



POLICY ANALYSIS

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Executive Order 9 of 2026 and Petroleum Revenue Governance in Nigeria: Policy Implications for the Federation Account and Legislative Oversight

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Executive Summary

On 13 February 2026, President Bola Ahmed Tinubu signed Executive Order 9 of 2026, directing that all government entitlements from petroleum production, including Royalty Oil, Tax Oil, Profit Oil, and Profit Gas, be paid directly into the Federation Account. The directive represents a major policy intervention in Nigeria's petroleum revenue governance framework and seeks to restructure how revenues derived from upstream petroleum operations are collected and remitted.

Petroleum revenues remain central to Nigeria's public finance system, historically accounting for more than half of government revenues and over 70 percent of export earnings, according to the Nigeria Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative. However, the existing revenue architecture has long been criticised for its complexity and lack of transparency, as multiple deductions and retention mechanisms often occur before revenues reach the Federation Account. Executive Order 9 aims to simplify this structure by mandating direct remittance of petroleum revenues into the Federation Account in line with Section 162 of the Constitution.

The Order also removes two major deductions historically applied within the petroleum revenue system: the 30 percent management fee retained by the national oil company and the 30 percent Frontier Exploration Fund allocation used to finance exploration in frontier basins such as the Chad Basin and the Sokoto Basin. In addition, the directive reinforces the commercial orientation of the national oil company, Nigerian National Petroleum Company Limited, emphasising that it should operate strictly as a commercial entity rather than as an intermediary manager of government revenues. These reforms are broadly aligned with the institutional restructuring introduced by the Petroleum Industry Act, which sought to modernise governance in Nigeria's petroleum sector.

While the Executive Order may improve fiscal transparency, strengthen remittances to the Federation Account, and enhance legislative oversight of petroleum revenues, it also raises important legal and policy considerations. In particular, the suspension of the Frontier Exploration Fund intersects with statutory provisions of the Petroleum Industry Act, potentially creating legal ambiguity between executive directives and existing legislation. In addition, changes to revenue remittance structures may affect operational financing arrangements for the national oil company and could influence investor perceptions of regulatory stability in Nigeria's petroleum sector.

Given the constitutional responsibility of the National Assembly to oversee public finance and ensure compliance with statutory frameworks, legislative engagement is necessary to evaluate



the implications of the reform and ensure policy coherence.

In light of these considerations, the National Assembly may consider the following actions:

1. Conduct immediate legislative oversight hearings through relevant committees on petroleum resources, finance, and public accounts to review the policy rationale, fiscal implications, and implementation strategy of Executive Order 9.
2. Undertake a targeted legislative review of the Petroleum Industry Act to clarify provisions relating to petroleum revenue remittance and address potential legal inconsistencies arising from the suspension of the Frontier Exploration Fund.
3. Strengthen transparency in Federation Account revenue flows by mandating periodic reporting on petroleum revenue remittances and improving public disclosure of revenue data.
4. Establish a comprehensive petroleum revenue monitoring framework that integrates data from regulatory institutions, fiscal authorities, and oversight bodies to enable real-time tracking of oil revenues from production to final remittance.
5. Reinforce the commercial independence and corporate governance framework of the Nigerian National Petroleum Company Limited, ensuring a clear separation between government revenue management and the company's commercial operations.

Executive Order 9 represents a significant effort to reform Nigeria's petroleum revenue governance by strengthening fiscal transparency and reinforcing constitutional revenue management principles. However, the long-term effectiveness of the reform will depend on careful legislative scrutiny, alignment with existing statutory provisions, and the establishment of robust oversight mechanisms to ensure that petroleum revenues are managed transparently, efficiently, and in the best interest of the Nigerian federation.

1. Introduction

On 13 February 2026, President Bola Ahmed Tinubu signed Executive Order 9 of 2026, directing that all government entitlements from petroleum production, including Royalty Oil, Tax Oil, Profit Oil, and profit gas, be paid directly into the Federation Account. The directive represents a significant intervention in Nigeria's petroleum revenue governance architecture and seeks to restructure the flow of revenues derived from upstream petroleum operations.

Under Nigeria's fiscal regime for the petroleum sector, government earnings from oil and gas production arise from several streams. These include royalties paid on production volumes, petroleum taxes, and profit oil allocations under Production Sharing Contracts (PSCs) between the government and oil companies. These revenues constitute a major portion of Nigeria's public finances. According to the Nigeria Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (NEITI), petroleum revenues historically account for more than 50 percent of government revenue and over



70 percent of export earnings, underscoring the strategic importance of the sector to national development and fiscal sustainability¹.

Executive Order 9 introduces a fundamental change by mandating that these government entitlements be remitted directly into the Federation Account, rather than being subject to intermediate deductions or retention mechanisms by sector institutions. The Order also abolishes two deductions that have long featured in Nigeria's petroleum revenue structure. The first is the 30 percent management fee retained by the national oil company, while the second is the 30 percent Frontier Exploration Fund deduction, which was designed to finance exploration activities in frontier basins such as the Chad Basin, Sokoto Basin, and Benue Trough.

The removal of these deductions reflects longstanding debates about transparency and fiscal accountability in the petroleum sector. Several public finance and transparency assessments have underlined structural challenges in Nigeria's oil revenue management system. Reports by the International Monetary Fund and the Nigeria Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative note that multiple deduction mechanisms, including operational costs, subsidies, and quasi-fiscal expenditures by state-owned entities, have historically complicated the tracking of petroleum revenues from extraction to final remittance into the Federation Account²³. These arrangements have reduced transparency and made it difficult to clearly ascertain the net revenues available for distribution among the three tiers of government. These complexities have contributed to persistent concerns regarding revenue leakages, under-remittances, and institutional opacity within the petroleum sector.

The Executive Order therefore seeks to reinforce constitutional provisions governing the management of public revenues. Specifically, Section 162(1) of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (1999, as amended) stipulates that all revenues collected by the Government of the Federation must be paid into the Federation Account, except for those expressly exempted by the Constitution⁴. The Federation Account serves as the central pool from which revenues are distributed among the federal, state, and local governments based on the revenue allocation formula determined by law.

