

CABINET PERFORMANCE INDEX 2026



IN THIS EDITION

Opening Editorial

Why Xposure built this index, and how ministers and the Cabinet are tested differently.

II. The Performance Bands

The six ratings bands used to classify every portfolio, and why.

III. Methodology

The weighted criteria behind both the ministerial and the collective Cabinet scores.

IV. Assessment of the Ministers

The 32-portfolio Master Scorecard and the full individual ministerial scorecard.

V. Assessment of the Cabinet

The People's Scorecard, the Final Collective Cabinet Score, and what explains it.

VI. Concluding Editorial

Xposure's final verdict on the Tinubu cabinet's first three years.

BEYOND THE PROMISES: HOW HAS TINUBU'S CABINET REALLY PERFORMED?

Xposure assessed all 35 federal ministerial portfolios individually, then subjected the Tinubu cabinet to a tougher, second test built around the everyday experience of Nigerians. This single edition brings the full investigation together in the sequence in which it should be read: the editorial case for why this index exists, the performance bands and scoring criteria behind every number, the evidence on individual ministers, the evidence on the Cabinet collectively, and the concluding editorial verdict.

Beyond the Promises

Three years after Nigerians were promised renewed hope, Xposure asks the only question that matters now: what has this government actually delivered?

Three Years, One Question

By the time President Bola Ahmed Tinubu constituted his cabinet in 2023, Nigerians had already been told that the administration would

be different. The President spoke of renewed hope, economic transformation, security, investment, jobs, infrastructure and a government prepared to take difficult decisions. Three years later, the period for promises is giving way to the period for accounting, and that is the purpose of the Xposure Cabinet Performance Index 2026. Over the course of this investigation, Xposure examined the ministers and

major portfolios of the Federal Government individually, brought them together into performance bands, and finally assessed the Tinubu administration as a collective. Our purpose was not to produce another political ranking based on popularity, media coverage or proximity to power. We wanted to answer a much more important question: what has this government actually

CONT'D ON NEXT PAGE ➤

PARTNERSHIPS TODAY. PROSPERITY TOMORROW.

Beyond the Promises: How Has Tinubu's Cabinet Really Performed?

► CONT'D FROM LAST PAGE

delivered?

Why This Investigation

Cabinet assessments in Nigeria frequently fall into two extremes. Government and its supporters understandably emphasized achievements, while opposition voices frequently concentrate on failures. Between those positions is where journalism has a responsibility to operate. A minister should not be declared successful merely because his ministry issues impressive statements, and neither should a minister be labelled a failure simply because the government to which he belongs is unpopular with a section of the population. Performance requires evidence. That meant examining what ministers inherited, what they promised, what resources and authority were available to them, what policies they introduced, what they implemented and, most importantly, what changed as a result. It also

meant recognizing that ministries are different: the Minister of Works cannot be assessed in exactly the same way as the Attorney-General, the Interior Minister cannot be judged by the same output indicators as the Minister of Agriculture, and the Minister of Communications and Digital Economy operates in a different environment from the Minister of Defence. But ultimately, every portfolio has a mandate, and every mandate must produce outcomes.

Following the Evidence: The Announcement Gap

Throughout this exercise, Xposure deliberately separated activity from achievement. There is a difference between announcing a project and completing it, between allocating money and spending it effectively, between training a hundred thousand people and demonstrating that those people subsequently obtained productive employment. There is a difference between commencing

thousands of houses and handing affordable homes to families, between announcing agricultural interventions and making food more affordable, and between reforming the electricity market and supplying reliable electricity. That distinction became increasingly important as the investigation progressed, and it produced what we call the Xposure Announcement Gap. Our standard runs in five stages: announced, then funded, then implemented, then completed, then verified for impact. The further a programme travelled along that chain, the greater the performance credit it received.

Where Ministers Have Delivered

Our investigation found genuine examples of strong ministerial performance, and that conclusion should not be controversial simply because Nigerians are experiencing hardship. Where evidence supports achievement, responsible journalism should acknowledge it. Olubunmi

CONT'D ON NEXT PAGE ►

PARTNERSHIPS TODAY. PROSPERITY TOMORROW.



PARTNERSHIPS TODAY. PROSPERITY TOMORROW.

How Has Tinubu's Cabinet Really Performed?

CONT'D FROM LAST PAGE

Tunji-Ojo's reforms at Interior demonstrate how administrative systems can be redesigned to improve citizen-facing services. David Umahi has brought unusual visibility and execution pressure to federal road construction. Muhammad Ali Pate has pursued substantial health-system reforms. Bosun Tijani has positioned digital infrastructure, skills and artificial intelligence within Nigeria's long-term development strategy. Tunji Alausa has pushed education financing, technical and vocational education and skills reform. Festus Keyamo has pursued significant aviation regulatory reforms, and Lateef Fagbemi has undertaken institutional reforms within the justice system. Other ministers demonstrated credible progress in petroleum, mining, maritime development, water resources, investment, regional development and other sectors. Those achievements deserve recognition. But recognising them created another question.

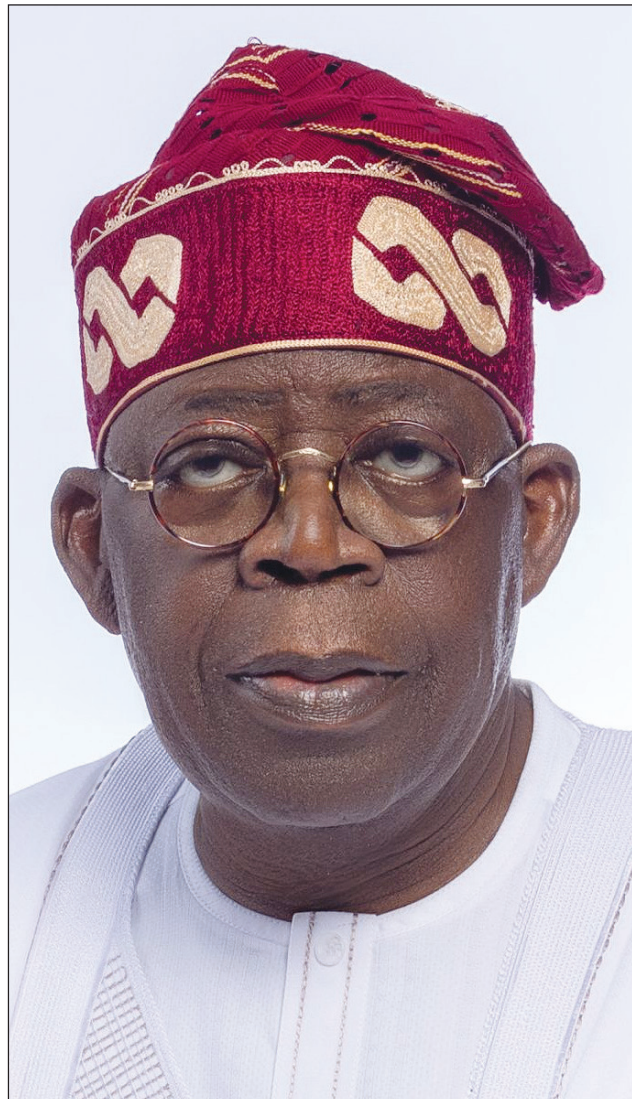
If several ministers are performing, why are so many Nigerians still struggling?

That question changed the direction of this investigation, and it is the question the rest of this edition sets out to answer.

The Ministerial Score Is Not the Government Score

This is perhaps the most important distinction in this publication. An individual minister should primarily be judged against the responsibilities he or she controls, but President Tinubu's cabinet must be judged collectively against the condition of the country. Those are different tests. An Interior Minister may successfully improve passport administration, a Works Minister may construct roads,

BAND	WHAT IT MEANS
Excellent	Clear, verified delivery with directly experienced citizen impact. Reserved for the strongest evidence; only one portfolio, Interior, qualified.
Strong	Consistent reform and measurable execution within the minister's own mandate, even where national outcomes remain incomplete.
Above Average/Promising	Credible progress and positive momentum, but not yet enough evidence of sustained, large-scale impact.
Mixed/Under Pressure	Genuine activity alongside serious, unresolved weaknesses that limit the overall verdict.
Below Expectations	The evidence of outcomes falls materially short of the resources, mandate or public need involved.
Provisional (P)	Leadership changed too recently in this portfolio for the current minister to carry full personal responsibility for the score; the rating reflects the institutional record over the assessment period.



a Digital Economy Minister may build a credible technology agenda, and a Health Minister may introduce meaningful reforms, yet a Nigerian family may simultaneously struggle to afford food, transportation, electricity, healthcare and rent. Both realities can exist at the same time. That is why Xposure refused simply to average the individual ministerial scores and call the result the performance of the Tinubu government: doing so would have produced a result disconnected from the lives of millions of Nigerians. Instead, we subjected the administration to a second and considerably tougher examination, the People's Test, whose full results appear in Section V of this edition.

