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SOLUDOMETER FINAL REPORT



TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABOUT US

MISSION

VISION

ABOUT PROMISE TRACKER NG

ABOUT SOLUDOMETER

METHODOLOGY

PROMISE IDENTIFICATION PROCESS

PROMISE CLASSIFICATION FRAMEWORK

EVIDENCE COLLECTION AND VERIFICATION

SECTORAL CATEGORISATION

SCORING AND AGGREGATION METHOD

QUALITY CONTROL AND INTERNAL REVIEW

LIMITATIONS

NEUTRALITY AND INDEPENDENCE

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

SECTORAL PERFORMANCE BREAKDOWN

SECTORAL PERFORMANCE ANALYSIS

1. ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY AND CLIMATE ACTION

2. SOCIAL JUSTICE AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

3. GOVERNANCE, RULE OF LAW, AND INSTITUTIONAL REFORMS

4. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND TRANSFORMATION

COMPARATIVE SECTORAL INSIGHT

OVERALL SECTORAL CONCLUSION

OVERALL PERFORMANCE INDEX

SCORING FRAMEWORK

SECTORAL SCORES

OVERALL AGGREGATE SCORE

INTERPRETATION OF THE SCORE

WHAT THE INDEX REVEALS

CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS

FINAL PERFORMANCE CHARACTERISATION

KEY RISK OUTLOOK

FORWARD-LOOKING GOVERNANCE AND SUSTAINABILITY ASSESSMENT

COMPOSITE RISK ASSESSMENT

STRATEGIC RISK MITIGATION PRIORITIES

FINAL RISK OUTLOOK CONCLUSION

RECOMMENDATIONS

CONCLUSION

APPENDICES

ABOUT 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 and the Promise Ring, 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 Legislative Agenda Meter is dedicated to monitoring the commitments and legislative activities of the Senate and Federal House of Representatives, assessing how well they align with their proposed agendas.

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

The OkpebholoMeter focuses on Governor Monday Okpebholo of Edo State, evaluating the implementation of his campaign pledges.

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 on www.promisetracker.ng.

SOLUDOMETER

FINAL REPORT

FINAL REPORT



ABOUT US



AdvoKC Foundation is a youth-led civic tech organisation that aims to promote transparency, accountability, and citizen participation in governance. Using technology, art, and entertainment, combined with data-driven research and policy analysis, AdvoKC empowers citizens to hold leaders accountable. As a non-partisan organisation, 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 STATEMENT

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

VISION STATEMENT

To be the catalyst for transparent governance and social justice.

ABOUT SOLUDOMETER



Soludometer was launched on March 17th 2022, as a citizen-driven accountability initiative, under AdvoKC's Promise Tracker NG, designed to track, measure, and evaluate the campaign promises of Governor Charles Chukwuma Soludo against verifiable evidence. At its core, Soludometer answers a simple democratic question: Were the promises made to Ndi Anambra kept?

Rather than relying on political commentary or partisan interpretation, Soludometer uses documented commitments, budget data,

legislative records, and measurable outcomes to assess performance objectively. It is not an opposition or praise tool. It is an evidence platform.

Democracy does not end on election day. It begins there. When voters cast their ballots, they are not only choosing a candidate. They are endorsing a contract. That contract is made up of promises. If those promises are not tracked, memory fades and accountability weakens. Soludometer exists to prevent that erosion.

They are endorsing a contract. That contract is made up of promises. If those promises are not tracked, memory fades and accountability weakens. Soludometer exists to prevent that erosion.

Think of it like a report card issued not by politicians to citizens, but by citizens to governance. Without structured tracking, public discourse becomes emotional. With structured tracking, it becomes factual.

In a context where campaign commitments are often forgotten once power is secured, Soludometer ensures that promises are documented, timelines are remembered, delivery is measured, and gaps are identified

A NOTE TO NDI ANAMBRA

Soludometer is more than a performance tracker. It is part of a larger democratic culture shift. In mature democracies, policy tracking and public scorecards are standard tools of civic oversight. In emerging democracies, such mechanisms are still developing. Soludometer contributes to building that culture locally. It is built on a simple belief that good governance is strengthened by scrutiny, not weakened by it.

This report is not designed to criticise for the sake of criticism. Nor is it designed to celebrate for the sake of celebration. It is written so that every citizen can see, in clear terms, where progress has been made, where ambition exceeded capacity, and where urgent work remains.



METHODOLOGY

This Report is built on a results-based governance framework. In simple terms, we asked three structured questions for every promise: Was the promise clearly stated, was there measurable action taken, and did the action meet the scope and timeline promised? A promise was not judged by intention, media coverage, or press statements. It was judged by verifiable outcomes.

PROMISE IDENTIFICATION PROCESS

Promises were extracted from: The Soludo Solution (the Governors official campaign manifesto document), his public speeches, media interviews, and town halls during the campaign period and on inauguration day

Only commitments that were clear, attributable, and specific were included. A promise was included if it met at least two of the following conditions:

1. Clearly attributed to the Governor
2. Contained measurable action or deliverable
3. Included a time-bound commitment
4. Referenced a policy, law, or institutional reform

We excluded broad aspirational statements without measurable deliverables, general political rhetoric, and collective party ideology without specific commitments to ensure that the report tracks promises that can be objectively assessed.

PROMISE CLASSIFICATION FRAMEWORK

For the sake of this report, each of the 52 promises was rated using a three-tier classification model:

KEPT

A promise was rated Kept when:

- The core deliverable was substantially achieved
- The scope of the promise was fulfilled
- The timeline was met or reasonably aligned
- Verifiable evidence exists

COMPROMISED

- A promise was rated Compromised when:
- Partial implementation occurred
- The timeline was missed
- The delivery deviated materially from the original scope
- Alternative action substituted the original commitment

BROKEN

A promise was rated Broken when:

- No substantial implementation occurred
- The timeline expired without delivery
- There is no verifiable evidence of progress
- The promise was effectively abandoned



EVIDENCE COLLECTION AND VERIFICATION

To ensure objectivity, we relied on multi-source verification. Revenue, expenditure, and fiscal sustainability claims were cross-checked using official state budget documents like appropriation laws, budget implementation reports, and publicly released financial statements. Where macroeconomic targets were stated, such as IGR-to-GDP ratios, independent GDP estimates were used for comparison.

Primary Evidence Sources included Anambra State Appropriation Laws (2022–2026), Budget Performance Reports, Legislative records from the Anambra State House of Assembly, Official gazettes, Government MDAs publications, Press releases and official statements, Regulatory filings and MoUs, Public procurement records, and Site visits and photographic verification where applicable.

When a promise included a time-bound commitment, such as “within 12 months”, “within two years”, or “after four years”, the timeline was strictly assessed against the date of inauguration: 17 March 2022.

For example, a two-year promise expired on 17 March 2024, and a 12-month promise expired on 17 March 2023. If delivery occurred after the deadline, the promise could not be rated Kept. It was rated Compromised.

SECTORAL CATEGORISATION

Governor Charles Chukwuma Soludo campaigned for the governorship of Anambra State on the foundation of his "Soludo Solution" manifesto—a comprehensive vision aimed at transforming the state into a liveable and prosperous homeland. This manifesto outlines his administration's strategic focus areas, breaking down all governance priorities into four key pillars: Economic Transformation, Social Agenda, Governance, Rule of Law and Value System, and Environment.

Promises for Soludometer were sourced majorly from the Soludo Solution, but also from campaign rallies and speeches. For tracking and evaluating the **SECTORAL PERFORMANCE** implementation of his promises, these pillars have been further streamlined into four broad sectors:



1. Governance, Rule of Law, and Institutional Reforms
2. Economic Development and Transformation
3. Social Justice and Human Development
4. Environmental Sustainability and Climate Action

This allowed for sectoral performance comparison and thematic trend analysis.

SCORING AND AGGREGATION METHOD

This report uses a simple weighted index model.

Each rating carries a numerical value:

- Kept = 1 point
- Compromised = 0.5 point
- Broken = 0 point

Total score achieved was divided by total possible score to determine overall performance percentage. This avoids subjective narrative scoring and ensures mathematical transparency.

QUALITY CONTROL AND INTERNAL REVIEW

Before publication, each promise rating underwent internal peer review. Conflicting interpretations were resolved through documentary evidence, financial figures were independently cross-checked, and legal claims were verified against enacted legislation.

No rating was based on a single source.

LIMITATIONS

While every effort was made to ensure accuracy, some limitations exist:

1. Limited public access to certain internal government data
2. Delays in publication of some official reports
3. Reliance on publicly available documentation where full internal files were inaccessible
4. Federal-state interdependencies affecting some promises

Where evidence was insufficient, the promise was rated based only on verifiable proof. If such proof could not be found, the promise could not be rated Kept.

NEUTRALITY AND INDEPENDENCE

This report is non-partisan, evidence-driven, independent of political actors, and designed for public interest. This report does not evaluate personality, rhetoric, or political popularity. It evaluates delivery.

The Soludometer methodology ensures that every rating in this report is not a judgment call, but a documented conclusion.





EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

52
TRACKED
PROMISES



21 **BROKEN PROMISES**
11 **COMPROMISED PROMISES**
20 **KEPT PROMISES**

On 17 March 2022, Governor Charles Chukwuma Soludo assumed office with a bold reform agenda built around economic transformation, institutional reform, human capital development and environmental renewal.

Four years later, the central question is simple: How much of what was promised has been delivered?

This Report evaluates 52 verifiable campaign commitments using documentary evidence, budget data, legislative records, project tracking, and official government publications. Each promise is rated as:

- Kept – Substantially delivered
- Compromised – Partially delivered or deadline missed
- Broken – Not delivered or no verifiable progress

This is neither a story of failure nor a story of sweeping success, but a story of visible reform energy combined with uneven execution and missed structural targets.

ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY AND CLIMATE ACTION – BEST PERFORMING SECTOR (67%)

This sector recorded the strongest performance. 3 Promises Kept, 2 Promises Compromised, and 1 Promise Broken. Total Score: 4 out of 6 (67%)

The administration demonstrated visible progress in tree planting initiatives, renewable energy expansion, and elements of water infrastructure reform. Although universal access targets were not fully met, this sector reflects relatively consistent policy direction and measurable outcomes.

SOCIAL JUSTICE AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT – MODERATE PERFORMANCE (60%)

8 Promises Kept, 2 Promises Compromised, and 5 Promises Broken. Total Score: 9 out of 15 (60%)

Performance in this sector was driven largely by the expansion of free education to senior secondary school level, health sector reforms, and SME support through the Anambra State Small Business Agency (ASBA).

However, critical social protection legislation, women-focused enterprise programmes, pension sustainability issues, and adult literacy reforms

remain significant gaps. The sector shows strong service expansion but incomplete safety net institutionalisation.

