were sighted as constructed. Some parts of the road that were not fully dilapidated were patched up</p>	<p>Photographs</p> 
<p>Title</p> <p>Sector</p> <p>Amount in Budget</p> <p>Monitoring Report</p>	<p>Provision and Supply of Solar Powered Street Light In Odigbo And Ile-oluji/okeigbo LGA of Ondo South Senatorial District</p> <p>National Boundary Commission (NBC) Hqrts</p> <p>30,000,000</p> <p>The solar-powered streets in Odigbo and Ile-Oluji were visited at night to for the functionality of the lights and they were working optimally. One of the beneficiaries who preferred to remain anonymous said, "the street lights are quite useful as students to come out read with the illumination from the lights."</p>	<p>Photographs</p> 
<p>Title</p> <p>Sector</p> <p>Amount in Budget</p> <p>Monitoring Report</p>	<p>Provision of Instructional Materials to Primary and Secondary Schools in Ondo East/west, Ondo State</p> <p>National Institute for Education Planning & Administration</p> <p>150,000,000</p> <p>Primary and Secondary schools in Ondo east/West were visited and close interviews with head teachers and key stakeholders in the school who did not want their identities disclose their identities confirmed that no instructional materials have been supplied yet.</p>	<p>Photographs</p> <p>Nil</p>

<p>Title</p> <p>Sector</p> <p>Amount in Budget</p> <p>Monitoring Report</p>	<p>Design Of Dual Carriage Way Between Ore to Ondo and Ondo to Akure in Ondo Central Senatorial District, Ondo State</p> <p>Federal Ministry of Works</p> <p>250,000,000</p> <p>Two sites were visited namely; Ore/Ondo Road and Akure/Ondo Road. Road users were seen plying the road, hitch free. A road user who gave his as Mr. Tope acknowledged that the following the construction of the road, there has been a reduction in the rate of accidents that occur on the roads. He also added that a trip to Akure from Ondo town that used to span close to two hours due to traffic gridlocks orchestrated by bad roads, now takes only 45minutes for a good driver.</p>	<p>Photographs</p> 
<p>Title</p> <p>Sector</p> <p>Amount in Budget</p> <p>Monitoring Report</p>	<p>Provision of Solar Powered Borehole in Oke- Okuta, Ondo City</p> <p>BENIN/OWENA RBDA</p> <p>10,000,000</p> <p>The solar powered borehole was not sited anywhere in Oke-Okuta. Residents of the community reported that there was no such project in Oke-Okuta</p>	<p>Photographs</p> <p>Nil</p>
<p>Title</p> <p>Sector</p> <p>Amount in Budget</p> <p>Monitoring Report</p>	<p>Empowerment of Trader Women, Youth And Artisans In Ilaje/ese-odo Federal Constituency, Ondo State</p> <p>Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security</p> <p>100,000,000</p> <p>Empowerment of traders in Ilaje /Ese-Odo is yet to be carried out. It was gathered that names of traders were collect at a time but following that, nothing had been received. One of the youths who identified himself as Bada Temitope recounted, “ there was a time we were told to come submit our names empowerment, we were all excited, we submitted our names but till today, we are yet to see anything.</p>	<p>Photographs</p> <p>Nil</p>
<p>Title</p> <p>Sector</p> <p>Amount in Budget</p> <p>Monitoring Report</p>	<p>Installation of Solar Street Lights in Alagbaka Community of Akure, Ondo State</p> <p>Federal Ministry Of Agriculture and Food Security</p> <p>100,000,000</p> <p>The street lights were sighted around Alagbaka community in Akure. Effort was made to see the real condition of the street lights at night and they were all working well.</p>	<p>Photographs</p> 

Title	Supply Of Fertilizer To Farmers In Ifedore Lga, Ondo Central Senatorial District, Ondo State	<p>Photographs</p> <p>No pictures were taken as the distribution had already taken place in 2024.</p>
Sector	Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security	
Amount in Budget	30,000,000	
Monitoring Report	<p>Report showed that there was distribution of fertilizers to farmers in Ondo central during the third quarter of 2024. Some of the beneficiaries were traced to confirm the reality of that report and interestingly, they attested to it. Mr. Bamidele Badamosi, one of the farmers who only agreed to speak off records confirmed that the government did distribute fertilizers to farmers and that the gesture went along way to assist them in churning out better farm produce,</p>	



