

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE RENEWED HOPE AGENDA AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA UNDER BOLA AHMED TINUBU ADMINISTRATION

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ABSTRACT

This paper assesses the relationship between President Bola Ahmed Tinubu's Renewed Hope Agenda and Nigeria's pursuit of sustainable development, using a qualitative conceptual review and documentary assessment of the eight presidential priority areas against recent policy documents, the 2025 Voluntary National Review (VNR), World Bank Nigeria Development Updates, UN and UNDP publications, and peer-reviewed studies from 2020 to 2026. The assessment finds significant progress in macroeconomic reform, revenue mobilisation, financial and foreign-exchange stabilisation, social investment, human-capital programmes, digital transformation and SDG institutional alignment, but this progress has not consistently translated into improved household welfare, as inflation, food insecurity, poverty, insecurity, weak public-service delivery, financing constraints and institutional capacity gaps continue to limit outcomes. Nigeria's 2025 VNR shows uneven SDG progress, with 18 of 52 assessed indicators improving, 16 stagnating, and 18 regressing. The paper argues that the Renewed Hope Agenda can meaningfully advance sustainable development only if policy reforms are converted into tangible gains in welfare, employment, service access, environmental resilience, institutional accountability and equitable opportunity, and it calls for greater policy coherence, clearer performance measures, stronger social protection, improved domestic resource mobilisation, accelerated human-capital and infrastructure investment, climate-sensitive development, more effective security governance, and better federal-state-local coordination.

Keywords: Renewed Hope Agenda; Bola Ahmed Tinubu; Sustainable Development; Sustainable Development Goals; Inclusive Growth; Governance; Nigeria.

Introduction

Nigeria's Tinubu administration started with a challenging mix of low productivity growth, poor fiscal space, foreign exchange distortions, insecurity, high unemployment and poverty, infrastructure deficits, and significant pressure on household purchasing power. Against this backdrop, the administration introduced the Renewed Hope Agenda, an eight-point plan covering economic reform, national security, agriculture and food security, energy and natural resources, infrastructure and transportation, education/health/social investment, economic diversification and innovation, and governance and public-service delivery. These priorities, outlined in official presidential documents, define the main development areas for 2023-2027 and intersect with most of the SDGs, including SDG 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, and 16 (Presidency of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2026; OSSAP-SDGs, 2025).

Sustainable development, however, requires that public institutions turn priorities into funded, effective programmes with measurable and lasting impacts on people's lives. Although macroeconomic fundamentals have improved since 2023, adjustment costs have been significant, including high inflation and strain on household and firm budgets. As of May 2025, the World Bank projected 3.4% growth for 2024 while cautioning that more structural reform was needed to generate jobs and reduce poverty (World Bank, 2024, 2025a); stabilisation gains had still not translated sufficiently into improved living standards by October 2025, and the April 2026 update reported further macroeconomic progress alongside continuing poverty and slow household income recovery.

This mixed picture is echoed in Nigeria's SDG monitoring system. The 2025 Third Voluntary National Review (VNR) confirmed Nigeria's adherence to the 2030 Agenda and the alignment of national planning, statistical and financing frameworks with SDG implementation, but of 52 indicators assessed in the 2024 SDG Progress Report, 18 were improving, 16 stagnating and 18 declining, making accelerated implementation, rather than mere announcement, the central policy challenge under the Renewed Hope Agenda (Federal Government of Nigeria/OSSAP-SDGs, 2025). The present study therefore appraises the Renewed Hope Agenda as a tool for sustainable development rather than simply a political agenda, questioning its priorities, implementation mechanisms and the lessons to be drawn from outcomes achieved, in the context of inclusive, resilient and people-centred development.

Despite Nigeria's natural, human and entrepreneurial resources, development outcomes remain uneven, reflecting a persistent mismatch between policy intent and actual impact on households and communities. The Renewed Hope Agenda has emphasised major reforms, including fuel-subsidy removal, foreign-exchange reforms, tax and revenue reforms, social investment,

infrastructure projects and human-capital projects, but these have come with high transition costs amid food-price pressures, insecurity, poverty and low fiscal capacity.