The People's Test

The People's Test asks questions that require no knowledge of government bureaucracy. Can Nigerians afford food? Has the cost-of-living burden eased? Are people safer? Is electricity reliable and affordable? Are productive jobs being created? Are real incomes improving? Can ordinary families obtain healthcare without financial distress? Are Nigerians travelling on better roads? Can workers afford decent housing? Are fewer Nigerians living in

CONT'D ON NEXT PAGE ►

PARTNERSHIPS TODAY. PROSPERITY TOMORROW.

How Has Tinubu's Cabinet Really Performed?

BAND	WHAT IT MEANS
Excellent	Clear, verified delivery with directly experienced citizen impact. Reserved for the strongest evidence; only one portfolio, Interior, qualified.
Strong	Consistent reform and measurable execution within the minister's own mandate, even where national outcomes remain incomplete.
Above Average/Promising	Credible progress and positive momentum, but not yet enough evidence of sustained, large-scale impact.
Mixed/Under Pressure	Genuine activity alongside serious, unresolved weaknesses that limit the overall verdict.
Below Expectations	The evidence of outcomes falls materially short of the resources, mandate or public need involved.
Provisional (P)	Leadership changed too recently in this portfolio for the current minister to carry full personal responsibility for the score; the rating reflects the institutional record over the assessment period.



poverty? These questions deserve greater weight in assessing a government than the number of policies, committees, programmes or projects announced, because government exists ultimately for people.

The Hardship Cannot Be Excluded from the Scorecard

Any credible assessment of the Tinubu administration

must confront the economic sacrifices Nigerians have made since 2023. Petrol subsidy removal fundamentally changed household and business costs. Exchange-rate reforms affected prices across the economy. Transportation costs increased, energy became more expensive, and food prices placed enormous pressure on households.

Electricity tariffs increased for sections of the population, businesses confronted higher operating costs, and the purchasing power of many incomes came under severe pressure. There are macroeconomic arguments for some of these decisions, and there are also indicators suggesting that parts of the economy are stabilizing; those developments deserve to be

examined fairly. But economic reform cannot be assessed only from the perspective of fiscal accounts, foreign reserves, government revenue or macroeconomic indicators. The household matters too. A government can improve its balance sheet while a family struggles to balance its own, and that is why this publication gives substantial weight to the cost of living.

Performance Bands, Not Predetermined Outcomes

How Xposure classified every portfolio, and why no minister was guaranteed to finish first or last.

After completing the individual assessments, Xposure grouped the 32 portfolios according to the strength of the evidence, into six bands, ranging from Excellent to Below Expectations, with a Provisional flag applied wherever leadership had recently changed. The Provisional category is particularly important, because some portfolios have changed leadership, and a recently appointed minister should not automatically carry personal responsibility for every failure accumulated over previous years. But government is continuous, so the portfolio itself can still be assessed even where the current minister's personal score requires caution.

There was no requirement that somebody had to finish last, no predetermined number of Excellent ministers, and no predetermined number of failures. If the evidence justified a high score, Xposure awarded it; if it justified a low score, we did the same; and where the evidence remained incomplete, we said so. That discipline is essential to the credibility of the exercise. The bands below are the lens through which every portfolio in Section IV, and the Cabinet as a whole in Section V, is read.

PARTNERSHIPS TODAY. PROSPERITY TOMORROW.

How the Scores Were Derived

The weighted criteria behind both the individual ministerial scores and the collective Cabinet score.

This investigation deliberately avoided treating political popularity, access to the President, media visibility or party influence as evidence of performance. Individual ministers were assessed principally on delivery and execution, measurable public impact, institutional reform, leadership, value for money, accountability, sustainability, and progress against the core responsibilities of their portfolios, the scores that follow in Section IV.

The collective Cabinet assessment in Section V was subjected to a tougher test, in which greater weight was placed on the national outcomes that directly affect Nigerians, using the nine weighted indicators below.

The principle behind the methodology is simple: government activity is not the same as government performance. Policies matter, budgets matter and projects matter, but ultimately the most important question is what changed for the people.

The Budget-to-Performance Test

Performance without financial context can be misleading. A minister controlling enormous public resources should reasonably be expected to deliver more than one working with

COLLECTIVE PERFORMANCE INDICATOR	WEIGHT
Cost of Living & Household Welfare	20%
Food Affordability & Inflation	15%
Security & Public Safety	15%
Employment, Income & Poverty	15%
Electricity, Fuel & Energy Costs	10%
Healthcare & Education Outcomes	10%
Infrastructure & Transportation	5%
Macroeconomic Management	5%
Institutional Reform & Governance	5%
Total	100%

comparatively limited funding, and that led to the Budget-to-Performance Test. Xposure asked what resources were available, what was actually released, what was spent, what was completed, and what public benefit resulted. That distinction prevents budget allocation itself from becoming an achievement. Money spent is not impact delivered. The relevant

question is the return Nigerians received from the money.

Looking Ahead: The Announcement Gap Standard

Xposure believes stronger accountability requires tracking every major government promise through a defined chain: announced, then funded, then implemented, then completed, then verified

for public impact, the five-stage Announcement Gap standard introduced in Section I. Future editions of the Cabinet Performance Index will increasingly award maximum credit only at the final two stages of that chain, funded and implemented programmes are not yet the same as completed ones, and completed projects are not yet the same as verified public impact.

The 35-Portfolio Scorecard

Every federal ministerial portfolio, assessed individually against its own mandate, budget and measurable outcomes, using the bands and criteria set out in Sections II and III.

Nigeria's Federal Executive Council presents a striking contradiction: across several ministries there is evidence of reform, infrastructure development, institutional change and determined leadership, and some ministers have recorded measurable improvements within their areas of responsibility. This section presents that evidence, portfolio by portfolio, before Section V turns to how the Cabinet performs collectively.

The Master Scorecard

Each portfolio below carries its individual Xposure score out of 100. Ministries that changed hands mid-period are shown with an arrow to the current minister; scores for the four most recently reshuffled portfolios, Power, Humanitarian Affairs, Housing and Innovation, Science and Technology, reflect the institutional record over the assessment period rather than a personal verdict on a minister who has held office only since 2026.

MINISTRY	MINISTER(S)	SCORE	BAND
Interior	Olubunmi Tunji-Ojo	87	Exceptional
Works	David Umahi	77	Strong
Health & Social Welfare	Muhammad Ali Pate	79	Strong
Communications, Innovation & Digital Economy	Bosun Tijani	77	Strong
Education	Tunji Alausa	75	Strong
Aviation & Aerospace Development	Festus Keyamo	75	Strong
Justice	Lateef Fagbemi	75	Strong
FCT Administration	Nyesom Wike	76	Strong
Youth Development	Ayodele Olawande	69	Above Average
Water Resources & Sanitation	Joseph Utsev	70	Above Average
Information & National Orientation	Mohammed Idris	70	Above Average
Petroleum Resources, Oil	Heineken Lokpobiri	70	Above Average
Women Affairs	Imaan Sulaiman-Ibrahim	68	Above Average

PARTNERSHIPS TODAY. PROSPERITY TOMORROW.

The Individual Ministerial Scorecard



INTERIOR
Olubunmi Tunji-Ojo, 87/100
| EXCEPTIONAL

Tunji-Ojo remains the Cabinet's highest rated minister because his strongest reforms have moved beyond policy announcements into services Nigerians can actually experience. Passport administration is the clearest example. The longstanding application backlog was attacked aggressively, processing was digitized, contactless renewal was introduced for Nigerians abroad and passport personalization has become increasingly centralized. His wider agenda has targeted immigration administration, border management, identity systems, correctional services and institutional efficiency. Even in 2026 he has continued pushing agencies under Interior toward measurable performance rather than mere administrative compliance.

Why 87 is justified: Few ministers can show such a clear before and after change in citizen facing public service. That gives Tunji-Ojo unusually strong evidence under the Xposure conversion test.

Why not 90: Interior extends far beyond passports. Porous borders, correctional congestion and custodial security, irregular migration, weak firefighting capacity and broader internal security weaknesses remain unresolved. An exceptional record in one major area cannot erase those systemic shortcomings.

Xposure Verdict: Tunji-Ojo has shown what government reform looks like when citizens can actually feel it. The challenge now is replicating the passport revolution across the entire Interior architecture.



WORKS
David Umahi, 77/100 | STRONG

Umahi has brought technical knowledge, aggressive project supervision and unusual visibility to the Ministry of Works. His administration is pursuing the Lagos-Calabar Coastal Highway, the Sokoto-Badagry Superhighway, the Calabar-Abuja corridor and numerous inherited federal highways. His advocacy of concrete pavement has challenged established road construction practices, while his frequent inspections and willingness to confront contractors have strengthened ministerial oversight. The government's 2026 infrastructure program remains one of its largest expenditure priorities, with 3.56 trillion allocated to infrastructure broadly.

Why 77 is justified: There is substantial construction activity, a discernible national road strategy and physical evidence of work. Umahi cannot reasonably be called an inactive Works Minister.

