

INCUMBENT & PREDECESSOR: Completing Project & Sharing Ideas

Presented by:

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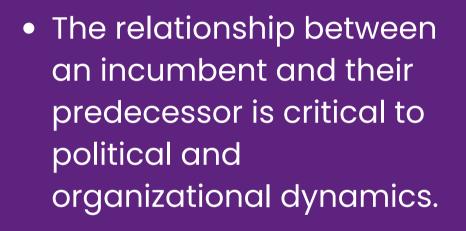


• Incumbent and Predecessor: Theoretical

• Incumbent and Predecessor: **Empirical Evidence of Changes in Political Parties, Governors and Terms**

• Summary and Recommendations

Introduction





 Additionally, this dynamic plays a crucial role in the completion of projects, as the transition between leaders can either facilitate or hinder progress.

2

 This relationship can significantly influence decision-making, strategic direction, and the overall effectiveness of leadership.



 This presentation offers a perspective on how past leadership informs current practices and how collaborative or divergent approaches can impact the realization of goals.

Incumbent and Predecessor: Completing projects

- Succession is a process during which predecessors gradually decrease their involvement in organizational activities while the incumbent increases theirs.
- It is assumed that once the transfer of responsibility and authority is complete, the predecessor quickly and quietly fades away from the picture.
- - impacting the institution.
- Government projects, especially large-scale infrastructure, education, or health programs, often span multiple years and may be initiated by one administration and completed by another.
- When the incumbents collaborate with their predecessors, it ensures that these projects do not face unnecessary delays or abandonment, thus maintaining the continuity of public service delivery.
- Collaboration can help align short-term actions with long-term goals, allowing for idea sharing and ensuring that projects contribute to a broader vision for the country, state or region.

• Although this view of succession may be true for some states and countries, anecdotal evidence indicates that this is not the case for the majority, where there are ongoing and overlapping political and leadership relations.

• Caykoylu (2013) shows that post-succession predecessor and incumbent interactions do not end with the transfer of title, authority and/or responsibility from one to the other.

• Instead, it continues in various shapes and forms, affecting predecessor-successor relationships and

Incumbent and Predecessor: Sharing Ideas

- The mere presence of the predecessor could provide assurances to the public that a qualified backup is ready to support the incumbent.
- Predecessors may take on advisory roles, and their guidance can help incumbents avoid pitfalls and leverage existing resources effectively.
- Predecessors often possess valuable insights and institutional knowledge about projects, challenges, and stakeholder relationships that may not be documented.
- Sharing ideas can therefore ensure that effective policies and initiatives continue, promoting stability and consistency in governance.



• During the transition period, predecessors often help prepare incumbents by sharing knowledge about ongoing projects and pressing issues through scheduled discussions where both parties can share insights, challenges, and strategies related to governance.

Governors and Political Parties: (1999-2024)

State/Year	1999 2000 2001 2002 2003H1	2003H2 2004 2005H1 2005H2 2006H1	2006H2 2007H1	2007H2 2008H1 2008H2 2009H1 2009H2 2010H1	2010H2 2011H1	2011H2 2012H1 2012H2	2012H2 2013 2014H1 2014H2 2015H1	2015H2 2016H1	2016H2 2017H1 2017H2	2018H2 2018H2 2019H1	2019H2 2020H1	2020H2 2021	2022H1 2022H2	2023H1	2023H2 2024
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Kaduna	Ahmed Makarfi		Mohammed Namadi	Patrick Yakowa Mukhtar Ramalan			Nasiru Ahmed El-Rufai				Uba Sani				
Kano	Rabiu Musa		Ibrahim Sh					Abdullah			_		Abba Kabir Yusuf		
Katsina	Umaru Musa Yar'Adua		Ibrahim Shema					Bello M				Dikko Umar Radda			
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Kogi	Abubakar Audu		Ibra	ahim Idris	Idris Wada			Yahaya Bello				Usman Dodo			
Kwara	Mohammed Lawal		Bukola S	araki			tah Ahme				dulrazaq Abdulrahman				
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Nasarawa		Abdullahi Adamu				co Al-Makura		Abdu	llahi Sule						
Niger		Abdulkadir Kure			Mu'azu Babangida Aliyu		Abubakar Sani Bello		_		Mohammed Umar				
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Plateau	Joshua Dariye		Jonah David Jang			Simon Bako Lalong				Caleb mutfwang					
Rivers	Peter Odili		Chibuike Amaechi				Ezenwo Wike				Siminalayi Fubara				
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Yobe	Bukar Ibrahim		Mamman Bello Ibrahim Gaidam						Mai Mala Buni						
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Nigeria has a long history of Predecessors, **Successors** and Incumbents

KE	YS
PDP	
APC	
APGA	
LP	
ANPP	
APP	
AD	
PPA	
NNPP	

INCUMBENT AND PREDECESSOR RELATIONSHIP: FRAMEWORKS AND PRACTICES

Incumbent and Predecessor: Theoretical Frameworks

 Some frameworks provide insight into how incumbents navigate the legacies of their predecessors, balancing the need for innovation with the desire to maintain stability.

