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BAT-O-METER

THREE YEARS OF RENEWED HOPE -
PROMISES, PROGRESS AND PERFORMANCE



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ABBREVIATIONS

Acronym	Meaning
CBHIS	Community-Based Health Insurance Scheme
CPI	Consumer Price Index
FoI	Freedom of Information
MSMEDF	Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises Development Fund
MSMEs	Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises
NBPSC	National Blockchain Policy Steering Committee
NBS	National Bureau of Statistics
NHIA	National Health Insurance Authority
NHIS	National Health Insurance Scheme
NIMC	National Identity Management Commission
NIPC	Nigerian Investment Promotion Commission
NITDA	National Information Technology Development Agency
PPP	Public-Private Partnership
SEC	Securities and Exchange Commission
VGF	Vulnerable Group Fund
WFP	World Food Programme
YEIDEP	Youth Enterprise Investment and Development Programme

About Us

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AdvoKC Foundation is a youth-led civic technology organization born from a conviction: that Nigerian citizens deserve more than campaign posters. We use technology, storytelling, research, and grassroots engagement to close the gap between what elected officials promise and what they actually deliver.

We are not a watchdog that growls from the shadows. We are a public accountability partner that provides hard data, accessible civic tools, and a trusted space for citizen voices while continuously challenging the government to be better, faster, and more transparent.



Vision

To be the catalyst for transparent governance and social justice.

“At AdvoKC, we believe democracy



informed, engaged, and equipped with

Mission
To build a more democratic and social just community by improving governance commitment with citizens and empowering citizen education and engagement

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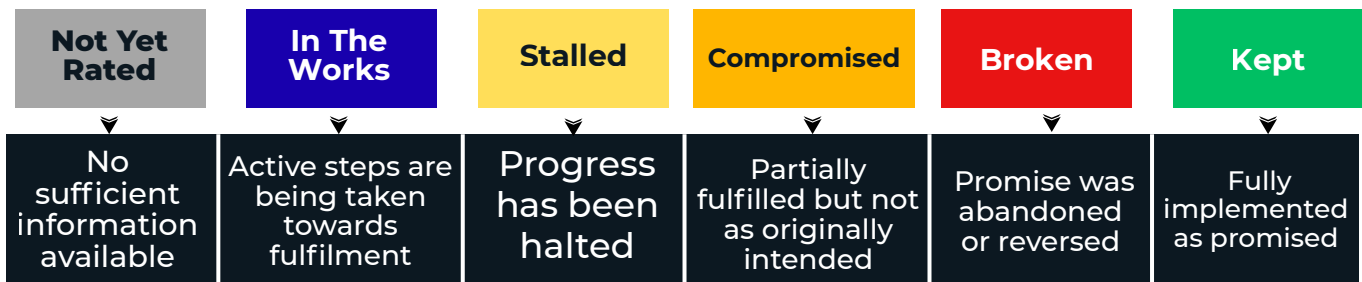
For more information about us,
<https://www.advokc.ng/>

ABOUT PROMISE TRACKER NG

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Promise Tracker NG is a governance accountability initiative designed to monitor and evaluate the fulfilment of campaign promises made by elected officials in Nigeria. By providing an independent and data-driven assessment of government commitments, the platform ensures that citizens have access to accurate, transparent, and up-to-date information on the progress of policy implementation.

The platform systematically tracks promises across various sectors, analysing their execution based on verifiable evidence such as government reports, budget allocations, media investigations, and citizen feedback. Each promise is assigned a rating based on its level of implementation:



Promise Tracker NG operates through four dedicated meters, each designed to monitor specific levels of governance.

The BAT-O-METER tracks the promises and policy commitments of President Bola Ahmed Tinubu, providing a comprehensive analysis of his administration's progress at the national level.

The SoludoMeter focuses on Governor Charles Soludo of Anambra State, evaluating the implementation of his campaign pledges.

The **Legislative Agenda Meter** is dedicated to monitoring the commitments and legislative activities of members of the Federal House of Representatives, assessing how well they align with their proposed agendas.

Lastly, the **Promise Ring** serves as a general tracking system for the promises of various state governors who do not yet have a dedicated meter, ensuring that governance at the subnational level remains transparent and accountable.

Promise Tracker NG is more than just a monitoring tool—it is a mechanism for strengthening democracy by promoting transparency and holding leaders accountable to the people. By bridging the gap between electoral commitments and governance realities, the platform empowers citizens to demand better service delivery while encouraging elected officials to remain committed to their mandates. Through research, advocacy, and public engagement, Promise Tracker NG continues to play a vital role in deepening democratic accountability in Nigeria. You can check the work we do on www.promisetracker.ng.

ACCESS PROMISES MADE TO YOU BY ELECTED OFFICIALS WITH A CLICK

www.promisetracker.ng



Scan to view promises or visit www.promisetracker.ng

DEFINITION OF A PROMISE

For this report, a promise is defined as a prospective, publicly stated commitment of action or outcome by an elected official, which is verifiable through credible and publicly accessible sources. Every promise we track is accompanied by its source — whether it's a campaign manifesto, official government document, press release, public address, social media statement, or credible media coverage.

TRACKING PROCESS

Our tracking methodology relies on continuous monitoring of the activities, communications, and policy initiatives of the elected officials and their administrations. We gather updates from multiple reliable and verifiable sources, including:

- Official government websites and portals
- Verified social media accounts of the officeholders and key government agencies
- Freedom of Information (Fol) requests and disclosures
- Credible national and international news organizations
- Official policy documents, gazettes, and legislative records

We also track contextual factors such as political dynamics, legal challenges, budgetary allocations, and legislative support, all of which can influence the fulfilment or delay of a promise.

PROMISE RATING SYSTEM

Each promise is assessed against its stated objectives and rated based on tangible progress or outcomes. Our rating system includes:

Promise Kept

- This rating is assigned when a promise has been fulfilled substantially or completely in line with its original intent. It indicates that the official has either delivered the promised outcome or enacted the promised policy.

Compromised

- A promise earns this rating when the outcome falls short of the original commitment but still reflects a significant achievement aligned with the initial objective. This acknowledges partial fulfilment or modifications necessitated by prevailing circumstances.

Promise Broken

- This is assigned when a promise has not been fulfilled, either due to executive inaction, lack of legislative or institutional support, or a change in policy direction. Importantly, a 'Promise Broken' rating does not automatically imply that the official abandoned advocacy efforts for the promise — it could result from external factors beyond their immediate control.

DYNAMIC RATING ADJUSTMENTS

Our methodology recognises that policy implementation is an evolving process. As such, promise ratings are not static and can change as new information emerges or as circumstances shift. For instance:

- A promise initially rated as **In the Works** might later be downgraded to **Stalled** if progress halts.
- Conversely, stalled promises can be reactivated and eventually rated **Promise Kept** upon successful completion.
- If an official reverses a fulfilled policy, a previously **Promise Kept** rating could revert to **Compromised**.

This dynamic tracking model ensures our reporting remains responsive, accurate, and reflective of the realities on the ground

President Bola Ahmed Tinubu assumed office on May 29, 2023, on the platform of “Renewed Hope,” promising bold reforms and transformative governance across critical sectors of Nigeria’s national life. His administration pledged to address long-standing challenges in the economy, power supply, infrastructure, healthcare, education, security, youth development, industrialisation, and institutional reform. These promises were presented as a roadmap toward economic recovery, national stability, and improved living conditions for Nigerians.



The objective of this report is to provide an evidence-based assessment of the Tinubu administration’s performance by systematically tracking and evaluating the implementation status of key campaign promises and policy commitments made since the beginning of the administration. The report seeks to examine whether these promises have been fulfilled, partially implemented, or remain unachieved, using publicly available data, official government records, policy documents, expert analysis, and credible media reporting.

Beyond measuring policy delivery, the report is designed to strengthen democratic accountability and encourage informed public engagement. In a period marked by rising economic hardship, inflation, insecurity, unemployment, and increasing public concern over governance outcomes, there is a growing need for objective civic evaluation tools that move beyond political rhetoric. This report therefore serves as a public accountability mechanism that enables citizens, civil society organisations, researchers, policymakers, and development partners to better understand the direction, pace, and effectiveness of government action

The report also aims to identify the structural challenges limiting policy implementation and highlight areas where progress has been made. While some reforms initiated by the administration reflect significant policy ambition, particularly in taxation, student financing, infrastructure development, and economic restructuring, many implementation gaps remain evident across critical sectors. By analysing both achievements and shortcomings, the report provides a balanced overview of governance performance and offers practical recommendations that respond to the everyday realities faced by Nigerians.

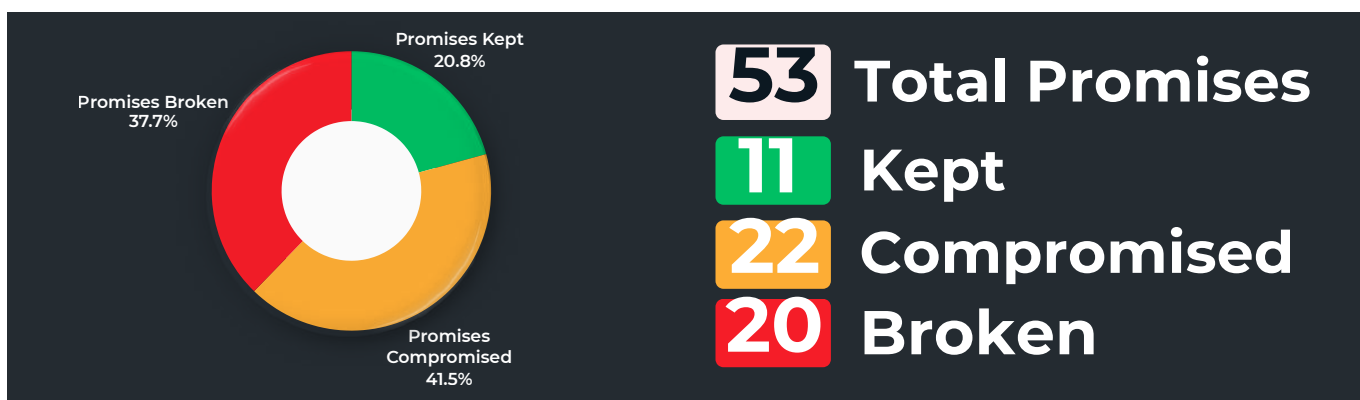
Importantly, this assessment is not intended as a partisan exercise but as a contribution to transparency, policy evaluation, and democratic discourse. Sustainable governance depends not only on the promises leaders make during elections, but on their ability to translate those promises into measurable improvements in the lives of citizens. Through this report, the goal is to promote a stronger culture of accountability, evidence-based policymaking, and citizen-centred governance in Nigeria.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

As President Bola Ahmed Tinubu enters the final year of his administration's first term, Nigeria stands at a crossroads of cautious macroeconomic stabilisation and persistent structural challenges. Three years after assuming office in May 2023 under the bold "Renewed Hope" mantra, the administration has navigated turbulent economic waters from record-high inflation and currency volatility to modest but measurable signs of recovery.

The BAT-O-METER, a presidential promise tracker created by the AdvoKC Foundation under the Promise Tracker NG initiative, has evaluated 53 key promises across seven major thematic areas: Economic Development, Education, Social Agenda, Infrastructure, Security, Environment, and Governance/Rule of Law. These promises were selected based on their relevance to national development and the frequency with which they were highlighted during the 2023 election campaign and the early months of Tinubu's presidency.

This third-year BAT-O-METER report provides an in-depth, evidence-based evaluation of the administration's performance at the three-year mark, assessing what has been achieved, what remains stalled, and where the government has fallen short of its commitments to the Nigerian people.



The data reveals a sobering picture: one in five promises (20.8%) have been fully kept, while nearly half (41.5%) have been compromised and 20 promises that is 37.7% of promises were broken which is a significant number. This represents a marginal improvement from the second-year assessment but underscores the persistent gap between campaign rhetoric and governance reality.

Macroeconomic Context (2026)

Nigeria's inflation showed signs of moderation heading into 2026, with headline inflation at 15.38% in March 2026 according to the National Bureau of Statistics. This marks a clear slowdown from the exceptionally high levels recorded in 2024, suggesting that some of the intense price pressures seen during that period have begun to ease. However, the improvement should be viewed with caution, as part of the decline is linked to changes in inflation measurement methodology, meaning the lower rate does not fully translate into a proportionate reduction in the actual cost of living faced by Nigerians.

Food inflation, which remains the most immediate pressure point for households, tells a more complex story. It fell to 8.89% in January 2026 but rose again to 12.12% in February and 14.31% in March, highlighting the persistent instability in food prices. This pattern suggests that while overall inflation is moderating, the underlying drivers of food costs, such as supply constraints, transportation expenses, and seasonal fluctuations, remain largely unresolved. As a result, many Nigerians continue to experience uneven and unpredictable price movements in essential goods, reinforcing the reality that, despite better headline figures, the day-to-day cost of living has not yet achieved sustained stability.

Nigeria recorded moderate GDP growth in 2025, with stronger performance in some quarters, reflecting a period of cautious economic recovery rather than rapid expansion. Growth generally hovered between roughly 3% and 4%, supported by services, agriculture, and improved oil output, indicating that reforms and higher crude receipts were beginning to stabilise the economy. External reserves also strengthened significantly, rising toward the \$45–50 billion range by early 2026 on the back of improved oil earnings, foreign exchange reforms, and increased investor confidence, although these levels still fall short of Nigeria's historical highs and remain vulnerable to global shocks. The naira showed periods of relative stability following these reforms, but continued to experience volatility across foreign exchange markets, reflecting lingering structural pressures and exposure to global economic conditions.

However, these macroeconomic improvements have not fully translated into improved living standards for ordinary Nigerians. The cost-of-living crisis remains pronounced, with elevated fuel prices and broader inflationary pressures continuing to push up transportation and energy costs, thereby eroding household purchasing power. This disconnect between improving macroeconomic indicators and everyday hardship highlights a deeper structural issue: economic stabilisation at the top has yet to filter down to the majority of citizens meaningfully.

Across key social sectors, the picture is similarly mixed. In healthcare, there has been renewed policy attention and investments, particularly around maternal and child health, yet outcomes remain weak, with high child mortality rates and widespread developmental challenges pointing to gaps in access, funding, and service delivery. In education, while government spending plans and reform intentions have increased—especially through budgetary allocations aimed at strengthening human capital—the system continues to struggle with overcrowding, underfunding, and learning deficits, limiting the quality of outcomes despite higher commitments. Security conditions have also seen pockets of improvement in oil-producing areas, contributing to higher output, but broader insecurity across parts of the country continues to disrupt agriculture, constrain investment, and weaken overall economic resilience.

