



**GESI  
Tracker**

# **INCLUSIVE LEGISLATIVE OUTCOMES IN NIGERIA**

**A Review of GESI Initiative in  
the 10th National Assembly (2023 - 2025)**



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# Glossary of Terms

**10th National Assembly** - The current legislative assembly of Nigeria, inaugurated in June 2023

**Bills** - Proposed laws introduced for consideration by the National Assembly.

**Budget Oversight** - The role of the legislature in scrutinising budget proposals, allocations, releases, and expenditures to ensure alignment with policy commitments and accountability in public spending.

**Committee Stage** - A phase in the legislative process where bills and issues are examined in detail by specialised committees.

**Direct GESI Interventions** - Legislative actions whose primary intent is to address the rights, protection, or inclusion of marginalised groups, such as

women, persons with disabilities, children, youth, or older persons.

**GESI** - Gender Equality and Social Inclusion

**GESI Tracker** - A legislative monitoring framework developed by OrderPaper Nigeria to systematically track, analyse, and document how Nigeria's National Assembly engages with gender equality and social inclusion across lawmaking, oversight, and budgetary functions.

**Gender-Based Violence (GBV)** - Harmful acts directed at individuals based on their gender.

**Indirect GESI Interventions** - Legislative actions that are not explicitly framed as inclusion-focused but have significant implications for GESI outcomes.

**Institutionalisation** - The process through which policies, practices, or priorities become embedded within formal systems, procedures, and norms, reducing reliance on individual actors.

**Legislative Champion** - A lawmaker who consistently sponsors, supports, or advocates for specific

inclusion-focused reforms within the legislature, often driving momentum on GESI-related issues.

**Legislative Monitoring** - The systematic observation, documentation, and analysis of legislative activities, including bills, motions, debates, committee work, and budget oversight, to assess performance, accountability, and responsiveness.

**Motions** - Formal proposals raised by lawmakers to draw attention to issues of public concern or to prompt resolutions, debates, or actions by the legislature.

**Persons with Disabilities (PWDs)** - Individuals who have long-term physical, mental, intellectual, or sensory impairments which, in interaction with barriers, may hinder their full and effective participation in society.

**Plenary Session** - A formal sitting of the full legislative chamber where debates, motions, and voting occur.

**Political Will** - The level of

commitment demonstrated by political actors to advance, sustain, and implement reforms.

**Reserved Seats** - Legislative mechanisms that allocate a specific number of seats to underrepresented groups, particularly women or persons with disabilities, to address structural exclusion in political representation.

**Social Protection** - Public policies and programmes designed to reduce poverty and vulnerability by providing income support, access to essential services, and protection against economic shocks.

**Vulnerable Groups** - Populations exposed to heightened risk of exclusion, poverty, or discrimination, including women, children, youth, persons with disabilities, older persons, internally displaced persons, and low-income households

# Acknowledgement

The management of OrderPaper Nigeria expresses sincere appreciation to the dedicated team whose commitment and expertise made the production of the GESI Tracker Compendium possible. This publication reflects the collective effort of individuals and partners who believe strongly in advancing gender equality and social inclusion within Nigeria's legislative and governance processes.

Special recognition goes to Jokpa Mudia Erusiafe, Programme Executive, for her diligence, coordination, and attention to detail in leading the research, analysis, and documentation that informed this compendium.

We are also grateful to our valued stakeholders across the National Assembly, civil society organisations, development partners, and the broader policy community, whose engagement with the GESI Tracker continues to strengthen evidence-based advocacy and promote more inclusive legislative practices in Nigeria.

OrderPaper Nigeria remains committed to working with partners and institutions to advance transparency, accountability, and inclusive governance in Nigeria's democratic processes.

# About OrderPaper Nigeria

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OrderPaper Nigeria is Nigeria's foremost independent parliamentary monitoring organisation and policy think tank. We deploy data, technology, research, and strategic engagement to bridge the gap between parliament, policy, and the people. Our vision is to be the most authoritative organisation of choice and reference for parliamentary reporting, advocacy, and public policy advisory in Africa, with growing global relevance. Our mission is to provide simple, reliable, and actionable parliamentary data that empowers citizens and strengthens informed decision-making across public and private institutions.

With over a decade of experience in social entrepreneurship, policy advocacy, and democratic innovation, OrderPaper has played a pioneering role in institutionalising parliamentary performance tracking in Nigeria. Through structured legislative monitoring, performance appraisals, and civic technology platforms, we

make parliamentary processes more transparent, measurable, and accessible to diverse stakeholders.

Through our FLEX (Facility for Legislative Executive Exchange) programme, OrderPaper promotes productive institutional relations between parliament and the executive arm of government in Nigeria.

Institutionally, OrderPaper serves as the lead organisation and secretariat of the Nigerian Network of Parliamentary Monitoring Organisations (NNPMO), fostering collaboration and strengthening standards within Nigeria's parliamentary monitoring ecosystem. We are also an institutional member of the Evidence in Governance and Politics (EGAP) global network, reflecting our commitment to evidence-based governance, research integrity, and international best practices.

Our current strategic direction focuses on advancing accountability and good governance, promoting inclusive and responsive lawmaking, strengthening institutional transparency, and deploying innovative tools that connect citizens more directly to Nigeria's democratic institutions

# Foreword

Advancing inclusive governance requires more than policy commitments; it demands sustained institutional effort, credible evidence, and collaborative partnerships that strengthen accountability within democratic systems. Across emerging democracies, legislatures remain central to shaping whether governance outcomes reflect the realities and needs of all citizens, particularly women, youth, persons with disabilities, older persons, and other historically underrepresented groups.

It is in this context that *Inclusive Legislative Outcomes in Nigeria: A Review of GESI Initiatives in the 10th National Assembly* makes an important contribution. Through the Gender Equality and Social Inclusion (GESI) Tracker, OrderPaper Nigeria has developed a structured and data-driven approach to monitoring how legislative processes engage with issues of inclusion across

lawmaking, oversight, and budgetary functions. By systematically analysing parliamentary activities, the Tracker provides valuable insight into both the growing visibility of GESI issues and the institutional challenges that continue to affect the pace of reform.

During the implementation of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID)-funded Strengthening Civic Advocacy and Local Engagement (SCALE) project (2021–2024), OrderPaper Nigeria was a key partner whose work demonstrated the importance of legislative transparency, evidence-based advocacy, and sustained civic engagement. Through SCALE-supported efforts focused on fiscal transparency, legislative accountability, and election-related monitoring, OrderPaper worked in collaboration with other civil society organisations to engage government institutions and key stakeholders in advancing governance reforms at national and subnational levels. The evolution of the GESI Tracker reflects the continuity of these

efforts, building on earlier investments in data-driven legislative engagement to deepen attention to gender equality and social inclusion outcomes.

