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WHAT CITIZENS SAID VS. WHAT GOVERNMENT PROMISED

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A Comparative Analysis of Citizen Feedback and Institutional Responses
under the Renewed Hope Agenda

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Executive Summary

The Renewed Hope Agenda (RHA) of Bola Ahmed Tinubu, launched in May 2023, set out eight national priorities aimed at economic recovery, inclusive growth, and institutional reform. Central to this agenda was a shift toward performance-driven governance and citizen-centered delivery.

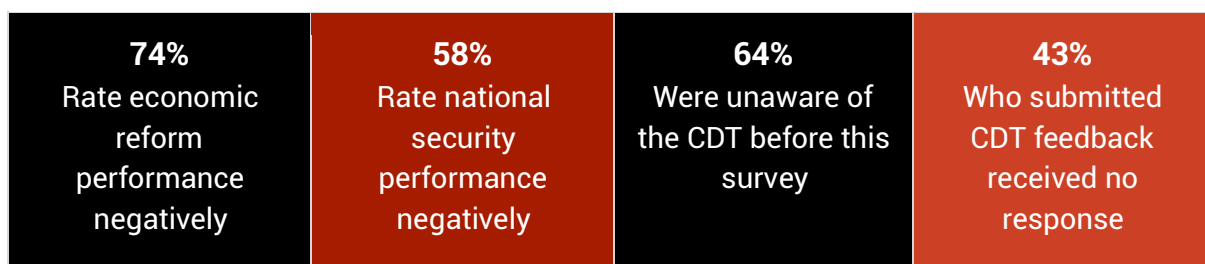
To operationalize this shift, the government established the Central Results Delivery Coordination Unit (CRDCU) and introduced the Citizen Delivery Tracker (CDT) in April 2024 as a digital interface for real-time citizen feedback and project monitoring. The CDT was adapted from the Presidential Delivery Tracker (PDT) established by the Buhari administration; it was the PDT that was updated and rechristened the Citizens Delivery Tracker. The aim is to demonstrate and encourage ownership and usage by citizens

"The CDT was positioned as the technological backbone of a new social contract between citizens and the state."

This policy brief assesses the extent to which these commitments have translated into measurable improvements in citizen experience as of Q1 2026. The analysis draws on a nationwide survey (n = 1,978) conducted by Accountability Lab Nigeria and Open Government Partnership Nigeria, in partnership with Dataphyte Foundation.

Overall Assessment: A Tale of Two Realities

The administration has made measurable strides in macroeconomic restructuring and long term capital investment. However, ***a significant and dangerous perception gap exists between these macro-level indicators and the micro-level reality of the average Nigerian***. The tools designed to bridge this gap, including the CDT, risk being seen as performative if the feedback they generate does not translate into visible changes in living standards.



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KEY FINDING

"The government has built the engine of reform; it must now ensure that every citizen feels its power." The CDT survey shows that 87% of citizens consider tools like the CDT important or extremely important, yet 74% have never used it. This is not public apathy; it is unrealized potential, compounded by a communication failure and an incomplete feedback loop.

Summary of Findings

1. **Macro-Micro Chasm:** Macroeconomic stabilisation gains, exchange rate unification, record foreign investment, and N636 billion BOI disbursements have not translated into microeconomic relief. A combined 74% of respondents are dissatisfied with economic reform performance;
2. **CDT Awareness and Adoption Gap:** 87% of citizens consider the CDT important; 64% were unaware it existed. 74% had never used it. The platform's potential as an accountability mechanism remains largely untapped;
3. **Incomplete Feedback Loop:** 43% of citizens who submitted feedback via the CDT received no response. Where responses were received, 34% saw partial or full resolution, demonstrating that the system works when it functions, but inconsistency erodes trust;
4. **Governance Invisibility:** *"Good governance without communication is invisible,"* as the administration's own party leadership acknowledged. 73% of nonCDT users cited lack of awareness as the reason for non-use, and 37% cited lack of trust in government follow-through;
5. **Trust Deficit:** Only 32% of respondents believe the CDT has definitively made the government more responsive. Uncertainty is highest in Kaduna (55%), Ondo (67%), and Edo (50%), pointing to significant regional variation in platform trust and effectiveness.