Simultaneously, structural weaknesses, particularly in the power sector, continue to weigh heavily on both economic activity and daily life. Electricity supply remains unreliable, with Nigeria's grid frequently experiencing disruptions, reinforcing dependence on costly alternatives such as diesel and petrol generators. With only about 61% of the population having access to electricity, the gap between demand and supply remains significant. These constraints raise production costs for businesses and deepen the financial strain on households.

Taken together, Nigeria's recent trajectory reflects an economy that is stabilising on paper but still struggling to deliver broad-based improvements in welfare. While gains in growth, reserves, and policy credibility are evident, persistent challenges in healthcare, education, security, and infrastructure continue to limit how much of this progress is actually felt in the day-to-day lives of Nigerians.

President Bola Ahmed Tinubu assumed office on May 29, 2023, inheriting an economy burdened by fuel subsidies, a weakened currency, rising public debt, persistent unemployment, inflationary pressures, and widespread insecurity. His campaign manifesto, Renewed Hope, promised transformative change across multiple sectors, from economic revitalisation and job creation to educational reform, healthcare expansion, infrastructure development, institutional strengthening, and enhanced national security.

Three years later, Nigerians are asking a fundamental question: Has the promise of Renewed Hope translated into tangible improvements in their daily lives?

This report does not seek to provide a simplistic yes or no answer. Rather, it offers a nuanced, evidence-based assessment of where the administration has delivered, where progress has been partial or inconsistent, and where expectations set during the 2023 electoral campaign remain unmet.

The BATOMETER was conceived in 2023 as a accountability meter designed to systematically track, evaluate, and document the implementation of campaign promises made by the president Tinubu during the renewed hope campaign. What began in the first year as a foundational promise-tracking initiative has evolved into a broader governance performance framework that combines policy analysis, budget tracking, public sentiment, and media verification.

The Year One BATOMETER report largely reflected a government in transition. The administration took several bold and controversial decisions, most notably the removal of fuel subsidies and the liberalisation of the foreign exchange market. While these reforms were defended as necessary economic corrections, they triggered severe short-term consequences for millions of Nigerians, including surging inflation, rising transportation costs, worsening food insecurity, and declining purchasing power. Consequently, the first-year assessment recorded a high number of promises classified as “not yet rated” or “compromised,” as many policies were still at preliminary stages without measurable citizen impact.

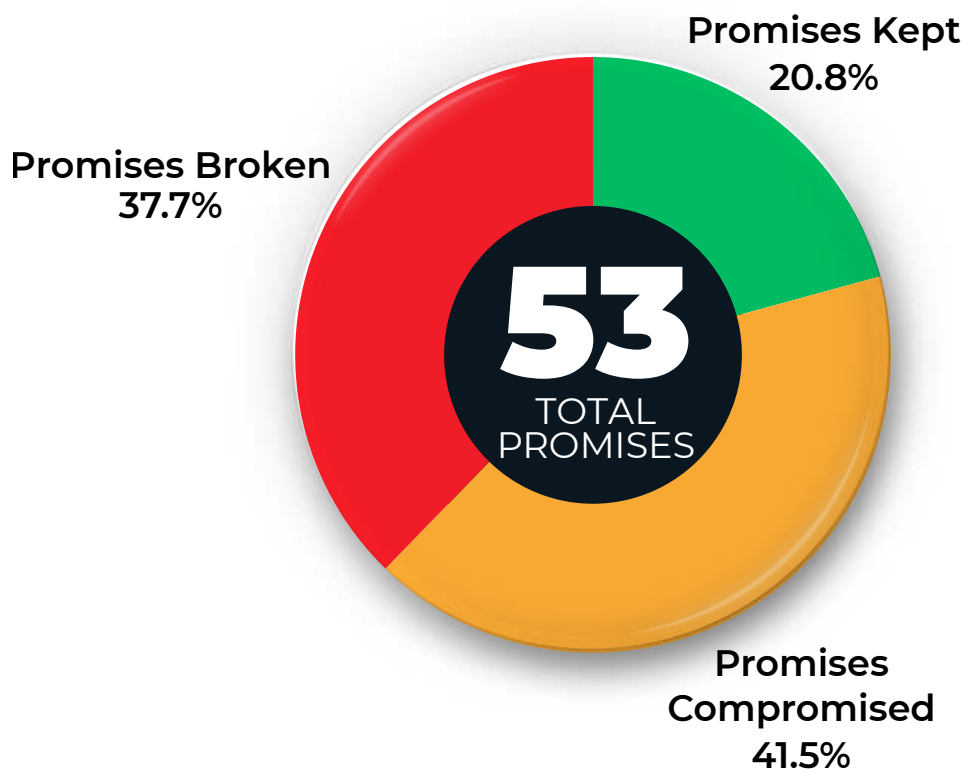
By the second year, the administration had shifted from policy announcements to institutional implementation. Several infrastructure projects gained momentum, social intervention programmes expanded, student loan implementation commenced, and renewed attention was given to local government reforms, digital economy initiatives, and industrial development. However, despite signs of administrative consolidation, the second-year report revealed persistent gaps between policy ambition and practical outcomes. Economic hardship deepened for many Nigerians, insecurity remained uneven across regions, and concerns over unemployment, electricity supply, healthcare access, and governance transparency continued to shape public perception. The Year Two BATOMETER therefore reflected a mixed performance: progress in policy execution alongside growing public frustration over living conditions.

These first two years provide the context for understanding the administration's third-year performance. By Year Three, the government could no longer rely solely on the argument of inherited challenges or transitional adjustment periods. Nigerians increasingly expected evidence of stabilisation, measurable economic relief, institutional efficiency, and visible improvements in governance outcomes. As a result, this year's assessment places stronger emphasis not only on policy initiation but also on implementation quality, sustainability, citizen impact, and fulfilment of campaign promises.

Ultimately, this report serves both as a historical record and a democratic accountability tool. It is intended to help citizens, civil society actors, policymakers, researchers, and voters objectively evaluate the trajectory of the Tinubu administration three years into its tenure. In doing so, the BATOMETER reinforces the principle that democratic mandates are not sustained by rhetoric alone, but by measurable governance outcomes, transparency, and the lived experiences of the people.

Overall Performance

The BAT-O-METER assessment of 53 tracked promises yields the following overall performance scorecard:



Promises Fulfilment by numbers

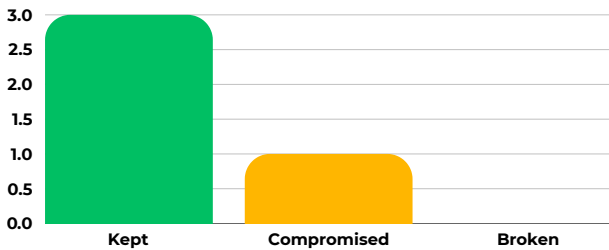


Overall Promise Fulfilment Rate: 20.8% (11 out of 53 promises kept)

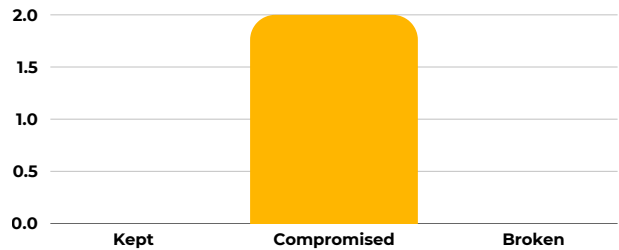
This figure, while modest, must be understood in context. Governance is inherently complex, and campaign promises often collide with fiscal constraints, institutional bottlenecks, global economic shocks, and political opposition. However, a fulfilment rate of less than 20% after three years with nearly half of all promises broken raises legitimate questions about prioritisation, execution capacity, and political will.

The administration's performance varies significantly across sectors:

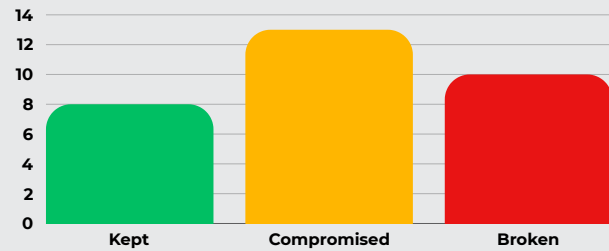
1. Education



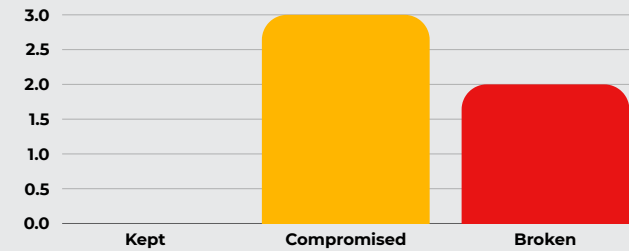
2. Social Agenda



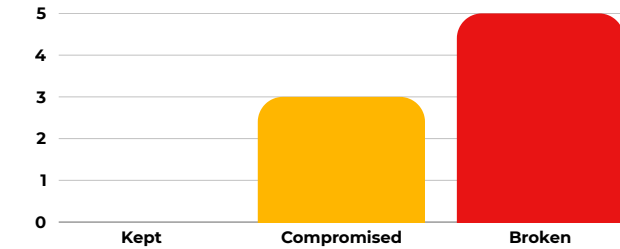
3. Economy



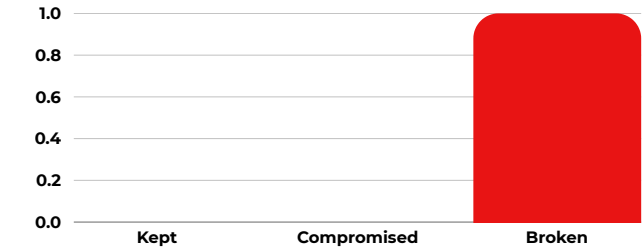
4. Governance/Rule of Law



5. Infrastructure



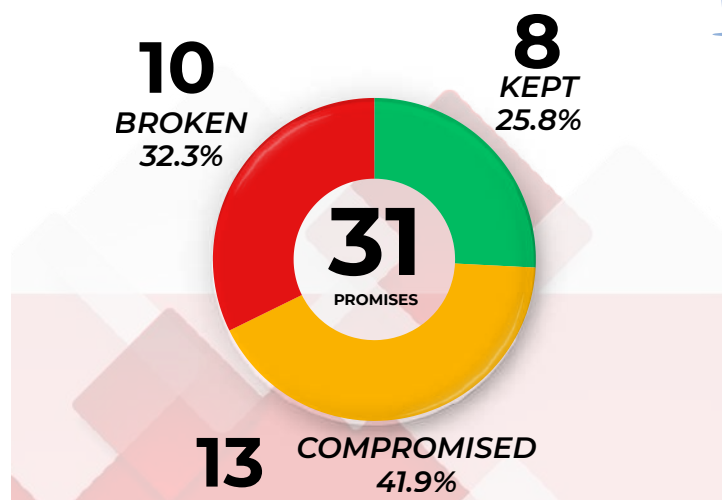
6. Security



7. Environment



ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT



The economic development sector reflects a broadly mixed performance, where headline reforms have been implemented but deeper structural transformation remains uneven. Out of 30 promises tracked, 8 have been kept, 13 compromised, and 10 broken, underscoring a pattern of partial delivery rather than comprehensive fulfilment. This aligns with the broader trajectory of Nigeria's economy, where moderate growth about 3.9% in 2025 has been recorded alongside improving macroeconomic stability, yet without a commensurate improvement in living conditions .

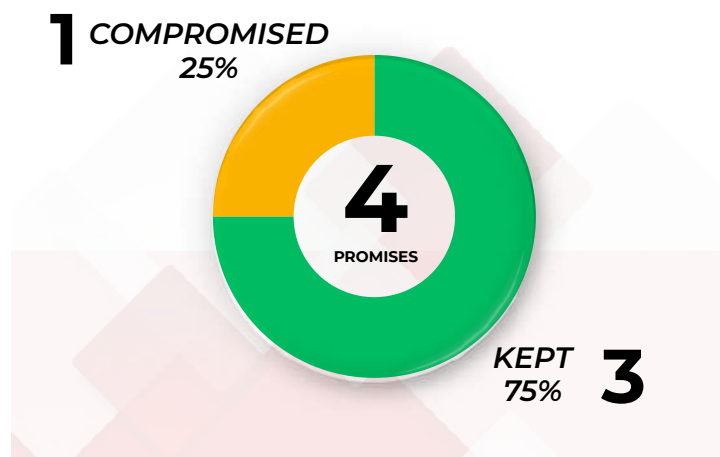
On the positive side, some of the administration's most consequential economic decisions have been executed, particularly the removal of fuel subsidies and targeted interventions such as MSME support programmes, tax reforms in the creative sector, and efforts to improve the regulatory environment for emerging industries like blockchain. These actions reflect a willingness to undertake politically difficult reforms and align with broader efforts that have strengthened external reserves to roughly \$45-50 billion and stabilised key macroeconomic indicators. However, these gains remain largely foundational rather than transformative, as they have yet to shift productivity significantly, industrial output, or employment at scale.

A larger share of promises falls into the compromised category, highlighting partial progress constrained by implementation gaps. Infrastructure-related commitments, such as port modernisation, aviation improvements, and increased gas production, have seen measurable steps, including new investments and policy frameworks, but remain incomplete in execution. Similarly, interventions in food security, including import waivers and price support mechanisms, have provided short-term relief without addressing the structural drivers of food inflation, which continues to show volatility even as overall inflation moderates. Inclusion-related commitments around youth and gender representation also reflect symbolic compliance rather than institutionalised reform, suggesting limited depth in policy follow-through.

The broken promises, however, point more clearly to areas of structural weakness and policy discontinuity. Key industrial and infrastructure ambitions, including the establishment of a national airline, development of industrial hubs, the dredging of inland waterways, and expansion of power generation, have not materialised. In particular, the persistent failure to significantly improve electricity supply remains one of the most critical constraints on economic development, reinforcing high production costs and limiting industrial competitiveness. This is occurring in a broader context where, despite macroeconomic improvements, the lived experience of Nigerians continues to reflect high costs, weak infrastructure, and limited job creation, reinforcing the disconnect between policy outcomes on paper and economic realities on the ground.

Overall, the sector presents a picture of reform without full realisation: meaningful steps have been taken, especially in macroeconomic stabilisation and policy direction, but the absence of consistent execution across key structural areas has limited the extent to which these reforms translate into broad-based economic transformation.

EDUCATION



The education sector stands out as one of the administration's stronger-performing areas, with three out of four tracked promises fully implemented and none outright broken. This suggests a relatively higher level of policy follow-through compared to other sectors, particularly in areas that directly affect access to education and system stability.