GOVERNANCE, RULE OF LAW, AND INSTITUTIONAL REFORMS – AVERAGE PERFORMANCE (50%)

4 Promises Kept, 4 Promises Compromised, and 4 Promises Broken. Total Score: 6 out of 12 (50%)

This sector reflects balanced outcomes. The administration made notable progress in digital governance, land administration reforms, and transparency initiatives.

Yet, major structural commitments such as the Service Delivery Charter, Fiscal Responsibility Law amendment, and full commercial court reform were not completed. The result is a governance model that is reform-minded but not fully entrenched in law.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND TRANSFORMATION – LOWEST PERFORMING SECTOR (34%)

5 Promises Kept, 3 Promises Compromised, and 11 Promises Broken. Total Score: 6.5 out of 19 (34%)

Despite visible infrastructure projects and industrial park initiatives, this sector recorded the weakest overall performance.

Major economic transformation targets were not achieved, including 5 percent IGR-to-GDP target, 100 percent recurrent expenditure funding through IGR, Inland Dry Port, and ₦5 billion Venture Capital Fund. While capital projects are evident, structural economic independence remains largely aspirational.

The data reveals a clear pattern. The administration performs strongest in environmental and service-based reforms, performance declines

in governance institutionalisation, and it is weakest in structural economic transformation and fiscal independence. In simple terms, policy direction is strongest where executive control is direct and measurable. Delivery weakens where reforms require deeper fiscal restructuring, legislative codification, or complex economic coordination.

INSTITUTIONAL STRENGTHS OBSERVED

1. Clear technocratic orientation
2. Strong digital transformation drive
3. Visible infrastructure footprint
4. Increased town hall and diaspora engagement
5. Aggressive Public-Private-Community Partnership model

STRUCTURAL WEAKNESSES IDENTIFIED

1. Missed self-imposed deadlines
2. Over-promising on fiscal independence
3. Weak legislative follow-through on social protection
4. Incomplete commercial court reform
5. Revenue ambition disconnected from current capacity

Governor Charles Chukwuma Soludo has governed as a reform-minded technocrat. He has prioritised digital systems, infrastructure modernisation, and policy restructuring.

However, delivery depth varies sharply. Where reforms required executive action and administrative restructuring, progress was strong. But where reforms required legislative passage, long-term fiscal discipline, or multi-level federal coordination, delivery weakened.

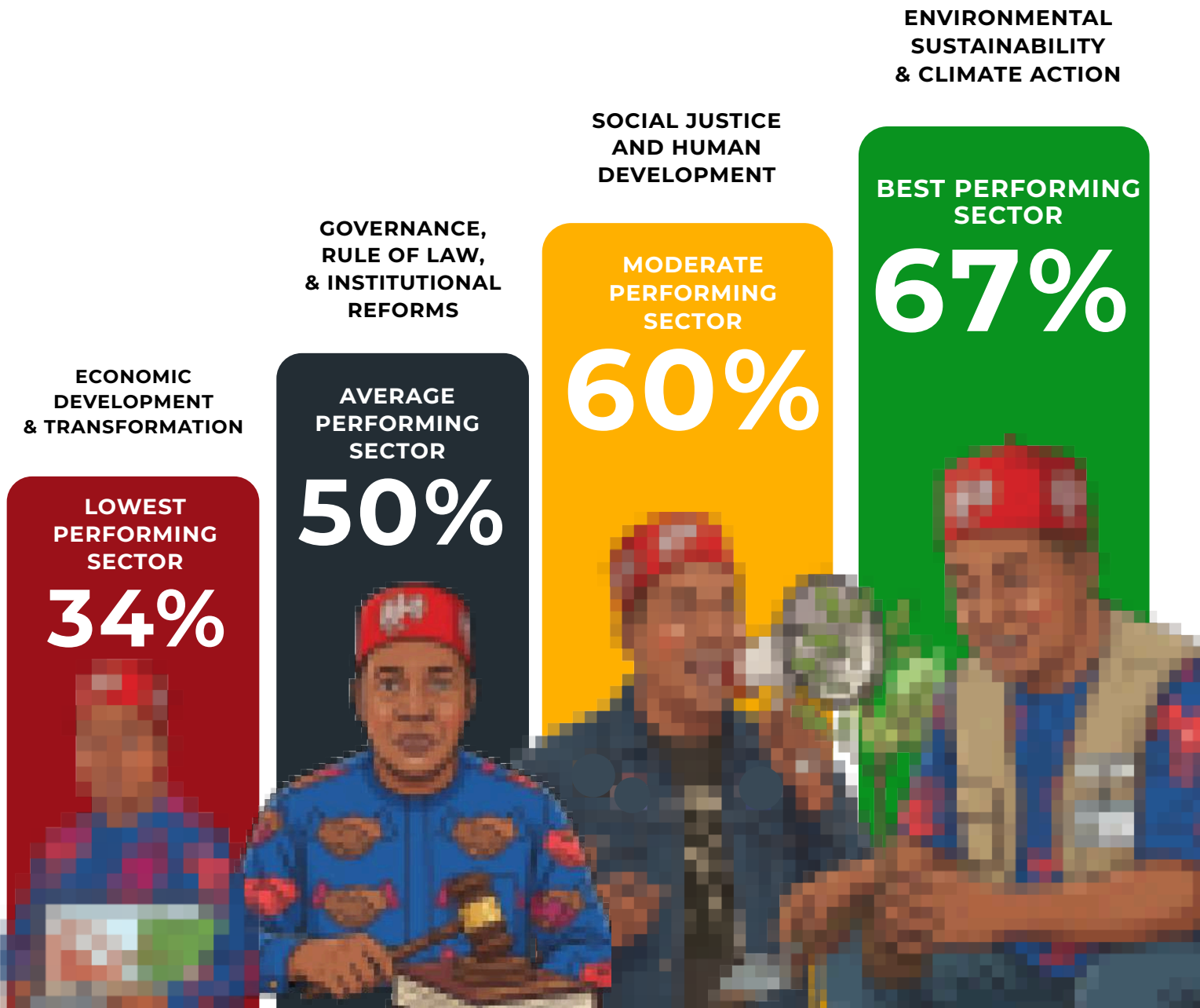
This creates a pattern: High executive energy. Moderate institutional entrenchment. Limited fiscal transformation. If governance were a marathon, the administration sprinted strongly in visible areas, slowed on structural reforms, and stumbled on fiscal independence. Reformist in intention. Visible in infrastructure. Uneven in execution. Incomplete in institutional consolidation.

As Anambra begins another 4-year cycle, led by the same Governor Charles Chukwuma Soludo, the conversation must move beyond rhetoric and aesthetics.

AdvoKC Foundation, through Promise Tracker NG, remains committed to tracking performance not by speeches, but by evidence. Because democracy works best when promises are remembered.

The next phase of governance must answer three critical questions:

- 1. Can reforms be institutionalised beyond one administration?
- 2. Can fiscal independence move from ambition to measurable reality?
- 3. Can social protection become a law rather than a policy intention?



SECTORAL PERFORMANCE ANALYSIS

To provide clarity beyond aggregate scores, the 52 tracked promises were grouped into four thematic sectors. Each sector was evaluated using the **Soludometer scoring model**:

Kept = 1 point

Compromised = 0.5 point

Broken = 0 point

This section examines not just the numbers, but the quality, depth, and pattern of performance within each sector.

Environmental Sustainability and Climate Action



Score: 4 out of 6 (67%) — Best Performing Sector

Key Deliveries

- Implementation of the One House, Two Trees campaign
- Enforcement of the Cut-One-Plant-Three policy
- Expansion of solar initiatives and groundwork for gas-to-power transition

Water infrastructure saw partial revival in major urban centres, and regulatory frameworks for state-level electricity governance were established.

Gaps Identified

- Universal pipe-borne water access within the promised timeline was not achieved.
- Flood control embankments in Anambra West showed no evidence of implementation.

Sector Assessment

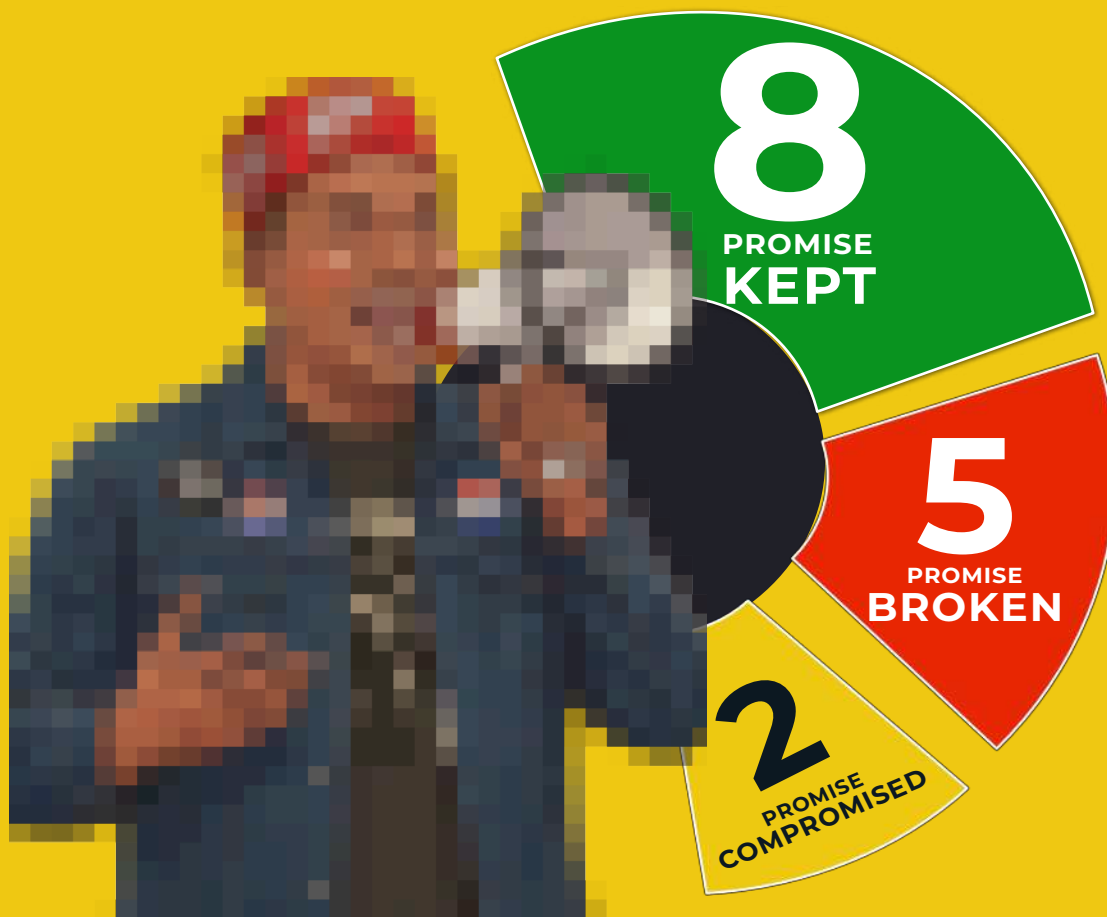
Environmental reforms show policy direction and administrative continuity. While coverage remains incomplete, the Governor Soludo administration demonstrated measurable implementation effort in sustainability-related initiatives. This sector reflects relative consistency in execution compared to others.