Edo State, also part of the Niger Delta region, recorded significant growth in its Internally Generated Revenue (IGR). In 2016, IGR was ₦23.64 billion, rising to ₦62.08 billion by 2023—a 40% increase from 2022's figure of 45.06 billion.³²

As of the 3rd quarter of 2024, the state had already generated ₦67.29 billion, surpassing its budgeted projection. The government aims to end 2024 with ₦85 billion in IGR.³³

In 2025, the Edo State Internal Revenue Service is targeting over 10 billion monthly IGR, leveraging tech-enabled tax collection and plugging fiscal leakages.³⁴

Edo Constituency Projects Allocations:

The Edo State constituency project allocations total ₦2,224,222,000 and primarily focus on Agriculture, with significant investments in training, supply of agricultural inputs, and installation of solar-powered infrastructure. Other sectors include Education, which received funding for classroom construction and educational

supplies totaling ₦396,000,000, and Information, which allocated ₦124,000,000 for youth empowerment programs against societal issues. Water Resources also received funding, including ₦300,000,000 for borehole projects, showcasing a comprehensive attempt to address community needs.

However, some projects appear misaligned with their designated sectors. For instance, the project listed under Water Resources for the installation of solar street lights in Ovia South West Federal Constituency, with a budget of ₦80,000,000, does not fit traditional water resource management objectives. Additionally, the training program in modern farming methods categorized under the Environment sector (₦90,000,000) may also be reconsidered, as it is closely related to Agriculture. Such discrepancies suggest a need for better alignment of projects with their intended sectors for enhanced effectiveness in resource allocation.





32. <https://eirs.gov.ng/obaseki-reforms-edo-igr-grows-by-n17bn-in-2023-hits-n62bn/>






33. <https://www.godwinobaseki.com/News/edo-records-370-percent-revenue-growth-in-8-years-to-close-at-n85bn-by-year>



34. <https://eirs.gov.ng/edo-irs-targets-n10bn-monthly-igr-in-2025/>

EDO

MONITORING REPORT

<p>Title</p> <p>Sector</p> <p>Amount in Budget</p> <p>Monitoring Report</p>	<p>Renovation Of Utoka Primary Healthcare Center Ovia North East LGA of Edo State</p> <p>Health</p> <p>35,000,000</p> <p>Official says there was no renovation carried out in 2024</p>	<p>Photographs</p> 
<p>Title</p> <p>Sector</p> <p>Amount in Budget</p> <p>Monitoring Report</p>	<p>Construction of a Modern Market Stores, Uzea Community of Esan North East LGA, Edo State</p> <p></p> <p>25,000,000</p> <p>Locals said it has been under the current stage since 2024</p>	<p>Photographs</p> 
<p>Title</p> <p>Sector</p> <p>Amount in Budget</p> <p>Monitoring Report</p>	<p>Construction of a Solar Powered Borehole at Elele Community, Edo North Senatorial District, Edo State</p> <p></p> <p>73,668,324</p> <p>It was gathered that project did not function until the rains in 2024 which washed off dusts from the solar panels believed to be the cause.</p>	<p>Photographs</p> 
<p>Title</p> <p>Sector</p> <p>Amount in Budget</p> <p>Monitoring Report</p>	<p>Reconstruction of Iduwele Girls Junior Secondary School, Esan West/esan Central/igubeben Fed. Const. Edo State</p> <p>Education</p> <p>50,000,000</p>	<p>Photographs</p> 

<p>Title</p> <p>Sector</p> <p>Amount in Budget</p> <p>Monitoring Report</p>	<p>Construction of Ongoing Erewele Street, Irrua, Esan Central Local Govt Area, Edo Central Senatorial District</p> <p>Road</p> <p>50,000,000</p> <p>There was no visible sign of construction of road.</p>	<p>Photographs</p> 
<p>Title</p> <p>Sector</p> <p>Amount in Budget</p> <p>Monitoring Report</p>	<p>Construction of Internal Roads in College of Medicine, Ambrose Alli University, Ekpoma, Edo State.</p> <p>Educationn</p> <p>232,000,000</p> <p>No Construction of Roads Have Commenced. Only Rough Grading of the Major Road in the College of Medicine was Visible and No Equipment On Site.</p>	<p>Photographs</p> 
<p>Title</p> <p>Sector</p> <p>Amount in Budget</p> <p>Monitoring Report</p>	<p>Completion Of Iruekpen Police Station, Esan West/Esan Central/Igubeben Fed. Const. Edo State</p> <p>Security</p> <p>50,000,000</p> <p>Building is yet to be completed.</p>	<p>Photographs</p> 
<p>Title</p> <p>Sector</p> <p>Amount in Budget</p> <p>Monitoring Report</p>	<p>Dualization of Main Access Road in Irrua, Edo State</p> <p>Road</p> <p>400,106,857</p> <p>No dualization process done or ongoing on road.</p>	<p>Photographs</p> 
<p>Title</p> <p>Sector</p> <p>Amount in Budget</p> <p>Monitoring Report</p>	<p>Supply and Installation of 500KVA Transformers at Iguobazuwa, Ovia Fed Constituency of Edo State</p> <p>Energy</p> <p>20,000,000</p> <p>Transformer was installed and put to use by the villagers.</p>	<p>Photographs</p> 

