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LEGISLATIVE AGENDA METER

10TH SENATE OF FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA

THREE-YEAR

ASSESSMENT REPORT



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ABBREVIATIONS

Acronym	Meaning
FIRS	Federal Inland Revenue Service
HURIWA	Human Rights Writers Association of Nigeria
INEC	Independent National Electoral Commission
NASS	National Assembly
NBS	National Bureau of Statistics
NDDC	Niger Delta Development Commission
NHIA	National Health Insurance Authority
NHC	National Health Commission
NIMC	National Identity Management Commission
NITDA	National Information Technology Development Agency
NUPRC	Nigerian Upstream Petroleum Regulatory Commission
SMEs	Small and Medium-scale Enterprises
UBEC	Universal Basic Education Commission

About Us

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AdvoKC Foundation is a youth-led civic technology organisation 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.

"At AdvoKC, we believe democracy works best when citizens are informed, engaged, and equipped with evidence."



Vision

To be the catalyst for transparent governance and social justice.



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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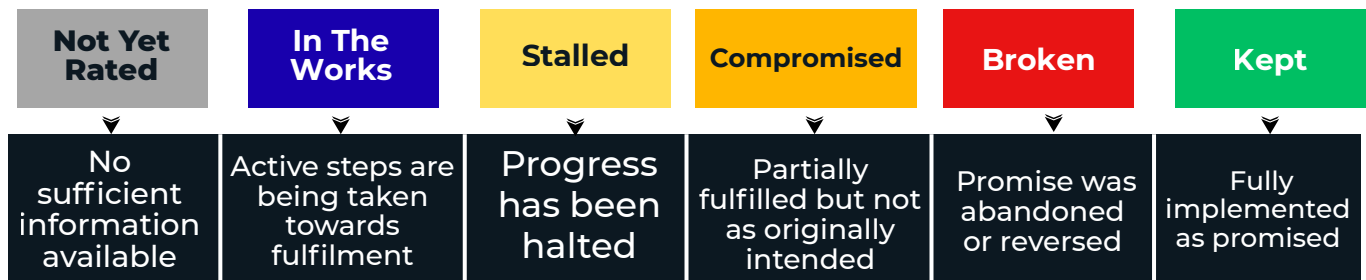
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ABOUT PROMISE TRACKER NG

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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 Okpebholometer focuses on Governor Monday Okpebholo of Edo 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 Senate, 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.

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This section sets out the methodological framework governing how the Senate Legislative Agenda Meter commitments are identified, selected, monitored, and rated for this report. The methodology is designed to ensure rigour, transparency, reproducibility, and fairness in assessing the progress of the National Senate against its stated legislative agenda.

1.1 Definition of a Promise

For this report, a promise is defined as a prospective, publicly stated commitment of legislative action, policy intervention, or governance outcome sourced from the Legislative Agenda of the 10th Senate.

Every promise tracked in this report is accompanied by its source, whether it is the official Legislative Agenda document, Hansard records, a verified media report, official press release, or a public statement made by an identified legislator or legislative body.

1.2 Selection Process

All the promises were drawn from the official Legislative Agenda of the 10th Senate document. A six-member review committee comprising researchers, policy analysts, and civic advocates was convened to refine this pool.

Promises were selected based on the following criteria:

- **Timeline Relevance:** Commitments whose implementation was expected either explicitly or by reasonable inference within the three-year reporting window of this document (June 2023 to June 2026).
- **Socio-Economic Significance:** Commitments with direct or material implications on the quality of life of Nigerians, particularly in the six thematic areas: Economic Development & Jobs, Education, Healthcare, Justice & Security, Governance & Political Reform, and Environment.
- **Verifiability:** Only commitments that can be evidenced through credible, publicly accessible documentation are included. Vague aspirational statements that cannot be linked to specific legislative outputs are excluded.
- **Legislative Nexus:** The commitment must be one that the Senate, as an institution or through its members, has the constitutional competence and institutional responsibility to deliver.

1.3 Tracking Process

The tracking methodology relies on continuous and systematic monitoring of the legislative activities, communications, and policy outputs of the Senate and its members throughout the reporting period. Evidence is gathered from multiple reliable and independently verifiable sources, including:

- Official National Senate records: Hansard, Order Papers, Committee Reports, and Voting Records
- The National Senate portal and the official websites of relevant agencies
- Bills passed, amended, or rejected as published in the Federal Gazette
- Freedom of Information (Fol) requests and formal disclosures
- Budget documents, appropriation acts, and supplementary estimates
- Verified social media accounts of legislators and key government agencies
- Credible national and international news organisations
- Civil society monitoring reports and academic analyses

Contextual factors, including executive-legislative dynamics, constitutional constraints, budgetary limitations, and inter-agency coordination challenges, are also tracked, as these can directly influence the pace and outcome of legislative fulfilment.

1.4 Promise Rating System

Each promise is assessed against its stated objectives and the legislative outputs directly attributable to it. All promises receive one of three final verdicts upon assessment:

Promise Kept

This verdict is assigned when a legislative commitment has been fulfilled substantially or completely in accordance with its original intent. Evidence of fulfilment includes: a bill passed into law, a motion adopted, a budget line appropriated, or a stated policy outcome demonstrably achieved as a direct result of legislative action. The outcome must be tangible and verifiable, not merely aspirational.

Compromised

A promise earns this verdict when the outcome partially reflects the original commitment but falls short of its full scope or intent. This may occur when: a bill was passed but in a significantly diluted or amended form; progress was made, but implementation remains incomplete or uneven; the stated timeline was substantially exceeded without adequate justification; or the commitment was met only for a subset of the intended beneficiaries or scope. A 'Compromised' verdict acknowledges real effort and partial progress while holding legislators accountable to the full weight of their commitment.

Promise Broken

This verdict is assigned when a commitment has not been fulfilled either because no discernible action was taken, the effort was abandoned, the administration reversed course, or legislative inaction persisted beyond reasonable expectation. A 'Promise Broken' rating does not automatically imply bad faith; it may reflect systemic constraints, executive non-cooperation, or external disruptions. However, where inaction appears wilful or where competing priorities were clearly deprioritised without justification, this rating serves as a direct accountability signal to citizens.

Promises in active progress where credible, verifiable steps have been taken but fulfilment is not yet complete are assigned an interim status of 'In the Works' or 'Not Yet Rated' for live tracking on the Promise Tracker NG platform, but are resolved into one of the three final verdicts for the purposes of this report.

1.5 Scoring Framework

In addition to individual promise verdicts, each of the six thematic areas is assigned a composite fulfilment score to enable comparative assessment across sectors. The score is calculated as follows:

S/N	VERDICT	SCORE CONTRIBUTION
1	PROMISE KEPT	1.0 POINTS (FULL CREDIT)
2	COMPROMISED	0.5 POINTS (PARTIAL CREDIT)
3	PROMISE BROKEN	0 POINTS

$$\text{Sector Score (\%)} = (\text{Sum of points earned} \div \text{Total possible points}) \times 100$$

This scoring approach enables an at-a-glance understanding of which sectors have seen meaningful legislative action and which have been neglected.

ABOUT THIS REPORT



This report is produced by AdvokC Foundation through its Promise Tracker NG initiative. AdvokC Foundation is a youth-led civic technology organisation committed to promoting transparency, accountability, and citizen participation in governance. Using data-driven research, digital tools, media, entertainment, and community advocacy, the Foundation empowers Nigerians to hold elected officials accountable to the commitments they make before and after elections.

The Legislative Agenda Meter is one of four tracking instruments under the Promise Tracker NG platform, dedicated specifically to monitoring the legislative commitments of members of the National Assembly, both the Senate and the House of Representatives. This three-year report covers the period from May 2023 to May 2026 of the 10th Senate tenure.

For live, continuously updated data on all tracked promises, visit: www.promisetracker.ng/legislativeTracker/senate.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The 10th Senate of the Federal Republic of Nigeria was inaugurated in June 2023 amid heightened public expectations for legislative leadership, institutional reform, and democratic renewal. Facing a country grappling with economic instability, rising insecurity, declining public trust in government institutions, growing demands for constitutional reform, and increasing pressure for greater accountability, the Senate adopted an ambitious Legislative Agenda intended to serve as a roadmap for its four-year tenure. The Agenda outlined commitments across governance and political reform, economic development, education, healthcare, justice and security, infrastructure, and social inclusion, with the overarching goal of strengthening democratic institutions and improving the quality of governance in Nigeria.