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BACKGROUND

The Renewed Hope Agenda is built on eight priority areas agreed upon at the National Economic Council (NEC): economic growth and job creation; national security; agriculture and food security; energy and natural resources; infrastructure and transportation; education, health, and social investment; industrialisation, digitisation and innovation; and governance and service delivery.

To operationalise accountability across these priorities, the CRDCU was established within the Office of the Secretary to the Government of the Federation. In April 2024, it launched the Citizen Delivery Tracker (CDT), a digital platform aligned with Nigeria's obligations under the Open Government Partnership (OGP) to support transparency, civic participation, and institutional accountability.

As Vice President Kashim Shettima signalled in early 2026, the administration is shifting from "**stabilisation to acceleration**". This makes Q1 2026 a critical moment to assess whether the instruments of accountability are functioning as intended and what must change to ensure the next phase of delivery is felt by citizens.

Methodology

This brief integrates analysis of official government documents, media-verified progress reports, and primary survey data. The CDT Survey Evaluation (2026) employed a mixed methods approach:

- **Sample size:** 1,978 respondents across all 36 states and the FCT;
- **Sampling strategy:** Random sampling (555 respondents, 15 per state/FCT); convenience and snowball sampling (1,423 respondents through local networks);
- **Data collection tools:** Goloka (geospatial) and Google Forms;
- **Data validation:** Correlation analysis between datasets showed an average positive correlation of 48%, with higher correlations (0.73) in FCT and Bauchi, supporting reliability of combined analysis;
- **Demographics:** Predominantly male (61%), digitally active (63% aged 26–44), highly educated (69.7% tertiary), urban/semi-urban (85%)

Limitation: The sample underrepresents rural and less digitally connected populations. Findings should be read with this in mind, particularly for assessments of digital governance tools

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SECTORAL ANALYSIS: PROMISES VERSUS PERFORMANCE

The following analysis examines each of the eight Renewed Hope Agenda priority areas, comparing official commitments and reported progress against citizen perceptions from the CDT Survey. The objective is not a simple audit of achievements but an evidencebased examination of why **a significant gap exists between what the government is doing and what citizens are experiencing**

1. Economic Growth and Job Creation

The Promise: Inclusive growth through exchange rate unification, subsidy removal, small and medium enterprise (SME) support, and enhancing employment opportunities, with the explicit commitment that subsidy savings would translate into visible improvements in living standards.

Reported Progress: The N58.18 trillion 2026 budget signals an "acceleration" phase. Nigeria attracted five of seven major African investment decisions in 2025. [The Bank of Industry disbursed a record N636 billion to over 7,000 enterprises](#), creating or retaining an estimated **1.6 million jobs**. Over **N28 billion** in targeted loans reached women, youth, and rural enterprises. The Presidential Conditional Grant Scheme enrolled nearly one million beneficiaries.

Citizen Reality: **A combined 74% of respondents rated economic reform performance negatively, the highest disapproval rating across all eight sectors** Dissatisfaction was most acute in Ebonyi, Lagos, Akwa Ibom, and the FCT. Positive perceptions were concentrated in Bauchi, Kebbi, and Jigawa, reflecting uneven geographic impact.

CITIZEN VOICE

"N100,000 over 20 months helps, but the cost of a single bag of rice has doubled. We need the government to also bring down the price of things in the market"— Conditional cash transfer beneficiary, Ibeju-Lekki

The Gap: Macroeconomic stabilisation has been achieved at a micro-level cost. Inflation, particularly in food prices, has eroded purchasing power to the point where structural reforms are largely invisible to households. The creation of 1.6 million jobs is insignificant against a population of over 200 million facing acute food insecurity.

2. National Security

The Promise: Enhanced security force capabilities and a strategic non-kinetic approach addressing root causes of insecurity, unemployment, and poverty, alongside enforcement.

Reported Progress: The National Economic Council officially adopted the non-kinetic framework. The 2026 budget includes the **"largest allocation to national security in the country's history"** A cooperative federalism model is being implemented to align federal and state security responses.