The resolution of the long-standing cycle of Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) strikes represents a significant achievement, at least in the short term. Through sustained negotiations, funding interventions, and policy commitments, the frequency and intensity of disruptions in public universities have reduced, contributing to more stable academic calendars. This has helped restore a degree of predictability to tertiary education, even though occasional tensions and warning actions indicate that the underlying issues between the government and academic unions have not been fully eliminated.

Alongside this, the introduction of a modernised curriculum in basic and secondary education reflects a shift toward aligning Nigeria's education system with global standards. Recent reforms have incorporated digital literacy, entrepreneurship, and competency-based learning into the curriculum, signalling an attempt to reposition education as a driver of long-term economic transformation rather than rote learning. Similarly, the rollout of the Nigerian Education Loan Fund (NELFUND), established under the 2024 Student Loan Act, marks a structural intervention aimed at expanding access to higher education by reducing financial barriers. Early implementation has seen substantial uptake and disbursement, indicating strong demand and policy relevance, although concerns remain around sustainability and coverage.

Despite these gains, the sector's sole compromised promise of university autonomy highlights the limits of reform. While there has been visible policy movement toward granting institutions greater control over governance, financing, and academic direction, full implementation has been slowed by legislative delays and bureaucratic inertia. This gap between policy intent and execution reflects a broader pattern within the sector: reforms are being initiated, but institutional transformation is proceeding more gradually than anticipated.

The education sector shows meaningful progress, particularly in stabilising the system and expanding access, but the incomplete realisation of structural reforms suggests that while the direction is positive, the depth of change remains a work in progress.

SOCIAL AGENDA



**COMPROMISED
100%**

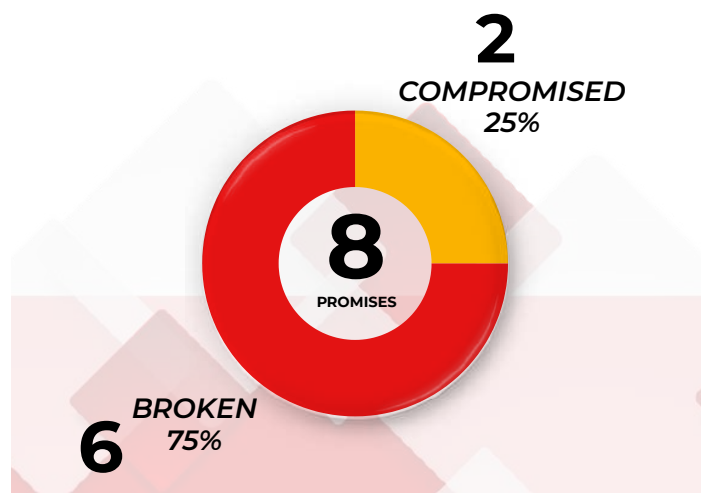
The social agenda sector, covering healthcare, social welfare, and community development, reflects a pattern of limited progress, with both tracked promises falling into the compromised category and none fully delivered. This points to a gap not in policy intent, but in execution and scale, particularly in areas that directly affect human development outcomes.

The administration's healthcare expansion efforts have recorded some measurable movement, particularly through the growth of the National Health Insurance Authority (NHIA). Coverage has increased to roughly 21–22 million Nigerians, about 10–13% of the population by 2025, indicating gradual progress in enrolment. However, this still leaves the overwhelming majority of Nigerians without formal health insurance, with many estimates showing that a large share of healthcare spending continues to be out-of-pocket. The intended community-based and demand-side mechanisms aimed at reaching poor and marginalised populations have not been fully realised, meaning that access remains uneven and heavily dependent on income and location. In practical terms, while the framework for expansion exists, its reach has not yet matched the scale of need.

Similarly, the commitment to strengthen health research funding has seen little tangible progress. The proposed allocation of around 1% of pooled health insurance funds toward research has not been implemented, leaving Nigeria's health research ecosystem constrained at a time when local capacity in pharmaceuticals, vaccines, and public health innovation is increasingly critical. This shortfall reflects a broader issue within the sector, where funding remains limited and often prioritised toward immediate service delivery rather than long-term system development.

Taken together, the sector reflects incremental policy movement without corresponding structural transformation. While there are signs of expansion and reform, particularly in health insurance coverage, the pace and depth of implementation remain insufficient to alter healthcare access significantly or outcomes for the majority of Nigerians.

INFRASTRUCTURE



The infrastructure sector stands out as one of the administration's weakest areas of performance, with none of the eight tracked promises fully achieved, two only partially delivered, and six promises clearly broken. This reflects a broader pattern where ambition has been high, but execution has lagged, particularly in large-scale transport and industrial projects that are central to long-term economic transformation.

Some limited progress has been recorded under the compromised promises, particularly in road development. Flagship projects such as the Lagos–Calabar coastal road and the Sokoto–Badagry superhighway, alongside ongoing rehabilitation works across the country, indicate movement toward improving connectivity. However, these efforts fall short of delivering a truly integrated nationwide highway system, as gaps in coordination, completion timelines, and network integration persist. Similarly, the Kano–Maradi rail project has seen measurable advancement, with reports indicating that construction has progressed significantly and in some cases approaching completion phases, even as full delivery remains pending. This suggests that while certain corridors are receiving attention, the broader rail modernisation agenda remains uneven.

The more striking pattern, however, lies in the number of broken promises, particularly within the rail and industrial sub-sectors. Critical rail projects such as Lagos–Kano, Benin–Abakaliki, Port Harcourt–Maiduguri, and Lagos–Calabar have either stalled or failed to progress meaningfully beyond the planning stages. For instance, while segments of the Lagos–Kano railway, such as Abuja–Kaduna and Lagos–Ibadan, are operational, large portions of the full corridor remain incomplete, limiting its effectiveness as a national backbone for freight and passenger movement. The Lagos–Calabar coastal rail project, despite longstanding approval and financing discussions, has yet to translate into tangible construction progress on the ground.

Equally significant is the failure to deliver on inland waterways and industrial revival commitments. The dredging of the River Niger, which would have improved year-round navigability and reduced logistics costs, has not been executed. Likewise, the long-promised revival of the Ajaokuta Steel Company an enduring symbol of Nigeria's industrial aspirations remains unrealised, with the facility continuing to operate far below its intended capacity decades after its conception. These gaps highlight the persistence of structural bottlenecks in project financing, coordination, and long-term policy continuity.

Overall, the sector reflects a disconnect between infrastructure planning and delivery. While there are visible pockets of activity, particularly in road construction and select rail projects, the absence of consistent execution across major transport corridors and industrial assets has limited the transformative impact of these investments. In practical terms, this means that the infrastructure required to support lower production costs, efficient logistics, and sustained economic growth remains largely underdeveloped.

SECURITY



**BROKEN
100%**

The promise to eliminate kidnapping has not been realised, as the crime remains deeply entrenched across the North-West and North-Central regions. Recent data shows that kidnapping continues at a significant scale, with thousands of abductions recorded annually, including over 4,700 incidents between mid-2024 and mid-2025 alone . The North-West remains the epicentre of this crisis, accounting for more than 60% of reported cases, with states such as Zamfara, Kaduna, Katsina, and Sokoto heavily affected. In addition, survey-based estimates suggest that the broader incidence of kidnapping and related crimes may be even higher, with millions of Nigerians reporting exposure to such threats within a single year.

Beyond the scale, the pattern of violence highlights its systemic nature. Kidnapping is no longer confined to isolated incidents but has evolved into a widespread criminal economy linked to banditry, insurgency, and organised armed groups. These activities continue to disrupt farming, trade, and mobility, particularly in rural and peri-urban areas, while also contributing to mass displacement and economic decline. The persistence of school abductions and attacks on communities further reinforces the depth of the crisis, with thousands of women and children affected over the past decade.

While security operations have intensified, the continued prevalence and geographic spread of kidnapping indicate that underlying drivers ranging from weak enforcement capacity to economic and governance challenges remain unresolved. As a result, the promise to eliminate kidnapping has not been fulfilled, and for many Nigerians, insecurity continues to shape everyday life rather than recede from it.

ENVIRONMENT



**BROKEN
100%**

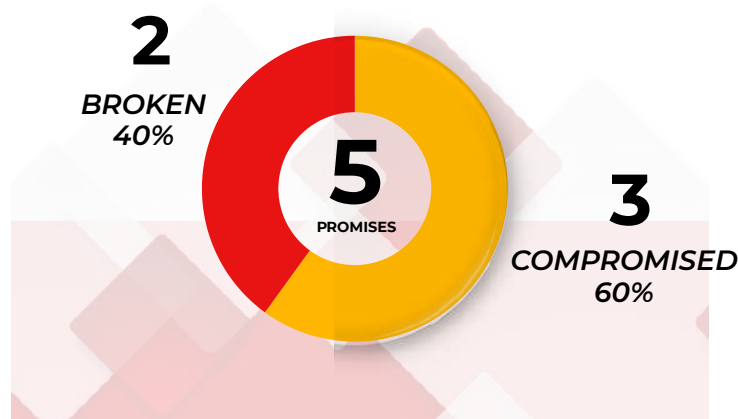
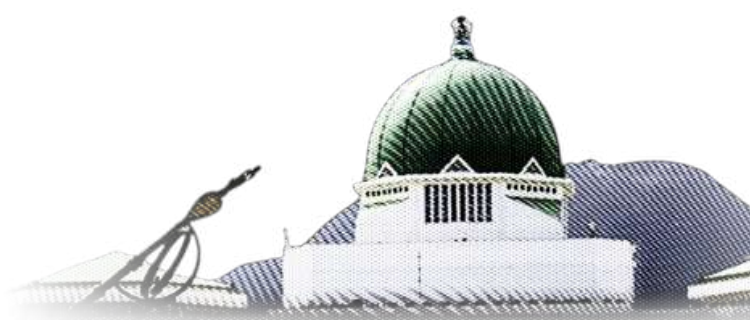
The environmental sector shows a complete absence of progress, with all tracked commitments falling into the broken category. This outcome shows the limited attention and follow-through given to environmental sustainability, despite the growing urgency of climate-related challenges across Nigeria's northern and lake basin regions.

The promise to rehabilitate the Lake Chad Basin has not been realised, as the ecological and humanitarian crisis in the region continues largely unabated. Lake Chad itself has shrunk dramatically over the decades by more than 90% since the 1980s, undermining fishing, farming, and pastoral livelihoods for millions of people who depend on it. Today, the basin remains a hotspot of overlapping crises, where environmental degradation, climate change, and insecurity reinforce one another, contributing to displacement and economic decline across affected communities. Despite longstanding proposals, including large-scale water transfer and restoration initiatives, implementation has remained largely stalled, leaving the region vulnerable to continued ecological collapse.

Similarly, the Great Green Wall project, an ambitious continental initiative aimed at combating desertification across the Sahel, remains incomplete and far from its intended targets. While the programme was designed to restore degraded land and protect livelihoods, progress has been slow and uneven, with persistent funding gaps, coordination challenges, and governance issues limiting its impact. In Nigeria specifically, desertification continues to advance, with significant portions of the northern region affected and millions of livelihoods at risk as arable land steadily degrades

In summary, the sector reflects a widening gap between environmental commitments and outcomes. While frameworks and initiatives exist on paper, the lack of sustained implementation has allowed ecological degradation to continue largely unchecked. In practical terms, this has profound implications not only for environmental sustainability but also for food security, migration, and long-term economic stability in some of the country's most vulnerable regions.

GOVERNANCE & RULE OF LAW



Governance reforms reflect partial movement without deep institutional transformation, with most commitments either compromised or broken. While there have been visible efforts to strengthen aspects of the judiciary and legislative framework, these have not translated into the systemic changes required to improve governance outcomes significantly.

Some progress has been recorded in strengthening the upper tiers of the judiciary. The appointment of 11 new Supreme Court justices in late 2023 restored the court to its full constitutional complement, addressing longstanding capacity gaps at the highest level. However, this improvement has not extended meaningfully to the lower courts, where the burden of justice delivery is most acute. The Federal High Court, for instance, continues to face a severe backlog, with about 75 judges handling over 128,000 pending cases, highlighting the scale of congestion and the limited progress in expanding trial court capacity. Efforts to digitise court processes have similarly fallen short, with the judiciary still largely dependent on manual systems that slow case resolution and prolong appeals.

Legislative reforms have also seen only incremental movement. Proposals to review constitutional legislative lists aimed at granting states greater authority over areas such as policing, prisons, and taxation have generated discussion and some engagement, but have not resulted in concrete constitutional amendments. This shows a broader challenge in Nigeria's governance structure, where reform requires a complex political consensus that has proven difficult to achieve due to a lack of political will to effect the change.

The broken promises, however, point to a lack of success in strategic governance and external positioning. The ambition to strengthen Nigeria's continental leadership through the formation of an African G-5 bloc has not materialised, reflecting a shift toward domestic priorities at the expense of regional influence. Similarly, the failure to establish a Department for Strategic Policy within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has limited coordination across government agencies. This has been compounded by the prolonged absence of ambassadors in numerous diplomatic missions following their recall in 2023, weakening Nigeria's diplomatic presence and effectiveness on the global stage.

Finally, While certain institutional gaps, particularly at the apex of the judiciary have been addressed, the persistence of systemic inefficiencies, legislative inertia, and weakened foreign policy coordination suggests that the government have not paid attention to governance reforms, as such failed to achieve the transformative impact initially envisioned.

CATEGORISATION

KEPT, BROKEN, COMPROMISED

KEPT

1. Fuel Subsidy Removal

On May 29, 2023, during his inauguration, President Bola Ahmed Tinubu declared that “the fuel subsidy is gone,” effectively ending a decades-long policy that had cost the Nigerian government trillions of naira annually. According to data from the Nigerian National Petroleum Company (NNPC), subsidy payments rose to over ₦4 trillion in 2022 alone, making it fiscally unsustainable. The removal immediately freed up government revenue and was widely acknowledged by institutions such as the World Bank and IMF as a **necessary structural reform**.

However, the policy also triggered inflationary pressures, with petrol prices rising from about ₦185/litre to over ₦500/litre in 2023 and subsequently higher in 2024–2025. Despite its social costs, the decisive implementation of this policy aligns fully with the campaign commitment.

2. Student loan programme

The Access to Higher Education Act, signed into law on June 12, 2023, established Nigeria’s first nationwide student loan framework. By mid-2024, the Nigerian Education Loan Fund (NELFUND) reported over 480,000 applications, with more than 190,000 students approved and over ₦37 billion disbursed. The revised 2024 amendment further removed guarantor requirements and expanded eligibility to vocational students.

This represents a major structural intervention in education financing, especially in a country where over 70% of students historically relied on family funding. The implementation, scale, and continuity of the programme demonstrate clear delivery of the promise by the president.

3. Introduce new social investment programs supporting the development of micro, small and medium enterprises (MSMEs) particularly among the poor.

