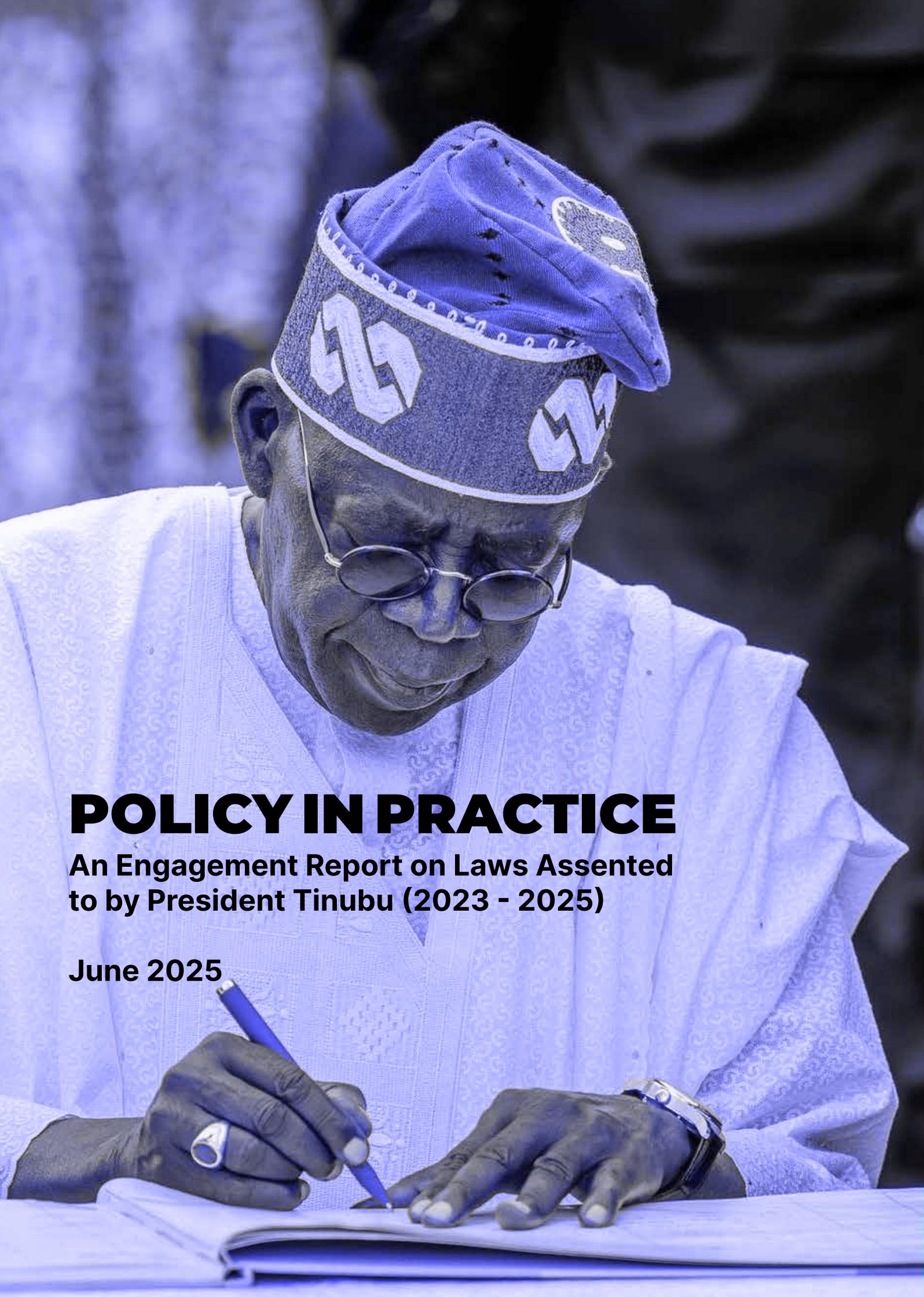


POLICY IN PRACTICE

An Engagement Report on Laws Assented to by President Tinubu (2023 - 2025)



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Legis360 is an AI-driven platform transforming legislative engagement across Africa. We bridge the gap between citizens and governance by making laws, policies, and decision-making processes more accessible, transparent, and participatory.

Our mission is to empower African citizens, policymakers, and advocacy groups with technology-driven solutions that promote transparency, participation, and accountability in governance. We believe legislation should be accessible to all and are committed to leveraging AI and data science to connect people with their governments. Through this, we foster informed civic engagement, stronger institutions, and democratic resilience across the continent.

In partnership with the Public Enlightenment Initiative and the Peering Advocacy and Advancement Centre in Africa (PAACA), Legis360 is strengthening legislative institutions at the national, state, and local levels in Nigeria. This collaboration aims to:

- Enhance the capacity of the National Assembly and its personnel in fulfilling their legislative responsibilities.
- Promote responsiveness of the legislature to the socio-political and economic needs of marginalized groups, including youth, women, and persons with disabilities (PWDs).
- Improve the relationship between legislators and constituents.
- Strengthen the interface and feedback mechanisms between the legislature and citizens.

Through these initiatives, Legis360 is paving the way for a more inclusive, accountable, and people-centered legislative process in Nigeria and beyond.

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1. Executive Summary

Since taking office on May 29th, 2023, President Bola Ahmed Tinubu's administration has pursued a legislative agenda aimed at reshaping Nigeria's policy and governance framework. In its first two years, the administration has passed over 40 laws covering sectors such as education, judicial reform, digital governance, national security, infrastructure, economic regulation, labour rights, cultural affairs, and regional development. This body of legislation reflects a mix of ongoing priorities and new directions in Nigeria's democratic and developmental landscape.

A notable feature of this period is the administration's focus on structural and institutional reforms. Signature laws include the Electricity Act 2023, which decentralises power generation and paves the way for state-level energy markets; the Student Loan (Access to Higher Education) Act, which aims to expand access to tertiary education for disadvantaged Nigerians; and the Securities and Exchange Commission Reform Act, which updates Nigeria's financial regulatory framework for a more robust investment climate.

The administration has also pursued inclusion and sub-national equity with the establishment of Development Commissions for all six geopolitical zones, a move that responds to long-standing demands for regional autonomy in development. In parallel, judicial reforms such as increased pensions for judges and added responsibilities for state judicial councils hint at a broader agenda to improve governance from the bench.

Several laws speak directly to the socioeconomic welfare of Nigerians. The newly signed Minimum Wage Amendment Act proposes upward wage adjustments, while laws on consumer protection and local content development aim to strengthen Nigerian industries and labour rights.

