

advokc

PROMISE TRACKER



State of the Meter

March, 2025 - Tracking Governance,
One Promise at a Time

ABOUT US

AdvoKC Foundation is a youth-led civic tech organization that aims to promote transparency, accountability, and citizen participation in governance. It uses technology, art, and entertainment, combined with data-driven research and policy analysis, to empower citizens to hold leaders accountable. As a non-partisan organization, AdvoKC Foundation focuses on governance monitoring, public sector accountability, and civic education, using digital tools, investigative reporting, and community-driven advocacy to ensure that government policies and commitments benefit the people.

MISSION

To build a more democratic and socially just community by improving governance commitment with citizens and empowering citizen education and engagement.

VISION

To be the catalyst for transparent governance and social justice.

Read more about AdvoKC Foundation and the work we do at www.advokc.ng

© 2025 Disclaimer: The State of the Meter report is an independent, data-driven assessment of governance commitments tracked through the Promise Tracker NG platform. The information presented in this report is based on publicly available data, official government statements, policy documents, media reports, and stakeholder engagements. While every effort is made to ensure accuracy, the findings and analyses in this report are subject to updates as new information becomes available.

This report does not serve as an endorsement or condemnation of any political figure, administration, or institution. It is intended solely for informational and advocacy purposes to promote transparency, accountability, and good governance. Readers are encouraged to verify information from multiple sources and engage constructively in governance discussions.

The publishers of this report bear no responsibility for any decisions, actions, or interpretations made based on the content herein. Any errors or omissions are unintentional and will be addressed in subsequent editions as necessary.

PROMISE TRACKER NG

Promise Tracker NG is a governance accountability initiative designed to monitor and evaluate the fulfilment of campaign promises made by elected officials in Nigeria. By providing an independent and data-driven assessment of government commitments, the platform ensures that citizens have access to accurate, transparent, and up-to-date information on the progress of policy implementation.

The platform systematically tracks promises across various sectors, analysing their execution based on verifiable evidence such as government reports, budget allocations, media investigations, and citizen feedback. Each promise is assigned a rating based on its level of implementation:

- **Not Yet Rated** (no sufficient information available).
- **Broken** (promise was abandoned or reversed).
- **In the Works** (active steps are being taken towards fulfilment).
- **Stalled** (progress has been halted).
- **Compromised** (partially fulfilled but not as originally intended).
- **Kept** (fully implemented as promised).

Promise Tracker NG operates through four dedicated meters, each designed to monitor specific levels of governance.

The **BAT-O-METER** tracks the promises and policy commitments of President Bola Ahmed Tinubu, providing a comprehensive analysis of his administration's progress at the national level.

The **SoludoMeter** focuses on Governor Charles Soludo of Anambra State, evaluating the implementation of his campaign pledges.

The **Legislative Agenda Meter** is dedicated to monitoring the commitments and legislative activities of members of the Federal House of Representatives, assessing how well they align with their proposed agendas.

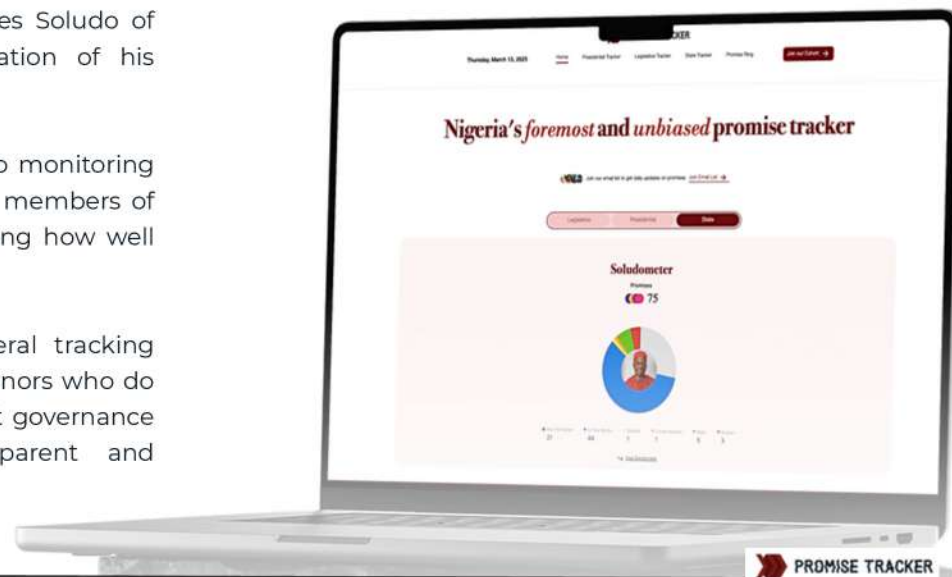
Lastly, the **Promise Ring** serves as a general tracking system for the promises of various state governors who do not yet have a dedicated meter, ensuring that governance at the subnational level remains transparent and accountable.

Promise Tracker NG is more than just a monitoring tool—it is a mechanism for strengthening democracy by promoting transparency and holding leaders accountable to the people. By bridging the gap between electoral commitments and governance realities, the platform empowers citizens to demand better service delivery while encouraging elected officials to remain committed to their mandates. Through research, advocacy, and public engagement, Promise Tracker NG continues to play a vital role in deepening democratic accountability in Nigeria. You can check the work we do at www.promisetracker.ng.

Each promise is assigned a rating based on its level of implementation:



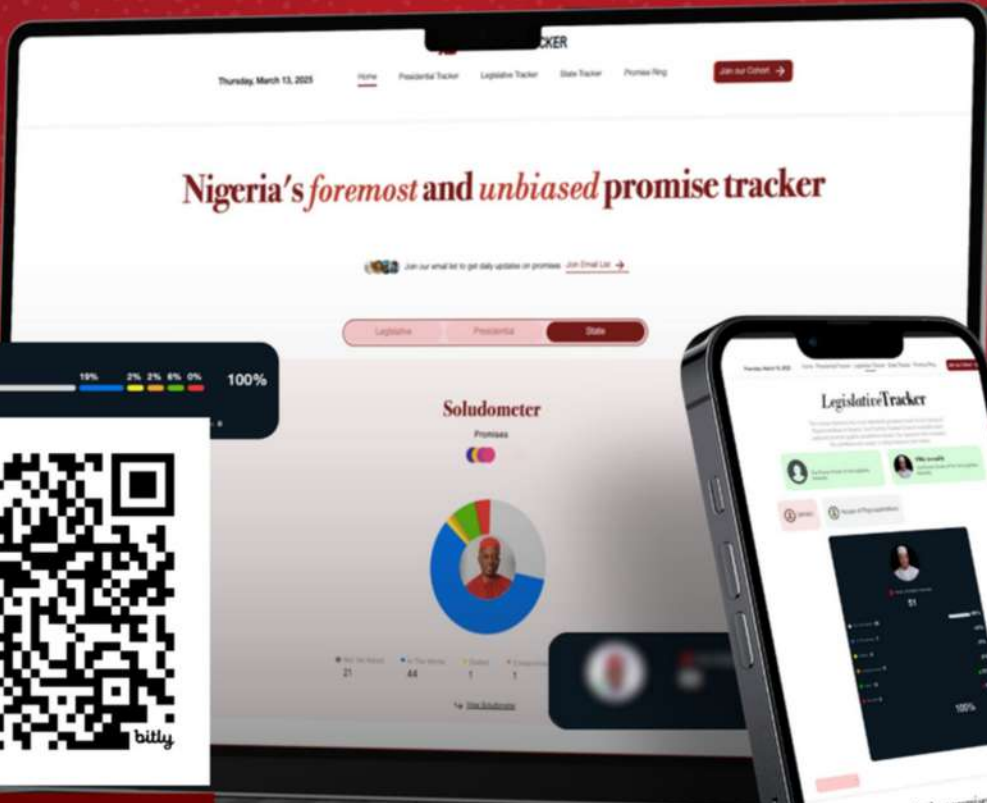
Four dedicated meters, each designed to monitor specific levels of governance.





ACCESS PROMISES MADE TO YOU BY ELECTED OFFICIALS WITH A CLICK

www.promisetracker.ng



Scan to view promises or visit www.promisetracker.ng



THE STATE OF THE METER

At **AdvokC Foundation**, we believe that governance should be transparent, measurable, and accountable. We also believe that citizen engagement is important to ensure a transparent and accountable government. The State of the Meter is a monthly update of the status of our meters on our Promise Tracker NG platform (www.promisetracker.ng).

This month's report reflects the current status of promises captured across our four major meters: the **BAT-O-METER**, **Legislative Agenda Meter**, **Soludometer**, and **Promise Ring**. Collectively, we are tracking 327 promises, and the data shows the following breakdown:

The **BAT-O-METER** reveals that a significant number of promises are yet to be acted upon, with only 5.6% considered kept so far. While some reforms are in motion, much of the administration's agenda is still in its early stages or lacks public information for evaluation.

The **10th HoR** has delivered on some legislative commitments, but the near-equal ratio of kept (19.6%) and broken (17.6%) promises raises concerns about follow-through and legislative focus. Almost half of the promises remain unrated.

The **Soludometer** shows that Governor Soludo has made notable progress, with 19.2% of promises kept and several others in active implementation. However, a few promises have faced delays or were modified under constraints, accounting for the "stalled" and "compromised" ratings.