Title	Solar Street Lights, Obasogie Street In Oredo Federal Constituency	
Sector	Energy	
Amount in Budget	50,000,000	
Monitoring Report	The locals reported that, the local government council councillor in the ward claimed that the project was executed by the council. One of the lights is not waorking from the day of installation.	
Title	Repair of failed Section of the Carriageway, Along Akpakpava Road From Ewa Road Junction-Ramat Park In Benin City, Edo State.	
Sector	Road	
Amount in Budget	50,000,000	
Monitoring Report	No visible repairs seen.	



Delta State remains a key oil-producing state in Nigeria. In 2023, it generated 114.08 billion in IGR, comprising 90.91 billion from taxes and 23.17 billion from Ministries, Departments, and Agencies (MDAs), reflecting a 32.8% rise from 2022's 85.9 billion.³⁵ In the first half of 2024, the state received a total revenue of 626.8 billion, which includes allocations from FAAC, IGR, and other sources. This represented 86.5% of its revenue target of 724.9 billion for the year.³⁶

Delta State Constituency Projects Allocations:

The Delta State constituency project allocations amount to 1,884,000,000, with significant investment in Agriculture, Education, and Special Duties. Agriculture

projects, which include the construction of solar-powered street lights, training for youths and women, and the supply of boats, attract notable funding of 817,000,000. Education sector projects also receive substantial attention, with 426,000,000 allocated for initiatives such as providing classroom furniture and skill acquisition training. Additionally, initiatives under Petroleum and Special Duties focus on training and equipping young individuals in ICT, further diversifying the community support offered.

However, there are several unaligned projects within these allocations. For instance, the construction and installation of solar street lights (113,000,000) categorized under Agriculture may be more fitting within the Infrastructure or Energy sectors. Similarly, the establishment of ICT centers (125,000,000) is placed under Special Duties but closely relates to educational initiatives. Additionally, the medical outreach project (50,000,000) designated under Health could be more appropriately categorized under Social Services or Health initiatives. Such misalignments reveal the need for clearer project categorization to enhance the effectiveness of resource distribution in Delta State.

DELTA STATE MONITORING REPORT

Title	Construction of 50 Rooms First Phase Hostel For Sub-Degree Directorate, Federal University of Petroleum Resources (Fupre) in Uvwie LGA of Delta Central Senatorial District, Delta State.
Sector	Federal Ministry of Education
Amount in Budget	200,000,000
Monitoring Report	12 Rooms, 50 Bed Space, Still Under Construction



35. <https://nairametrics.com/2024/10/29/top-10-states-with-the-highest-internally-generated-revenue-in-2023/>

36. <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/729870-gov-oborewori-gets-n626-8b-as-revenue-in-first-half-of-2024-report.html>