Additionally, the Tinubu administration introduced new legal frameworks to align Nigeria's data and digital ecosystems with global standards through laws governing cybersecurity, AI ethics, and digital transactions.

However, these reforms have not been without contention or complexity. While there is praise for the administration's legislative productivity and its focus on long-term structural fixes, critics have raised concerns about the pace, cost, and inclusiveness of implementation. Questions linger around whether sub-national governments can deliver on their new mandates or whether the student loan scheme will be transparent. Perhaps most symbolically, the reintroduction of Nigeria's colonial-era national anthem through legislation sparked intense public and expert debate, revealing tensions between nation-building, nostalgia, and representation.

This report categorises and analyses the laws signed by President Bola Ahmed Tinubu between May 2023 and May 2025. Each section contains a detailed summary of key laws under that domain, the stated or implied policy objectives, proposed or ongoing implementation mechanisms, public reactions, gaps, risks, and challenges that may hinder outcomes.

2. Key Findings

Legislative Productivity Is High, but Policy Coherence Varies:

In two years, the Tinubu administration has signed over 40 bills into law, one of the highest tallies for a Nigerian presidency in its early term. However, while the volume is significant, the coherence of policy intent across laws remains uneven, particularly in areas like labour, education, and regional development.

The Administration Is Restructuring Federalism Through Law:

Key laws, such as the Electricity Act 2023 and the State Judicial Councils Act, signal a shift toward sub-national empowerment. These laws expand the roles of states in electricity regulation, judicial oversight, and regional development, suggesting a legislative path toward “functional federalism.”

Equity and Inclusion Are Emerging Themes in Development Strategy:

The creation of development commissions for all six geopolitical zones reflects an intentional strategy to address regional disparities and historic marginalisation. Similarly, laws targeting student access, youth entrepreneurship, and pension reform aim to extend opportunity across demographics.

Economic modernisation is a clear priority:

Legislative reforms in capital markets, taxation, and digital infrastructure (e.g., Investments and Securities Act) demonstrate a coordinated effort to enhance the investment climate and align with global economic standards.

Public reception is mixed and often politicised:

While some laws have been widely welcomed, such as those on electricity reform and student loans, others have sparked public outcry or scepticism. The return to the colonial-era national anthem, for example, triggered intense debate about national identity, elite symbolism, and legislative priorities.

Implementation Is a Growing Concern:

Several landmark laws remain at risk of poor implementation due to limited institutional capacity, unclear funding mechanisms, or resistance at the sub-national level. Some of the laws include the rollout of student loans, electricity market decentralisation, and state-led development commissions.

Some Legislative Moves Serve Symbolic or Political Ends:

Beyond structural reforms, there were concerns that the administration has introduced laws for symbolic alignment or political consolidation purposes, such as laws redefining national symbols or expanding federal appointments, suggesting that not all legislative actions are driven by technocratic or development priorities.

Stakeholder Engagement Has Been Uneven:

There is little evidence of systematic stakeholder consultation in the drafting or passage of many laws. Civil society and professional associations have often responded post-facto, raising concerns about democratic inclusion and participatory lawmaking.

3. Recommendation

Enhance Legislative-Executive Coordination:

Align the Presidency, National Assembly, and relevant MDAs on strategic policy frameworks before advancing legislation, particularly in education, labor, and fiscal reforms.

Implement Comprehensive Legislative Frameworks:

Ensure every major law is accompanied by a public implementation plan detailing timelines, responsible agencies, and funding provisions.

Institutionalize Stakeholder Engagement:

Mandate public hearings and consultations with civil society and affected communities during the bill drafting and review processes, especially for legislation with significant social impact.

Support State Capacity for Reforms:

Provide technical and financial assistance to state governments to effectively implement new responsibilities under recent laws like the Electricity Act.

Monitor Implementation of Key Laws:

Establish an independent tracking mechanism to monitor progress and challenges in implementing flagship legislation, ensuring transparency and accountability.

Mainstream Inclusion in Legislative Design:

Embed gender, youth, and disability inclusion requirements in laws targeting social welfare, politics, education, and labour to promote equitable developments.

4. Context and Legislative Overview

Since assuming office on May 29, 2023, President Bola Ahmed Tinubu's administration has pursued an ambitious legislative agenda, one that reflects both the continuity of existing national priorities and emerging governance challenges. The administration's lawmaking strategy has focused on structural reforms across energy, education, security, economic modernisation, and institutional development.

4.1 Political and Legislative Landscape

President Tinubu inherited a relatively stable legislative environment, with the All Progressives Congress (APC) maintaining a majority in both chambers of the 10th National Assembly. This alignment has provided the executive arm with favourable conditions for sponsoring and fast-tracking bills. However, the administration also faced mounting pressure to deliver quickly on campaign promises amid economic hardships, fallout from currency reform, inflation, and insecurity.

Within this context, the legislative arm has played a dual role:

- As a policy enabler, passing key executive-sponsored bills such as the Electricity Act, the Students Loans Act, and the new Minimum Wage Act.

- As an independent initiator, the 10th Assembly introduced bills addressing issues such as defence industry reform, regional development commissions, and symbolic acts, including the national anthem law.

4.2 Legislative Output (2023–2025)

Between June 2023 and May 2025, President Tinubu assented to over 40 new laws, focusing on modernising the energy sector, expanding access to higher education financing, strengthening domestic defence production, regulating digital assets and data protection, and addressing wage reform in the labour market. The laws encompass both short-term interventions and long-term structural reforms, signalling a mix of pragmatic policy responses and visionary legislative initiatives.

4.3 Lawmaking Trends

Several trends define the legislative tone of the Tinubu administration so far:

- **Technocratic Focus:** Many laws are technical, institution-building frameworks designed to improve governance efficiency and investor confidence (e.g., the DICON Act Securities Industry Reform).

- **Federalism Debates:** Laws and legal challenges around local government autonomy, regional commissions, and fiscal allocation are reigniting debates on restructuring and true federalism.
- **Symbolism vs. Substance:** Some legislative actions, such as the national anthem reversion, have drawn criticism for being symbolic rather than addressing urgent socio-economic needs.

4.4 Engagement and Oversight Gaps

While legislative activity has been high, implementation gaps remain a serious concern. In several instances, enabling regulations, institutional capacity, and precise funding mechanisms have lagged behind the passage of laws. Civil society and oversight agencies have also highlighted the need for more extensive public consultation and legislative scrutiny, particularly regarding bills with far-reaching economic and social implications.