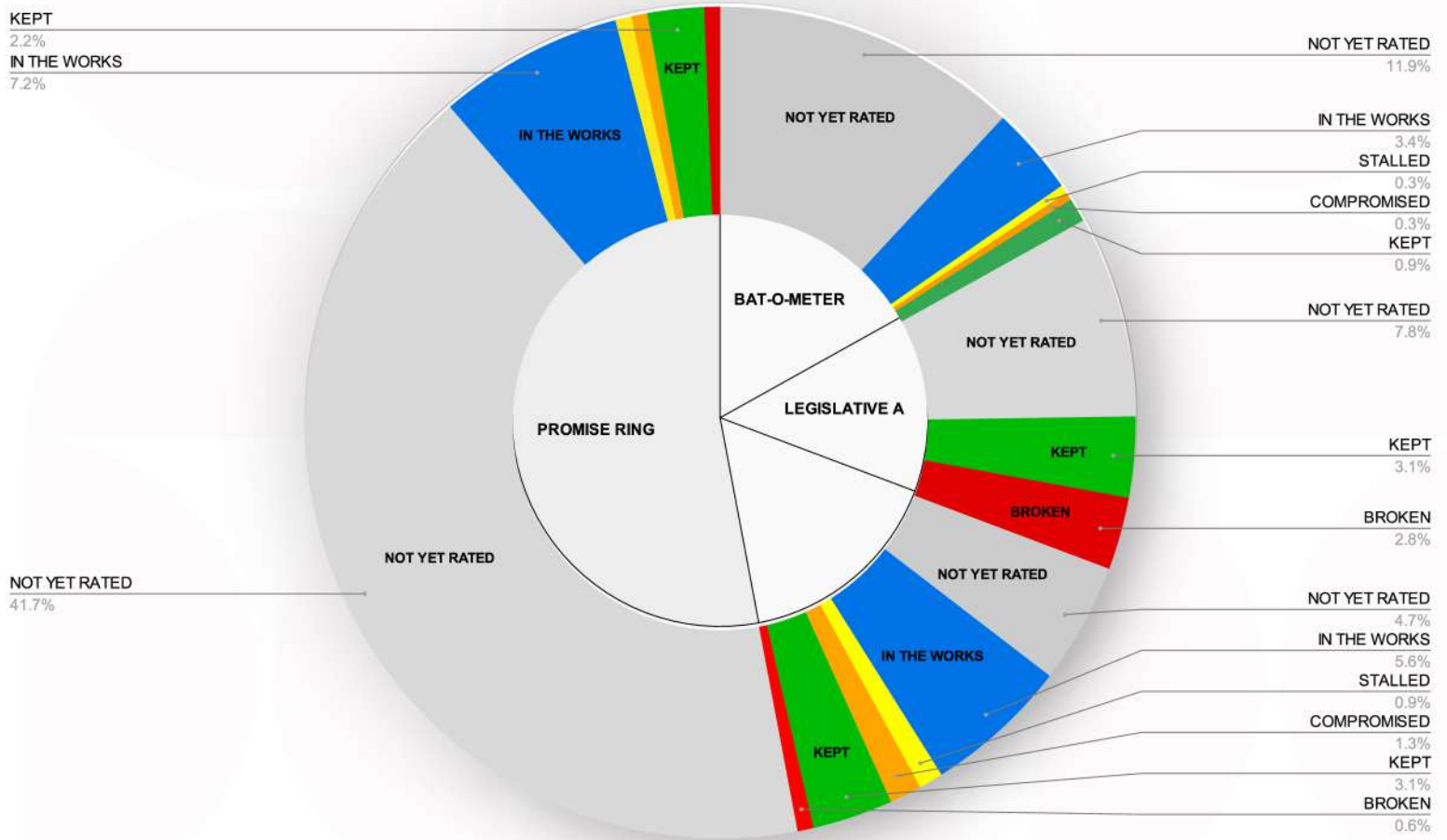
As Nigeria navigates complex socio-political challenges, this report not only serves as a mirror to power but also as a civic tool to engage citizens and elevate public discourse. The growing number of promises rated "In the Works" signals opportunity, but also the need for consistent scrutiny and citizen pressure to translate intentions into impact.

Track all promises and explore sectoral insights at: www.promisetracker.ng

Together, let's build a Nigeria where promises made become promises kept.



THE STATE OF THE METER



Number of Promises in each Category





BAT-O-METER

Promise Highlight

Promise: Working with the National Assembly, we will aim to pass legislation promoting female employment in all government offices, ministries, and agencies. The goal will be to increase women's participation in government to at least 35 percent of all governmental positions. This legislation shall also mandate the federal executive (particularly the cabinet and core senior advisers) to reserve a minimum number of senior positions for women. Private institutions shall be strongly encouraged to do likewise.

President Bola Ahmed Tinubu pledged to collaborate with the National Assembly to pass legislation ensuring at least 35% female representation in government offices, ministries, and agencies. This aligns with Nigeria's National Gender Policy (2006), which advocates for 35% affirmative action in political and public sector appointments. Despite past commitments, implementation has remained weak.

Women's representation in Nigerian governance has historically been low: in the 10th National Assembly (2023–2027), only 18 out of 469 lawmakers (3.6%) are women—14 in the House of Representatives and 4 in the Senate.

Nigeria ranks among the worst in Africa when it comes to gender balance and representation. With the suspension of Senator Natasha Akpoti-Uduaghan, Nigeria has just 17 of 468 seats in the National Assembly occupied by women. Rwanda leads Africa with 51 out of 80 seats in the House of Deputies won by women, making the House of Deputies a women-majority chamber with 63.8% women MPs. In Senegal, 73 of 165 (44%) parliamentary seats are held by women, while in South Africa, women occupy 175 of 391 seats in the National Assembly, that is 44.8%.

Challenges to Achieving 35% Representation

- **Legal Barriers:** The Gender and Equal Opportunities Bill (GEO Bill), which proposed affirmative action for women, has failed multiple times in the National Assembly. In 2022, the National Assembly rejected five gender-related constitutional amendments, including a provision for women's political inclusion.
- **Political and Institutional Resistance:** Political parties rarely prioritise female candidates, often sidelining them in primaries. There is no quota system in party structures or elected positions.
- **Cultural and Societal Factors:** Deep-rooted patriarchal norms limit women's participation in politics and governance. Financial constraints and lack of political mentorship discourage women from contesting elections.

What Needs to Happen for the Promise to Be Fulfilled?

1. **Legislative Action:** The Tinubu administration must reintroduce the Gender Bill and ensure its passage, and constitutional amendments should mandate gender quotas rather than leaving them as policy recommendations.
2. **Executive Commitment:** The President should take the front and appoint at least 35% women in all political and executive positions (ministers, advisers, board members). The Civil Service Commission should also adopt affirmative action policies for career public servants.
3. **Political Party Reforms:** Political parties must reserve a percentage of candidacies for women across all levels and INEC should mandate gender quotas for party primaries.
4. **Stronger Civil Society Advocacy:** Women's rights organisations and advocacy groups must pressure lawmakers and mobilise public support for legislative action.

While President Tinubu's promise is ambitious, there is no concrete action plan or drafted legislation yet. Given past failures, achieving 35% representation will require not just political will but structural reforms, legislative backing, and sustained advocacy. If the administration does not prioritise this early in its term, the promise risks becoming another unfulfilled political statement.

BAT-O-METER

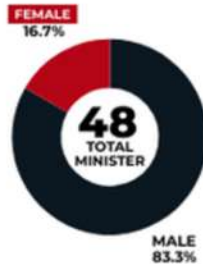
APPOINTED POSITIONS

MALE MINISTER

40

FEMALE MINISTER

8



Target: 35% of all governmental positions

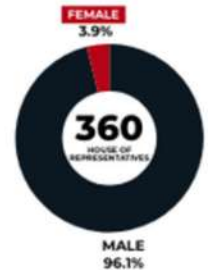
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVE

MALE HOUSE OF REP.

346

FEMALE HOUSE OF REP.

14



Target: 35% of all governmental positions

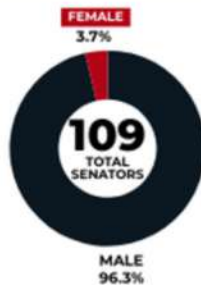
SENATE

MALE SENATORS

105

FEMALE SENATORS

4



UPDATE: SENATOR NATASHA AKPOTI-UDUAGHAN WAS SUSPENDED FOR SIX MONTHS IN MARCH 2025, REDUCING THE ACTIVE NUMBER OF FEMALE SENATORS TO THREE DURING HER SUSPENSION.

Target: 35% of all governmental positions

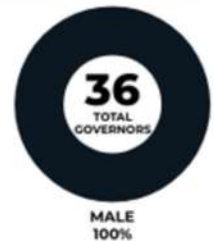
GOVERNORS

MALE GOVERNORS

36

FEMALE GOVERNORS

0



Target: 35% of all governmental positions

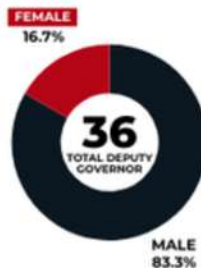
DEPUTY GOVERNORS

MALE DEPUTY GOVERNORS

30

FEMALE DEPUTY GOVERNORS

6



Target: 35% of all governmental positions

NOTE: THE SIX FEMALE DEPUTY GOVERNORS AS OF FEBRUARY 2025 WERE:

- HADIZA BALARABE (KADUNA STATE)
- AKON EYAKENYI (AKWA IBOM STATE)
- JOSEPHINE PIYO (PLATEAU STATE)
- NGOZI NMA ODU (RIVERS STATE)
- NOIMOT SALAKO-OYEDELE (OGUN STATE)
- PATRICIA OBILA (EBONYI STATE)

UPDATE: NGOZI NMA ODU (RIVERS STATE) WAS SUSPENDED BY THE PRESIDENT FOR SIX MONTHS IN MARCH 2025, REDUCING THE ACTIVE NUMBER OF FEMALE DEPUTY GOVERNORS TO FIVE DURING HER SUSPENSION.