Why not the previous 84: Too many critical federal highways remain deteriorated, dangerous, delayed or unfinished. Some flagship projects are still years from delivering their full economic benefit. Contracts awarded and kilometers under construction can't be scored like highways already reducing travel times and logistics costs.

The People's Test: A transporter traveling Nigeria's federal roads would struggle to recognize an 84/100 road system.

Xposure Verdict: Strong ministerial drive and ambitious construction, but the actual condition of the federal road network makes an exceptional score impossible to defend.



HEALTH & SOCIAL WELFARE
Muhammad Ali Pate, 79/100
| STRONG

Pate has built one of the administration's most coherent reform programs around primary healthcare, maternal and child health, workforce expansion, health financing, local pharmaceutical capacity and sector wide coordination. Unlike many portfolios, Health has begun producing measurable indicators rather than relying purely on program announcements. Expansion of primary healthcare services, training and recruitment of frontline workers and efforts to improve maternal care give the ministry substantive achievements. International partnerships have also brought significant additional resources, with the 2026 federal budget speech referencing more than \$500 million expected from recent US linked health engagements.

Why 79 is justified: Pate combines policy competence with emerging measurable health outcomes. His reforms attack structural weaknesses rather than isolated symptoms.

Why not 82 or higher: Nigeria remains heavily dependent on out of pocket healthcare spending. Insurance coverage is inadequate, medicines remain expensive, rural access is uneven and health worker migration continues. A technically impressive reform architecture is not yet an affordable universal health system.

Xposure Verdict: One of the Cabinet's strongest reformers, but the final test is whether a poor Nigerian can enter a functioning hospital, receive quality treatment and leave without financial devastation.



**COMMUNICATIONS,
INNOVATION & DIGITAL
ECONOMY**

Bosun Tijani, 77/100 | STRONG

Tijani has given Nigeria's digital policy a clear strategic direction around digital skills, broadband infrastructure, artificial intelligence, technology entrepreneurship and digital public infrastructure. The 3MITT initiative has created a large national skills platform, while the proposed fibre backbone could materially expand broadband capacity. His ministry has also elevated AI from a niche technology conversation into a national policy issue and strengthened engagement between government and Nigeria's technology ecosystem.

Why 77 is justified: Tijani has created programs with real scale and positioned digital capability as economic infrastructure rather than just telecommunications policy.

Why not the previous 81: Much of the biggest potential remains prospective. Training someone doesn't mean that person has a job. Announcing fibre infrastructure doesn't mean rural communities are connected. Nigerians still contend with data affordability, connectivity gaps, device costs and electricity problems.

Xposure Verdict: Tijani has designed an ambitious digital future. The next test is conversion — skills into jobs, fibre into connectivity, innovation policy into productive Nigerian companies.

CONT'D ON NEXT PAGE ►

The Individual Ministerial Scorecard



▶ CONT'D FROM LAST PAGE

FCT
Nyesom Wike, 76/100
| STRONG

Wike's greatest advantage in this assessment is that much of his record is physically verifiable. Road construction and rehabilitation, bridges, interchanges and other infrastructure have given his tenure a highly visible delivery profile. He has pushed contractors, revived delayed projects and maintained an aggressive commissioning cycle. Under the Xposure methodology, completed infrastructure earns significantly more credit than projects that exist mainly as budget lines.

Why 76 is justified: Wike has shown implementation capacity and converted a significant portion of FCT expenditure into visible assets.

Why not higher: The FCT is not synonymous with central Abuja. Satellite towns and poorer communities still face infrastructure, transport, water and public service deficiencies. Land administration, demolitions and the treatment of affected property owners have raised legitimate questions about consultation, equity and social impact.

Xposure Verdict: Wike is one of the administration's most visible infrastructure executors. His next challenge is proving that the development transformation extends beyond Abuja's showcase corridors to the entire Federal Capital Territory.

EDUCATION

Tunji Alausa, 75/100
| STRONG

Alausa has placed technical and vocational education, curriculum reform, employability, tertiary financing and practical skills closer to the centre of federal



education policy. The attempt to connect schooling more directly to labour market requirements matters in a country where employers

frequently complain about skills gaps while graduates struggle to find work. Student financing reforms and increased attention to technical education strengthen the record.

Why 75 is justified: The ministry has a discernible reform direction and is addressing longstanding structural questions about what Nigerian education actually prepares students to do.

Why not 80: Nigeria still has an enormous out of school population, weak learning outcomes, inadequate classrooms, teacher shortages and severe inequalities between public and private education. Tertiary financing reform can't obscure weaknesses at primary and



secondary level.

Xposure Verdict: Alausa is attempting to reposition education

CONT'D ON NEXT PAGE ▶

MINISTRY	MINISTER(S)	SCORE	BAND
Petroleum Resources, Gas	Ekperikpe Ekpo	69	Above Average
Marine & Blue Economy	Adegboyega Oyetola	69	Above Average
Solid Minerals Development	Dele Alake	68	Above Average
Industry, Trade & Investment	Jumoke Oduwole	68	Above Average
Regional Development	Abubakar Momoh	66	Above Average
Art, Culture, Tourism & Creative Economy	Hannatu Musawa	65	Above Average
Budget & Economic Planning	Abubakar Bagudu	63	Average/Mixed
Transportation	Sa'idu Alkali	62	Average/Mixed
Environment	Balarabe Abbas Lawal	61	Average/Mixed
Steel Development	Shuaibu Audu	60	Average/Mixed
Labour & Employment	Maigari Dingyadi	57	Average/Mixed
Police Affairs	Ibrahim Gaidam	56	Average/Mixed
Finance & Economy	Wale Edun/ Taiwo Oyedele	58	Average/Mixed
Agriculture & Food Security	Abubakar Kyari	52	Average/Mixed
Defence	Christopher Musa/ Bello Matawalle	54	Average/Mixed
Housing & Urban Development	Ahmed Dangiwa/ Muttaqha Rabe Darna	53	Average/Mixed
Power	Adebayo Adelabu/ Joseph Tegbe	49	Below Expectations
Humanitarian Affairs & Poverty Reduction	Predecessors/ Bernard Doro	47	Below Expectations
Innovation, Science & Technology	Uche Nnaji/ Kingsley Udeh	56	Average/Mixed
Foreign Affairs	Bianca Odumegwu- Ojukwu	70	Above Average
Livestock Development	Idi Mukhtar Maiha	63	Average/Mixed
Sp.Dut. & Inter-Govt Affairs	Zephaniah Jsialo	57	Average/Mixed

PARTNERSHIPS TODAY. PROSPERITY TOMORROW.

The Individual Ministerial Scorecard

toward skills and employability, but Nigeria's fundamental access and learning crisis is too large for an 80 level performance rating.

AVIATION & AEROSPACE DEVELOPMENT

Festus Keyamo, 75/100

| STRONG

Keyamo has brought assertive political leadership to aviation, particularly around international route access, bilateral aviation agreements, airport development and protection of Nigerian carriers' commercial interests. His willingness to challenge arrangements he considers disadvantageous to Nigerian airlines has given the ministry a stronger national interest posture. Airport infrastructure and sectoral reforms have also received sustained attention.

Why 75 is justified: The minister has been visible, interventionist and relatively clear about the direction of aviation policy. Nigeria's international aviation positioning has strengthened in several respects.

Why not 79: The domestic passenger experience remains difficult. Ticket prices are prohibitive relative to incomes, airlines remain financially fragile, airport quality is inconsistent and operational disruptions remain common. A successful aviation policy has to eventually combine international access with a healthy, affordable domestic industry.

Xposure Verdict: Keyamo has strengthened aviation administration and international positioning. Affordability and domestic airline sustainability remain the unresolved tests.



JUSTICE

Lateef Fagbemi (SAN), 75/100

| STRONG

Fagbemi has provided experienced legal leadership to an administration confronting significant constitutional and institutional questions. His tenure has covered local government autonomy, criminal justice reforms, legal representation of government, access to justice initiatives and broader efforts to strengthen the rule of law framework. His ministry's support for expanding legal aid services and improving criminal justice administration is particularly relevant to poorer Nigerians.

Why 75 is justified: Fagbemi brings technical competence, institutional experience and a comparatively substantive reform agenda to Justice.

Why not higher: Nigeria's justice system remains notoriously slow. Case backlogs, prolonged pre trial detention, correctional congestion, difficulty enforcing judgments and the cost of accessing justice continue to weaken public confidence.

Xposure Verdict: Fagbemi has been a capable Attorney General, but the Nigerian justice system remains far slower, more expensive and less accessible than a strong rule of law democracy requires.

WATER RESOURCES & SANITATION

Joseph Utsev, 70/100

| ABOVE AVERAGE

Utsev has pursued dam rehabilitation, irrigation development, potable water projects, sanitation programs and interventions designed to increase agricultural productivity. The



importance of these investments extends beyond water. Irrigation directly affects food production, while safe drinking water and sanitation affect disease and household welfare.

Why 70 is justified: The ministry has an active infrastructure program and is addressing both productive and social uses of water.