4.5 The Role of Partners

This report by Legis360 Centre for Advocacy, Development and Public Enlightenment Initiative in partnership with Peering Advocacy and Advancement Centre in Africa (PAACA) situates itself at the intersection of legislative tracking, civic education, and policy engagement. By analysing the laws assented to by President Tinubu from a thematic, sectoral, and impact-oriented perspective, the report aims to:

- Inform policymakers about legislative gaps and priorities,
- Support donors and development partners in aligning support with reform areas,
- Equip researchers and journalists with data for analysis,
- And empower the general public to understand better how legislation affects governance outcomes.

5. Methodology and Scope of Analysis

5.1 Purpose of the Report

This report provides an in-depth legislative analysis of the laws assented to by President Bola Ahmed Tinubu between May 29, 2023, and May 29, 2025, intending to understand the policy direction of his administration. It examines not just the content of the laws but their policy intent, potential impact, implementation outlook, and the extent of public and expert response.

The report is designed for a diverse audience, including policymakers, donors, researchers, journalists, and civic actors, and aims to enhance legislative transparency, foster evidence-informed advocacy, and promote civic accountability.

5.2 Data Sources

Legis360 gathered data through a multi-source methodology, including:

- Official government gazettes and press releases from the Presidency and National Assembly;
- Legislative databases and bill tracking tools;
- News reports and investigative journalism from credible Nigerian

media outlets;

- Public statements and publications by relevant Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs);
- Stakeholder commentary and analysis from think tanks, civil society organisations, and academic experts.

5.3 Selection Criteria

The scope of the report is limited to laws that received presidential assent between May 29, 2023, and May 29, 2025. It excludes:

- Bills passed by the National Assembly but not yet assented to;
- Executive orders, policy papers, or administrative guidelines not processed as federal legislation;
- State-level legislation or constitutional amendments not yet ratified.

However, specific executive actions (e.g., Supreme Court cases, budget allocations) that intersect with legislative themes are referenced for context where relevant.

5.4 Analytical Framework

Legis360 analysed each law through a

thematic lens, clustered into key policy areas such as:

- Education
- Economy and Labour
- Judiciary and Legal Reform
- Technology and Data Governance
- Security and Defence
- Infrastructure and Energy
- Culture and National Identity
- Regional Development

For each category, the following dimensions were examined:

- Legislative Content: What the law aims to change or establish.
- Policy Objective: The underlying issue the law addresses.
- Implementation Outlook: Readiness of institutions, funding mechanisms,

and timelines.

- Feedback and Controversy: Civil society reactions, expert reviews, and public sentiment.

5.5 Limitations

At the time of reporting, some laws are still awaiting implementation guidelines or subsidiary legislation, which limits the ability to evaluate real-world impact. Access to the full official text of some assented laws remains delayed due to administrative bottlenecks, which affects completeness in some areas.

Despite these constraints, the analysis prioritises accuracy, balance, and policy relevance, drawing on the most up-to-date and verifiable data available.

6. Education & Youth Development

Student Loan Laws: Tinubu signed the Students Loans (Access to Higher Education) Act 2023 on June 12, 2023, creating the Nigerian Education Loan Fund (NELFUND) to provide interest-free loans to indigent tertiary students. In April 2024, he assented to an amended Student Loans Act 2024 (a “repeal and re-enactment”), intended to streamline the loan scheme and expand access (including for persons with disabilities)¹. The law establishes loan eligibility rules, a special management committee chaired by the CBN governor, and mechanisms for disbursement. Early feedback suggests that the public is enthusiastic about education finance support but also confused about its implementation. For example, by 2025, some students were complaining that loan funds were not reaching them, leaving universities to demand fees. One student reported, “I won’t pay back something I never received”². Authorities say these issues reflect teething problems and are being addressed (e.g., clarifying that funds should go directly to students).

Establishing Universities: Between May 2023 to May 2025, the president have signed laws establishing 17

federal universities and polytechnics, which includes: the Federal University of Agriculture & Development Studies, Iragbiji (Osun State), Federal University of Technology & Environmental Sciences, Iyin Ekiti (Ekiti State), Federal University of Agriculture Obioakpa, Orukanam, Akwa Ibom State, Federal University of Science and Technology Kabo (Kano State) and the Federal University of Agriculture Okeho (Oyo State). These specialised tertiary institutions intend to address regional educational needs in agriculture, technology and environmental science, driving research and economic growth. (This include the conversion of a forfeited Nok Varsity private university into Federal University Of Applied Sciences, Southern Kaduna in Kaduna state.) Senate leaders have commended these actions as expanding access and improving Nigeria’s human capital³. Implementation will be overseen by the National Universities Commission and funded from the federal budget. Key challenges will include staffing, infrastructure development, and aligning curricula with local industry needs.