SCAN TO
TRACK
PROMISES

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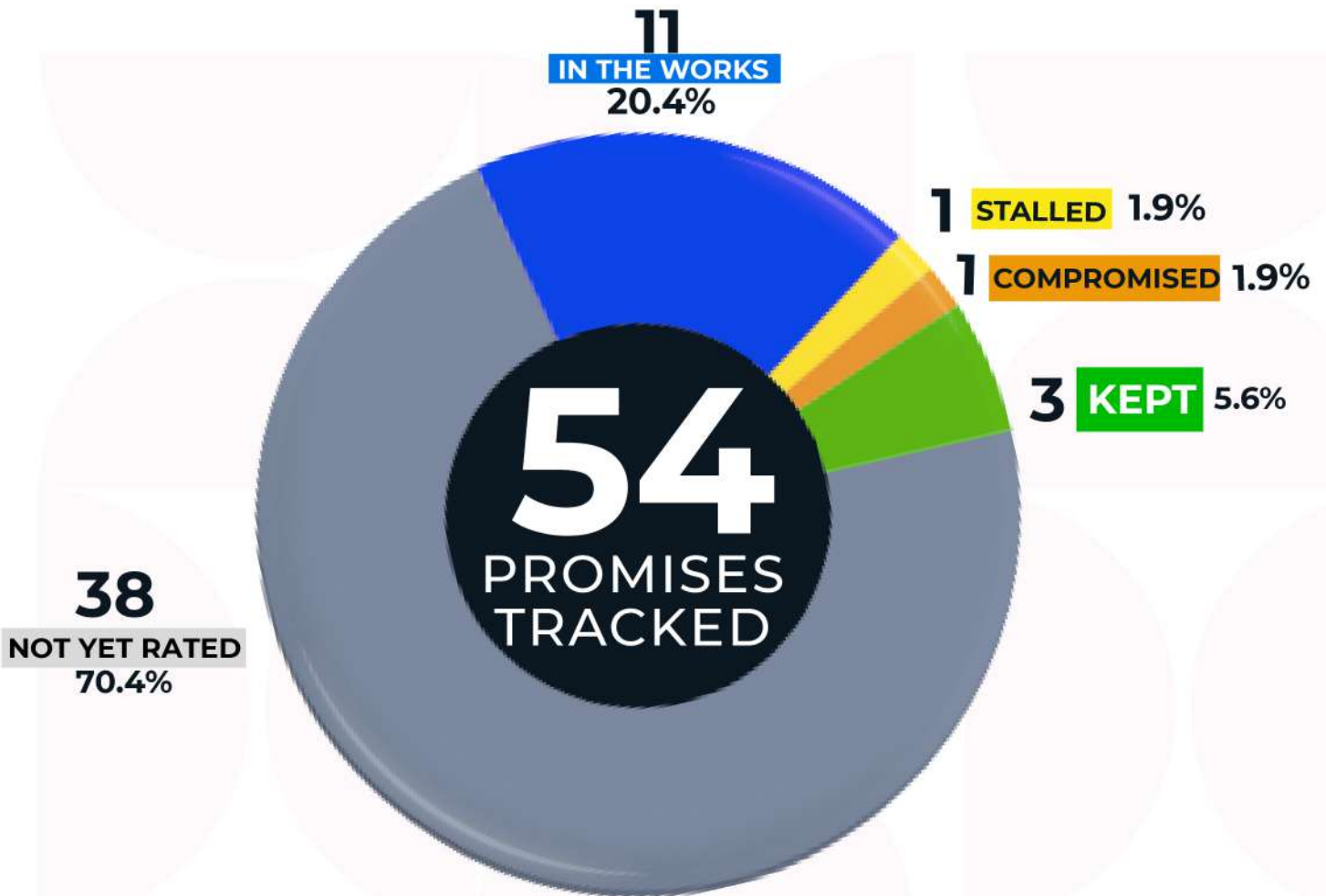
PROMISE TRACKER

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@Weareadvokcng



BAT-O-METER



Number of Promises in each Category

NOT YET RATED	IN THE WORKS	STALLED
COMPROMISED	KEPT	BROKEN



Legislative Agenda Meter

- **Unequal Enlistment Requirements:** The recruitment process sets different physical and educational standards for men and women, reducing opportunities for female applicants.

Promise Highlight

Promise: Amend the Police Act 2022 to ensure uniformity in the enlistment requirements for men and women; amend the rule that excludes married women from enlisting in the police and delete the regulation that provides that unmarried women may only marry after they have served in the police for three years subject to approval from a police commissioner

The 10th House of Representatives, through the Legislative Agenda of the 10th House of Representatives, pledged to amend the Police Act 2022 to remove discriminatory provisions against women in police recruitment, enlistment, and marriage regulations. Currently, the Act imposes different entry requirements for men and women, excludes married women from enlisting, and requires unmarried female officers to seek approval before marrying after three years of service.

These provisions violate Section 42 of the Nigerian Constitution, which prohibits discrimination based on gender, and contradict international commitments such as the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW).

Current Gender Discrimination in the Nigeria Police Force (NPF)

- **Exclusion of Married Women from Recruitment:** The NPF recruitment guidelines prohibit married women from enlisting, while no such restriction applies to married men. This regulation disproportionately limits women's career opportunities in law enforcement.
- **Marriage Restrictions for Female Officers:** Unmarried female officers must serve three years before marrying, and even then, they require approval from a police commissioner while male officers face no such restriction, highlighting clear gender bias.

Why This Amendment Matters

The current regulations violate Section 42 of the Nigerian Constitution and international human rights obligations. Nigeria's police force remains male-dominated, with only about 12% of officers being women. Removing barriers would promote gender inclusivity. Studies show that increasing female officers improves policing outcomes, particularly in handling gender-based violence and community policing.

Challenges to Implementing the Amendment

1. **Institutional Resistance:** The Nigeria Police Force has a long-standing culture of male dominance, and leadership may resist reforms.
2. **Legislative Bottlenecks:** Gender-related bills often face delays and rejections in the National Assembly, as seen with previous attempts to pass the Gender and Equal Opportunities Bill.
3. **Cultural and Societal Attitudes:** Deep-seated patriarchal norms continue to shape policies that limit women's roles in law enforcement.

What Needs to Happen for the Promise to Be Fulfilled?

1. The House must urgently propose and pass amendments to remove discriminatory clauses in the Police Act.
2. Advocacy efforts should target the Inspector General of Police and senior officials to ensure institutional buy-in.
3. Women's rights groups, legal bodies, and civil society organizations must advocate for enforcement and accountability.

Amending the Police Act 2022 is a necessary step toward gender equality in law enforcement. However, achieving this reform will require strong legislative action, institutional reforms, and continuous advocacy. Without these, the promise risks remaining an unfulfilled legislative proposal rather than a transformational policy change.

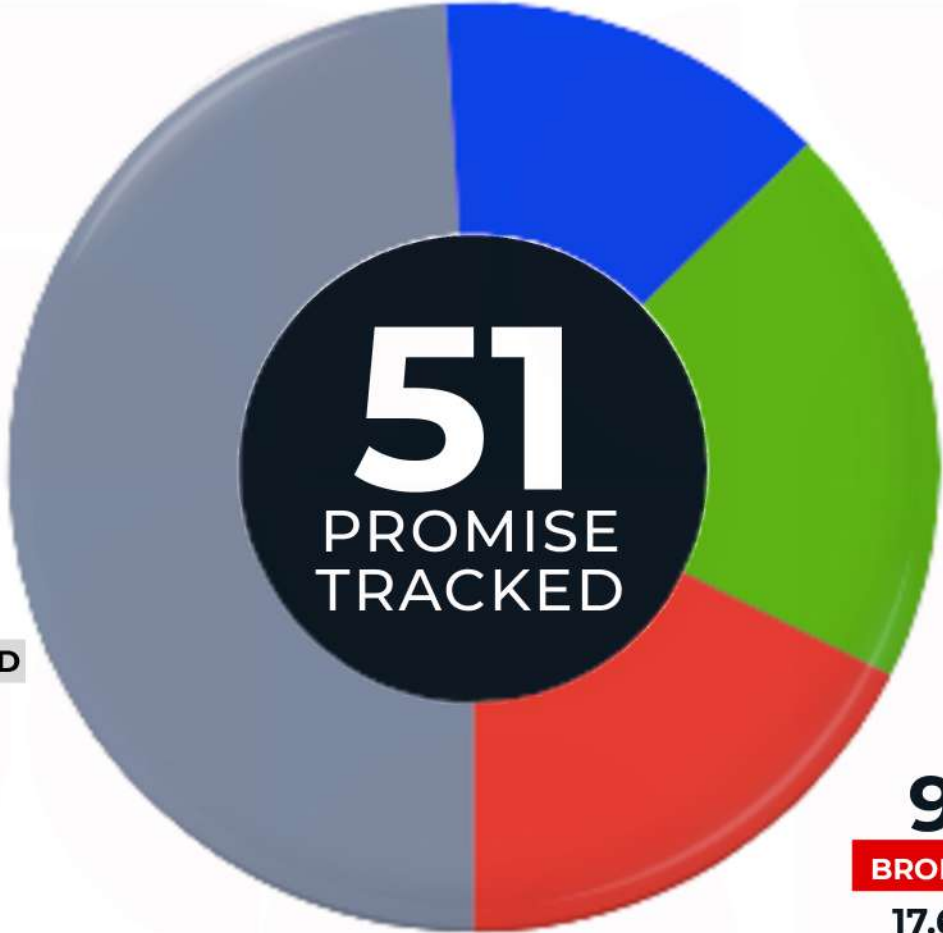


Legislative Agenda Meter

7

IN THE WORKS

13.7%



10

KEPT

19.6%

9

BROKEN

17.6%

25
NOT YET RATED
49%

Number of Promises in each Category

NOT YET RATED

IN THE WORKS

STALLED

COMPROMISED

KEPT

BROKEN



Soludometer

Promise Highlight

Promise: Create specific programs to empower women-owned businesses and enterprises and also seek partnerships and funding and DFIs to support these businesses

Governor Charles Soludo's promise to create specific programs for women-owned businesses aligns with broader economic policies aimed at increasing women's participation in entrepreneurship. In Nigeria, women own nearly 40% of micro, small, and medium enterprises (MSMEs), yet they face significant challenges, including limited access to finance, market opportunities, and business training.