Three years into its tenure, the Senate has reached a critical point that allows for a meaningful assessment of its performance against these commitments. This report presents the first comprehensive midterm evaluation of the Senate Legislative Agenda between June 2023 and June 2026. Using the Promise Tracker NG methodology, the assessment tracks 34 major commitments contained within the Legislative Agenda and evaluates the extent to which legislative actions, reforms, and policy outcomes align with the promises made at the beginning of the Senate tenure. The findings provide an evidence-based picture of where the Senate has delivered, where progress has been made but remains incomplete, and where commitments have not materialised despite the passage of time.



The assessment finds that the Senate's overall performance reflects a mixed but measurable record of legislative delivery. Out of the 34 commitments assessed, 9 promises were fulfilled, 12 recorded partial implementation and were rated Compromised, while 13 promises remained unfulfilled and were rated Broken. Using the report's scoring framework, the Senate achieved an overall performance score of 15 resulting in approximately 44.11 percent. While this score indicates that the institution has made notable progress in certain areas, it also reveals that a significant proportion of the reforms envisioned at the beginning of the Senate remain unfinished at the midpoint of its tenure.

The Senate's strongest performance was recorded in the area of Education and economic governance and institutional reform. Major achievements include the passage of the Free universal Basic education act (Amendment) bill 2026 thereby increasing funding to basic education and making it free and compulsory, far-reaching tax reform legislation, reforms to strengthen capital market regulation through the Investments and Securities Act 2025, passage of Compulsory, increased appropriations for infrastructure development,

the advancement of public accountability measures through the Federal Audit Service Bill, the passage of the UBEC amendment bill for increased access to basic and senior secondary schools, and the amendment of the Basic Healthcare Provision Fund framework to expand financing for primary healthcare. These reforms demonstrate the Senate's capacity to deliver complex legislation with potentially significant long-term impacts on economic management, public finance, and service delivery.

The assessment also finds evidence of meaningful progress in several reform areas that yet to be completed. Constitutional amendment efforts, electoral reform initiatives, local government autonomy proposals, judicial reform discussions, youth inclusion initiatives, and gender representation measures have all advanced through various stages of legislative consideration. However, many of these reforms remain trapped within lengthy constitutional amendment processes, extended committee deliberations, or unresolved political negotiations. While progress has been recorded, citizens are yet to experience the full benefits originally envisioned by these commitments. Consequently, these reforms have been rated compromised, reflecting both legislative effort and the reality of incomplete delivery.

The report further identifies several areas where performance has fallen significantly below expectations. Key security reforms, including the domestication of important regional security treaties, comprehensive anti-arms proliferation measures, defence procurement reform, and broader security cooperation legislation, remain largely unrealised. Similarly, commitments relating to electoral accountability, police reform, gender equality legislation, and treaty domestication have seen limited or no tangible legislative outcomes despite their inclusion in the Legislative Agenda. In these cases, legislative action either failed to materialise, stalled before completion, or fell substantially short of the original commitment.

A notable finding emerging from this assessment is the contrast between the Senate's performance on conventional legislation and its performance on structural governance reforms. The Senate has demonstrated greater success in passing bills that require standard legislative processes, particularly in economic and fiscal governance. However, reforms requiring constitutional amendments, intergovernmental consensus, or extensive political negotiations have progressed much more slowly. This pattern suggests that while the institution has been capable of legislative productivity, it continues to face significant challenges when attempting to deliver transformational reforms that require broad political agreement across multiple stakeholders.

Ultimately, the findings suggest that the 10th Senate has demonstrated a willingness to pursue reform and has achieved several notable legislative victories. However, the institution has yet to translate that legislative activity into comprehensive delivery across the full spectrum of its commitments. With two years remaining in its tenure, the Senate retains a significant opportunity to improve its record by accelerating constitutional reforms, concluding pending legislative initiatives, strengthening oversight functions, and prioritising unfinished commitments that directly affect governance, security, education, healthcare, and citizen participation.

As Nigeria approaches another electoral cycle, this assessment serves not only as a measure of legislative performance but also as a tool for democratic accountability. The Legislative Agenda represented a public commitment to Nigerians. Three years later, the evidence shows a Senate that has made progress, achieved important reforms, and demonstrated legislative capacity, but one that still faces considerable work if it is to fully realise the ambitions it set for itself at the beginning of the 10th Senate.

INTRODUCTION

The Senate occupies a central position in Nigeria's democratic system, exercising constitutional responsibilities that include lawmaking, oversight of the executive, approval of public expenditure, and representation of the interests of the federating units. The Agenda outlined a series of commitments aimed at strengthening democratic governance, promoting economic development, enhancing national security, improving social service delivery, and deepening citizen participation in public affairs.

Three years into its four-year tenure, the Senate has reached a critical milestone that provides an opportunity to assess the extent to which these commitments have translated into concrete legislative action and measurable outcomes. pre-ballot assessments are particularly important because they offer citizens, civil society organisations, policymakers, and the media an evidence-based understanding of legislative performance while sufficient time remains for corrective action before the end of the Senate's mandate.

This report presents a three-year assessment of the Senate Legislative Agenda covering the period from June 2023 to June 2026. Using the Promise Tracker NG methodology, the report evaluates 34 key commitments drawn from the Senate's official Legislative Agenda and assesses the extent to which they have been fulfilled. Each commitment is tracked against verifiable evidence obtained from legislative records, official government publications, budget documents, committee reports, policy documents, and credible public sources. Promises are assessed using a three-tier rating system: Kept, Compromised, and Broken, providing a clear framework for measuring legislative delivery and accountability.

The findings reveal a Senate that has recorded important legislative achievements, particularly in educational reform, economic reform, public finance management, healthcare financing, and capital market regulation. Simultaneously, progress has been uneven across several reform areas, with constitutional amendments, electoral reforms, security sector initiatives, and governance restructuring measures advancing more slowly than anticipated. While some commitments have been fully delivered, many remain incomplete, and others have seen little measurable progress despite the passage of three years.

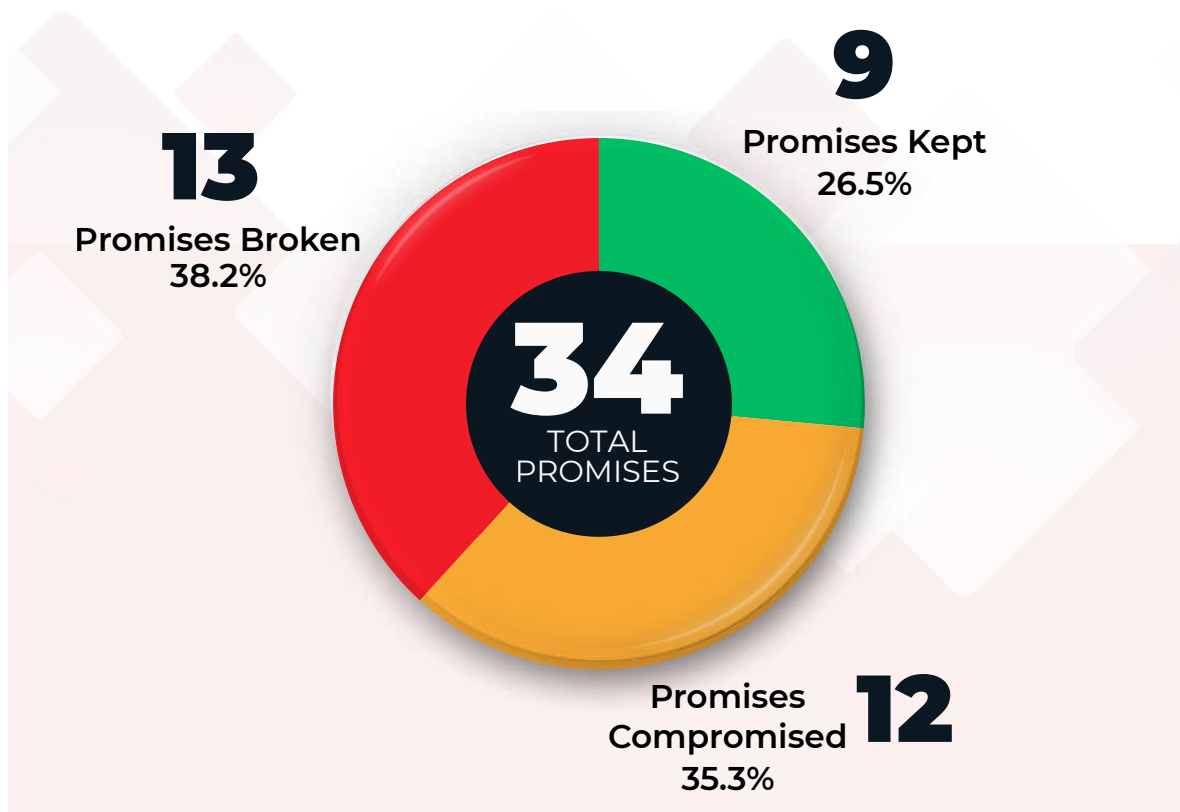
This assessment is not intended to be a judgment on individual legislators or political parties. Rather, it serves as a non-partisan accountability tool that measures performance against publicly stated commitments. By examining both achievements and shortcomings, the report seeks to contribute to informed public discourse, strengthen democratic accountability, and encourage greater responsiveness to the expectations of Nigerian citizens.