Why not higher: Large numbers of Nigerians still lack dependable safe water. Open defecation remains significant and Nigeria continues to depend excessively on rain fed agriculture despite enormous irrigation potential. Some major water infrastructure remains underutilized or incomplete.

Xposure Verdict: Solid activity in a strategically important sector, but the decisive measure isn't dams constructed or projects commissioned. It's reliable water reaching homes and farms.

INFORMATION & NATIONAL ORIENTATION

Mohammed Idris, 70/100

| ABOVE AVERAGE

Idris has generally brought a measured, professional style to government communication. His ministry has sought to explain complex economic reforms, coordinate public information, counter misinformation and reconnect national orientation with government communication. He has also maintained regular engagement around security and administration policy. The ministry's own three year account points to economic growth and falling headline inflation as evidence supporting the administration's narrative.

Why 70 is justified: Idris has generally avoided the combative



communication style that can deepen distrust and has provided relatively disciplined messaging.

Why not higher:

Communication is only credible when the audience recognizes the reality being communicated. Government claims of improving macroeconomic indicators frequently collide with citizens' experience of food, rent, electricity and transport costs.

Xposure Verdict: Idris communicates government policy competently. His biggest obstacle isn't messaging technique. It's the distance between macroeconomic progress and household experience.

PETROLEUM RESOURCES (OIL)

Heinenken Lokpobiri, 70/100

| ABOVE AVERAGE

Lokpobiri's tenure has focused on increasing crude production, attracting upstream investment, resolving regulatory obstacles and improving Nigeria's ability to monetize its petroleum reserves. Production recovery from previous lows and renewed investor engagement matter because oil remains central to foreign exchange earnings and public revenue.

Why 70 is justified: The direction of production has improved and the ministry has pursued investment and operational reforms rather than accepting prolonged decline.

Why not higher: Oil theft, pipeline vandalism, aging infrastructure and production below Nigeria's historical capacity remain major weaknesses. Nigeria's reserves should support substantially higher sustainable output and government

CONT'D ON NEXT PAGE ►

The Individual Ministerial Scorecard



► **CONT'D FROM LAST PAGE**
revenue.

Xposure Verdict: The sector has moved away from some of its worst production lows, but recovery isn't transformation. Nigeria still extracts less value from its oil endowment than it should.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Bianca Odumegwu-Ojukwu, 70/100

| **ABOVE AVERAGE**

Odumegwu-Ojukwu has brought diplomatic experience and greater emphasis on citizen diplomacy, bilateral engagement, diaspora relations and economic diplomacy. Her background as a former ambassador gives her practical familiarity with mission administration and protection of Nigerians abroad. Engagements with international partners have addressed investment, security, energy and trade.

Why 70 is justified: She has maintained an active diplomatic agenda and placed Nigerian citizens and economic interests prominently within foreign policy engagement.

Why not higher: Diplomatic meetings are inputs, not outcomes. The ministry must show how agreements translate into investment, exports, jobs and stronger Nigerian influence. Nigeria's weakened leverage in parts of the Sahel and financial constraints affecting diplomatic missions also remain concerns. Her relatively short tenure as substantive minister warrants some caution in attribution.

Xposure Verdict: An active and credible diplomatic start. The next phase must show diplomatic yield



rather than diplomatic traffic.

YOUTH DEVELOPMENT
Ayodele Olawande, 69/100
| **ABOVE AVERAGE**

Olawande has prioritized skills development, entrepreneurship, youth participation, empowerment initiatives and engagement with young Nigerians. The emphasis is appropriate given Nigeria's demographic structure and the scale of youth unemployment and underemployment.

Why 69 is justified: There is meaningful program activity and a ministerial effort to place youth economic participation, not ceremonial engagement, at the centre of the portfolio.

Why not higher: The scale of government interventions remains far smaller than the scale of the employment challenge. Training and empowerment schemes don't automatically create durable jobs. Migration pressures and widespread youth underemployment show the opportunity deficit is still there.

Xposure Verdict: Olawande has brought energy to youth policy,



but Nigeria's young population ultimately needs an economy generating millions of productive jobs, not an endless succession of empowerment programs.

PETROLEUM RESOURCES (GAS)

Ekperikpe Ekpo, 69/100
| **ABOVE AVERAGE**

Ekpo has continued the push to reposition gas as a central industrial resource rather than merely a petroleum by product. Domestic gas can support electricity generation, fertilizer, petrochemicals, manufacturing, transport and exports. Efforts to attract investment and expand gas utilization deserve substantial strategic credit.

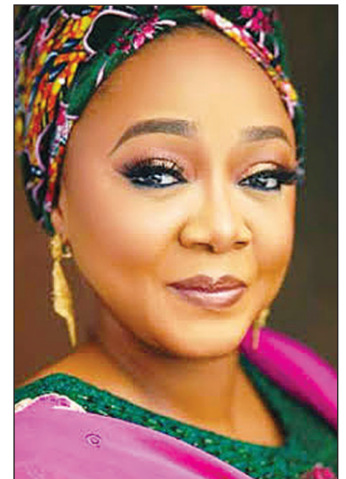
Why 69 is justified: The policy direction is economically sound and the portfolio is receiving greater investment attention.

Why not higher: Pipeline and processing infrastructure remains inadequate, domestic supply constraints persist and Nigeria's enormous gas reserves have yet to translate into the scale of industrialization repeatedly promised.

Xposure Verdict: Nigeria has the gas. Ekpo is helping build the policy framework. What's still missing is utilization at the scale required to change Nigerian industry and electricity.

MARINE & BLUE ECONOMY
Adegboyega Oyetola, 69/100
| **ABOVE AVERAGE**

The creation of a dedicated Marine and Blue Economy Ministry has brought greater attention to ports, shipping, inland



waterways, fisheries and maritime investment. Oyetola has pursued port efficiency, maritime security, investment and institutional coordination in a sector capable of becoming a major non oil economic pillar.

Why 69 is justified: The ministry has established strategic direction and elevated an underexploited economic sector into mainstream policy.

Why not higher: Nigerian ports remain expensive relative to competitors, logistics bottlenecks persist and the blue economy hasn't yet generated employment, exports and revenue commensurate with its enormous potential.

Xposure Verdict: Oyetola has helped define the opportunity. The next challenge is turning Nigeria's coastline and waterways into measurable economic output.

WOMEN AFFAIRS

Imaan Sulaiman-Ibrahim, 68/100
| **ABOVE AVERAGE**

Sulaiman-Ibrahim has focused on women's economic empowerment, financial inclusion, protection from gender based violence and increased participation in national development. The ministry has sought partnerships capable of moving women's programs beyond small scale empowerment schemes.

Why 68 is justified: The policy direction recognizes that women's economic participation is a development issue, not merely a social welfare matter.

Why not higher: Women's representation in political leadership

CONT'D ON NEXT PAGE ►

PARTNERSHIPS TODAY. PROSPERITY TOMORROW.

The Individual Ministerial Scorecard



▶ CONT'D FROM LAST PAGE

remains exceptionally low. Gender based violence remains widespread, while poverty and informal employment disproportionately affect women. Many programs haven't yet shown national scale outcomes.

Xposure Verdict: The advocacy is substantial. The structural transformation of women's political power, economic security and personal safety remains incomplete.

SOLID MINERALS DEVELOPMENT

Dele Alake,
68/100 | ABOVE AVERAGE

Alake has successfully elevated mining within the government's economic diversification agenda. The ministry has pursued sector formalization, investor engagement, geological development and measures against illegal mining. Its emphasis on local processing rather than indiscriminate export of raw minerals is strategically important.

Why 68 is justified: Mining is receiving greater policy seriousness and regulatory attention than in

many previous periods.

Why not higher: Illegal mining persists, insecurity affects mineral producing communities and the sector's contribution to government revenue remains far below its advertised potential. Investment interest must eventually become mines, processing facilities, exports, tax revenue and jobs.

Xposure Verdict: Alake has made solid minerals politically visible. The challenge is making them economically significant.

INDUSTRY, TRADE & INVESTMENT

Jumoke Oduwale, 68/100
| ABOVE AVERAGE

Oduwale's strongest asset is her long standing experience in regulatory and business environment reform. Her ministry has pursued investment facilitation, trade expansion, export opportunities and removal of administrative obstacles to business. The administration's Nigeria First procurement policy, which priorities Nigerian made goods and domestic companies in federal procurement, could provide an important demand stimulus if consistently implemented.

Why 68 is justified: The reform direction is credible and Oduwale understands the institutional barriers businesses encounter.

Why not higher: Manufacturers and SMEs continue to face high electricity costs, expensive credit, currency pressures, multiple charges and weak consumer purchasing power. Investment announcements can't outweigh difficult operating conditions.

Xposure Verdict: Oduwale understands how to improve the business environment. The harder challenge is creating an economy in which businesses already operating can survive, expand and hire.

REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT Abubakar Momoh, 66/100

| ABOVE AVERAGE

Momoh now oversees an expanded architecture of regional development commissions intended to address infrastructure deficits and historical regional inequalities. This gives the ministry potentially significant reach across Nigeria.

Why 66 is justified: Creating mechanisms for region specific development can improve coordination and direct resources toward neglected infrastructure.

Why not higher: Establishing commissions is administrative architecture, not development itself. The real test is whether the commissions deliver roads, water, environmental remediation, healthcare, jobs and economic opportunities without becoming additional bureaucratic expenditure centers.

Xposure Verdict: The architecture exists. Xposure's next question is what the architecture actually builds.

ART, CULTURE, TOURISM & CREATIVE ECONOMY

Hannatu Musawa, 65/100
| ABOVE AVERAGE

Musawa has promoted Nigeria's creative industries, tourism, heritage and cultural exports as

serious economic assets. The strategy recognizes the global power already shown by Nollywood, Afrobeats, fashion and Nigerian cultural entrepreneurship.

Why 65 is justified: The ministry has raised the profile of the creative economy and pursued investment and institutional support for a sector capable of generating substantial employment and exports.

Why not higher: Government can't claim private sector cultural successes as ministerial achievements. Tourism remains constrained by insecurity, poor infrastructure and weak destination development, while financing and intellectual property protection remain challenges.

Xposure Verdict: Nigeria already possesses enormous cultural influence. Musawa's real performance test is converting that influence into sustainable tourism receipts, investment, intellectual property income and jobs.

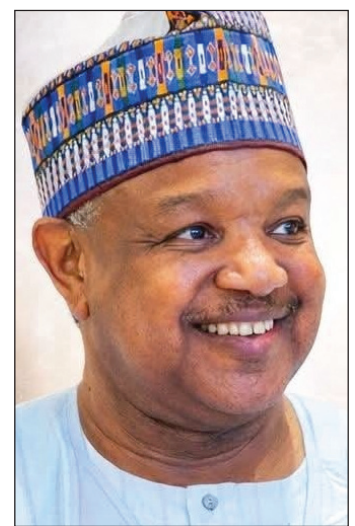
BUDGET & ECONOMIC PLANNING

Abubakar Bagudu, 63/100
| AVERAGE/MIXED

Bagudu has managed enormous federal budgets during an exceptionally difficult fiscal period and has tried to align national planning with infrastructure, human capital development and economic reform. The 2026 budget itself acknowledges that the most important budget isn't the one announced but the one delivered, and promises greater emphasis on measurable completion.

Why 63 is justified: Budget formulation, national planning

CONT'D ON NEXT PAGE ▶



The Individual Ministerial Scorecard



▶ CONT'D FROM LAST PAGE

and prioritization have remained functional despite severe revenue and expenditure pressures.

Why not higher: Nigeria's fundamental budget problem remains implementation. Capital projects regularly span multiple budget cycles, releases lag appropriations and large headline budgets don't automatically translate into completed assets.

Xposure Verdict: Bagudu can help design the expenditure plan. His score will rise when Nigerians can more consistently see what the trillions appropriated actually bought.

LIVESTOCK DEVELOPMENT Idi Mukhtar Maiha, 63/100 | AVERAGE/MIXED

Maiha deserves credit for taking charge of one of the administration's most important institutional experiments. Livestock intersects with food security, dairy imports, animal disease, rural employment and the farmer herder conflict. Creating a dedicated ministry allows these problems to be addressed as an integrated economic value chain rather than mainly as a security crisis. The current Cabinet registers confirm Maiha's portfolio. His agenda around modern ranching, breed improvement, veterinary services, feed production and private investment is strategically sensible.

Why 63 is justified: The institutional foundations are being established and the policy direction

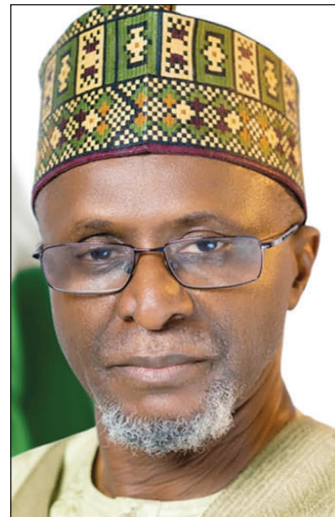
is credible.

Why not higher: The ministry is still largely at the institution building and early implementation stage. Nigeria hasn't yet shown transformative increases in meat or dairy productivity, substantially cheaper animal protein, major reductions in dairy imports or a decisive decline in farmer herder violence attributable to the new policy.

Xposure Verdict: A necessary ministry with a credible agenda, but still awaiting proof that institutional innovation will become livestock transformation.

TRANSPORTATION Sa'idu Alkali, 62/100 | AVERAGE/MIXED

Alkali has overseen rail rehabilitation, efforts to expand rail services and transport sector



projects intended to reduce Nigeria's dependence on road transportation. The economic logic is strong. Moving passengers and freight by rail can reduce logistics costs, road deterioration and pressure on highways.

Why 62 is justified: Rail infrastructure continues to operate and expand incrementally, while transport modernization remains on the government's agenda.

Why not higher: Nigeria remains overwhelmingly road dependent. Rail coverage is inadequate for the country's size, freight movement remains inefficient and urban mass transit remains weak. Transport costs continue to feed directly into food prices and household expenses.

Xposure Verdict: There is progress on individual transport projects. What Nigeria still lacks is an integrated national transport system.

ENVIRONMENT Balarabe Abbas Lawal, 61/100 | AVERAGE/MIXED

Lawal has maintained Nigeria's climate policy engagement while overseeing interventions around erosion, desertification, forestry, pollution and environmental protection. International climate finance and environmental diplomacy have also remained important parts of the portfolio.

Why 61 is justified: There is policy activity and continued engagement with major environmental challenges.

Why not higher: Flooding continues to destroy communities and livelihoods. Waste management

remains poor in many cities. Desertification, erosion and oil pollution remain severe, while environmental enforcement is inconsistent.

Xposure Verdict: Nigeria is increasingly sophisticated in discussing environmental policy. The physical environment Nigerians actually experience remains much less impressive.

STEEL DEVELOPMENT Shuaibu Audu, 60/100 | AVERAGE/MIXED

Audu deserves credit for returning Ajaokuta Steel and domestic steel production to serious national economic discussion. The ministry has pursued investors, financing options and rehabilitation pathways while arguing that a functioning steel industry could underpin manufacturing, construction and industrialization.

Why 60 is justified: The sector has regained policy attention and there is more serious engagement around revival.

Why not higher: Nigeria has heard Ajaokuta revival promises for decades. Negotiations, MoUs and financing discussions can't be scored like steel production. Until furnaces operate commercially and Nigerian industries get meaningful domestic steel output, the transformation remains incomplete.

Xposure Verdict: Audu has revived the steel agenda. Nigeria is still waiting for the steel.

FINANCE / COORDINATING CONT'D ON NEXT PAGE ▶

PARTNERSHIPS TODAY. PROSPERITY TOMORROW.

The Individual Ministerial Scorecard



▶ CONT'D FROM LAST PAGE

MINISTRY OF THE ECONOMY
Wale Edun /Taiwo Oyedele ,
58/100 | AVERAGE/MIXED

The economic team can point to significant structural changes: foreign exchange reform, tax restructuring, improved revenue mobilization, greater fiscal discipline and signs of macroeconomic stabilization. Government reported GDP expanding to N441.5 trillion in 2025 and headline inflation falling to 15.69% by April 2026. These are government highlighted macroeconomic indicators and deserve consideration, not automatic acceptance as proof of household prosperity.

Why 58 is justified: Difficult structural reforms have been undertaken and some macro indicators have improved.

Why not higher: The transmission to households remains weak. Food, housing, electricity, transport, healthcare and education costs continue to pressure incomes. Businesses face high financing and operating costs.

Xposure Verdict: Macroeconomic repair appears to be advancing faster than household recovery. Nigerians can't spend GDP growth or fiscal consolidation at the market.

LABOUR & EMPLOYMENT
Maigari Dingyadi, 57/100
| AVERAGE/MIXED

Dingyadi has managed labour relations, engagement with organized labour and employment

related initiatives during a period of intense cost of living pressure. Maintaining dialogue and preventing every wage dispute from becoming prolonged industrial paralysis has real value.

Why 57 is justified: The ministry continues to perform its industrial relations function and support employment initiatives.

Why not higher: Employment policy ultimately has to be measured through productive work and real wages. Underemployment, informality and weak purchasing power remain widespread. A nominal wage increase means less when inflation erodes its real value.

Xposure Verdict: The ultimate labour program isn't a conference, training scheme or communiqué. It's a productive job paying a wage a Nigerian can reasonably live on.

**SPECIAL DUTIES & INTER-
GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS**
Zephaniah Jisalo, 57/100
| AVERAGE/MIXED

Jisalo oversees a portfolio centered on special national assignments, intergovernmental coordination and relationships across levels of government. OSGF confirms the ministry remains a substantive Cabinet portfolio.