In addition to restructuring revenue remittances, the Order emphasises that the Nigerian National Petroleum Company Limited (NNPC Ltd) must operate strictly as a commercial entity. This directive aligns with the institutional reforms introduced by the Petroleum Industry Act (PIA), which transformed the former state-owned corporation into a limited liability company under the Companies and Allied Matters Act. The PIA was enacted to modernise governance in Nigeria's

¹ Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative. (2023). *Nigeria: Extractive sector overview and economic contribution*. Retrieved from <https://eiti.org/countries/nigeria>

² International Monetary Fund. (2023). *Nigeria: 2023 Article IV consultation—Press release; staff report; and statement by the executive director for Nigeria*. Washington, DC: International Monetary Fund.

³ Nigeria Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative. (2021). *Oil and gas industry report 2019*. Abuja, Nigeria: NEITI.

⁴ Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (1999, as amended), Section 162



petroleum sector by separating regulatory and commercial functions, strengthening transparency, and improving operational efficiency.

Prior to the enactment of the PIA, the national oil company performed multiple roles simultaneously, including policy implementation, regulatory participation, and commercial operations, creating significant governance challenges. The transformation of the company into NNPC Limited was intended to ensure that it operates like a commercially oriented national oil company similar to global counterparts such as Norway's Equinor or Brazil's Petrobras. Under the new framework, the company is expected to generate profits, pay taxes and dividends to the government, and operate without direct reliance on government funding.

However, while Executive Order 9 is framed primarily as a measure to improve transparency, enhance fiscal discipline, and safeguard revenues accruing to the Federation Account, it also raises important legal, policy, and institutional questions. Notably, the suspension of the Frontier Exploration Fund deduction intersects with provisions of the Petroleum Industry Act, which establishes the fund as part of the governance structure of the upstream petroleum sector. This raises questions regarding the relationship between executive directives and statutory provisions enacted by the legislature.

Furthermore, the restructuring of petroleum revenue flows may have broader implications for federal fiscal relations, the operational financing of the national oil company, and the stability of Nigeria's petroleum fiscal regime. Given the strategic importance of oil revenues to national and subnational budgets, changes to the management of these revenues inevitably have implications for economic governance, intergovernmental fiscal relations, and investor confidence in the petroleum sector.

On this note, the role of the National Assembly of Nigeria becomes particularly significant. As the constitutionally mandated lawmaking and oversight body, the National Assembly is responsible for ensuring that executive actions align with existing statutory frameworks and constitutional provisions. Legislative scrutiny is therefore essential to assess the legal implications, fiscal impact, and policy coherence of Executive Order 9, as well as to determine whether amendments to existing laws, particularly the Petroleum Industry Act, may be required to support the objectives of the reform.

2. Policy Context

2.1 Federation Account and Revenue Distribution

Nigeria's public revenue system is anchored on the Federation Account, which serves as the central pool for revenues accruing to the federal government and subsequently shared among the three tiers of government. The legal basis for this arrangement is contained in Section 162(1) of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (1999, as amended), which provides that all revenues collected by the Government of the Federation shall be paid into the Federation Account, except those expressly exempted by the Constitution⁵. Revenues paid into this account are distributed among the federal, state, and local governments in accordance with the revenue

⁵ Federal Republic of Nigeria. (1999). Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 (as amended).



allocation formula approved by the Revenue Mobilisation Allocation and Fiscal Commission and ratified by the National Assembly of Nigeria.

Within Nigeria's fiscal structure, petroleum revenues remain the dominant source of public income. Earnings from crude oil and natural gas exports have historically financed a significant portion of government expenditure and foreign exchange earnings. Reports by the Nigeria Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative indicate that the oil and gas sector has consistently contributed over half of government revenues and more than 70 percent of export earnings, making it the backbone of Nigeria's fiscal and external accounts⁶. Similarly, assessments by the World Bank indicate that Nigeria's public finance system remains heavily dependent on hydrocarbon revenues despite ongoing economic diversification efforts, with oil revenues continuing to constitute a significant share of government income and export earnings⁷.

Despite the centrality of oil revenues to public finance, the process through which these revenues reach the Federation Account has historically been complex and often opaque. Over the years, the petroleum fiscal regime evolved through a combination of legislation, contractual arrangements, and administrative practices that allowed several deductions and retention mechanisms before revenues were remitted to the Federation Account. These include operational cost recoveries under joint venture arrangements, retained earnings by the national oil company, special-purpose funds, and other deductions associated with upstream petroleum operations.

One of the key features of Nigeria's petroleum sector has been the prevalence of Joint Venture (JV) arrangements between the government and international oil companies, in which the national oil company participates as a partner on behalf of the state. Under this structure, the government is required to fund its share of operational costs through what are commonly known as cash calls. Historically, delays or shortfalls in the payment of these cash calls led to the accumulation of arrears and complicated revenue flows within the sector⁸. Although recent reforms have introduced alternative financing mechanisms such as incorporated joint ventures, the legacy of these arrangements continues to influence the fiscal structure of the industry.

Another layer of complexity arises from the system of Production Sharing Contracts (PSCs), particularly in deep offshore operations. Under PSC arrangements, oil companies first recover their operational costs from a portion of production known as cost oil, after which the remaining production, referred to as profit oil, is shared between the government and contractors according to agreed formulas⁹. While this system is common in many oil-producing countries, its implementation in Nigeria has sometimes generated debates about cost recovery, transparency and the timing of revenue remittances to government accounts.

These multiple deductions and operational arrangements have contributed to longstanding concerns about transparency and accountability in the management of petroleum revenues.

⁶ *ibid*

⁷ World Bank. (2022). *Nigeria development update: The continuing urgency of business unusual*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

⁸ Nigeria Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative. (2023). *Nigeria 2021 EITI report—Oil & gas*. Retrieved from <https://eiti.org/documents/nigeria-2021-eiti-report-oil-ga>

⁹ *ibid*



Successive audit reports by the Nigeria Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative have highlighted discrepancies between the revenues generated by the sector and the amounts ultimately remitted to the Federation Account¹⁰. Similarly, policy analyses by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank have pointed to institutional weaknesses in revenue collection, reporting, and reconciliation processes within the sector¹¹.

In response to these challenges, several reforms have been introduced over the past decade to improve fiscal governance in the petroleum sector. These reforms include the strengthening of transparency mechanisms, the restructuring of the national oil company, and the enactment of comprehensive petroleum sector legislation. However, the persistence of multiple deduction structures and the complexity of revenue flows have continued to raise questions about whether the Federation Account receives the full amount of revenues legally due to it.