The findings presented in this compendium highlight a legislature that is increasingly attentive to inclusion concerns, yet still navigating structural, political, and institutional constraints that slow the translation of legislative attention into durable policy outcomes. The evidence underscores an important lesson: meaningful inclusion requires not only legislative intent, but sustained oversight, coordinated advocacy, and alignment between reform proposals, budgetary commitments, and implementation systems.

As Nigeria approaches a new electoral cycle, the insights contained in this publication provide an important reference point for lawmakers, civil society actors, development partners, and researchers seeking to strengthen inclusive governance. The continued use of structured monitoring frameworks such as

the GESI Tracker will remain essential for ensuring that commitments to equality and inclusion translate into measurable institutional progress.

This compendium therefore stands as both a reflection of the progress made and a reminder of the work that remains. Sustaining momentum toward inclusive legislative systems will depend on continued collaboration among public institutions, civil society, and development partners committed to ensuring that democratic processes deliver equitable outcomes for all citizens.

**Lydia Odeh**

Former Chief of Party

USAID Strengthening Civic Advocacy and Local Engagement (SCALE) Project

Implemented by Palladium (2021–2024)

# Executive Summary

The Gender Equality and Social Inclusion (GESI) Tracker is a legislative accountability initiative designed and implemented by OrderPaper Nigeria to systematically assess how Nigeria's National Assembly engages with inclusion and equality across lawmaking, oversight, and budgetary processes. The GESI Tracker applies a structured analytical framework to parliamentary activities in order to evaluate responsiveness to the rights, needs, and lived realities of women, youth, the aged, persons with disabilities, children, and other socially excluded populations. It is one of OrderPaper's novel and innovative tools for evidence-driven engagement with the policy ecosystem of Nigeria.

This Compendium presents a consolidated analysis of findings and engagements generated through the GESI Tracker during the life of the current 10th National Assembly up to December 2025. Drawing on sustained monitoring of bills, motions, plenary debates, committee engagements, and budget oversight, it provides evidence-based insights into how inclusion is currently framed,

prioritised, and operationalised within the 10th National Assembly. The document is intended as a reference resource for policymakers, civil society actors, development partners, researchers, and institutions interested in inclusive governance and legislative accountability in emerging democracies.

Findings from the review period indicate a growing recognition of GESI-related themes within parliamentary proceedings. Issues such as women's political representation, sexual harassment, disability inclusion, social protection, child protection, and emerging digital risks are increasingly referenced in legislative debates and motions. However, this recognition has not consistently translated into institutionalised legislative outcomes. Progress on inclusion remains uneven, fragmented, and highly dependent on individual legislative champions rather than embedded parliamentary systems or processes.

The underpinning factor identified through GESI Tracker analysis is the structural underrepresentation of women and youth within the legislature itself. This imbalance continues to shape the nature, recurrence, and prioritisation of GESI-focused reform proposals. Notably, a significant proportion of GESI-related bills and motions are sponsored by male lawmakers, highlighting both the presence of allyship and the persistent gap in women's legislative leadership. While such sponsorship has enabled some issues to gain traction, it has not

resolved the deeper challenge of representation-driven reforms.

The Compendium also documents persistent legislative delays and cyclical reintroduction of key GESI bills, particularly those addressing women's political inclusion and sexual harassment. GESI Tracker articles spanning multiple assemblies reveal a pattern of recurrence of those legislative instruments without closure, where bills resurface repeatedly but struggle to advance through final passage or effective implementation. This trend raises concerns about the effectiveness of GESI reform advocacy, especially as political attention increasingly shifts toward the 2027 electoral cycle.

Beyond lawmaking, the GESI Tracker highlights significant gaps in the integration of inclusion principles within committee work and fiscal oversight. Budgetary analysis reveals weak alignment between legislative intent and financial releases, particularly in sectors central to gender equality and social welfare. Limited capital releases, delayed disbursements, and weak coordination undermine the ability of implementing institutions to translate policy commitments into tangible outcomes for vulnerable populations.

Engagement has been a central component of the GESI Tracker's approach. During the review period, OrderPaper Nigeria conducted targeted advocacy and knowledge-sharing engagements with lawmakers,

development partners, and civil society organisations. These engagements reinforced the value of data-driven analysis in strengthening legislative accountability and informed advocacy on priority GESI issues, including women's representation, social protection systems, disability rights, and gender-responsive budgeting.

Taken together, the findings presented in this Compendium underscore both opportunity and urgency. While awareness of GESI issues within Nigeria's legislative space is expanding, inclusion remains fragile, personality-driven, and vulnerable to political shifts. As the 10th National Assembly nears the end of its tenure, especially with a shift of focus to electoral matters, the window to advance substantive and durable GESI legislation is narrowing. Without deliberate institutionalisation, sustained oversight, and coordinated advocacy, inclusion risks being reduced to episodic attention rather than measurable governance outcomes. This Compendium positions the GESI Tracker not only as a monitoring tool but as a replicable framework for assessing legislative inclusion in comparable contexts where evidence-based tracking can illuminate the gap between political rhetoric and institutional practice, and support more inclusive, responsive legislative systems.

**Oke Epia**

Chief Executive Officer, OrderPaper Nigeria

# About the GESI Tracker

The Gender Equality and Social Inclusion (GESI) Tracker is a structured legislative monitoring framework developed and implemented by OrderPaper Nigeria to assess the extent to which national legislative lawmaking processes and outcomes reflect principles of equality, inclusion, and social justice. The GESI Tracker responds to longstanding concerns about the underrepresentation and marginalisation of key population groups within Nigeria's democratic institutions, particularly women, youth, persons with disabilities, children, the aged, and economically vulnerable communities.

The GESI Tracker is anchored in the understanding that inclusive governance is not achieved solely through constitutional guarantees or policy declarations, but through deliberate, sustained, and measurable legislative action. It therefore focuses on how inclusion is articulated, prioritised, and operationalised across the full legislative cycle, from agenda setting, bills and motions processing to oversight and budgetary decision-making.

At its core, the GESI Tracker applies a gender and social inclusion lens to parliamentary activities, recognising that laws and policies are not neutral in their

impact. Social, economic, and political inequalities shape who benefits from legislation and who remains excluded. By systematically interrogating these dynamics, the GESI Tracker moves beyond surface-level participation metrics to examine power, access, and outcomes within the legislative process.

## Scope of Legislative Monitoring

The GESI Tracker monitors a wide range of legislative activities within Nigeria's National Assembly, including:

- **Bills and Laws:** Examination of bills on inclusion themes, analysing their sponsors, progression through legislative stages, and potential impact on marginalised groups if passed into laws.
- **Motions and Resolutions:** Identification and categorisation of motions addressing gender equality, social protection, disability rights, youth issues, displacement, care for senior citizens, security-related vulnerabilities, and emerging risks.
- **Plenary Debates:** Tracking of deliberations to assess how inclusion is framed within parliamentary discourse.
- **Committee Activities:** Review of oversight hearings and committee-level interventions.
- **Budget Oversight:** Examination of budget defence sessions and appropriation outcomes to assess the alignment between legislative commitments and financial allocations affecting women, youth, and vulnerable populations.