Anambra State is known for its strong commercial sector, particularly in trade and manufacturing and has a large number of women entrepreneurs in informal markets. However, these businesses often lack the institutional support needed to scale. Soludo's plan to partner with Development Finance Institutions (DFIs) and funding bodies is critical to bridging these gaps.

Challenges Facing Women-Owned Businesses in Anambra

According to the SMEDAN/NBS MSME Survey, over 70% of female entrepreneurs in Nigeria rely on personal savings to fund their businesses. They struggle to access bank loans due to lack of collateral, as land and property ownership in Nigeria is still largely male-dominated. Bank of Industry (BOI) and NIRSAL microfinance schemes have had limited penetration in Anambra's rural areas.

Many women-run businesses operate in the informal sector, making it harder to access government support programs. Complex business registration processes discourage women entrepreneurs from formalising their businesses.

Women-run businesses often lack mentorship, business training, and access to digital markets, the majority of which are concentrated in low-margin sectors such as petty trading, fashion, and food processing, rather than high-growth sectors like tech and manufacturing.

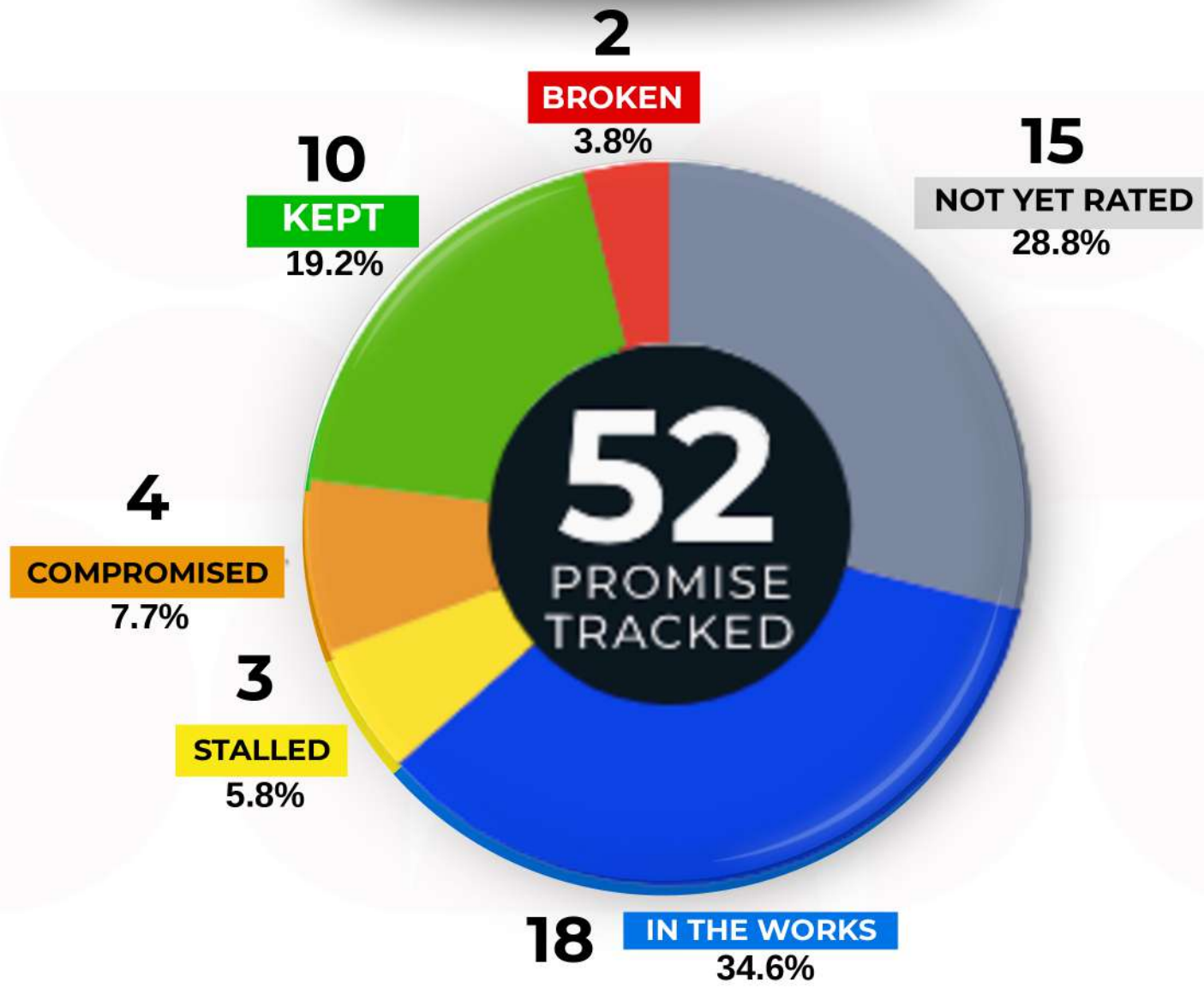
While Governor Soludo, through the Anambra Small Business Agency (ASBA) has initiated some economic programs, there is no structured women-focused entrepreneurship fund yet. Without concrete action, this pledge risks being another broad economic policy without real impact on women entrepreneurs.

What Needs to Be Done to Fulfil the Promise?

- 1. Launch a Dedicated Women's Business Fund:** Create a Women Entrepreneur Support Fund under ASBA to provide interest-free or low-interest loans specifically for female-owned businesses and partner with DFIs like AfDB, BOI, and IFC, leveraging international gender-lens financing.
- 2. Strengthen Business Training and Support Programs:** Set up Women's Business Incubation Centres across the state to offer free training, digital literacy, and access to markets. Also, establish a state-supported e-commerce platform to help female entrepreneurs sell beyond local markets.
- 3. Provide Market and Infrastructure Support:** Develop women-only business clusters with subsidised rent and access to business advisory services. The governor will also do well to ensure that at least 30% of state government procurement contracts go to women-led businesses.
- 4. Improve Access to Credit:** Work with banks and fintech companies to create collateral-free microloans tailored to women-owned businesses and introduce state-backed credit guarantees to help women qualify for traditional loans.



Soludometer



Number of Promises in each Category

NOT YET RATED	IN THE WORK	STALLED
COMPROMISED	KEPT	BROKEN

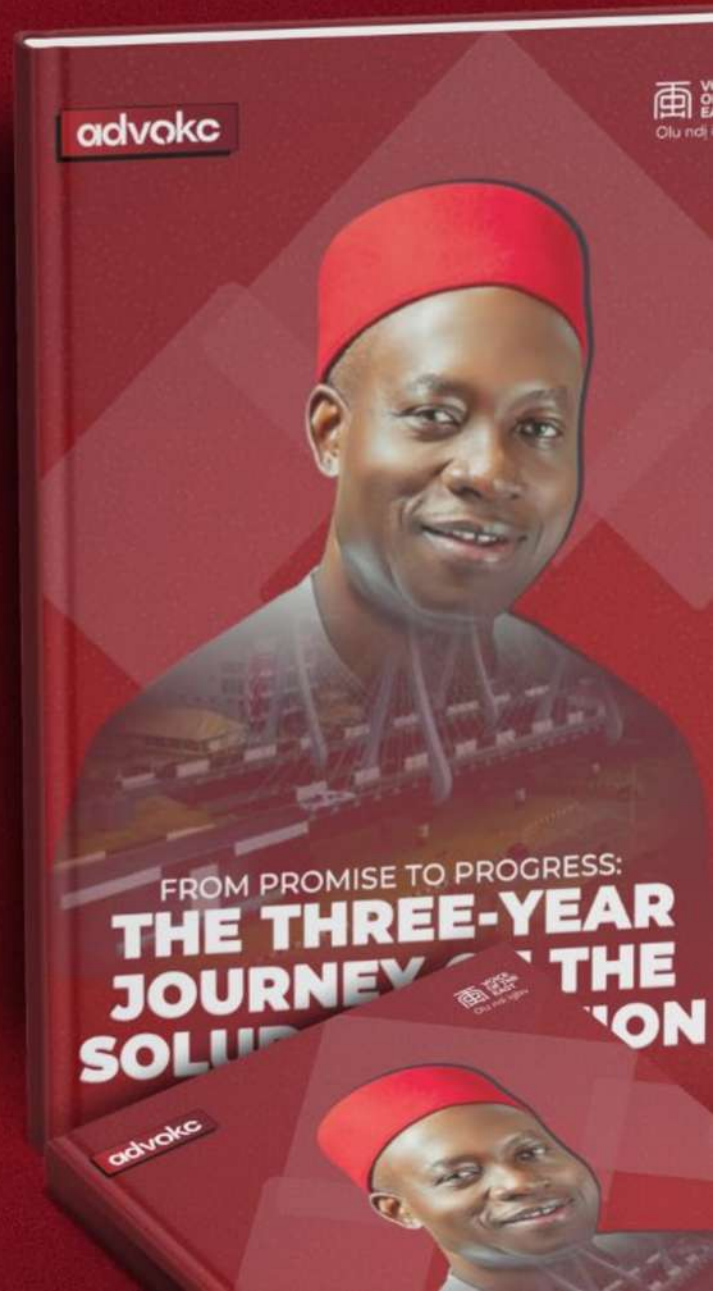
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VOICE OF THE EAST
Olu ndi igbo