Consequently, recent policy initiatives, including Executive Order 9 of 2026, have sought to simplify the revenue architecture of the petroleum sector by ensuring that government entitlements are remitted directly into the Federation Account before any further allocations or operational expenditures are made. Such measures are intended to reinforce constitutional provisions governing public revenues and enhance the transparency of fiscal management across the federation.

2.2 Reforms under the Petroleum Industry Act

A major turning point in Nigeria's petroleum governance framework occurred with the enactment of the Petroleum Industry Act (PIA), which introduced far-reaching reforms aimed at addressing longstanding structural and institutional weaknesses in the sector¹². The PIA emerged after nearly two decades of legislative debates and reform attempts, reflecting the recognition that Nigeria's petroleum regulatory framework had become outdated and fragmented.

One of the most significant institutional reforms introduced by the PIA was the transformation of the former state-owned oil corporation into the Nigerian National Petroleum Company Limited. Under the new framework, the company was incorporated as a limited liability entity under the Companies and Allied Matters Act and is expected to operate on a fully commercial basis. This restructuring was designed to eliminate the longstanding conflict of roles that characterised the previous institutional arrangement, where the national oil company simultaneously performed regulatory, policy, and commercial functions.

By separating commercial operations from regulatory oversight, the PIA sought to establish a clearer governance structure within the petroleum sector. The Act created two new regulatory bodies: the Nigerian Upstream Petroleum Regulatory Commission responsible for upstream operations and the Nigerian Midstream and Downstream Petroleum Regulatory Authority,

¹⁰ *ibid*

¹¹ International Monetary Fund. (2023). *Nigeria: 2023 Article IV consultation—Press release; staff report; and statement by the executive director for Nigeria*. Washington, DC: IMF.

¹² Obot, E. E. (2025). Legislative communication and social media framing of the Petroleum Industry Bill. *Wukari International Studies Journal*, 9(5), 72–85.



responsible for midstream and downstream activities. This institutional separation was intended to improve regulatory efficiency, strengthen accountability, and align Nigeria's petroleum governance framework with international best practices.

In addition to institutional restructuring, the PIA introduced a new fiscal framework designed to make Nigeria's petroleum sector more competitive in the global investment environment. The reform aimed to simplify the tax regime, clarify royalty structures, and provide greater certainty for investors operating in the upstream sector. These measures were considered particularly important at a time when global energy markets are undergoing significant transitions and competition for investment in oil and gas projects is intensifying.

Despite these reforms, certain provisions of the PIA have generated debate among policymakers, industry stakeholders, and civil society organisations. One of the most contentious provisions is the establishment of the Frontier Exploration Fund, provided for under Section 9 of the Act. The fund allocates a portion of the national oil company's profit to finance exploration activities in frontier basins where commercial petroleum discoveries have yet to be confirmed. Proponents argue that the fund is necessary to expand Nigeria's reserve base and ensure long-term energy security¹³. Critics, however, contend that allocating a substantial share of profits to frontier exploration may reduce revenues available to the Federation Account and raise concerns about transparency in the use of the funds^{14,15}.

Other areas of debate relate to the operational cost structures embedded in upstream contracts and the governance of revenue flows between oil companies, the national oil company, and government accounts. Questions have been raised about how deductions for operational expenses and investment obligations should be balanced against the constitutional requirement that government revenues be paid into the Federation Account¹⁶.

These debates have taken on renewed significance in light of recent executive policy actions aimed at strengthening fiscal transparency and increasing government revenues from the petroleum sector. As Nigeria continues to implement the reforms introduced by the PIA, policymakers face the challenge of balancing the objectives of attracting investment, maintaining operational efficiency in the oil industry, and ensuring that public revenues are managed in accordance with constitutional and fiscal accountability principles.

¹³ Tribune Online (2025, October, 25). Group commends NUPRC for effective, responsible deployment of frontier exploration fund. *Nigeria Tribune*. <https://tribuneonlineng.com/group-commends-nuprc-for-effective-responsible-deployment-of-frontier-exploration-fund/>

¹⁴ Ikhaghu, A. (2025, November 11). FG moves to curb misuse of oil exploration fund. *The Guardian*. <https://guardian.ng/energy/fg-moves-to-curb-misuse-of-oil-exploration-funds/>

¹⁵ Olawin, D. (2025, November 11). FG to probe frontier exploration fund diversion. *Punch*. <https://punchng.com/fg-to-probe-frontier-exploration-fund-diversion/>

¹⁶ Ehigior, S. (2026, March 1). Tinubu targets revenue leakages, orders direct remittance of oil and gas proceeds. (2026). *ThisDayLive*. Retrieved from <https://www.thisdaylive.com/2026/03/01/tinubu-targets-revenue-leakages-orders-direct-remittance-of-oil-and-gas-proceeds>



3. Key Provisions of Executive Order 9

Executive Order 9 of 2026 introduces significant policy adjustments aimed at restructuring the management and remittance of petroleum revenues in Nigeria. The Order focuses primarily on strengthening fiscal transparency, improving the flow of revenues into the Federation Account, and reinforcing the commercial orientation of the national oil company. Broadly, the directive introduces three major policy changes relating to the remittance of petroleum revenues, the suspension of certain deductions previously applied to oil earnings, and the operational role of the national oil company within Nigeria's petroleum governance framework.

3.1 Direct Remittance of Oil Revenues

A central provision of Executive Order 9 is the directive that all government entitlements arising from petroleum production be remitted directly into the Federation Account. These entitlements include Royalty Oil, Tax Oil, Profit Oil, and Profit Gas, which represent key components of government revenue derived from upstream petroleum operations.

Under Nigeria's petroleum fiscal regime, royalties are payments made by oil companies to the government based on the volume or value of crude oil and natural gas produced. Taxes on petroleum operations, including petroleum profits tax or hydrocarbon tax under the current fiscal framework, also constitute an important source of public revenue. In addition, under Production Sharing Contracts (PSCs), the government receives a share of production, commonly referred to as profit oil, after contractors have recovered allowable operational costs.

Prior to the issuance of the Executive Order, the remittance process for these revenues often involved several layers of deductions and administrative processes before the funds were transferred into the Federation Account. In some instances, revenues were retained or applied to operational expenditures by sector institutions before the net balance was remitted to the central government account. This structure created challenges for revenue tracking and contributed to longstanding debates about the completeness and transparency of petroleum revenue remittances.