As the 10th Senate enters the last leg of its tenure, the findings contained in this report provide an important benchmark for evaluating future progress. They also offer a reminder that legislative agendas are more than policy documents; they are public commitments that must ultimately be judged by the extent to which they deliver meaningful change in the lives of citizens and strengthen the institutions of democratic governance.

Overall Performance

At the three-year of its tenure, the performance of the 10th Senate presents a mixed but insightful picture of legislative delivery. The Senate entered office in June 2023 with an ambitious Legislative Agenda that promised far-reaching reforms across governance, economic development, education, healthcare, security, infrastructure, transparency, and democratic participation. Three years later, the evidence shows an institution that has demonstrated considerable legislative activity and succeeded in advancing several important reforms, but one that has also struggled to fully translate many of its commitments into completed legislative outcomes.

Of the 34 commitments assessed in this report, 9 were rated Kept, 12 were rated Compromised, and 13 were rated Broken, resulting in an overall performance score of 44.11 percent. The findings suggest that the Senate's strongest performance has been in the area of education, where significant progress was recorded through improving legislation on basic and senior education access and improving funding for Universal Basic Education. These achievements demonstrate the Senate's capacity to process complex legislation and build consensus around economic and institutional reforms.



However, the assessment also reveals a recurring pattern of incomplete implementation. Nearly half of all commitments assessed fall within the Compromised category, indicating that while legislative action was initiated, the intended reforms were not fully realised within the reporting period. This trend is particularly evident in constitutional amendments, electoral reforms, judicial reforms, education financing initiatives, local government autonomy proposals, and youth inclusion measures. Often, bills progressed through legislative stages, public hearings were conducted, and reform processes were initiated, but final passage or implementation remained outstanding.

The Senate recorded its weakest performance in the areas of governance restructuring, justice and security reforms, and environmental commitments. Several major promises, including electoral accountability reforms, treaty domestication, police reform, defence procurement reform, gender equality legislation, and anti-arms proliferation measures, failed to advance sufficiently to achieve their intended objectives. These commitments represented some of the most transformative elements of the Legislative Agenda, yet many remained stalled in committee processes, constitutional review procedures, or broader political negotiations.

The sectoral analysis further highlights a significant disparity between economic reform performance and governance reform performance. Education recorded the highest fulfilment score at 66.7 percent, reflecting substantial progress on educational reforms. Economic Development & Jobs followed closely with 57.1 percent score reflecting an above average performance in fiscal and economic legislative action. By contrast, Governance and Political Reform scored only 40.6 percent, while Justice and Security and Environment each recorded scores of 30 percent and 0 percent respectively. These figures suggest that the Senate has been more successful in delivering conventional legislation than in implementing politically sensitive structural reforms that require extensive consensus-building and constitutional change.

Overall, the evidence points to a Senate that has remained legislatively active and achieved several notable policy victories, but which still faces substantial unfinished business. With two years remaining in its tenure, the Senate retains an opportunity to improve its performance by accelerating constitutional reforms, concluding pending legislative initiatives, strengthening oversight mechanisms, and prioritising commitments that have experienced prolonged delays. The extent to which these outstanding reforms are completed will ultimately determine the legacy of the 10th Senate and its contribution to Nigeria's democratic development.

Thematic Area	Total	Kept	Broken	Compromised	Score	Score (%)
Economic Development & Jobs	7	3	2	2	4	57.10%
Education	3	2	1	0	2	66.70%
Healthcare	2	1	1	0	1	50.00%
Justice & Security	5	0	2	3	1.5	30.00%
Governance & Political Reform	16	3	6	7	6.5	40.60%
Environment	1	0	1	0	0	0%
TOTAL	34	9	13	12	15	44.11%

ECONOMY & JOBS

Economic Development and Job Creation is one of the Senate's strongest-performing thematic area during the first three years of the 10th Senate. Of the seven commitments assessed under this sector, three were fulfilled, two recorded partial implementation, and two remained unfulfilled, resulting in a sectoral score of 57.1 percent. The Senate recorded some of its most significant legislative achievements in this area, particularly through the passage of comprehensive tax reform legislation, capital market reforms under the Investments and Securities Act 2025, and increased budgetary allocations for infrastructure development. These reforms have the potential to improve the business environment, strengthen investor confidence, increase government revenue efficiency, and support long-term economic growth.

However, performance within the sector was not uniformly strong. While major fiscal and regulatory reforms were successfully advanced, commitments relating to transportation sector reforms, inland waterways development, aviation consumer protection, and broader economic infrastructure governance remain incomplete. Several important reforms progressed through legislative stages but had not reached full implementation by the end of the reporting period. Nevertheless, compared to other sectors, Economic Development and Job Creation stands out as the area where the Senate translated the highest proportion of commitments into measurable legislative outcomes.

EDUCATION

Education emerged as the Senate's strongest-performing thematic area during the first three years of the 10th Senate. Of the three promises assessed under this sector, two were fulfilled and one remained unfulfilled resulting in a sector score of **66.7 percent**. Key commitments focused on increasing funding for basic education through reforms to the Universal Basic Education Commission framework, expanding access to free and compulsory education up to senior secondary level, and strengthening support for special needs education.

Although late, the Senate demonstrated legislative interest in education reform, progress has been made across most commitments. Efforts to increase statutory education funding and expand access to compulsory education advanced through various stages of legislative consideration but were fully enacted by June 2026. The proposed special needs education legislation also failed to achieve passage during the reporting period. As a result, education reform has not yet experienced the transformative outcomes originally envisioned.

HEALTHCARE

Healthcare recorded one of the better performances among the thematic areas assessed, achieving a sector score of 50 percent. Of the two promises tracked within the sector, one was fulfilled while the other remained unfulfilled. The Senate's most notable achievement was the amendment of the Basic Healthcare Provision Fund framework, which increased statutory healthcare funding and strengthened financial support for primary healthcare services across the country. This reform represents one of the clearest examples of legislative action producing a direct and measurable outcome within the reporting period.

Despite this achievement, the broader commitment to significantly increase health sector financing remained unrealised. The target of allocating 15 percent of the national budget to healthcare, consistent with the Abuja Declaration benchmark, was not achieved. Consequently, while the Senate recorded a meaningful success in strengthening healthcare financing mechanisms, the sector continues to face substantial funding challenges. The mixed outcome reflects both the Senate's capacity to enact targeted reforms and the persistent difficulties associated with achieving broader health financing goals.

JUSTICE & SECURITY

Justice and Security emerged as one of the weakest-performing sectors within the Legislative Agenda, recording a fulfilment score of **30 percent**. None of the five promises assessed in this category were fully delivered. Three commitments were rated Compromised, while two were rated Broken. The sector included critical commitments relating to anti-terrorism legislation, defence procurement reform, police reform, security cooperation frameworks, and the domestication of regional security agreements.

While the Senate demonstrated awareness of Nigeria's security challenges and initiated several reform processes, legislative outcomes remained limited. Anti-terrorism legislation was reviewed, police reform discussions continued, and regional security cooperation received attention. However, several major commitments, including defence procurement reforms and treaty domestication efforts, failed to progress to completion. Given the severity of Nigeria's security challenges during the reporting period, the limited delivery within this sector represents a significant weakness in the Senate's overall performance. The findings suggest that while security concerns remained prominent in public discourse, legislative responses frequently fell short of the ambitions outlined in the Agenda.

GOVERNANCE & POLITICAL REFORM

Governance and Political Reform constituted the largest category of promises assessed and also one of the most challenging areas of legislative delivery. Of the sixteen commitments reviewed, only three were fulfilled, seven were rated Compromised, and six of the promises were rated Broken, producing a sector score of 40.6 percent. The sector included commitments relating to constitutional amendment, electoral reform, judicial independence, local government autonomy, transparency reforms, gender inclusion, youth participation, and broader democratic governance initiatives.

The assessment reveals a recurring pattern of legislative effort without complete implementation. Several important reforms progressed through committee reviews, public hearings, constitutional amendment processes, and legislative debates. However, many of the most transformative proposals, including electoral accountability reforms, gender equality legislation, affirmative action measures, constitutional restructuring proposals, and local government autonomy reforms, remained unfinished. The Senate demonstrated a willingness to engage with complex governance challenges, but the pace of reform proved slower than anticipated. Consequently, Governance and Political Reform remains the sector with the largest volume of unfinished commitments and the greatest potential for improvement during the remainder of the Senate's tenure.