01

 Continuity Theory of Succession

03

• Partisan Identity Theory

02

 Accountability theory/Political scapegoating/Bl ame-shifting

04

 Alesina and Tabellini Theory

Theories and Relatable Scenarios: Continuity Theory of Succession

• The incumbent inherits pre-existing treaties, regardless of the predecessor's existence. They often build on these policies, reinforcing legitimacy through achievements.

s/N	Projects/Scenarios
	The incumbent administration completed the Ultra-Modern Bus Terminal in A initiated by Kayode Fayemi. Press Release: Government of Ekiti State, Nigeri (September 6, 2023)
2.	Completion of Tsokundi road, Yerima to Gassol; Lot 3 project of Kurmi Marra Baissa-Abong road are all continued projects by the incumbent administrati AIT. June 25, 2022
	The incumbent administration completed the Agro-Cargo airport that was ir conceived by former Governor Gbenga Daniel. Premium Times Nigeria. 24 A 2024.
4.	The incumbent administration completed the construction of dualization of Fanisau-Unity Roundabout 11.5 kilometers road in Dutse. Arise News. 12 June,
5	The incumbent governor completed the Panseke-Adigbe road and Kuto brid the State Capital. Independent News. 8 Jan, 2023.

	States	Governors
Ado-Ekiti 'ia.	Ekiti	Kayode Fayemi (APC) vs Biodun Oyebanji (APC)
araba- tion.	Taraba	Darius Ishaku (PDP) vs Agbu Kefas (PDP)
initially April,	Ogun	Gbenga Daniel (PDP) vs Dapo Abiodun (APC)
e, 2024	Jigawa	Badaru Abubakar (APC) vs Umar Namadi (APC)
dge in	Ogun	Ibikunle Amosun (APC) vs Dapo Abiodun (APC)

Theories and Relatable Scenarios: Accountability theory/Political scapegoating/Blame-shifting

- Incumbent leaders often blame their predecessors for economic or political issues, deflecting criticism and rallying support.
- This can also involve scrutinizing previous leaders' actions to assess the current leader's performance.

s/N	Projects/Scenarios
1.	Infrastructure deficits and road maintenance issues, with Abiodun pointing to the lack of investment during previous tenures as a reason for current challenges. BusinessDay, 9th July, 2024
2.	The predecessor governor, appointed eight civil servants to the position of permanent secretary in the twilight of his eight-year tenure. Governor Seyi Makinde reversed the promotion of all the new permanent secretaries in the Stat civil service. Punch Newspaper. 31st May 2019.
3.	Widespread corruption allegations and governance issues, with Uzodinma frequently citing his predecessor's governance failures as justification for his policies and reforms. Channels. August 22, 2024.
4.	Current economic challenges, including unemployment and poverty, were often linked to the policies of Ganduje, leading to criticism from various stakeholders. Daily Post. July 19, 2024.
5	Oborevwori has scrutinized Okowa's previous policies, pointing to ongoing economic issues as evidence of the need for his own approaches. Vanguard. November 12, 2022.

	States	Governors		
ne	Ogun	Ibikunle Amosun (APC) vs Dapo Abiodun (APC)		
ite	Оуо	Abiola Ajimobi (APC) vs Seyi Makinde(PDP)		
	Imo	Rochas Anayo Okorocha (APC) vs Hope Uzodinma (APC)		
١	Kano	Abdullahi Umar Ganduje (APC) vs Abba Kabir Yusuf (NNPP)		
	Delta	lfeanyi Okowa (PDP) vs Francis Oborevwori (PDP)		

Theories and Relatable Scenarios: Partisan Identity Theory

• This theory explores how political identity and party affiliation shape the relationship between incumbents and predecessors. Incumbents may adopt or reject previous policies based on party alignment.

s/N	Projects/Scenarios				
1.	 The incumbent governor directed all the 23 local government caretaker chai state and those aspiring to be councilors to contest the forthcoming local go elections on the platform of the All People's Party (APP). 				
1.	 The APP, previously an unknown party in the region, is now gaining considera backed by the incumbent governor and the incumbent local government ch ThisDay. 4th October, 2024. 				
2.	 Obaseki accused the predecessor of disrupting Edo state's decision-making leading to his resignation from the All-Progressives Congress and his deputy Shaibu, following suit. Premium Times. September 20, 2024. 				
3.	 The incumbent administration inherited 26 ongoing road projects covering a kilometers across the state expending over N25 billion. PM News. 1st June, 20 				
4.	 Mbah has emphasized continuing the PDP's agenda, focusing on policies ester Ugwuanyi. Premium Times. October 3, 2024. 				
5	 The incumbent administration settled a total sum of N130 billion of the N465 I inherited debt from previous administrations in the state. ThisDay. 4th Octob 				

	States	Governors			
irmen in the overnment		Nyesom Wike (PDP) vs			
able traction, nairmen.	Rivers	Siminalayi Fubara (PDP)			
y process, y, Philip	Edo	Adams Oshiomhole (APC) vs Godwin Obaseki (PDP)			
about 340 024.	Jigawa	Badaru Abubakar (APC) vs Umar Namadi (APC)			
tablished by	Enugu	Ifeanyi Ugwuanyi (PDP) vs Peter Mbah (PDP)			
billion ber, 2024.	Delta	lfeanyi Okowa (PDP) vs Sheriff Oborevwori (PDP)			

Theories and Relatable Scenarios: Alesina and Tabellini Theory

- The theory highlights how a predecessor may accumulate debt strategically to constrain future governments, especially if a rival is expected to take power, thereby limiting their ability to implement policies effectively and potentially influencing future elections.
- The level of debt accumulation is larger the larger is the degree of polarisation between alternating governments and the less likely it is that the current government will be re-elected.