PROMISES	STATUS	UPDATE
Continue and complete the design of the state master plan.	KEPT	The state master plan is a live document that is being continuously designed, reviewed, and implemented by the current administration. It is not a single, discrete document but a multi-faceted process focusing on integrated development across key urban centres and sectors. A visit to the Anambra ministry of works revealed that the master plan for critical areas had been done and was fully operational. It was further revealed that the state master plan also included a water supply and drainage master plan. The master plan was on display at the Anambra Investment Summit 2024 (ANINVEST 2.0).
Design and enforce a template of minimum standards for infrastructure and other facilities in cities, markets, and community.	KEPT	The state government is actively designing and enforcing a template of minimum standards for infrastructure and facilities, driven by the commitment to transform Anambra into a "Livable and Prosperous Mega City." This initiative aims to address inconsistent development quality across the state, ensuring that all public spaces, including markets and communities, meet essential criteria for safety, accessibility, and environmental sustainability.
The Government will encourage and incentivize households to plant a minimum number of trees per annum.	KEPT	The Anambra State government has indeed launched several initiatives to encourage and incentivize households to engage in tree planting: 1. One House, Two Trees Campaign mandates that every land developer/home builder dedicates 35% of their land to green areas, including gardens and tree cover. 2. The Cut-One-Plant-Three Initiative ensures the replacement of every tree cut down for any purpose, promoting a culture of sustainability and environmental stewardship.

PROMISES	STATUS	UPDATE
Complete the concession of water schemes in the state to ensure that the first four urban areas- Awka, Nnewi, and Ekwulobia have access to pipe-borne water within three years in office	COMPROMISED	By early 2025, the administration had revived major urban water schemes in Awka, Nnewi, and Onitsha, with public taps flowing again and facilities like the 2-million-liter Aroma plant back in operation, though the planned transition to private concessionaires has yet to happen. But while water is running in parts of these cities, most households still depend on private boreholes as reticulation remains incomplete, meaning the promise of universal access within three years has not been fully delivered.
Complete the Onitsha, Otuocha water schemes in 12 months in office.	COMPROMISED	The Otuocha water schemes have been completed, but not within the 12-month deadline set by the Governor.
Work with the Federal government to build embankments to help control the flooding in Anambra West.	BROKEN	No evidence of this.

Social Justice and Human Development

This sector reflects meaningful service expansion but incomplete institutional protection.



Score: 9 out of 15 (60%) — Moderate Performance

Key Deliveries

1. Free education extended to Senior Secondary School level
2. Establishment of the Health Facilities Monitoring Unit
3. Digitised Drug Revolving Fund
4. Continued support for youth SMEs through ASBA
5. Community-based PHC governance model

These initiatives significantly expanded access to education and healthcare services.

Gaps Identified

1. Social Protection Bill remains unpassed.
2. No structured women-owned enterprise empowerment programme.
3. Adult literacy funding was eliminated by 2025.
4. Pension sustainability concerns persist.
5. Secondary school internship programme not implemented

Sector Assessment

The administration performed strongly in expanding services but weaker in codifying social safety systems into durable legal frameworks. Gains are visible, but institutional permanence remains uncertain.

PROMISES	STATUS	UPDATE
We will work with telecoms. to provide cheap (and ultimately free) Wi-Fi hotspots in public places for the take-off of the state emersion into the digital age	KEPT	The Anambra State ICT Agency has launched multiple live “Solution Wi-Fi” hotspots across the state, strategically located in schools, lodges, public spaces, and government institutions to expand digital access. During the pilot phase, users could enjoy one hour of free internet daily, connecting via SMS authentication. A Mobile Tech Hub, branded Solution Wi-Fi and developed by the Geeks & Founders Alliance for Soludo (GEFAS), also provides free, high-speed internet to up to 3,000 users at public gatherings. The project operates through a Public-Private Partnership (PPP) with firms like Pine Heights Systems Limited (PHSWEB) and in collaboration with the Internet Exchange Point of Nigeria (IXPN) and other ISPs.
Continue and strengthen the free education initiatives (Primary 1 - Junior Secondary 3) in public schools. We'll work to extend free education to the Senior Secondary School.	KEPT	Free and compulsory education from nursery to JSS 3 in public schools was announced in September 2023. The free education policy was extended to cover all students in public Senior Secondary Schools (SSS 1 to SSS 3) in September 2024. Previously, SSS students were required to pay a N5,000 tuition fee, but this was removed under the new policy. The government directed that students who had already paid the N5,000 fee for the term should be refunded.
Review curricula at all levels to provide functional education for the digital age to develop graduates that are problem solvers especially ICT and coding skills, AI, Robotics, etc	KEPT	Governor Soludo's administration has initiated a plan to formally review the educational curriculum to accommodate modern technology skills like coding, AI, and robotics. The planned curriculum update is specifically targeted at integrating ICT, coding, AI, and robotics into school education to ensure graduates are prepared for the evolving, tech-driven job market. The Anambra State ICT Agency and the Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu University (COOU) signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) to flag off an initiative to expose students to real-time AI and Robotics education.

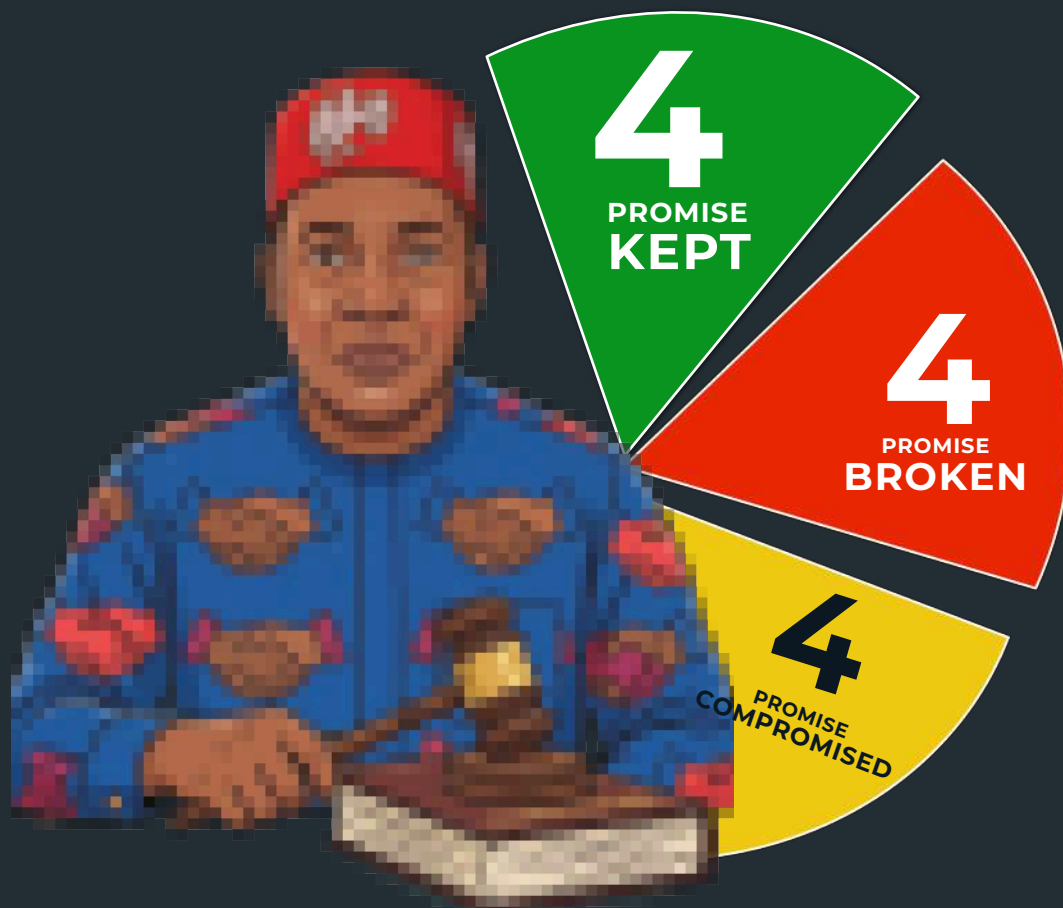
PROMISES	STATUS	UPDATE
Amend and Implement Anambra State Security Trust Fund Law, 2010 and amendment law, 2018 to mobilise funds towards the procurement of necessary equipment and training of personnel involved in providing security in the state.	KEPT	The Anambra State Security Trust Fund (ASTF) was formally launched in Lagos in June 2022 to immediately begin mobilising resources from the private sector and individuals without amendment. In January 2025, the Anambra State Homeland Security Law, 2025, was enacted, leading to the formal establishment of a new state security outfit called "Agunechemba" to complement federal forces and the launch of the special operation "Operation Udo Ga-Achi" (Peace Will Reign). The law, which deals with security governance and operations, effectively creates a new legal framework that integrates and possibly supersedes the functions of the previous security trust fund laws.
Incorporate community structures and members into the governance, ownership and management of PHC facilities.	KEPT	The state is actively encouraging and utilising the involvement of High-Net-Worth Individuals (HNIs) and the community for capital development and maintenance. The Public-Private-Community Partnership (PPCP) model is aggressively pursued in the health sector. In this structure, the community or a philanthropic HNI may fund the construction, renovation, or provision of equipment for a PHC facility. In return for the community's investment, the state government provides the essential human resources, such as doctors, nurses, and other health personnel, and ensures the deployment of services like free antenatal and delivery care. Example: A newly renovated PHC facility in the Igbo-Ukwu community, which was rehabilitated by a philanthropic family and handed over to the government, was commissioned under this spirit, with the government immediately deploying medical personnel. The Anambra State Primary Health Care Development Agency (ASPHCDA) is prioritising the recruitment of Community-Based Health Workers (such as Junior Community Health Extension Workers - JCHEWs) to be deployed to the grassroots. These workers, with their strong community ties, are tasked with bridging the gap between residents and health facilities.