By mandating direct remittance of these revenue streams into the Federation Account, the Order seeks to simplify the revenue flow architecture within the petroleum sector. The directive reinforces the constitutional requirement contained in Section 162 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (1999, as amended), which stipulates that all revenues collected by the Government of the Federation must be paid into the Federation Account, except those expressly exempted by the Constitution.

This reform is expected to strengthen fiscal transparency by ensuring that petroleum revenues are recorded and accounted for at the point of receipt by the Federation. Direct remittance may also enhance the capacity of oversight institutions, including the National Assembly of Nigeria and the Nigeria Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative, to monitor revenue inflows and verify compliance with statutory fiscal obligations.



3.2 Removal of the 30 Percent Frontier Exploration Deduction

Another major policy adjustment introduced by Executive Order 9 is the suspension of deductions used to finance frontier basin exploration. Under the existing legal framework established by the Petroleum Industry Act, a portion of the profits of the national oil company was allocated to a Frontier Exploration Fund intended to support petroleum exploration activities in frontier basins where commercially viable hydrocarbon deposits have not yet been confirmed.

Frontier basins in Nigeria include regions such as the Chad Basin, the Sokoto Basin, the Benue Trough, and parts of the Dahomey Basin. Exploration activities in these areas were originally justified as part of a national strategy to expand Nigeria's hydrocarbon reserves and reduce long-term dependence on mature producing fields located in the Niger Delta region.

However, the Frontier Exploration Fund has been the subject of considerable debate since its introduction. Critics, including some civil society organisations and fiscal policy analysts, have argued that allocating a substantial share of oil revenues to frontier exploration could divert resources away from the Federation Account at a time when the country faces significant fiscal pressures. Concerns have also been raised about the transparency of expenditures under the fund and the limited evidence of commercially viable discoveries in some frontier basins despite several years of exploration activities.

By removing the deduction associated with the Frontier Exploration Fund, the Executive Order effectively redirects these resources toward the Federation Account, thereby increasing the pool of revenues available for distribution among the federal, state, and local governments. The policy also reflects broader concerns about the efficiency of public expenditure in the petroleum sector, particularly in the context of Nigeria's growing fiscal deficits and rising public debt.

Nevertheless, the suspension of the Frontier Exploration Fund raises important legal and policy questions because the fund is established under statutory provisions of the Petroleum Industry Act. This creates potential tensions between executive directives and existing legislation, which may require legislative clarification or amendment to ensure policy coherence and legal certainty.

3.3 Restricting NNPC Limited to Commercial Functions

Executive Order 9 further emphasises that the Nigerian National Petroleum Company Limited must operate strictly as a commercial entity in accordance with the provisions of the Petroleum Industry Act. This directive is intended to reinforce the institutional transformation of the national oil company following the enactment of the PIA.

Historically, Nigeria's national oil company performed a combination of commercial, regulatory, and quasi-fiscal roles. In addition to participating in upstream petroleum operations, the corporation was often involved in revenue collection, subsidy administration, and other government-related functions. This concentration of responsibilities contributed to governance challenges and created ambiguity regarding the financial obligations of the company to the government.



The PIA sought to address these challenges by converting the national oil company into a limited liability entity with a clear commercial mandate. Under the new structure, NNPC Limited is expected to operate in a manner comparable to other national oil companies globally, focusing primarily on profit-oriented petroleum operations while paying taxes, royalties, and dividends to the government.

Executive Order 9 reinforces this reform by explicitly stating that the company should no longer function as an intermediary authority responsible for managing or retaining government revenues. Instead, its role is limited to commercial petroleum activities, while revenues due to the government are to be transferred directly to the Federation Account through the appropriate fiscal channels.

By clarifying the commercial orientation of the national oil company, the directive aims to strengthen corporate governance, improve financial discipline, and align Nigeria's petroleum sector institutions with international standards of transparency and accountability. At the same time, the implementation of this provision will require careful coordination between government institutions to ensure that the operational financing needs of the company are balanced with the constitutional requirement for full revenue remittance.

4. Policy Rationale

Executive Order 9 of 2026 appears to be motivated by a combination of fiscal, governance, and institutional reform objectives. The directive reflects broader efforts by the federal government to improve the management of petroleum revenues, strengthen transparency within the oil and gas sector, and ensure compliance with constitutional provisions governing public finance. In particular, the Order can be understood through four interrelated policy drivers: revenue recovery, transparency and accountability, fiscal federalism, and the consolidation of reforms aimed at commercialising the national oil company.

One of the primary motivations behind the Executive Order is the need to strengthen government revenue in light of Nigeria's mounting fiscal pressures. Over the past decade, Nigeria has experienced persistent revenue shortfalls resulting from fluctuations in global oil prices, declining crude oil production levels, and structural weaknesses in revenue administration. At the same time, public expenditure demands have increased significantly due to growing infrastructure needs, social spending commitments, and rising debt obligations.

Recent fiscal assessments indicate that Nigeria's public finances remain under considerable strain. According to analyses, debt servicing has accounted for a substantial share of federal government revenues in recent years, sometimes exceeding total revenue receipts in certain fiscal periods¹⁷. This situation has constrained the government's fiscal space and limited its ability to finance development priorities such as infrastructure, healthcare, education, and security.

¹⁷ Budget Office of the Federation. (2025). *2026–2028 Medium-Term Expenditure Framework and Fiscal Strategy Paper* [summary on debt servicing and revenue]. Retrieved from <https://nairametrics.com/2025/12/18/debt-service-gulps-72-of-fg-revenue-in-seven-months/>



Declining oil production has further complicated the revenue outlook. Nigeria has faced production challenges arising from crude oil theft, pipeline vandalism, operational disruptions, and underinvestment in upstream infrastructure. Although production levels have shown periodic recovery, the country has struggled to consistently meet its production targets under the Organisation of the Petroleum Exporting Countries quota framework. As a result, the government has increasingly sought measures to maximise the value of revenues generated from existing petroleum production.

Against this backdrop, the elimination of certain deductions from petroleum revenues, particularly those associated with operational retention mechanisms and exploration funding, can be viewed as a strategy to increase the volume of funds remitted directly into the Federation Account. By ensuring that all government entitlements from petroleum production are first credited to the central revenue pool, the Executive Order aims to improve revenue capture and enhance the availability of funds for budgetary allocations across all tiers of government.