ENVIRONMENT

The Environment sector recorded the lowest level of legislative achievement among all thematic areas assessed, with a fulfilment score of 0 percent. The only promise assessed was broken,

While some legislative activity occurred through proposals to strengthen environmental governance and improve regulatory oversight, progress remained limited. The Gas Flaring Bill, one of the sector's most significant commitments, was not successfully enacted despite its importance to environmental protection and public health. Similarly, broader environmental reform efforts remained incomplete. The findings suggest that environmental issues received comparatively less legislative attention than economic, fiscal, and governance matters during the reporting period. As a result, the sector remains one of the weakest areas of Senate performance and will require considerably greater attention if meaningful progress is to be achieved before the end of the Senate's tenure.

KEPT

1. Pass the Audit Bill

The push for a comprehensive Audit Bill predates the 10th Senate and reflects nearly two decades of efforts to reform Nigeria's outdated public audit system. Nigeria's audit framework has largely been governed by the Audit Ordinance of 1956, a colonial-era law that remained in force long after independence and was widely criticised for failing to provide the Auditor-General with sufficient independence, enforcement powers, and access to modern auditing tools. Successive Auditor-Generals, civil society organisations, development partners, and international institutions such as the World Bank, the International Organisation of Supreme Audit Institutions (INTOSAI), and the Public Accounts Committees of the National Senate repeatedly called for a new legal framework that would align Nigeria's public audit practices with global standards.

During the period under review, the National Senate successfully processed and passed the Federal Audit Service Bill, a landmark legislation designed to strengthen external auditing of public institutions and provide the Auditor-General with greater operational independence. The bill establishes a modern legal framework for public sector auditing and expands oversight powers over government finances. While implementation remains dependent on presidential assent and institutional enforcement, the Senate substantially fulfilled its legislative responsibility by passing the bill through the required legislative stages. The successful passage of the legislation represents a significant step toward improving accountability and transparency in public finance management.

Source: <https://www.thisdaylive.com/2026/05/19/pressure-mounts-on-tinubu-over-audit-bill-as-csos-warn-nigeria-risks-deepening-corruption-crisis/>

2. Streamline the Taxation System

The commitment to streamline Nigeria's taxation system must be understood against the backdrop of decades of complaints about a fragmented, inefficient, and burdensome tax regime that undermined economic competitiveness and discouraged investment. Prior to the reforms undertaken by the 10th National Senate, businesses operating in Nigeria often faced multiple taxation from federal, state, and local government authorities, overlapping mandates among revenue-collecting agencies, inconsistent tax administration practices, and a tax framework governed by numerous laws enacted at different periods without sufficient harmonisation. These challenges had long been identified by the private sector, development partners, and successive economic reform committees as major impediments to the ease of doing business and domestic revenue mobilisation. Efforts to reform the system gained renewed momentum following recommendations from the Presidential Committee on Fiscal Policy and Tax Reforms, established in 2023 to review Nigeria's fiscal architecture and propose measures to improve efficiency, equity, and compliance.

The 10th National Senate delivered substantial progress on this commitment through the passage of a package of tax reform bills that were subsequently signed into law by President Bola Tinubu in June 2025. The reforms include the Nigeria Tax Act, the Nigeria Tax Administration Act, the Nigeria Revenue Service Act, and the Joint Revenue Board Act. Collectively, these laws streamline tax administration, clarify the powers of revenue authorities, improve coordination among tax agencies, and simplify compliance procedures for taxpayers. The enactment of these reforms represents one of the most significant legislative achievements of the Senate during the reporting period and directly addresses the core objective of the original commitment.

Source: <https://www.pwc.com/ng/en/publications/the-nigerian-tax-reform-acts.html>

3. Increase UBEC Allocation from the Consolidated Revenue Fund

The Senate committed to improving education financing by increasing statutory allocations to the Universal Basic Education Commission (UBEC). The objective was to expand access to quality education, improve school infrastructure, strengthen teacher development programmes, and address persistent funding gaps within the basic education system.

Legislative efforts toward amending the UBEC funding framework have advanced during the life of the 10th Senate, supported by advocacy from education stakeholders and civil society organisations. On 3rd June, 2026, the Senate approved the report of the committee on Education (Basic & Secondary) on Compulsory, Free universal Basic education act (Amendment) bill 2026 and passed third reading.

The passage of the amendment bill demonstrates that the Senate has completed its legislative consideration of the proposed reforms and taken a concrete step toward strengthening the legal and financial framework for basic education in Nigeria. While the full impact of the reforms will depend on implementation, concurrence by the Senate where necessary, and eventual presidential assent, the Senate has substantially fulfilled its commitment to advancing legislation aimed at improving funding and delivery of basic education.

Source: <https://naltf.gov.ng/senate-in-session-wednesday-3rd-june-2026/>

4. Extend Free and Compulsory Education to Senior Secondary Level

The Senate Legislative Agenda committed to expanding Nigeria's free and compulsory education framework beyond the current Universal Basic Education system to include Senior Secondary School education. The objective of the reform was to improve educational attainment, reduce school dropout rates, increase access to secondary education, and ensure that more young Nigerians acquire the knowledge and skills necessary for higher education, vocational training, and participation in the labour market. The proposal was also intended to address the growing number of out-of-school children and strengthen human capital development, which remains critical to Nigeria's long-term socio-economic growth.

During the period under review, legislative efforts were made to advance this commitment through amendments to the Universal Basic Education Act. Most notably, the Senate considered and eventually passed the Compulsory, Free Universal Basic Education Act (Amendment) Bill, 2026 (SBs. 31 & 547), which seeks to extend the scope of free and compulsory education to cover Senior Secondary School education. The bill successfully progressed through legislative stages and was passed by the Senate following the adoption of the report of the Senate Committee on Basic and Secondary Education in June 2026.

Source: <https://naltf.gov.ng/senate-in-session-wednesday-3rd-june-2026/>

5. Increase Allocation to the Ministry of Works

The Senate committed to supporting infrastructure development through increased budgetary allocations to the Ministry of Works. The commitment was intended to address Nigeria's significant infrastructure deficit, accelerate road construction and rehabilitation projects, and improve economic connectivity across the country. Infrastructure development was identified as a critical driver of economic growth, job creation, trade facilitation, and national competitiveness.

During the 10th Senate, the Senate approved progressively larger appropriations for the Ministry of Works. Federal budget allocations to the ministry increased significantly between 2024 and 2026, reflecting the Senate's commitment to prioritising infrastructure investment. While actual project delivery remains dependent on executive implementation and contractor performance, the Senate fulfilled its legislative responsibility by appropriating increased resources for the sector. Given that the promise specifically concerned legislative support through funding allocations, the evidence indicates that the commitment was substantially fulfilled.

Source: <https://placng.org/i/president-tinubu-presents-n47-90-trillion-as-the-proposed-2025-budget-to-the-national-Senate-in-a-joint-sitting/>, <https://naltf.gov.ng/works-minister-defends-%E2%82%A63-24-trillion-budget-prioritizes-legacy-roads>

6. Amend the Basic Healthcare Provision Fund (BHCPF) Act

The Senate Legislative Agenda committed to strengthening healthcare financing by increasing funding available under the Basic Healthcare Provision Fund (BHCPF). The objective was to improve primary healthcare delivery, expand access to essential health services, and provide more sustainable financing for frontline health facilities across the country. Healthcare stakeholders have consistently argued that existing allocations were insufficient to meet growing public health needs, particularly in underserved communities.

The Senate delivered on this commitment through the passage of legislation amending the BHCPF framework and increasing the statutory allocation from one percent to two percent of the Consolidated Revenue Fund. This reform effectively doubles the amount of funding available to support primary healthcare services nationwide and represents one of the most significant healthcare financing reforms undertaken during the life of the 10th Senate. By successfully passing the amendment, the Senate directly fulfilled the substance of the promise and demonstrated a measurable commitment to improving health sector funding.

Source: <https://guardian.ng/news/senate-passes-bhcpf-amendment-bill-after-advocacy-pressure/>

7. Strengthen Capital Market Legislation

The Senate pledged to modernise Nigeria's capital market regulatory framework in order to improve investor confidence, strengthen market oversight, and enhance the ability of the capital market to mobilise investment for national development. The commitment reflected growing recognition that Nigeria's existing securities legislation had become outdated and required comprehensive reform to respond to emerging financial technologies, new investment products, and evolving global market standards.

This commitment was fulfilled through the enactment of the Investments and Securities Act 2025, which replaced the previous regulatory framework and introduced significant reforms to capital market governance and regulation.