PROMISES	STATUS	UPDATE
Establish the Health Facilities Monitoring and Accreditation Agency(HEFAMAA), charged with Monitoring public and private health facilities to ensure registration, accreditation and standardisation of all health facilities.	KEPT	This initiative has been established and is fully operational in Anambra State under the name: Anambra State Health Facilities Monitoring and Accreditation Unit (ASHEFAMU). The government, in line with its commitment to standardise healthcare delivery, established ASHEFAMU in August 2023, with a strong partnership with the World Health Organisation (WHO) and legislative backing from the State House of Assembly. ASHEFAMU is charged with sanitising the healthcare sector, particularly the largely unregulated private facilities that provide a significant portion of healthcare services in the state. By establishing ASHEFAMU, Anambra State has become one of the few sub-national governments in Nigeria to have its own dedicated health facilities accreditation and monitoring body, which is a major step towards guaranteeing patient safety and quality of care.
Establish a digitised and world-class Drug Revolving Fund(DRF) Scheme	KEPT	The Drug Revolving Fund has been established as a healthcare initiative to ensure a continuous and affordable supply of essential medicines in the state's primary health centres and hospitals. This scheme aims to combat the "out of stock" problem by creating a sustainable funding and supply chain that ensures original, quality-assured drugs are readily available for patients, says Promise Tracker NG and the Ministry of Health. The state has implemented a modernised DRF system, which includes a state-of-the-art central medical store that acts as a hub for all hospitals.
Continue ASBA'S interventions focused on youth-owned SMEs.	KEPT	The Anambra State Small Business Agency (ASBA)'s interventions focused on youth-owned Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) are primarily executed through integrated programs that combine skill acquisition, start-up funding, and financial access. The core of its current strategy is an effort to convert youth into a "Digital Tribe" and successful entrepreneurs. In essence, ASBA is shifting from a sole focus on traditional micro-lending to a holistic approach that trains, funds, and scales youth entrepreneurs, with a strong emphasis on digital literacy and job creation.

PROMISES	STATUS	UPDATE
Invest in social transport schemes for urban mass transport for the poor and vulnerable/subsidised transport.	COMPROMISED	The Anambra State Government has taken several significant steps to implement social and subsidised transport schemes, largely as a palliative measure to cushion the effects of the petrol subsidy removal. The implementation has been approached through two main mechanisms: direct subsidy on operational costs for commercial transporters and plans for large-scale mass transit investment. Anambra State operates a mass transit service, OLink, similar to the Lagos BRT system. This service runs on a Public-Private-Community Partnership (PPCP) model, with buses operating on a schedule and commuting exclusively between Awka and Onitsha. While commendable, particularly for its affordability compared to other transport options, broader transportation initiatives remain unfulfilled. Discussions on rail and maritime transportation, including budgetary allocations, have taken place, but state-wide implementation is still pending.
Create Anambra male and female football teams to play in the professional league in Nigeria	COMPROMISED	The State has a team named Solution Football Club. The latest reports indicate that Solution FC was drawn in the Southern Conference for the upcoming 2024-2025 Nigeria National League (NNL) season. The NNL is the second tier of Nigerian club football, which is considered a professional league. While the state has placed a strong focus on grassroots sports development for both male and female athletes, including the Anambra State Sports Solution Initiative (ANSSI) and a maiden statewide league, there is no specific, recent, verifiable public information confirming the creation or participation of a dedicated female team in the Nigerian Women Football League (NWFL), which is the professional top tier for women's football in Nigeria.
In partnership with the private sector in the state, design and implement a secondary school internship programme aimed at providing pupils with the requisite experience as they transition into tertiary education	BROKEN	While Governor Soludo has made remarkable strides in education, from introducing free education at the primary and secondary level to curriculum review and many other initiatives, he has failed to establish this promised internship.
Create specific programs to empower women-owned businesses and enterprises and also seek partnerships and funding and DFIs to support these businesses	BROKEN	The Anambra State Government has no official program specifically to empower women-owned businesses and enterprises. Although the first lady of the state, Mrs Nonye Soludo, through her NGO, Healthy Living with Nonye Soludo, started the Anambra State Women's Skill Training Program to equip our women with specialised skills traditionally dominated by men, attracting over 6,000 applicants from all 21 LGAs.

PROMISES	STATUS	UPDATE
Sustain timely payment of benefits for all pensioned senior citizens and design a sustainable safety net targeting the needs of all aged citizens above the age of 70	BROKEN	Governor Soludo stated in July 2025 that gratuity payments have been made to all retirees from his administration and that arrears from 2018 to 2020 have been cleared. He also promised that the remaining unpaid gratuity would be paid by the end of August 2025. But pensioners from the defunct Anambra State Water Corporation are still complaining about non-capturing in the payroll system and outstanding entitlements dating back years. The draft social protection bill, which is crucial for creating a legal, sustainable framework for social safety nets for the poor, unemployed, and vulnerable population (including the elderly), has yet to be discussed on the floor of the House of Assembly. The absence of this key legislation means that current support often relies on non-governmental initiatives or one-off executive approvals.
Work with the House of Assembly to review and ultimately pass the draft social protection bill into law which aims to provide social safety nets to the poor, unemployed, and vulnerable population	BROKEN	The draft Social Protection Bill has not yet been passed into law, despite the State Social Protection Policy being approved by the State Executive Council (SEC) and initially expected to be operational in January 2023. Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) have publicly urged Governor Soludo to expedite the process by formally submitting the executive Bill to the House of Assembly and inaugurating the Social Protection Council, which is a necessary step to operationalise the policy. The policy itself was designed in 2022 to be a comprehensive framework reflecting the people's needs for social protection.
Improve access and enrolment into Mass Literacy, Adult and Non-Formal Education Programme(name to be changed to state Functional Literacy and Education programme - SFLEP).	BROKEN	There is no clear evidence that this promise has been fulfilled. First, the proposed name change to State Functional Literacy and Education Programme (SFLEP) was not implemented. Additionally, budgetary allocations and expenditures do not indicate significant efforts toward improving access and enrolment in adult and non-formal education. In 2023, ₦24,000,000 was allocated for Adult & Non-Formal Education/Mass Literacy, yet the budget performance report from January to September 2023 showed an expenditure of only ₦3,789,000, suggesting limited implementation. The situation worsened in 2024, when ₦35,500,000 was allocated, but by September 2024, no funds had been spent (₦0.00 budget performance). For 2025, the outlook is even more concerning, as the approved budget allocates ₦0.00 to this programme, effectively eliminating financial support for its implementation.

Governance, Rule of Law, and Institutional Reforms



Score: 6 out of 12 (50%) — Average Performance

This sector presents a balanced but incomplete reform picture.

Key Deliveries

1. Progress toward e-government systems
2. Launch of digital land administration (ANAMGIS)
3. Continued publication of financial accounts
4. Passage of the Igbo Apprenticeship Law

Digital transformation is one of the administration's strongest governance signatures.

Gaps Identified

1. Service Delivery Charter not formally deployed.
2. Fiscal Responsibility Law not amended or operationalised.
3. Social Protection legislation not passed.
4. Commercial court reform incomplete.

Sector Assessment

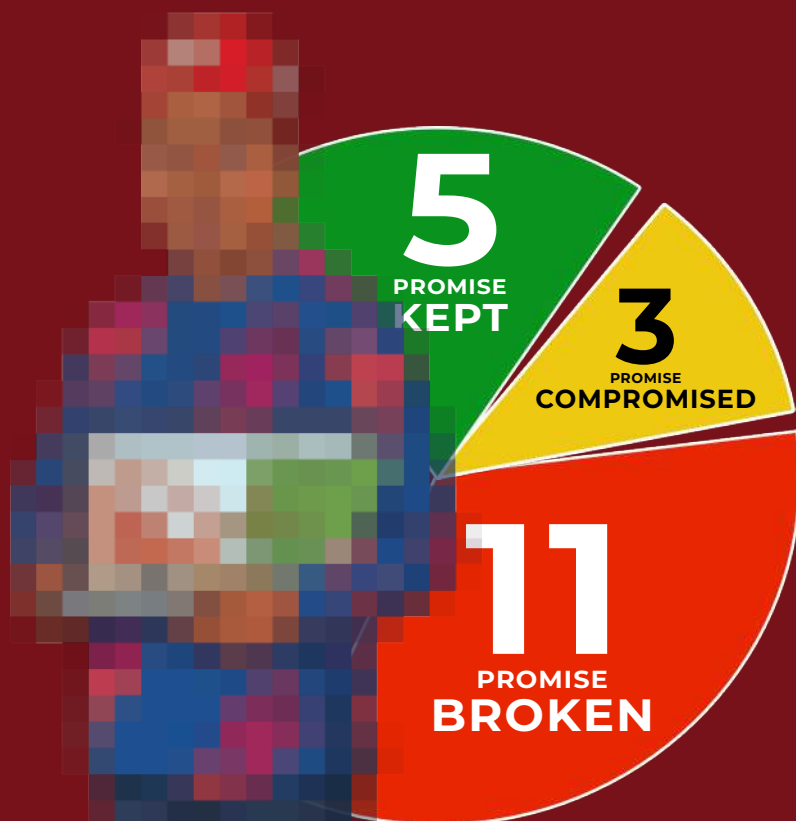
Reforms were introduced at the administrative level, but several key commitments requiring legislative entrenchment remain unresolved. The governance model reflects executive-driven reform momentum without full legal consolidation.

PROMISES	STATUS	UPDATE
We'll work with the Legislative and key stakeholders to provide legal framework for the Igbo Apprentice system in order to safeguard the rights and obligations of both the apprentice and the boss.	KEPT	The Anambra State Government, under the administration of Governor Charles Soludo, has already delivered on this objective by passing the Igbo Apprenticeship Law, 2025 (also known as the Igba Boi Law). This legislation is specifically designed to safeguard the rights and obligations of both the apprentice and the master (Oga). The Anambra State Igbo Apprenticeship Law, 2025, which was passed in August 2025, took effect on September 10, 2025.
Our target is to transit from manual operations to complete e-government in the medium term	KEPT	The Soludo administration is driving Anambra State's digital transformation through initiatives that replace manual operations with technology-driven systems. Key milestones include: abolishing Right of Way (RoW) fees to expand broadband access, digitising Executive Council meetings and introducing official government emails to streamline communication, implementing an e-GIS system to eliminate paper-based land records, automating processes across all 21 LGAs, now 75% complete, and launching the ANSG E-ID card for civil servants and distributing digital tools across MDAs.
Continue and strengthen accountability initiatives such as publishing state accounts regularly	KEPT	The Soludo administration has not only continued but strengthened its financial accountability initiatives. It has moved beyond simply publishing annual financial reports to creating digital platforms (Solutions-Lens), enforcing digital procurement transparency, and adopting a model of public-facing accountability (Town Halls) with the diaspora and citizens.
Continue and strengthen institutions for investment promotions and business administration such as ASBA and ANSIPPA	KEPT	The Soludo administration has not only continued but strengthened its financial accountability initiatives. It has moved beyond simply publishing annual financial reports to creating digital platforms (Solutions-Lens), enforcing digital procurement transparency, and adopting a model of public-facing accountability (Town Halls) with the diaspora and citizens.