Another key rationale underlying the Executive Order is the need to strengthen transparency and accountability in the management of petroleum revenues. Nigeria's oil and gas sector has historically been characterised by complex financial arrangements involving multiple agencies, contractual frameworks, and operational cost deductions. While many of these mechanisms serve legitimate operational purposes, they have also contributed to a fragmented revenue management structure that complicates oversight and auditing processes.

In previous years, revenues generated from petroleum operations were often subject to various deductions before reaching the Federation Account. These deductions included cost recoveries under production sharing contracts, operational expenses related to joint venture activities, retained earnings by the national oil company, and contributions to special-purpose funds. The multiplicity of these arrangements sometimes made it difficult to determine the exact amount of revenue that should accrue to the Federation at any given time.

Oversight institutions have repeatedly shown the implications of this complexity for transparency and accountability. For example, audit and reconciliation exercises conducted by the Nigeria Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative have identified discrepancies between revenue figures reported by different entities within the petroleum sector¹⁸. Such discrepancies often arise from differences in accounting practices, reporting timelines, and the treatment of deductions applied to petroleum revenues.

By mandating the direct remittance of government entitlements into the Federation Account, the Executive Order seeks to simplify the revenue flow structure and create a clearer audit trail for petroleum revenues. Direct remittance can facilitate more effective monitoring by oversight bodies, improve the accuracy of revenue reconciliation exercises, and reduce the likelihood of discrepancies between expected and actual remittances. In addition, a simplified revenue flow system can strengthen the ability of the National Assembly of Nigeria to exercise its constitutional oversight responsibilities over public finance and the extractive sector.

¹⁸ *ibid*



Furthermore, Nigeria operates a federal system in which public revenues collected by the federal government are shared among the three tiers of government (federal, state, and local) through the Federation Account. The management and distribution of these revenues therefore carry significant implications for intergovernmental fiscal relations across the country.

Over the years, state governments have raised concerns regarding the completeness of oil revenue remittances into the Federation Account. Some state authorities and fiscal policy analysts have argued that the existence of multiple deductions and retention mechanisms within the petroleum sector may reduce the amount of revenue ultimately available for distribution among the constituent units of the federation¹⁹²⁰. These concerns have periodically generated debates within the National Economic Council and other intergovernmental forums responsible for coordinating fiscal policy among federal and state governments.

Executive Order 9 appears to respond to these concerns by emphasising strict adherence to constitutional provisions governing the management of federal revenues. By ensuring that government entitlements from petroleum production are paid directly into the Federation Account before any deductions are applied, the Order aims to reinforce the principle that revenues belonging to the Federation should be centrally collected and transparently distributed in accordance with the approved revenue allocation formula.

This approach is consistent with broader principles of fiscal federalism, which emphasise clarity, transparency, and fairness in the sharing of public resources among different levels of government. Strengthening the integrity of the Federation Account may therefore contribute to improved trust among federal and state authorities and enhance the predictability of revenue flows for subnational governments that depend heavily on statutory allocations.

The final policy driver behind the Executive Order relates to the ongoing institutional transformation of the Nigerian National Petroleum Company Limited under the framework established by the Petroleum Industry Act. One of the central objectives of the PIA was to convert the national oil company from a traditional state corporation into a commercially oriented limited liability company capable of operating competitively within the global energy industry.

Historically, the national oil company performed several quasi-fiscal functions on behalf of the government, including the management of certain public revenues and the implementation of policy-driven expenditures within the petroleum sector. These responsibilities blurred the distinction between the company's commercial operations and the fiscal functions of government, often complicating financial reporting and accountability structures.

The PIA sought to address these challenges by establishing NNPC Limited as a commercial enterprise governed by corporate law principles. Under this framework, the company is expected

¹⁹ Nigeria Governors' Forum. (2026). *Statement on direct remittance of oil and gas revenues to the Federation Account*. Retrieved from <https://nationalupdate.ng/2026/03/02/ngf-endorses-direct-remittance-of-oil-gas-revenues-to-federation-account/>

²⁰ Reuters. (2026, February 18). *Nigeria directs all oil and gas revenues to federation account in sweeping reform*. Retrieved from <https://www.reuters.com/business/energy/nigeria-directs-all-oil-gas-revenues-federation-account-sweeping-reform-2026-02-18/>



to operate on a profit-oriented basis, finance its operations independently, and remit taxes, royalties, and dividends to the government like other commercial entities in the petroleum industry.

Executive Order 9 reinforces this transformation by clarifying that the national oil company should not serve as an intermediary authority responsible for retaining or administering government revenues derived from petroleum production. Instead, revenues due to the government should flow directly to the Federation Account through established fiscal channels, while the company focuses on its core commercial mandate.

By strengthening the separation between corporate operations and government revenue management, the directive seeks to improve corporate governance within the petroleum sector, enhance financial transparency, and align Nigeria's national oil company with international standards observed by leading state-owned energy enterprises.

5. Potential Benefits

One of the most immediate potential benefits of the reform is the prospect of increased revenues flowing into the Federation Account. Petroleum revenues remain the single largest contributor to Nigeria's public finances, and even marginal improvements in revenue capture can have significant fiscal implications. By mandating that government entitlements from petroleum production, such as royalties, taxes, and profit oil, be remitted directly into the Federation Account, the Executive Order seeks to ensure that the full value of these revenues is captured before any subsequent allocations are made.

By eliminating or suspending some of these deductions, the Executive Order could significantly increase the volume of funds available for statutory allocation to federal, state, and local governments. Higher remittances into the Federation Account may strengthen the fiscal capacity of government institutions to finance public services, infrastructure development, and social programmes. In particular, subnational governments, which depend heavily on statutory allocations from the Federation Account, may benefit from more predictable and potentially higher revenue inflows.

In a broader macroeconomic context, increased revenues could also improve the government's fiscal balance and reduce reliance on public borrowing to finance budgetary expenditures.

Another potential benefit of the reform lies in its capacity to enhance transparency in the management of petroleum revenues. Nigeria's oil and gas sector has historically been characterised by complex financial arrangements involving multiple agencies and operational deductions. While such arrangements are common in resource-based industries, they can create challenges for revenue tracking and financial reporting when not supported by robust transparency mechanisms.