This is particularly pertinent for sustainable development, since economic growth alone is not enough: development must also improve income opportunities, food security, health, education, gender and social inclusion, environmental protection, resilient infrastructure and accountable institutions. Recent Nigerian scholarship notes that SDG progress has been hampered by inadequate funding, inconsistent data, and institutional and governance gaps (Kareem & Olatunji, 2024; Onah & Ndu, 2025), underscoring the need for a systematic evaluation of the link between the Renewed Hope Agenda and sustainable-development goals, and of the remaining implementation challenges.

The purpose of this paper is to assess the Renewed Hope Agenda of the Bola Ahmed Tinubu administration in relation to sustainable development in Nigeria, with emphasis on policy coherence, implementation progress, emerging development outcomes, constraints and opportunities for accelerating inclusive and resilient development. Specifically, the study aims to:

1. Examine the major components of the Renewed Hope Agenda and their relevance to sustainable development in Nigeria.
2. Assess emerging evidence on the economic, social, infrastructural, environmental and governance dimensions of the agenda.
3. Examine the extent to which the Renewed Hope Agenda is aligned with Nigeria's Sustainable Development Goals and national development frameworks.
4. Identify major institutional, financing, socioeconomic, security and environmental constraints affecting implementation.
5. Propose policy and administrative measures for improving the sustainable-development outcomes of the Renewed Hope Agenda.
6. What are the major components of the Renewed Hope Agenda and how do they relate to sustainable development?
7. What evidence exists regarding the economic, social, infrastructural, environmental and governance effects of the agenda?
8. To what extent is the Renewed Hope Agenda aligned with Nigeria's SDG implementation framework?
9. What factors constrain the conversion of policy reforms into broad-based sustainable-development outcomes?
10. What measures can strengthen the contribution of the Renewed Hope Agenda to inclusive and sustainable development in Nigeria?

For policymakers, the study shifts attention from policy statements to measurable outcomes, emphasising coordination, budgeting, monitoring, transparency and service delivery. For development planners, it shows the need to treat economic, social and environmental issues as interrelated, and offers a toolkit for further empirical analysis using quantitative indicators, policy evaluation, and panel or subnational comparisons; for citizens and civil-society organisations, it helps distinguish policy inputs, implementation outputs and actual outcomes. The paper focuses on Nigeria, assessing the Tinubu administration from May 2023 to August 2026, with selected 2020-2026 sources providing background, and covers the eight Renewed Hope priority areas and their links with the SDGs as a documentary and conceptual evaluation rather than a measure of causal impact.

Literature Review

Concept of the Renewed Hope Agenda

The Renewed Hope Agenda is the main policy agenda of the Tinubu administration's 2023-2027 development programme. Official documents list eight priority areas: reform of the economy for sustained inclusive growth; strengthening national security; boosting agriculture and food security; unlocking energy and natural resources; enhancing infrastructure and transportation; education, health and social investment; diversification through industrialisation, digitalisation, creative industries, manufacturing and innovation; and improving governance and public-service delivery (Presidency of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2026). The economic pillar targets macroeconomic stability and productive growth, security a safer environment for citizens and investment, agriculture food supply and rural livelihoods, energy and infrastructure productive foundations, human capital health, education and social protection, diversification reduced dependence on crude oil, and governance more effective and accountable institutions, broadly reinforcing the core principles of sustainable development.

Concept of Sustainable Development

In a Nigerian context, sustainable development is development that increases current welfare without depleting the economic, social, institutional and environmental conditions needed by future generations. Nigeria has embedded the SDGs in national planning, sectoral policies, SDG institutions, financing mechanisms and monitoring systems, and the 2025 VNR reiterates this alignment through the National Development Plan and the Integrated National Financing Framework (OSSAP-SDGs, 2025; UNDP, 2024). This framing is especially relevant to Nigeria, where employment, food prices, education, health, infrastructure, insecurity, environmental vulnerability and weak institutions are interlinked drivers of poverty, meaning sustainable development must be measured beyond GDP alone.