PROMISES	STATUS	UPDATE
There'll be the citizens' hotlines (phone numbers, Email Addresses, and Facebook Account) to interact with me.'	COMPROMISED	The government has indeed released multiple contact channels for various MDAs in the state phone numbers, albeit most of the phone numbers are not reachable or not responsive. The spirit of the promise was to establish multiple, easily accessible, and dedicated channels for citizens to offer advice, guidance, and interaction, which requires more than just providing a general social media presence or security lines.
Over the next two years, we shall review, amend the relevant legislations, reform and strengthen the system for efficiency, restructure and strengthen the Anambra State Independent Electoral Commission and conduct Local Government elections.	COMPROMISED	Governor Soludo's two-year timeline for conducting the elections ended in March 2024. The Local Government elections were not conducted within the two-year timeframe, meaning the specific deadline was missed. Despite missing the two-year deadline, the local government elections were eventually conducted later that year. Governor Soludo inaugurated new members for the Anambra State Independent Electoral Commission (ANSIEC) on August 6, 2024. The elections were successfully held on September 28, 2024, which marked the first local government elections in Anambra State in over a decade. The newly elected local government chairmen and their deputies were inaugurated on October 3, 2024.
Our target is to transit from manual operations to complete e-government in the medium term Deploy a digitally enabled land administration process with a view of achieving land transfer of title within 72hours	COMPROMISED	Anambra State Governor Chukwuma Soludo launched the Anambra Geographic Information System (ANAMGIS) in February 2025 to improve efficiency and transparency in land management through technology. But the goal for the transfer of C/O within 72 hours is yet to be met with the ANAMGIS platform, quoting 11 days
Collaborate with judiciary to upscale the efficiency of the Judicial process to set up a specialized commercial court as well as mainstream the alternative dispute resolution mechanism to ensure that timeliness for commercial dispute resolution are reduced to 30days from the average of 307 days	COMPROMISED	The Soludo administration has made visible progress by digitising the Anambra State Judiciary and revitalising the Multi-Door Courthouse for faster dispute resolution, but the promised fully operational Specialised Commercial Court still lacks clear, verifiable existence as a standalone court with its own rules. And while automation has improved filing processes, the bold promise to resolve commercial disputes within 30 days remains far from reality, with most complex cases still dragging beyond 100 days due to judge shortages and heavy backlogs.

PROMISES	STATUS	UPDATE
What we present is a synopsis, designed to give Ndi Anambra a feel for the future we envision. The Full agenda, costed with timelines and delivery mechanisms, will be published within the first 30 days on assumption of office if you give me the mandate	BROKEN	Governor Soludo was sworn in on 17th March 2022. The 30-day deadline, therefore, expired on 16th April 2022. The document was not published by the deadline. Five months into his tenure, an Advoka press release specifically stated the document had still not been released, with official letters to the governor's office proving "abortive." As the specific conditions of time and delivery mechanism were not met, the promise is rated broken
We'll deploy a service delivery charter as a contract between citizens and public servants. Such a charter will among other things clearly define what services citizens can expect and within what time frame. E.g. with tech. and responsive public service there is no reason requests/ inquiries by citizens should not be responded to/ concluded within 48hrs	BROKEN	There is no public evidence of the Service Delivery Charter being formally launched, published, or enforced with the specific 48-hour mandate as a state-wide legal or operational contract. It is worth mentioning that although the Charter hasn't been formally deployed, several related initiatives and institutional reforms are in place to support the overall goal of responsive and efficient public service delivery like: Digital Transformation, establishment of the Strategy Execution and Evaluation (SEE) Office, and the launch of the Open Government Partnership (OGP) Action Plan
Review, Amend and operationalize the fiscal responsibility law for greater transparency and sustainability of state finance	BROKEN	Although the Anambra State Government under Governor Charles Soludo has fully embraced key elements of fiscal responsibility through other policy reforms and public financial management practices, the absence of this law raises valid concerns over the sustainability of this fiscal responsibility beyond the Governor's tenure.
Establish an Anambra State Hall of Fame and annual celebration of great achievers in all fields of endeavour, including teachers, entrepreneurs/job, creators, community workers public servants with demonstrable integrity and efficiency.	BROKEN	Despite the general administration's commitment to honouring key professional groups, especially teachers, there is no verifiable evidence that the central components of the promise—the establishment of a State Hall of Fame and the creation of a new, inclusive Annual Celebration of Great Achievers—have been fulfilled.

Economic Development and Transformation



Score
6.5 out of 19
(34%) Lowest
Performing
Sector

This sector recorded the weakest performance relative to commitments made.

Key Deliveries

1. Completion of key flyovers in Awka and Ekwulobia
2. Development of industrial parks and tech hubs
3. Continued strengthening of ASBA
4. Renewable energy framework expansion

Infrastructure delivery is visible and tangible.

Sector Assessment

While infrastructure projects progressed, structural economic transformation targets remain largely aspirational. Fiscal independence, investment mobilisation, and macroeconomic targets significantly underperformed relative to ambition.

Major Gaps Identified

1. ₦5 billion Venture Capital Fund not established as promised.
2. 5 percent IGR-to-GDP target not achieved.
3. 100 percent recurrent expenditure funding through IGR unmet.
4. Inland Dry Port not realised.
5. Flood control embankments not implemented.
6. Multiple economic diversification targets unmet.

PROMISES	STATUS	UPDATE
Government Resources will only patronise "Made in Anambra" except where it is impossible to produce such or no close alternatives.	KEPT	The Governor has demonstrably implemented this policy through personal example and government action in key areas, making him the "Chief Marketing Officer" for the state's products. The Governor and his deputy use Innoson Vehicles (Made in Anambra) as their official cars. The Governor is consistently seen wearing Akwete fabrics (Made in Abia, but an Eastern Nigerian/African product, following the stated hierarchy). Visitors to the Government House are reportedly offered food and drink made in Anambra/Nigeria. The ongoing focus on public procurement reforms via the Bureau of Public Procurement (BPP) supports a transparent system where local patronage can be enforced.
We'll designate new locations as industrial/tech parks (Akwa-ihedi, Awka environs including parts of Orumba, ozubulu, Araku, Awka, e.t.c)	KEPT	The Anambra State government, under Governor Charles Soludo's administration, has been pursuing the development of industrial and tech parks in the designated areas. 1. Ikenga Mixed-Use Industrial City (Locations: Aguata, Orumba South, and Orumba North local government areas.) 2. Akwaihedi-Unubi-Uga Automotive Industrial Park (Location: Akwaihedi and Unubi in Nnewi South LGA, and Uga in Aguata LGA.) 3. Solution Innovation District (SID) [Location: Awka (temporary and permanent sites).] The Ikenga Mixed-Use Industrial City covers Orumba South and Orumba North LGAs. Additionally, the Anambra State Special Agro-industrial Processing Zone (SAPZ II) includes a location in Ogboji, Orumba South LGA. An industrial and technology hub called the Awka Industrial City (AIC) is an aspect of the state's industrialisation vision. The government is also developing recreational facilities in the Awka area, such as the Awka City Park and Solution Fun City.
Construct overhead bridges(flyovers) in strategic locations such as Awka that will decongest traffic and provide a better transport experience	KEPT	A Flyover has been completed in Awka and open for use

PROMISES	STATUS	UPDATE
Construct overhead bridges(flyovers) in strategic locations such as Ekwulobia that will decongest traffic and provide a better transport experience.	KEPT	The Ekwulobia flyover has been completed, commissioned, and is open for use by the public.
Build on and expand the efforts of the 'Light Up Anambra' program through solar power, gas to power, and other environment-friendly sources	KEPT	The government has clearly "built on and expanded" the programme. The commitment to solar power is visibly being executed through the conversion and installation of thousands of units, and the critical policy and partnership framework for the much larger "gas to power" component (a significant, long-term infrastructure project) is firmly in place with signed MoUs and regulatory bodies established.
Establish a business incubation hub and a 5 billion venture capital fund to incubate and provide additional growth capital for most promising start-ups ventures either by a way of grants or Direct Investment	COMPROMISED	The business incubation hub is being realised through the Solution Innovation District (SID), which is the flagship technology and innovation project of the Anambra State Government. The temporary site for the SID has been commissioned in Awka, and the permanent site is planned for the Old Government House. The N5 billion venture capital fund is yet to be fully established as a dedicated fund. The administration has implemented significant alternative funding mechanisms for entrepreneurs and youths. The state has disbursed substantial grants to graduates to help them start their ventures through programs like the One-Youth-Two-Skills Plus initiative. The government has also set aside funds through the Anambra Small Business Agency (ASBA) to provide loans to interested participants for scaling their enterprises. In essence, the incubation hub (SID) is operational with a temporary site and active programs, but the N5 billion venture capital fund is yet to be launched.
Complete the Awka Shopping Mall	COMPROMISED	Construction is reportedly in the final phase of completion, and progress is clearly visible. The mall has not yet been formally completed, commissioned, or opened for full commercial operations. The government's projected completion date has been missed multiple times.
We intend to create a special fund, Anambra State Development Fund. We'll create 200 million dollars fund and target a scale up to 1 billion dollars	COMPROMISED	The administration has moved from rhetoric to structure, sealing a landmark partnership with Afreximbank and unlocking a \$200 million financing and advisory deal to support projects like the Ikenga Industrial City and the Anambra Export Emporium. But while this is real progress, it is debt-backed funding rather than a fully independent State Development Fund, and the broader \$1 billion vision remains aspirational as the state still relies heavily on hybrid financing and PPPs to bridge major budget gaps.

PROMISES	STATUS	UPDATE
Reactivate all inactive tourist sites and work with other independent travel tours to ensure they meet the international standards for travel destinations e.g tourist attractions such as the Ogbunike Cave, Odinari Museum at Nri, Ogba Ukwu cave and waterfall, Owerre Ezukala and other similar sites will be fully developed	BROKEN	While there is clear evidence of intent, planning, and some progress in developing new facilities and issuing tenders, the core promise of fully developing the listed heritage sites to international standards is not yet fulfilled. They remain active but are reportedly still in a state of poor maintenance and inadequate infrastructure.
Complete the Nnewi Shopping Mall	BROKEN	While the administration is heavily invested in road infrastructure and urban regeneration in Nnewi, there is no recent evidence of the physical construction, progress, or completion of the Nnewi Shopping Mall project being undertaken by Governor Soludo's administration
A new department of ANSIPPA (Import-to-export department) will specifically assist our traders to forge durable and profitable partnerships with overseas partners.	BROKEN	While the Soludo administration, through ANSIPPA, has supported traders in the state with various initiatives, there was no evidence of a specific department/initiative to specifically assist traders with export and import, despite after the establishment of the Anambra State Development and Investment Corporation (ADIC).
Deploy a centralised e-GIS web portal with supporting ICT infrastructure, a portal for real-time information on mining activities, and electronic submission of licenses, permits, and certificates.	BROKEN	Anambra has an e-GIS web portal, deployed as the Anambra State Geographic Information System (ANAMGIS), but it is a digital data repository system designed to modernise and automate land administration processes and has nothing to do with mining activities.
Construct overhead bridges(flyovers) in strategic locations such as Nkpor that will decongest traffic and provide a better transport experience.	BROKEN	No evidence of this