This multi-layered approach enables the



GESI Tracker to capture both formal legislative outputs and the informal dynamics that influence inclusion outcomes.

### **Methodological Approach**

The GESI Tracker employs a mixed-methods approach, combining quantitative tracking of legislative activities with qualitative analysis of content, context, and political dynamics. Legislative data is reviewed against a GESI analytical framework that considers representation, access, responsiveness, and accountability. This approach allows for the identification of patterns over time, rather than isolated events, and supports evidence-based conclusions about institutional performance.

Importantly, it is designed as a diagnostic tool that highlights trends, gaps, and opportunities for reform. Its emphasis is on strengthening accountability through transparency, public awareness, and informed engagement.

### **Purpose and Use**

The GESI Tracker is designed to serve multiple audiences and functions within Nigeria's democratic ecosystem. For lawmakers and parliamentary institutions, it provides evidence-based insights that can inform more inclusive legislative practices, strengthen oversight, and support institutional learning. For civil society organisations and advocacy groups, the GESI Tracker serves as a credible, timely data to underpin evidence-based engagement, coalition building, and public accountability efforts.

For development partners, academia and research institutions, the GESI Tracker presents a structured and replicable framework for analysing gender equality and social inclusion within legislative processes, contributing to comparative research, policy analysis, and knowledge production. In addition, the GESI Tracker is relevant to Ministries, Departments, and Agencies (MDAs), particularly those responsible for policy implementation, budgeting, and service delivery, by highlighting legislative priorities, accountability gaps, and areas where alignment between lawmaking and execution remains weak.

By serving these diverse stakeholders, the GESI Tracker functions not only as a monitoring tool but as a shared evidence base to support more inclusive, coordinated, and accountable governance outcomes.

# Methodology and Scope

The GESI Tracker employs a structured, mixed-methods approach to assess the inclusiveness of legislative processes within the National Assembly. The methodology is designed to capture both the volume and substance of parliamentary activity, while accounting for the political and institutional context in which lawmaking occurs.

## Scope of Review

The analysis covered legislative activities of the 10th National Assembly from beginning of the tracking in March 2024 to December 2025. The scope includes proceedings of both chambers, with primary emphasis on the House of Representatives, reflecting data availability and the volume of tracked GESI-relevant activity during the review period.

The GESI Tracker focuses on federal legislative processes and does not assess subnational legislatures in its current focus.

## GESI Classification Framework

Legislative items are assessed using a gender and social inclusion analytical framework that classifies relevance across multiple dimensions. Items are categorised as:

- Direct GESI interventions, where the primary intent of the bill or motion explicitly targets women, youth, persons with disabilities, children, senior citizens or other marginalised groups
- Indirect GESI interventions, where inclusion outcomes are secondary but consciously embedded, such as security, social protection, economic empowerment, or displacement-related measures

This classification allows the GESI Tracker to distinguish between legislative action designed specifically to address exclusion and broader policy interventions with differential social impacts.

## Data Collection and Analysis

Data sources include official parliamentary documents, legislative tracking data from OrderPaper Nigeria, committee documents, as well as other publicly available legislative documents. Quantitative tracking is also done to evaluate inclusion trends, sponsorship, among other factors.



### **Limitations**

The GESI Tracker recognised certain limitations inherent in legislative monitoring within the National Assembly. A key constraint was the limited access to parliamentary data, particularly from closed-door committee meetings and internal deliberations, which were not routinely made publicly available. As many critical decisions shaping legislative outcomes occur at the committee level, restricted access to these processes limited the ability to fully analyse how and why certain GESI-related bills and motions progressed, or stalled.

To mitigate these constraints, the GESI Tracker drew on a range of complementary sources, including plenary records, public hearings, official parliamentary publications, media reporting, and engagements by civil society organisations. By triangulating across these sources, the GESI Tracker ensured that its analysis remained grounded, credible,

and reflective of observable legislative dynamics, even where direct access to internal parliamentary data were constrained.

### **Interpretation of Findings**

It should also be noted that findings presented in this Compendium should not be viewed as measures of social impact, but rather as measures of the responsiveness of institutions. The GESI Tracker is intended for assessing the prioritization of inclusion within legislative processes, and not for replacing program or sector-specific assessments.

# 1. Key Findings and Trends

Analysis of legislative activities tracked between March 2024 to December 2025 reveals consistent patterns in how gender equality and social inclusion are engaged within the federal legislature. While inclusion-related issues are increasingly visible in parliamentary discourse, the evidence points to structural, institutional, and political constraints that continue to limit transformative outcomes.

## **1. Visibility Without Institutionalisation**

GESI-related issues have gained increasing visibility within the legislative activities of the 10th National Assembly, particularly in plenary debates, motions, and the introduction of bills. Analysis drawn from GESI Tracker articles shows that lawmakers are more openly acknowledging issues of gender inequality, social exclusion, and vulnerability as governance concerns. Topics such as women's political representation, sexual harassment, disability inclusion, social protection, child protection, and digital safety have featured more frequently in parliamentary discourse, signalling a growing awareness of inclusion as part of democratic accountability.

This visibility reflects a shift in narrative within the legislature, where GESI

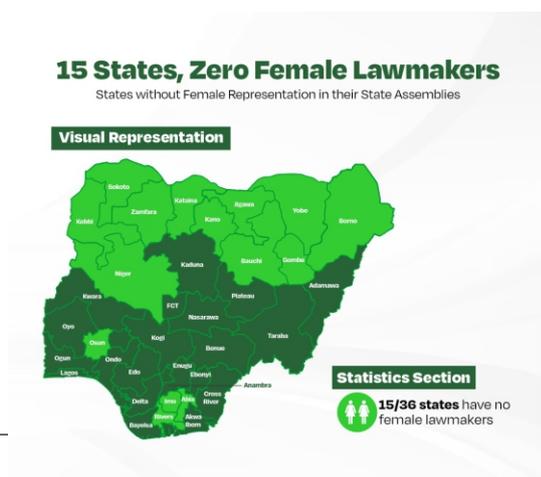
concerns are no longer entirely peripheral but are increasingly framed as national development and human rights issues. Motions commemorating international days, debates on social welfare, and bills addressing protection for women, children, and other vulnerable groups suggest that lawmakers recognise the political and social relevance of inclusion-focused reforms.

However, this growing recognition has not yet translated into the institutionalisation of GESI outcomes within the legislative process. Despite reappearances and sustained public discussion, progress on key inclusion-focused reforms remains slow, fragmented, and highly susceptible to political transitions. Several GESI-related bills experience prolonged deliberation, stall at committee stages, or fail to progress beyond second reading. In many cases, bills are repeatedly reintroduced across successive assemblies without substantive advancement. A notable example is the sexual harassment bill, which has appeared in the 8th, 9th, and now the 10th Assembly, yet has not successfully scaled through to enactment.