Policy Objectives and Impact: Together, these education laws aim

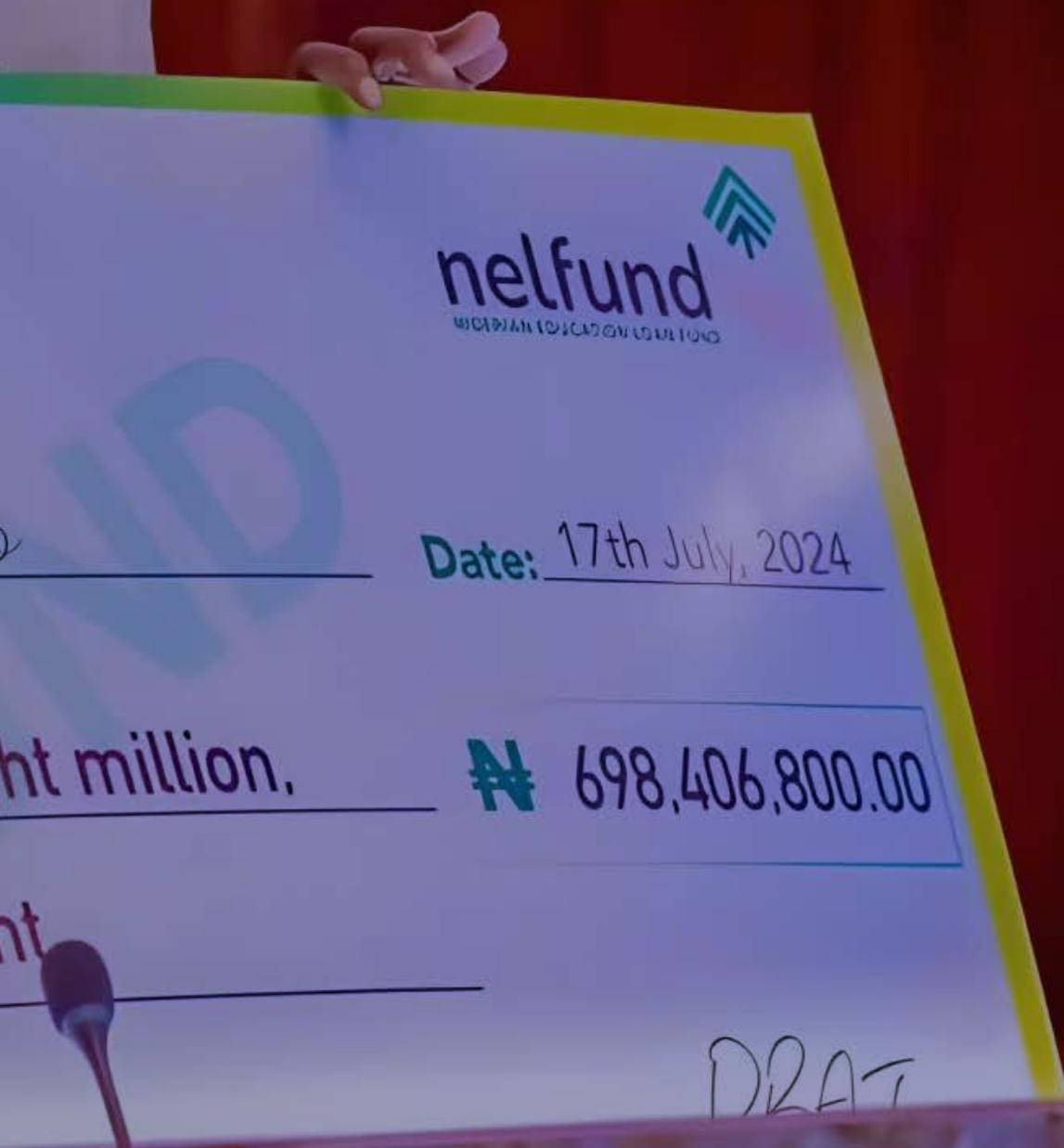
1 <https://www.legit.ng/politics/1586372-breaking-tinubu-signs-amended-student-loan-bill-law/#:~:text=,and%20disbursement%20and%20repayment%20procedures>

2 <https://www.bbc.com/pidgin/articles/ce923g4ezvdo#:~:text=,disburse%20my%20fees%20and%20allowance>

3 <https://blueprint.ng/senate-commends-tinubu-for-establishing-more-universities/#:~:text=education%20sector>

to remove financial barriers (through loans) and increase tertiary enrollment (by establishing new universities). The administration frames them as poverty-fighting measures, Tinubu said higher education is “the primary tool to combat poverty and drive socioeconomic progress effectively”. Early reactions have been largely positive among students and educators, although experts warn that NELFUND must carefully manage

the implementation of the scheme. Budget allocations for human capital (seen in the Appropriation Acts) have risen accordingly. The controversies have been centred around the timing and adequacy of funding; for example, student unions pushed back when NELFUND delayed loan disbursement, and some questioned whether the new schools would be fully equipped on launch.



President Tinubu at the launch of the Nigerian Education Loan Fund

7. Judiciary & Legal Reform

Judicial Officers Act (June 2023): One of Tinubu's first acts was signing the Constitution (Fifth Alteration) (No.37) Act, 2023, on June 8, 2023. This act raised the retirement age of judges from 65 to 70 years and the retirement age of judicial officers in other superior courts to 65, ensuring uniformity⁴. It also standardises pension rights for judges across courts⁵. The goal is to retain experienced judges longer and eliminate earlier inconsistencies in pension benefits. This required a constitutional amendment (the Fifth Alteration) to expand state legislative powers over electricity – which had a side benefit of clearing the way for the

later Electricity Act. With assent given, the law immediately took effect, so states and the federal judiciary must now adjust their retirement policies accordingly.

Judicial Salaries & Welfare: On August 13, 2024, Tinubu signed the Judicial Officers (Salaries and Allowances) Act 2024, boosting judges' pay by about 300%. The law greatly increases remuneration and benefits for members of the Supreme Court, Court of Appeal, and other federal courts. The objective is to enhance judicial independence and morale by making judge salaries more competitive and

⁴ <https://nairametrics.com/2023/12/31/major-bills-signed-into-law-by-presidents-buhari-and-tinubu-in-2023/#:~:text=Tinubu%E2%80%99s%20inaugural%20signing%20of%20legislation>

⁵ <https://nairametrics.com/2023/12/31/major-bills-signed-into-law-by-presidents-buhari-and-tinubu-in-2023/#:~:text=Tinubu%E2%80%99s%20inaugural%20signing%20of%20legislation>



reducing incentives for corruption. In parallel, Tinubu's annual budget sharply increased judiciary funding (from ₦165bn to ₦342bn for 2024). The new salary law took effect immediately after assent; the government communicated to courts to budget for the higher pay. Early feedback from the bar and bench has been appreciative; Nigerian Bar Association leaders have praised the law as a demonstration of the government's commitment to the rule of law. Critics of the fiscal cost have been muted, perhaps because judiciary expenditures are a small fraction of total government spending. Still, some observers note that higher judicial pay should be matched with faster case resolution and improvements in court infrastructure. In speeches, Tinubu

emphasised further reforms (appointing more justices, building courts, and providing housing) to expedite justice.

Overall, As of May 2025, no significant new laws have been enacted in civil or criminal justice. Instead, the focus has been on supporting the courts and on policies (such as budget autonomy for local governments upheld by the courts) that reinforce the separation of powers. The administration has signalled that it will defend court rulings (for example, on local government autonomy) and welcomes law-based approaches to governance. Primary unfinished business includes possible bills on anti-corruption or anti-kidnapping, but as of mid-2025, these remained under consideration by the legislature.



Honourable Minister, Dr. 'Bosun Tijani

8. Technology & Data Governance

Data Protection Act 2023: President Tinubu signed the Nigeria Data Protection Act, 2023, on June 12, 2023. This law establishes a comprehensive legal framework for personal data protection, which established the Nigeria Data Protection Commission (NDPC) to regulate how organisations collect, process, and store personal information. Key provisions require entities to secure personal data, obtain valid consent, report breaches promptly, and appoint a data protection officer. The policy objective is to promote digital commerce and protect citizen privacy by fostering trust and aligning Nigeria's regulations with global best practices. The law repealed the 2019 NITDA regulation and replaced the interim Data Protection Bureau with the new statutory commission.