Since 2023, the administration has rolled out a mix of targeted interventions, including grant schemes, credit facilities, and reforms to existing social investment frameworks. For instance, the Presidential Conditional Grant Scheme provides non-repayable funding to nano and small businesses across sectors, with a strong focus on women, youth, and vulnerable groups. In addition, new financing mechanisms such as single-digit loan programmes for MSMEs ranging from ₦250,000 to ₦5 million have been introduced to expand access to affordable credit, while broader institutional efforts like the creation of the National Credit Guarantee Company aim to reduce lending risks and improve financial inclusion for underserved entrepreneurs. The creation of these programmes demonstrate the government's commitment in fulfilling the promise.

4. Digital MSME Academy

On October 3rd, The Director-General of the Small and Medium Enterprises Development Agency of Nigeria (SMEDAN), Charles Odii, has unveiled the SME Digital Academy at the ongoing National MSMEs Conference held at the State House, Abuja. Odii highlighted that the academy is designed to provide capacity building for small business owners across Nigeria and beyond. Unlike the existing physical academy, the digital platform allows participants to access courses from any location worldwide using just a smartphone and an internet connection. The creation of the digital academy has categorically made the promise to be kept by the president. On October 3rd, The Director-General of the Small and Medium Enterprises Development Agency of Nigeria (SMEDAN), Charles Odii, has unveiled the SME Digital Academy at the ongoing National MSMEs Conference held at the State House, Abuja. Odii highlighted that the academy is designed to provide capacity building for small business owners across Nigeria and beyond. Unlike the existing physical academy, the digital platform allows participants to access courses from any location worldwide using just a smartphone and an internet connection. The creation of the digital academy has categorically made the promise to be kept by the president.

5. As part of our reforms, we will establish an advisory committee to review the existing regulatory environment governing blockchain technology and virtual asset services and, where necessary, suggest changes to create a more efficient and business-friendly regulatory framework.

The National Blockchain Policy Steering Committee (NBPSC), first inaugurated in 2023 and expanded in 2024, laid the groundwork for regulatory coordination. The signing of the Investment and Securities Act 2025 formally recognised digital assets as securities under SEC regulation.

These two actions have significantly improved the blockchain policy and governance in the country and have significantly affected the open adoption of virtual assets; therefore, the promise by the president to improve the regulatory framework of blockchain and virtual assets is kept.

6. Our government shall review all complaints about multiple taxation .

The administration introduced far-reaching tax reform measures, culminating in the passage of key tax reform bills by both the House of Representatives and the Senate in 2025. The proposed reforms seek to streamline Nigeria's tax system by reducing the number of taxes from more than 60 to fewer than 10, while also establishing a unified Nigerian Revenue Service to improve efficiency, coordination, and compliance.

For years, stakeholders including PwC and various local business associations have identified multiple taxation as a major impediment to investment, business growth, and ease of doing business in Nigeria. Although the reforms are still undergoing the harmonisation process prior to full implementation, the substantial legislative progress already achieved represents a significant step toward addressing longstanding structural inefficiencies within the country's tax administration framework, indicating that the administration has largely fulfilled its reform commitment in this area.

7. A hospitality training program will be established to give young Nigerians the knowledge and skills required to create a high-quality workforce for the tourism and hospitality industry.

President Bola Ahmed Tinubu pledged to establish a hospitality training programme aimed at equipping young Nigerians with industry-relevant skills for careers in tourism and hospitality. In August 2025, the Federal Government, through the Ministry of Arts, Culture, Tourism and Creative Economy, formally launched a national Hospitality Training Programme designed to provide young Nigerians with internationally aligned training in hotel management, catering, customer service, and tourism operations. The initiative was unveiled alongside a new animation hub as part of broader efforts to professionalise and expand Nigeria's creative and tourism industries.

The administration also integrated hospitality development into its wider Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) agenda. Through the programme, young Nigerians have received government-sponsored training in hospitality and care services across centres nationwide, including internationally certified courses in culinary art, housekeeping, and front-office operations. By 2026, applications had already opened for a second national TVET cohort, while additional hospitality-skills initiatives had reportedly trained and empowered at least 100 young people. Although the scale of implementation remains modest relative to the broader workforce demands of Nigeria's tourism sector, the rollout of these initiatives demonstrates substantial progress toward fulfilling the administration's commitment in this area.

8. A modern standard curriculum will be developed and implemented in all primary and secondary schools throughout the country.

The federal Ministry of Education on Sunday, 7 September 2025, released the newly developed curriculum for basic and senior secondary school students.

This curriculum will be implemented at the beginning of the 2025/2026 academic session. The curriculum is designed to be lighter on the students as they offer little subjects per class and it also introduced new skill acquisition subjects for the pupils and students.

9. End Incessant ASUU Strike

This commitment was made in the context of Nigeria's longstanding pattern of recurring ASUU strikes, particularly the eight-month nationwide strike in 2022, which significantly disrupted academic schedules. Early in his tenure, this commitment was widely referenced in public discourse, with expectations that the government would prevent further industrial actions and stabilise the university system.

President Tinubu pledged there would be no ASUU strike during his tenure, though this was tested when a warning strike emerged in 2025 amid unresolved demands over funding and agreements. Broader national reporting also indicates that tensions persisted into 2024, with ASUU issuing threats of industrial action over unpaid salaries and unmet agreements. The Federal Government (FG) and Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) has reached an agreement on increase in remuneration, creation of the National Research Council and other important issues, the agreement marks a milestone in resolving age long dispute between the FG and ASUU concerning the welfare of universities academic staff.

10. The tax regime applicable to the creative sector will be revised to better incentivise local production and attract foreign producers to Nigeria.

The promise by Bola Ahmed Tinubu to revise the tax regime applicable to Nigeria's creative sector was aimed at making the industry more attractive for local investment and foreign production. The proposal recognised the growing economic importance of sectors such as film, music, fashion, and digital media, which have increasingly become major contributors to employment and cultural exports. Since assuming office, Tinubu's administration has introduced broader fiscal and tax reforms intended to improve the business environment and reduce multiple taxation burdens affecting businesses, including those in the creative and digital economy. One of the administration's early executive orders suspended certain excise taxes and eased pressure on locally manufactured products, measures widely interpreted as supportive of the wider creative ecosystem. The administration also established the Presidential Committee on Fiscal Policy and Tax Reforms under tax expert Taiwo Oyedele to drive comprehensive tax restructuring.

More recently, the government signed sweeping tax reform legislation into law, introducing new frameworks for investment incentives, priority sectors, and economic development tax credits.

These reforms are intended to simplify taxation, improve investor confidence, and stimulate sectors considered important for diversification and job creation. These tax reforms have laid the policy groundwork for a more progressive creative tax regime and signified the president has kept his promise to revise the tax regime related to the creative industries.

11. We shall ensure that investors and foreign businesses repatriate their hard-earned dividends and profits home

The promise by Bola Ahmed Tinubu to ensure that investors and foreign businesses can repatriate their profits and dividends addressed one of the biggest concerns facing Nigeria's investment climate before 2023: severe foreign exchange shortages and a mounting backlog of unmet dollar obligations. Under the previous system, many multinational companies and airlines struggled to access foreign currency, leaving billions of dollars trapped in the country and weakening investor confidence. Shortly after assuming office, Tinubu's administration initiated major foreign exchange reforms through the Central Bank of Nigeria, including the unification of multiple exchange-rate windows and moves toward a more market-driven forex regime.

The government and the CBN repeatedly stated that restoring investor confidence depended on ensuring that businesses could freely access foreign exchange and repatriate legitimate earnings. Official reform documents from the Central Bank of Nigeria indicate that over \$7 billion in verified forex backlog obligations were cleared as part of efforts to stabilise the market and improve liquidity.

There is evidence that these reforms improved confidence among investors and foreign businesses, with several international stakeholders acknowledging progress in forex accessibility and transparency. Analysts noted that businesses previously unable to move profits out of Nigeria began to regain confidence after the reforms, while companies such as Emirates resumed operations after earlier suspensions linked to trapped funds.

As a result, Tinubu's administration has made progress toward fulfilling the promise, particularly through forex liberalisation and backlog clearance. The goal of seamless and fully predictable profit repatriation has largely been achieved and remains a kept promise.

CATEGORISATION: KEPT, BROKEN, COMPROMISED

BROKEN

1. Power generation should nearly double, and transmission and distribution networks improved

Nigeria's electricity generation has not met the promised scale of improvement. While generation capacity rose modestly from about 4,000MW in 2023 to peaks of around 6,000MW in 2026, it remains far below the level required for a country of over 200 million people. According to data from the Transmission Company of Nigeria, grid instability, gas supply constraints, and infrastructure limitations continue to prevent sustained output increases. Frequent grid collapses in 2024 and 2025 further highlight systemic weaknesses. Despite reforms such as the Electricity Act and ongoing investments under the Siemens-backed Presidential Power Initiative, the transmission and distribution networks remain inadequate. Experts, including reports cited by the World Bank, consistently identify transmission bottlenecks, not generation capacity, as the major constraint. The promise of nearly doubling power generation has clearly been broken by the president.

2. End Estimated Electricity Billing

A core campaign promise made by then-candidate Bola Tinubu was to eliminate the dreaded "estimated billing" system that has long plagued Nigerian electricity consumers. Since assuming office in May 2023, the administration has made this a headline objective under the Presidential Metering Initiative (PMI), which aims to close the national metering gap. Official data indicates that roughly 45% of the country's over 11 million electricity customers remain unmetered, leaving them vulnerable to often inflated and arbitrary billing from Distribution Companies (DisCos). To combat this, the government has mobilised significant funding to accelerate meter rollout and break this cycle.

In practice, the administration has taken several concrete steps. Key approvals include the mobilisation of N700 billion through the Federal Account Allocation Committee and a **\$500 million World Bank facility** under the Distribution Sector Recovery Programme (DISREP). Physical progress has been reported, with the **Minister of Power inspecting the delivery of 1.5 million smart meters in early 2026, of which 150,000 had already been installed for customers at that time**. Estimated billing is still rampant within the country as consumers complain of unfair electricity bill by DisCos, after 3 years in power this clearly shows the president has not ended estimated billing and has broken his promise.

3. We'll establish a co-operative farmer's council

The Tinubu administration pledged to establish a Co-operative Farmers' Council to strengthen coordination among farmers, improve access to inputs and credit, and enhance agricultural productivity. Since taking office, the government has taken some steps toward improving farmer data and targeting support, notably through the introduction of a NIN-linked farmer registry by the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security in collaboration with the National Identity Management Commission. This registry is designed to create a reliable database of farmers, enabling better distribution of subsidies, fertilisers, and financial services. While this represents progress in agricultural reform, it is not equivalent to the institutional structure promised during the campaign.

The absence of a formally established Co-operative Farmers' Council means there is still no central body coordinating farmer cooperatives nationwide. In Nigeria, where smallholder farmers account for over 80% of agricultural production, the lack of such a coordinating council continues to limit the effectiveness of agricultural policy interventions. Despite related initiatives, the specific promise to establish the council has not been fulfilled.

4. Full revival of Ajaokuta Steel Company

President Bola Tinubu promised during the 2023 campaign to fully revive the long-abandoned Ajaokuta Steel Company and make it the centrepiece of Nigeria's industrial revival. Since taking office, his administration has made Ajaokuta one of the main priorities of the new Federal Ministry of Steel Development. In September 2024, the government signed a memorandum of understanding with the original Russian builders of the plant, Tyazhpromexport, to rehabilitate both Ajaokuta Steel and the National Iron Ore Mining Company in Itakpe. The administration has also pursued new partnerships with Chinese and Indian firms, while the Minister of Steel Development says the government is developing an industrial park, gas infrastructure, and even military-production facilities around the Ajaokuta complex. In April 2026, Nigeria signed a new \$1 billion steel-sector investment agreement with India's **Rashmi Metaliks Group** as part of Tinubu's broader effort to revive domestic steel production.

Despite these moves, Ajaokuta itself has still not been fully revived and remains largely non-operational. Nearly three years into Tinubu's presidency, the plant has not resumed large-scale steel production, and the government is still searching for the financing and technical partners needed to complete the project. The prolonged search for investors and lack of work on the plant have jeopardised the rehabilitation of the steel company, which ultimately leads to the breaking of the president's promise to revive the company.

5. We shall also prioritise the completion of Benin – Abakaliki Rail

Among the comprehensive railway modernisation projects outlined in President Bola Tinubu's agenda, the Benin–Abakaliki line occupies a strategic place. According to feasibility studies completed and published on policy forums, the proposed route is a 500-kilometre network that would link Benin–Agbor–Onitsha–Nnewi–Owerri–Aba, with an additional branch line extending from Onitsha through Enugu to Abakaliki. This corridor is designed to connect the South-South and South-East geopolitical zones, serving critical commercial and agricultural hubs. Currently, however, this project remains in the [feasibility study phase](#), with no official timeline for construction or funding allocation publicly released by the Ministry of Transportation.

6. We shall also prioritise the completion of the Port Harcourt – Maiduguri rail

The promise by Bola Ahmed Tinubu to prioritise the completion of the Port Harcourt–Maiduguri railway reflects a long-standing national infrastructure objective tied to Nigeria's Eastern Corridor. The rail line—spanning over 1,400 km and connecting major commercial and agricultural hubs from Rivers State to Borno—is a key component of the country's railway masterplan and is designed to boost trade, reduce transport costs, and reconnect underserved regions. The project itself predates Tinubu's administration, with construction and rehabilitation efforts already underway as part of broader plans to modernise Nigeria's narrow-gauge network into a standard-gauge system. Since assuming office, Tinubu has reaffirmed the importance of this corridor within a wider strategy to expand rail infrastructure and position Nigeria as a logistics hub in Africa, with the project explicitly listed among ongoing national rail modernisation efforts.

However, developments since 2023 indicate that while the project has received renewed political attention and funding commitments, including reports of a roughly \$3 billion allocation for reconstruction and modernisation, it remains far from completion and the promise is remained unfulfilled.

7. Eliminating kidnapping

President Bola Ahmed Tinubu pledged to eliminate kidnapping as part of a broader security agenda to restore safety across Nigeria. Since taking office, the administration has introduced several measures, including enhanced military operations, deployment of additional security personnel, and attempts to improve intelligence coordination among agencies such as the Nigerian Army and the Nigeria Police Force. There have also been targeted operations in kidnapping hotspots in the North West, North Central, and parts of the South East, leading to the rescue of some victims and the arrest of suspected kidnapers.

Despite these efforts, kidnapping remains widespread and continues to pose a major threat to public safety. Data from security trackers such as [SBM Intelligence](#) show that thousands of Nigerians are still abducted annually, with ransom payments running into billions of naira.

High-profile incidents, including mass kidnappings in schools and attacks on highways, persist, indicating that the problem has not been eliminated. Structural issues such as weak policing capacity, poor intelligence systems, and economic hardship continue to fuel the crime.