Why 57 is justified: Coordination across federal institutions and subnational governments is a legitimate function, and the ministry continues to perform it.

Why not higher: Xposure found comparatively limited independently measurable citizen facing outcomes attributable directly to the ministry. Administrative functionality can't automatically become high

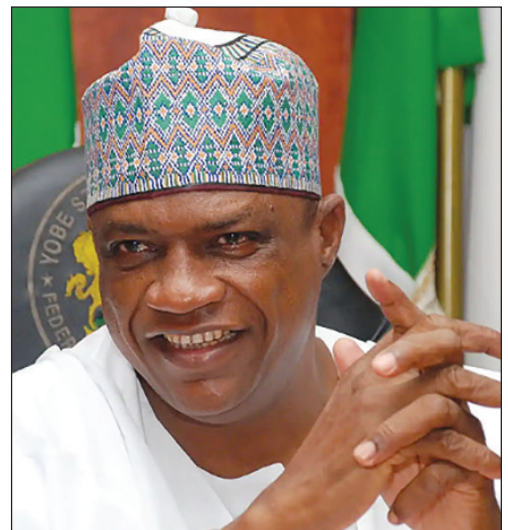
performance just because a ministry attracts little controversy.

Xposure Verdict: The ministry appears functional, but functionality and impact aren't the same thing. More measurable public outcomes are needed for a stronger rating.

POLICE AFFAIRS
Ibrahim Gaidam, 56/100
| AVERAGE/MIXED

Police Affairs has pursued police modernization, equipment, training, welfare and institutional improvement. These interventions matter because Nigerian policing suffers from longstanding shortages in manpower, technology, vehicles, forensic capability and welfare. OSGF continues to list Gaidam as Minister of Police Affairs even though the current State House cabinet page

CONT'D ON NEXT PAGE ▶



The Individual Ministerial Scorecard



▶ CONT'D FROM LAST PAGE

doesn't display the portfolio, which is why Xposure has kept it in the assessment.

Why 56 is justified: Reform and modernization efforts provide enough evidence to avoid a failing assessment.

Why not higher: Kidnapping, violent crime, inadequate response capability and public distrust remain substantial. Citizens ultimately judge police reform by whether police arrive, investigate competently, behave professionally and prevent crime.

Xposure Verdict: Police modernization is underway. The everyday public safety outcome remains insufficient.

INNOVATION, SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY

Uche Nnaji / Kingsley Udeh, 56/100 | AVERAGE/MIXED

The ministry has promoted research, technology development, innovation and commercialization while trying to connect Nigeria's scientific institutions more closely with industry. Nigeria has significant research talent and an enormous need for domestic technological capacity.

Why 56 is justified: There is a legitimate policy agenda and institutional infrastructure supporting research and innovation.

Why not higher: Nigeria's persistent weakness is conversion. Research findings too rarely become patents, patents too rarely become commercially manufactured

products, and scientific institutions remain insufficiently connected to industry. Leadership transition also limits the outcomes fairly attributable to the current minister.

Xposure Verdict: Nigeria doesn't lack ideas. It lacks an efficient pipeline turning publicly funded science into factories, products, exports and jobs.

DEFENSE

Christopher Musa / Bello Matawalle, 54/100

| AVERAGE/MIXED

The Defense portfolio deserves more nuance than simply saying insecurity persists. The Armed Forces continue major counter terrorism and counter banditry operations across several geopolitical zones, including HADIN KAI, FANSAN YAMMA and DELTA SAFE. The ministry is also pursuing

defense industrial capacity through DICON, troop welfare, military healthcare, housing and stronger inter agency coordination. Those are real activities, and security personnel have recorded tactical successes and rescued victims.

Why 54 is justified: Government has committed substantial resources and sustained offensive operations against armed groups.

Why not higher: The 2026 budget itself allocates N5.41 trillion to defense and security and explicitly acknowledges that security spending must produce results. Yet terrorism, banditry, kidnapping and community displacement remain significant. Recent abductions in communities such as Woro, Konkonso, Pissa and Kasuwan Daji show the continuing threat, even where victims are eventually rescued.

Xposure Verdict: Military effort is substantial. But the government's security score must ultimately be written by the Nigerian who can farm, travel and sleep without fear.

HOUSING & URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Ahmed Dangiwa / Muttaqha Rabe Darna, 53/100

| AVERAGE/MIXED

The portfolio has pursued Renewed Hope housing estates, urban renewal programs, housing construction and reforms intended to mobilize private capital into residential development. Physical construction gives the ministry some measurable output.

Why 53 is justified: Houses and estates are being developed, so the portfolio can't reasonably be called inactive.

▶ CONT'D ON NEXT PAGE



PARTNERSHIPS TODAY. PROSPERITY TOMORROW.

The Individual Ministerial Scorecard



► CONT'D FROM LAST PAGE

Why not higher: Nigeria's housing deficit remains enormous. Mortgage penetration is extremely low, land administration is difficult and building material costs have increased sharply. A housing program that produces units beyond the financial reach of most workers doesn't fully solve the housing problem.

Xposure Verdict: Government is building houses. The harder national challenge is building housing that ordinary Nigerian incomes can actually afford.

AGRICULTURE & FOOD SECURITY

Abubakar Kyari, 52/100
| AVERAGE/MIXED

Kyari deserves more recognition for activity than a superficial reading of the score might suggest. The ministry reports investment across rice, maize, wheat, millet, sorghum, cassava, cocoa, soybeans, cotton and oil palm value chains. It says 2,000 tractors and other equipment were deployed under the mechanization program, alongside 10 integrated processing plants, seven composite flour mills, rural roads and irrigation related infrastructure. The ministry also reports early productivity gains within Special Agro Industrial Processing Zones. The 2026 budget further priorities input financing, mechanization, irrigation, storage, processing and cultivation of one million hectares.

Why 52 rather than a failing

score: There is substantial policy and program activity, and the ministry claims food prices for some commodities have fallen significantly from earlier peaks.

Why not higher: The ministry is called Agriculture and Food Security. Farmers still face insecurity, high input costs, storage losses and logistics problems, while food continues consuming an unsustainable share of many household incomes.

Xposure Verdict: The production interventions are real. But food security will ultimately be judged at the market stall and the family dining table.

POWER

Adebayo Adedun / Joseph Tegbe, 49/100 | BELOW EXPECTATIONS



Power reform hasn't been devoid of substance. The sector has pursued tariff restructuring, metering, decentralization following constitutional and electricity market reforms, transmission investment and attempts to improve sector liquidity. These are difficult structural issues that accumulated over decades.

Why 49 rather than substantially lower: There is genuine reform activity, investment and institutional restructuring, and the current minister shouldn't personally inherit every failure of the review period.

Why below 50: The citizen outcome remains inadequate. Electricity is more expensive for many consumers while reliability stays inconsistent. Metering gaps persist and businesses continue spending heavily on generators, diesel, petrol, batteries and solar systems.

This is where Xposure's conversion test becomes unforgiving. Tariff reform leads to investment, investment should lead to additional capacity, capacity should lead to reliable supply, and reliable supply should lead to consumer benefit. The final two stages remain too weak.

Xposure Verdict: Nigeria may be reforming the electricity market, but too many Nigerians are still privately financing the electricity system they need to survive.

HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS & POVERTY REDUCTION
Leadership Transitions / Bernard Doro, 47/100

[BELOW EXPECTATIONS]
Humanitarian Affairs administers one of government's most socially important mandates: cash transfers, poverty interventions, support for vulnerable households, disaster response and assistance to displaced communities. In an economy under severe household pressure, the portfolio should function as a critical social shock absorber.

There have been beneficiary programs and efforts to rebuild the social protection system following earlier institutional disruptions.

Why 47 rather than a very low score: Government has continued humanitarian interventions and social support programs, and the ministry operates in an extraordinarily difficult environment where no single minister can eliminate poverty.

Why below expectations: Leadership disruptions and past credibility problems weakened the institution. Questions around targeting, reach and transparency remain important, while the sheer number of Nigerians experiencing economic vulnerability shows that social protection remains inadequate relative to need.

Xposure Verdict: The ministry's programs provide relief to some Nigerians. But a country experiencing widespread poverty needs a social protection system with substantially greater reach, transparency, reliability and measurable impact.

PARTNERSHIPS TODAY. PROSPERITY TOMORROW.

The Individual Ministerial Scorecard

Nigeria's Five Weakest-Performing Portfolios

Individual Xposure ministerial scores, out of 100



Three of the five lowest-scoring portfolios also carry a provisional flag, their current minister took office only in 2026. Source: Xposure Cabinet Performance Index 2026, individual ministerial scorecard

XPOSURE TOP FIVE

RANK	MINISTER	PORTFOLIO	SCORE
1	Olunmi Tunji-Ojo	Interior	88
2	David Umahi	Works	84
3	Muhammad Ali Pate	Health & Social Welfare	82
4	Bosun Tijani	Communications & Digital Economy	81
5	Tunji Alausa	Education	80

These five emerge as Xposure's strongest individual performers. But, as Section V shows, their individual performance does not determine the overall Cabinet score, which requires a different, tougher test.