The NDPC was formally inaugurated in late 2023 with a presidentially appointed head. The commission is now rolling out guidelines, registration systems, and enforcement mechanisms. Organisations are expected to initiate compliance programmes (e.g., data audits), and the NDPC has been

scheduling training sessions. Impact and Feedback: The tech industry and consumer advocates have welcomed mainly the Data Protection Act as long overdue.

The law signals that Nigeria will not lag on digital economy regulation. International observers note it should facilitate cross-border data flows (critical for e-commerce) and may encourage foreign investment in fintech. Some critics, however, point out capacity issues: for example, NDPC staff and resources are still limited, and enforcement (penalty notices) is a new concept for businesses. Additionally, stakeholders are monitoring how the NDPC handles political data (e.g., for elections) and its coordination with other regulators. Early reports suggest that companies in finance and telecoms are moving to comply, but smaller firms may find the requirements challenging. No significant controversies have emerged yet, although one policy observer noted that enforcement of fines and sanctions would be the real test of the law's effectiveness.



Minister of State for
Defence, Dr. Bello
Mohammed Matawalle

9. Security & Defense

Under President Tinubu, security-related legislation has moved beyond tactical concerns to focus on institutional and industrial reforms.

Two key laws stand out:

Defence Industries Corporation of Nigeria (DICON) Act, 2023: This act repeals the previous 2004 law and redefines the mandate of DICON. It empowers the Corporation to operate ordnance factories, regulate defence manufacturing, and commercialise defence technologies. A significant innovation is the establishment of the Defence Industry Technology, Research, and Development Institute (DITRDI) to unify military R&D and promote local defence production through science and innovation. The law also creates financing mechanisms to attract private capital into Nigeria's defence manufacturing ecosystem.

National Centre for the Control of Small Arms and Light Weapons Act, 2024: Signed on September 17, 2024, this act establishes a legal framework for arms control and disarmament, aligning with ECOWAS protocols and enhancing Nigeria's internal security architecture. The Centre is tasked with curbing illicit arms flow and coordinating arms tracing, storage, and disposal.

Together, these laws mark a shift toward strategic security infrastructure, focusing on long-term national capability over short-term tactical enforcement. While no primary legislation addressed police reform, anti-kidnapping, or internal security restructuring, these two acts indicate a nation-building approach to defence.

Budget & Policy: Beyond legislation, Tinubu has significantly expanded the security budget, with significant allocations in the 2024 and 2025 Appropriation Acts. He also issued executive orders aimed at improving oil and gas revenues to support defence spending and has emphasised joint task force operations and regional military diplomacy (e.g., via ECOWAS) to counter insurgency and terrorism.

Impact and Feedback: The DICON Act has been welcomed by defence experts, who view it as a long-overdue modernisation of Nigeria's outdated defence production laws. Analysts believe it could catalyse local military tech development if effectively implemented. The Arms Control Centre, while applauded by arms control advocates, is still early in its operational rollout.

However, critics argue that without parallel reforms in police accountability, internal security operations, and citizen safety, these legislative moves while important may have limited impact on immediate insecurity challenges like banditry and kidnapping. Civil society continues to call for laws addressing police reform, community policing, and internal security governance.

Conclusion: Security legislation under Tinubu has taken a strategic-industrial turn, with a focus on building capacity rather than only managing threats. For sustainable peace and public trust, however, this must be paired with reforms in policing, human rights protection, and legislative oversight of security agencies.

10. Infrastructure & Energy

President Tinubu has been active on global energy and climate issues (e.g., attending COP28 in 2023) as part of his infrastructure agenda. Domestically, his administration has overhauled the power sector through two key laws. In June 2023, he signed the Electricity Act 2023, which repealed the old 2005 law and decentralised Nigeria's power industry. The new Electricity Act explicitly empowers states, companies, and individuals to generate, transmit, and distribute electricity. It allows state governments to issue electricity licences within their territories, ending the federal government's monopoly. The objective is to foster competition, attract private and renewable investment, and improve supply. After assent, regulators moved quickly: states like Lagos have begun

drafting their regulations, and NERC (the federal regulator) is revising licensing. Early feedback is cautiously optimistic: investors see opportunities in mini-grids. However, some experts warn that states will need to upgrade local grids and ensure cost-reflective tariffs to avoid a fragmented and inefficient market.

In February 2024, Tinubu signed the Electricity Act (Amendment) 2024⁶. This law mandates that each power generation company set aside 5% of its annual operating expenditure for development projects in its host community⁷. Funds are to be managed by trustees jointly appointed by the company and local representatives for community infrastructure (roads, schools, clinics, etc.). The goal is to address



⁶ <https://fmino.gov.ng/president-tinubu-assents-to-electricity-act-amendment-bill/#:~:text=President%20Bola%20Tinubu%20has%20signed,Bill%2C%202024%2C%20into%20law>

⁷ <https://fmino.gov.ng/president-tinubu-assents-to-electricity-act-amendment-bill/#:~:text=The%20Electricity%20Act%20,of%20their%20respective%20host%20communities>

local grievances and environmental concerns around power plants. NERC and the Ministry of Power are drafting implementation rules. Civil society groups have welcomed mainly this “host community” provision as a needed accountability measure. A potential challenge will be ensuring genuine community involvement in the trust and preventing diversion of funds.

In late 2023 and 2024, Tinubu signed regulations to prepare Nigeria for nuclear power. The Nuclear Regulatory Authority reported that he assented to four nuclear safety regulations (design of reactors, transport of radioactive materials, radiation safety, and waste management). These technical regulations (developed with the IAEA) create the safety framework needed before any nuclear plants are to be constructed. The broader policy is to eventually diversify Nigeria’s energy mix and generate electricity more

reliably. Expert feedback is that this is a prudent step – setting safety rules early, but that practical nuclear projects are still years away. Environmental and fiscal concerns have been raised by analysts, who note that significant investment will be required and that public debate should follow.

Overall, Tinubu’s infrastructure laws indicate a shift towards decentralisation and investment attraction. By liberalising the power market and funding communities, the administration aims to address chronic electricity shortages and stimulate regional growth. This reflects a broader trend in his 2023–25 budget speeches of prioritising capital projects (roads, refineries, etc.) to revive the economy. Success will depend on regulatory follow-through and the ability of states and companies to translate the new laws into on-the-ground projects.



11. Economic & Fiscal Reforms

Capital Markets Reform: In March 2025, President Tinubu signed the Investments and Securities Act 2025 into law, replacing the previous Act from 2007. This comprehensive reform addresses the needs of 21st-century markets. Notably, the new Act expands the definition of “securities” to include cryptocurrencies and digital assets, placing them under Nigerian regulation. It also modernizes classifications for exchanges and derivatives trading.