8. Rehabilitation of the Lake Chad Basin ecosystem and other subnational economic systems affected by violent groups

President Bola Ahmed Tinubu pledged to rehabilitate the Lake Chad Basin ecosystem and restore livelihoods in regions affected by insurgency. Since taking office, the administration has continued participation in regional recovery efforts coordinated by the Lake Chad Basin Commission, alongside programmes supported by the United Nations Development Programme and the Food and Agriculture Organisation. These initiatives focus on ecosystem restoration, irrigation, livelihood support, and community stabilisation in Nigeria's North East. For instance, UNDP's Regional Stabilisation Facility has supported infrastructure rebuilding and economic reintegration in conflict-affected communities.

While programmes are ongoing, there is no evidence of a comprehensive rehabilitation of the ecosystem or full economic recovery across affected subnational systems.

9. The Great Green Wall of the North will be fully completed

President Bola Ahmed Tinubu pledged to ensure the full completion of the Great Green Wall project in northern Nigeria, a major environmental initiative aimed at combating desertification, restoring degraded land, and supporting livelihoods. Nigeria participates in this programme through the National Agency for the Great Green Wall and as part of the wider African initiative coordinated by the African Union. Since 2023, activities such as tree planting, land restoration, and community-based environmental projects have continued, supported by regional and international partners. However, the project remains far from completion. According to assessments by the United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification, only a fraction of the Great Green Wall's overall targets have been achieved across participating countries, including Nigeria. The initiative has faced persistent challenges such as inadequate funding, insecurity in affected regions, and weak coordination. Reports indicate that less than 20% of the total restoration target across the Sahel has been completed so far. (unccd.int) As a result, while progress continues incrementally, the promise of fully completing the Great Green Wall of the North has not been realised.

10. In the North West and North East, new industrial hubs will focus on textiles.

President Bola Tinubu promised that the North West and North East would host new industrial hubs focused on reviving Nigeria's textile industry. Since taking office, his administration has increasingly moved in that direction. In late 2024, the Federal Government announced plans to establish textile-focused industrial hubs in northern Nigeria as part of a broader effort to revive the cotton, textile, and garment sector. The initiative is expected to concentrate on states in the North West and North East, where Nigeria's textile industry was historically strongest. The government has since linked the proposal to its wider Nigeria Industrial Policy 2025, which identifies textiles as one of the strategic sectors for industrialisation and job creation.

The administration has also taken institutional steps to support the promise. In April 2025, the National Economic Council approved the creation of a Cotton, Textile and Garment Development Board, while textile workers' unions said the new board could help drive the revival of textile manufacturing hubs in the North. Government officials argue that the board, together with the new industrial policy, will help reopen factories, strengthen cotton production, and create thousands of jobs in northern Nigeria. However, there is still little evidence that the promised industrial hubs have actually been built or begun operating in the North West and North East. This promise is rated Broken.

11. We will establish the Media City as a Special Economic Zone to attract foreign investment and incentivise both local and international participation in the initiative - Media City modelled on the Dubai Media City. The project will include an international grade conference centre, office park, film studios and sound stages, a university of the arts, auditoriums and performance spaces, exhibition spaces, hotels, and residences.

President Bola Tinubu promised during the 2023 campaign to establish a Media City as a Special Economic Zone, modelled on Dubai Media City, with film studios, office parks, a conference centre, university of the arts, hotels, and residential facilities. Since assuming office, there is little evidence that the administration has formally launched the project or designated a specific Media City Special Economic Zone. No legislation, budget line, or official groundbreaking for such a development has yet been announced. This promise is rated Broken.

12. Working with the National Assembly, we will aim to pass legislation promoting female employment in all government offices, ministries, and agencies. The goal will be to increase women's participation in government to at least 35 percent of all governmental positions. This legislation shall also mandate the federal executive (particularly the cabinet and core senior advisers) to reserve a minimum number of senior positions for women. Private institutions shall be strongly encouraged to do likewise.

Nearly three years into his presidency, that legislation has not yet been introduced or passed. No bill has been enacted requiring ministries, departments and agencies to employ women in at least 35 percent of positions, nor has the federal cabinet been legally required to reserve a minimum number of senior roles for women. Instead, the administration has relied mainly on existing policies such as Nigeria's National Gender Policy, which already recommends 35 percent affirmative action but has long been weakly enforced.

The government's own appointments show that the promise remains far from being achieved. As of mid-2025, only 8 of Tinubu's 48 ministers were women, roughly 17 percent—well below the promised 35 percent. Women also remain heavily under-represented across government, holding only about 4 percent of seats in the National Assembly. Although lawmakers are currently considering a separate constitutional amendment to create additional reserved seats for women in the Senate, House of Representatives and state assemblies, that proposal is focused on elected offices rather than government appointments and was not initiated as the broad employment legislation Tinubu promised. This promise is rated Broken.

13. Power generation should nearly double, and transmission and distribution networks improved. We will encourage states to develop local sources as well

Since taking office, the administration has pursued this through the Electricity Act 2023, which for the first time allows states to regulate and generate electricity independently. By early 2026, more than 20 states had created electricity regulators or passed electricity laws, and states such as Abia, Enugu and Ekiti had begun developing local generation and distribution projects outside the national grid. The Federal Government has also continued the Siemens-backed Presidential Power Initiative, commissioned additional capacity from plants such as the 700MW Zungeru Hydropower Station, expanded the Afam power complex and announced a ₦3.3 trillion plan to settle debts in the sector and improve transmission infrastructure.

However, the promise remains far from achieved. Nigeria's actual electricity generation has risen only modestly from roughly 4,000MW when Tinubu took office to around 6,000MW at its peak in early 2026, an increase of about 50 percent rather than the near doubling that was promised. Even that improvement has not been sustained, with generation falling back below 5,000MW at several points because of gas shortages, transmission bottlenecks, and repeated grid collapses. This promise is rated Broken.

14. Promote better inter-agency coordination in foreign policy. A Department for Strategic Policy shall be established within the Foreign Ministry to improve the formulation, monitoring, and implementation of foreign policy.

Since taking office, the administration has repeatedly stressed the need for a more coordinated and strategic foreign policy. Foreign Minister Yusuf Tuggar has introduced a new doctrine centred on "strategic autonomy" and has worked more closely with the Presidency, the Ministries of Trade, Finance, Defence and Interior, and agencies such as the Nigerians in Diaspora Commission and the Nigerian Investment Promotion Commission.

However, there is no evidence that the promised Department for Strategic Policy has actually been created within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Official descriptions of the Ministry's structure still list its traditional departments—such as Planning, Research, and Statistics and the Foreign Service Inspectorate—but do not include a new Strategic Policy Department. Neither the Ministry nor the Presidency has announced legislation, a restructuring order, or a budget allocation establishing the unit promised during the campaign. This promise is rated Broken.

15. Enhance Nigeria's political leadership on the continent by establishing a G-5 among major African nations in order to develop common positions on issues of continental and global importance.

President Bola Tinubu promised to strengthen Nigeria's leadership role in Africa by creating a "G-5" of major African countries that would coordinate common positions on key continental and global issues. Since taking office, Tinubu has clearly pursued a more activist African foreign policy. As Chairman of ECOWAS in 2023 and 2024, he took the lead on responses to coups in Niger and elsewhere, while his government has also pushed for deeper African coordination on security, investment and diplomacy. In 2025, Tinubu hosted the Africa Sovereign Investors Forum in Abuja and called for stronger cooperation among African countries to drive continental development.

There is no evidence that Tinubu has actually established the specific "G-5" grouping promised during the campaign. Neither the Presidency nor the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has announced a formal alliance of five major African nations to coordinate positions on global affairs. This promise is rated Broken.

15. A Tinubu Government will establish and seed fund an Athletes' Welfare Fund.

President Bola Tinubu promised to establish and seed-fund an Athletes' Welfare Fund to support Nigerian athletes during and after their careers. Nearly three years into his presidency, there is no evidence that such a dedicated Athletes' Welfare Fund has been formally created. Neither the Presidency nor the National Sports Commission has announced a standalone fund, governing structure, or initial seed capital specifically for athlete welfare. The promise is rated Broken.

16. Youth Advisory Council: Inaugurate a Youth Advisory Council to the Employment Action Plan which we will develop.

President Bola Ahmed Tinubu pledged to establish a Youth Advisory Council to guide the implementation of an Employment Action Plan and ensure that young Nigerians are directly involved in policymaking. As of 2026, there is no evidence that such a council has been formally inaugurated. No official announcement, membership list, or operational framework has been released by the Federal Government or relevant ministries such as the Federal Ministry of Youth Development Nigeria. While the administration has launched youth-focused programmes such as skills training initiatives and enterprise support schemes, these do not substitute for a structured advisory body embedded in policy design. This promise is rated Broken.

17. We will continue with the current administration's plans to establish a new national carrier.

In August 2023, [Keyamo announced](#) that the national carrier project was suspended till further notice.

Keyamo said, "It remains suspended. It was never Air Nigeria. It was not Air Nigeria. That's the truth. It was only painted Nigeria Air. It was Ethiopian Airlines trying to flag our flag.

"If it is so, why not allow our local plane to fly our flag? So nobody should dispute that it was Nigeria Air. Air Nigeria must be indigenous, must be wholly Nigerian, and must be for the full benefits of Nigeria, not that 50 per cent of the profit is for another country."

Keyamo reiterated that the ownership structure of the suspended airline is not beneficial to the country. This promise is rated Broken.

18. Our government also shall work with the National Assembly to fashion an omnibus jobs and prosperity bill

Since the start of the administration in 2023, there is no clear evidence that such an omnibus Jobs and Prosperity Bill has been formally introduced, passed, or implemented by the National Assembly.

19. A Presidential Creative Industry Advisory Team will be established to steer government efforts in providing a more conducive environment within which our creative industry can flourish.

Tinubu acknowledged that Nigeria's creative sector had grown largely without structured institutional support and proposed the advisory team as a mechanism to guide policy, review regulatory frameworks, and improve the business environment for creatives. As noted in policy analyses such as, the proposed team was expected to coordinate government interventions, recommend reforms, and ensure that the industry benefits from more deliberate investment and governance.

Since assuming office, however, there is no clear evidence that a distinct Presidential Creative Industry Advisory Team, exactly as proposed, has been formally established. This promise is rated Broken.

20. Building on the successes of the one-day Governor Program, we will establish a Presidential Fellowship Scheme to give talented and determined young Nigerians new opportunities to experience and participate in governance and politics from an early age.

The promise by Bola Ahmed Tinubu to establish a Presidential Fellowship Scheme for young Nigerians was built on earlier initiatives like the "One-Day Governor" model, which allows young people to observe and participate in governance for a limited period. Such programmes like the Lagos "One-Day Governor" and similar legislative exposure initiatives have historically been used to inspire civic engagement and leadership among youths by giving them first-hand experience of government processes.

However, since the beginning of Tinubu's administration in 2023, there is no clear evidence that a formal Presidential Fellowship Scheme specifically designed to replicate and scale this concept has been established in the exact form promised. This promise is rated Broken.

CATEGORISATION: KEPT, BROKEN, COMPROMISED

COMPROMISED

1. Electricity will become more accessible and affordable to businesses and homes alike.

President Bola Ahmed Tinubu's promise that electricity would become "more accessible and affordable to businesses and homes" is grounded in repeated commitments made across campaign messaging, official speeches, and government policy direction. In public addresses, including his 2024 New Year speech, president Tinubu pledged to deliver more reliable electricity supply through ongoing power projects, notably the Siemens-backed Presidential Power Initiative aimed at strengthening transmission and distribution infrastructure. He has consistently framed electricity as central to economic growth, promising "stable electricity capable of powering industrialisation and national development" while acknowledging the sector's longstanding structural challenges.

Tracking implementation through government releases and verified reporting shows a focus on financial and structural stabilisation of the power sector as a pathway to improved access and affordability. In April 2026, the administration approved a **N3.3 trillion payment plan** to clear longstanding debts owed to power generation companies, a move officially described as necessary to restore investor confidence and improve electricity supply reliability. Alongside this, government statements and media coverage confirm continued assurances of near-term improvements in supply and grid stability amid ongoing outages. However, tracking reports also show that the promise is under active scrutiny, with critics pointing to persistent grid instability and supply shortfalls relative to campaign expectations. Overall, available evidence indicates that implementation is centred on sector reform, debt resolution, and infrastructure expansion, with measurable outcomes still evolving as these interventions progress. This promise is rated Compromised.

2. In the South East and South-South, a new hub and dry port will focus investment on labour-intensive manufacturing.

President Bola Tinubu promised that the South East and South-South would receive a new industrial hub and dry port focused on labour-intensive manufacturing. Since taking office, the administration has incorporated that idea into its broader industrial strategy. The Nigeria Industrial Policy 2025 identifies labour-intensive manufacturing as a priority sector and proposes region-specific industrial hubs tied to transport infrastructure, including inland dry ports and logistics corridors. In August 2025, the Federal Government designated Aba in Abia State as the South-East hub for Tinubu's industrial development agenda, citing the city's large concentration of shoe, garment, and light-manufacturing businesses. Officials said the plan would build on Aba's existing manufacturing base and connect it to new export and logistics infrastructure.

However, there is still no clear evidence that the promised new dry port has been completed or that a dedicated labour-intensive manufacturing hub is fully operational in the South-South.

3. Autonomy for universities

President Bola Ahmed Tinubu pledged to strengthen university autonomy, allowing higher institutions greater control over their governance, finances, and academic decisions. Since taking office, the administration has taken some steps that indirectly support this goal, particularly through reforms in university funding. The introduction of the student loan scheme under the Nigerian Education Loan Fund (NELFUND) is expected to reduce over-dependence on federal allocations and give universities more financial flexibility. In addition, engagements between the Federal Government and bodies such as the Academic Staff Union of Universities have focused on reducing strike actions and improving institutional stability.

However, there is no evidence of a comprehensive legal or structural reform that significantly expands university autonomy in Nigeria. Federal universities remain heavily dependent on government funding, and key decisions such as the appointment of vice-chancellors, salary structures, and fee policies are still largely controlled by central authorities. This promise is rated Compromised.

4. Increase gas production by 20%

President Bola Tinubu promised to increase Nigeria's gas production by 20 percent as part of his broader energy and industrial agenda. Since taking office, his administration has launched a series of initiatives to expand output, including the continuation of the "Decade of Gas" programme, new gas infrastructure projects, and a 2026 National Gas Master Plan targeting production of 10 billion cubic feet per day by 2027, up from about 8 billion cubic feet per day today. The government says more than 215 upstream and midstream gas projects worth over \$8 billion have already been unlocked, while new supply agreements with major industrial users such as Dangote Refinery and NLNG expansion projects are intended to stimulate further production.