FROM PROMISE TO PROGRESS:
**THE THREE-YEAR JOURNEY
OF THE SOLUDO SOLUTION**

**AVAILABLE FOR
DOWNLOAD**

<https://bit.ly/2025SoludometerReport>





Promise Ring

Promise Highlight : Rivers State

Promise: Establish the women's economic development fund to enhance women's access to low-interest loans and investment grants to enable them to generate wealth and free themselves from poverty and economic dependency - Governor Sim Fubara of Rivers State

Governor Sim Fubara's promise to establish a Women's Economic Development Fund aims to enhance women's access to low-interest loans and investment grants, helping them break free from poverty and economic dependency. This initiative is crucial in a state like Rivers, where women play a significant role in agriculture, trade, and small-scale enterprises but often face financial barriers.

Women's economic empowerment is directly linked to poverty reduction, GDP growth, and overall community development. According to the World Bank, closing the gender gap in economic participation could increase Nigeria's GDP by 23%. However, access to finance remains one of the biggest challenges for female entrepreneurs.

Rivers State is currently experiencing significant political instability, marked by tensions between Governor Fubara and his predecessor, Nyesom Wike. The ongoing power struggle has resulted in **threats of impeachment against Fubara, an unstable State House of Assembly, frequent policy reversals, and governance disruptions**. The situation escalated further when the President controversially declared a **State of Emergency**, suspending **the Governor, Deputy Governor, and all members of the State House of Assembly**.

This upheaval has likely triggered a **realignment of political alliances**, which could impact funding for long-term programs such as the **Women's Economic Development Fund**. Given the current crisis, the fulfillment of this promise remains uncertain, as the government's focus may shift from economic development to political survival.

Current Challenges Facing Women Entrepreneurs in Rivers State

Rivers State, despite its oil wealth, has a high level of rural and urban poverty, especially among women. The National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) reported that 42% of women in the South-South region lack financial independence.

Over 60% of women-owned businesses in Nigeria struggle to access credit, according to the SMEDAN/NBS MSME Survey. Women in Rivers State often lack collateral (such as land and property) to secure bank loans and microfinance institutions offer loans with high interest rates, making repayment difficult.

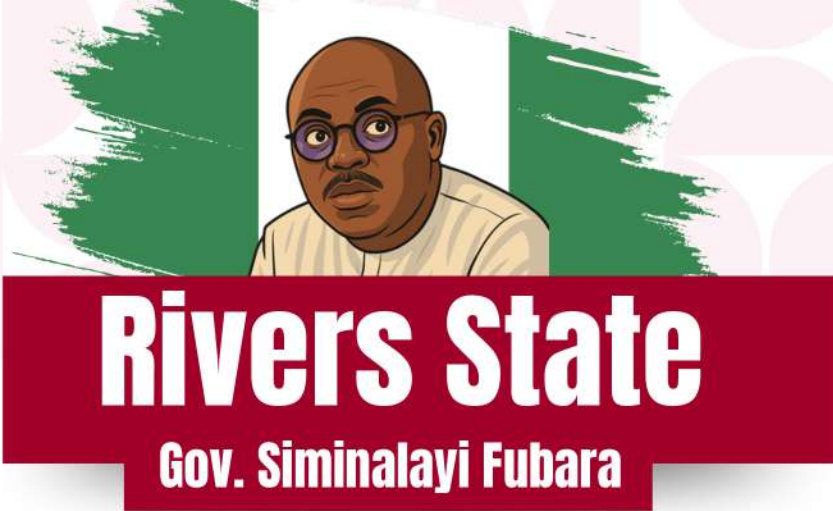
While Rivers State has general SME development programs, there are no dedicated financing schemes for women-led enterprises and business mentorship, skills development, and networking opportunities for women remain limited.

What Needs to Happen for the Promise to Be Fulfilled?

- 1. Legislate and Institutionalise the Fund:** The Rivers State House of Assembly should pass a law formally establishing the Women's Economic Development Fund to ensure sustainability. A Women's Finance Board should be created to manage the fund transparently.
- 2. Secure Funding and Partnerships:** The fund should partner with Development Finance Institutions (DFIs) such as the Bank of Industry (BOI), African Development Bank (AfDB), and Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) NIRSAL loan programs. Engage private sector players like Access Bank's W Initiative and FirstBank's FirstGem program, which specialise in women-focused financing.
- 3. Provide Low-Interest and Collateral-Free Loans:** Introduce single-digit interest rate loans (0-9%) to replace the current high-interest microfinance loans. Develop group lending schemes where women can access loans based on social guarantees rather than traditional collateral.
- 4. Include Business Training and Market Linkages:** Pair financial support with business training, digital literacy, and mentorship programs. Facilitate access to local and international markets, particularly in high-growth sectors like agribusiness, fashion, and digital entrepreneurship.
- 5. Set Measurable Targets and Track Impact:** Ensure that at least 50,000 women entrepreneurs benefit in the first three years. Establish a public dashboard to track disbursement and success stories.

Governor Fubara's Women's Economic Development Fund is a critical initiative for women's financial inclusion in Rivers State. However, without political stability, funding security, and legislative backing, its implementation remains uncertain.

The political crisis in Rivers State poses a serious threat to policy continuity, and unless stability is restored, this promise may struggle to move beyond rhetoric. Women's economic empowerment must not be a casualty of political power struggles.