This pattern points to a structural gap between recognition and action. While GESI issues are increasingly visible in legislative rhetoric, they have not been embedded into parliamentary systems, timelines, or accountability mechanisms in a way that ensures continuity and progression. As a result, inclusion-focused reforms remain vulnerable to shifts in political priorities, leadership changes, and electoral cycles, rather than being treated as core legislative obligations.

Overall, the trend suggests that GESI has achieved recognition within parliamentary discourse, but not yet embedded within legislative practice. Until inclusion is institutionalised through consistent committee prioritisation, clear legislative pathways, and stronger political commitment, visibility alone is unlikely to yield the sustained reforms required to address entrenched gender and social inequalities

## 2. Gender Representation and the Paradox of Legislative Championing

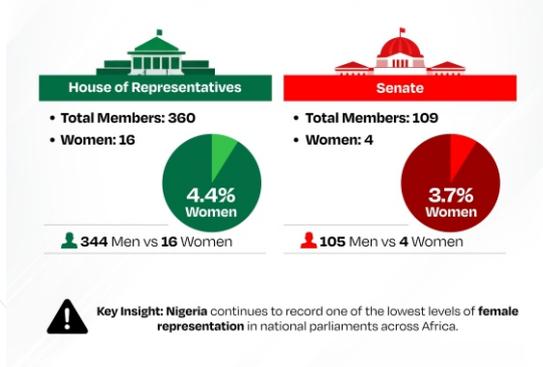


A recurring finding across GESI Tracker outputs is the persistent structural underrepresentation of women within Nigeria's legislative institutions and the implications this has for agenda-setting, prioritisation, and desired legislative outcomes. Women remain significantly underrepresented in both chambers of the National Assembly, constraining the diversity of lived experiences and perspectives that inform legislative debate and policymaking.

Nigeria continues to record one of the lowest levels of female representation in national parliaments across Africa. Currently, only 16 women serve in the 360-member House of Representatives, representing just under 4.4 percent, while the Senate has only four women out of 109 members, accounting for approximately 3.7 percent. This imbalance is further entrenched at the subnational level. Across more than 15 State Houses of Assembly, there are no female legislators at all, effectively excluding women from lawmaking spaces at the levels of government closest to communities and service delivery.

This systemic exclusion has direct consequences for GESI outcomes. With women largely absent from legislative decision-making spaces, issues that disproportionately affect women and girls often struggle to gain sustained political traction. GESI Tracker analysis

## WOMEN IN THE 10TH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY



shows that while women lawmakers tend to play visible roles in sponsoring and championing inclusion-focused legislation, their small numbers limit their capacity to form strong voting blocs, influence committee leadership, or institutionalise reforms.

At the same time, a notable proportion of GESI-related bills and motions continue to be sponsored by male lawmakers. This reveals a paradox within Nigeria's legislative landscape. On one hand, male sponsorship of legislative instruments (bills and motions) has enabled certain gender and social inclusion issues to enter parliamentary discourse, reflecting the role of allyship in advancing inclusive agendas. On the other hand, this dynamic underscores the extent to which GESI reforms rely on individual political will rather than representation-driven momentum and institutional commitment.

GESI Tracker findings suggest that

reforms driven primarily by a small number of motivated legislators, often operating without broad-based coalitions, remain particularly vulnerable to delay, dilution, or abandonment. Without a critical mass of women legislators and formal mechanisms to mainstream inclusion across committees and leadership structures, GESI priorities risk remaining episodic rather than embedded. This reinforces the conclusion that while allyship is valuable, it cannot substitute for structural representation as the foundation for sustainable and transformative GESI reforms

### 3. Recurrent Legislative Attention to Sexual Harassment Without Closure



GESI Tracker analysis of sexual harassment and gender-based violence legislation reveals a persistent pattern of commencement without resolution. Bills addressing sexual harassment in educational institutions, including sex-for-grades and related protections, have

surfaced repeatedly across successive National Assemblies. While these bills often gain early momentum and, in some cases, advance to advanced legislative stages, their progression has historically stalled before final enactment.

Notably, the passage of the Sexual Harassment in Tertiary Educational Institutions (Prohibition) Bill in the current Assembly represents an important milestone, but it is not unprecedented. This bill was reintroduced by Hon. Akintunde Romiti in July 2024 in the House of Representatives. In October 2024, Hon. Ejirooghene Francis Waive added his voice by moving a motion for the reconsideration of the bill. Then, in November 2025, the bill was finally passed by the Senate after it was presented by Sen. Michael Opeyemi Bamidele. It is worthy to note that similar versions of the bill were passed by the National Assembly in previous legislative cycles, yet failed to receive presidential assent, preventing them from becoming enforceable law. This history underscores a recurring gap between legislative appetite, approval and executive follow-through, weakening the long-term impact of parliamentary action on gender-based violence.

This legislative recycling suggests that

while there is broad political consensus on the existence and severity of sexual harassment in schools, sustained political urgency to tackle the menace remains elusive. The repeated reintroduction of the same protections points to an institutional inability to translate desire into durable reform. From a GESI perspective, this pattern reflects deeper governance challenges, where issues affecting women and girls are acknowledged rhetorically but struggle to compete with other legislative priorities when it comes to passage, assent, implementation, and enforcement.

The implications are significant. Each stalled bill represents not only a political failure but a missed opportunity to protect students, hold perpetrators accountable, and shift institutional cultures within educational spaces. The GESI Tracker's findings highlight the need for stronger cross-branch coordination, clearer executive accountability, and sustained public pressure to ensure that gender-based violence legislation moves beyond symbolic passage to effective legal protection.

#### **4. Disability Inclusion: Recognition Versus Practical Action**

Legislative engagement on the rights of persons with disabilities (PWDs) reflects a growing level of formal recognition

within Nigeria's lawmaking processes. Motions and bills referencing disability rights, accessibility standards, and non-discrimination signal increased awareness of the structural barriers faced by PWDs. However, GESI Tracker analysis consistently reveals a significant gap between recognition and practical inclusion outcomes.

Despite the existence of the Discrimination Against Persons with Disabilities (Prohibition) Act, disability inclusion within legislative practice remains largely compliance-driven rather than transformative. Legislative attention often focuses on affirming rights in principle, with far less scrutiny applied to how these rights are operationalised across critical sectors such as security, justice, public infrastructure, education, health, and social protection. Oversight of implementing agencies is uneven, and budgetary allocations for accessibility retrofitting, assistive technologies, inclusive service delivery, and enforcement mechanisms remain inadequate or inconsistently released.