S	/N	Projects/Scenarios				
	1.	Hyacinth Alia administration inherited a debt of N359 billion, from Predecessor Vanguard. 4th October 2024.				
	2.	Incumbent revealed that his predecessor, Darius Ishaku, left an empty treasury when he assumed office. ThisDay. 4th October 2024.				
	3.	The incumbent governor inherited a huge debt burden from El-Rufai's adminis Channels. March 30, 2024.				
	4.	The incumbent governor accused the former governor of misappropriating N5 in state funds. He said he inherited an empty treasury from his predecessor, ar was a backlog of salaries for four months. Vanguard. 4th October 2024.				
	5	The incumbent revealed that his predecessor, Bindow left a backlog of pension gratuity to the tune of N28 billion and also a debt of about N120 billion, The adr claimed to have used the money for road construction across the state. ThisD May, 2019				

	States	Governors		
r.	Benue	Samuel Ortom (PDP) vs Hyacinth Alia (APC)		
ry to him	Taraba	Darius Ishaku (PDP) vs Agbu Kefas (PDP)		
stration.	Kaduna	Nasiru Ahmed El-Rufai (APC) vs Uba Sani (APC)		
528 billion Ind there	Zamfara	Bello Matawalle (APC) vs Dauda Lawal (PDP)		
on and ministration Day Live. 21	Adamawa	Bindow Jibrilla (APC) vs Ahmadu Umaru Fintiri (PDP)		

INCUMBENT AND PREDECESSOR: EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE OF CHANGES IN POLITICAL PARTIES, GOVERNORS AND TERMS

Approach

- (3) data proxies

 - Years
- Expenditure, Domestic Debt, and External Debt
- these fiscal indicators.
- 1999 to 2024

• The Incumbent-Predecessor relationships are captured with three

• Change in Political Parties: Measured at 3 levels, namely, New Party Entry Year, New Party 1st Full Year, Subsequent Years • Change in Governors: Also measured at 3 levels, i.e., New Governor Entry Year, New Governor 1st Full Year, Subsequent

• Governor's Term in Office: Measured at 3 levels, namely, Completed Single Term, Still in Office, Completed Two Terms

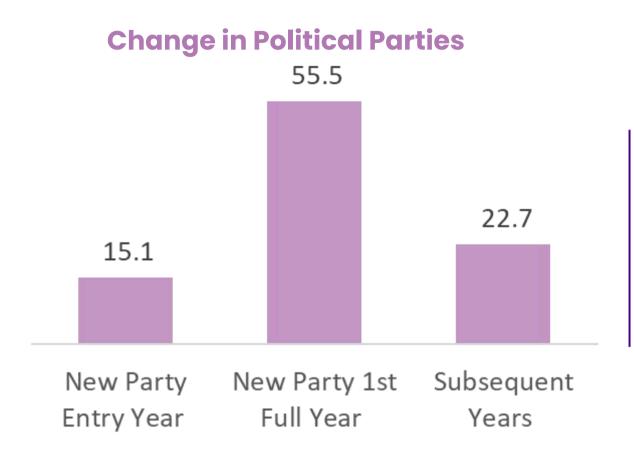
• Selected Indicators: A total of 8 fiscal indicators are considered, namely, Total Revenue, IGR, Share of IGR in Total Revenue, Total Expenditure, Capital Expenditure, Share of Capital in Total

• The percent changes in each of these indicators are calculated and compared among the 3 levels of each of the 3 data proxies.

• The aim is to determine if changes in parties and offices influence

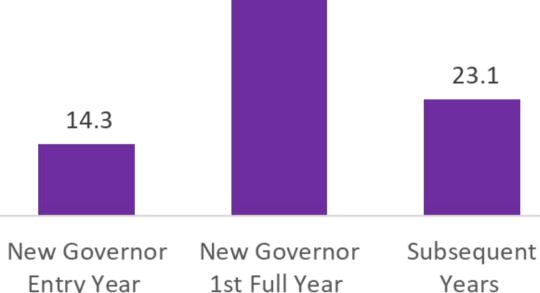
• **Scope**: The analysis is done for all the 36 States of Nigeria from

Total Revenue



- The average annual growth rate in total revenue for the New Party Entry Year was 15.1%, 55.5% after first year in office and 22.7% for the subsequent years.
- The new party's first full year shows relatively higher total revenue compared to subsequent years, conversely, when a new party takes over, the entry year shows lower total revenue.

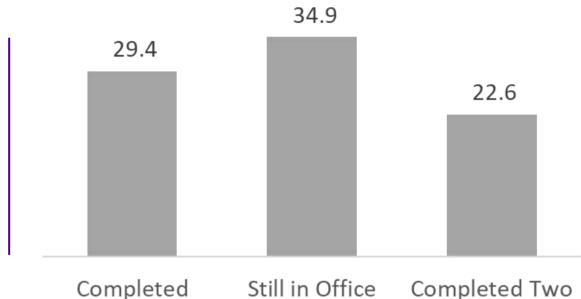
Change in Governors 45.3



- The average annual growth rate in total revenue for the New Governor Entry Year was 14.3%, 45.3% after the Governor's first full year and 23.1% for subsequent years.
- The total revenue for new Governor's first full year is relatively higher than the subsequent years, in contrast, the New governor entry year is lower.



Governor's Term in Office

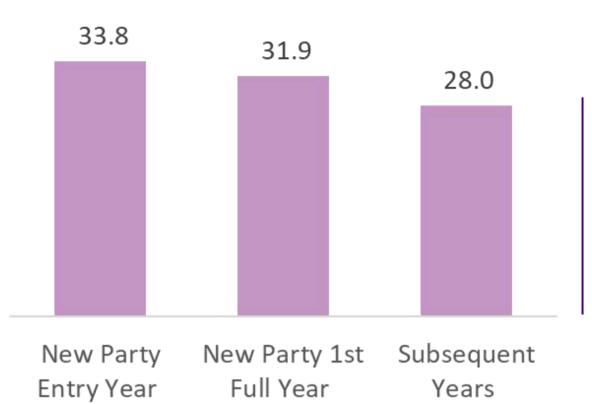




- Average annual growth rate in total revenue for governors that completed a single term was 29.4%, 22.6% for governors that completed two terms and, 34.9% for incumbent governors.
- The governors who completed a single term and those still in office have a relatively higher total revenue when compared with governors who served two terms

Internally Generated Revenue

Change in Political Parties



- The Internally Generated Revenue's average annual growth rate for the New Party Entry Year is 33.8%, after the first year, it reduced slightly to 31.9% and it further reduced to 28.0% for the subsequent years.
- The new party's first full year and the New Party Entry Year are both relatively higher than the subsequent years.