The requirement for direct remittance of petroleum revenues into the Federation Account may significantly simplify the financial architecture of the sector. A clearer and more direct revenue pathway can improve the reliability of financial reporting and make it easier for auditors and oversight bodies to verify revenue inflows. Institutions such as the Office of the Auditor-General



for the Federation may find it easier to conduct audits and reconcile accounts when revenues are recorded centrally at the point of receipt.

Enhanced transparency in revenue management can also contribute to improved investor confidence and public trust in government institutions, particularly in a sector that has historically attracted significant scrutiny from civil society and international governance organisations.

The restructuring of petroleum revenue flows may also strengthen the oversight role of the National Assembly of Nigeria. Under Nigeria's constitutional framework, the National Assembly has the authority to oversee public finances, approve budgets, and ensure that revenues due to the Federation are properly accounted for.

However, effective legislative oversight depends heavily on the availability of clear and reliable financial information. When revenue flows involve multiple layers of deductions, retention arrangements, and institutional intermediaries, it becomes more difficult for legislators and their committees to accurately track how much revenue has been generated and how it has been applied.

By simplifying the remittance process and directing petroleum revenues straight into the Federation Account, Executive Order 9 may create a more transparent financial structure that enables legislators to monitor revenue inflows more effectively. Committees responsible for petroleum resources, finance, and public accounts would be better positioned to assess the accuracy of government revenue projections, scrutinize remittance records, and evaluate the performance of institutions involved in the management of petroleum resources.

Stronger legislative oversight can also improve the broader governance of the petroleum sector by reinforcing accountability among public institutions and ensuring that public resources are managed in accordance with constitutional and statutory provisions.

A further potential benefit of the reform is the clearer separation between government revenue management and the commercial activities of the national oil company. Historically, Nigeria's national oil company performed a combination of commercial, regulatory, and quasi-fiscal roles, which sometimes created institutional overlaps and blurred accountability structures.

Separating corporate activities from government revenue administration is widely regarded as an international best practice in the governance of state-owned energy enterprises. In many successful petroleum-producing countries, national oil companies operate as commercial entities while fiscal authorities retain responsibility for revenue collection and management.

For example, in Norway, the national energy company, formerly known as Statoil and now operating as Equinor, functions primarily as a commercial oil and gas company, while government revenues from petroleum operations are managed through transparent fiscal mechanisms overseen by state institutions. Similarly, reforms involving Petrobras in Brazil have sought to strengthen corporate governance and clarify the distinction between government policy functions and corporate operations.



By reinforcing a similar separation of roles within Nigeria's petroleum sector, Executive Order 9 may contribute to improved corporate governance, greater operational efficiency, and stronger accountability structures across government institutions and state-owned enterprises.

6. Risks and Policy Concerns

While Executive Order 9 of 2026 aims to strengthen fiscal transparency and improve the remittance of petroleum revenues to the Federation Account, its implementation may also raise several policy, legal, and operational concerns.

One of the most significant concerns surrounding the Executive Order is the possibility of legal tension with provisions of the Petroleum Industry Act (PIA). The PIA is the primary legislation governing Nigeria's petroleum sector and contains detailed provisions on the management of revenues generated from oil and gas operations.

Section 9 of the PIA establishes the Frontier Exploration Fund, which is financed through a portion of the profits of the national oil company and is intended to support petroleum exploration in frontier basins across the country. The creation of this fund was designed to expand Nigeria's hydrocarbon reserve base by financing exploration activities in areas where commercially viable petroleum resources have not yet been fully confirmed.

The suspension or removal of deductions associated with this fund through an executive directive raises questions about the relationship between executive authority and statutory law. Under Nigeria's constitutional framework, legislation enacted by the National Assembly of Nigeria generally takes precedence over administrative directives issued by the executive branch. While executive orders can guide policy implementation within the executive arm of government, they do not ordinarily have the authority to amend or nullify provisions contained in an Act of Parliament.

As a result, the suspension of the Frontier Exploration Fund deduction through Executive Order 9 may generate legal uncertainty if it is perceived as contradicting statutory provisions in the PIA. This could potentially give rise to judicial challenges or institutional disputes between government agencies responsible for implementing petroleum sector policies. Addressing this issue may, therefore, require legislative clarification or amendment to ensure alignment between the executive directive and existing statutory provisions.

Another potential concern relates to the implications of the policy for ongoing efforts to develop Nigeria's frontier basins. The Frontier Exploration Fund was originally created to finance geological surveys, seismic studies, and exploratory drilling activities in underexplored regions of the country. These frontier areas include the Chad Basin, the Sokoto Basin, and the Benue Trough, among others.

Exploration in these basins has been viewed as part of Nigeria's long-term strategy to diversify its hydrocarbon production beyond the mature fields of the Niger Delta region. Expanding exploration activities could potentially lead to new commercial discoveries, increase national reserves, and sustain the country's role as a major petroleum producer in the future.



However, frontier exploration projects are inherently high-risk and require significant financial investment over long time horizons. The removal or suspension of dedicated funding mechanisms may slow exploration activities in these regions, particularly if alternative sources of financing are not immediately available. Reduced exploration activity could delay the discovery of new reserves and limit the country's ability to maintain production levels in the long term.

At the same time, some policy analysts argue that frontier exploration should be financed primarily through commercially viable investment frameworks rather than through mandatory deductions from petroleum revenues^{21,22}. The debate therefore reflects broader policy questions regarding the appropriate balance between government-led exploration initiatives and market-driven investment strategies in the petroleum sector.

Executive Order 9 may also have operational implications for the Nigerian National Petroleum Company Limited (NNPC Ltd), particularly in relation to its financial management and operational planning. As the national oil company responsible for participating in upstream petroleum operations on behalf of the state, NNPC Limited relies on a complex financial structure to fund exploration, production, and infrastructure development activities.

Changes in revenue remittance arrangements could affect the timing and availability of funds required for operational expenditures. For example, if revenues that were previously retained for operational purposes must now be remitted directly into the Federation Account before being reallocated, the company may face adjustments in its internal cash flow management. Such adjustments could affect the financing of upstream projects, joint venture commitments, and contractual obligations with international oil companies operating in Nigeria.