<p>Title</p> <p>Sector</p> <p>Amount in Budget</p> <p>Monitoring Report</p>	<p>Provision And Installation of Solar Street Lights In Okpe/Sapele/Uvwie Federal Constituency Delta Central</p> <p>Federal Ministry of Science Technology and Innovation</p> <p>50,000,000</p> <p>Solar Street Lights Seen are that of Nddc, and Delta State Project Respectively</p>	<p>Photographs</p> 
<p>Title</p> <p>Sector</p> <p>Amount in Budget</p> <p>Monitoring Report</p>	<p>Construction of One block of three Classrooms With Furnishing In Obi- Ayagha Secondary School, Obi- Ayagha, Ughelli South LGA, Delta Central</p> <p>Federal Ministry of Science Technology and Innovation</p> <p>50,000,000</p> <p>Site Visited And Work Still In Progress</p>	<p>Photographs</p> 
<p>Title</p> <p>Sector</p> <p>Amount in Budget</p> <p>Monitoring Report</p>	<p>Construction and Installation of Renewable All -In- One Solar Street Lights In Ughelli North/Ughelli South/ Udu Federal Constituency of Delta State.</p> <p>Federal Ministry of Power</p> <p>148,777,955</p> <p>Construction and Installation of Solar Street Lights Were Seen In Afisere Market To Oshegu Street Junction, Ogbekpokpo Quarters In Ughelli North, Also St. Patrick Catholic Church Link Road, Bokpovwe In Otor Okwagbe , Ughelli South. Udu Nil. Two Persons Were Interviewed In Ughelli North And South Respectively, They All Expressed Their Heart Felt Gratitude To The Federal Government, Narrating How The Solar Light Have Been Of Great Help To Them</p>	<p>Photographs</p> 
<p>Title</p> <p>Sector</p> <p>Amount in Budget</p> <p>Monitoring Report</p>	<p>Supply of Transformers and Electrification of Various Communities In Ughelli North/Ughelli South/Udu Federal Constituency of Delta State.</p> <p>Federal Ministry of Power</p> <p>148,777,955</p> <p>Two Sites Found In Ughelli North, Transformers Not Yet Installed, Ughelli South-Nil, Udu- Nil</p>	<p>Photographs</p> 

<p>Title</p> <p>Sector</p> <p>Amount in Budget</p> <p>Monitoring Report</p>	<p>95 Emergency Repairs Of Enuto- Emede Road, Isoko South, Delta South Senatorial District, Delta State</p> <p>Federal Ministry of Agriculture, and Food Security</p> <p>100,000,000</p> <p>No repair done as at the time of this exercise</p>	<p>Photographs</p> 
<p>Title</p> <p>Sector</p> <p>Amount in Budget</p> <p>Monitoring Report</p>	<p>Electrification of Irri to Aviara Communities in Isoko South LGA Delta State Senatorial District, Delta State</p> <p>Sector -Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security</p> <p>100,000,000</p> <p>Monitoring Report- Empty Poles seen at various interval, without cables or wires. A community resident residing at Irri was interviewed, he hinted that the contract has been halted for months, he also pleaded with the government look into the subject matter.</p>	<p>Photographs</p> 
<p>Title</p> <p>Sector</p> <p>Amount in Budget</p> <p>Monitoring Report</p>	<p>Title -Rehabilitation of Onicha - Uku General Hospital, Delta State</p> <p>Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security</p> <p>100,000,000</p> <p>Monitoring Report- The buildings were all painted, some amenities(toilet and bathroom) were either repaired or replaced, solar and inverter were provided for steady light. The M.D was interviewed, he expressed his profound gratitude to the government, he also pleaded with the government to same vain provide means for water supply.</p>	<p>Photographs</p> 
<p>Title</p> <p>Sector</p> <p>Amount in Budget</p> <p>Monitoring Report</p>	<p>430 Construction of Farm Roads in Onicha- Ukwu Delta State</p> <p>Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security</p> <p>100,000,000</p> <p>No Farm Road seen</p>	<p>Photographs</p> <p>Nil</p>

Title	Renovation And Equipping of Emede Primary Health Care Center, Isoko South Lga, Delta South Senatorial District Delta State
Sector	Federal Ministry of Women Affairs
Amount in Budget	100,000,000
Monitoring Report	Monitoring Report - Fully equipped and renovated. A community staff was interviewed who applauded the government for job well done





Akwa Ibom is one of Nigeria's leading oil-producing states in the Niger Delta region. In 2023, the state generated ₦43.18 billion as Internally Generated Revenue (IGR), a 24% increase from ₦34.81 billion in 2022.³⁷

For the 2024 fiscal year, the state government projected a recurrent revenue of 561 billion, including 60 billion from IGR, ₦280 billion from derivation revenue, and ₦51 billion from 13% derivation arrears.³⁸ The Akwa Ibom Internal Revenue Service also set a revenue target of ₦60 billion in 2024 and is implementing strategies such as digitization of tax processes and geographic information systems to achieve this goal.³⁹

Akwa Ibom Constituency Projects Allocations:

The Akwa Ibom constituency project allocations total **₦5,666,000,000**, with significant funding directed towards initiatives in Science & Technology, Special Duties, and Water Resources. Key projects in the Science & Tech sector include the

provision of solar street lights (₦50,000,000) and training for youths and women on agricultural inputs (₦50,000,000). Additionally, the allocation of ₦222,000,000 for modern school equipment signifies a strong commitment to improving education within the Akwa Ibom North East Senatorial District. Projects under Special Duties, including the rehabilitation of village halls and grading of rural roads, also reflect a focus on enhancing community infrastructure.