However, available production figures suggest the promise has not yet been achieved. Data from the Nigerian Upstream Petroleum Regulatory Commission shows that Nigeria's total gas production rose from 2.508 trillion standard cubic feet in 2024 to 2.706 trillion standard cubic feet in 2025, an increase of about 7.9 percent rather than the promised 20 percent. Most of the growth came from non-associated gas fields, while associated gas production increased only slightly. Although the government argues that new investments and reforms will eventually deliver a larger increase, current output remains well below the promised target. As a result, this promise is rated compromised.

5. we will embark on the creation of a truly nationwide highway system, connecting all major cities and regions with modern, safe multi-lane highways.

President Bola Tinubu promised to create a "truly nationwide highway system" linking all major cities and regions through modern, multi-lane roads. Since taking office, his administration has launched or accelerated a many major highway projects across the country. These include the 1,068-kilometre Sokoto-Badagry Superhighway linking the far North West to Lagos, the 700-kilometre Lagos-Calabar Coastal Highway across nine southern states, the Abuja-Kaduna-Zaria-Kano dual carriageway, the Enugu-Onitsha Express-way, the Abuja-Lokoja-Benin Road, the Benin-Asaba Superhighway and the Akwanga-Jos-Bauchi-Gombe corridor. The government says these projects are intended to connect Nigeria's regions more effectively and create a modern national road network.

The administration has also approved dozens of additional dualisation and reconstruction projects, including the Second Niger Bridge access road, the Oyo-Ogbomoso Road, the East-West Road, the Lagos-Ibadan Express-way and several new federal corridors approved by the Federal Executive Council in late 2025. However, most of these highways are still under construction, while many sections have yet to begin. Although the Tinubu government has clearly made nationwide highway development one of its biggest infrastructure priorities, Nigeria does not yet have the fully connected, modern multi-lane system promised during the campaign. This promise is rated compromised.

6. We shall also prioritise the completion of Lagos – Kano rail.

The promise to prioritise the completion of the Lagos-Kano standard gauge railway by President Tinubu is one of Nigeria's most important transport projects. Since taking office, his administration has accelerated work on the unfinished Kaduna-Kano segment. According to the Minister of Transportation, the 203-kilometre Kaduna-Kano section was only about 15 percent complete when Tinubu assumed office in 2023, but had reached roughly 53 percent completion by early 2026. The government says it has secured new financing through the China Development Bank after earlier funding problems stalled the project.

The Tinubu administration has repeatedly described the Lagos-Kano line as one of its flagship railway priorities and says it intends to complete the remaining section by the end of 2026. In September 2025, Vice President Kashim Shettima stated that the Lagos-Kano rail modernisation project was central to the government's plan to turn Nigeria into a logistics hub and reduce pressure on the country's highways. However, the railway is still incomplete, and passengers cannot yet travel the entire route from Lagos to Kano on a continuous standard gauge line. While the administration has clearly prioritised the project and made visible progress.

7. Prioritise completion of the Kano-Maradi rail

The promise by Bola Ahmed Tinubu to prioritise completion of the Kano-Maradi railway builds on a major cross-border infrastructure project originally initiated under the administration of former President Muhammadu Buhari. The standard-gauge rail line is designed to connect Kano in northern Nigeria to Maradi, Niger Republic's second-largest city, creating a regional trade corridor that links agricultural and commercial centres to Nigerian ports and markets. The project was approved at a cost of nearly \$2 billion and was promoted as a strategic investment to strengthen trans-Saharan trade, improve freight movement, and expand Nigeria's economic influence within West Africa.

Since taking office in 2023, Tinubu's administration has repeatedly reaffirmed its commitment to completing the railway and has continued funding and construction activities. Government updates indicate that the Kano–Jigawa–Katsina–Maradi rail project has moved significantly beyond its early stages, with federal officials reporting that construction reached about 60 percent completion by 2026 and remains on track for phased delivery between 2026 and 2027. The administration has also presented the project as part of its broader infrastructure agenda under the Renewed Hope programme, arguing that it will ease the movement of goods and people while reducing pressure on road transport. However, despite visible progress, the railway is not yet operational, and completion timelines have shifted multiple times due to funding and implementation challenges.

The government has also begun concrete projects, including runway rehabilitation at Enugu Airport, upgrades to runways and taxiways at Kano Airport, and the approval of a second runway at Abuja's Nnamdi Azikiwe International Airport.

The administration has gone further by approving more than ₦900 billion in aviation infrastructure contracts under the Renewed Hope Infrastructure Fund. These projects include rebuilding terminals at Lagos airport, upgrading navigational systems, improving security infrastructure, and rehabilitating multiple runways nationwide. Government officials argue that these investments amount to the strongest aviation modernisation effort in years. However, most of the projects are still underway, and many airports continue to face aging runways, obsolete equipment, and delayed repairs. This promise is rated Compromised.

8. Decongest the Apapa Port and encourage greater use of other major seaports in the country such as Onne, Warri and Calabar. Our policies will include tax relief, credits, relaxed duties and tariffs, and other financial incentives.

Since taking office, the administration has taken some steps in that direction. In 2025, the Federal Government approved a \$1 billion programme to reconstruct and modernise Nigeria's major seaports, including Apapa, Warri, Calabar and Port Harcourt, with officials arguing that improved infrastructure will encourage more shipping lines and cargo operators to use ports outside Lagos. The government has also expanded rail and road connections to eastern and southern ports, while the Ministry of Marine and Blue Economy has promoted new incentives for indigenous shipowners and maritime investors.

However, there is no evidence that the specific tax reliefs, tariff reductions and financial incentives promised for Onne, Warri and Calabar have been fully implemented. Apapa remains Nigeria's dominant and most congested port, while cargo volumes through the alternative ports are still far below their capacity. Although the Tinubu administration has clearly moved toward upgrading and diversifying the port system, the promised policy package has not yet produced a major shift away from Apapa. This promise is rated Compromised.

9. We will establish and enforce a policy for the timely and adequate maintenance and improvement of airport runways and other critical aviation infrastructure.

Since taking office, his administration has made aviation rehabilitation a major priority. The Federal Airports Authority of Nigeria (FAAN) says it now plans a nationwide programme to rehabilitate runways at all 21 federal airports, estimating that more than ₦580 billion is needed because many of the runways built in the 1970s have exceeded their lifespan.

10. Allocate funds for digitisation of court processes. This will ensure that cases are handled more efficiently by trial courts while also contributing to greater speed and efficiency of the process of appeal.

President Bola Tinubu promised to allocate funds to digitise Nigeria's court processes so that cases could be handled more efficiently and appeals resolved more quickly. In 2025 and 2026, the Presidency repeatedly identified court digitisation as a priority, while the Chief Justice of Nigeria said the judiciary had launched a "comprehensive programme" to digitise court records, case files, and registry operations. The Supreme Court has already created a new Court Records Processing Unit, digitised its data-entry and filing systems, and begun moving from manual filing to a fully integrated e-filing platform linked to the National Case Management System.

The Federal Government has also backed these reforms with additional funding proposals for the judiciary. In the 2026 budget cycle, the Attorney-General asked the National Assembly for increased funding specifically to modernise court administration, expand digital infrastructure, and support electronic filing and case management across the country. However, much of the digitisation effort is still concentrated in the higher courts, while many trial courts continue to rely heavily on paper files and manual proceedings. This promise is rated Compromised.

11. Review the Constitutional legislative lists to ensure that States are given greater control over certain critical matters. Focus areas will include crime prevention, prisons, stamp duties, and certain forms of taxation.

President Bola Tinubu promised to review Nigeria's constitutional legislative lists so that states would gain greater control over issues such as crime prevention, prisons, stamp duties, and taxation. By late 2025, lawmakers had endorsed proposals to move policing from the Exclusive Legislative List to the Concurrent List, allowing states to establish their own police forces. Other proposals under consideration would also give states more authority over prisons, local taxation, and certain administrative functions. Tinubu has publicly supported the broader constitutional review, saying it should "deepen federalism" and strengthen state institutions.

The administration has also gone further on the fiscal side. In June 2025, Tinubu signed four major tax reform laws that reorganise tax powers and revenue collection between the federal and state governments. The reforms are intended to strengthen fiscal federalism and give states a clearer role in administering and benefiting from certain taxes and duties. However, most of the constitutional changes Tinubu promised have not yet become law. The proposals on state police, prisons, and legislative powers are still before the National Assembly and must still be approved by two-thirds of state assemblies before they can take effect. As a result, this promise is rated compromised.

12. Our healthcare delivery strategy will target poor and marginalised communities, leaving nobody behind. We will expand service delivery to marginalised groups through the use of demand-side incentives and the establishment of a regulated community-based health insurance scheme within the broader National Health Insurance Scheme.

President Bola Tinubu promised to expand healthcare access for poor and marginalised Nigerians through demand-side incentives and a community-based health insurance system linked to the National Health Insurance Scheme. The government has expanded insurance coverage for vulnerable groups, including pregnant women, children, and low-income households, using the Vulnerable Group Fund and state-based social insurance schemes. By early 2026, the administration said more than 10 million vulnerable Nigerians had been enrolled in health insurance, while national coverage had risen from about 6–7 percent to roughly 12 percent. The government has also strengthened the Basic Health Care Provision Fund, disbursing over ₦98 billion in 2025 alone to more than 8,300 primary healthcare centres, particularly in rural and underserved communities.

The administration has also moved toward the community-based model Tinubu promised. The NHIA has worked with states to expand local social health insurance agencies and community-level enrolment schemes under the broader national system, while the President has directed the implementation of mandatory health insurance across government institutions. However, there is still little evidence that a fully regulated, nationwide community-based health insurance scheme has been formally established as a distinct programme. Much of the current progress relies on expanding existing state insurance schemes and the Vulnerable Group Fund rather than creating a dedicated community-based system. This promise is rated Compromised

13. Our government will support the allocation of about 1% of pooled health insurance funds to health research, through research grants and support for institutions involved in health research.

The Federal Government's promise to allocate about 1% of pooled health insurance funds to health research appears to be moving from policy intent toward implementation, although there is not yet evidence that the full 1% allocation has been formally established in law or budget. A significant indication of progress came in January 2026, when the National Health Insurance Authority invited consultants, research institutions, universities, NGOs, and development partners to submit proposals for priority health research projects aimed at supporting Universal Health Coverage in Nigeria. The research areas identified by NHIA including health financing, quality of care, equity and health insurance market efficiency closely align with the government's stated objective of using health insurance resources to generate evidence and improve healthcare delivery.

The NHIA call for Expressions of Interest suggests that the government has begun laying the institutional groundwork for a research grant system tied to pooled health insurance funds. By actively seeking Nigerian research institutions and academic partners to undertake policy-relevant studies, the government is demonstrating practical movement toward the promise, even if the exact 1% funding target has not yet been publicly confirmed. This promise is rated Compromised.

14. Food shall be made more abundant yet less costly

President Bola Ahmed Tinubu's promise to make food "more abundant yet less costly" is rooted in a broader economic strategy that links agricultural expansion with inflation control. In his policy direction and public statements, the administration committed to boosting food production while reducing inflation, particularly food inflation, from historically high levels of over 34% to around 15%, although, ³³through rebasing of the methodology used in the analysis.

Recent data suggests partial progress toward this goal, though with important caveats. Inflation has shown a downward trajectory, with headline inflation dropping from above 30% in 2024 to around 15%–16% in 2025–2026, while food inflation has also declined significantly in some periods. Reports attribute this moderation to a mix of policies including agricultural incentives, removal of trade barriers, and macroeconomic tightening, which together have improved supply conditions and eased price pressures on key staples. However, structural challenges such as insecurity affecting farming regions, high transportation costs, and reliance on food imports continue to limit how quickly abundance translates into affordability. This promise is rated Compromised.

15. Embark on a dredging campaign for our most strategically important inland waterways to make and keep them navigable for the passage of goods and people.

Inland waterways development falls under the mandate of the National Inland Waterways Authority (NIWA), which is responsible for improving navigation channels, regulating dredging, and facilitating water-based transport systems. Since 2023, government policy under the Ministry of Marine and Blue Economy has increasingly emphasised dredging as a core component of intermodal transport reform, with plans to expand navigable waterways and reduce pressure on roads and rail. For instance, official disclosures indicate a target to dredge about 2,000 kilometres of inland waterways in 2024 as part of efforts to lower logistics costs and improve cargo movement across the country, while broader policy ambitions include expanding navigable waterways from roughly 3,800 km to as much as 10,000 km through sustained dredging initiatives.

However, while these initiatives demonstrate clear policy direction and early implementation steps, the dredging campaign remains at a partial and evolving stage rather than a fully realised nationwide transformation. Government actions so far have focused on planning, budgetary allocations, and selective dredging of priority channels rather than a comprehensive, continuous dredging programme across all strategic waterways. This promise is rated Compromised.

16. We shall make permanent a biannual “State of the Youth” survey to create a platform for young Nigerians to give feedback to the government regarding their opinions on the performance of government, paying special attention to youth empowerment programs and policies.

The promise reflects a broader recognition that Nigeria’s large youth population must be actively engaged in governance, not just as beneficiaries but as participants in policy evaluation.

The government has released a portal of registration for the National Youth Confab 2025, youth from that age of 18 to 35, although 10% of participants will be considered above age 35. excerpt from the website indicate it is an initiate of the president to drive youth engagement and participation "The National Youth Conference 2025 (Confab) is Nigeria’s largest youth-driven dialogue platform, bringing together young voices from all 360 federal constituencies, six geopolitical zones, and the diaspora. Convened by the Federal Ministry of Youth Development based on the mandate of President Bola Ahmed Tinubu, GCFR, to promote youth involvement in decision making and to harness input into government programs The conference also empowers young Nigerians to shape national policies and propose innovative solutions." The promise is rated Compromised.

17. Reserve at least three cabinet positions for persons under the age of 40 and 6 more positions for members under the age of 50.

The campaign promise by Bola Ahmed Tinubu to reserve at least three cabinet positions for persons under 40 and six more for those under 50 was framed as a deliberate move to institutionalise youth inclusion at the highest levels of governance. The goal was to give younger Nigerians, who constitute the majority of the population, a direct say in executive decision-making.

However, evidence from the composition of Tinubu’s cabinet indicates that the promise was only partially fulfilled. While a few young ministers were appointed such as Ayodele Olawande, who was in his 30s, and others like Betta Edu (mid-30s) the number of ministers under 40 did not clearly meet the promised threshold of three at the outset. Broader demographic analysis also shows that there were no ministers classified within the official “youth” category (15–29), and most cabinet members remained significantly older. Although the administration did include several individuals in their 30s and early 40s and later made additional youth-leaning appointments, the overall composition fell short of the specific numerical targets set in the promise. This promise is rated Compromised.