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Citizen Reality: *58% of respondents rated security performance negatively, with 36% rating it "very poor," the single largest "very poor" rating of any sector.* In the FCT, 51% gave "very poor" ratings. Dissatisfaction exceeded 65% in Imo, Lagos, and Plateau. Positive outliers, Bayelsa, Ekiti, Gombe, and Borno (46% positive, reflecting sustained counterinsurgency progress), demonstrate that localised success is achievable.

The Gap: Record security funding and a non-kinetic strategic framework are necessary long-term investments. They are not yet producing the tangible sense of safety that is citizens' primary demand. For residents of the FCT, the nation's capital, to record the highest "very poor" ratings is a stark governance signal.

3. Agriculture and Food Security

The Promise: Modernised farming, expanded access to finance, improved market linkages, and national self-sufficiency in food production.

Reported Progress: Agricultural support is embedded in broader economic interventions: the N28 billion rural enterprise loan fund, the Presidential Conditional Grant Scheme, and agro processing components of the industrial diversification agenda. Specific standalone agricultural programme outcomes are not prominently reported.

Citizen Reality: Food inflation is the most palpable indicator of this sector's performance. The doubling of staple food prices is the direct, lived experience against which all agricultural interventions are judged. Citizens assess food security not by the number of farmers reached but by the price of a tuber of yam or a bag of rice.

The Gap: *Production-side and finance-side interventions are not yet visible at the distribution and affordability levels that matter to households.* Until market prices reflect the promised abundance, food security will remain a distant policy goal rather than a felt reality.

4. Energy and Natural Resources

The Promise: Unlock Nigeria's energy potential through sustainable resource management, increased investment, and adoption of modern technology while ensuring environmental sustainability.

Reported Progress: The operationalisation of the Dangote Refinery is cited as a significant step toward reducing import dependence. The Ministry of Environment has validated a [National Adaptation Plan \(NAP\)](#), developed with the Green Climate Fund, including climate risk assessments, economic appraisals, and international finance strategies.

The Gap: The Dangote Refinery's impact on household energy affordability is not yet fully realised. The NAP, while an important policy framework, remains abstract to communities experiencing erratic weather as a direct threat to food and livelihood security. *Benefits must translate from institutional frameworks to household level outcomes.*

5. Infrastructure and Transportation

The Promise: Expanded and upgraded infrastructure networks as enablers of growth, improving connectivity, reducing logistics costs, creating jobs, and enhancing quality of life.

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Reported Progress: The Rural Electrification Agency (REA) has unveiled plans to execute over **500 projects under a N170 billion 2026 budget** including a N100 billion National Public Sector Solarisation Initiative. The REA's **85% budget execution rate in 2024** demonstrates above-average implementation capacity.

Citizen Reality: 72% of respondents rated infrastructure and transportation performance negatively. The highest dissatisfaction was recorded in Ogun (41% "very poor"), Lagos (38% "very poor"), and Imo (35% "very poor"), Nigeria's primary commercial and industrial corridors. Positive perceptions were concentrated in Anambra (55% good/very good), Borno (58%), and Gombe (53%), where visible projects are directly experienced.

The Gap: Strong implementation capacity and ambitious planning have not yet produced the widespread, transformative impact in daily commuting, household power access, and business energy costs that citizens were led to expect. The focus on public sector solarisation, while strategic, is an indirect benefit for the majority of Nigerians.

6. Education, Health, and Social Investment

The Promise: Revamped education and healthcare systems and strengthened social protection to build a healthier, more educated, and economically empowered populace.

Reported Progress:

- **Health:** Over **N120 billion invested to rehabilitate 18 medical schools** and expand nursing admissions across all six geopolitical zones;
- **Education:** **900,000 students enrolled in NELFUND** with cumulative disbursements exceeding N200 billion; two uninterrupted academic sessions maintained; new ASUU agreement signed; N100 billion TETFund 2026 cycle to rehabilitate engineering faculties in 12 universities;
- **Social Investment:** Conditional cash transfers are operational in select communities; N200 billion MSME intervention fund has been deployed.