This gap is further illustrated by the stalling of representation-focused reforms. Notably, a bill seeking to establish special legislative seats for persons with disabilities was introduced by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Hon. Abbas Tajudeen and Hon. Marcus Onobun as a mechanism to address systemic

political exclusion. The bill's emphasis was on the need for full and effective participation of Persons with Disabilities in public affairs. However, the bill stalled at the second reading stage, reflecting broader institutional barriers to structural inclusion measures. At the same time, GESI-related viral incidents that made their way to parliament have not always received closures from investigations. For example, the House of Representatives Committee on Disability Matters at one point summoned the management of a KFC outlet in Lagos over discriminatory treatment against Adebola Daniel, son of Sen. Gbenga Daniel, after he was reportedly denied access to the restaurant because of his wheelchair, and initially set an investigation into the matter. But beyond the early headlines and promises of inquiry and an apology from KFC there's been little visible resolution or accountability for enforcement, leaving disability advocates wondering whether the probe will lead to meaningful change. While disability rights are acknowledged in law, efforts to embed representation and participation within governance structures face significant political inertia and inconsistent execution of even the investigations that do get launched.

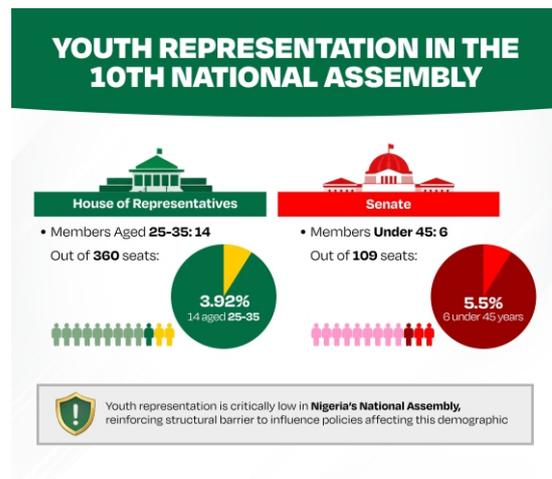
GESI Tracker articles also indicate that disability inclusion is frequently treated

as a standalone obligation rather than a cross-cutting governance issue. Accessibility considerations are rarely mainstreamed into broader policy debates on infrastructure development, public safety, digital services, or emergency response. As a result, persons with disabilities continue to encounter barriers in everyday interactions with public institutions, despite existing legal protections. Although the National Assembly complex is officially described as accessible to persons with disabilities, questions remain about the depth and consistency of that accessibility in practice. In a legislature that has undergone extensive renovations in recent years, leadership by example would require not only nominal access, but clear, seamless and dignified access to key democratic spaces including how easily a person using a wheelchair can reach the public gallery during plenary sessions or navigate the legislative environment independently. The gap between declared compliance and lived experience underscores how inclusion is often treated as an afterthought rather than a core governance principle.

The evidence underscores the need for stronger institutional mechanisms to bridge the gap between law and lived experience. These include targeted budgetary commitments, clearer implementation guidelines, sustained

legislative oversight, and renewed political commitment to representation-focused reforms. Without these, disability inclusion risks remaining symbolic, legally recognised, but practically inaccessible.

## 5. Youth Exclusion and the Link to Economic Vulnerability



Despite Nigeria's overwhelmingly young population, now estimated at over 200 million, with more than 60 percent under the age of 30, youth political representation within legislative processes remains limited. GESI Tracker coverage examining the role and influence of younger lawmakers, in line with the Not Too Young To Run Act's eligibility thresholds, as well as legislative debates on student loans, employment, social protection, and responses to youth-led protest movements, reveals a persistent disconnect between the lived realities of young Nigerians and the scope, urgency, and depth of legislative action.

While younger legislators are present in the National Assembly, their numbers and influence have yet to translate into sustained, youth-responsive policymaking.

Youth-related issues are most often addressed through the lens of economic vulnerability, particularly unemployment, underemployment, rising living costs, and limited access to education financing. While these challenges are frequently acknowledged, legislative interventions remain fragmented, short-term, and largely reactive. Youth are commonly framed as passive beneficiaries of policy interventions rather than as active political stakeholders with agency in shaping laws and policies that affect their futures.

The GESI Tracker's findings suggest that this exclusion is both structural and political. Low youth representation within the legislature limits the prioritisation of youth-centred reforms, while the absence of institutionalised channels for youth participation in policymaking further weakens accountability. In numerical terms, only 14 members of the House of Representatives are aged 25–35, representing just 3.92 percent of the 360 seats, while the Senate has 6 seats occupied by young people under 45 years, accounting for roughly 5.5

percent. These figures illustrate how youth presence in the legislature remains minimal, reinforcing the structural barriers to meaningful influence over policy agendas. As economic pressures intensify, particularly among young people in urban centres, rural communities, and conflict-affected areas, the failure to integrate youth perspectives into legislative decision-making risks deepening political alienation and social instability. From a GESI standpoint, addressing youth exclusion requires moving beyond welfare-oriented responses toward reforms that expand political inclusion, representation, and meaningful participation.

## **6. Emerging Inclusion Risks in the Digital and Child Protection Space**

GESI Tracker analysis also points to an emerging legislative recognition of digital risks affecting children and other vulnerable populations. Recent deliberations addressing child online safety, digital exploitation, and technology-facilitated violence signal a growing awareness that exclusion, harm, and inequality are increasingly shaped by digital environments.

These developments are particularly significant from a GESI perspective, as digital harm often intersects with existing gender and social inequalities. Girls, children with disabilities, and those

from low-income or marginalised communities face heightened exposure to online abuse, exploitation, and surveillance, compounded by limited access to digital literacy, reporting mechanisms, and psychosocial support.

Despite this growing awareness, substantial gaps remain. Legislative proposals often lack clear enforcement pathways, survivor-centred response mechanisms, and gender-sensitive safeguards that account for differentiated risks. Coordination between regulators, law enforcement, educational institutions, and technology platforms remains underdeveloped, raising concerns about the effectiveness of implementation once laws are enacted. The evidence suggests that while lawmakers are beginning to engage with digital inclusion and protection issues, legislative frameworks must evolve more rapidly to address emerging forms of exclusion and harm in increasingly digital societies.

### **7. Multi-Dimensional GESI Agenda for Women**

A further trend emerging from the GESI Tracker analysis is the growing legislative engagement with the everyday lived realities of women, beyond questions of numerical representation or standalone gender bills. Across multiple GESI Tracker

articles, women's inclusion appears most frequently at the intersection of health, law enforcement and policing, welfare delivery, and protection from violence. This reflects an expanding recognition within the legislature that gender inequality is not confined to formal political participation but is embedded in the systems that shape women's daily security, wellbeing, and economic stability.

Women's health has emerged as a recurring area of legislative engagement, particularly through motions linked to breast cancer awareness, reproductive health, and access to specialised care. GESI Tracker analysis shows that these interventions frame health not merely as a service delivery issue but as a question of equity, access, and state responsibility. However, the emphasis remains largely symbolic and awareness-driven, with limited evidence of sustained oversight, funding alignment, or structural reform to address the economic and geographic barriers that prevent many women from accessing timely diagnosis and treatment. This pattern reinforces a broader trend in which women's health concerns are recognised rhetorically but insufficiently embedded into long-term legislative and budgetary planning.