18. We shall improve aircraft maintenance, safety measures, and incident reporting requirements regarding domestic airlines and ensure fairness and transparency in ticket pricing for both international and domestic airlines. This includes providing compensation to passengers for significant flight delays or cancellations attributable to the conduct of the airline or its staff.

Since 2023, the administration working through the Nigerian Civil Aviation Authority (NCAA) and the Ministry of Aviation has taken visible steps to tighten regulatory oversight. This includes stronger enforcement of existing aviation safety and consumer protection rules as well as interventions following safety incidents, such as the suspension of airlines over regulatory breaches.

There have been notable progress on the passenger rights and compensation aspect of the promise. Enforcement of Part 19 of Nigeria's Civil Aviation Regulations has been significantly strengthened, requiring airlines to compensate passengers for delays, cancellations, and service failures. The aviation minister has directed regulators to enforce compensation rules strictly, including penalties and ticket rebates for affected passengers. As a result, airlines have paid over ₦1 billion in refunds and compensation to passengers in recent periods, with thousands of travellers benefiting from stricter compliance enforcement. However, challenges remain around consistent enforcement, transparency in ticket pricing, especially for international routes, and the structural issues driving delays, such as fleet limitations and infrastructure gaps. Overall, while the administration has made measurable progress in strengthening safety oversight and enforcing passenger compensation, the broader goals of transparent pricing and systemic reliability improvements remain a work in progress. This promise is rated compromised.

19. Increase the number of trial courts at the federal level and appoint enough judges to staff them. More courts mean faster resolution of disputes. We will also create administrative and financial incentives for States with congested courts to do the same.

The promise by Bola Ahmed Tinubu to increase the number of federal trial courts and appoint more judges directly addresses Nigeria's long-standing problem of judicial congestion and delayed justice delivery. Since assuming office, the administration has taken concrete steps toward this goal by initiating legislative reforms aimed at expanding judicial capacity. In January 2026, Tinubu transmitted bills to the National Assembly seeking to increase the number of judges in key federal courts, including raising the number of judges of the Federal High Court from 70 to 90 and expanding the Court of Appeal bench from 70 to 110. These proposals were explicitly justified as necessary to handle the growing volume and complexity of cases, reduce delays, and improve efficiency in the justice system.

While these actions demonstrate clear policy movement toward fulfilling the promise, implementation remains incomplete. The proposed increases are still subject to legislative approval and full execution, meaning the expanded capacity has not yet been fully realised across the judiciary. Moreover, there is limited evidence of structured administrative or financial incentives being rolled out to encourage states to replicate similar expansions in their own court systems, which was a key part of the original commitment.

20. Modernise our ports by deepening the harbour and shipping lanes as well as enlarging berths and docking facilities to allow for the largest cargo vessels to use all Nigerian seaports.

The promise by Bola Ahmed Tinubu to modernise Nigeria's ports by deepening harbours, expanding shipping lanes, and enlarging berths and docking facilities was aimed at transforming the country into a more competitive maritime and logistics hub. Nigeria's ports have long struggled with congestion, shallow draught limitations, outdated infrastructure, and inefficiencies that force larger vessels to rely on trans-shipment through neighbouring countries. Since assuming office, Tinubu's administration has pursued several initiatives aligned with this objective, including support for deep-sea port expansion, reconstruction of aging port infrastructure, and efforts to attract foreign investment into the maritime sector. A major development came in 2024 when the government secured a \$600 million investment commitment from A.P. Moller-Maersk to upgrade existing port facilities and accommodate larger vessels, with the administration emphasising automation, efficiency, and harbour modernisation as key priorities.

The administration has also backed broader reconstruction and expansion plans for major seaports, including Apapa and Tin Can Island, while leveraging newer infrastructure such as the Lekki Deep Sea Port, Nigeria's first operational deep-sea port capable of handling larger cargo vessels. However, despite these policy moves and investment commitments, much of the promised transformation remains ongoing rather than completed. Many Nigerian ports still face operational bottlenecks, shallow channel constraints, and insufficient berth expansion needed to fully accommodate the world's largest cargo ships across all seaports.

RECOMMENDATIONS

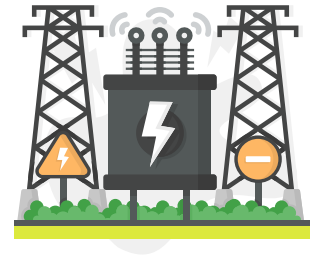
A careful assessment of the administration's promise performance reveals a clear pattern: while many structural reforms have been initiated and some commitments fully delivered, a larger share of promises remain either stalled, partially implemented, or completely unfulfilled. This gap between policy intent and real-world outcomes reflects deeper systemic challenges within Nigeria's governance, including weak institutional capacity, funding constraints, policy inconsistency, and the disconnect between federal ambition and on-the-ground execution. To close this gap and restore public confidence in governance, the following sector-specific recommendations are proposed, grounded in Nigeria's current realities and evidence from implementation outcomes.

Economic Development

Nigeria's economic management requires urgent coherence and discipline. While reforms such as fuel subsidy removal and exchange rate unification signal bold intent, their social consequences, particularly inflation, rising cost of living, and declining purchasing power, have placed immense strain on ordinary Nigerians. The government must move beyond macroeconomic adjustments and prioritise a people-centred stabilisation strategy. This includes aggressive inflation control through coordinated fiscal and monetary policy, expand waiver and tariff reduction on essential food items, commodities, and automobiles, and targeted expansion of social protection systems that directly reach vulnerable households. Strengthening domestic production, particularly in agriculture and light manufacturing, is critical to reducing import dependence and stabilising prices. Without deliberate intervention to ease economic hardship, even well-intentioned reforms risk losing public legitimacy.



RECOMMENDATIONS



Power Sector

The power sector remains one of the most critical bottlenecks to Nigeria's development, and current progress falls significantly short of national needs. Despite policy reforms and increased investments, electricity supply remains unreliable, with persistent grid collapses and widespread estimated billing eroding public trust. The government must urgently shift from centralised grid dependence to a decentralised energy model that empowers states, industrial clusters, and private investors to generate and distribute power independently. Financial interventions in the sector should be tied to measurable performance outcomes, particularly in metering, distribution efficiency, and service delivery. Simultaneously, regulatory enforcement must be strengthened to protect consumers from exploitative billing practices. Stable electricity is not just an infrastructure issue; it is fundamental to economic productivity, job creation, and quality of life.



Agriculture and food security

Agriculture and food security demand a more coordinated and institutional approach. While there have been efforts to improve farmer data and support programmes, the absence of a well-planned national coordination mechanism such as the promised cooperative farmers' council continues to limit impact. Smallholder farmers, who form the backbone of Nigeria's food system, remain fragmented, underfunded, and vulnerable to market shocks and insecurity. The government should prioritise the establishment of strong farmer cooperatives, backed by access to credit, storage facilities, insurance, and guaranteed market linkages. Addressing insecurity in farming regions, particularly in the North West and North Central, is equally critical, as no agricultural reform can succeed without safety. Reducing post-harvest losses through logistics and storage investments will also play a key role in making food more abundant and affordable.

RECOMMENDATIONS



Infrastructure

Infrastructure development in this administration has been lofty and ambitious; the execution has been slow. While large-scale road and rail projects have been announced across the country, many remain incomplete or slow-moving, limiting their economic impact. There is a need for a more disciplined project delivery framework that prioritises completion over expansion. Public-private partnerships should be structured transparently, with clear timelines, accountability mechanisms, and performance tracking. Inland water transport, including the long-promised dredging of the River Niger, should be developed as a viable alternative logistics network to reduce pressure on roads and lower transportation costs. Inland water transportation has the potential to improve transportation and economies of riverine areas, connects the states together and reduce stress on road infrastructures. Lagos state has already proved the water transportation can work the federal government should scale it up by inviting private investors and dredging the waterways for effective transport. Without efficient infrastructure, Nigeria's aspirations for industrial growth and regional trade integration will remain constrained.



Education

The education sector requires urgent and sustained reform to address both access and quality. While initiatives such as the student loan scheme and curriculum reform represent progress, systemic challenges such as inadequate funding, poor infrastructure, and recurring industrial disputes persist. The government must prioritise long-term investment in education, including teacher training, digital learning infrastructure, and vocational education aligned with labour market needs. Greater institutional autonomy for universities should be pursued through legal and policy reforms, reducing dependence on federal funding and enabling innovation in governance and financing. Education must be repositioned not just as a social service but as a strategic driver of national development.

RECOMMENDATIONS



Healthcare

Healthcare delivery remains critically underdeveloped, particularly for vulnerable populations. Although efforts have been made to expand insurance coverage and strengthen primary healthcare funding, access to quality care remains limited for millions of Nigerians. The government must accelerate the development of a truly nationwide, community-based health insurance system that ensures financial protection for low-income households. Investments should focus on revitalising primary healthcare centres, improving workforce capacity, and ensuring the availability of essential drugs and equipment. Preventive healthcare, including nutrition and maternal health services, should also be prioritised to reduce long-term health burdens.



Security

Security remains one of the most pressing challenges facing Nigeria, with kidnapping, banditry, and communal violence continuing to disrupt daily life and economic activity. Despite increased military operations, the persistence of these threats highlights the need for a more comprehensive security strategy. This must include strengthening local policing systems, improving intelligence gathering, and addressing the socio-economic drivers of crime, such as unemployment and poverty. Community-based security models, supported by technology and data-driven policing, should be integrated into national security architecture. Without improved security, progress in other sectors will remain fragile and uneven.

CONSIDERATIONS FOR VOTERS AHEAD OF THE 2027 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

For voters ahead of the 2027 Presidential Election, this report provides a comprehensive snapshot of the current administration's track record based on promises made and outcomes observed. While notable achievements include bold economic reforms, expansion of social investment programmes, and progress in areas such as education financing and digital enterprise support, significant shortcomings remain in critical sectors that directly affect citizens' daily lives. Persistent challenges in electricity supply, security, infrastructure delivery, and job creation continue to shape public perception of the administration's performance.

Public sentiment data reflects this mixed reality. Multiple national surveys indicate widespread dissatisfaction with economic conditions, governance outcomes, and institutional trust, with over 80% of Nigerians expressing low confidence in government performance and public institutions. Simultaneously, experts and international institutions acknowledge that some of the administration's reforms, particularly subsidy removal and fiscal restructuring, were necessary steps to stabilise the economy, even though they have imposed short-term hardship on citizens. This tension between long-term policy direction and immediate economic pain remains central to evaluating the government's overall effectiveness.

Voters should therefore weigh both the intent and impact of governance decisions. While structural reforms may lay the foundation for future growth, the slow pace of improvement in key areas such as security, where incidents of violence and kidnapping persist, and infrastructure delivery raises questions about implementation capacity and policy priority. Additionally, declining public trust and perceptions of weak accountability highlight the need for more transparent governance and stronger engagement with citizens' concerns.

As Nigeria approaches the next electoral cycle, voters are encouraged to critically assess not only what has been promised and partially delivered, but also what remains unfulfilled. The need for stronger accountability, more consistent policy execution, and measurable improvements in living conditions remains paramount. Voters should demand clearer timelines, credible policy adjustments, and a renewed focus on addressing unresolved challenges, particularly in security, economic inclusion, and public service delivery, to ensure that future governance is both responsive and sustainable.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the period leading up to the 2027 Presidential Election presents Nigerian voters with a complex but critical decision. The current administration's record reflects a blend of decisive policy actions and persistent governance challenges. While reforms have contributed to modest macroeconomic stability, evidenced by steady growth projections around 4% and improved fiscal indicators, these gains have not yet translated into widespread improvements in living standards for many Nigerians.

At the same time, unresolved issues in security, infrastructure, and public service delivery continue to undermine confidence in governance, with ongoing violence and instability highlighting gaps in effective implementation. The disconnect between policy intent and everyday realities remains a defining feature of the current political landscape.

As such, the 2027 election should not merely serve as a referendum on promises made, but as a forward-looking assessment of capacity, credibility, and commitment to inclusive development. Voters are encouraged to evaluate both achievements critically and shortcomings, demand greater accountability and transparency, and prioritise leadership that demonstrates not only strong policy direction but also the ability to deliver tangible improvements in security, economic wellbeing, and quality of life. Ultimately, the choice made in 2027 will play a decisive role in shaping Nigeria's trajectory toward sustainable growth, social stability, and effective governance.

APPENDIX

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

S/N	Promise	Status
1	We shall phase out the fuel subsidy	Kept
2	Reform tax regime for the creative sector	Kept
3	Introduce social investment programs	Kept
4	Establish digital MSME Academy	Kept
5	Review investor complaints	Kept
6	Ensure profit repatriation for investors	Kept
7	In the South East and South South, a new hub...	Compromised
8	Increase gas production by 20%	Compromised
9	Decongest the Apapa Port and encourage greater use of other major seaports in the country such as Onne, Warri and Calabar. Our policies will include tax relief, credits, relaxed duties and tariffs and other financial incentives.	Compromised
10	Modernise our ports by deepening the harbour and shipping lanes as well as enlarging berths and docking facilities to allow for the largest cargo vessels to use all Nigerian seaports.	Compromised
11	Establish policy for creative industry growth	Compromised
12	We shall improve aircraft maintenance, safety measures and incident reporting requirements regarding domestic airlines and ensure fairness and transparency in ticket pricing for both international and domestic airlines. This includes providing compensation to passengers for significant flight delays or cancellations attributable to the conduct of the airline or its staff.	Compromised
13	Establish hospitality training program	Compromised
14	Establish and seed funding programs	Compromised
15	Youth cabinet representation	Compromised
16	Work with the National Assembly on reforms	Compromised
17	Make food more abundant and affordable	Compromised
18	We'll establish a co-operative farmer's council	Broken
19	Industrial hubs in North West and North East	Broken
20	Dredging campaign for waterways	Broken

APPENDIX

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

S/N	Promise	Status
21	Continue with current administration reforms	Broken
22	Presidential Creative Industry Advisory Team	Broken
23	Establish Media City as a Special Zone	Broken
24	Youth Advisory Council	Broken
25	Biannual "State of the Nation" briefings	Broken
26	Presidential Fellowship Scheme	Broken
27	Omnibus jobs and prosperity bill	Broken
28	Improve electricity access and affordability	Broken
29	Double power generation capacity	Broken
30	Revive Ajaokuta Steel Company	Broken

EDUCATION

S/N	Promise	Status
1	End incessant ASUU strikes	Kept
2	Develop a modern curriculum	Kept
3	Student loan scheme	Kept
4	Autonomy for universities	Compromised

APPENDIX

ENVIROMENT

S/N	Promise	Status
1	Rehabilitation of Lake Chad Basin	Broken
2	Complete the Great Green Wall	Broken