1

IN THE WORKS

7.1%



13

NOT YET RATED

92.9%

Number of Promises in each Category

NOT YET RATED

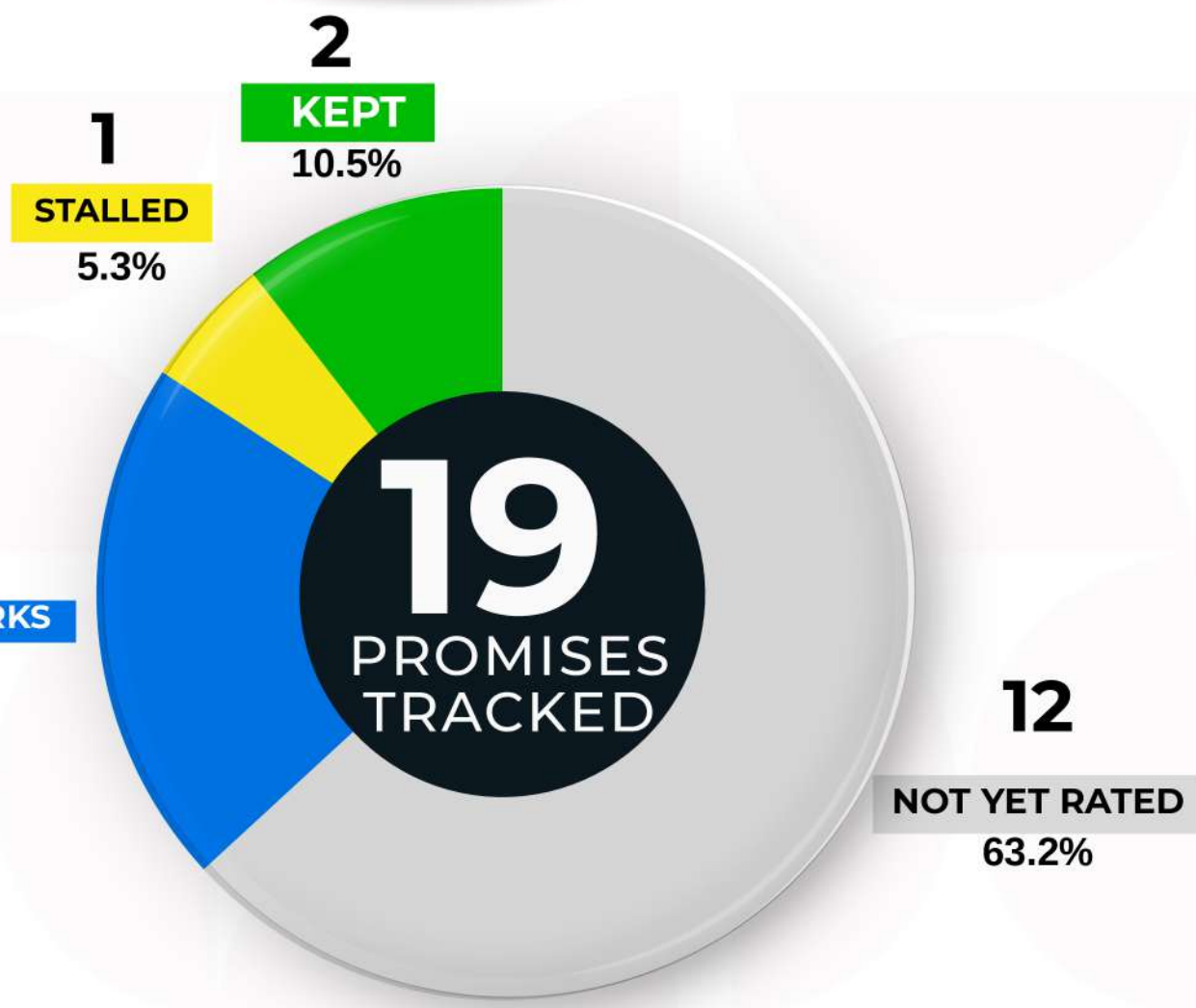
IN THE WORK

STALLED

COMPROMISED

KEPT

BROKEN



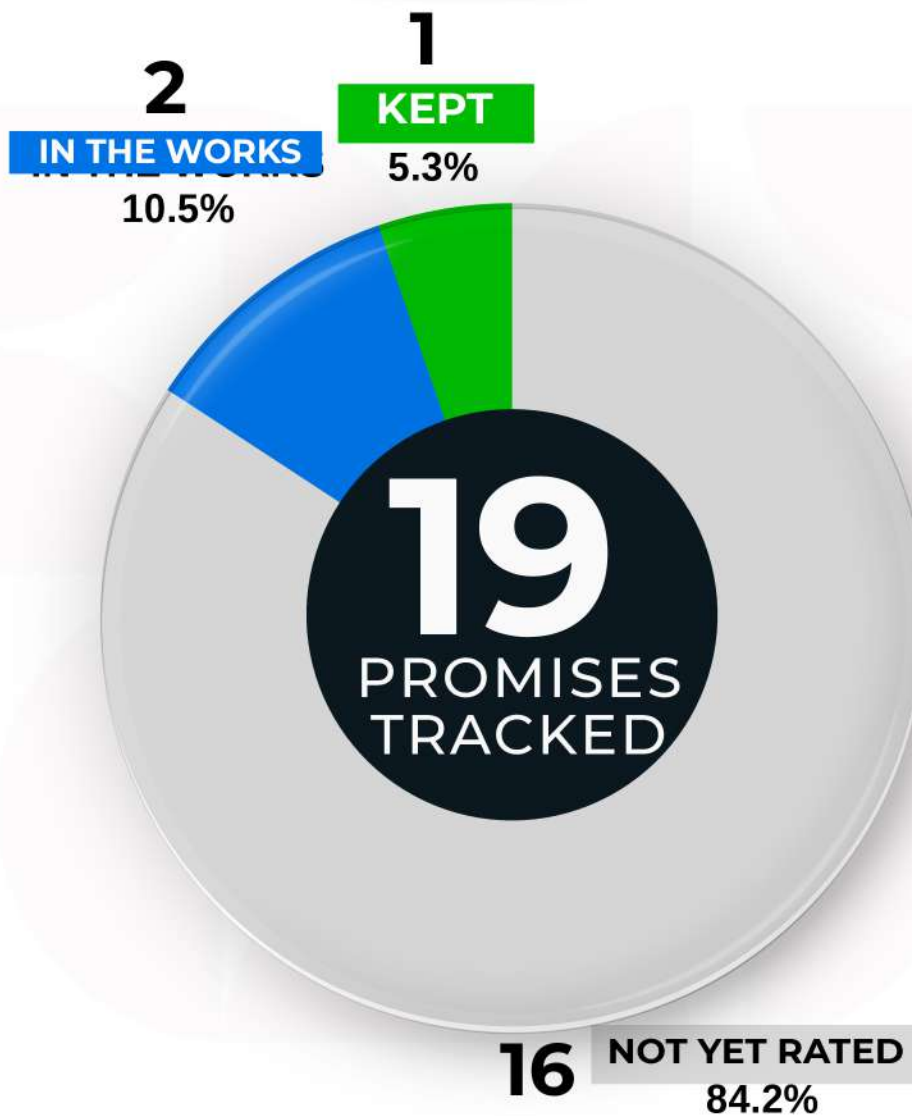
Number of Promises in each Category

NOT YET RATED	IN THE WORK	STALLED
COMPROMISED	KEPT	BROKEN



AKWA IBOM STATE

Gov. Umo Eno



Number of Promises in each Category

NOT YET RATED

IN THE WORK

STALLED

COMPROMISED

KEPT

BROKEN



BENUE STATE

Dr. Hyacinth Iormem Alia

1

IN THE WORKS

5%



19 NOT YET RATED
95%

Number of Promises in each Category

NOT YET RATED

IN THE WORK

STALLED

COMPROMISED

KEPT

BROKEN



EBONYI STATE

Gov. Francis Nwifuru



7 NOT YET RATED
100%

Number of Promises in each Category