ASSESSMENT OF THE CABINET

The People's Test

Xposure's assessment finds strong individual performers across the Federal Executive Council, but hardship, food costs, insecurity, energy prices, poverty, healthcare challenges and infrastructure deficits pull the collective Cabinet score down to 46 of 100.

Food, Power and Security: Three Tests That Matter Most

Food is a performance indicator
Few indicators capture government performance as powerfully as the Nigerian market. Every visit to buy rice, beans, garri, vegetables, meat, fish or cooking oil is effectively an encounter with economic policy. Agricultural programmes can be impressive: fertilizer can be distributed, tractors can be procured, farmers can receive financing, irrigation can expand. But the

final consumer asks a simpler question: how much does it cost to feed my family? That is why Agriculture and Food Security remained under considerable pressure in our final assessment.

Electricity remains a national test

The same applies to Power. Nigeria has pursued electricity reform for decades, with changes in regulation, tariffs, metering, generation, transmission and state participation. Yet millions of homes and businesses

continue to rely heavily on generators, inverters, solar systems and other privately financed alternatives. The consequences extend far beyond electricity: poor power raises manufacturing costs, affects hospitals, schools, agriculture and technology businesses, affects employment, and affects Nigeria's ability to compete. Power therefore emerged as one of the administration's biggest unfinished assignments.

Security cannot be measured only by operations

Nigeria's security forces have recorded successes, and those achievements should be acknowledged. But security performance cannot ultimately be measured by the number of operations conducted, suspects arrested, weapons recovered or terrorists neutralized. The decisive question is: are Nigerians safer? Kidnapping, banditry, terrorism and other forms of violent insecurity continue to impose human and economic costs on communities, and for the enormous resources Nigeria commits to security, citizens are entitled to expect a stronger safety dividend.

Healthcare and Roads: Strong Ministers, Unfinished Systems

Healthcare exposes another contradiction

Our investigation rated Muhammad Ali Pate strongly, and that assessment remains. But rating the minister strongly does not mean declaring Nigeria's healthcare system strong; these are different conclusions. A minister can introduce credible reforms into a deeply troubled system without having completed its transformation. Many Nigerians still struggle with the cost of treatment, infrastructure remains inadequate in many areas, health-worker shortages persist, and access remains unequal. The lesson is important: good ministerial performance must eventually become good national outcomes. Until that happens, the work remains incomplete.

Bad roads still matter

David Umahi's strong individual rating also requires similar context. There is significant federal road construction and rehabilitation taking place, but Nigeria remains a country with numerous deteriorated roads, unfinished corridors and difficult journeys. Flagship projects cannot become substitutes for assessing the wider network, which is why our infrastructure verdict recognises progress without pretending the country's road problem has been solved.

The Cabinet's People's Scorecard

Cost of Living & Household Welfare: 8/20, Below Expectations

Household purchasing power remains severely pressured. The critical distinction is between slowing inflation and falling prices: inflation can moderate while the accumulated cost of food, transport, rent and other necessities remains painfully high, so government cannot claim victory solely

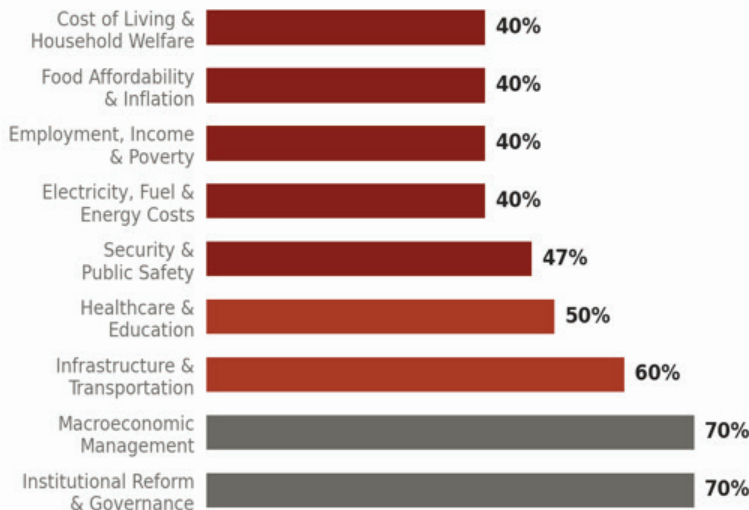
CONT'D ON NEXT PAGE ▶

PARTNERSHIPS TODAY. PROSPERITY TOMORROW.

The People's Test

Reform Scores Well; Household Welfare Does Not

Each collective Cabinet indicator scored as a share of its maximum points



The four indicators tied most directly to daily household experience, cost of living, food, jobs and energy, all score 40%, well below the 70% scored on macro management and institutional reform. Source: Xposure Cabinet Performance Index 2026

Each collective indicator scored as a share of its maximum: the categories closest to household life score worst.

FINAL COLLECTIVE CABINET SCORE

INDICATOR	SCORE
Cost of Living & Household Welfare	8/20
Food Affordability & Inflation	6/15
Security & Public Safety	7/15
Employment, Income & Poverty	6/15
Electricity, Fuel & Energy Costs	4/10
Healthcare & Education	5/10
Infrastructure & Transportation	3/5
Macroeconomic Management	3.5/5
Institutional Reform & Governance	3.5/5
Total	46/100

Xposure Final Cabinet Rating: 46 of 100, Below Expectations.

because the rate at which prices increase has slowed.

Food Affordability & Inflation: 6/15, Below Expectations

This is among the administration's most serious weaknesses. Agricultural programmes matter, but the final test occurs in Nigeria's markets, where, for millions of families, food affordability is economic policy made personal. The Cabinet cannot

receive a strong score while feeding a household remains an enormous financial burden.

Security & Public Safety: 7/15, Mixed, Below the Required Outcome

Security agencies have recorded victories, but continuing kidnapping, banditry, terrorism and violent crime mean the security dividend remains inadequate. Government must be assessed by more than

operations conducted or criminals neutralized; the stronger metric is how safe people and communities actually become.

Employment, Income & Poverty: 6/15, Below Expectations

Training programmes, empowerment initiatives and business support cannot substitute for large-scale productive employment. The relevant

outcomes are sustainable jobs, rising real incomes and measurable exits from poverty, and Nigeria has not yet produced those outcomes at the scale required.

Electricity, Petroleum Products & Energy Costs: 4/10, Below Expectations

The fiscal rationale behind subsidy reform and electricity restructuring does not eliminate their effect on households. Petroleum-product costs feed directly into transportation, food distribution, manufacturing and household expenditure, while unreliable electricity forces businesses and families to purchase alternative power, with widespread economic consequences.

Healthcare & Education Outcomes: 5/10, Mixed

Both ministries contain some of the Cabinet's stronger individual reformers, but national outcomes remain inadequate: healthcare remains financially difficult for many households, and education continues to struggle with access, quality, infrastructure and learning outcomes.

This illustrates one of the investigation's central findings: a strong minister does not automatically mean a strong national system.

Infrastructure & Transportation: 3/5, Improving

Major road and infrastructure projects are underway, and that deserves recognition, but anyone travelling extensively across Nigeria will also encounter numerous deteriorated and unfinished roads. Flagship infrastructure cannot be allowed to obscure the condition of the broader network.

Macroeconomic Management: 3.5/5, Strong Improvement

This is an area where the administration deserves credit: fiscal adjustment, revenue reform and broader macroeconomic stabilization provide evidence of genuine improvement. But macroeconomic stability is ultimately valuable only because of what it should eventually produce, household prosperity, and that transmission remains incomplete.

CONT'D ON NEXT PAGE ➔

The People's Test

▶ CONT'D FROM LAST PAGE

Institutional Reform & Governance: 3.5/5, Strong

Across several ministries there is genuine institutional reform: in passport administration, aviation, digital government, health, education, mining, justice, petroleum and electricity-market restructuring. These reforms matter and should not be dismissed simply because national hardship remains high. But reform is a means; the end is better lives.

How Can Strong Ministers Produce a 46/100 Cabinet?

There is no contradiction here. A Cabinet is not merely the mathematical average of its ministers. Consider the difference: Tunji-Ojo is principally assessed against Interior, Umahi against Works, Pate against Health, Tijani against the Digital Economy, and Keyamo against Aviation. But the Cabinet collectively must answer for the economy, food, security, employment, poverty, electricity, energy costs, healthcare, education, infrastructure and, ultimately, the quality of life of the Nigerian people. The portfolios that most directly determine household welfare are precisely where some of the administration's greatest challenges remain, and that is what pulls down the collective score.

The Central Contradiction of the Tinubu Government

This is ultimately what our entire investigation discovered. President Tinubu's administration contains ministers capable of reform and delivery. It has undertaken difficult economic reforms, pursued ambitious infrastructure, attempted to diversify the economy, modernized parts of government, attracted investment into several sectors, and has ministers whose individual performance deserves recognition. Yet the country simultaneously confronts severe household pressure. That is the contradiction. A government can be reforming and still be underperforming in the lives of its citizens. A minister can be strong while the national outcome remains weak. An economy can show signs of stabilization while households remain under strain. All three statements can be true at once.