GOVERNANCE & RULE OF LAW

S/N	Promise	Status
1	Increase the number of trial courts and appoint more judges	Compromised
2	Digitise court processes for greater efficiency	Compromised
3	Review constitutional legislative lists to give states greater control	Compromised
4	Establish a G-5 among major African nations	Broken
5	Promote better inter-agency coordination in foreign policy	Broken

INFRASTRUCTURE

S/N	Promise	Status
1	Create a nationwide highway system connecting major cities	Compromised
2	Prioritise completion of the Lagos-Kano rail	Compromised
3	Prioritise completion of the Kano–Maradi rail	Compromised
4	Fully revive Ajaokuta Steel Company	Broken

REFERENCES

S/N	PROMISE	REFERENCE
1	End Incessant ASUU Strike	https://www.thisdaylive.com/2025/10/09/fg-moves-to-resolve-asuu-crisis-averts-strike/ https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/849097-asuu-fg-agreement-nigerian-govt-begins-implementation-ahead-of-signing-ceremony.html?tztc=1
2	We shall phase out the fuel subsidy.	https://africappractice.com/insights/tinubus-reforms-leave-nigerians-reeling/ , https://www.iisd.org/publications/report/compensation-mechanisms-fuel-subsidy-removal-nigeria
3	A modern standard curriculum will be developed and implemented in all primary and secondary schools throughout the country.	https://x.com/NigEducation/status/1964760709583253854
4	We will institute a pilot student loan regime like the program established by the Lagos and Kaduna State Governments	https://statehouse.gov.ng/in-detail-the-student-loan-access-to-higher-education-act-2024/ , https://placng.org/Legist/new-act-sets-to-implement-loans-to-students/
5	As part of our reforms, we will establish an advisory committee to review the existing regulatory environment governing blockchain technology and virtual asset services and, where necessary, suggest changes to create a more efficient and business-friendly regulatory framework.	https://thenationonline.ng/fed-govt-establishes-council-to-coordinate-virtual-assets-regulation/?utm_source=chatgpt.com
6	The tax regime applicable to the creative sector will be revised to better incentivise local production and attract foreign producers to Nigeria.	https://www.advokc.ng/presidential-promises/president-tinubus-promise-to-address-taxation-in-the-creative-sector-takes-off , https://www.pwc.com/ng/en/assets/pdf/the-nigeria-tax-reform-acts-top-20-changes-to-know-and-top-6-things-to-do-pwc.pdf
7	A hospitality training program will be established to give young Nigerians the knowledge and skills required to create a high-quality workforce for the tourism and hospitality industry.	https://www.nigeriastartupact.ng/fg-launches-hospitality-training-program-animation-hub-to-empower-youth/
8	Introduce new social investment programs supporting the development of micro, small and medium enterprises (MSMEs) particularly among the poor.	https://finance.gov.ng/fg-boosts-msme-financing-with-ncgc-initiative-2/ , https://www.boi.ng/federal-government-presidential-conditional-grant-scheme-pcgs-rolls-out-to-empower-nano-businesses-across-nigeria-2/
9	We will establish a digital MSME Academy to provide continuous learning opportunities for young entrepreneurs, giving them access to experts and advice on global best practices in order to improve their business development through increasing managerial know-how, financial management and organisational structure.	https://smallbusinessinsights.ng/smedan-unveils-sme-digital-academy-at-national-msmes-conference/
10	Our government shall review all complaints about multiple taxation	https://www.pwc.com/ng/en/assets/pdf/the-nigeria-tax-reform-acts-top-20-changes-to-know-and-top-6-things-to-do-pwc.pdf , https://www.reuters.com/markets/nigerias-advisory-body-proposes-creation-central-tax-agency-2024-05-30/
11	We shall ensure that investors and foreign businesses repatriate their hard-earned dividends and profits home	https://www.cbn.gov.ng/AboutCBN/Reforms.html , https://africappractice.com/insights/tinubus-reforms-leave-nigerians-reeling/
12	FCT - Autonomy for universities	

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S/N	PROMISE	REFERENCE
13	In the South East and South South, a new hub and dry port will focus investment on labour-intensive manufacturing.	https://statehouse.gov.ng/president-tinubu-unveils-nigeria-industrial-policy-2025-demands-speedy-implementation/
14	Increase gas production by 20%	https://cms1977.nnpcgroup.com/uploads/NNPC_GMP_2026_Report_Final_For_Upload_51bfeafda6.pdf
15	we will embark on the creation of a truly nationwide highway system, connecting all major cities and regions with modern, safe multi-lane highways.	https://nairametrics.com/2025/03/31/see-the-13-major-ongoing-road-projects-under-the-tinubu-administration/ , https://www.tvcnews.tv/full-list-major-road-projects-approved-by-federal-executive-council/
16	We shall also prioritise the completion of Lagos – Kano rail.	https://businessday.ng/news/article/fgs-proposed-nitrn-metro-rail-for-kano-set-to-rewire-business-landscape/ , https://punchng.com/tinubu-pushes-for-railway-modernisation-to-boost-nigerias-logistics-ambition/
17	We shall also prioritise the completion of Kano - Maradi rail	https://statehouse.gov.ng/fg-kano-jigawa-katsina-to-maradi-railway-project-60percent-completed-set-for-delivery-end-of-2027/ , https://www.thecable.ng/buhari-flags-off-1-9bn-kano-maradi-rail-project/?utm_source=chatgpt.com
18	Decongest the Apapa Port and encourage greater use of other major seaports in the country such as Onne, Warri and Calabar. Our policies will include tax relief, credits, relaxed duties and tariffs and other financial incentives.	https://www.nigerianeye.com/2025/10/tinubu-launches-1b-port-overhaul-for.html
19	Modernise our ports by deepening the harbour and shipping lanes as well as enlarging berths and docking facilities to allow for the largest cargo vessels to use all Nigerian seaports.	https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/nigeria-secures-600-million-maersk-investment-seaport-infrastructure-2024-04-28/
20	Embark on a dredging campaign for our most strategically important inland waterways to make and keep them navigable for the passage of goods and people.	https://dredgewire.com/nigerian-ports-transformation-into-profit-engines/?utm_source=chatgpt.com , https://blueprint.ng/fg-to-dredge-2000-km-of-inland-waters-in-2024-official/
21	We will establish and enforce a policy for the timely and adequate maintenance and improvement of airport runways and other critical aviation infrastructure.	https://www.thisdaylive.com/2025/01/16/faan-shops-for-n580-billion-to-rehabilitate-21-airports-runways/ , https://von.gov.ng/aviation-sector-cabinet-okays-n900bn-for-infrastructure-upgrades/
22	We shall improve aircraft maintenance, safety measures and incident reporting requirements regarding domestic airlines and ensure fairness and transparency in ticket pricing for both international and domestic airlines. This includes providing compensation to passengers for significant flight delays or cancellations attributable to the conduct of the airline or its staff.	https://www.thisdaylive.com/2026/05/01/festus-keyamo-the-man-who-made-nigerias-airlines-fly-further-better-and-safer/ , https://aviationmetric.com/carriers-refund-n1b-to-passengers-late-2025-as-ncaa-fumes-over-5-tsc-csc-non-remittances/?utm_source=chatgpt.com
23	Our healthcare delivery strategy will target poor and marginalised communities, leaving nobody behind. We will expand service delivery to marginalised groups through the use of demand-side incentives and the establishment of a regulated community-based health insurance scheme within the broader National Health Insurance Scheme.	https://www.facebook.com/ntanetworknews/posts/fg-unveils-2025-national-health-facility-survey-reveals-gains-in-healthcare-deli/1263227632648917/ , https://tribuneonlineeng.com/over-n98bn-injected-into-primary-health-sector-in-2025-tinubu/?utm_source=chatgpt.com
24	Our government will support the allocation of about 1% of pooled health insurance funds to health research, through research grants and support for institutions involved in health research.	https://www.nhia.gov.ng/nhia-call-for-expressions-of-interest-advancing-universal-health-coverage-through-research/

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S/N	PROMISE	REFERENCE
25	A Tinubu Government will establish and seed fund an Athletes' Welfare Fund.	
26	Reserve at least three cabinet positions for persons under the age of 40 and 6 more positions for members under the age of 50.	https://parliamentreports.com/8-women-18-ex-lawmakers-4-ex-ministers-meet-president-tinubu-ministers/ , https://newtelegraphng.com/full-list-meets-young-ministers-appointed-by-tinubu/
27	We shall make permanent a biannual "State of the Youth" survey to create a platform for young Nigerians to give feedback to government regarding their opinions on the performance of government, paying special attention to youth empowerment programs and policies.	
28	Working with the National Assembly, we will aim to pass legislation promoting female employment in all government offices, ministries, and agencies. The goal will be to increase women's participation in government to at least 35 percent of all governmental positions. This legislation shall also mandate the federal executive (particularly the cabinet and core senior advisers) to reserve a minimum number of senior positions for women. Private institutions shall be strongly encouraged to do likewise.	https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/797780-midterm-review-tinubu-gender-inclusion-agenda-falls-short-of-promises.html
29	Increase the number of trial courts at the federal level and appoint enough judges to staff them. More courts mean faster resolution of disputes. We will also create administrative and financial incentives for States with congested courts to do the same.	https://www.channelstv.com/2026/01/27/tinubu-seeks-increase-in-number-of-judges-sends-judicial-reform-bills-to-senate/
30	Allocate funds for digitisation of court processes. This will ensure that cases are handled more efficiently by trial courts while also contributing to greater speed and efficiency of the process of appeal.	https://punchng.com/judiciary-making-strides-in-restoring-public-confidence-cjn
31	Review the Constitutional legislative lists to ensure that States are given greater control over certain critical matters. Focus areas will include, crime prevention, prisons, stamp duties and certain forms of taxation.	https://www.vanguardngr.com/2025/09/tinubu-tajudeen-kalu-reaffirm-commitment-to-constitutional-reforms/ , https://www.pwc.com/ng/en/publications/the-nigerian-tax-reform-acts.html
32	Food shall be made more abundant yet less costly	https://punchng.com/new-year-message-tinubu-promises-massive-food-production-15-inflation-in-2025/ , https://www.arise.tv/report-tinubu-renewed-hope-agenda-fuels-inflation-slowdown/?utm_source=chatgpt.com
33	Electricity will become more accessible and affordable to businesses and homes alike.	https://punchng.com/new-year-tinubu-promises-reliable-power-supply/ , https://www.channelstv.com/2026/04/05/tinubu-approves-%E2%82%A63-3trn-payment-plan-to-restore-reliable-power/
34	We'll establish a co-operative farmer's council	-
35	End Estimated Electricity Billing	https://www.tcnnews.ng/2026/01/power-minister-inspects-smart-metres.html , https://statehouse.gov.ng/president-tinubu-unveils-nigeria-industrial-policy-2025-demands-speedy-implementation/ , https://www.thisdaylive.com/2025/11/20/at-niso-stakeholders-meeting-fg-vows-estimated-billing-to-end-in-3-years/
36	Full revival of Ajaokuta Steel Company	https://steel.gov.ng/read/3288?

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S/N	PROMISE	REFERENCE
37	Dredging the River Niger.	
38	Eliminating kidnapping	https://www.eurasiareview.com/05122025-nigeria-emerges-as-a-kidnapping-hotspot-of-the-world-oped/
39	Rehabilitation of the Lake Chad Basin ecosystem and other subnational economic systems affected by violent groups.	https://www.undp.org/africa/projects/regional-stabilization-facility-lake-chad-basin
40	The Great Green Wall of the North will be fully completed.	https://www.greatgreenwall.org/about-great-green-wall
41	In the North West and North East, new industrial hubs will focus on textiles.	-
42	We shall also prioritise the completion of Benin – Abakaliki Rail	https://www.thecable.ng/on-urban-railway-lines-was-the-south-east-marginalised/
43	We shall also prioritise the completion of Port Harcourt – Maiduguri rail	https://infrastructuremag.com.ng/2025/10/01/tinubu-3-billion-eastern-corridor-rail-overhaul-to-transform-nigerias-transport-and-trade/
44	We shall also prioritise the completion of Lagos - Calabar rail	-
45	We will continue with the current administration's plans to establish a new national carrier.	https://punchng.com/updated-fg-suspends-nigeria-air-indefinitely/
46	A Presidential Creative Industry Advisory Team will be established to steer government efforts in providing a more conducive environment within which our creative industry can flourish.	-
47	We will establish the Media City as a Special Economic Zone to attract foreign investment and incentivise both local and international participation in the initiative - Media City modelled on the Dubai Media City. The project will include an international grade conference centre, office park, film studios and sound stages, a university of the arts, auditoriums and performance spaces, exhibition spaces, hotels, and residences.	-
48	Youth Advisory Council: Inaugurate a Youth Advisory Council to the Employment Action Plan which we will develop.	-
49	Building on the successes of the one-day Governor Program, we will establish a Presidential Fellowship Scheme to give talented and determined young Nigerians new opportunities to experience and participate in governance and politics from an early age.	https://www.vanguardngr.com/2022/12/tinubu-presidencyll-give-youths-sense-of-belonging-lagos-one-day-govs/
50	Enhance Nigeria's political leadership on the continent by establishing a G-5 among major African nations in order to develop common positions on issues of continental and global importance.	-
51	Promote better inter-agency coordination in foreign policy. A Department for Strategic Policy shall be established within the Foreign Ministry to improve the formulation, monitoring and implementation of foreign policy.	https://businessday.ng/news/article/nigeria-anchors-2026-foreign-policy-on-strategic-autonomy-regional-stability-tuggar/

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S/N	PROMISE	REFERENCE
52	Our government also shall work with the National Assembly to fashion an omnibus jobs and prosperity bill	
53	Power generation should nearly double, and transmission and distribution networks improved. We will encourage states to develop local sources as well.	https://www.verivafrika.com/insights/can-nigerias-power-sector-deliver-stable-electricity-in-2026?
	Macroeconomics	https://data.worldbank.org/country/nigeria , https://cisinigeria.org/wp-content/uploads/2026/02/NIGERIA-ECONOMIC-REVIEW-AND-OUTLOOK-FOR-2026.pdf? , https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/nigeria-projects-2026-deficit-428-gdp-tinubu-proposes-spending-plan-2025-12-19/?utm_source=chatgpt.com , https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/nigeria-enters-consolidation-phase-after-two-years-reforms-says-finance-chief-2026-01-15/ , https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/world-bank-says-nigerian-economy-grow-2026-iran-war-lifts-inflation-2026-04-07/ , https://www.pwc.com/ng/en/press-room/nigeria-economic-outlook-jan-2026.html , https://cisinigeria.org/wp-content/uploads/2026/02/NIGERIA-ECONOMIC-REVIEW-AND-OUTLOOK-FOR-2026.pdf

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