• The average annual growth rate in internally generated revenue for the New Governor Entry Year was 27.4%, followed by an increase to 33.7% after the Governor's first full year, and then settling at 28.2% in subsequent years.

 The new governor's first full year is a bit higher than subsequent years, while the New governor's entry year is almost at par.
 The governors who completed a single term and those still in office have a relatively higher IGR growth when compared with governors who served two terms

Change in Governors

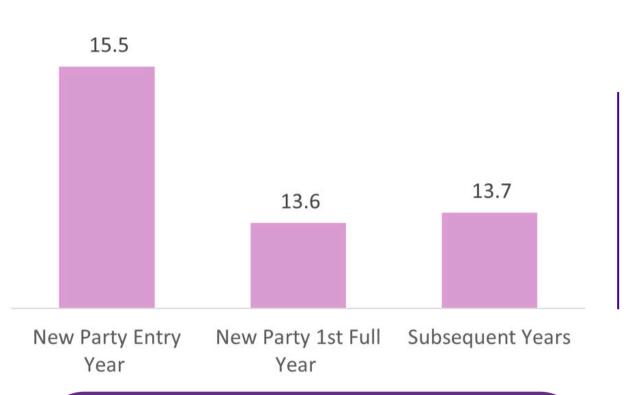


Governor's Term in Office

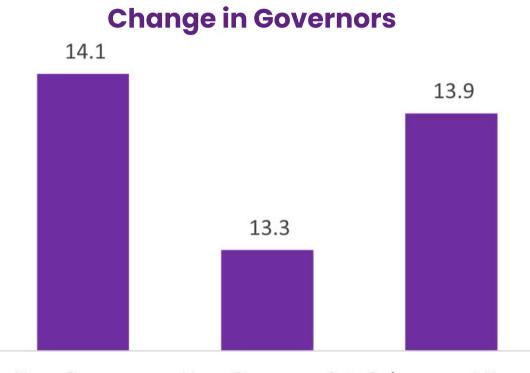
• The average annual growth rate in internally generated revenue for governors that completed a single term was 29.8%, 27.0% for governors that completed two terms and, 39.6% for incumbent governors.

Average Share of IGR in Total Revenue (%)

Change in Political Parties



- The share of IGR in Total revenue for the New Party Entry Year averaged 15.5%, 13.6% after first year in office and, 13.7% for the subsequent years.
- The new party's first full year and the New Party Entry Year are both higher than the subsequent years.

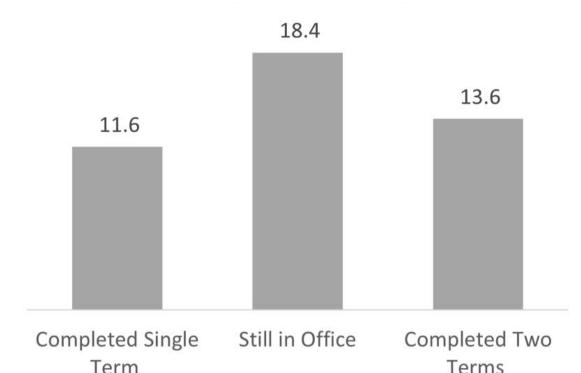


New Governor New Governor 1st Subsequent Years Entry Year Full Year

- During the New Governor Entry Year, the average share of IGR in total revenue was 14.1%. This rate fell slightly to 13.3% after the Governor's first full year and then increased to 13.9% in subsequent years.
- In comparison to subsequent years, the new governor's first full year exhibits a relatively higher rate. Conversely, during the New Governor Entry Year is lower than that of the years that follow.



Governor's Term in Office



• For governors who completed a single term, the average share of IGR in total revenue was 11.6%, while 13.6% was for governors who served two terms and 18.4% for incumbent governors.

 In comparison to governors who completed single term, governors with two terms recorded a relatively higher rate, while those currently in office have the highest values

Total Expenditure

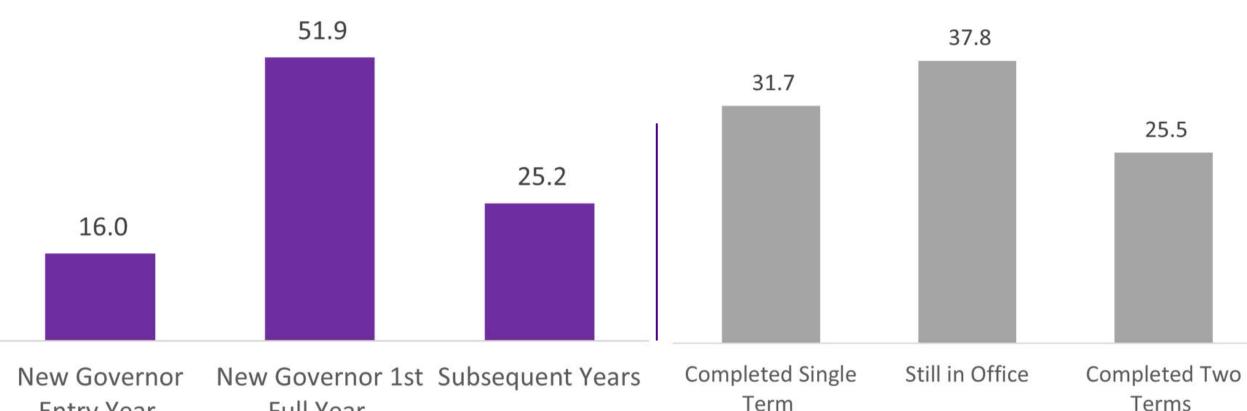
Change in Political Parties

Change in Governors



Year Year

- Total expenditure experienced an average annual growth rate of 17.1% in the New Party Entry Year, which increased to 62.0% after the first year in office, and settled at 25.1% for the subsequent years.
- The new party's first full year shows relatively higher total expenditure compared to subsequent years, conversely, when a new party takes over, the entry year shows lower total expenditure.