The primary goal of this policy is to attract fintech innovation and foreign investments while ensuring consumer protections. The law took effect immediately after the president’s assent, and the Securities and Exchange Commission has already begun

updating its rulebook in response.

Market reactions have been positive. Crypto exchanges welcome the establishment of clearer regulations, and investors are looking forward to new products, such as crypto funds, under the oversight of the SEC. However, some experts express concerns that stricter regulations and licensing requirements may hinder the rapid growth of the sector.

Budgets and Spending: Tinubu’s two annual budgets (for 2024 and 2025) were also codified into law with presidential assent. In June 2023, he signed the 2024 Appropriation Act (₦28.7 trillion), pledging “predictable” budgeting and monthly performance reports from ministries.

In February 2025, he signed the 2025 budget (₦54.99 trillion)⁸, nearly double 2024's size due partly to subsidy removal and expanded projects. These laws are procedural but essential: they signal the administration's macroeconomic priorities. The budgets have earmarked large portions to debt service and capital investment (e.g. transport, energy, agriculture) and have promised continued fiscal reforms to stabilise inflation.

Early Impact: The budgets have drawn mixed reactions. Supporters say Tinubu's focus on infrastructure and social programmes is needed after years of low growth. Critics worry about the ballooning deficit (primarily financed by debt) and its inflationary effect. International donors and investors are watching whether Tinubu will stick to a tight fiscal path or revert to subsidies. As part of budgetary reforms, Tinubu has also pushed tax

bills through the NASS (e.g., broadening the VAT base), although these were still pending in 2025. In practice, many of the finance-related changes have been via executive orders (e.g. cutting duties on raw materials) rather than new laws.

Currency Policy: A significant policy move (though executive, not legislative) was the February 2023 removal of fuel subsidies, which led to substantial price hikes and complicated economic indicators as inflation spiked and real incomes declined. Some donors and analysts have called for additional social spending (through law or budgets) to buffer people with low incomes. Tinubu's government has responded by promising targeted palliatives and pushing for NASS approval of broader tax incentives to spur growth. The full economic impact of these reforms is still unfolding in 2025.

8 <https://pmnewsnigeria.com/2025/02/28/tinubu-signs-n54-99trn-2025-budget-in-law/#:~:text=President%20Bola%20Tinubu%20on%20Friday,at%20the%20State%20House%2C%20Abuja>

12. Labour & Welfare

Minimum Wage Act 2024: On July 29, 2024, Tinubu signed the new National Minimum Wage Act 2024, setting the floor at ₦70,000 per month (up from ₦30,000). The law was the outcome of intense negotiations with labour unions. It stipulates a review cycle (every three years) and tasks a tripartite committee with future adjustments. Senate leaders and labour representatives attended the signing ceremony.

Objective and Implementation: The law aims to improve the living standards of the lowest-paid workers amid rising costs. It applies nationwide (with some exceptions) and obliges all levels of government to pay at least ₦70,000. Implementation is already underway: the government has announced that the new wage took effect immediately, and by late 2024, the federal civil service had already begun paying the higher rate. States have been urged to enact matching legislation or use their budgets to comply.

Feedback: Nigerian labour unions welcomed the 70k figure as a victory, though they remain vigilant that the federal government fully implement it. The federal government pledged to cover the

difference where states or private firms lag, and Tinubu appealed for patience as the change rolled out. Some state governors, however, have criticised the cost and budgetary pressure. Economists are divided: some say ₦70k is still below a “living wage” given inflation, while others warn that further hikes too soon could fuel inflation. So far, there have been no large-scale protests after the signing, suggesting broad acceptance of the outcome. The main challenge ahead is ensuring that all states and localities pay the new rate (a concern flagged in late 2024 discussions) and addressing the fiscal impact (estimated at hundreds of billions of naira annually).

Other Welfare Measures: No other significant labour or welfare laws were passed in this period. The administration has indicated an interest in improving social services (education, healthcare). However, these have mostly come through executive programs (e.g. school feeding, onchocerciasis treatment) or budget allocations rather than new statutes. Unemployment and poverty remain high, so activists continue to push for expanded safety nets and job creation laws.





13. National Identity & Culture

National Anthem Act 2024: On May 29, 2024, during the 25th anniversary of Nigeria's Fourth Republic, Tinubu signed a law restoring the old 1960 national anthem, "Nigeria, We Hail Thee". The law formally reverses the 1978 switch to "Arise, O Compatriots" and makes the older anthem (written by an English composer) the official anthem again. The stated intent was to reconnect with Nigeria's early independence heritage.

Public Reaction: This change proved highly controversial. The president of the Senate announced the signing at a joint Assembly session, but lawmakers and the public swiftly split in opinion. Proponents argue that the old anthem's lyrics emphasise unity and moral values. Critics, however, see it as symbolic pandering or a distraction from real issues. They suggested it undermines post-colonial identity, noting the irony of a foreigner having written the anthem⁹. The arts community had mixed feelings: some traditionalists applauded the nostalgia, while younger voices questioned why time and resources were spent on an anthem when pressing problems persist. Media commentary (e.g. The Nigerian Inquirer) framed it as a national identity debate¹⁰.

Implementation: The law took effect immediately upon signing. Government agencies began replacing the anthem at official events and in schools. Education officials had to reprint songbooks, and radio and TV networks updated their

opening sequences. There have been no formal legal challenges (the anthem change was passed as an ordinary law by the National Assembly). However, it may face court interest if citizens dispute any aspect. The broader cultural impact is still being assessed; many Nigerians continue to sing "Arise, O Compatriots" out of habit. **Other Cultural Laws:** No other major laws in culture or national identity were enacted. The administration has shown interest in cultural promotion by announcing a National Centre for Arts in 2024) but not through legislation. Calls to boost local film and music industries, as well as heritage sites, remain ongoing but await the introduction of concrete policy bills. Overall, the anthem episode underscores tensions in Tinubu's tenure between symbolic acts of identity and concrete development measures.



Full Lyrics of the reinstated National Anthem: 'Nigeria, We Hail Thee'

Establishment of Commissions: A hallmark of Tinubu's legislative agenda has been

⁹ <https://inquirer.ng/2024/05/30/nigerias-anthem-reversion-sparks-national-identity-crisis/#:~:text=Reno%20Omokri%2C%20a%20former%20aide,of%20Nigeria%E2%80%99s%20spirit%20and%20aspirations>

¹⁰ <https://inquirer.ng/2024/05/30/nigerias-anthem-reversion-sparks-national-identity-crisis/#:~:text=>



I
Nigeria, we hail thee,
Our own dear native land,
Though tribe and tongue may differ,
In brotherhood we stand,
Nigerians all, and proud to serve
Our sovereign Motherland.