In addition, the national oil company may need to revise its financial and operational planning frameworks to accommodate the new revenue remittance structure. While the transition toward a more commercially oriented corporate model under the PIA aims to strengthen the company's financial independence, the shift in revenue management practices may require new mechanisms for ensuring that operational financing needs are met without compromising compliance with constitutional revenue remittance requirements.

Another potential risk associated with the reform is its possible impact on investor perceptions of regulatory stability in Nigeria's petroleum sector. Investment decisions in the oil and gas industry typically involve large capital expenditures and long project timelines. As a result, investors often place significant emphasis on the predictability and stability of fiscal and regulatory frameworks when evaluating potential projects.

²¹ *ibid*

²² Azeez, W. (2026, August 20). PIA: 3% for host communities, 30% frontier exploration fund will deplete federation account, says Fayemi. *The Cable*. <https://www.thecable.ng/pia-3-for-host-communities-30-exploration-fund-will-deplete-federation-account-says-fayemi/>



Frequent policy changes or perceived inconsistencies between executive directives and statutory provisions can sometimes create uncertainty for investors. Nigeria has already faced challenges in attracting new upstream investment in recent years due to a combination of factors, including regulatory uncertainty, security concerns in producing regions, and evolving global energy market dynamics.

Reports by the International Energy Agency note that investment in Nigeria's oil and gas sector has declined relative to previous decades, partly due to policy uncertainty and delays in implementing sector reforms²³. At the same time, global energy markets are undergoing a transition toward lower-carbon energy sources, which has intensified competition for investment capital among oil-producing countries.

In this situation, any major policy change affecting petroleum revenue management must be carefully implemented to ensure that it does not inadvertently undermine investor confidence. Clear communication, legislative alignment with existing laws, and transparent implementation processes will be critical in maintaining policy credibility and sustaining long-term investment in Nigeria's petroleum sector.

7. Policy Options for the National Assembly

Given the strategic importance of petroleum revenues to Nigeria's public finance system, legislative engagement is essential to clarify the legal framework governing revenue remittances, strengthen oversight mechanisms, and ensure alignment between executive policy directives and statutory provisions. The following policy options may be considered by the National Assembly in responding to the implications of Executive Order 9.

Option 1: Legislative Review of the Petroleum Industry Act

One potential response available to the legislature is to undertake a targeted review of relevant provisions of the Petroleum Industry Act (PIA). Although the PIA introduced comprehensive reforms to Nigeria's petroleum sector governance framework, the implementation of Executive Order 9 suggests that certain aspects of the Act may require further clarification or adjustment.

A legislative review could focus specifically on provisions relating to petroleum revenue management, particularly those governing the remittance of government entitlements and the allocation of profits within the sector. Such a review could clarify how revenues generated from royalties, taxes, and production-sharing arrangements should flow into the Federation Account before any operational deductions are applied.

In addition, the National Assembly may reconsider the structure and financing mechanisms associated with the Frontier Exploration Fund, which is established under the PIA. If the current design of the fund is considered inconsistent with the objectives of fiscal transparency or constitutional revenue management principles, amendments could be introduced to redefine its scope, funding sources, or governance arrangements.

²³ IEA (2023), World Energy Outlook 2023, IEA, Paris <https://www.iea.org/reports/world-energy-outlook-2023>, Licence: CC BY 4.0 (report); CC BY NC SA 4.0 (Annex A)



By undertaking a legislative review, the National Assembly would provide legal certainty regarding the relationship between the executive directive and existing statutory provisions. Aligning the PIA with the objectives of the Executive Order would also help reduce the risk of legal disputes and institutional ambiguity in the management of petroleum revenues.

Option 2: Strengthen Federation Account Oversight

Another policy option involves strengthening legislative oversight mechanisms over the Federation Account and petroleum revenue remittances. The National Assembly already possesses constitutional authority to monitor public revenues and ensure that funds due to the Federation are properly accounted for. However, the effectiveness of this oversight can be enhanced through more systematic reporting and verification processes.

The legislature may consider mandating periodic reporting requirements for institutions involved in the collection and management of petroleum revenues. For example, relevant government agencies could be required to submit quarterly reports on petroleum revenue generation, remittances, and deductions to the appropriate committees of the National Assembly.

Furthermore, independent verification mechanisms could be introduced to ensure the accuracy of revenue data. This could involve collaboration with institutions such as the Nigeria Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative, which already conducts reconciliation and transparency audits within the extractive sector. Strengthening partnerships between legislative oversight committees and NEITI could enhance the reliability of revenue monitoring and provide legislators with independent data for oversight purposes.

Option 3: Redesign the Frontier Exploration Fund

Rather than completely eliminating the Frontier Exploration Fund established under the PIA, the National Assembly may consider redesigning the fund to address concerns regarding transparency, fiscal efficiency, and accountability. Frontier exploration remains an important component of Nigeria's long-term energy strategy, particularly in the context of declining production from mature oil fields.

A redesigned funding framework could introduce clearer governance mechanisms and more stringent financial controls. For instance, the legislature could consider placing a cap on the percentage of profits allocated to frontier exploration, thereby ensuring that the fund does not significantly reduce revenues available to the Federation Account.

Another option would be to subject expenditures from the fund to the annual budgetary appropriation process. Under this arrangement, funds allocated for frontier exploration would require legislative approval through the federal budget, thereby strengthening democratic oversight over how the resources are used.

Additionally, the National Assembly could require periodic performance audits of frontier exploration activities to assess whether the funds allocated to such projects are generating measurable results in terms of reserve discovery and resource development. These reforms would



help balance the strategic importance of frontier exploration with the need for fiscal discipline and accountability.

Option 4: Establish a Petroleum Revenue Monitoring Framework

Recent fiscal and tax reforms in Nigeria, including the Nigeria Tax Act 2025, have strengthened transparency and centralised the collection of petroleum-related revenues by assigning responsibility for taxes and royalties to the Nigeria Revenue Service (NRS). These reforms represent significant progress toward reducing revenue leakages and improving compliance.

However, despite these measures, petroleum revenue monitoring in Nigeria remains fragmented across multiple institutions. Regulatory agencies such as the Nigerian Upstream Petroleum Regulatory Commission (NUPRC) oversee production volumes and operational compliance; the NNPC Limited manages government participation revenues; the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) handles government accounts; and the Nigeria Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (NEITI) conducts periodic audits. The lack of an integrated, real-time system makes it challenging to track revenue flows from production to final remittance into the Federation Account, limiting opportunities for timely reconciliation and early detection of discrepancies.