Entry Year **Full Year**

- During the New Governor Entry Year, the average annual growth rate in total expenditure was 16.0%. This rate rose to 51.9% after the Governor's first full year and then dropped to 25.2% in subsequent years
- In the New Governor's first full year, total expenditure is relatively higher than in subsequent years; however, the entry year reflects a lower total expenditure

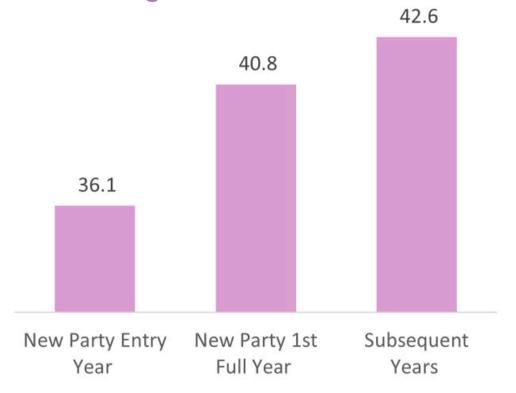


Governor's Term in Office

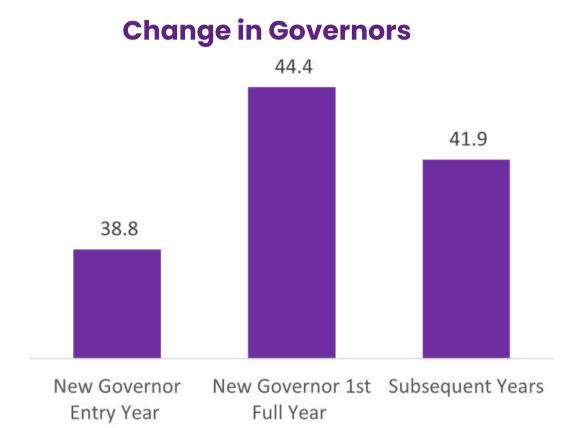
- The average annual growth rate in total expenditure for a completed single term was 31.7%, 25.5% for governors that completed two terms and 37.8% for incumbent governors.
- The governors who completed a single term and those still in office have a relatively higher total expenditure when compared with governors who served two terms.

Average Share of Capital in Total Expenditure Ratio (%)

Change in Political Parties



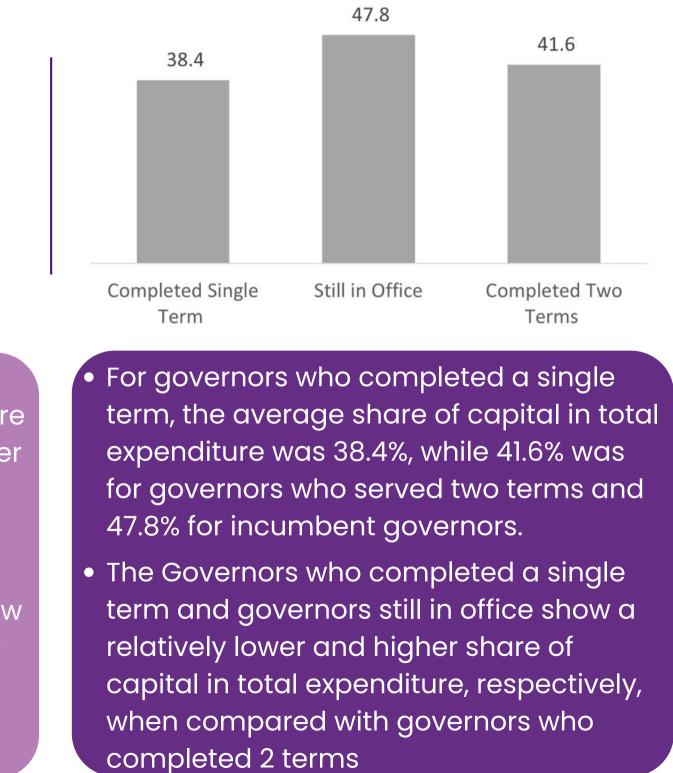
- The Average Share of Capital in Total Expenditure for the New Party Entry Year is 36.1%, 40.8% after the first year in office, and 42.6% for the subsequent years.
- The new party's first full year and the New Party Entry Year are both lower than the subsequent years.



- During the New Governor Entry Year, the average share of capital in total expenditure was 38.8%. This rate increased to 44.4% after the Governor's first full year and then decreased slightly to 41.9% in subsequent years.
- In comparison to subsequent years, the new governor's first full year exhibits a relatively higher rate. Conversely, the growth rate during the New Governor's Entry Year is lower than that of the years that follow.