Individual Talent Has Not Added Up to Collective Delivery

Xposure Cabinet Performance Index 2026

83/100



Average of the top five individual ministers

46/100



Collective Cabinet score (the People's Test)

The five strongest ministers average 83 of 100 individually, thirty-seven points above the 46/100 the Cabinet scores on outcomes that reach ordinary households. Source: Xposure Cabinet Performance Index 2026

Reform at the top has not yet produced sufficient relief at the bottom.

THE FIVE BIGGEST PRESSURE POINTS

These five issues explain much of the difference between the performance of individual ministers and the collective Cabinet score.

PRESSURE POINT	WHY IT MATTERS
Cost of Living	The accumulated increase in household expenses continues to erode living standards
Food	Feeding a family remains too expensive relative to incomes
Energy	Fuel and electricity costs flow through almost every part of the economy
Security	Too many communities and traveler's remain vulnerable
Poverty & Income	Economic reform has yet to produce sufficiently broad improvements in household prosperity

PARTNERSHIPS TODAY. PROSPERITY TOMORROW.

Xposure's Final Verdict

What a 46-of-100 Cabinet score means for President Tinubu's administration, and for the Nigerians still waiting to feel it.

Nigeria unquestionably requires reform. The country's fiscal, energy, infrastructure and institutional problems cannot be solved by avoiding difficult decisions. But reform carries an obligation: when citizens are asked to endure pain today because government promises improvement tomorrow, government assumes responsibility for producing that improvement. The longer the sacrifice continues, the stronger the demand for evidence of the dividend becomes. Nigeria is therefore approaching a crucial transition.

The era of explaining the reforms must give way to the era of demonstrating their results.

The Burden of Proof Has Shifted

At the beginning of the administration, government could reasonably explain what it inherited. Three years later, inherited problems remain relevant, but they cannot remain the principal explanation indefinitely, because government is elected to solve inherited problems. The question now is not simply what President Tinubu inherited. It is what has changed after three years of his government, and equally, who is better off because of those changes. Those questions will become increasingly important as the administration approaches the final phase of its first term.

Why This Report Matters

This publication is not intended to pronounce the final historical judgment on the Tinubu administration; that would be premature. Several reforms are still unfolding, major projects remain under construction, investments are still maturing, and new ministers have inherited portfolios whose outcomes cannot yet fairly be attributed to them. Performance can

AREA	VERDICT
Collective Cabinet Score	46/100, Below Expectations
Best Individual Performer	Olunmi Tunji-Ojo, Interior, 88, Excellent
Strongest Household-Facing Weakness	Food Affordability & Inflation, 6/15, the administration's most serious collective weakness
Weakest Individually Scored Portfolios	Humanitarian Affairs & Poverty Reduction, 53; Power, 54; both provisional given recent leadership changes
Where Reform Scores Best	Macroeconomic Management and Institutional Reform & Governance, both 70% of maximum
Where the People's Test Scores Worst	Cost of Living, Food, Employment and Energy, all 40% of maximum
The Cabinet's Central Contradiction	Strong individual reformers coexist with inadequate collective outcomes for ordinary households
Next Test	The Announcement Gap: tracking every major promise from announced through funded, implemented, completed and verified public impact

Final Cabinet Score: 46/100, Below Expectations.

Strong individual performers. Significant institutional reforms. Improving macroeconomic fundamentals. But an insufficient people's dividend.

The final test is not what government announced. It is what Nigerians experienced.

improve, and it can also deteriorate. The Xposure Cabinet Performance Index 2026 should therefore be understood as a snapshot of where the government stands now, and it establishes a benchmark against which future performance can be measured.

Our Standard Remains the People

Government will naturally defend its record, and opposition parties will naturally challenge it. Ministers will point to their achievements; critics will point to what remains undone. Xposure's responsibility is different. Our obligation is to examine the evidence and keep returning to the people who ultimately finance government and live with the consequences of its decisions: the market trader, the farmer, the civil servant, the entrepreneur, the unemployed graduate, the student, the patient, the commuter, the manufacturer, the pensioner, and the family trying to pay rent, school fees, electricity

bills and transportation costs while feeding its children. Their experience cannot be treated as anecdotal noise surrounding government statistics. Their experience is part of the data.

The Question That Runs Through This Edition

Across the scorecards, performance bands, rankings and sector assessments contained in this special report, one question has remained constant: has government performance produced a better life for the people? Where the answer is yes, credit has been given. Where progress has begun but remains incomplete, that has been acknowledged. Where outcomes remain inadequate, government has been held accountable. And where evidence contradicts political narratives, from either government or opposition, the evidence has prevailed.

The People's Test, Revisited

Ultimately, every government statistic must survive a simpler test. Can Nigerians afford food? Is electricity becoming

reliable? Are people safer? Are real incomes improving? Are productive jobs being created? Can families afford healthcare? Are children receiving quality education? Are roads becoming safer and better? Can businesses operate competitively? Are fewer Nigerians living in poverty? Those questions provide a stronger measure of government performance than the number of programmes launched.

Xposure's Final Verdict

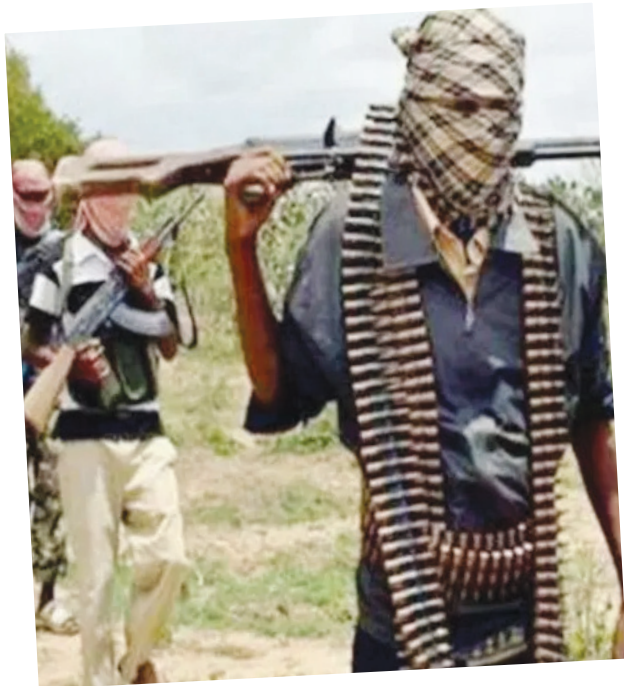
The evidence does not justify describing President Bola Tinubu's Cabinet as completely unsuccessful. Such a conclusion would ignore substantial reforms, improving macroeconomic indicators, major infrastructure activity and several ministers who have produced measurable results. But the evidence equally does not support a high collective rating. The hardship experienced by Nigerians cannot be treated as a footnote to government performance; it is part of government performance. The cost of food matters. The cost of petroleum products matters.

CONT'D ON NEXT PAGE ➔

PARTNERSHIPS TODAY. PROSPERITY TOMORROW.

Xposure's Final Verdict

What a 46-of-100 Cabinet score means for President Tinubu's administration, and for the Nigerians still waiting to feel it.



Electricity matters. Security matters. Healthcare matters. Roads matter. Employment matters. Income matters. Poverty matters. These are not secondary indicators. They are the government's report card.

Individual Cabinet talent: several strong performers. Collective Cabinet performance: 46 of 100, below expectations.

The administration has demonstrated that it is willing

to undertake difficult reforms. Its next challenge is far greater: it must prove that those reforms can produce cheaper food, greater security, reliable electricity, better healthcare, productive employment, higher real incomes, better roads, affordable housing and a measurable reduction in poverty. Until those improvements become sufficiently widespread, the government's strongest

argument will remain that reform is underway, and the Nigerian people's counterargument will remain that life is still too difficult. It is that gap that President Tinubu and his Cabinet must close.

Xposure Editorial Position

We recognize the reform. We recognize the ministers who have delivered. We recognize the infrastructure being built, and we recognize improving indicators where the evidence supports them. But we also recognize the hardship: the food bill, the electricity bill, the cost of transportation, the hospital bill, the bad roads, the unemployment and the weak purchasing power. And we recognize the Nigerian who simply wants to feel that

government is making life better. That is why our final collective score is 46 of 100. Not because nothing has been achieved, but because what has been achieved has not yet produced a sufficiently broad people's dividend.

That is the central finding of the Xposure Cabinet Performance Index 2026. Because beyond the speeches, beyond the budgets, beyond the projects, beyond the reforms and beyond the statistics lies the only test that ultimately matters: are Nigerians better off? For President Bola Ahmed Tinubu and his cabinet, the evidence examined in this report suggests that the answer, for now, is not enough.

Are Nigerians better off? For now, the answer is: not enough.