PROMISES	STATUS	UPDATE
Construct overhead bridges(flyovers) in strategic locations such as Onitsha that will decongest traffic and provide a better transport experience.	BROKEN	No evidence of this
Construct overhead bridges(flyovers) in strategic locations such as Nnobi that will decongest traffic and provide a better transport experience.	BROKEN	No evidence of this
We will Crack the nuts on power to achieve a 20-24-hour uninterrupted power supply in Anambra State	BROKEN	The Soludo administration is taking major steps toward energy independence in Anambra State by leveraging the 2023 Nigerian Electricity Act to establish a state-regulated electricity market. The Anambra State Electricity Law 2025 created the Anambra State Electricity Regulatory Commission (ASERC) to oversee licensing, tariffs, and investment promotion. Key actions include signing MoUs with EEDC, Genesis Energy, and VFD Energy to develop Independent Power Plants (IPPs) for industrial and residential power supply, and initiating gas pipeline projects to support gas-fired plants. The government is also investing in modernising transmission infrastructure, including a new 132KV power station at Umuekete Igboezunu Aguleri. Overall, these reforms, combining legislation, regulation, and public-private partnerships, signal a strong push toward achieving 20-24 hours of reliable electricity and reducing reliance on the national grid.
"We'll deploy technology to ramp up our IGR" We'll ramp it up to about 5% of Anambra economy"	BROKEN	The value of Anambra's economy is its GDP. The latest available data for Anambra's GDP is ₦5.14 trillion, of which 5% is ₦257 billion. But the figure for Anambra's proposed IGR, according to the 2026 Appropriation Law, is ₦72 billion.
Liaise with the Federal Government to have an inland dry port so importers can have their goods shipped directly and cleared in Onitsha	BROKEN	No evidence of this

PROMISES	STATUS	UPDATE
Indeed, after 4 years, Anambra should generate more than 100% of its recurrent expenditure	BROKEN	Based on the Anambra State 2026 Appropriation Law, the Internally Generated Revenue (IGR) is ₦72,000,000,000 (Seventy-two Billion Naira) and Total Recurrent Expenditure is ₦169,602,802,205 (One Hundred and Sixty-nine Billion, Six Hundred and Two Million, Eight Hundred and Two Thousand, Two Hundred and Five Naira). So Internally Generated Revenue as a percentage of the total recurrent expenditure is approximately 42.45%.

Comparative Sectoral Insight

The pattern across sectors reveals three important dynamics:

- Highest performance occurred where implementation required executive control and administrative coordination.
- Performance declined where legislative action and long-term fiscal restructuring were required.
- Ambitious economic transformation targets outpaced measurable structural outcomes.

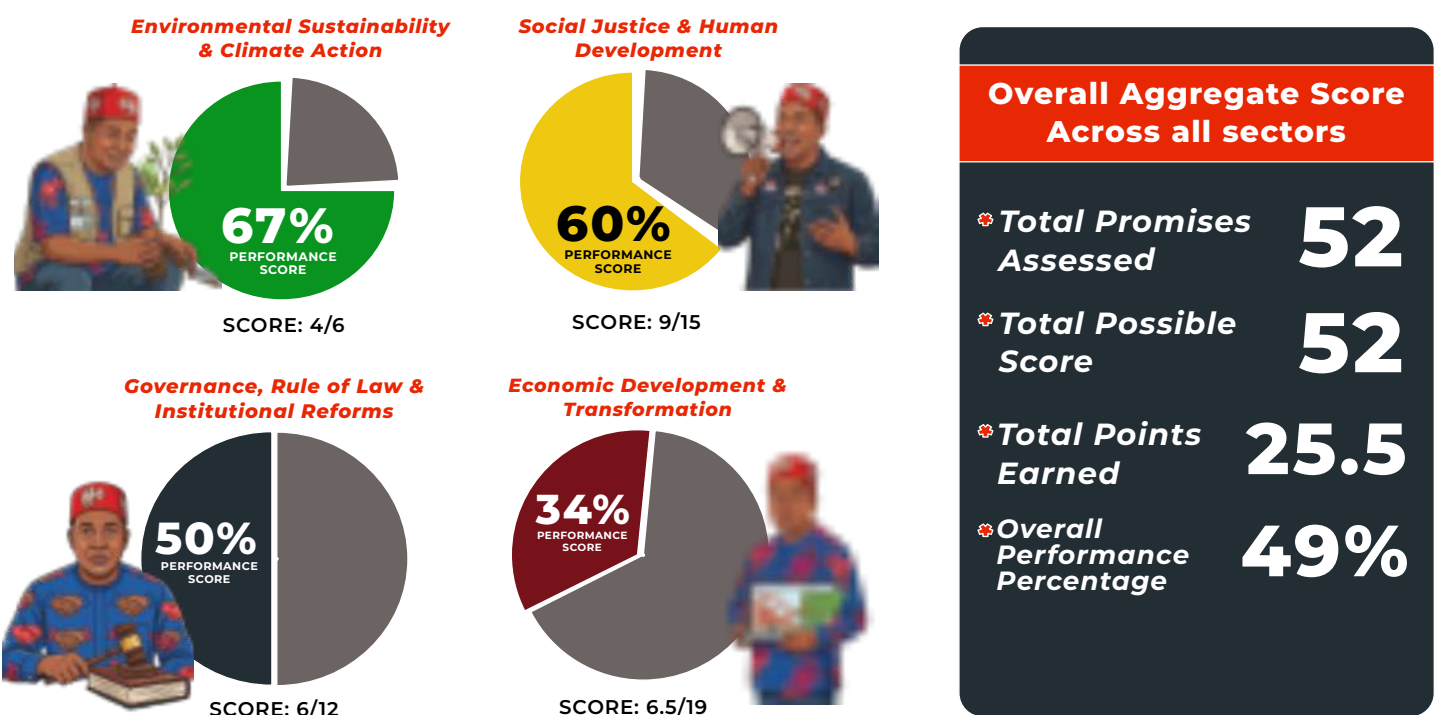
In summary, environmental policy showed the strongest consistency; social services expanded but lacked full legislative backing; governance reforms modernised systems but did not fully entrench accountability structures; economic transformation goals were the most ambitious but the least realised.

OVERALL PERFORMANCE INDEX

The Soludometer Overall Performance Index provides a consolidated, evidence-based measurement of the administration’s delivery across all 52 tracked promises.

Rather than relying on perception, popularity, or political rhetoric, the Index translates promise delivery into measurable numerical outcomes.

Total points earned were divided by total possible points to determine sectoral and overall performance percentages. This ensures transparency, comparability, and mathematical clarity.



Interpretation of the Score

An overall score of **49%** places the administration in the **“Moderate-to-Weak Delivery”** band under the Soludometer classification framework.

Performance Bands



At 49%, the administration falls within the Limited Delivery category.

This does not suggest inactivity. It suggests uneven execution relative to commitments made.

What the Index Reveals

The Overall Performance Index highlights four structural patterns:

- 1. Delivery Is Sector-Dependent:** Performance is strongest in Environmental Sustainability (67%) and weakest in Economic Transformation (34%).
- 2. Visible Projects Outperform Structural Reform:** Infrastructure and executive-driven initiatives performed better than complex fiscal or legislative reforms.
- 3. Fiscal Independence Remains the Largest Gap:** Major economic promises tied to revenue expansion and financial sustainability underperformed significantly.
- 4. Reform Energy Exists, but Consolidation Lags:** The administration demonstrates reform ambition but incomplete institutional entrenchment.

Contextual Analysis

A 49% score suggests that nearly half of all tracked promises were either fully or partially delivered. However, it also means that more than half were not fully realised.

If governance performance were evaluated as an academic examination. The administration passed in some subjects, it performed moderately in others, it failed in its most ambitious economic transformation targets.

The index confirms that the administration's record is neither a collapse nor a comprehensive fulfilment. It reflects partial reform success combined with significant unmet structural commitments.

Final Performance Characterisation

The Soludometer Overall Performance Index positions the administration as:

Reform-oriented. Infrastructure-visible. Structurally incomplete.

The data shows measurable progress and measurable gaps.

KEY RISK OUTLOOK

Forward-Looking Governance and Sustainability Assessment

Performance tracking tells us what has been delivered. Risk analysis asks a different question. Will those gains last? The purpose of this section is not to sound an alarm. It is to apply foresight.

Here, we examine the structural risks that may shape Anambra State beyond the first tenure of Governor Charles Chukwuma Soludo. These risks relate to debt exposure, power sector sustainability, political transition, fiscal vulnerability, and institutional strength. To properly understand these risks, we must first understand the economic foundation on which the state stands.



Before 2022, Anambra operated within the familiar fiscal pattern of most Nigerian states. It relied heavily on allocations from the Federation Account Allocation Committee. Internally Generated Revenue was significantly below what the size of its economy suggested was possible. A large informal sector, particularly in trade and small scale enterprise, remained outside the effective tax net. At the same time, recurrent expenditure such as salaries, pensions, and overheads was structurally high.

This is what makes Anambra's situation particularly interesting. The state has historically recorded one of the largest Gross Domestic Products in the South East. Its economy is powered by vibrant trade in Onitsha, strong manufacturing clusters in Nnewi, and a vast informal retail ecosystem across its towns. Economic activity is visible and energetic. Yet public revenue has not matched this energy.

The tax to GDP ratio at the state level has remained structurally low. In simple terms, Anambra's economy is large, but the portion of that economic activity captured as public revenue is relatively small. That mismatch between economic size and public income is a long standing vulnerability. It means that government ambition often rests on a narrower fiscal base than appearances suggest.

Against this background, debt exposure becomes an important risk factor.

Between 2015 and 2024, Anambra's total debt stock increased by over 1,100 percent. Although the state has maintained a strong fiscal sustainability ranking and was ranked number one by BudgIT in 2025, the composition of that debt deserves attention. By late 2024, close to 85 percent of Anambra's total debt was denominated in foreign currency, primarily in United States dollars. This creates exchange rate risk. If the Naira weakens significantly, debt servicing costs rise automatically in local currency terms, even if no new borrowing occurs.

When the Soludo administration assumed office in 2022, it inherited existing obligations, including domestic bonds, commercial bank facilities, contractor arrears, and pension liabilities. Since then, the state has relied increasingly on Public Private Partnerships, hybrid financing models, structured advisory backed arrangements, and a 200 million dollar financing framework linked to Afreximbank. These mechanisms provide liquidity for infrastructure projects such as industrial cities, power facilities, and water schemes. However, they also create long-term obligations that must be honoured.

The most critical indicator is not total debt in isolation. It is debt servicing relative to revenue. With Internally Generated Revenue (IGR) projected at about 72 billion Naira in 2026 and recurrent expenditure at 169.6 billion Naira, IGR covers only about 42.45 percent of recurrent costs. This leaves limited fiscal space for debt servicing without continued federal transfers. If FAAC inflows decline because of oil price volatility or broader macroeconomic shocks, debt servicing pressure would intensify almost immediately.