Security and policing debates further

### TOP 3 LAWMAKERS THAT MOVED MOST GESI MOTIONS

June 2023 - June 2025



**Rep Kafilat Ogbara**  
Kosofe Federal Constituency,  
Lagos / APC  
Chairman, Women Affairs  
and Social Development  
committee



**Rep Bashiru  
Ayinla Dawodu**  
Oshodi-Ibeju Constituency,  
Lagos / APC  
Chairman, Disabilities  
committee



**Rep Osawaru  
Billy Famous**  
Orhiamwion Ughumwode  
constituency, Edo / APC  
Chairman, Cooperation  
and integration in Africa  
committee

reveal how gender inclusion is being negotiated within institutional reform processes. GESI Tracker articles examining bills for gender-layered policing and improved responses to violence against women indicate growing awareness that women's access to justice is shaped by the composition, culture, and accountability of security institutions. Calls for increased female representation in the police and law enforcement structures and more gender-responsive operational frameworks reflect an understanding that women's safety cannot be separated from how the state enforces law and order. Yet, as with other GESI issues, these discussions often lack binding commitments, timelines, or monitoring mechanisms to ensure that intent translates into institutional change.

Welfare and budgeting debates provide another critical lens into women's

everyday inclusion. Oversight engagements with the Ministry of Women Affairs, as documented by the GESI Tracker, underscore the centrality of financing to gender outcomes. Persistent shortfalls in capital releases, weak coordination with development partners, and frequent leadership changes within the Ministry directly affect the delivery of programmes related to women's economic empowerment, social protection, and gender-based violence response. GESI Tracker analysis consistently shows that underfunding and delayed disbursements undermine even well-designed policies, reinforcing the reality that gender equality cannot advance without predictable, adequate, and well-managed public financial investment. Collectively, these legislative engagements demonstrate an emerging trend in which, while women's inclusion is being considered across various policy areas, it remains piecemeal and differentiated. Evidence from the GESI Tracker shows that, while lawmakers are beginning to grasp the intricacy of women's exclusion across health systems, security forces, and welfare services, the legislative response to date has not united around a comprehensive, integrated approach to a GESI strategy. Women's issues are being debated and articulated in policies but largely in silos rather than as

interlinked dimensions of gender exclusion. This trend underscores the need for a more comprehensive legislative approach that unifies law reform, budgetary accountability, institutional change, and enforcement.

### **8. Recognising Older Persons as a GESI Priority**

A further pattern emerging from legislative tracking is the growing, yet fragmented recognition of the rights, welfare, and dignity of older persons within Nigeria's lawmaking processes. Recent GESI Tracker coverage shows that lawmakers have initiated discussions on bills seeking to guarantee health, economic, social, and civil rights for older citizens and to provide a legally enforceable framework for their protection and inclusion, in part acknowledging that traditional family support systems are no longer sufficient and that existing legal instruments are incomplete or unenforceable as protections for the aged. An Older Persons Rights Bill sponsored by Hon. Tochukwu Okere and Hon. Olubodun Festus Olugbenga under consideration, for example, aims to ensure access to healthcare, financial assistance, and social protection for older Nigerians, responding to gaps in existing frameworks and widespread social exclusion of elderly populations. Such engagements reflect a legislative awareness that ageing poses distinct

vulnerabilities, including poverty, limited access to quality healthcare, economic instability, and social isolation, which intersect with broader inclusion priorities. However, as with other inclusion themes, these proposals often remain at early stages of legislative progress, and implementation frameworks, budgetary commitments, and enforcement mechanisms are yet to be fully articulated or secured. From a GESI perspective, the attention to older persons signals an important expansion of the GESI agenda beyond women, youth, and disability issues to encompass age-related vulnerabilities. It also highlights the need for coherent policy and legislative strategies that address the layered exclusion faced by the elderly, integrate them into social protection systems, and ensure that legal recognition is matched by practical access to services and rights

## 2. Impact and Engagements

The impact of the GESI Tracker during the period under review is best understood through its influence on legislative engagement, advocacy opportunities, and institutional awareness, rather than through standalone activities. The GESI Tracker outputs were used strategically to inform dialogue, support evidence-based advocacy, and strengthen accountability around inclusion-focused legislative priorities.

### **Legislative Engagement and Issue Reinforcement**

Findings generated through the GESI Tracker informed direct engagements with selected lawmakers, reinforcing ongoing debates on gender equality and representation. Notably, a courtesy engagement with Hon. Kafilat Ogbara provided an opportunity to share consolidated insights on the state of GESI-related legislative interventions in the 10th National Assembly. The engagement reinforced legislative attention on women's political representation and contributed to sustained advocacy around the Special Seats for Women Bill.

This interaction illustrates how structured legislative monitoring can support legislative champions by grounding advocacy in evidence and reinforcing continuity across parliamentary sessions.

### **Strengthening Evidence-Based Advocacy**

The GESI Tracker significantly strengthened evidence-based advocacy by providing civil society organisations with timely, credible, and accessible data on legislative processes and outcomes. By translating parliamentary debates, bills progression, motions, and oversight activities into clear analytical insights. GESI Tracker findings were shared with key civil society organisations, including Connected Development (CODE), Yiaga Africa, and the African Centre for Leadership, Strategy and Development (Centre LSD), supporting coordinated advocacy on women's representation, social protection, youth inclusion, and disability rights.

Rather than duplicating advocacy messages, these engagements contributed to alignment across actors, ensuring that advocacy positions reflected current legislative realities and institutional constraints.

Engagement with Development Partners  
GESI Tracker insights were also shared with development partners, including the British High Commission, as part of broader discussions on democratic accountability and inclusive governance. These engagements positioned the GESI Tracker as a data source for understanding legislative dynamics

around gender equality and social inclusion, particularly within the context of political transitions and electoral cycles.

By providing evidence on both progress and stagnation, GESI Tracker supported informed dialogue on where external support and policy engagement could be most effectively directed.

#### Shaping Public and Media Discourse

Through consistent publication and media amplification, GESI Tracker articles contributed to shaping public discourse around inclusion in lawmaking. Media uptake of GESI Tracker outputs increased the visibility of issues such as women's representation, sexual harassment legislation, disability inclusion, and digital safety, helping to sustain attention beyond parliamentary chambers.

While media visibility alone does not guarantee legislative outcomes, it played a critical role in maintaining public pressure and reinforcing accountability, particularly for inclusion-focused reforms that are vulnerable to political deprioritisation.

#### Limits of Impact

Despite sustained engagements and increased visibility of GESI issues within legislative and policy spaces, the impact of the GESI Tracker remains shaped by broader institutional and political constraints. Evidence generated through GESI Tracker does not consistently

translate into accelerated bill progression, policy adoption, or implementation outcomes, as legislative responsiveness varies significantly across lawmakers, committees, and political cycles.