Citizen Reality: 71% of respondents rated performance in education, health, and social investment negatively. Deep dissatisfaction was recorded in Edo, Ogun, Plateau, and the FCT. Positive outliers, Bayelsa (60%), Gombe (59%), Delta (53%), and Anambra (50%), remain exceptions to the national trend.

The Gap: The N120 billion for medical education is a long-term structural fix whose impact on local primary healthcare today is invisible. NELFUND benefits 900,000 tertiary students but does not address crumbling basic education infrastructure, teacher welfare, or learning outcomes at primary and secondary levels. **Citizens are judging the government on the present reality of service delivery, not the future promise of structural investments**

7. Industrialisation, Digitisation, and Innovation

The Promise: Promote industrialisation, embrace digital transformation, nurture the creative arts, boost manufacturing, and support innovation to build a dynamic and diversified economy.

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Reported Progress: The BOI's record N636 billion disbursement to 7,000+ enterprises directly supports manufacturing. Nigeria's attraction of five of seven major African investment decisions in 2025 indicates growing non-oil sector confidence. The CDT itself exemplifies digital governance innovation. Tax harmonisation efforts, commended at NEC for states that have passed harmonised tax laws, aim to reduce the burden on businesses.

The Gap: These are upstream activities. The downstream impact, jobs created, businesses thriving, and innovations reaching markets are not yet registering with the public. For an entrepreneur in Lagos, the promise of a dynamic economic landscape is undermined by multiple taxation, high energy costs, and logistics inefficiencies. ***Diversification is progressing, but it has not yet reached the escape velocity needed to lift broader economic prospects and, consequently, public perception***

8. Governance and Service Delivery

The Promise: Strengthen institutions, promote the rule of law, and encourage civic participation, supporting governance that is responsive, accountable, transparent, and effective.

Reported Progress: Tax harmonisation and an executive order on federation account remittances were introduced to eliminate duplicative structures. The CRDCU and CDT represent a world-class commitment to performance management and citizen-facing accountability.

Citizen Reality: ***74% of respondents rated governance performance negatively, matching the economy as the highest disapproval rating. Statelevel rejection was wholesale*** Ebonyi (67% poor/very poor), Lagos (61%), Ogun (62%), Imo (68%), Edo (77%), and Plateau (68%). Positive outliers, Anambra (50% good/very good), Gombe (47%), Adamawa (41%), Sokoto (41%), and Borno (42%), indicate that where communication and visible delivery align, trust can be built.

APC NATIONAL CHAIRMAN

"Good governance without communication is invisible"

The CDT survey data provides empirical confirmation of this admission. Despite strong interest in governance (82% interested in tracking performance), the primary reason for non-use of the CDT is lack of awareness (73%). Even flagship transparency tools are failing to reach citizens.

The Gap: The government is implementing structural reforms and creating accountability mechanisms but failing to communicate them effectively or to close the feedback loop consistently. ***The governance promise, responsive, accountable, and effective, remains the most significant unmet commitment of the Renewed Hope Agenda.***

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GAP ANALYSIS: FOUR STRUCTURAL DISCONNECTS

The central finding of this analysis is not a lack of government action, but a ***profound disconnect between the nature of government actions and the immediacy of citizen needs***. This gap manifests in four ways that cut across all eight priority areas.

DISCONNECT	WHAT GOVERNMENT IS DOING	WHAT CITIZENS ARE EXPERIENCING
Macro–Micro Gap (Priorities 1, 4, 7)	Exchange rate unification, investment attraction, macroeconomic stabilisation	Inflation, food insecurity, eroded purchasing power, 74% negative on economy
Structural – Tangible Gap (Priorities 3, 5, 6)	Medical school rehabilitation, climate adaptation plans, rural electrification projects	Inaccessible primary healthcare, unreliable household power, unaffordable food staples
Communication – Validation Gap (Priority 8)	CDT launched, CRDCU operational, projects being implemented	64% unaware of CDT; 43% of feedback unanswered; achievements invisible – 74% negative on governance
Trust – Responsiveness Gap (Priorities 2, 8)	Record security budget, non-kinetic framework, cooperative federalism	Daily experience of insecurity; government seen as unresponsive, 58% negative on security

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RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations are drawn directly from the evidence base of the CDT Survey Evaluation. They are organised by actors and prioritised by impact potential.