II
Our flag shall be a symbol
That truth and justice reign,
In peace or battle honoured,
And this we count as gain,
To hand on to our children
A banner without stain.

III
O God of all creation,
Grant this our one request,
Help us to build a nation
Where no man is oppressed
And so with peace and plenty
Nigeria may be blessed.

14. Regional Development

A key feature of Tinubu’s legislative agenda has been the establishment of development commissions across the country’s geopolitical zones.

The creation of new development commissions for each of the country’s geopolitical zones. On July 24, 2024, he signed into law the North-West Development Commission Act of 2024 and the South-East Development Commission Act of 2023. Each agency is empowered to coordinate the reconstruction of infrastructure (roads, schools, hospitals) and tackle poverty and environmental issues in its zone. Then, on March 25, 2025, Tinubu assented to the South-West Development Commission Act, 2024 and the South-South Development Commission Act 2024. With these four new commissions, all six geopolitical zones (including the already existing North-Central and North-East commissions, as well as the Niger Delta Development Commission for the South-South) now have a dedicated regional development agency.

Objectives: The policy objective is equitable development after years of zone-based grievances (insurgency in the North-East, militancy in the South-South, secessionist violence in the South-East, etc.), the government aims to ensure that each region has federal backing for rebuilding and investment.

Funding for these commissions comes from the federal budget, and each has a board appointed by the president.

Feedback: Reactions have been largely positive from regional leaders. The Senate in 2024 noted that these bills “reflect collective aspirations to expand access to higher education and... foster development in respective regions”¹¹ (education link is incidental but indicates legislative support). Special advisers have praised the “inclusiveness” of covering all zones. For example, Senate President Akpabio said the commissions “would create more jobs” and “take development to the grassroots”.

However, some observers question the overlap and efficiency of multiple commissions. For instance, the South-South Commission duplicates the efforts of the longstanding Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC), raising concerns about potential bureaucratic waste. Likewise, sceptics ask whether funds and projects from six agencies can be effectively managed. Implementation is just beginning: boards have been appointed, and states are submitting project proposals,

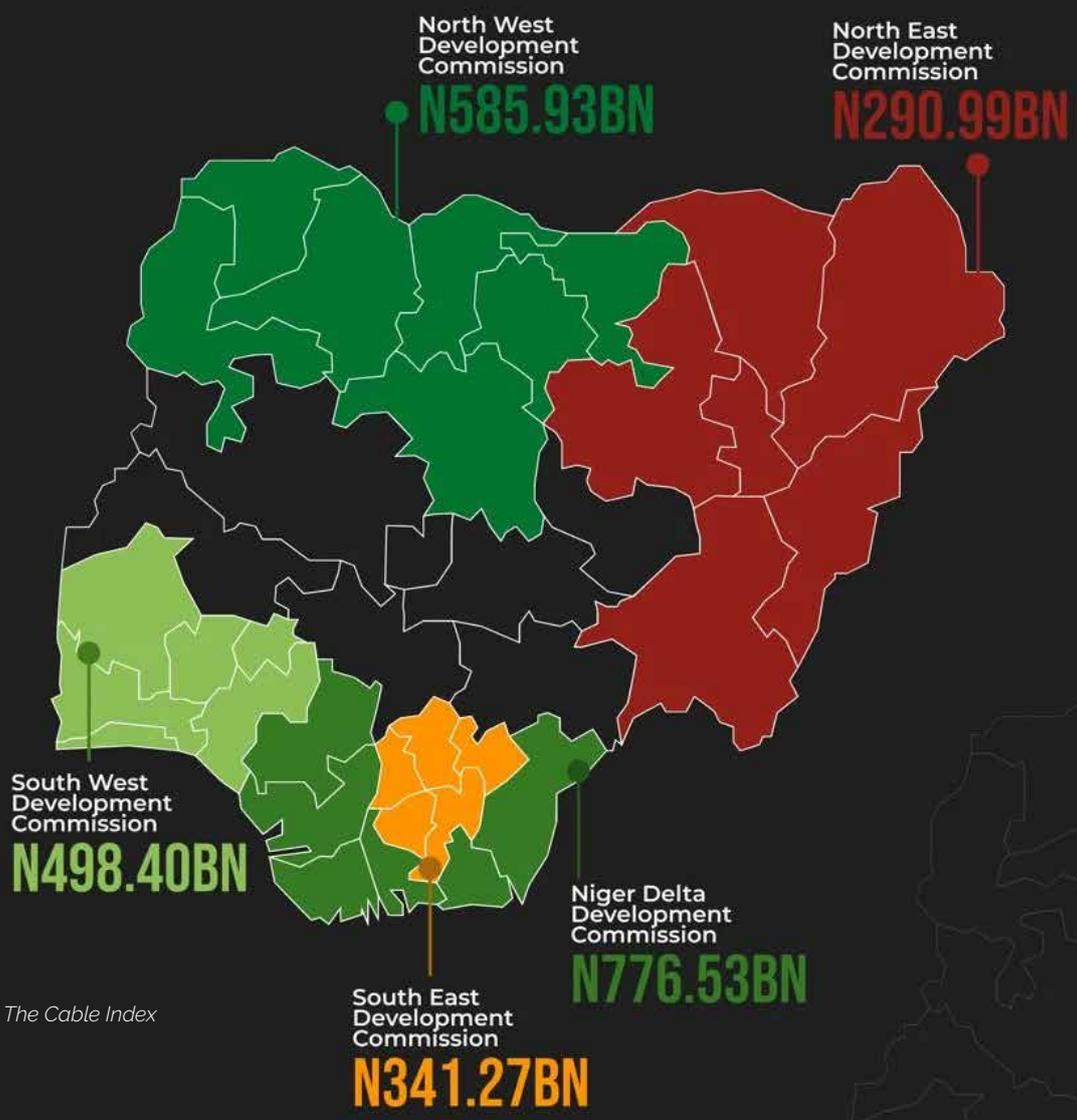
11 <https://blueprint.ng/senate-commends-tinubu-for-establishing-more-universities/#:~:text=education%20sector>

but none of the commissions have delivered major projects by mid-2025. Ensuring transparency and avoiding overlap (e.g. with state governments' plans) will be key challenges.