The law strengthens the powers of the Securities and Exchange Commission, enhances investor protection mechanisms, improves enforcement provisions, and creates a more robust framework for capital market development. The successful passage and enactment of the legislation directly achieved the objective outlined in the Legislative Agenda and constitutes one of the most significant economic reform achievements of the Senate during the reporting period.

Source: https://sec.gov.ng/documents/1319/Investments_and_Securities_Act_2025_x9rSXtl.pdf

8. Live Streaming of Senate Proceedings and Committee Hearings

The Senate promised to improve openness and citizen engagement by ensuring that legislative proceedings, including plenary sessions and committee hearings, would be accessible through live digital broadcasts. The objective was to deepen transparency, strengthen public confidence in parliamentary processes, and provide Nigerians with direct access to legislative deliberations and oversight activities.

Significant progress has been recorded in the area of plenary transparency. Senate proceedings are now regularly broadcast through National Senate Television (NASSTV) and associated digital platforms, allowing citizens to follow debates and legislative decisions in real time. However, implementation has not been uniform across committee activities, where much of the detailed legislative scrutiny occurs. Many committee hearings remain inaccessible to the public or are only partially covered. As a result, while the Senate has substantially improved access to plenary proceedings, the broader objective of comprehensive live legislative broadcasting remains only partially fulfilled.

Source: <https://www.youtube.com/@NationalSenateNigeriaTV>

9. Establish Citizen Feedback and Online Petition Mechanisms

The Senate Legislative Agenda recognised the importance of strengthening citizen participation in the legislative process. To achieve this objective, it committed to creating accessible feedback channels and digital petition mechanisms that would enable citizens to engage directly with lawmakers, submit grievances, and participate more actively in democratic governance.

The Senate has taken steps toward achieving this objective by introducing citizen-facing engagement tools on its digital platforms, including petition links and contact channels for lawmakers. However, the implementation remains incomplete. The dedicated online petition platform has not been fully operationalized, limiting citizens' ability to submit seamlessly and track petitions electronically. While the commitment has advanced beyond the planning stage and demonstrates genuine effort toward improving public engagement, the envisioned fully functional digital participation ecosystem has yet to materialise.

Source: <https://nass.gov.ng/themes/newnass/petitions.html>

COMPROMISED

1. Create an Online Archive of Legislative Documents

The Senate committed to improving transparency and public access to legislative information by creating a comprehensive online archive of parliamentary documents. The commitment envisioned a modern digital repository containing bills, motions, committee reports, Hansard records, voting records, and other legislative materials that would enable citizens, researchers, journalists, and civil society organisations to monitor parliamentary activities more effectively. The initiative was also intended to strengthen institutional transparency and improve public trust in the legislature.

Over the last three years, the Senate has made notable progress toward digitising legislative records. The official National Senate website now hosts a range of legislative materials including bills, Acts, committee information, and selected parliamentary documents. However, the archive remains incomplete and lacks the depth, consistency, and searchability required to satisfy the original commitment fully. Historical records remain fragmented, several categories of documents are not systematically available, and users continue to face challenges accessing comprehensive legislative information. While meaningful progress has been made, the Senate has not yet delivered the fully integrated and accessible archive envisioned in the Legislative Agenda.

Source: <https://nass.gov.ng>

2. Review Anti-Terrorism Legislation

The Senate pledged to strengthen Nigeria's legal framework for combating terrorism, insurgency, kidnapping, and organised crime through a comprehensive review of existing anti-terrorism legislation.

Given the country's persistent security challenges, the reform was expected to modernise legal provisions, improve prosecution mechanisms, and strengthen institutional responses to emerging security threats.

Legislative activity has been recorded in this area, including proposals seeking to amend terrorism-related laws and strengthen legal responses to kidnapping and hostage-taking. However, the review process has not yet resulted in a comprehensive enacted reform that fully modernises Nigeria's anti-terrorism framework. While the Senate has demonstrated commitment by initiating legislative action and considering relevant amendments, the intended legal transformation remains incomplete. Consequently, the promise reflects substantial progress but falls short of full implementation.

Source:

<https://p.placbillstrack.org/senatecommitteejhrm-publichearingbills/assets/SB969.pdf>

3. Complete the Constitutional Amendment Process

Constitutional reform occupies a central place in the Senate Legislative Agenda. The Senate committed to reviewing and amending aspects of the Constitution relating to governance, federalism, security, electoral administration, local government autonomy, and institutional effectiveness. The objective was to deliver structural reforms capable of addressing long-standing governance challenges.

The constitutional amendment process has remained active throughout the reporting period. Public hearings have been conducted, memoranda received, and several amendment proposals considered by the Constitution Review Committee. However, the process remains ongoing, with many critical proposals still awaiting final legislative and state Senate approval. While substantial work has been undertaken and important reforms continue to progress through the constitutional review framework, the process had not been completed by May 2026. The commitment therefore remains only partially fulfilled.

Source:

<https://naltf.gov.ng/senate-pledges-delivery-of-state-police-constitutional-amendment-by-year-end-2026>

4. Local Government Autonomy

The Senate committed to advancing local government autonomy as part of broader governance reforms aimed at strengthening grassroots development, improving accountability, and enhancing service delivery at the local level. The reform sought to address concerns regarding financial dependence, political interference, and weak institutional capacity within local government administrations.

The issue of local government autonomy has remained prominent within ongoing constitutional amendment discussions. Legislative attention has been devoted to proposals that would strengthen the independence and financial sustainability of local governments. However, the constitutional reforms necessary to fully institutionalise local government autonomy have not yet been concluded. As a result, although the Senate has demonstrated commitment through sustained legislative engagement, the promised reform remains incomplete and dependent on the successful conclusion of the constitutional amendment process.

5. Amend the Electoral Act 2022

The Senate committed to reviewing and improving the Electoral Act 2022 in response to lessons learned from recent elections. Key reform objectives included strengthening electoral transparency, improving result transmission procedures, enhancing voter confidence, and addressing operational weaknesses identified during previous electoral cycles.

The Senate has made meaningful progress toward this objective through the consideration and advancement of amendment proposals. Notably, the Senate supported reforms relating to electronic transmission of election results and other electoral administration measures. Nevertheless, the amendment process had not been fully concluded by the end of the reporting period, and several reforms remained subject to harmonisation and final approval. The Senate has therefore made substantial progress toward the promise, but full implementation had not yet been achieved.

Source: <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/nigeria-senate-backs-realtime-election-result-transmission-after-outcry-2026-02-10/>

6. Strengthen Judicial Independence and Funding

The Senate recognised that an independent and adequately funded judiciary is essential to democratic governance, rule of law, and effective justice delivery. The Legislative Agenda therefore included commitments to improve judicial autonomy, strengthen institutional capacity, and enhance financial independence for the courts.

Progress has been recorded through legislative discussions, budgetary support, and constitutional reform proposals touching on judicial administration. However, the Senate has not yet delivered the far-reaching structural reforms necessary to transform judicial independence fundamentally. Many of the systemic challenges affecting the judiciary, including funding arrangements and administrative autonomy, remain unresolved. While the commitment has received sustained legislative attention, the outcomes achieved thus far fall short of the original ambition.

7. Strengthen the National Inland Waterways Authority Act

The Senate committed to modernising the legal framework governing inland waterways transportation in order to improve safety, encourage investment, and support economic development. Reform of the National Inland Waterways Authority Act was intended to address regulatory inefficiencies and improve management of Nigeria's inland waterways infrastructure.

A repeal-and-reenactment bill has been introduced to overhaul the existing NIWA legal framework and improve regulatory effectiveness. However, legislative progress remains incomplete, with the reform still moving through the parliamentary process. Although the introduction of the legislation demonstrates a clear commitment toward achieving the stated objective, the Senate had not completed the reform by the end of the reporting period.

Source: <https://naltf.gov.ng/a-bill-to-revamp-nigerias-inland-waterways-authority/>

8. Strengthen Passenger Rights and Aviation Consumer Protection

The Senate committed to strengthening passenger rights within Nigeria's aviation sector by improving the regulatory framework governing airline operations, consumer protection, compensation mechanisms, and service delivery standards. The commitment sought to address recurring complaints relating to flight delays, cancellations, poor customer service, baggage handling, and weak enforcement of consumer protection regulations. Given the increasing importance of air transportation to economic activity and national connectivity, stronger passenger protections were viewed as essential to improving confidence in the aviation sector.

During the reporting period, the Nigerian Civil Aviation Authority (NCAA) continued to implement consumer protection regulations and introduced enforcement measures against airlines that violated passenger rights. However, the Senate did not complete a comprehensive legislative reform specifically aimed at strengthening passenger protections through amendments to aviation laws. While regulatory oversight improved and consumer complaints received greater attention, the legislative changes envisaged in the Senate Agenda remain incomplete. Consequently, the commitment recorded measurable progress but did not fully achieve its intended outcome.