ACTOR	PRIORITY ACTIONS
Policymakers (Executive, Legislature, NEC)	<p>Mandate a citizen impact assessment for every major policy before implementation, projecting short-term household income and inflation effects and requiring a funded mitigation plan where negative impacts are anticipated. This directly addresses the 74% negative perception of economic reform;</p> <p>Fast-track and scale digital delivery of direct palliatives. The N200 billion MSME intervention and cash transfer programmes must be massively expanded and de-leaked through digital disbursement channels to cushion economic hardship at scale;</p> <p>Enforce cooperative federalism for joint delivery. Use NEC to create federal-state project implementation task forces in health, agriculture, and infrastructure, ensuring federal investments produce visible state level outcomes. Address state-level CDT awareness gaps (Lagos: 90% unaware vs. Delta: 67% aware) with tailored outreach.</p>
CRDCU	<p>Close the feedback loop: Publish a quarterly 'You Spoke, We Acted' report detailing the top citizen concerns raised via CDT in each geopolitical zone and the specific corrective actions taken by the relevant MDA. This transforms the Tracker from a monitoring tool into a visible accountability mechanism and directly addresses the 43% of feedback that currently goes unanswered;</p> <p>Launch a National Awareness and Digital Literacy Campaign leveraging social media and community networks (word-of-mouth is cited by 14% of users). Partner with traditional media to reach less digitally connected populations. Prioritise low-awareness states: Lagos, Ogun, and FCT;</p> <p>Optimise for mobile-first access: With 42% of users preferring the mobile app, prioritise app development with lightweight, low-bandwidth functionality. Address the 38% of users who cite 'navigation not user friendly' through structured UI/UX improvements;</p> <p>Build trust through publicised results: Announce the 34% issue resolution rate as a baseline and set public quarterly targets to improve it. Non-monetary recognition for active users (public acknowledgment,</p>

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	<p>priority information access) can convert the 68% willing to provide regular feedback into sustained participants.</p>
<p>MDAs (Implementing Agencies)</p>	<p>Operationalise 'Renewed Hope Agenda' as two-way channels, not just communicators of government wins but structured conduits for community feedback back to MDA-level decision-makers;</p> <p>Launch 'Seeing is Believing' verification events: Invite community leaders and local journalists to commission and inspect completed projects. Visible delivery, showing a community its new solar minigrid, not just the budget allocation, directly counter the 74% negative governance perception;</p> <p>Integrate climate action with immediate economic relief: Pilot the National Adaptation Plan in communities most affected by food inflation, providing drought-resistant seeds and irrigation technology to link climate resilience directly with short-term food security outcomes.</p>

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CONCLUSION

The Tinubu administration's Renewed Hope Agenda has laid a necessary, if not painful, foundation for long-term national renewal. Significant progress has been made in macroeconomic restructuring, capital investment, and building institutional accountability mechanisms. The CRDCU and CDT represent a genuine, world-class commitment to performance management. The 2026 budget and the declared shift to "acceleration" signal a government ready to build on this foundation.

However, ***the CDT Survey Evaluation reveals a nation at a crossroads of perception.*** Three years of adjustment have exacted a heavy toll. The data is clear: 74% negative on the economy, 74% negative on governance, 58% negative on security, and 71% negative on social services. The promise of "renewed hope" can only be fulfilled when macroeconomic stability translates into microeconomic relief and when digital accountability tools produce tangible improvements in public services.

The CDT paradox is instructive: 87% of citizens believe such a tool is important; 64% have never heard of it. Those who use it find it useful (54%), accessible (87% rate it easy to use), and worthy of recommendation (79%). This is not a story of public apathy; it is a story of unrealised potential.

THE TEST AHEAD

"The next phase of implementation must be judged not by the eloquence of its plans or the sophistication of its dashboards, but by the volume of its impact on the lives of its citizens and the closing of the gap between promise and perception." Accountability Lab Nigeria calls on the CRDCU, MDAs, and state governments to treat the CDT Survey findings as an accountability baseline and to demonstrate, by Q3 2026, measurable progress on awareness, feedback response rates, and issue resolution.