EDO STATE

Gov. Monday Okpebholo



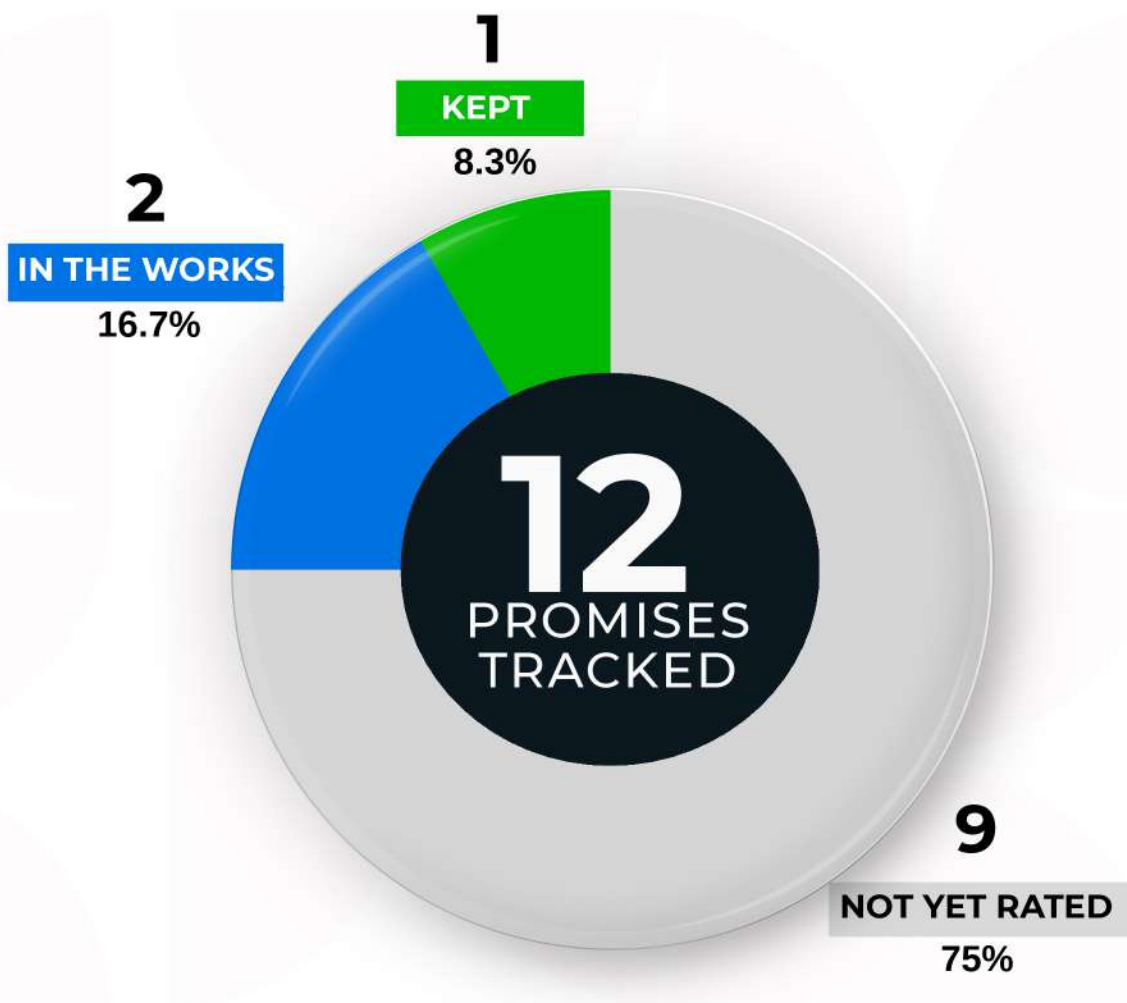
Number of Promises in each Category





ENUGU STATE

Peter Ndubuisi Mbah



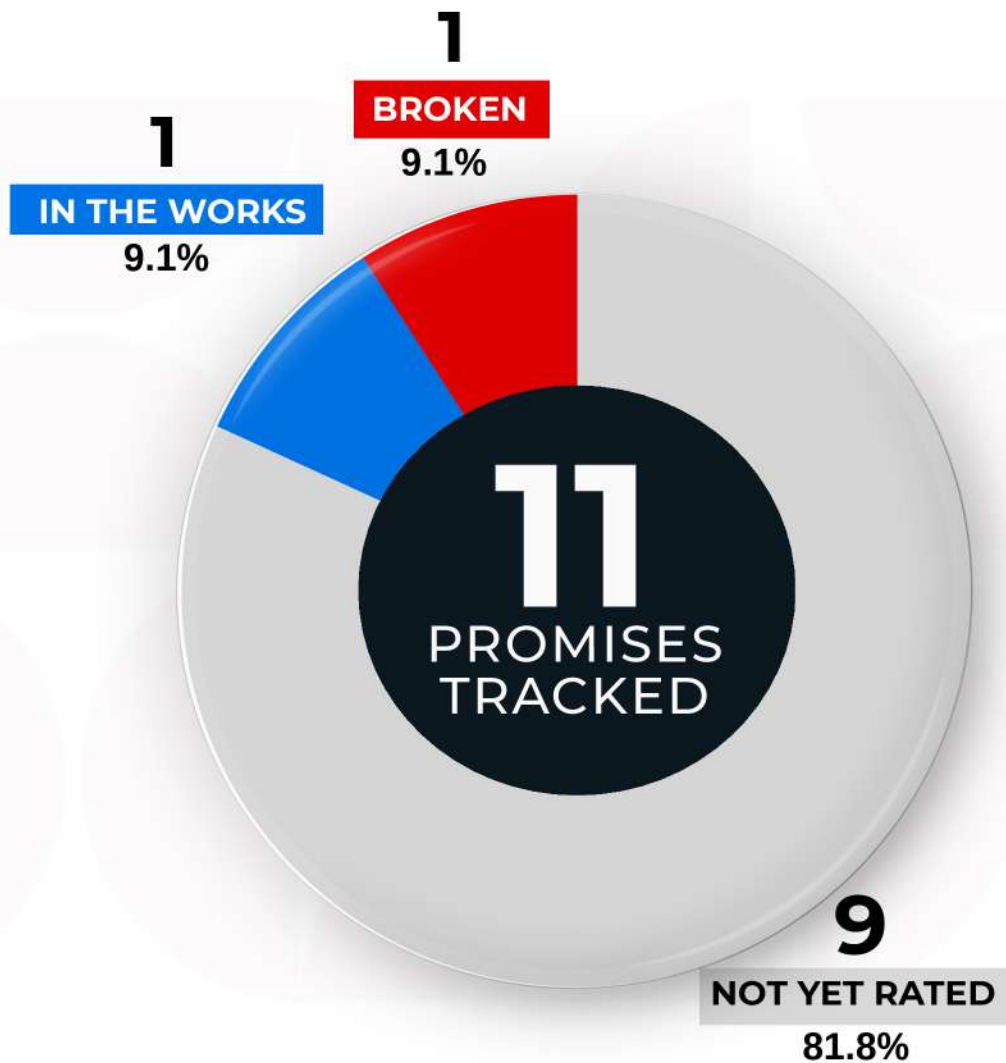
Number of Promises in each Category





KADUNA STATE

Gov. Uba Sani



Number of Promises in each Category

NOT YET RATED

IN THE WORK

STALLED

COMPROMISED

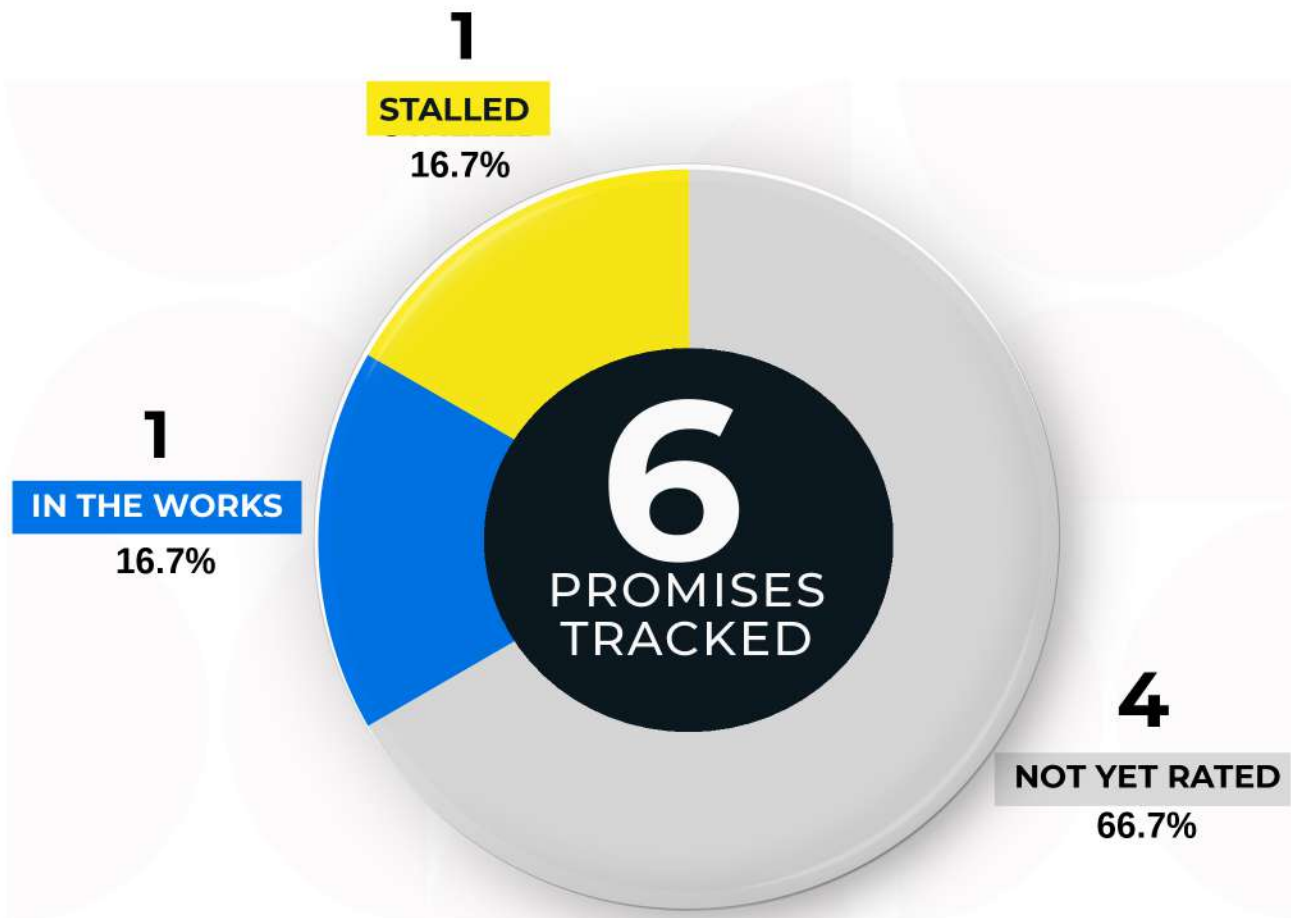
KEPT

BROKEN



KANO STATE

Gov. Abba Kabir Yusuf



Number of Promises in each Category

- NOT YET RATED
- IN THE WORK
- STALLED
- COMPROMISED
- KEPT
- BROKEN



ONDO STATE

Gov. Lucky Aiyedatiwa



4 NOT YET RATED
100%

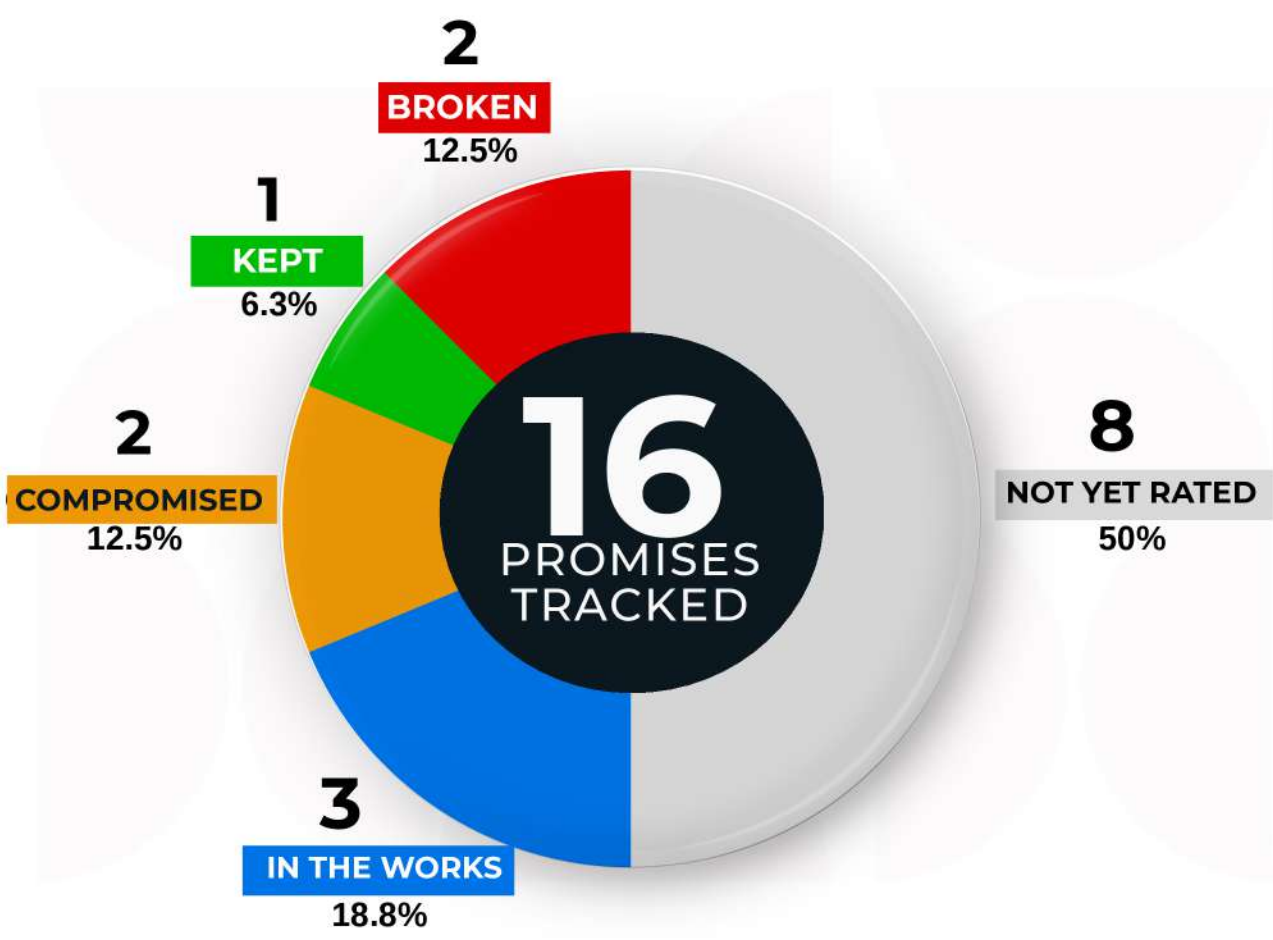
Number of Promises in each Category

- NOT YET RATED
- IN THE WORK
- STALLED
- COMPROMISED
- KEPT