Theoretical Framework

Four complementary perspectives inform this assessment. The integrated-development perspective treats economic, social, environmental and institutional outcomes as interrelated, so that the Renewed Hope Agenda's economic reform is judged partly by job creation and resilience, infrastructure by productivity and access, energy by cost and sustainability, and governance by accountability, an approach mirrored in the 2025 VNR's reconnection of SDG implementation to national planning, statistics, financing and institutional coordination (OSSAP-SDGs, 2025). The policy-implementation perspective holds that policy alone is insufficient without clear objectives, resources, competent institutions, coordination, incentives, monitoring and adaptation, and the 2025 VNR's whole-of-government approach affirms the need to strengthen implementation capacity amid ongoing subnational coordination challenges. The institutional perspective emphasises that weak institutions produce leakages, duplication and poor service delivery, while strong institutions support policy continuity and public trust, reflected in Nigeria's SDG coordination, statistical-system strengthening and integrated financing (UNDP, 2024; OSSAP-SDGs, 2025). Finally, the human-development perspective centres people's capabilities and quality of life, holding that macroeconomic stability alone is insufficient without access to health, education, decent work, food, security and infrastructure, a lens through which recent macroeconomic gains must be read against ongoing pressure on household welfare (World Bank, 2025b, 2026; Azeez & Oluseyi, 2026).

Empirical Review

Macroeconomic Reform and Inclusive Growth

The administration's most impactful economic steps have been fuel-subsidy removal and foreign-exchange, fiscal and revenue reforms, introduced to correct structural imbalances but at significant adjustment cost to households (World Bank, 2024). Growth rose to 3.4% in May 2025 and the fiscal deficit fell from 5.4% of GDP in 2023 to 3.0% in 2024 (World Bank, 2025a), yet the October 2025 update found stabilisation not yet significant enough to meaningfully improve living standards, and the April 2026 update confirmed persistent high poverty and slow household income recovery (World Bank, 2025b, 2026). Azeez and Oluseyi (2026) similarly find that early reforms produced institutional correction alongside economic distress without guaranteed welfare gains, underscoring that stabilisation must be paired with protection and investment to translate into social progress.

Agriculture, Energy, Infrastructure and Human Capital

Agriculture is central to the agenda through its links to SDG 1, 2 and 8, with government focus on mechanisation, farmer assistance and production, though the sustainable-development test extends

to affordability, storage, transport, climate resilience and smallholder finance, with food-price pressure a major driver of household stress (World Bank, 2025b). Energy and infrastructure enable productivity, mobility, education, health and digital access and remain policy priorities into 2026, alongside a national digital policy linking digital skills to economic opportunity (Presidency of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2026; NITDA, 2024), with the key challenge being that investment stays productive, climate-proof, equitable and well maintained. Human capital offers one of the clearest links to sustainable development through SDG 3 and 4: the Health Sector Renewal Initiative and health-insurance expansion aim to widen access and system resilience (NHIA, 2024), and by 2026 government had integrated HOPE-GOV, HOPE-PHC and HOPE-EDU to strengthen governance, primary healthcare, foundational education and teacher development (Federal Ministry of Budget and Economic Planning, 2026), though outcomes still depend on sustained financing, staffing, quality and equitable access.