However, there are notable misalignments in the project categorizations. For instance, the provision of solar street lights in the Abak/Etim Ekpo/Ika Federal Constituency (₦50,000,000) and the installation of street lights in the Ikot Ekpene/Essien Udim/Ubot Akara area (also ₦50,000,000) would be better classified under an Infrastructure or Energy sector rather than Science & Tech. Furthermore, the replacement of transformers in the Ethiope East district (₦100,000,000) appears to misalign with the Akwa Ibom allocations, as it refers to a project located outside Akwa Ibom State. These discrepancies highlight the importance of ensuring projects are accurately categorized to enhance clarity and effectiveness in resource allocation

37. <https://nairametrics.com/2024/10/29/top-10-states-with-the-highest-internally-generated-revenue-in-2023/>

38. <https://msd.akwaibomstate.gov.ng/2023/11/22/being-the-address-by-his-excellency-pastor-umo-eno-governor-akwa-ibom-state-at-the-presentation-of-the-2024-budget-proposals-to-akwa-ibom-state-house-of-assembly-uyo-21st-november-2023/>

39. <https://www.akirs.ak.gov.ng/news-detail/akirs-ends-strategy-session-targets-n60-billion-in-2024>

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<p>Title</p> <p>Sector</p> <p>Amount in Budget</p> <p>Monitoring Report</p>	<p>State the title of the particular project the exact same way it is mentioned in the budget. CONSTRUCTION OF INTENSIVE CARE UNIT MERCY HOSPITAL IN ABAK</p> <p>Health</p> <p>N500 Million</p> <p>Project is ongoing. The secretary of mercy hospital Abak said the project will help the community especially those who are sick and critically ill. It will add to other units of the hospital</p>	
<p>Title</p> <p>Sector</p> <p>Amount in Budget</p> <p>Monitoring Report</p>	<p>Construction of press steel water tank in Essene, Ikot Abasi LGA, Ikot Unya, Mkpato Enin LGA; Ikot Abasi/Mkpato Enin/Eastern Obolo Federal Constituency, Akwa Ibom state.</p> <p>WASH</p> <p>N80 Million</p> <p>Project is completed, but not according to specification. Budget document specified press steel water tank, but what was provided was plastic geepee tank. A community person said it is a good development. provide at least 2 good photographs that are usable in the report.</p>	
<p>Title</p> <p>Sector</p> <p>Amount in Budget</p> <p>Monitoring Report</p>	<p>Reactivation of electricity in parts of Okon Eket, Akwa Ibom South Senatorial District.</p> <p>Power Sector</p> <p>N100 Million</p> <p>Project is completed, this part of Okon Eket (Ikot Obio Anana) do not have power up until 2024, but now has power. A new transformer was provided with some wiring. But the amount released is much compared to the work on ground. Community person said the power has helped alot in charging phone, pumping water, and help small and micro businesses around the community.</p>	

<p>Title</p> <p>Sector</p> <p>Amount in Budget</p> <p>Monitoring Report</p>	<p>Renovation of Assembly Hall of Demonstration Primary School, Afaha Nsit, Nsit Ibom LGA In Etinan Federal Constituency, Akwa Ibom State.</p> <p>Education</p> <p>N35 Million</p> <p>Project not implemented at all. Assembly hall remained dilapidated, ceiling, doors and windows all gone; broken floors and old dirty walls.</p>	
<p>Title</p> <p>Sector</p> <p>Amount in Budget</p> <p>Monitoring Report</p>	<p>Solar Streetlights in Nkana in Etinang LGA, Akwa Ibom State</p> <p>Power</p> <p>N30 Million</p> <p>Project complemented. Project sited at the law makers community, with the sole aim of providing street lights to his community residents in Nkana. Project has brighten the street leading to the law makers home, especially at night.</p>	
<p>Title</p> <p>Sector</p> <p>Amount in Budget</p> <p>Monitoring Report</p>	<p>Construction And Furnishing Of 500 Capacity Civic Centre At Esin Ufot In Oron/ Mbo/okobo /udung Uko/urueoffong Oruko Federal Constituency, Akwa Ibom State.</p> <p>Infrastructure/Social Development</p> <p>N150 Million</p> <p>Project ongoing and near completion</p>	
<p>Title</p> <p>Sector</p> <p>Amount in Budget</p> <p>Monitoring Report</p>	<p>Construction and Furnishing of Youth Development Center in Oron LGA in Oron/ Mbo/Okobo/Udung Uko/Urueoffong Oruko Federal Constituency, Akwa Ibom State (new)</p> <p>Infrastructure/Social Development</p> <p>N148.7 Million</p> <p>Completed, furnished and equipped with computers.</p>	