Establishing a Comprehensive Petroleum Revenue Monitoring Framework would consolidate these institutional functions into a unified digital platform, enabling continuous oversight of petroleum revenues. This approach would also align with international best practices in extractive sector governance, where digital monitoring systems are increasingly used to strengthen transparency and accountability in resource-rich countries.

Option 5: Institutionalise the Commercial Independence of NNPC Limited

A final policy option involves reinforcing the commercial independence of the Nigerian National Petroleum Company Limited (NNPC Ltd) in line with the institutional reforms introduced by the Petroleum Industry Act. One of the key objectives of the PIA was to transform the national oil company into a commercially oriented enterprise capable of operating efficiently within the global energy industry.

To support this objective, the National Assembly may consider introducing additional legislative safeguards that clearly define the boundaries between the company's commercial operations and the fiscal responsibilities of the federal government. Such safeguards could prevent the re-emergence of quasi-fiscal roles in which the company performs government functions unrelated to its commercial mandate.

The legislature could also strengthen corporate governance requirements by establishing clearer rules regarding dividend payments, profit reporting, and financial transparency. Ensuring that NNPC Limited operates under strict corporate governance standards would help align the company with international practices observed among major state-owned energy companies.

8. Recommendations for the National Assembly

In light of the fiscal, legal, and institutional implications of Executive Order 9 of 2026, the National Assembly of Nigeria has an important role to play in ensuring that the reform is implemented



within a coherent legal framework and that its objectives are achieved without undermining existing statutory provisions or investor confidence in Nigeria's petroleum sector. The following recommendations are proposed to guide legislative engagement with the policy.

1. Conduct Immediate Legislative Oversight Hearings

The National Assembly should initiate immediate oversight hearings through relevant committees responsible for petroleum resources, finance, and public accounts. These hearings would provide an opportunity for legislators to examine the policy rationale, legal basis, and fiscal implications of Executive Order 9.

Key government institutions involved in petroleum sector governance, including the Nigerian National Petroleum Company Limited, the Nigerian Upstream Petroleum Regulatory Commission, and the Federal Ministry of Finance, should be invited to provide detailed briefings on how the Order will affect revenue flows, operational financing, and compliance with existing laws.

Such hearings would enable lawmakers to assess whether the Executive Order is fully aligned with the provisions of the Petroleum Industry Act and the constitutional requirements governing the management of the Federation Account. The process would also allow legislators to identify potential implementation challenges and develop appropriate legislative responses where necessary.

2. Amend Relevant Provisions of the Petroleum Industry Act

To avoid potential legal conflicts between executive directives and statutory provisions, the National Assembly may consider initiating targeted amendments to relevant sections of the Petroleum Industry Act. Particular attention should be given to provisions governing the Frontier Exploration Fund under Section 9 of the Act, as well as clauses related to the management and remittance of petroleum revenues.

Legislative amendments could clarify the sequence of revenue remittance, ensuring that government entitlements derived from petroleum production are credited to the Federation Account before operational allocations are made. If necessary, the structure and financing mechanisms of the Frontier Exploration Fund may also be revised to ensure consistency with constitutional revenue management principles.

Aligning statutory provisions with the objectives of Executive Order 9 would provide legal certainty for all stakeholders in the petroleum sector and reduce the risk of institutional disputes arising from conflicting policy instruments.

3. Strengthen Transparency in Federation Account Revenue Flows

The National Assembly should take steps to strengthen transparency in the management of revenues paid into the Federation Account. Given the central role of petroleum revenues in Nigeria's fiscal system, improved transparency in revenue reporting is essential for effective public financial management.



One possible reform would involve mandating real-time or near-real-time reporting of petroleum revenues, including royalties, taxes, and profit oil remittances. Government agencies responsible for revenue collection could be required to publish periodic reports detailing the volume and value of petroleum revenues transferred into the Federation Account.

In addition, the legislature may require the public disclosure of remittance data through accessible platforms that allow policymakers, researchers, and civil society organisations to monitor revenue flows. Strengthening transparency mechanisms would complement the oversight functions of institutions such as the Nigeria Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative and improve public confidence in the management of Nigeria's natural resource wealth.

4. Establish a Comprehensive Oil Revenue Accountability Framework

To further strengthen revenue governance, the National Assembly could consider establishing a statutory Oil Revenue Accountability Framework designed to track petroleum revenues throughout the entire value chain, from production and royalty assessment to final remittance into the Federation Account.

Such a framework would integrate data from key institutions responsible for petroleum sector regulation, revenue collection, and fiscal management. By consolidating production data, royalty payments, and government entitlement calculations into a unified reporting system, policymakers would be better positioned to identify discrepancies and prevent revenue leakages.

A comprehensive monitoring system could also support the work of legislative oversight committees by providing reliable and timely data on petroleum revenues. In the long term, this approach could contribute to more effective fiscal planning and strengthen accountability in the management of Nigeria's extractive resources.

5. Protect Investor Confidence Through Policy Stability

Finally, legislative engagement with Executive Order 9 should take into account the importance of maintaining investor confidence in Nigeria's petroleum sector. Investment in oil and gas projects typically involves long-term capital commitments, and investors place significant emphasis on regulatory stability and predictability when making investment decisions.

To sustain investment flows, legislative reforms arising from the implementation of the Executive Order should aim to provide clear, consistent, and predictable rules governing petroleum revenue management. Ensuring alignment between executive directives, statutory provisions, and regulatory frameworks will be essential in preventing policy uncertainty.

By clarifying the legal framework governing revenue remittance and reinforcing the commercial orientation of the Nigerian National Petroleum Company Limited, the National Assembly can help create a more stable investment environment while safeguarding the fiscal interests of the Nigerian state.



9. Conclusion

Executive Order 9 represents a major attempt to reform Nigeria's petroleum revenue management by strengthening remittance to the Federation Account and limiting deductions by the national oil company.

While the initiative may improve fiscal transparency and revenue distribution, it also raises important legal, institutional, and sectoral questions, particularly regarding its interaction with the Petroleum Industry Act.

For the reform to achieve sustainable impact, the National Assembly must play a proactive role in reviewing the legal framework, strengthening oversight mechanisms, and ensuring that the policy aligns with both constitutional provisions and long-term energy sector governance.

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