Large capital intensive projects depend on projected future returns. If those returns are delayed or lower than expected, the state could face cash flow mismatches, refinancing exposure, delayed contractor payments, and higher borrowing costs. Anambra is not currently in a debt crisis. However, sustainability depends on sustained growth in IGR beyond inflation, commercial viability of industrial investments, and disciplined control of recurrent spending. Without structural revenue expansion, debt exposure becomes a medium-term risk.

The power sector reforms present both promise and fragility. The administration has passed a state electricity law, established a state regulatory commission, initiated gas pipeline development plans, and structured Independent Power Plant frameworks. These are significant structural moves. Yet sustainability depends on three sensitive factors.

First is capital intensity. Power infrastructure requires substantial upfront investment,

regulatory stability, and long payback periods. If political transitions weaken regulatory certainty, investor confidence may decline.

Second is tariff sensitivity. Sustainable electricity markets require cost reflective tariffs. If tariffs are suppressed for political reasons, distribution companies accumulate losses, infrastructure deteriorates, and new investment stalls. If tariffs increase sharply, public resistance and political backlash can intensify. Managing this balance requires careful governance.

Third is gas supply reliability. Gas to power depends on pipeline security, national supply stability, and coordination with federal authorities. Disruptions at the federal level could undermine state level reforms. Power reform in Anambra is promising, but it remains sensitive to both economic and political conditions.

Political transition itself presents another layer of risk. Many reforms under the current administration are driven strongly by executive momentum. Where reforms are not fully embedded in law, they may be vulnerable to reversal, budget reprioritisation, or abandonment under new leadership. Public Private Partnership frameworks, long term infrastructure projects, and regulatory innovations require continuity. Continuity cannot be assumed.

Election cycles often increase recurrent spending and political patronage pressures, which can distort fiscal discipline. Large projects extending beyond a single tenure may face contract renegotiation, funding interruptions, or shifts in development philosophy.

Fiscal vulnerability remains central. The ambition to generate 100 percent of recurrent expenditure from Internally Generated Revenue has not yet been realised. With IGR covering roughly 42.45 percent of recurrent costs, dependency on FAAC remains significant. This exposes the state to national oil revenue fluctuations and federal macroeconomic instability.

Anambra's commerce-driven economy is also heavily informal. This means weak data capture, under-taxed trade clusters, and limited digital compliance. Without aggressive formalisation and improved tax administration, revenue growth may plateau. Simultaneously, personnel costs, pensions, and overheads are difficult to reduce once established. As recurrent obligations expand, fiscal flexibility shrinks, reducing the state's ability to absorb economic shocks.

Finally, institutional fragility may be the most decisive long term risk. Institutions either outlive individuals or they do not. Some key reforms remain incomplete, including the Social Protection Law, amendment of the Fiscal Responsibility Law, and formal deployment of a Service Delivery Charter. Without legal codification, reforms remain policy dependent rather than law-backed.

Digitisation efforts also require skilled personnel, maintenance budgets, and continuous training. If institutional capacity does not keep pace with technological ambition, systems can deteriorate over time. Publishing financial data is progress, but

sustained accountability requires strong legislative scrutiny, active civil society engagement, and consistent transparency practices.

Infrastructure can be built within a few years. Institutional culture takes much longer to establish. In assessing Anambra’s future, this distinction matters. The state’s progress is visible. Its long-term resilience will depend on whether fiscal strength deepens, reforms are legally anchored, and institutions become stronger than any single administration.

Composite Risk Assessment

Risk Area	Current Exposure	Medium-Term Outlook
Debt Sustainability	Moderate	Rising if revenue stagnates
Power Reform Durability	Promising but fragile	Dependent on regulatory stability
Political Transition	Manageable	High if reforms remain executive-driven
Fiscal Autonomy	Weak	Vulnerable to federal shocks
Institutional Entrenchment	Partial	Requires legal codification

Strategic Risk Mitigation Priorities

To reduce structural exposure, the following are critical:

- Legally entrench fiscal responsibility reforms
- Accelerate IGR expansion through digital compliance
- Deepen industrial project commercial viability
- Protect power sector regulatory independence
- Institutionalise social protection through law
- Maintain prudent borrowing thresholds



Final Risk Outlook Conclusion

Anambra State stands at a structural crossroads. The past four years introduced reform momentum and visible infrastructure expansion. However, long-term sustainability depends on revenue depth, legal entrenchment, institutional independence, and political continuity.

The most significant risk is not debt alone. It is the gap between ambition and structural capacity. If revenue growth accelerates and reforms are institutionalised, the state enters a virtuous cycle. If fiscal expansion stalls and reforms remain personality-driven, vulnerability increases.

The future of Anambra's reform trajectory will not be determined by promises. It will be determined by structural discipline.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The Soludometer shows measurable progress in some sectors and clear weaknesses in others. An overall score of 49 percent reflects partial delivery, not systemic collapse. It points to an administration that initiated reforms and delivered in visible areas, but did not fully complete deeper structural transformation. The next phase of governance must therefore shift from project execution to institutional consolidation.

The recommendations below are structured around key priorities that will determine whether Anambra transitions from partial delivery to sustained institutional performance.

1. Strengthen Fiscal Stability and Reduce Debt Exposure

Debt is not inherently dangerous. Unmanaged debt is. What builds confidence is clarity. Anambra State should publish a three to five year debt sustainability framework that clearly outlines total exposure, debt servicing projections, refinancing strategy, and realistic annual reduction targets. Transparency reassures citizens, investors, and development partners that borrowing remains productive and controlled.

Revenue expansion must move beyond enforcement. A sustainable state cannot rely primarily on federal allocations. Reform should focus on digitised tax systems, broadening the tax net rather than simply raising rates, comprehensive property enumeration, land use reform, and incentives that encourage voluntary compliance. Borrowed funds should be tied strictly to revenue generating or productivity enhancing projects. Routine government expenses should not be financed with debt.

2. Consolidate Power Sector Reforms

The electricity reforms present a significant opportunity, but sustainability depends on regulatory discipline. Tariffs must strike a careful balance between commercial viability and social equity. A phased adjustment approach is more sustainable than sudden price increases that trigger public resistance.

A fully independent state electricity regulatory framework should be strengthened to insulate decision making from political interference. Investors require predictability. Consumers require protection. In addition, distribution infrastructure must receive as much attention as generation. Producing electricity alone does not guarantee a reliable supply. Without strong distribution networks, reforms may stall at pilot stages. The objective must be durable institutional architecture rather than short-term visibility.

3. Safeguard Political Transition and Reform Continuity

Reforms collapse when they depend solely on personalities. Executive directives should be anchored in legislation wherever possible. Laws survive political cycles. Reform implementation must be driven by technocratic competence rather than political loyalty.

Continuous training, merit-based promotions, and professional civil service standards are essential. Transparent reporting systems reduce transition risk by embedding accountability into public expectation. Governance stability is achieved when institutions function predictably beyond electoral timelines.

4. Accelerate Economic Transformation

The Economic Development and Transformation sector recorded the lowest performance score. Corrective action must therefore be deliberate and structured.

A. Develop a Clear Industrialisation Roadmap

Economic growth must be organised, not incidental. Anambra requires clearly identified priority sectors such as manufacturing, agro processing, and technology. Cluster development strategies can strengthen supply chains and shared infrastructure. Small and medium enterprises need defined financing pathways. Infrastructure investments should align directly with designated industrial zones to avoid fragmented development.

B. Formalise the Informal Sector

The informal economy is a major source of Anambra's commercial strength. Formalisation should focus on incentives rather than coercion. Access to credit, insurance, legal protection, and export opportunities can encourage voluntary compliance. When businesses see clear benefits, formal participation becomes rational.

C. Expand Youth Enterprise Support

High youth unemployment creates long-term fiscal and security risks. Skills development programmes must align with actual market demand. Entrepreneurship support should move beyond training into structured financing, mentorship, and measurable growth pathways.

5. Deepen Governance and Institutional Reform

A 50 percent score in Governance and Institutional Reform reflects incomplete systemic change. Annual sector performance reports should be mandatory across ministries to promote accountability and coherence. Open contracting systems and digital procurement platforms can reduce leakages and improve value for money.

Town halls, participatory budgeting pilots, and digital feedback systems should become structured features of governance rather than occasional initiatives. Citizen voice must be institutionalised, not episodic.

6. Strengthen Social Justice and Human Development

A 60 percent score in Social Justice and Human Development shows moderate progress, but equity gaps remain. Sustainable health financing mechanisms are needed to reduce out of pocket spending. In education, learning outcomes should be tracked through measurable benchmarks rather than focusing solely on infrastructure expansion.

Social protection programmes should be data driven and anchored on verified beneficiary registers. Equity is strengthened when support systems are predictable and transparent.

7. Build Institutional Resilience

Institutional fragility remains the central long-term risk. Every ministry should operate with measurable key performance indicators linked directly to the state development plan. Reliable state level statistics improve planning, borrowing decisions, and investor confidence.

Civil society, academia, and the private sector should have structured roles in reform review and policy feedback. Strong institutions reduce dependence on strong personalities. Institutional culture takes longer to build than infrastructure, but it determines whether reforms endure.

The Soludometer findings reveal an administration that demonstrated ambition and visible delivery in several areas, yet struggled with deeper structural consolidation. The next phase must focus on fiscal discipline, institutional durability, economic diversification, and reform entrenchment. Governance maturity is not measured by announcements, but by systems that function predictably. Governor Soludo has demonstrated ambition. The defining task ahead is consolidation.

CONCLUSION

On 17 March, four years after assuming office, the administration of Charles Chukwuma Soludo reaches the end of its first tenure with a record that is measurable, mixed, and instructive.

The Soludometer assessment was designed to move beyond applause and criticism. It asked a simple question: how many promises made were actually delivered?

Across 52 tracked commitments, the administration earned 25.5 points out of a possible 52, resulting in an overall performance score of 49 percent. This places the tenure within the Limited Delivery band under the Soludometer framework.

This is neither a failure of governance nor a record of full transformation. It is a portrait of partial reform success and incomplete structural change.

What the First Term Achieved

The strongest performance was recorded in Environmental Sustainability and Climate Action. This suggests that where policy direction was clear and execution authority was centralised, delivery was more consistent.

Social Justice and Human Development recorded moderate performance, reflecting tangible progress in selected areas but uneven implementation across the sector.

Governance and Institutional Reform showed ambition but lacked full consolidation. Reforms were initiated, but several were not sufficiently embedded into durable systems.

Economic Development and Transformation emerged as the weakest performing sector. Structural economic shifts require time, coordination, fiscal space and institutional stability. These conditions were not fully aligned during the period under review.

The Structural Lesson

Governance is similar to building a house. Laying the foundation is visible. Raising the walls is impressive. But ensuring the structure stands for decades requires strong internal reinforcement.

This first term laid foundations in several areas. However, reinforcement remains incomplete.

The data shows a reform-oriented administration that prioritised visible projects and initiated institutional change, but struggled to translate long-term economic transformation commitments into measurable outcomes within the tenure window.