Source: <https://ncaa.gov.ng>

9. Special Seats Bill for Women

The Senate committed to supporting constitutional reforms that would increase women's political representation through the introduction of reserved legislative seats for women. The proposal emerged from longstanding concerns regarding the severe under-representation of women in elective offices across Nigeria. Advocates argued that special seats would provide a temporary corrective mechanism capable of accelerating gender inclusion and strengthening democratic representation.

During the constitutional amendment process, the Special Seats Bill remained one of the most prominent gender-related proposals under consideration. The proposal received support from civil society organisations, women's groups, and several lawmakers, and progressed through various stages of legislative consideration. However, by May 2026, the constitutional amendment process had not been completed and the bill had not been enacted. While the Senate demonstrated commitment by advancing the proposal within the constitutional review framework, the reform had not yet translated into a legally enforceable outcome.

Source: <https://placng.org/Legist/the-special-seats-bill-and-the-unfinished-business-of-inclusion/>

10. Review National Youth Policy and Promote Youth Inclusion Legislation

The Senate Legislative Agenda recognised the importance of youth participation in governance and committed to reviewing the National Youth Policy while advancing legislative measures aimed at increasing youth inclusion in political and public decision-making processes. The commitment reflected growing concerns regarding youth unemployment, political exclusion, and limited representation in governance institutions despite Nigeria's youthful population.

Significant progress has been recorded through the review of the National Youth Policy, including nationwide consultations involving government agencies, youth organisations, and development partners. The review process generated recommendations intended to strengthen youth development programmes and improve policy coordination. However, the second component of the commitment—the enactment of legislation guaranteeing stronger youth inclusion and participation—remained incomplete by the end of the reporting period. While policy reform efforts advanced considerably, legislative implementation fell short of the broader objectives outlined in the Agenda.

Source: <https://naltf.gov.ng/nigerian-youth-converge-to-map-the-future-of-the-national-youth-policy/>

11. Strengthen Security Cooperation Frameworks

The Senate committed to supporting legislative and policy measures that would enhance regional and international security cooperation, particularly in addressing terrorism, organised crime, arms trafficking, and cross-border insecurity. The objective was to strengthen Nigeria's ability to collaborate with neighbouring countries and regional organisations in responding to increasingly transnational security threats.

During the reporting period, the Senate supported several security-related initiatives and continued to approve security cooperation arrangements involving regional partners. Legislative attention was also devoted to broader security sector reforms and cross-border security matters. However, no comprehensive framework legislation was enacted that fundamentally transformed Nigeria's regional security cooperation architecture. While the Senate demonstrated sustained engagement with security cooperation issues, the outcomes achieved fell short of the ambitious reform envisaged.

source: <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/nigeria-senate-approves-tinubus-troop-deployment-benin-republic-after-coup-bid-2025-12-09/>

12. Review the Police Act 2020

Legislative efforts toward reviewing the Police Act were initiated during the reporting period, with amendment proposals appearing within the Senate's legislative programme. These proposals sought to address identified weaknesses within the existing framework and improve police administration. However, by May 2026, the review process had not produced a comprehensive enacted reform capable of addressing the full range of concerns identified in the Legislative Agenda. While the Senate demonstrated commitment by initiating the review process, implementation remained incomplete.

Source: <https://nass.gov.ng/documents/billdownload/11197.pdf>

BROKEN

1. Domesticate the ECOWAS Convention on Small Arms and Light Weapons

The Senate committed to domesticating the ECOWAS Convention on Small Arms and Light Weapons in order to strengthen Nigeria's legal framework for controlling illicit arms proliferation. The reform was expected to enhance national security, improve border control mechanisms, strengthen enforcement agencies, and reduce the availability of illegal weapons that contribute to banditry, terrorism, kidnapping, and communal violence.

Despite the continued deterioration of security conditions in several parts of the country, no evidence was found that the 10th Senate completed the domestication process for the convention during the reporting period. While discussions around arms control and security sector reform continued, the specific legislative commitment to domesticate the ECOWAS treaty was not fulfilled. Without a completed domestication law, the Senate failed to deliver the institutional reforms necessary to fully implement the convention within Nigeria's legal framework.

2. Establish a Central Defence Procurement System

During the period under review, no dedicated legislation establishing a central defence procurement system was enacted. While defence spending remained a major area of legislative oversight and budgetary attention, the Senate did not introduce the institutional reforms necessary to centralise procurement processes or significantly strengthen accountability mechanisms within defence acquisitions. Consequently, the commitment remained unfulfilled by the end of the reporting period.

3. Transfer Select Powers from the Exclusive Legislative List to the Concurrent Legislative List

The promise to transfer some power from exclusive list to the concurrent legislative list featured prominently during the constitutional amendment process and received attention during public hearings conducted by the Senate Committee on Constitution Review, no constitutional amendment transferring significant powers from the Exclusive List to the Concurrent List had been successfully completed by May 2026. Given that constitutional amendments require approval by both the National Senate and state legislatures, progress remained slow and inconclusive. As a result, the Senate was unable to deliver the structural changes envisioned in the Legislative Agenda, leaving one of its most ambitious governance reform commitments unfulfilled.

4. Pass the National Electoral Offences Commission Bill

The Senate pledged to support the establishment of an independent National Electoral Offences Commission to investigate and prosecute electoral offences. The proposed commission was intended to strengthen electoral accountability, deter voter intimidation and electoral violence, and improve the integrity of Nigeria's democratic process. The commitment reflected growing concerns about the inability of existing institutions to prosecute electoral offenders effectively.

Despite recurring discussions around electoral accountability and the continued relevance of the proposal, the National Electoral Offences Commission was not established during the reporting period. Although the bill had previously received legislative attention in earlier assemblies and remained part of broader electoral reform conversations, the 10th Senate did not complete the legislative process necessary to create the commission. The absence of a dedicated institution for prosecuting electoral offences means that one of the most significant electoral reform commitments remains unrealised.

5. Reform the Appointment Process for INEC Leadership

The Senate committed to reviewing the appointment process for the Chairman and National Commissioners of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). The objective was to strengthen public confidence in electoral administration by reducing perceptions of political influence and enhancing the independence of the electoral management body.

During the reporting period, concerns regarding the appointment process for electoral officials persisted, with civil society organisations and electoral reform advocates repeatedly calling for a more transparent and independent system. However, no legislation was enacted to fundamentally alter the constitutional process governing INEC appointments. While electoral reform discussions continued and various proposals were considered, the Senate did not deliver the institutional changes required to fulfil the commitment. Consequently, the appointment framework remains largely unchanged from the arrangement that existed before the inauguration of the 10th Senate.

6. Increase Health Sector Funding to 15 Percent of the National Budget

While healthcare funding remained an important issue throughout the reporting period and the Senate recorded progress through the amendment of the Basic Healthcare Provision Fund framework, the broader target of allocating 15 percent of the national budget to health was not achieved. Annual federal budgets approved during the period continued to fall significantly below the Abuja Declaration benchmark. Although some improvements were recorded in healthcare financing, the Senate did not achieve the specific target outlined in its Legislative Agenda, making this one of the sector's most significant unmet commitments.

7. Reintroduce and Pass the National Transport Commission Bill

Despite the recognised importance of transport sector reform, the National Transport Commission Bill did not achieve final enactment during the reporting period. While transportation issues continued to receive legislative attention, and related reform proposals were discussed, the Senate did not complete the legislative process necessary to establish the commission. Consequently, the transportation sector remains without the comprehensive regulatory framework envisioned under the Legislative Agenda.

8. Pass the Gender and Equal Opportunities Bill

Despite sustained advocacy and repeated attempts to secure legislative approval, the bill was not passed during the reporting period. The proposal continued to face political and cultural resistance within sections

of the legislature and broader society. While discussions on women's inclusion and gender equality remained active, the failure to enact the legislation means that one of the Senate's most important social inclusion commitments remains outstanding. The absence of meaningful legislative progress justifies a rating of Broken.

9. Implement the 35 Percent Affirmative Action Principle

Three years into the life of the 10th Senate, women remain significantly under-represented across elective and appointive positions. No legislation or constitutional amendment establishing a binding affirmative action framework was enacted during the reporting period. While related initiatives such as the Special Seats Bill remained under consideration, the broader commitment to achieving 35 percent representation recorded little measurable progress. Consequently, the Senate have not fulfilled any gender equality promises contained within its Legislative Agenda.

10. Domesticate International Development Treaties

Despite the importance of treaty domestication in advancing development objectives, no significant package of development-related treaties was successfully domesticated during the reporting period under this commitment. While the Senate continued to perform its constitutional role in reviewing international agreements, the specific objective outlined in the Legislative Agenda did not materialise in a manner sufficient to justify fulfilment. As a result, the promise remains unmet.