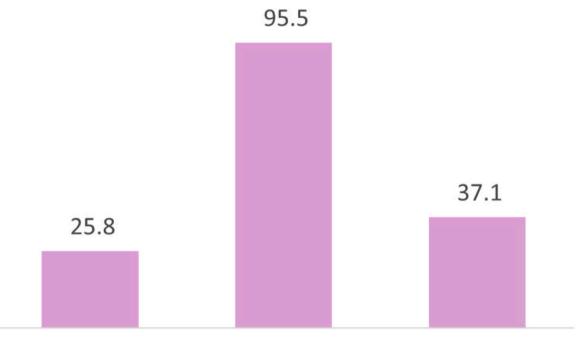


Governor's Term in Office



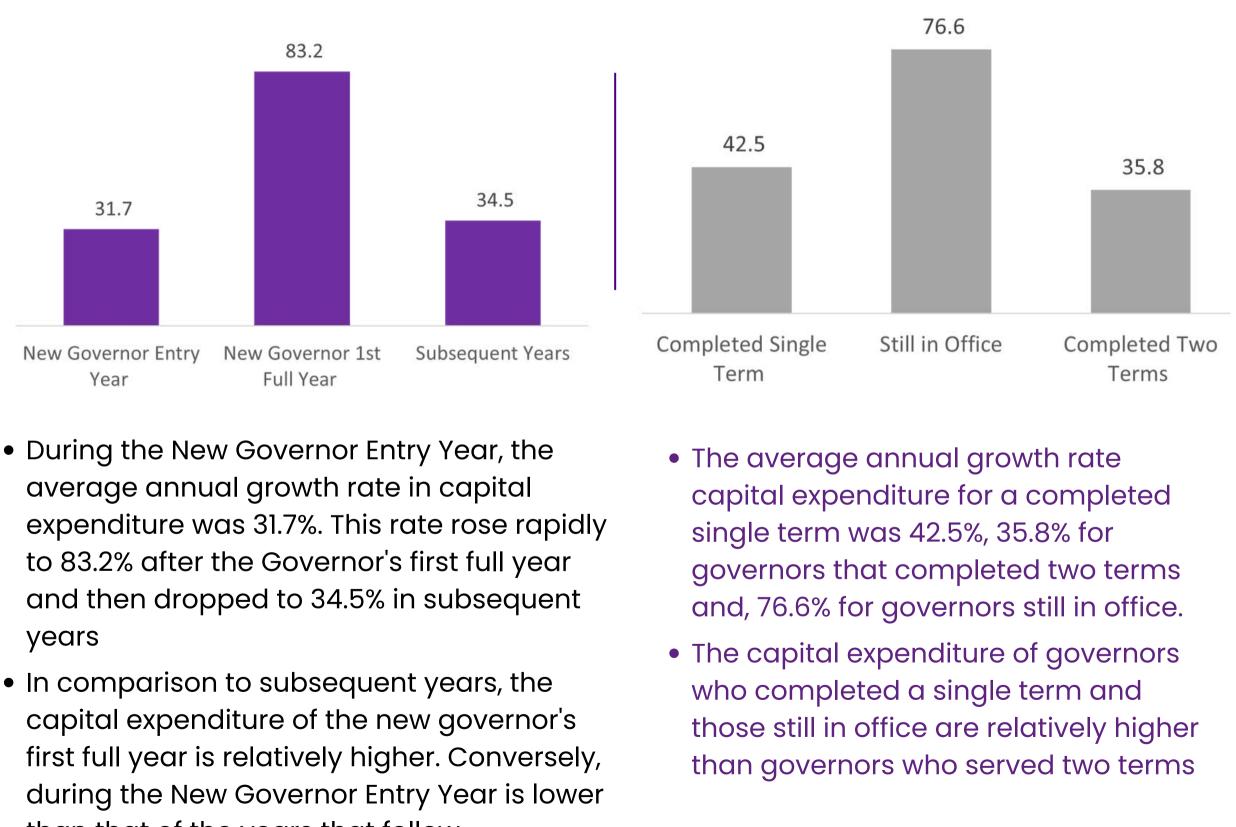
Capital Expenditure

Change in Political Parties



New Party Entry New Party 1st Full Subsequent Years Year Year

- The Average annual growth of Capital Expenditure for the New Party Entry Year averaged 25.8%, 95.5% after the first year in office and, 37.1% for the subsequent years.
- The new party's first full-year capital expenditure is higher than subsequent years but the New Party Entry year is slightly lower.



- than that of the years that follow.