The Risk Ahead

The key risks facing Anambra State are not limited to project completion. They lie in:

- Debt sustainability
- Fiscal resilience
- Power sector reform continuity
- Institutional fragility
- Political transition stability

If reforms remain personality-driven rather than system-driven, they risk weakening during leadership transitions.

Sustainable governance is achieved when systems operate predictably, regardless of who occupies office.

The Democratic Value of Measurement

The purpose of Soludometer is not to judge personalities. It is to strengthen democratic accountability.

In mature democracies, performance is measured against promises.

In developing democracies, this culture must be built deliberately.

By tracking commitments transparently, citizens are empowered to make informed electoral decisions based on evidence rather than rhetoric.

Final Reflection

A 49% score signals unfinished work. It confirms that progress was made. It confirms that ambition existed. It confirms that structural gaps remain.

The question moving forward is not whether reform began. The question is whether reform will deepen, consolidate, and endure.

The next phase of governance in Anambra State must shift from reform initiation to institutional entrenchment. Because in the end, the true measure of leadership is not what is announced. It is what lasts.

APPENDICES

S/N	PROMISES	STATUS	SECTOR
1	What we present is a synopsis, designed to give Ndi Anambra a feel for the future we envision. The Full agenda, costed with timelines and delivery mechanisms, will be published within the first 30 days on assumption of office if you give me the mandate	BROKEN	GOVERNANCE, RULE OF LAW, AND INSTITUTIONAL REFORMS
2	'There'll be the citizens' hotlines (phone numbers, Email Addresses, and Facebook Account) to interact with me.'	COMPROMISED	GOVERNANCE, RULE OF LAW, AND INSTITUTIONAL REFORMS
3	Government Resources will only patronise "Made in Anambra" except where it is impossible to produce such or no close alternatives	KEPT	ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND TRANSFORMATION
4	Over the next two years, we shall review, amend the relevant legislations, reform and strengthen the system for efficiency, restructure and strengthen the Anambra State Independent Electoral Commission and conduct Local Government elections.	COMPROMISED	GOVERNANCE, RULE OF LAW, AND INSTITUTIONAL REFORMS
5	Establish a business incubation hub and a 5 billion venture capital fund to incubate and provide additional growth capital for most promising start-ups ventures either by a way of grants or Direct Investment	COMPROMISED	ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND TRANSFORMATION
6	We will work with telecoms. to provide cheap (and ultimately free) Wi-Fi hotspots in public places for the take-off of the state emersion into the digital age	KEPT	SOCIAL JUSTICE AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT
7	We'll designate new locations as industrial/tech parks (Akwa-ihedi, Awka environs including parts of Orumba, ozubulu, Araku, Awka, e.t.c)	KEPT	ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND TRANSFORMATION
8	Continue and strengthen the free education initiatives (Primary 1 - Junior Secondary 3) in public schools. We'll work to extend free education to the Senior Secondary School.	KEPT	SOCIAL JUSTICE AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT
9	Review curricula at all levels to provide functional education for the digital age to develop graduates that are problem solvers especially ICT and coding skills, AI, Robotics, etc.	KEPT	SOCIAL JUSTICE AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT
10	Reactivate all inactive tourist sites and work with other independent travel tours to ensure they meet the international standards for travel destinations e.g tourist attractions such as the Ogbunike Cave, Odinari Museum at Nri, Ogba Ukwu cave and waterfall, Owerre Ezukala and other similar sites will be fully developed.	BROKEN	ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND TRANSFORMATION

11	Complete the Awka Shopping Mall	COMPROMISED	ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND TRANSFORMATION
12	Complete the Nnewi Shopping Mall	BROKEN	ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND TRANSFORMATION
13	We'll work with the Legislative and key stakeholders to provide legal framework for the Igbo Apprentice system in order to safeguard the rights and obligations of both the apprentice and the boss.	KEPT	GOVERNANCE, RULE OF LAW, AND INSTITUTIONAL REFORMS
14	A new department of ANSIPPA (Import-to-export department) will specifically assist our traders to forge durable and profitable partnerships with overseas	BROKEN	ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND TRANSFORMATION
15	Deploy a centralised e-GIS web portal with supporting ICT infrastructure, a portal for real-time information on mining activities, and electronic submission of licenses, permits, and certificates	BROKEN	ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND TRANSFORMATION
16	Amend and Implement Anambra State Security Trust Fund Law, 2010 and amendment law, 2018 to mobilise funds towards the procurement of necessary equipment and training of personnel involved in providing security in the	KEPT	SOCIAL JUSTICE AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT
17	Construct overhead bridges(flyovers) in strategic locations such as Nkpor that will decongest traffic and provide a better transport experience.	BROKEN	ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND TRANSFORMATION
18	Construct overhead bridges(flyovers) in strategic locations such as Onitsha that will decongest traffic and provide a better transport experience.	BROKEN	ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND TRANSFORMATION
19	Construct overhead bridges(flyovers) in strategic locations such as Awka that will decongest traffic and provide a better transport experience.	KEPT	ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND TRANSFORMATION
20	Construct overhead bridges(flyovers) in strategic locations such as Ekwulobia that will decongest traffic and provide a better transport experience.	KEPT	ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND TRANSFORMATION
21	Construct overhead bridges(flyovers) in strategic locations such as Nnobi that will decongest traffic and provide a better transport experience.	BROKEN	ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND TRANSFORMATION

22	Invest in social transport schemes for urban mass transport for the poor and vulnerable/subsidised transport.	COMPROMISED	SOCIAL JUSTICE AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT
23	We will Crack the nuts on power to achieve a 20-24-hour uninterrupted power supply in Anambra State	BROKEN	ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND TRANSFORMATION
24	Incorporate community structures and members into the governance, ownership and management of PHC facilities.	KEPT	SOCIAL JUSTICE AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT
25	Establish the Health Facilities Monitoring and Accreditation Agency(HEFAMAA), charged with Monitoring public and private health facilities to ensure registration, accreditation and standardisation of all health facilities.	KEPT	SOCIAL JUSTICE AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT
26	Establish a digitised and world-class Drug Revolving Fund(DRF) Scheme	KEPT	SOCIAL JUSTICE AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT
27	Continue ASBA'S interventions focused on youth-owned SMEs.	KEPT	SOCIAL JUSTICE AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT
28	In partnership with the private sector in the state, design and implement a secondary school internship programme aimed at providing pupils with the requisite experience as they transition into tertiary education	BROKEN	SOCIAL JUSTICE AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT
29	Create Anambra male and female football teams to play in the professional league in Nigeria	COMPROMISED	SOCIAL JUSTICE AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT
30	Create specific programs to empower women-owned businesses and enterprises and also seek partnerships and funding and DFIs to support these businesses	BROKEN	SOCIAL JUSTICE AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT
31	Sustain timely payment of benefits for all pensioned senior citizens and design a sustainable safety net targeting the needs of all aged citizens above the age of 70	BROKEN	SOCIAL JUSTICE AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

32	Work with the House of Assembly to review and ultimately pass the draft social protection bill into law which aims to provide social safety nets to the poor, unemployed, and vulnerable population	BROKEN	SOCIAL JUSTICE AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT
33	We'll deploy a service delivery charter as a contract between citizens and public servants. Such a charter will among other things clearly define what services citizens can expect and within what time frame. E.g. with tech. and responsive public service there is no reason requests/inquiries by citizens should not be responded to/concluded within 48hrs	BROKEN	GOVERNANCE, RULE OF LAW, AND INSTITUTIONAL REFORMS
34	Our target is to transit from manual operations to complete e-government in the medium term	KEPT	GOVERNANCE, RULE OF LAW, AND INSTITUTIONAL REFORMS
35	Deploy a digitally enabled land administration process with a view of achieving land transfer of title within 72 hours	COMPROMISED	GOVERNANCE, RULE OF LAW, AND INSTITUTIONAL REFORMS
36	Review, Amend and operationalize the fiscal responsibility law for greater transparency and sustainability of state finance	BROKEN	GOVERNANCE, RULE OF LAW, AND INSTITUTIONAL REFORMS
37	Continue and strengthen accountability initiatives, such as publishing state accounts regularly	KEPT	GOVERNANCE, RULE OF LAW, AND INSTITUTIONAL REFORMS
38	Collaborate with judiciary to upscale the efficiency of the Judicial process to set up a specialized commercial court as well as mainstream the alternative dispute resolution mechanism to ensure that timeliness for commercial dispute resolution are reduced to 30days from the average of 307 days	COMPROMISED	GOVERNANCE, RULE OF LAW, AND INSTITUTIONAL REFORMS
39	Establish an Anambra State Hall of Fame and annual celebration of great achievers in all fields of endeavour, including teachers, entrepreneurs/job, creators, community workers public servants with demonstrable integrity and efficiency.	BROKEN	GOVERNANCE, RULE OF LAW, AND INSTITUTIONAL REFORMS
40	Continue and complete the design of the state master plan	KEPT	ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY AND CLIMATE ACTION

41	Design and enforce a template of minimum standards for infrastructure and other facilities in cities, markets, and community	KEPT	ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY AND CLIMATE ACTION
42	The Government will encourage and incentivize households to plant a minimum number of trees per annum	KEPT	ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY AND CLIMATE ACTION
43	Complete the concession of water schemes in the state to ensure that the first four urban areas--- Awka, Nnewi, and Ekwulobia have access to piped water within three years	COMPROMISED	ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY AND CLIMATE ACTION
44	Complete the Onitsha, Otuocha water schemes in 12 months in office	COMPROMISED	ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY AND CLIMATE ACTION
45	We intend to create a special fund, Anambra State Development Fund. We'll create 200 million dollars fund and target a scale up to 1 billion dollars	COMPROMISED	ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND TRANSFORMATION
46	Continue and strengthen institutions for investment promotions and business administration such as ASBA and ANSIPPA	KEPT	GOVERNANCE, RULE OF LAW, AND INSTITUTIONAL REFORMS
47	Improve access and enrolment into Mass Literacy, Adult and Non-Formal Education Programme(name to be changed to state Functional Literacy and Education programme - SFLER)	BROKEN	SOCIAL JUSTICE AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT
48	Build on and expand the efforts of the 'Light Up Anambra' program through solar power, gas to power, and other environment-friendly	KEPT	ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND TRANSFORMATION
49	"We'll deploy technology to ramp up our IGR" We'll ramp it up to about 5% of Anambra economy"	BROKEN	ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND TRANSFORMATION
50	Liaise with the Federal Government to have an inland dry port so importers can have their goods shipped directly and cleared in Onitsha	BROKEN	ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND TRANSFORMATION
51	Work with the Federal government to build embankments to help control the flooding in Anambra West	BROKEN	ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY AND CLIMATE ACTION
52	Indeed, after 4 years, Anambra should generate more than 100% of its recurrent expenditure	BROKEN	ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND TRANSFORMATION

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