These limitations reflect structural realities within the legislative process, including competing political priorities, weak enforcement mechanisms, and the absence of binding accountability frameworks that compel action on inclusion-focused reforms. In several instances, even where data-driven advocacy and stakeholder engagement are sustained, progress on GESI-related bills remains slow or stalled due to limited political will.

This underscores an important lesson for GESI accountability work: while evidence, engagement, and visibility are necessary, they are not sufficient on their own. Meaningful and sustained impact requires complementary institutional reforms, stronger political incentives for inclusion, and continued public pressure to ensure that legislative commitments translate into tangible outcomes for women, youth, persons with disabilities, the aged, and other marginalized groups.

# 3. Lessons Learned

The implementation of the GESI Tracker over the review period generated important operational and strategic lessons about tracking inclusion within a complex legislative environment. These lessons reflect both the strengths of the approach and the structural constraints that continue to shape GESI outcomes in the National Assembly.

## What Worked

### 1. Evidence Strengthens Engagement

Grounding advocacy and engagement in verifiable legislative data significantly improved the quality of interactions with lawmakers, civil society actors, and development partners. GESI Tracker's ability to translate parliamentary processes into accessible insights increased trust and positioned it as a credible reference point for inclusion-focused advocacy.

### 2. Visibility Drives Relevance

Consistent publication and media amplification helped keep GESI issues within public discourse, even when legislative momentum slowed. Articles linked to real parliamentary activity proved more effective in sustaining attention than abstract policy conversations.

### 3. Targeted Engagement Is More Effective Than Broad Outreach

Focused engagements with legislative

champions, and aligned civil society organisations yielded outcomes for advocacy. GESI Tracker findings helped reinforce momentum and sustain focus on GESI-related issues.

## Challenges Encountered

### 1. Limited Access to Committee-Level Processes

Closed committee deliberations and restricted access to certain documents constrained the depth of analysis, particularly on how GESI considerations are negotiated beyond plenary sessions. This limits visibility into decision-making where many inclusion-related trade-offs occur.

### 2. Uneven Political Will Across Legislators

While the GESI Tracker sought to engage a broad range of lawmakers by sharing findings and analysis, responsiveness varied significantly. In several instances, efforts to reach legislators for feedback, validation, or follow-up discussions on Tracker insights did not receive responses. This uneven level of engagement underscores a persistent challenge within legislative advocacy: the presence of evidence and analysis does not automatically translate into political interest or action.

This uneven responsiveness highlights the reality that evidence alone does not overcome entrenched political priorities or resistance to inclusion reforms.

# 4. Areas for Improvement

## 1. Limited Transparency at the Committee Level

While plenary debates offer some visibility into legislative priorities, many decisions that shape the fate of GESI-related bills occur at the committee stage. Restricted access to committee agendas, draft legislation, and deliberations limits public understanding of how inclusion concerns are negotiated, amended, or deprioritised. Greater transparency at this level would strengthen accountability and enable earlier integration of GESI considerations into legislative outcomes.

## 2. Uneven Access to Legislative Data

The absence of consistent and structured access to legislative data remains a key constraint in monitoring inclusion. Incomplete documentation of committee proceedings and delayed publication of legislative records reduce the depth of analysis possible on GESI-related decision-making. Improving the availability

and timeliness of parliamentary data would enhance evidence-based assessment of inclusion across the lawmaking process.

## 3. Weak Linkages Between Legislation and Budget Execution

A persistent gap exists between legislative intent on GESI issues and the financial resources required to implement such commitments. Inclusion-focused bills and motions are often not matched with adequate budgetary allocations, timely releases, or effective expenditure. This disconnect continues to undermine the real-world impact of legislative reforms, reinforcing the need for stronger alignment between lawmaking, budgeting, and oversight.

# 5. Way Forward / Strategic Outlook

## 1. **A Narrowing Window for Inclusive Legislative Reform**

As Nigeria progresses through the 10th National Assembly and approaches the 2027 electoral cycle, the political space for advancing gender equality and social inclusion reforms is becoming more constrained. Legislative priorities are increasingly shaped by electoral considerations, shifting alliances, and short-term political calculations. In this context, sustaining meaningful attention to GESI requires stronger institutional safeguards that can outlast political cycles.

## 2. **The Need for Greater Transparency at Committee Level**

Much of the decision-making that determines the fate of GESI-related legislation occurs at the committee stage, often beyond public scrutiny. Enhancing transparency and accountability in these spaces remains critical to

ensuring that inclusion concerns are addressed early and consistently, rather than filtered out before reaching plenary debate or final passage.

## 3. **Aligning Legislative Commitments with Budgetary Reality**

The effectiveness of inclusion-oriented reforms will continue to depend on whether legislative intent is matched by adequate and timely financial support. As fiscal pressures intensify, stronger alignment between GESI-related legislation, budget allocations, fund releases, and expenditure will be essential to translating commitments into tangible outcomes for women, youth, persons with disabilities, older persons, and other marginalised groups.

## 4. **Sustaining Coalitions for Inclusive Governance**

Experience from the Tracker's analysis underscores the

importance of sustained collaboration among lawmakers, civil society organisations, the media, and development partners. Where inclusion reforms are supported by broad-based coalitions and informed by shared evidence, they are more likely to withstand political transitions and institutional inertia.

#### **5. Distinguishing Substantive Reform from Symbolic Inclusion**

The pre-election period heightens the risk that GESI commitments become symbolic rather than

substantive. In this environment, it becomes especially important to assess inclusion efforts based on outcomes rather than rhetoric. The durability of GESI reforms will ultimately be determined by whether political commitments result in enacted laws, budgetary support, institutional reform, and enforceable protections, rather than temporary gestures linked to electoral positioning

# 6. Conclusion and Recommendations

## Conclusion

The GESI Tracker Compendium offers a consolidated assessment of how the National Assembly is engaging with GESI at a critical juncture in the country's democratic development. Across bills, motions, oversight engagements, and public discourse, the evidence reveals a legislature that is increasingly attentive to issues of exclusion, yet still constrained by structural, political, and institutional barriers that limit the pace and depth of reform.

Findings from the GESI Tracker show that lawmakers are beginning to grapple with the complexity of exclusion across multiple sectors, including health systems, security institutions, welfare services, and digital spaces. However, legislative responses to these challenges remain fragmented. Rather than converging around a coherent and integrated GESI strategy, inclusion-related interventions are often pursued in isolation, reducing their cumulative impact. This fragmentation underscores the need for a more

coordinated legislative approach that recognises GESI as cross-cutting governance priorities rather than standalone issues.

The compendium also demonstrates the value of structured, evidence-based legislative monitoring. GESI Tracker analysis has supported continuity in advocacy by grounding engagement in verifiable data and institutional memory. In a context where inclusion-focused bills are frequently reintroduced, stalled, or recycled across assemblies, sustained monitoring plays a critical role in reinforcing legislative champions, strengthening advocacy credibility, and preventing the loss of reform momentum due to political turnover.