11. Expedite the passage of the Gas Flaring (Prohibition and Punishment) Bill to minimise the environmental and social impact of gas flaring in oil-producing areas. It proposes strict penalties for companies that engage in gas flaring

Although gas flaring remained a recurring subject of policy discussions and environmental advocacy throughout the reporting period, the proposed legislation was not enacted. Nigeria continues to struggle with routine gas flaring despite repeated policy commitments and international climate obligations. The failure to pass the bill means that the Senate did not deliver one of its key environmental commitments, leaving an important legislative gap in the country's environmental governance framework.

12. Enact a law that promotes the education of children with special needs, ensuring they have access to quality education in inclusive settings.

The commitment to enact legislation promoting the education of children with special needs reflects longstanding concerns about the exclusion of learners with disabilities from Nigeria's education system. Despite constitutional guarantees and Nigeria's obligations under the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, many children with special needs continue to face barriers such as inadequate learning facilities, limited specialised teachers, and weak policy implementation.

dedicated legal framework is important to guarantee their right to quality education, promote inclusive learning environments, provide appropriate support services, and ensure that no child is denied educational opportunities because of disability or special learning needs.

Despite increasing awareness of the importance of inclusive education, the proposed legislation did not secure passage during the reporting period. Stakeholders continued to advocate for stronger protections and dedicated funding mechanisms for special needs education, but the legislative process failed to produce a final law. Consequently, children and young people requiring specialised educational support continue to face significant barriers, and the commitment remains unfulfilled.

13. Revise and strengthen the Nigerian Ports Authority (NPA) Act, ensuring it has a clear mandate, authority, and resources to efficiently manage and develop the ports

The Senate committed to modernising the Nigerian Ports Authority (NPA) Act in order to improve port efficiency, strengthen regulation, reduce bottlenecks, and support trade competitiveness. Given the strategic importance of Nigeria's ports to national economic development, reforming the legal framework governing port operations was viewed as an important economic priority.

Although several port sector reform initiatives were discussed and legislative proposals relating to maritime governance were introduced during the reporting period, no comprehensive amendment or replacement of the Nigerian Ports Authority Act was successfully enacted. The reforms necessary to modernise port administration and strengthen regulatory oversight therefore remained incomplete. As a result, the Senate was unable to fulfil the commitment contained in its Legislative Agenda within the first three years of its tenure.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings of this three-year assessment, the following recommendations are directed at the National Senate, the Executive, and relevant stakeholders to improve legislative delivery in the remaining years of the 10th Senate's mandate:

Economy & Jobs

The Senate should prioritise the completion of pending transportation and infrastructure governance reforms, particularly the National Transport Commission Bill, the National Inland Waterways Authority Act reform, and amendments to the Nigerian Ports Authority Act. These reforms are essential for creating a coherent regulatory framework capable of improving efficiency across the transportation sector and attracting private sector investment.

The Senate should also strengthen oversight of infrastructure appropriations already approved for the Ministry of Works to ensure that increased budgetary allocations translate into completed projects and measurable improvements in road infrastructure. Committee oversight visits, quarterly implementation reviews, and public reporting mechanisms should be institutionalised to improve accountability and ensure that appropriated funds deliver the intended economic outcomes.





Education

Having successfully advanced reforms relating to UBEC financing and the extension of compulsory education to senior secondary level, the Senate should focus on securing the completion of the legislative process, including concurrence where necessary and presidential assent. Priority should also be given to establishing implementation timelines and monitoring frameworks to ensure that these reforms produce tangible improvements in school enrolment, retention, and educational quality.

The Senate should revisit the proposed legislation on Special Needs Education and fast-track its passage before the end of the Senate. The continued absence of a dedicated legal framework for inclusive education leaves thousands of vulnerable learners without adequate protection and support. The Senate should also work with relevant agencies to ensure that future education financing reforms include dedicated provisions for learners with disabilities.



Healthcare

The Senate should prioritise efforts to progressively increase healthcare allocations toward the Abuja Declaration target of 15 percent of the national budget. While achieving the full benchmark within one year may be unrealistic, a clear legislative roadmap with annual targets would demonstrate commitment and improve predictability in healthcare financing.

The Senate should also intensify oversight of the implementation of the amended Basic Healthcare Provision Fund to ensure that increased allocations reach primary healthcare facilities and improve service delivery outcomes. Particular attention should be paid to maternal health, rural healthcare access, health workforce retention, and the equitable distribution of healthcare resources across states.

RECOMMENDATIONS

advoka



Justice & Security

Security sector reform requires urgent legislative attention in the final year of the Senate. The Senate should prioritise the completion of the review of the Police Act, the domestication of the ECOWAS Convention on Small Arms and Light Weapons, and the enactment of reforms strengthening anti-terrorism legislation. Given the persistent security challenges facing the country, these reforms should be treated as legislative emergencies.

The Senate should also revisit proposals for a centralised defence procurement framework capable of improving transparency and accountability in military spending. In addition, stronger legislative support should be provided for regional security cooperation frameworks and intelligence-sharing mechanisms to address increasingly transnational threats such as terrorism, banditry, kidnapping, and arms trafficking.



Governance & Political Reform

Governance and Political Reform remains the area with the largest volume of unfinished commitments and therefore presents the greatest opportunity for performance improvement. The Senate should prioritise concluding the constitutional amendment process and securing state Senate approvals for key reforms relating to local government autonomy, judicial independence, devolution of powers, and electoral governance.

The Senate should also accelerate action on pending electoral reforms, including amendments to the Electoral Act, the establishment of the Electoral Offences Commission, and reforms to strengthen the independence and credibility of INEC. Furthermore, gender inclusion measures such as the Special Seats Bill and broader affirmative action reforms should receive expedited consideration to improve women's representation in governance. Youth inclusion legislation should similarly be prioritised to ensure that the country's demographic realities are reflected in public decision-making processes.

Environment



The Senate should elevate environmental governance as a legislative priority and fast-track the passage of the Gas Flaring Prohibition Bill. Ending routine gas flaring remains critical to environmental protection, public health, climate commitments, and economic efficiency, particularly in oil-producing communities that continue to bear the environmental costs of extraction activities.

Beyond gas flaring, the Senate should initiate broader legislative reviews focused on climate adaptation, environmental sustainability, the promotion of renewable energy, biodiversity protection, and pollution control. Environmental oversight should also be strengthened to ensure that existing environmental laws are effectively implemented and that responsible agencies are held accountable for compliance failures.

CONCLUSION



Three years into the tenure of the 10th Senate, this assessment offers a clear and evidence-based verdict: an institution capable of legislative productivity, but one still burdened by the weight of its most ambitious promises. Of the 34 commitments contained in the Legislative Agenda, only 9 have been fully kept, while 12 remain compromised, and 13 have been broken outright. The resulting performance score of 44.11 percent captures a Senate that has moved, but has not yet arrived at a legislature more comfortable passing conventional bills than completing the structural reforms it once described as central to its mandate.

The pattern running through this report is consistent and instructive. Where reform required only the ordinary machinery of lawmaking, a bill introduced, debated, and passed by the Senate performed credibly. The tax reform acts, the Investments and Securities Act 2025, the Federal Audit Service Bill, and the amendments expanding basic education funding and healthcare financing through the BHCPF all demonstrate that when political will and institutional process align, the 10th Senate can deliver legislation with real consequence for citizens. These achievements are not trivial; they affect tax administration, capital markets, public audit, access to education, and primary healthcare financing simultaneously, and together they explain why Economic Development and Education emerged as the two strongest-performing sectors.

But the report also exposes the limits of that capacity. Wherever a commitment demanded constitutional amendment, cross-chamber and state-level consensus, or confrontation with entrenched political interests, momentum slowed or stalled entirely. Local government autonomy, the transfer of powers from the Exclusive to the Concurrent Legislative List, the Special Seats Bill, the 35 percent affirmative action principle, and electoral accountability reforms such as the National Electoral Offences Commission all remain unresolved not for lack of debate or public hearings, but because the political consensus required to convert deliberation into law has not yet materialised. Governance and Political Reform, the largest thematic category with sixteen commitments, consequently posted one of the weakest sectoral scores at 40.6 percent, while Justice and Security and Environment trailed even further behind at 30 percent and 0 percent respectively.

This divergence matters beyond the scorecard itself. It suggests that the 10th Senate's legislative identity, at the three-year mark, is defined less by an inability to legislate and more by an unevenness in which kinds of legislation it has prioritised and been able to conclude. Fiscal and economic reform has benefited from executive alignment, technical committee groundwork inherited from prior administrations, and sustained pressure from investors and development partners. Security sector reform, gender equity legislation, and constitutional restructuring have lacked that same convergence of pressure and political appetite, leaving them to languish in committee stages or repeated public hearings without final resolution.