Diversification, Security, Governance and Environment

Economic diversification, aligned with SDG 8 and 9, seeks growth beyond crude oil through manufacturing, digitalisation and innovation, with NITDA's Strategic Roadmap and Action Plan 2.0 setting digital-literacy and technology-talent targets (NITDA, 2024), though whether this yields widespread employment or stays concentrated in a few firms remains the central test. Security, tied to SDG 16 and indirectly to SDGs 1, 2, 3, 4 and 8, requires combining force with socioeconomic measures, since insecurity is rooted partly in poverty, unemployment and armed-group resilience (Archibong, 2025). Governance converts the other priorities into public value under SDG 16 and 17: Nigeria has strengthened coordination through OSSAP-SDGs, the Integrated National Financing Framework and statistical alignment (UNDP, 2024; OSSAP-SDGs, 2025), though implementation still depends on transparency, procurement quality and reliable data. Environmentally, climate policy remains hampered by weak coordination despite promising local plans (Kehinde et al., 2024), and SDG 6 highlights persistent rural water and sanitation gaps (Ogunbode & Awolola, 2026; Ogunbode et al., 2025), pointing to the need for a more climate-responsible, resource-efficient agenda.

Summary of the Literature

The literature supports three conclusions: the Renewed Hope Agenda is broad in scope and resonant with many SDG priorities; it has produced significant policy, macroeconomic, institutional and sectoral reform; and results remain mixed, as progress across economic stabilisation, social protection, security, infrastructure, human capital, environmental sustainability and institutional capacity does not occur at the same pace. This supports an assessment grounded in implementation and welfare outcomes rather than policy declarations alone.

Methodology

Research Design

The study uses a qualitative, document-based conceptual assessment design, collating and summarising recent peer-reviewed studies, official government documents, the 2025 Nigeria Voluntary National Review, World Bank Nigeria Development Updates, UN and UNDP publications, and relevant sectoral policy documentation published from 2020 to 2026. This approach suits a policy assessment of coherence and implementation evidence rather than a causal treatment effect.

Sources and Method of Analysis

Sources were selected for directly addressing Nigeria's development trajectory, the Renewed Hope Agenda, SDG implementation, macroeconomic reforms, human capital, infrastructure, security, climate action or governance, with official primary sources and recent peer-reviewed studies preferred; references were limited to the 2020-2026 span. Evidence was characterised through content analysis across five dimensions, economic transformation, social development, infrastructure and productive capacity, environmental sustainability, and governance and institutional effectiveness, and the eight Renewed Hope priority areas were mapped against relevant SDGs using three categories: evidence of progress, mixed/transitioning evidence, and continuing constraints. The assessment is interpretive and does not assert observed causal change resulting from the Renewed Hope Agenda.

Table 1: Alignment of the Renewed Hope Agenda with Sustainable Development Priorities

Renewed Hope Priority	Main Development Focus	Relevant SDGs	Assessment Focus
Economic reform	Macroeconomic stability, revenue, investment, jobs	SDG 1, 8, 10, 17	Stabilisation versus household welfare
National security	Peace, safety, conflict reduction	SDG 1, 8, 16	Security, livelihoods and institutional response
Agriculture & food security	Food supply, rural productivity, farmer support	SDG 1, 2, 8, 12, 13	Food availability, affordability and resilience

Energy & natural resources	Energy access, resource management	SDG 7, 9, 12, 13	Affordability, reliability and environmental sustainability
Infrastructure & transport	Roads, mobility, connectivity and productive infrastructure	SDG 8, 9, 11, 13	Access, productivity, resilience and maintenance
Education, health & social investment	Human capital, healthcare, education and protection	SDG 1, 3, 4, 5, 10	Access, quality, inclusion and welfare
Diversification & innovation	Industry, digitalisation, manufacturing and creative sectors	SDG 8, 9, 10	Productivity, value addition and jobs
Governance & public service	Accountability, institutions and service delivery	SDG 16, 17	Coordination, transparency and implementation capacity

Results and Discussion

Six main findings emerge from this assessment. First, there has been a significant policy and institutional response to the Renewed Hope Agenda: the macroeconomic policy framework has been transformed, revenue performance is improving, social and human-capital programmes have expanded, digital-development initiatives have advanced, and the SDG institutional framework continues to be supported by national monitoring and financing systems, as confirmed by the 2025 VNR and continued implementation reported through 2026 (OSSAP-SDGs, 2025; UNDP, 2024; Federal Ministry of Budget and Economic Planning, 2026).