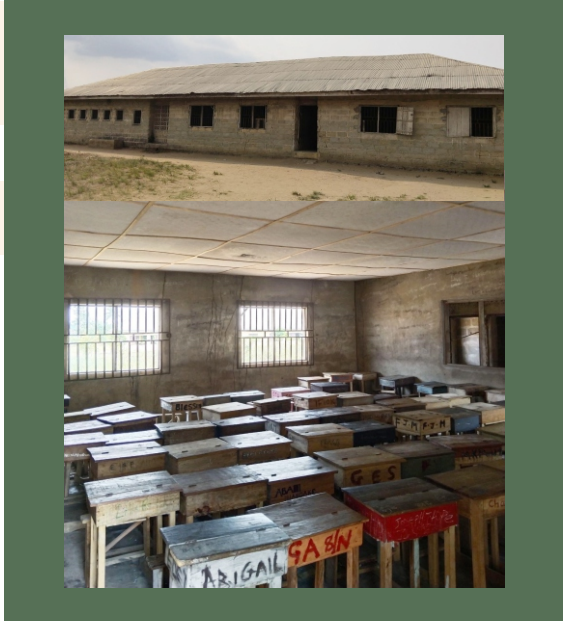
Title	Erosion control in Ekeya, Akwa Ibom South Senatorial District, Akwa Ibom State
Sector	Infrastructure/Social Development
Amount in Budget	N250 Million
Monitoring Report	Contractors have only been to the site once, since november 2024, they claimed to have gone onbreak and have not resumed. The erosion/ravine has divided the community in to two, and many houses around are under threat to fall and be buried in the rubble.



Title	Construction of Civic Centre, Peremeter Fence and Landscaping at Nsit Atai Civic Centre, Odot, Nsit Atai L.G.A, Akwa Ibom State (new) -N200,000,000
Sector	Infrastructure/Social Development
Amount in Budget	N200 Million
Monitoring Report	Project is ongoing. It is an expansion of a previous attempt to construct a civic centre for the whole of Nsit Atai LGA. Much work still need to be done, roofing, plastering, ceiling, perimeter fence and even lanscaping of the project site. Community person said disagrrreement between the lawmaker and the executive chairman hinder the progress of the project. But it has been sought.



Title	Renovation of Classroom Block In Itam, Itu LGA, Itu/Ibiono Ibom Federal Constituency, Akwa Ibom State.
Sector	Education
Amount in Budget	N15 Million
Monitoring Report	Project is completed. The only renovation we saw was the fixing of ceiling in all classes of jss1 block in west itam secondary school, ekit itam ii, itu lga of akwa ibom state. The windows of some of the classes have been removed, but there are still protectors. The walls are not plastered or painted. A section of the roof is already going off. There is need for comprehensive renovation of this block.



CONCLUSION

Constituency projects in Nigeria, despite their noble intention to deliver democratic dividends to the grassroots, have largely failed to achieve their desired objectives due to systemic issues of opaque planning, widespread corruption, resource mismanagement, and weak oversight. The pervasive lack of transparency in project locations, the frequent misalignment of projects with the mandates of implementing agencies, and the limited involvement of citizens in the entire process have rendered many initiatives ineffective, draining scarce public resources with negligible benefits to the intended beneficiaries.

The monitoring reports from Rivers, Ondo, Edo, Delta, and Akwa Ibom states unequivocally highlight a pattern of uncompleted, abandoned, or non-existent projects, further eroding public trust and hindering genuine development. The current

approach to constituency projects often serves as a tool for political gain rather than a mechanism for community empowerment, perpetuating a cycle of ineffective governance.

To truly realize the potential of constituency projects as a vehicle for grassroots development, fundamental reforms are imperative. These reforms must focus on instilling radical transparency, ensuring strict accountability, fostering genuine citizen participation, and mandating a rigorous alignment of projects with clearly defined sectoral objectives. Without these crucial changes, constituency projects will continue to be a conduit for resource wastage and a symbol of disconnect between policy intentions and real-world outcomes in Nigeria.

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*A publication of Social Development Integrated Centre
(Social Action), 2025
www.saction.org*

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