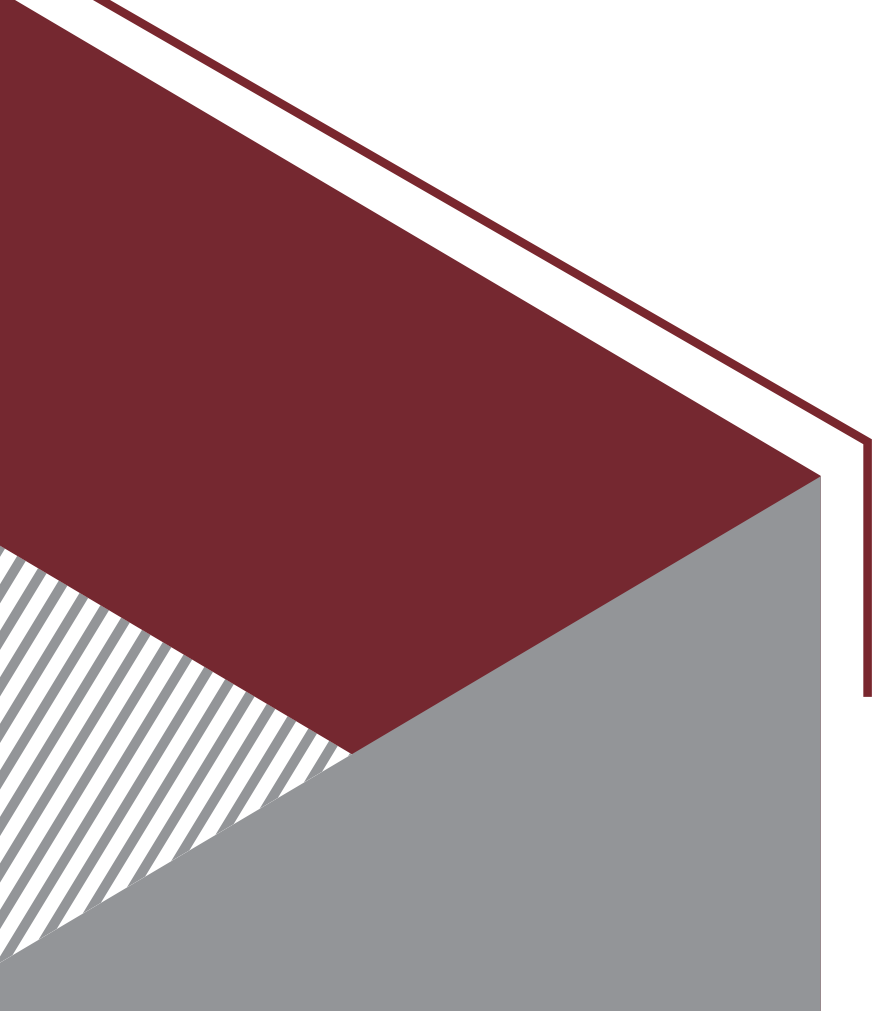
Accountability Lab Nigeria commits to tracking and publicly reporting on progress against the recommendations in this brief and to supporting civil society engagement with the CDT as a genuine instrument of democratic accountability.

ABOUT THIS BRIEF

This policy brief was produced by Accountability Lab Nigeria, Open Government Partnership Nigeria, in partnership with Dataphyte Foundation. It is based on the CDT Survey Evaluation (2026), a quantitative survey of 1,978 Nigerian citizens conducted across all 36 states and the FCT between January and March 2026. The survey was designed to assess awareness, usage, and perceptions of the Citizen Delivery Tracker and broader Renewed Hope Agenda performance. Accountability Lab Nigeria is an independent civil society organisation promoting transparency, accountability, and active citizenship in Nigeria.

METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

Findings are based on self-reported data and may not be fully representative of all Nigerian populations, particularly those with limited digital access. As a cross-sectional study, it captures perceptions at a single point in time. Correlation analysis between the random and convenience/snowball samples showed an average positive correlation of 48%, with higher correlations in FCT and Bauchi, supporting the reliability of the combined dataset for the purpose of this analysis.



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