Second, measurable progress is clearest in macroeconomic stabilisation, with the World Bank attributing 2024's 3.4% growth to improved fiscal performance and external-sector conditions and reporting further gains in inflation, fiscal and external positions by April 2026 (World Bank, 2025a, 2026), key pillars given the negative effects of instability on investment and planning. Third, this improvement has not yet produced equivalent welfare gains: the World Bank's 2025b evaluation found no significant improvement in living standards from stabilisation, and the 2026 update reiterated underrecovered household incomes and high poverty, a critical challenge for translating macroeconomic gains into food affordability, decent jobs and social protection.

Fourth, SDG performance is uneven: the 2025 VNR found 18 of 52 indicators improving, 16 stagnant and 18 regressing, underscoring the need for sharper prioritisation, monitoring and intervention. Fifth, insecurity remains a cross-cutting constraint, undermining agricultural production, raising business costs, disrupting school and health services and weakening local economies, so that security policy must be linked to poverty reduction, job creation, community resilience and institutional justice rather than treated as a purely military issue (Archibong, 2025). Sixth, financing and institutional capacity remain decisive: the Integrated National Financing Framework aims to align public and private funding with priorities (UNDP, 2024), but limited domestic revenue, competing demands and capacity constraints limit funding across all eight priorities, implying a need to shift resources toward programmes with demonstrated returns while safeguarding essential services and vulnerable groups.

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework for Assessing the Renewed Hope Agenda and Sustainable Development

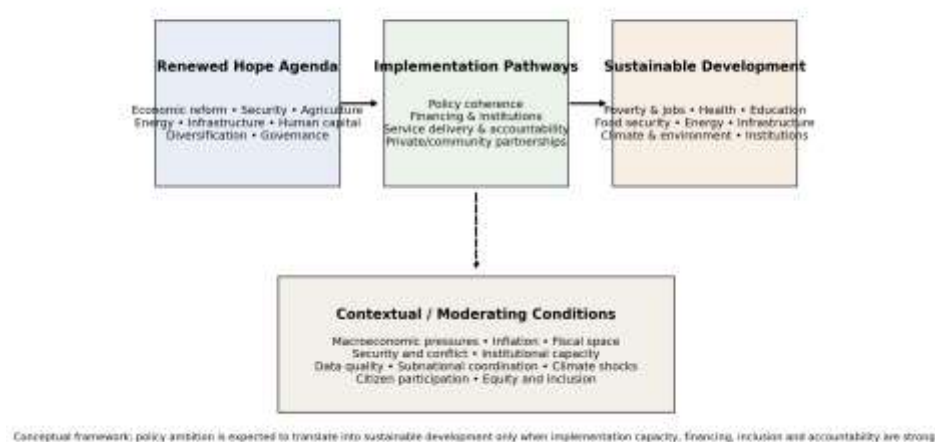


Figure 1. Conceptual framework linking the eight Renewed Hope priorities, implementation pathways and sustainable-development outcomes.

Discussion

The overall message from this evaluation is that the Renewed Hope Agenda has real scope for sustainable development but faces a conversion challenge: turning policy change and institutional programmes into widespread, lasting improvements in human welfare. The evidence does not support a wholly positive or negative verdict, but rather a transition in which economic and institutional reform has advanced further than social and welfare gains.

Economically, stabilisation is necessary but not sufficient: fiscal improvement, better revenue mobilisation and stronger external conditions create space for investment, but become socially sustainable only when inflation falls and real incomes and employment grow, meaning the next phase must focus on the mechanism connecting policy change to household welfare (World Bank, 2025b, 2026).