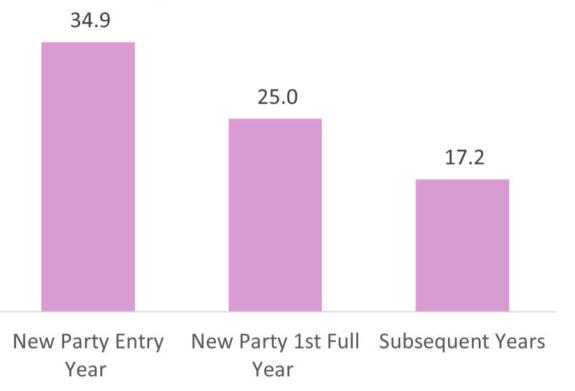
Change in Governors





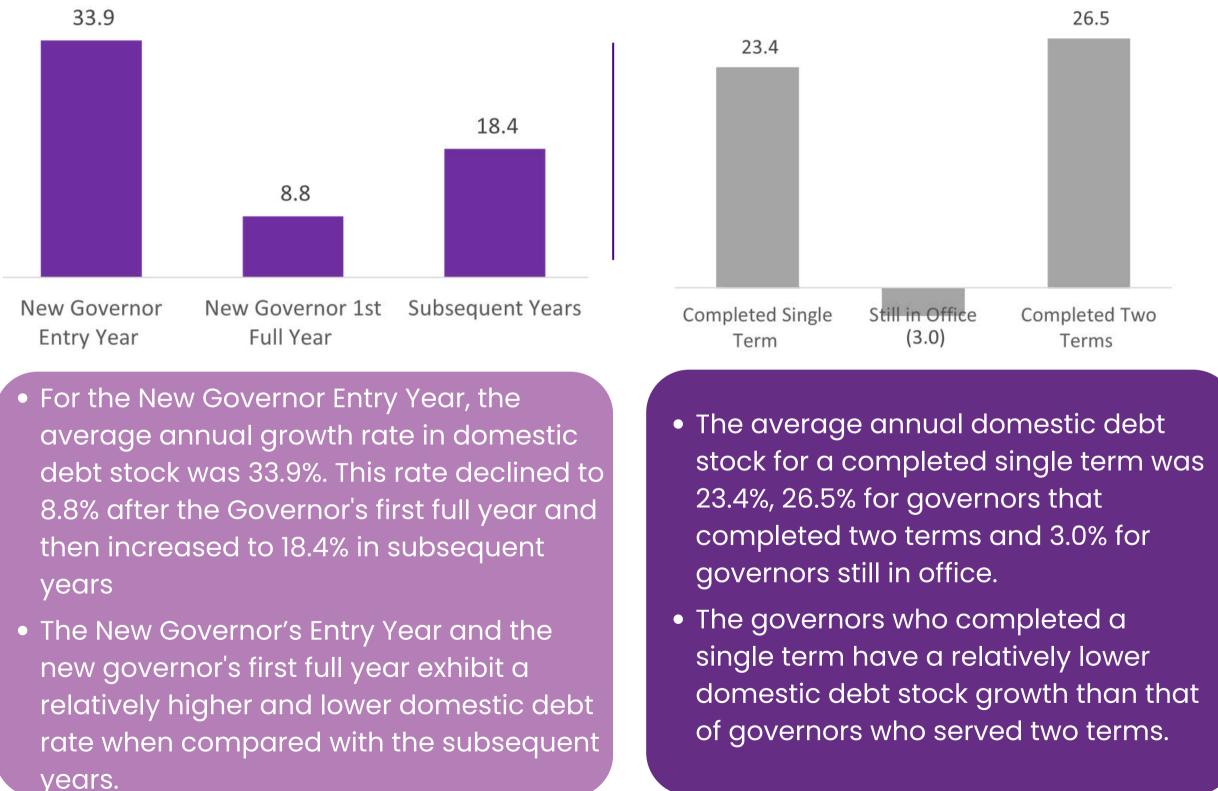
Domestic Debt Stock

Change in Political Parties



- During the New Party Entry Year, the domestic debt stock averaged an annual growth rate of 34.9%, falling to 25.0% after the first year in office and 17.2% in the years that followed
- Both the New Party Entry Year and the New Party First Full Year show domestic debt stock levels that are relatively higher than the subsequent years

Change in Governors



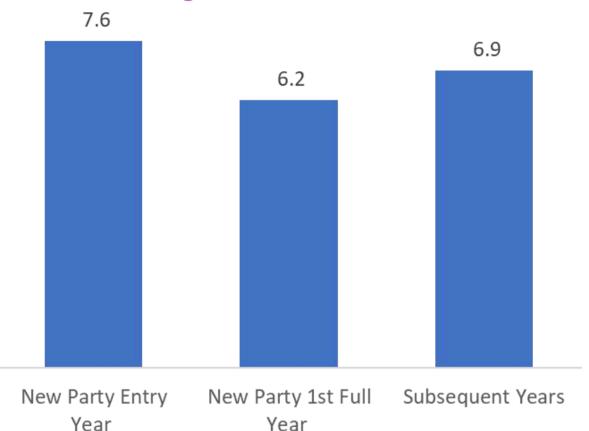
- years.



Governor's Term in Office

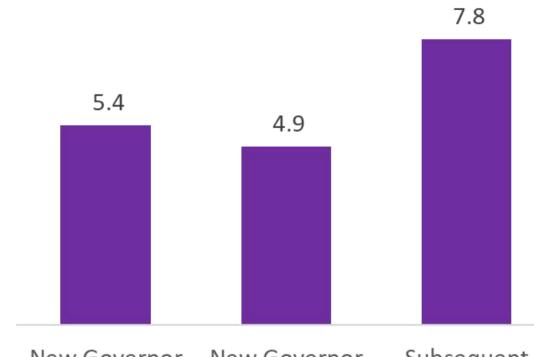
External Debt

Change in Political Parties



- External debt experienced an average annual growth rate of 7.6% in the New Party Entry Year, after the first full year, it dropped to 6.2%, and slightly increased to 6.9% for the subsequent years.
- The new party entry year's external debt level is a bit higher compared to the subsequent years, but it is slightly lower for the new party's first full year.

Change in Governors

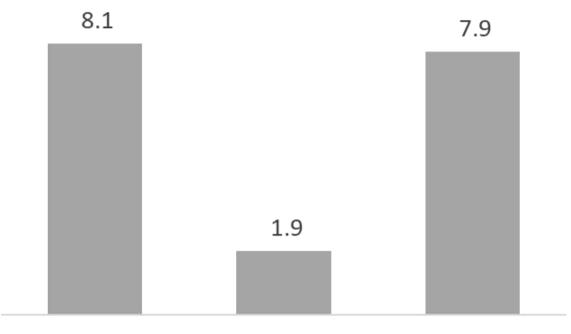


New GovernorNew GovernorSubsequentEntry Year1st Full YearYears

- The average annual growth rate in the external debt for the New Governor Entry Year was 5.4%, it slightly decreased to 4.9% after the Governor's first full year, and later rose to 7.8% in subsequent years.
- Both the new governor's entry year and the first full year have a lower external debt level compared to the subsequent years