At the same time, the evidence is clear that legislative intent alone is insufficient to drive meaningful change. Durable impact requires complementary institutional reforms, stronger political incentives for inclusion, and sustained public pressure to ensure that commitments translate into enforceable laws,

adequate budgets, and effective implementation. Without these reinforcing conditions, inclusion-related reforms remain vulnerable to electoral pressures, shifting priorities, and symbolic treatment.

As Nigeria moves closer to the 2027 general elections, these dynamics become even more pronounced. The pre-election period heightens the risk that GESI commitments may be articulated rhetorically without corresponding follow-through. This compendium therefore, serves not only as a record of legislative engagement to date, but as a reference point for assessing whether future inclusion claims result in substantive outcomes or remain performative.

## Recommendations

### RECOMMENDATIONS

Advancing Inclusive Legislative Outcomes in Nigeria  
Priorities from the GESI Tracker's Findings & Nigeria's Commitments

<p><b>1. Mainstream GESI Across Legislation</b></p> <p> Aligned with SDG 5 &amp; 10 Embed Inclusion across sectors.</p>	<p><b>4. Align Laws with Budget</b></p> <p> Reflect SDGs 1, 3 &amp; 8 Ensure Funding &amp; oversight.</p>
<p><b>2. Strengthen Women's Representation</b></p> <p> Aligned with CEDAW &amp; AU Commitments Address structural barriers.</p>	<p><b>5. Protect Vulnerable Groups</b></p> <p> Guided by African Charter &amp; AU Protocol Enforce safeguards.</p>
<p><b>3. Improve Committee Transparency</b></p> <p><b>Support SDG 16</b>  Improve access to legislative data, committee proceedings, and decision-making processes.</p>	<p><b>6. Sustain Multi-Stakeholder Coalitions</b></p> <p> Aligned with SDG 17 Strengthen accountability.</p>
<p><b>7. Focus on Measurable Outcomes</b></p> <p> During the pre-election period: Track Measurable progress and lived Impact.</p>	

Drawing from the GESI Tracker's findings and aligned with Nigeria's international and regional commitments, the following priorities emerge:

1. Advance integrated GESI strategies within legislative practice, in line with SDG 5 (Gender Equality) and SDG 10 (Reduced Inequalities), ensuring that inclusion considerations are embedded across health, security, education, digital governance, social protection, and fiscal oversight, rather than addressed through isolated legislative actions.

2. Strengthen women's political participation and representation, consistent with CEDAW Articles 7 and 8 and the African Union's Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa, by prioritising reforms that address structural barriers to women's representation, including constitutional and legislative measures aimed at correcting gender imbalance in decision-making spaces.

3. Enhance transparency and accountability at the committee level, supporting SDG 16 (Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions) by improving public access to legislative data, committee proceedings, and decision-making processes where inclusion outcomes

are often determined.

4. Align inclusion-focused legislation with budgetary commitments, reflecting SDG 1 (No Poverty), SDG 3 (Good Health and Well-being), and SDG 8 (Decent Work and Economic Growth), by ensuring that laws addressing women, youth, persons with disabilities, older persons, and other marginalised groups are backed by adequate appropriations, timely releases, and effective expenditure oversight.

5. Strengthen protections for vulnerable and marginalised groups, including women, children, persons with disabilities, and older persons, in accordance with CEDAW, the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, and the AU Protocol on the Rights of Older Persons, by prioritising enforceable safeguards and inclusive implementation frameworks.

6. Sustain multi-stakeholder coalitions for inclusive governance, aligned with SDG 17 (Partnerships for the Goals), by fostering collaboration among lawmakers, civil society organisations, the media, development partners, academia, research institutions, and MDAs to reinforce evidence-based advocacy and

institutional accountability beyond electoral cycles.

7. Maintain outcome-focused monitoring during the pre-election period, ensuring that GESI commitments are assessed based on measurable progress, institutional reform, and lived impact, rather than symbolic gestures or rhetorical alignment with international norms.

Ultimately, advancing GESI within Nigeria's legislative process is a long-term democratic responsibility that intersects with the country's global and regional obligations. By providing credible evidence, amplifying underrepresented voices, and supporting informed engagement, the GESI Tracker contributes to the realisation of these commitments. This compendium stands as both a record of progress and a reference tool for assessing how effectively Nigeria's legislative institutions are translating international inclusion standards into national law, policy, and practice

# 7. Annex

## Links to GESI Tracker articles:



<https://parliamentreports.com/strengthening-rights-institutions-and-rural-inclusion-gesi-tracker/>

<https://parliamentreports.com/16-days-of-activism-ending-digital-violence-against-women-and-girls-gesi-tracker/>

<https://parliamentreports.com/child-online-safety-and-budget-accountability-for-womens-welfare-gesi-tracker/>

<https://parliamentreports.com/towards-gender-layered-policing-in-nigeria-gesi-tracker/>

<https://parliamentreports.com/as-nass-outlaws-sexual-harassment-in-schools-gesi-tracker/>

<https://parliamentreports.com/strengthening-social-protection-through-the-nsitf-gesi-tracker/>

<https://parliamentreports.com/october-as-breast-cancer-awareness-month-gesi-tracker/>

<https://parliamentreports.com/paradox-of-male-champions-for-inclusion-in-parliament-gesi-tracker/>

<https://parliamentreports.com/nigeria-at-65-between-equality-and-exclusion-gesi-tracker/>

<https://parliamentreports.com/will-gesi-bills-survive-the-political-calendar-gesi-tracker/>

<https://parliamentreports.com/focus-on-the-gifted-and-talented-centres-bill/>

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<https://parliamentreports.com/inclusion-behind-bars-policing-equity-and-erosion-on-the-margins-gesi-tracker/>

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<https://parliamentreports.com/only-3-of-100-motions-directly-spotlight-inclusion-in-10th-senate-gesi-tracker/>

<https://parliamentreports.com/lawmakers-propose-bills-on-youth-development-gesi-tracker/>

<https://parliamentreports.com/joy-is-coming-for-maids-maiguards-as-domestic-workers-bill-advances-gesi-tracker/>

<https://parliamentreports.com/maternity-leave-reps-push-for-six-months-break-for-mothers-gesi-tracker/>

<https://parliamentreports.com/analysing-bills-on-inclusivity-in-politics-and-governance-gesi-tracker/>

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<https://parliamentreports.com/natasha-women-representation-and-patriarchal-parliaments-gesi-tracker/>

<https://parliamentreports.com/widowhood-bill-and-move-against-femicide-in-nigeria-gesi-tracker/>

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<https://parliamentreports.com/hunger-protest-disenchanted-youths-and-a-townhall-gesi-tracker/>

<https://parliamentreports.com/natasha-apology-plus-bills-on-elderly-youth-and-fistula-care-gesi-tracker/>

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**A Review of GESI Initiative in  
the 10th National Assembly (2023 - 2025)**