- BROKEN



OYO STATE

Gov. Seyi Makinde



Number of Promises in each Category

NOT YET RATED	IN THE WORK	STALLED
COMPROMISED	KEPT	BROKEN



PLATEAU STATE

Gov. Caleb Manasseh Mutiwang

11
PROMISES
TRACKED

11 NOT YET RATED
100%

Number of Promises in each Category

NOT YET RATED

IN THE WORK

STALLED

COMPROMISED

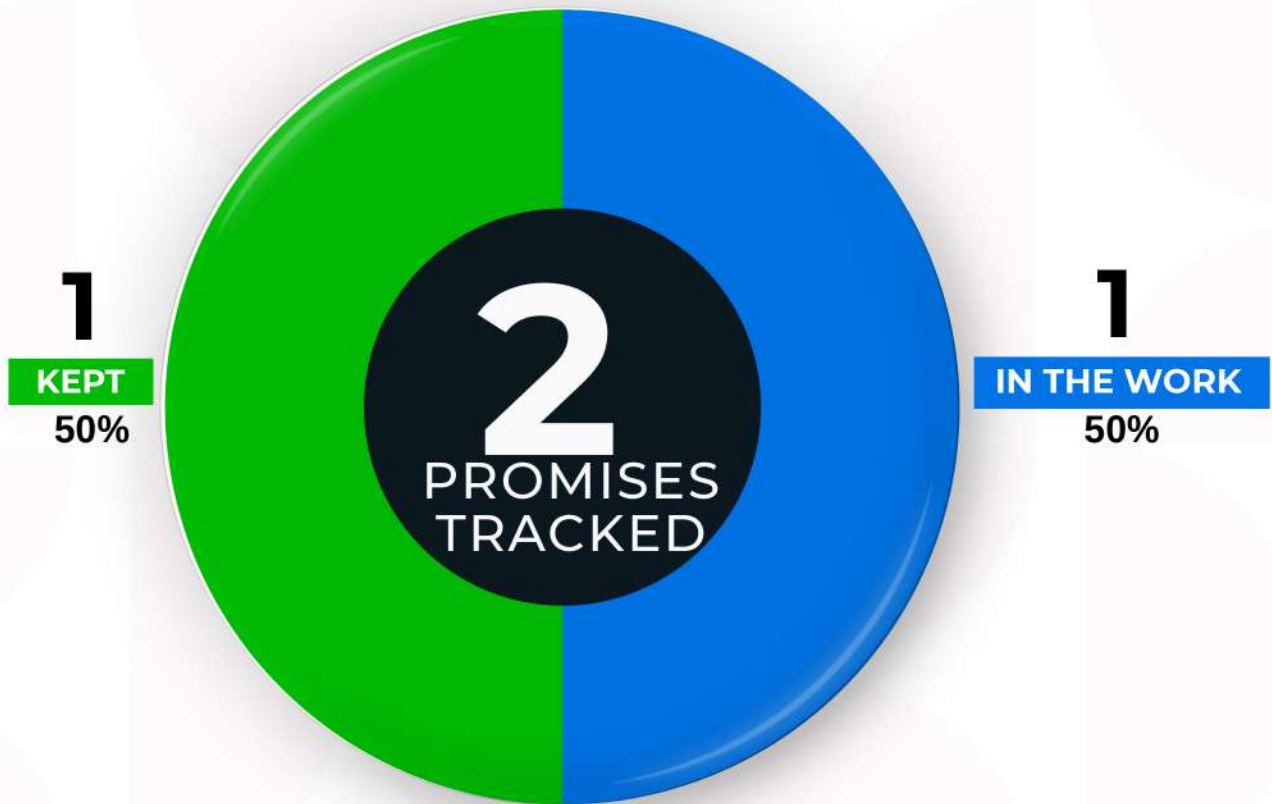
KEPT

BROKEN



TARABA

Gov. Agbu Kefas



Number of Promises in each Category

NOT YET RATED

IN THE WORK

STALLED

COMPROMISED

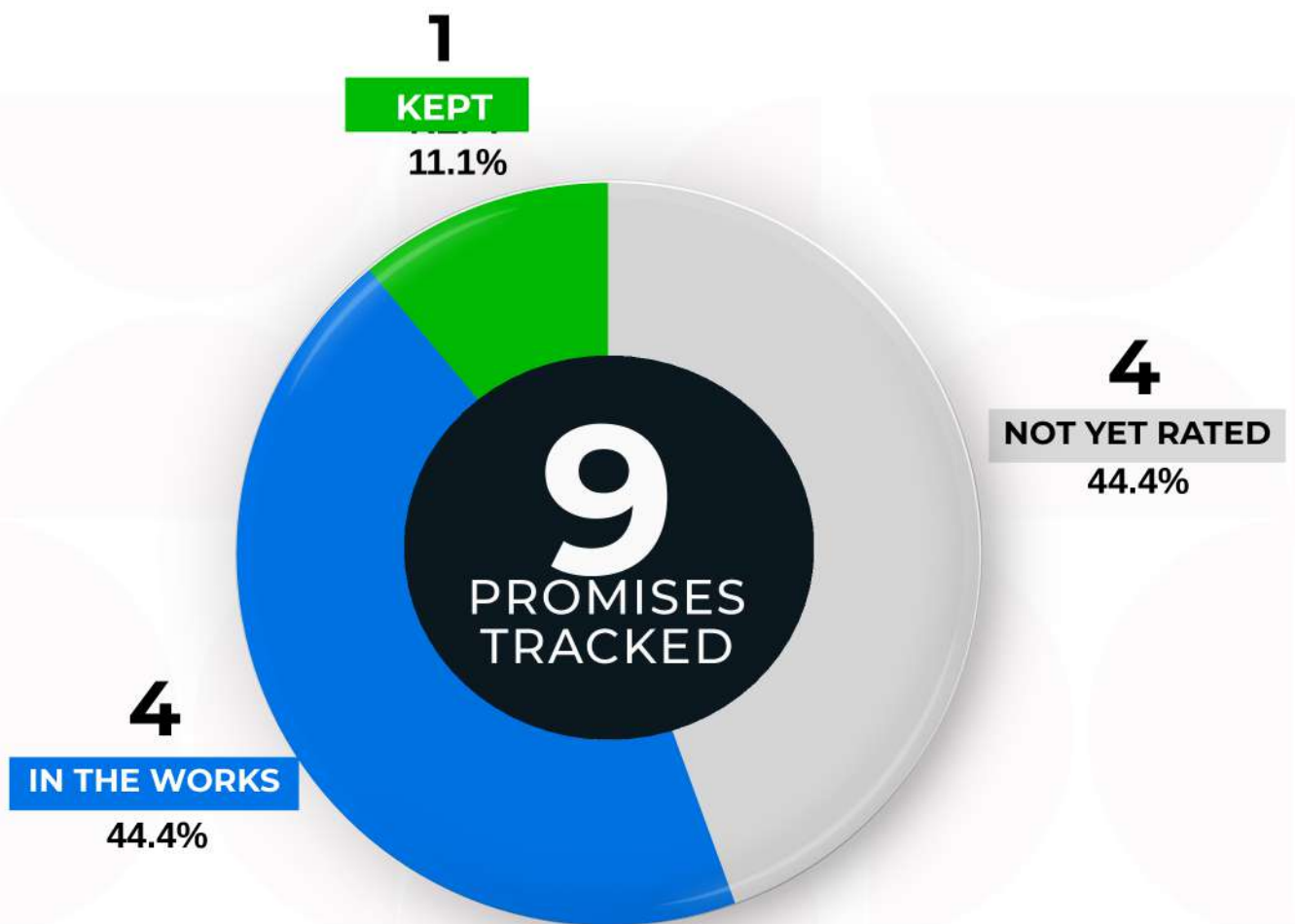
KEPT

BROKEN



ZAMFARA STATE

Gov. Dauda Lawal



Number of Promises in each Category

NOT YET RATED

IN THE WORK

STALLED

COMPROMISED

KEPT

BROKEN

POWERED BY

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PROMISE TRACKER