Controversies/Challenges: Critics have noted that the creation of new agencies increases government size and cost. Some see political motives (rewarding

loyalists in each zone) in the timing of the laws. Overall, the development commissions signal Tinubu's commitment to federal allocation of resources by region. Their ultimate impact will depend on how quickly they become operational and transparent; watchdogs and community groups are poised to monitor whether projects meet local needs as promised.

2025 PROPOSED BUDGET FOR REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT COMMISSIONS



15. Cross cutting Insights

This section distils broader patterns from the legislative activities of the Tinubu administration (2023–2025), looking beyond individual laws to assess institutional, political, and governance trends. By synthesising actions across sectors, we identify the administration's legislative posture, implementation realities, stakeholder responses, and comparative positioning within Nigeria's democratic trajectory.

15.1 Patterns in Legislative Priorities

President Tinubu's early legislative strategy reflects a deliberate shift toward liberalisation, modernisation, and institutional reform. The administration's assent record signals a preference for laws with high fiscal, economic, and symbolic value.

Key observations:

- **Economic modernisation:** Laws such as the Electricity Act, the Nigeria Data Protection Act, and the Securities Industry Reform Act were enacted by the Tinubu administration to open markets, attract investment, and enhance regulatory clarity.
- **Strategic Symbolism:** The repeal of Nigeria's post-civil war national anthem and reversion to the colonial-era version exemplifies legislation aimed at reshaping national identity and historical memory.
- **Under representation of Social Sectors:** Critical areas, such as primary healthcare, gender equity, and social protection (beyond access to tertiary education), remain largely absent from the legislative docket.

15.2 Role of the National Assembly vs. Executive

The Tinubu administration has enjoyed a relatively cooperative relationship with the 10th National Assembly. However, a deeper look reveals a hybrid model of legislative initiative that raises concerns about institutional independence.

Key dynamics:

- **Executive-led Bills:** Major laws such as the Student Loan Act and Electricity Act were initiated by the Presidency, often enjoying expedited legislative passage.
- **Legislator-led Initiatives:** Some bills of strategic importance (e.g., Defence Industries Act, Regional Development Commissions) were sponsored by influential members of parliament, reflecting selective legislative activism.

Concerns About Oversight and Deliberation:

- Limited public consultations or committee scrutiny on many bills.
- Fast-tracked processes that bypass broader civic engagement.

- Perception of weak parliamentary checks on executive influence.

15.3 Implementation & Oversight Gaps

A recurring concern across various sectors is the gap between legislation and its implementation. Laws have been passed, but implementation is often slow, fragmented, or underfunded, raising questions about sustainability and policy impact.

Implementation challenges include:

- **Institutional Delays:** Many new entities created by law (e.g., regional commissions, DITRDI) lack operational budgets, staff, or implementation timelines.
- **Missing Guidelines:** Enforcement and compliance frameworks for the Data Protection and Digital Assets Acts have not yet been released.
- **Weak Legislative Follow-up:** Oversight by relevant committees in the National Assembly remains inconsistent, limiting accountability for post-enactment action.

15.4 Public & Expert Reactions

Reactions to Tinubu-era legislation vary across stakeholders, reflecting both optimism and unease. While some laws have been welcomed as long-overdue reforms, others have provoked public scepticism or controversy.

Stakeholder sentiments include:

Positive Reception: Reform-oriented laws (e.g., the Electricity Act and Student Loan Act) are applauded by some experts for addressing structural bottlenecks.

The modernisation of defence production through the DICON Act is viewed as a strategic security milestone.

Scepticism and Critique: The National Anthem Act drew criticism for prioritising symbolism over substance.

Fiscal and regulatory laws (e.g., Data Protection, Tax Reforms) raised concerns about transparency and enforcement.

Expert Commentary: Calls for deeper cost-benefit analysis, stronger civic engagement, and more precise implementation timelines.

Civil society voices continue to express concern about social sector neglect and legislative opacity.

15.5 Comparative Review: Tinubu vs. Previous Administrations

Comparing Tinubu's legislative output to his immediate predecessors provides context for evaluating progress and continuity in Nigeria's democracy.

Comparative highlights:

- **Higher Legislative Volume:** Within 24 months, Tinubu has signed more substantive bills than either Buhari or Jonathan within the same period.
- **Technocratic Tone:** Tinubu's legal reforms place a heavy emphasis on market regulation and administrative modernisation, with a less pronounced focus on anti-corruption (Buhari) or political consensus-building (Jonathan).
- **Gaps in Equity and Inclusion:** Unlike the Jonathan-era National Health Act or Buhari's Social Investment Programs, Tinubu-era legislation has so far not significantly advanced women's rights, primary health, or poverty alleviation.
- **Preference for Formal Statutes:** Tinubu relies more on laws passed by the National Assembly than on executive orders, signalling a strategic focus on legislative legitimacy.

16. Conclusion

Two years into the Tinubu administration, Nigeria's legislative landscape is undergoing significant changes, marked by the passage of wide-ranging laws that span infrastructure, economy, education, security, technology, and regional development. The President's assent to over 40 bills in this short period reflects a deliberate legislative strategy aimed at stimulating economic growth, attracting investment, deepening state reforms, and symbolically shaping national identity.

What emerges from this review is not merely a catalogue of enacted laws but a portrait of an administration with an apparent tilt toward technocratic governance and institutional liberalisation. From the liberalisation of the power sector to the creation of regional development commissions and reforms in defence manufacturing, these laws offer glimpses into a policy direction driven by modernisation, decentralisation and economic recovery. Yet, the legislative gains of the Tinubu era cannot be fully appraised without attention to the structural and democratic questions they raise. Key concerns persist regarding the slow pace of implementation, the executive's dominance in the law-making process, limited civic engagement in legislative development, and a continued lag in addressing core social justice

issues, such as primary healthcare and gender equality.

Public and expert reactions to these laws reveal a nation cautiously optimistic but watchful. While many stakeholders applaud the ambition and breadth of the administration's legislative focus, they also warn of the risks of over-centralisation policy fatigue and the marginalisation of vulnerable groups. Civil society, organisations, academic institutions, donor partners, and the media all have a critical role to play in ensuring that these laws do not merely reside in legal texts but actively shape outcomes in people's lives.

As this report has shown, law-making is only the first step in a much longer journey toward democratic accountability, inclusive governance, and policy effectiveness. What happens next, how these laws are funded, implemented, monitored, and revised will define the true legacy of President Bola Ahmed Tinubu's tenure.

Legis360 in partnership with PAACA will continue to track, analyse and amplify these developments to ensure that Nigeria's legislative system becomes more transparent, participatory, and responsive to the needs of its people.



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