With only one year remaining before the end of its tenure, the window for the 10th Senate to alter its final record has narrowed considerably, and the urgency of this moment should not be understated. The twelve compromised promises represent the most realistic path to improvement: unlike the thirteen broken commitments, which would require reform initiated almost from scratch, these have already cleared committee review, public hearings, or partial legislative passage, and now require only the political will to cross the finish line. Concluding the constitutional amendment process, finalising the Electoral Act amendments, passing the Special Seats Bill, and completing the NIWA Act overhaul are all within reach but with a single legislative year left, including the practical constraints of budget cycles, recess periods, and pre-election political attention, the Senate has little room left for delay. Commitments that remain unresolved as the Senate turns toward its final months risk hardening from "compromised" into "broken" by the time a final assessment is conducted.

Ultimately, this assessment is offered not as a final judgment but as a democratic instrument, a means by which citizens, civil society, and the Senate itself can measure the distance still to travel against the distance already covered. The 10th Senate has shown that it is capable of delivering substantial reform when circumstances allow. The remaining question, as Nigeria enters the final year of this Senate's mandate and approaches its next electoral cycle, is whether that same capacity for delivery can be extended quickly and deliberately to the harder, slower, and more politically contested commitments that still define the unfinished half of its Legislative Agenda.

APPENDIX

The table below provides a comprehensive listing of all 34 promises tracked in this report, their thematic classification, type, timeline, and final verdict.

S/N	Promise / Commitment	Sector	Verdict
1	Pass the Audit Bill	Governance & Political Reform	KEPT
2	Streamline the Taxation System	Economic Development & Jobs	KEPT
3	Increase UBEC Allocation from Consolidated Revenue Fund	Education	KEPT
4	Increase Allocation to Ministry of Works	Economic Development & Jobs	KEPT
5	Amend Basic Healthcare Provision Fund Act	Healthcare	KEPT
6	Extend Free and Compulsory Education to Senior Secondary Level	Education	KEPT
7	Strengthen Capital Market Legislation	Economic Development & Jobs	KEPT
8	Live Stream Senate Proceedings and Committee Hearings	Governance & Political Reform	KEPT
9	Establish Citizen Feedback and Online Petition Mechanisms	Governance & Political Reform	KEPT
10	Create an Online Archive of Legislative Documents	Governance & Political Reform	COMPROMISED
11	Review existing legislation on anti-terrorism to ensure the apprehension of suspects and prosecutions.	Justice & Security	COMPROMISED

S/N	Promise / Commitment	Sector	Verdict
12	Complete constitutional amendment process within the 10th Senate's term.	Governance & Political Reform	COMPROMISED
13	Local Government Autonomy	Governance & Political Reform	COMPROMISED
14	Amend Electoral Act 2022	Governance & Political Reform	COMPROMISED
15	Strengthen Judicial Independence and Funding	Governance & Political Reform	COMPROMISED
16	Strengthen National Inland Waterways Authority Act	Economic Development & Jobs	COMPROMISED
17	Strengthen Passenger Rights and Aviation Consumer Protection	Economic Development & Jobs	COMPROMISED
18	Special Seats Bill for Women	Governance & Political Reform	COMPROMISED
19	Review National Youth Policy and Promote Youth Inclusion Legislation	Governance & Political Reform	COMPROMISED
20	Strengthen Security Cooperation Frameworks	Justice & Security	COMPROMISED
21	Review Police Act 2020	Justice & Security	COMPROMISED
22	Domesticate ECOWAS Convention on Small Arms & Light Weapons	Justice & Security	BROKEN
23	Establish a Central Defence Procurement System	Justice & Security	BROKEN
24	Transfer Select Powers from Exclusive to Concurrent Legislative List	Governance & Political Reform	BROKEN

S/N	Promise / Commitment	Sector	Verdict
25	Pass the National Electoral Offences Commission Bill	Governance & Political Reform	BROKEN
26	Reform INEC Appointment Process	Governance & Political Reform	BROKEN
27	Increase Health Sector Funding to 15% of the National Budget	Healthcare	BROKEN
28	Reintroduce and Pass the National Transport Commission Bill	Economic Development & Jobs	BROKEN
29	Pass Gender and Equal Opportunities Bill	Governance & Political Reform	BROKEN
30	Implement the 35% Affirmative Action Principle	Governance & Political Reform	BROKEN
31	Domesticate International Development Treaties	Governance & Political Reform	BROKEN
32	Pass Gas Flaring Prohibition Bill	Environment	BROKEN
33	Pass Legislation on Special Needs Education	Education	BROKEN
34	Strengthen Nigerian Ports Authority Act	Economic Development & Jobs	BROKEN

REFERENCES

S/N	PROMISE	REFERENCE
1	Pass the Audit Bill	https://www.thisdaylive.com/2026/05/19/pressure-mounts-on-tinubu-over-audit-bill-as-csos-warn-nigeria-risks-deepening-corruption-crisis/
2	Create an Online Archive of Legislative Documents	https://nass.gov.ng
3	Live Stream Senate Proceedings and Committee Hearings	https://www.youtube.com/@NationalSenateNigeriaTV
4	Establish Citizen Feedback and Online Petition Mechanisms	https://nass.gov.ng/themes/newnass/petitions.html
5	Domesticate ECOWAS Convention on Small Arms and Light Weapons	https://placng.org
6	Establish a Central Defence Procurement System	
7	Review existing legislation on anti-terrorism to ensure the apprehension of suspects and prosecutions.	https://p.placbillstrack.org/senatecommittee/jhr/m-publichearingbills/assets/SB969.pdf
8	Complete the Constitutional Amendment Process	https://naltf.gov.ng/senate-pledges-delivery-of-state-police-constitutional-amendment-by-year-end-2026/
9	Transfer Select Powers to Concurrent Legislative list	
10	Local Government Autonomy	
11	National Electoral Offences Commission Bill	https://placng.org
12	Reform INEC Appointment Process	
13	Amend Electoral Act 2022	https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/nigeria-senate-backs-realtime-election-result-transmission-after-outcry-2026-02-10/
14	Strengthen Judicial Independence and Funding	

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S/N	PROMISE	REFERENCE
15	Streamline Taxation System	https://www.pwc.com/ng/en/publications/the-nigerian-tax-reform-acts.html
16	Increase UBEC Allocation	https://naltf.gov.ng/senate-in-session-wednesday-3rd-june-2026/
17	Increase Health Sector Funding to 15%	
18	Strengthen NIWA Act	https://naltf.gov.ng/a-bill-to-revamp-nigerias-inland-waterways-authority/ – –
19	National Transport Commission Bill	https://www.channelstv.com/2026/01/27/tinubu-seeks-increase-in-number-of-judges-sends-judicial-reform-bills-to-senate/
20	Passenger Rights and Aviation Consumer Protection	https://ncaa.gov.ng –
21	Increase Allocation to Ministry of Works	https://placng.org/i/president-tinubu-presents-n47-90-trillion-as-the-proposed-2025-budget-to-the-national-senate-in-a-joint-sitting/ and https://naltf.gov.ng/works-minister-defends-%E2%82%A63-24-trillion-budget-prioritizes-legacy-roads
22	Amend BHCPF Act	https://guardian.ng/news/senate-passes-bhcpf-amendment-bill-after-advocacy-pressure/
23	Special Seats Bill for Women	https://placng.org/Legist/the-special-seats-bill-and-the-unfinished-business-of-inclusion/ – –
24	Gender and Equal Opportunities Bill	
25	Ensure full implementation of 35% Affirmative Action in appointive and elective positions.	
26	National Youth Policy Review	https://naltf.gov.ng/nigerian-youth-converge-to-map-the-future-of-the-national-youth-policy/
27	Domesticate International Development Treaties	
28	Gas Flaring Prohibition Bill	

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S/N	PROMISE	REFERENCE
29	Extend Free and Compulsory Education to Senior Secondary Level	https://naltf.gov.ng/senate-in-session-wednesday-3rd-june-2026/
30	Special Needs Education Bill	
31	Introduce legislation to support and enhance security cooperation, especially within the sub-region and the African continent.	https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/nigeria-senate-approves-tinubus-troop-deployment-benin-republic-after-coup-bid-2025-12-09/
32	Nigerian Ports Authority Act Reform	
33	Review Police Act 2020	https://nass.gov.ng/documents/billdownload/11197.pdf — —
34	Strengthen Capital Market Legislation	https://sec.gov.ng/documents/1319/Investments_and_Securities_Act_2025_x9rSXtl.pdf — —

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