Socially, education, health and social investment remain critical to building the capabilities underpinning inclusive growth; health insurance, primary healthcare and human-capital initiatives have expanded under Renewed Hope but still lack full implementation quality and equitable coverage (NHIA, 2024; Federal Ministry of Budget and Economic Planning, 2026). Environmentally, climate resilience needs deeper integration into agriculture, infrastructure, energy and urban planning, as coordination and financing constraints continue to limit SDG and climate-action progress (Kehinde et al., 2024; Ogunbode et al., 2025; Ogunbode & Awolola, 2026). Governance requires credible accountability: citizens and institutions need measurable indicators distinguishing inputs, outputs and outcomes, making the 2025 VNR's focus on data systems and evidence-based monitoring especially relevant, since unreliable data can create an illusion of success in place of solid evidence (OSSAP-SDGs, 2025).

Implications for Policy and Practice

Several practical implications follow. The administration should shift from reform announcements to outcome management via annual performance dashboards with baseline and target data, responsible institutions and outcome measures. Macroeconomic adjustment should be paired with targeted social protection and livelihood support to safeguard at-risk households without rolling back reforms, and domestic revenue mobilisation matched by improved expenditure efficiency and transparent procurement. Education, health, nutrition and social protection must be treated as sustained productivity investments measured by outcomes rather than enrolment or expenditure alone.

Climate-risk assessment and resource-efficiency measures should be integrated into agriculture, energy, transport and urban development as a core development need. Federal priorities need coordinated state and local implementation plans, since many outcomes are delivered subnationally, and security policy should be linked to job creation, education and community engagement to address the socioeconomic roots of insecurity. Citizens, civil society and the private sector should be institutionalised in monitoring, with major interventions subject to independent evaluation.

Conclusion

This paper assessed the Renewed Hope Agenda and sustainable development in President Bola Ahmed Tinubu's Nigeria. The agenda offers a broad policy framework capable of addressing many of Nigeria's core development issues, spanning macroeconomic reform, security, agriculture, energy, infrastructure, human capital, diversification and governance, in line with an integrated view of sustainable development.

However, the evidence shows that broad policy coverage does not automatically translate into sustainable outcomes. Macroeconomic stabilisation has progressed, but household welfare remains under pressure; SDG-related institutions have strengthened, yet SDG performance is mixed, as confirmed by the 2025 VNR, in which 18 of 52 indicators improved, 16 stagnated, and 18 regressed. Financing, security, climate vulnerability, infrastructure and implementation capacity continue to constrain results. The Renewed Hope Agenda therefore remains a credible platform for sustainable development, but its long-term success depends on effective social protection, productive job creation, human-capital investment, climate resilience, institutional accountability and the equitable distribution of development gains. The next phase of the administration should focus on converting reform momentum into tangible improvements in living standards, ensuring that economic, social, environmental and governance outcomes advance together.

Suggestions

1. Federal Government should create a single Renewed Hope-SDG performance framework with measurable annual indicators and responsible institutions for each priority.
2. Social protection and food-security measures should be strengthened and better targeted to complement macroeconomic reforms until household purchasing power sustainably improves.
3. Government should promote domestic revenue mobilisation while enhancing transparency, expenditure efficiency and the effectiveness of public spending on development.
4. Education, healthcare, nutrition, youth skills and employment should be treated as productivity investments, not residual social spending.
5. Federal and subnational governments should improve data systems to enable consistent tracking of SDG and Renewed Hope outcomes across states and local government areas.
6. Agriculture, infrastructure, energy and urban development projects should be designed for climate resilience, with dedicated environmental performance indicators.

7. Security policy should combine intelligence, law enforcement, justice, community resilience and socioeconomic development programmes in vulnerable and conflict-affected areas.
8. Government should deepen collaboration with the private sector, universities, development partners and civil society to unlock financial, technical and innovative resources.
9. Major Renewed Hope programmes should undergo independent periodic evaluation, with results published for transparency and policy learning.
10. Policy continuity should be strengthened to sustain development programmes across administrative cycles and their contribution to Nigeria's Agenda 2050 and SDG commitments.

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