Governor's Term in Office

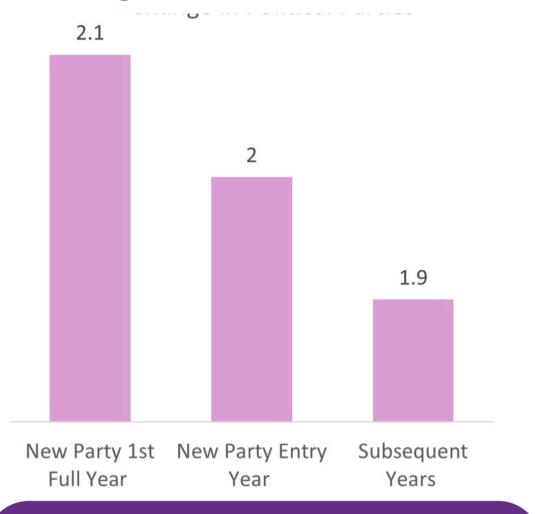


Completed Still in Office Completed Two Single Term Terms

- The average annual growth rate in external debt for a completed single term was 8.1%, 7.9% for governors that completed two terms, and 1.9% for governors still in office.
- The Governors who completed a single term and governors still in office show a relatively higher and lower external debt, respectively, when compared with governors who completed 2 terms.

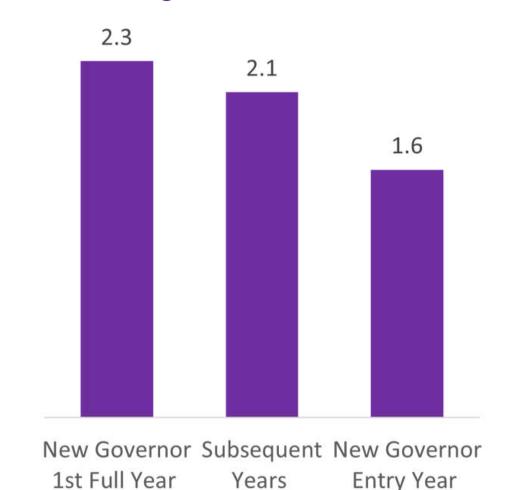
Overall Ranking

Change in Political Parties



 Overall, the new party's first full year is the highest followed by subsequent years and, then the new party entry year.

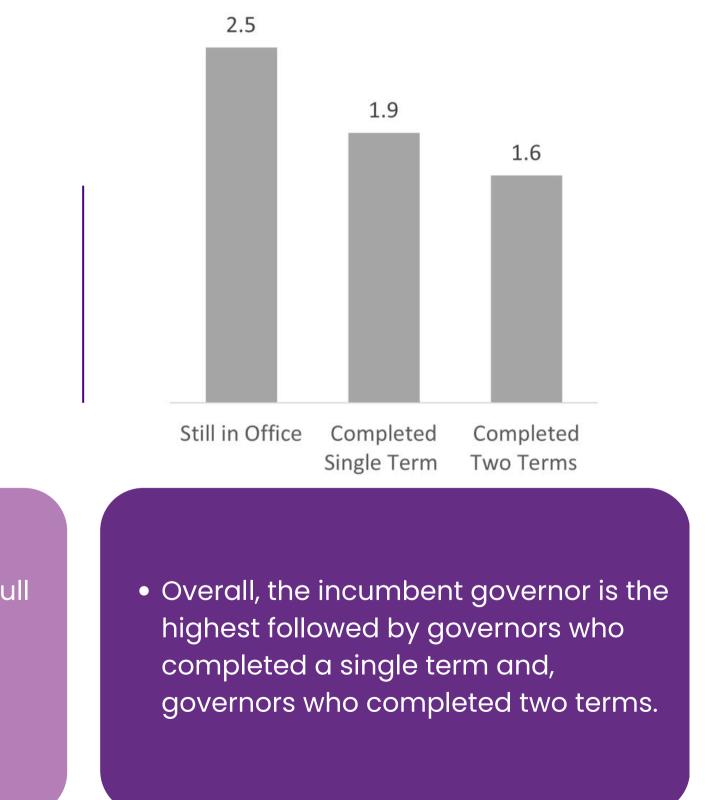
Change in Governors



• In summary, the new governor's first full year is the highest followed by subsequent years and, then the new governor's entry year.



Governor's Term in Office



Summary



 Overall, it is observed that when a new governor comes into power, he changes the State's fiscal activities significantly from those of his predecessors



 It is also observed to be higher among those currently in office.

 This behaviour is more exhibited when the predecessor and incumbents are from different political parties.

 In the past, the higher the tendency to deviate from one's predecosor's fiscal activities, the higher is the possibility of a new party taking over and/or the incumbent surviving for only a single term.

Recommendations

• Those in government can sometimes make short-term decisions driven by political motives rather than longterm economic benefits.

- In addressing predecessor's policices, bipartisan cooperation might be required to create sustainable fiscal policies that benefit the economy.
- The incumbent should maintain policy stability by completing predecessor projects that have already attracted investment or public support
 - unless clear inefficiencies are identified.

- Incumbents should avoid delaying or abandoning predecessor projects solely for political reasons, as it could result in inefficiency, wasted resources, or undermining public trust in governance continuity.
- This promotes a sense of continuity and reliability in governance, improving economic stability.
- The incumbent should consider the political implications of continuing or altering the project, weighing potential backlash against benefits.



- Incumbents should aim to not only complete the predecessor's projects but also enhance them, creating a positive legacy for future governance.
 - This will give the incumbent administration a positive leverage with the public perception.
 - These call for an effective system and plaftform that facilitate idea-sharing and collaboration between the incumbents and their predecessors

Thank You for Listening

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